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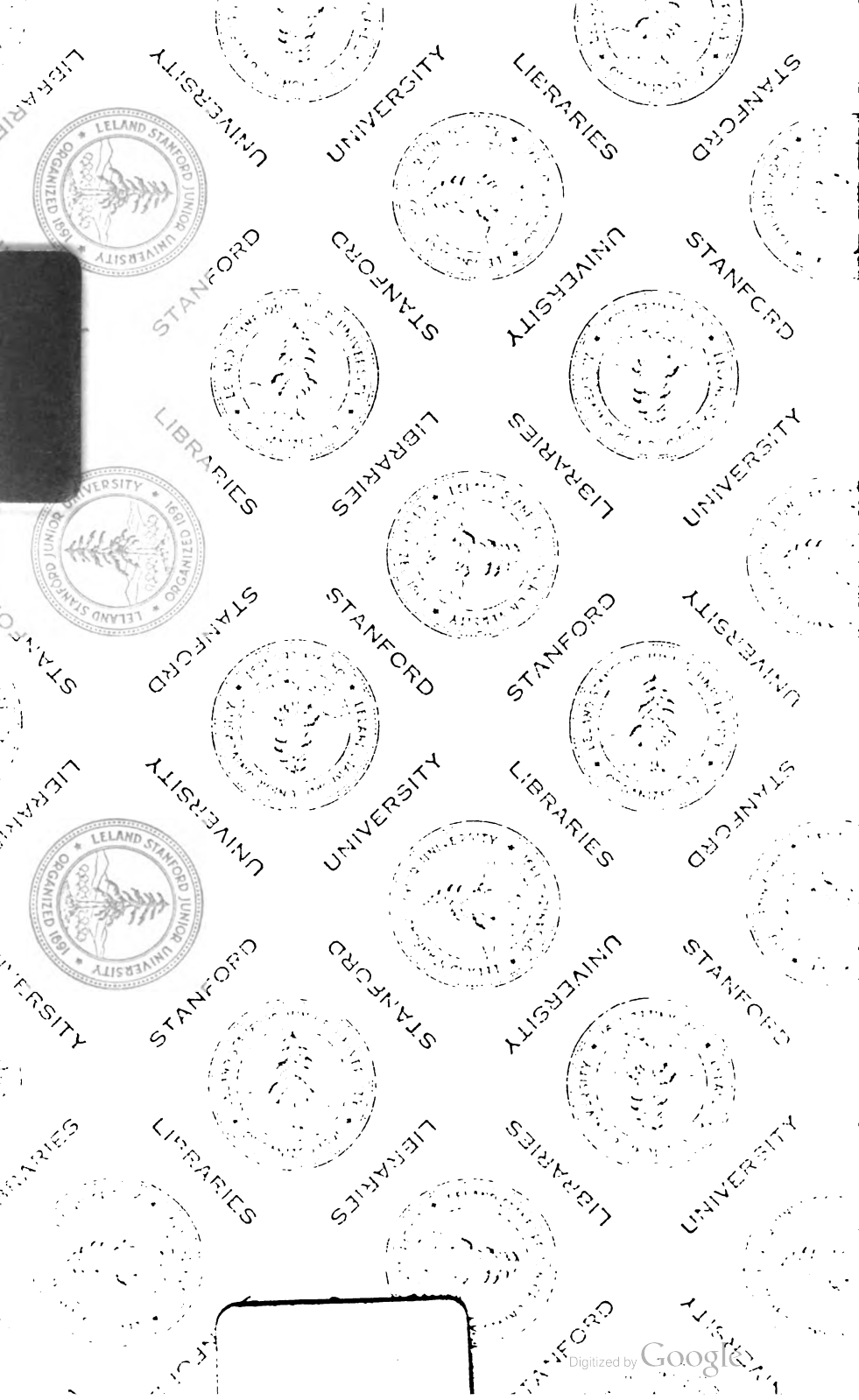
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SLAYING OF THE SUITORS.

# *Homer's Odyssey, books XIII-XXIV.*

Homer, David Binning Monro













# HOMER'S ODYSSEY

BOOKS XIII—XXIV

*MONRO*

**HENRY FROWDE, M.A.**  
**PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**  
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# HOMER'S ODYSSEY

## BOOKS XIII—XXIV

EDITED

*WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND APPENDICES*

BY

D. B. MONRO, M.A.

PROVOST OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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## PREFACE

THIS volume is designed as a continuation of the commentary on the *Odyssey* which was begun, more than a quarter of a century ago, by the late Mr. Riddell of Balliol. As all scholars are aware, the first part of the projected work, comprising books i-xii, was completed by Dr. Merry and published in 1875. A second edition, with a good deal of new matter, appeared in 1885.

In the present state of scholarship an editor of Homer is almost obliged to form some opinion on the multifarious issues which make up the 'Homeric question.' I have therefore been led to add Appendices of somewhat unusual length, containing a statement of the views which seem to me on the whole the most in accordance with the existing evidence. In the course of this work I found it desirable to reproduce the substance (and occasionally the language) of two papers on the Epic Cycle which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (in the volumes for 1883 and 1884). I have to thank the Hellenic Society for permitting this, and also for allowing me to use the illustrations of the Homeric House which will be found on pp. 490, 491, 497.

A similar acknowledgement is due to Dr. Valtýr Guðmundsson for the sketch of a mediaeval Icelandic *megaron* on p. 218, and to Mr. W. A. Craigie of Oriel for directing my attention to the interesting parallel which it offers to the Mycenaean house. I have also had much help on this and other archaeological points from Mr. J. L. Myres of Christ Church and Mr. G. C. Richards of Oriel. Mr. Raper of Trinity has aided me by his opinion on many doubtful passages.

D. B. MONRO.

OXFORD,  
August 12, 1901.



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# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Ν

'Οδυσσέως ἀπόπλους παρὰ Φαιάκων καὶ ἀφίξις εἰς Ἰθάκην.

Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,  
 κληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιδέντα.  
 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε·  
 "ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἐπεὶ ἵκεν ἔμὸν ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ,  
 ὑψερεφές, τῷ σ' οὐ τι παλιμπλαγχθέντα γ' οἶω 5  
 ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν, εἰ καὶ μάλα πολλὰ πέπονθας.  
 ὑμέων δ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω ἐφίεμενος τάδε εἶρω,  
 ὅσσοι ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γερούσιον αἴθωπα οἶνον  
 αἰεὶ πίνειτ' ἐμοῖσιν, ἀκουάζεσθε δ' ἀοιδοῦ.  
 εἵματα μὲν δὴ ξείνῳ εὐξέστη ἐνὶ χηλῷ 10  
 κεῖται καὶ χρυσοῦς πολυδαίδαλος ἄλλα τε πάντα  
 δῶρ', ὅσα Φαιήκων βουληφόροι ἐνθάδ' ἔνεικαν·

5 παλιμπλαγχθέντα *Att.*, *vulg.* : πάλιν πλαγχθέντα *P S.* See *H. G.* § 125, *b.*

5-6. The words here are taken from *Il.* 1. 59 *τὸν δ' αὖτε παλιμπλαγχθέντας οἶω ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν εἰ κεν θανάτῳ γε φύγομεν*, but with a change of application which has made them somewhat obscure. In the *Iliad* *ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν* refers to returning disappointed to Greece, and thus carries on the idea expressed by *παλιμπλαγχθέντας*. Here a return home is not a disappointment, and cannot be described by such a phrase as *παλιμπλαγχθέντα*. Some commentators meet the difficulty by confining the negative to that phrase: 'I think that, not having been driven from your course, you will return home.' But, apart from other objections, an interpretation by which *ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν* and *παλιμπλαγχθέντα* are made to express contrasted things is

surely excluded by *Il.* 1. 59. The necessity for such an interpretation only arises from taking *ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν* of return to *Ithaca*. The meaning is simply that Ulysses will not return driven back from the house of Alcinoos, but will have his desire. So Naegelsbach, *Anmerk. zur Ilias*<sup>3</sup> (on *Il.* 1. 59).

5. τῷ. There seems to be enough evidence in Homer for an adverbial τῷ, distinct from the dative τῷ.

9. ἀκουάζεσθε 'please yourselves with listening' (*Il.* 4. 343). Verbs of this formation have an ampliative and often unfavourable meaning: cp. *μίμνω* and *μυμνάω*, *μῖγνυμι* and *μυγάσσομαι*, *ρίπτω* and *μπτάζω*, *ἡγήομαι* and *ἡγηλάζω* (17. 217), *ἀβροτάζω*, *ἀεκάσσομαι*, *οἰνοποτάζω*, *πρωσκάζω*, *νευστάζω*, *βυστάζω*.

ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ δῶμεν τρίποδα μέγαν ἥδ' ἐλέβητα  
ἀνδρακάς· ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε ἀγειρόμενοι κατὰ δῆμον  
τισόμεθ'· ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἔνα προικὸς χαρίσασθαι." 15

ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀλκίνοος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος.  
οἱ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος,  
ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
νῆαδ' ἐπεσσεύοντο, φέρον δ' εὐήνορα χαλκόν·  
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ κατέθηχ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο 20  
αὐτὸς ἰὼν διὰ νηὸς ὑπὸ ζυγά, μή τιν' ἐταίρων  
βλάβπτοι ἐλαυνόντων, ὅπότε σπερχοῖατ' ἑρετμοῖς·  
οἱ δ' εἰς Ἀλκινόοιο κίον καὶ δαῖτ' ἀλέγυνον.

Τοῖσι δὲ βούν ἱέρουσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο  
Ζηνὶ κελαϊνεφεῖϊ Κρονίδῃ, δς πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει. 25  
μῆρα δὲ κήαντες δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα  
τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδός,  
Δημόδοκος, λαοῖσι τετιμένος· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
πολλὰ πρὸς ἥελιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανόωντα,  
δύναι ἐπευγόμενος· δὴ γὰρ μενέαινε νέεσθαι. 30  
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ δόρποιο λιλαίεται, ᾧ τε πανῆμαρ  
νεῖδν ἀν' ἔλκητον βόε οἶνοπε πηκτὸν ἀροτρον·  
ἀσπασίως δ' ἄρα τῷ κατέδν φάος ἡελίοιο

13 ἥδ' ἢ] ἢ Eust. who however found ἥδ' in the better MSS. 14 ἀνδρα κάδ' v. l. known to Eust. 16 μῦθος] συμφ P H S U. 19 νῆα δ' Ar., F M: νῆ' ἀρ' vulg. 22 ἑρετμοῖς] Perhaps ἑρετμῶ, cp. πηδῶ (l. 78).

15. *τισόμεθα* 'will repay ourselves.' *προικὸς* 'as a free gift,' without such repayment; originally a partitive gen., 'of his bounty' (cp. *χαριζομένη παρεόντων*), but used as an adverb, like the Attic *προίκα*, = *gratis*, *imprune*. The Homeric form is probably *πρόϊξ*, *προϊκός* (or rather *πρόϊκος*, since *προϊκός* is so accented on the analogy of monosyllabic nouns): so *πρόϊκτος* 'a gift-man,' 'one who lives on doles,' and the Ionic fut. *καταπροΐξομαι*. The word is evidently a compound of *πρό*. See also 17. 413.

18. Morning of the 34th day of the action of the poem.

21. ὑπὸ ζυγά, with *κατέθηκε*.

24. On the play of language see 144, 14. 69, 371., 15. 10., 16. 2., 17. 332.

27. Cp. 4. 17. On *μέλπεσθαι* of *singing* see *Lehrs, Arist.* p. 138.

30. *δύναι ἐπευγόμενος* 'in haste, eager for (his) setting.'

32. *πηκτὸν* 'put together,' an epithet describing the workmanship of a plough. So *ποιητός* of a house (13. 306), *δινωτός* of a bed (19. 56), *τυκτός* of a floor (17. 169), &c. We need not translate 'well made,' though that may be implied. The point is that the object (whatever it is) is a work of mechanical skill.

33. *ἀσπασίως*. Cobet and Nauck would get rid of this adverb by substituting the adj. Here e.g. Cobet would read *ἀσπασίῳ* (cp. *ἀσμένῳ μοί ἐστι*), and Nauck *ἀσπάσιον*, as *ἀσπαστόν* in l. 35. But cp. Il. 7. 118., 11. 327.

δόρπον ἐποίχεσθαι, βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ' ἰόντι  
ὥς Ὀδυσῇ ἄσπαστον ἔδν φάος ἡέλιιο. 35

αἶψα δὲ Φαίηκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι μετηύδα,  
'Αλκινόφ δὲ μάλιστα πιφασκόμενος φάτο μῦθον·  
"Ἄλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,  
πέμπετέ με σπείσαντες ἀπήμονα, χαίρετε δ' αὐτοί·  
ἤδη γὰρ τετέλεσται ἃ μοι φίλος ἤθελε θυμός, 40  
πομπή καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τά μοι θεοὶ Οὐρανῖνες  
δλβια ποιήσειαν. ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν  
νοστήσας εὖροιμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φιλοισιν.  
ὕμεῖς δ' αὖθι μένοντες ἐϋφραίνετε γυναῖκας  
κουριδίας καὶ τέκνα· θεοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν ὁπάσειαν 45  
παντοίην, καὶ μή τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη."

\*Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον ἡδ' ἐκέλευον  
πεμπέμεναι τὸν ξεῖνον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπε.  
καὶ τότε κήρυκα προσέφη μένος Ἀλκινόβοιο·  
"Ποντόνοε, κρητῆρα κερασσάμενος μέθυ νεῖμον 50  
πᾶσιν ἀνὰ μέγαρον, ὅφρ' εὐξάμενοι Διὶ πατρὶ  
τὸν ξεῖνον πέμπωμεν ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν."

\*Ὡς φάτο, Ποντόνοος δὲ μελίφρονα οἶνον ἐκίρνα,  
νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπισταδόν· οἱ δὲ θεοῖσιν  
ἔσπεισαν μακάρεσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, 55  
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἐδρέων. ἀνὰ δ' ἴστατο διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,  
'Αρήτη δ' ἐν χειρὶ τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
"χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ βασιλεια, διαμπερές, εἰς δ' κε γῆρας  
ἔλθῃ καὶ θάνατος, τά τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται. 60

34 βλάβεται] For this anomalous present it is always possible to read βλάβετο, which would be the form of the aor. mid.: see *H. G.* § 30. 35 Ὀδυσῇ] See on 5. 398. 42 *Folkoι* may be restored by writing ἀμύμονα *Folkoι* (with exegetic asyndeton).

53 ἐκίρνα] so 7. 182., 10. 356: but κίρνη in 14. 78., 16. 52. 56 ἐδίον v. l. ap. Eust. 57 χειρὶ vulg.: χειροὶ M U al.: cp. Il. 1. 585.

34. δόρπον ἐποίχεσθαι 'for going about his supper,' i.e. 'in that he can now go about his supper.' 44. ἀρετὴν 'good': not restricted, as in later Greek, to 'merit' or 'excellence.' Cp. 14. 402 ἐὺκλείη τ' ἀρετὴ τε, and the verb ἀρετᾶν 'to prosper' (19. 114); also 12. 211., 14. 212., 18. 251.

54. ἐπισταδόν: see 12. 392., 18. 425. 56. αὐτόθεν 'in their places,' 'even as they sat': cp. Il. 19. 77 αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης οὐδ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀναστάς.



αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ νέομαι· σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
παισί τε καὶ λαοῖσι καὶ Ἀλκινῶφ βασιλῇϊ."

Ἦτος εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

τῷ δ' ἅμα κήρυκα προῖει μένος Ἀλκινόοιο,  
ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν καὶ θίνα θαλάσσης· 65

Ἀρήτη δ' ἄρα οἱ δμῶας ἅμ' ἐπεμπε γυναῖκας,  
τὴν μὲν φᾶρος ἔχουσαν εὐπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,  
τὴν δ' ἐτέρην χηλὸν πυκινὴν ἅμ' ὅπασσε κομίζειν·  
ἡ δ' ἄλλη σῖτόν τ' ἔφερεν καὶ οἶνον ἐρυθρόν.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλυθον ἠδὲ θάλασσαν, 70

αἶψα τὰ γ' ἐν νηὶ γλαφυρῇ πομπῆες ἀγαυοὶ  
δεξάμενοι κατέθεντο, πόσιν καὶ βρῶσιν ἄπασαν·  
καδ δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῇι στόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε λίνον τε  
νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκρίοφιν γλαφυρῆς, ἵνα νήγρετον εὖδοι,  
πρυμνήσ· ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβήσετο καὶ κατέλεκτο 75

σιγῇ· τοὶ δὲ καθίζον ἐπὶ κληῖσιν ἕκαστοι  
κόσμφ, πείσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρήτοιο λίθοιο.  
εὖθ' οἱ ἀνακλινθέντες ἀνερρίπτουν ἄλα πηδῶ,  
καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε,  
νήγρετος ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἀγχιστὰ ἐοικώς. 80

ἡ δ' ὥς τ' ἐν πεδίῳ τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι,  
πάντες ἅμ' ὀρμηθέντες ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἰμάσθλης,  
ὑψόσ' ἀειρόμενοι ῥίμφα πρήσσουσι κέλευθον,  
ὥς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνῃ μὲν ἀείρετο, κύμα δ' ὀπισθε

61 οἴκῳ] χώρῳ P H al.: from 10. 271.  
"νέεσθαι" εἶχε (Did.): so H', v. l. in X.  
ἥδιστος, apart from the f of ἠδύς, is weak after νήδυμος (i. e. *νήδυμος*). Read perhaps *ἥκιστος* (or *ἥκιστος*) 'most gentle,' 'feeblest' (II. 23. 531).

66 γυναῖκας] ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἀριστάρχου  
68 ὅπασσε] ἐπέμπε F P M Eust. 80

62. παισί. The dat. is instrumental, with a partly 'comitative' sense: cp. II. 21. 45, Od. 14. 244.

69. ἡ δ' ἄλλη. The article marks contrast, 'another again,' *H. G.* § 260.

78. ἀνακλινθέντες 'swinging back': the aorist describing the movement, *H. G.* § 77.

πηδῶ, the sing. used distributively.

79. νήδυμος, an early corruption of *νήδυμος*: see the note on Od. 4. 793.

81. ἡ δ' κτλ. The sentence is taken up again in l. 84 ὥς ἄρα τῆς κτλ. The harshness of the anacoluthon is softened by the nom. *ἵπποι* in the next clause: cp. 14. 85, II. 4. 433., 17. 755.

τετράορος, contr. for τετρα-ῥορος: cp. *συν-ῥορος*, *παρ-ῥορος* (*δείρω* of yoking horses, cp. II. 10. 499., 15. 680).

84. For πρύμνῃ some read *πρῆρη*, as giving a truer picture. But how could πρύμνῃ have crept into the text?

πορφύρεον μέγα θύε πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. 85

ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἀσφαλέως θέεν ἔμπεδον· οὐδέ κεν ἱρηξέ  
κίρκος ὁμαρτήσκειεν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν.

ὥς ἡ ρίμφα θεούσα θαλάσσης κύματ' ἔταμνεν,  
ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μήδε' ἔχοντα,  
ὅς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα δν κατὰ θυμὸν 90  
ἄνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἄλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων,  
δὴ τότε γ' ἀτρέμας εὔδε, λελασμένος ὅσσ' ἐπεπόνθει.

Εὐτ' ἀστήρ ὑπερέσχε φαάντατος, ὅς τε μάλιστα  
ἔρχεται ἀγγέλλων φάος Ἑοῦς ἡριγενείης,  
τῆμος δὴ νήσῳ προσεπλῖνατο ποντοπόρος νηῦς. 95

Φόρκυνος δέ τίς ἐστι λιμὴν ἀλλοιο γέροντος  
ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης· δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῷ  
ἄκται ἀπορρῶγες, λιμένος ποτιπεπτηνῖαι,  
αἱ τ' ἀνέμων σκεπῶσι δυσαήων μέγα κύμα  
ἔκτοθεν· ἔντοσθεν δέ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι 100  
νῆες εὖσσελμοι, ὅτ' ἂν ὄρμου μέτρον ἴκωνται.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη,  
ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἡεροειδές,  
ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἱ νηϊάδες καλέονται.

ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασι 105  
λαῖνοι· ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι.  
ἐν δ' ἴστοι λίθιοι περιμήκεες, ἔνθα τε νύμφαι  
φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ιδέσθαι

88 ἔταμνεν G M D al. : ἔτεμνεν F H U : ἔτετμεν P X. 98 ὑποπεπτηνῖαι F al.  
100 ἔκτοθεν U al. : ἔκτοσθεν vulg. : read perhaps ἔκτοσθ'.

86. ἱρηξέ κίρκος. In combinations of this kind the second term is usually the specific one: cp. βούς ταῦρος, σὺς κῆρος, ὄφις δράκων (Hes. Theog. 321).

89. θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια, a brachylogy, 'like the (counsels of the) gods': cp. Il. 17. 51 κύμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, Od. 2. 121., 4. 279.

91. πτολέμους and κύματα carry on the construction of πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα, while πείρων, 'passing through them,' belongs only to κύματα. Thus it is not properly an instance ofzeugma.

93. ὑπερέσχε is intrans., 'rises.' This is the dawn of the 35th day.

98. ποτιπεπτηνῖαι lit. 'crouching towards,' 'sinking down in front of the harbour,' and so closing it in. ποτι- with the gen. is used like πρὸς in l. 110, of direction or aspect.

99. ἀνέμων κύμα 'the waves raised by the winds,' cp. Il. 2. 396., 11. 305. δυσαήων, by metrical licence, δυσαίων being impossible in the hexameter.

101. ὄρμου μέτρον 'the measure of anchorage,' i.e. the distance at which ships are fastened by a cable to the shore (if fastening is needed).

108. φάρεα 'webs,' cp. 19. 138.

ἐν δ' ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα. δύω δέ τέ οἱ θύραι εἰσίν,  
αἱ μὲν πρὸς Βορέαο καταίβαται ἀνθρώποισιν, 110  
αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς Νότου εἰσὶ θεώτεραι· οὐδέ τι κείνη  
ἄνδρες ἐσέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὁδὸς ἐστίν.

Ἔνθ' οἷ γ' εἰσέλασαν πρὶν εἰδότες. ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα  
ἠπεύρω ἐπέκελσεν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ ἡμῖσι πάσης,  
σπερχομένη· τοῖον γὰρ ἐπείγετο χέρσ' ἐρετῶν· 115  
οἱ δ' ἐκ νηὸς βάντες ἐϋζύγου ἠπειρόνδε

πρῶτον Ὀδυσσῆα γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἄειραν  
αὐτῷ σύν τε λίνφ καὶ ῥήγεϊ σιγαλόμεντι,  
καδ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ ψαμάθῳ ἔθεσαν δεδμημένον ὕπνῳ,  
ἐκ δὲ κτήματ' ἄειραν, ἃ οἱ Φαίηκες ἀγαυοὶ 120

ᾤπασαν οἴκαδ' ἰόντι διὰ μεγάθυμον Ἀθήνην.  
καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ πυθμέν' ἐλαίης ἀθρόα θῆκαν  
ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ, μή πῶς τις ὀδιτάων ἀνθρώπων,  
πρὶν Ὀδυσῇ ἔγρεσθαι, ἐπελθὼν δηλήσαιτο·

αὐτοὶ δ' αὖ οἰκόνδε πάλιν κίον· οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων 125  
λήθεται ἀπειλάων, τὰς ἀντιθέφ' Ὀδυσῇ  
πρῶτον ἐπηπειλῆσε, Διὸς δ' ἐξείρετο βουλὴν·  
“Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐκέτ' ἔγωγε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι

τιμήεις ἔσομαι, ὃ τέ με βροτοὶ οὐ τι τίουσιν,  
Φαίηκες, τοὶ πέρ τοι ἐμῆς ἕξ εἰσι γενέθλης. 130

καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ὀδυσῇ ἐφάμην κακὰ πολλὰ παθόντα  
οἴκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι, νόστον δέ οἱ οὐ ποτ' ἀπηύρων  
πάγχυ, ἐπεὶ σὺ πρῶτον ὑπέσχεο καὶ κατένευσας.  
οἱ δ' εὐδοντ' ἐν νηὶ θοῇ ἐπὶ πόντον ἄγοντες

115 τοῖον P X D L W Eust., τοῖων G F H M S U: cp. 3. 496., 24. 62, Il. 22. 241.

120 κτήματ'] χρήματ' M al. This variation is frequent in the MSS.  
123 μή πῶς G F H<sup>2</sup>: μή πῶ Ar., P H X D S U: μή ποῦ M L W Eust. 125 αὐ  
U: αὐτ' vulg. 129 ὅτι vulg. 130 τοὶ πέρ τοι F: τοὶ πέρ τε vulg.

111. θεώτεραι, not 'more divine,' but 'divine' in contrast to the human door: cp. 15. 422, H. G. § 122.

114. ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ ἡμῖσι = ἐφ' ὅσον τὸ ἡμῖσι γίγνεται, 'to half its length.' Cp. Il. 10. 351 ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ οὐρα πέλονται, 21. 251 ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ δούρῳ ἐραή.

118. αὐτῷ σύν τε λίνφ 'with the linen cloth as it was.'

121. διὰ 'by the agency of.'

123. Ar. read μή πῶ τις 'that no one yet,' before Ulysses should wake, might &c.' But this use of πῶ can hardly be defended.

127. πρῶτον 'once,' as in l. 133.

129. ὃ τε 'in respect that.'

130. 'Who after all (τοὶ) are sprung from me.'

κάτθεσαν εἰν Ἰθάκῃ, ἔδοσαν δέ οἱ ἄσπετα δῶρα, 135  
χαλκόν τε χρυσόν τε ἄλλῃς ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντήν,  
πόλλ', ὅς' ἂν οὐδέ ποτε Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
εἷ περ ἀπήμων ἦλθε, λαχὼν ἀπὸ ληϊδος αἴσαν."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς· 140  
"ὦ πόποι, ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές, οἶον ἔειπες.

οὐ τί σ' ἀτιμάζουσι θεοί· χαλεπὸν δέ κεν εἴη 140  
πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἄριστον ἀτιμῆσιν ἰάλλειν.  
ἀνδρῶν δ' εἷ πέρ τις σε βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ εἴκων  
οὐ τι τίει, σοὶ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξοπλίσω τίσις αἰεὶ.  
ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ." 145

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Πόσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων·  
"αἰψὰ κ' ἐγὼν ἔρξαιμι, κελαινεφές, ὥς ἀγορεύεις·  
ἀλλὰ σὸν αἰεὶ θυμὸν ὀπίζομαι ἡδ' ἀλεείνω.  
νῦν αὖ Φαιήκων ἐθέλω περικαλλέα νῆα 150  
ἐκ πομπῆς ἀνιοῦσαν ἐν ἡροειδέϊ πόντῳ

ραῖσαι, ἣν' ἤδη σχῶνται, ἀπολλήξωσι δὲ πομπῆς 150  
ἀνθρώπων, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψαι."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
"ὦ πέπον, ὥς μὲν ἐμῷ θυμῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα, 155  
ὅππότε κεν δὴ πάντες ἐλαυνομένην προΐδωνται  
λαοὶ ἀπὸ πτόλιος, θεῖναι λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης  
νῆϊ θοῇ ἵκελον, ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες

135 ἄσπετα G F M D: ἀγλαὰ P H S U al. 152 πόλιν P H J, ss M<sup>o</sup> X.

142. ἀτιμῆσιν ἰάλλειν 'to fling into dishonour,' or (better) 'to fling at, assail, with acts of dishonour.' Elsewhere ἰάλλω is only found with an acc. of the thing thrown: but cp. βάλλω.

143. εἴκων 'giving way to,' 'allowing himself to be moved by': cp. 14. 157., 22. 288.

144. There is a play of words between τίς 'pays honour,' and τίσις 'payment,' in the sense of 'vengeance.'

152. ἀμφικαλύψαι is rather far from the governing verb, ἐθέλω in l. 149. It seems from the scholia that there was an ancient variant, probably the fut. indic. ἀμφικαλύψω.

154-158. The infinitives θεῖναι and

ἀμφικαλύψαι are construed as an epexegetis of δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα, so that there is no grammatical apodosis to ὥς μὲν: 'as seems best to me, viz. to turn their ship into stone, &c. (so I say).'

A small island near the entrance of the old harbour of Corfu is pointed out as the Phaeacian ship, and perhaps is sufficiently 'like a swift ship' to have given rise to the story (Plin. *N. H.* iv. 53). It is not, however, the only claimant. 'A rock outside the harbour of Trapani (in Sicily) is said to have been a Turkish war vessel, turned into stone by the Madonna' (Mr. A. Lang in *Longman's Magazine*, Jan. 1898, quoting Mr. Butler's *Authoress of the Odyssey*).

ἄνθρωποι, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψαι.”

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ’ ἄκουσε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,  
βῆ ρ’ ἵμεν ἐς Σχερίην, θηι Φαίηκες γεγάασιν. 160

ἔνθ’ ἔμεν’· ἡ δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν ἤλυθε ποντοπόρος νηὺς  
ρίμφα διωκομένη· τῆς δὲ σχεδὸν ἦλθ’ ἐνοσίχθων,  
ὃς μιν λᾶαν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθε  
χειρὶ καταπρηνεὶ ἐλάσας· ὁ δὲ νόσφι βεβήκει.

Οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ’ ἀγόρευον 165  
Φαίηκες δολιχήρετμοι, ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες.

ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεςκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·  
“ὦ μοι, τίς δὴ νῆα θοὴν ἐπέδησ’ ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
οἴκαδ’ ἐλαυνομένην; καὶ δὴ προὔφαίνετο πᾶσα.”

ᾧ δ’ ἄρα τις εἶπεςκε· τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἴσαν ὥς ἐτέτυκτο. 170  
τοῖσιν δ’ Ἀλκίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·

“ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαιάφατα θέσφαθ’ ἰκάνει  
πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, ὃς ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων’ ἀγάσασθαι  
ἡμῖν, οὐνεκα πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἀπάντων.  
φῆ ποτε Φαίηκων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέα νῆα 175

ἐκ πομπῆς ἀνιούσαν ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ  
ῥαϊσέμεναι, μέγα δ’ ἡμιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψειν.

ὥς ἀγόρευ’ ὁ γέρων· τὰ δὲ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.  
ἀλλ’ ἀγεθ’, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
πομπῆς μὲν παύσασθε βροτῶν, ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται 180  
ἡμέτερον προτὶ ἄστν· Ποσειδάωνι δὲ ταύρους  
δώδεκα κεκριμένους ἱερεύσομεν, αἷ κ’ ἐλεήσῃ,

173 ἀγάσασθαι Ar. vulg.: ἀγάσασθαι G U. In the parallel 8.565 ἀγάσασθαι G, ἀγάσασθαι T. In 4.181 ἀγάσασθαι is given by F, but is excluded by the sense of μέλλεν, viz. ‘must have been jealous’: *H. G.* § 238. 175 περικαλλέα] ἰϋεργία M J U, cp. 8.567. 180 παύσασθε vulg.: παύεσθε P H M.

158. For μέγα δέ Aristophanes read μῆδέ, no doubt in view of the prayers of the Phaeacian elders (l. 183). But these need not affect what Zeus says now.

162. διωκομένη ‘coursing along’: cp. the phrase ἄρμα διώκειν.

173. ἀγάσασθαι ‘had been surprised,’ i.e. ‘offended,’ ‘made jealous.’ Notice the difference between ἔφασκε ‘alleged,’

and φῆ ‘said.’ The prophecy begins at φῆ, and with it the necessity for a *future* inf. A few MSS. have ἀγάσασθαι, and this was probably an ancient variant. The present is perhaps the more suitable tense, as not implying that his jealousy had reached its height. The form ἀγάσασθαι, given in modern editions, has little support, external or otherwise.

μηδ' ἡμῖν περίμηκες ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψῃ."

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔδεισαν, ἐτοιμάσσαντο δὲ ταύρους.

ὥς οἱ μὲν ῥ' εὔχοντο Ποσειδάωνι ἀνακτι 185

δήμου Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,

ἑσταότες περὶ βωμόν· ὁ δ' ἔγρετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς

εὖδων ἐν γαίῃ πατρώῃῃ, οὐδέ μιν ἔγνω,

ἦδη δὴν ἀπεών· περὶ γὰρ θεὸς ἡέρα χεῦε

Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίῃ, κούρη Διὸς, ὅφρα μιν αὐτὸν 190

ἄγνωστον τεύξειεν ἑκαστά τε μυθήσαιο,

μή μιν πρὶν ἄλοχος γνοίῃ ἀστοί τε φίλοι τε,

πρὶν πᾶσαν μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίην ἀποτίσαι.

τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' ἄλλοειδέ' ἐφαίνετο πάντα ἀνακτι,

ἀτραπιτοὶ τε διηνεκέες λιμένες τε πᾶνορμοι 195

πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι καὶ δένδρεα τηλεθάοντα.

στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἀναΐξας καὶ ῥ' εἶσιδε πατρίδα γαῖαν

ῥῶμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μῆρῳ

χερσὶ καταπρηνέσσ', ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ἤδδα·

"ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τέων αὐτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἰκάνω; 200

190 αὐτόν] Ar., most MSS.: αὐτῷ Aristoph. 194 φαίνετο G M X D: φαίνεται F P H U G<sup>7</sup> γρ. X; see the note. After 197 k and Schol. M add τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς γήθησεν ἰδὼν καὶ ἐναντίος ἦλθε (l. 216).

189. ἦδη δὴν ἀπεών belongs to εὖδων ἐν γαίῃ πατρώῃῃ, while περὶ γὰρ κτλ. gives the reason of οὐδέ μιν ἔγνω. Cp. the relation of the clauses in 4. 191-192., 8. 477-478.

190. αὐτόν 'himself,' i.e. his person: cp. l. 313 σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ ἑσκαίς.

191. ἄγνωστον κτλ. The meaning is, not that the mist was to make Ulysses invisible, but that Athene wished to prepare him for the work before him by consultation, and by changing his appearance, as she does in ll. 429-438. Evidently ἀγνωστον τεύξειεν here refers to the same process as ἀγνωστον τεύξω in l. 397. If Athene had not taken these measures, Ulysses would have gone straight to his palace, and all would have been lost. Chronologically the conversation (ἑκαστά τε μυθήσαιο) comes before the change: so that there is a prothysteron, due to the tendency to put the more definite act first.

194. ἄλλοειδέ' ἐφαίνετο. The MSS. are divided pretty equally between φαίνετο and φαίνεται. The latter involves scanning ἄλλοειδέα in three long syllables—which Buttman (*Lex. theod.*) rightly rejected—or else writing ἄλλοιδέα, a form which is against analogy. On the other hand, a metrical lengthening of the o in ἄλλοειδέα is not a greater licence than the poet admits when it is necessary (cp. *δυσαίων* in l. 99, and instances given in *H. G.* § 386: see Knös, *Dig.* p. 121 note; Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 288). Again, the frequentative φαίνεται is out of place here, as Buttman observed. The history of the matter probably is that ἄλλοειδέα came to be scanned — — —, as would be the case in Attic, and then φαίνεται was adopted for the metre. The slight change of φαίνετο to ἐφαίνετο does not need MS. support: it is called for by the need of a caesura.



ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἀγριοὶ οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,  
 ἦε φιλόξεinoι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεοῦδης;  
 πῇ δὴ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 πλάζομαι; αἶθ' ὄφελον μείναι παρὰ Φαιήκεσσιν  
 αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ δέ κεν ἄλλον ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων 205  
 ἐξικόμην, ὅς κέν μ' ἐφίλει καὶ ἐπεμπε νέεσθαι.  
 νῦν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ πη θέσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτοῦ  
 καλλείψω, μή πῶς μοι ἔλωρ ἄλλοισι γένηται.  
 ὦ πόποι, οὐκ ἄρα πάντα νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι  
 ἦσαν Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες, 210  
 οἷ μ' εἰς ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀπήγαγον· ἦ τέ μ' ἔφαντο  
 ἄξειν εἰς Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον, οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσαν·  
 Ζεὺς σφεας τίσαιοτο ἱκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
 ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται ὅς τις ἀμάρτη.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἴδωμαι, 215  
 μή τί μοι οἴχωνται κοίλης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγοντες."

Ὡς εἰπὼν τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἡδὲ λέβητας  
 ἡρίθμει καὶ χρυσὸν ὕφαντά τε εἵματα καλὰ.  
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' οὐ τι πόθει· ὁ δ' ὀδύρετο πατρίδα γαῖαν  
 ἐρπύζων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, 220  
 πόλλ' ὀλοφυρόμενος. σχεδόνθεν δέ οἱ ἦλθεν Ἀθήνη,  
 ἀνδρὶ δέμας εἰκυῖα νέφ, ἐπιβώτορι μῆλυν,  
 παναπάλφ, οἷοί τε ἀνάκτων παῖδες ἔασι,  
 δίπτυχον ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχουσ' εὐεργέα λώπην·  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσι πέδιλ' ἔχε, χερσὶ δ' ἄκοντα. 225

204 πλάζομαι F H M γρ. U<sup>2</sup>: πλάγχομαι vulg. 205 κεν] τιν' X D U<sup>3</sup>: κέν  
 τιν' U. 213 τίσαιοτο Ar.: τισάσθω Zen. The imper. may have seemed improper  
 (ἀπρεπές) applied to a deity. 216 οἴχωνται F U: οἴχονται vulg. 225 χερσὶ F U.

201-202. ἦ . . ἦε, a double question  
 —'are they savage or hospitable?' So  
 l. 234.

203. φέρω appears to be indicative,  
 like πλάζομαι: 'where am I with all  
 this wealth in my hands?' But possibly  
 we should read πλάγχομαι or πλάζωμ,  
 and take both verbs as deliberative  
 subjunctives.

204. ὄφελον, sc. χρήματα.

205. The reading τιν' for κεν is per-  
 haps defensible, the aor. indic. carrying  
 on the (unfulfilled) wish: cp. ll. 6. 348  
 ἔνθα με κῦμ' ἀπόρσε.

209. οὐκ ἄρα ἦσαν 'they are not, as  
 I thought they were.'

212. εὐδείελον, see l. 234.

216. μή οἴχωνται 'to see whether  
 they have not gone': cp. 24. 491 ἐξελεύσιν  
 τις ἴδοι μή δὴ σχεδὸν ὦσι.

τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς γήθησεν ἰδὼν καὶ ἐναντίος ἦλθε,  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
“ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ σε πρῶτα κιχάνω τῷδ' ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
χαίρε τε καὶ μή μοι τι κακῷ νόῳ ἀντιβολήσῃς,  
ἀλλὰ σάω μὲν ταῦτα, σάω δ' ἐμέ· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε 230  
εὖχομαι ὥς τε θεῷ καὶ σευ φίλα γούναθ' ἰκάνω.  
καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ·  
τίς γῆ, τίς δῆμος, τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν;  
ἥ πού τις νήσων εὐδείελος, ἥ τις ἄκτῃ  
κεῖθ' ἀλλὶ κεκλιμένη ἐριβόλακος ἠπείροιο;” 235

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
“νήπιός εἰς, ὦ ξεῖν', ἡ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας,  
εἰ δὴ τήνδε γε γαίαν ἀνείρεαι. οὐδέ τι λίην  
οὕτω νώνυμός ἐστιν· ἴσασι δέ μιν μάλα πολλοί,  
ἡμὲν ὅσοι ναίουσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε, 240  
ἡδ' ὅσοι μετόπισθε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡρβέντα.  
ἡ τοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ ἱππῆλατός ἐστιν,  
οὐδὲ λίην λυπρὴ, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρεία τέτυκται.  
ἐν μὲν γάρ οἱ σῆτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δέ τε οἶνος  
γίνεται· αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει τεθαλυῖά τ' ἔερση· 245  
αἰγίβοτος δ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ βούβοτος· ἔστι μὲν ὕλη  
παντοίη, ἐν δ' ἄρδμοι ἐπηετανοὶ παρέασι.  
τῷ τοι, ξεῖν', Ἰθάκης γε καὶ ἐς Τροίην ὄνομ' ἵκει,  
τὴν περ τηλοῦ φασὶν Ἀχαιῖδος ἔμμεναι αἴης.”

Ἦς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, 250  
χαίρων ἧ γαίῃ πατρῷῃ, ὥς οἱ ξείπε  
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιδόχοιο·

228 πρῶτον ἰκάνω G. 233 ἐγγεγάασιν G F: ἐκγεγάασιν vulg.  
238 τήνδε γε U: τήνδε X D L W: τήνδε τε vulg. 243 οὐδ' Ar., F U: οὐκ vulg.

230. σάω, unless it is a mere mistake for σάου (see Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 293), points to a non-thematic contracted form: cp. ἱππῆλαν.

234. εὐδείελος 'shining': Hor. Od. 1. 14. 19 'nitentes Cycladas.'

235. ἀλλὶ κεκλιμένη, cp. 4. 608. Join ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο.

238. The vulg. τήνδε τε is impossible; it is not supported by the similar form given by MSS. in 15. 484. The reading τήνδε γε (if you ask about *this* land), is found in one of the best MSS.

241. μετόπισθε, i.e. westwards: the west being the end, as the east is the beginning, of the day.

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
οὐδ' ὃ γ' ἀληθέα εἶπε, πάλιν δ' ὃ γε λάζετο μῦθον,  
αἰεὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόον πολυκερδέα νομῶν 255  
“πυνθανόμεν Ἰθάκης γε καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ,  
τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου· νῦν δ' εἰλήλουθα καὶ αὐτὸς  
χρήμασι σὺν τοῖσδεσσι· λιπὼν δ' ἔτι παισὶ τοσαῦτα  
φεύγω, ἐπεὶ φίλον νῆα κατέκτανον Ἰδομενῆος,  
Ὀρσίλοχον πόδας ὠκύν, ὃς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ 260  
ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς νίκα ταχέεσσι πόδεσσιν,  
οὐνεκά με στερέσαι τῆς ληΐδος ἤθελε πάσης  
Τρωϊάδος, τῆς εἶνεκ' ἐγὼ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ,  
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων,  
οὐνεκ' ἄρ' οὐχ ᾗ πατρὶ χαριζόμενος θεράπευον 265  
δῆμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ἀλλ' ἄλλων ἥρχον ἑταίρων.  
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ κατιόντα βάλλον χαλκῆρεϊ δουρὶ  
ἀγρόθεν, ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο λοχησάμενος σὺν ἑταίρῳ·  
νῦξ δὲ μάλα δνοφερὴ κάτεχ' οὐρανόν, οὐδέ τις ἡμέας  
ἀνθρώπων ἐνόησε, λάθον δέ ἐ θυμὸν ἀπούρας. 270  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε κατέκτανον ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ,  
αὐτίκ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν Φοίνικας ἀγανοὺς  
ἐλλισάμην, καὶ σφιν μενοεικέα ληΐδα δῶκα·  
τούς μ' ἐκέλευσα Πύλονδε καταστήσαι καὶ ἐφέσσαι  
ἢ εἰς Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί. 275  
ἀλλ' ἢ τοί σφεας κείθεν ἀπώσατο ἰς ἀνέμοιο  
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένους, οὐδ' ἤθελον ἐξαπατῆσαι.  
κείθεν δὲ πλαγχθέντες ἰκάνομεν ἐνθάδε νυκτός.

256 Κρήτη] Τροίη P.

273 ληΐδα] ἦτα Aristoph.

254. 'Took back his speech,' i. e. left unsaid what he would have said if he had spoken the truth.

255. νομῶν 'turning about,' 'revolving.' 255. πολυκερδέα 'very cunning,' cp. l. 291.

258. ἔτι τοσαῦτα 'as much more.'

262. τῆς ληΐδος. The art. is perhaps used in a possessive sense, με τῆς = τῆς ἡμῆς, cp. 8. 195., 18. 380., 19. 535.

265. θεράπευον 'served as θεραπῶν.'

The negative applies also to χαριζόμενος, 'I did not court his favour by serving.'

268. ἀγρόθεν (κατιόντα): cp. 15. 428.

274. Πύλονδε καταστήσαι, a pregnant construction, 'to bring to Pylos and set down there': cp. 14. 295., 15. 367.

ἐφέσσαι 'to put me on board,' cp. 15. 277 νηὶς ἐφέσσαι, and 14. 295 ἐπὶ νηὶς ἐέσσατο. The prothysteron is of a common type—the main action is put first: cp. 14. 209, 526., 15. 81, 548.

σπουδῇ δ' ἐς λιμένα προερέσσαμεν, οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν  
 δόρπου μνηστis ξην, μάλα περ χατέουσιν ἐλέσθαι, 280  
 ἀλλ' αὐτως ἀποβάντες ἐκείμεθα νηὸς ἅπαντες.  
 ἐνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἐπήλυθε κεκμηῶτα,  
 οἱ δὲ χρήματ' ἐμὰ γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἐλόντες  
 κάτθεσαν, ἔνθα περ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισιν ἐκείμην.  
 οἱ δ' ἐς Σιδονίην εὐ ναιομένην ἀναβάντες 285  
 ὄχοντ'· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ λιπόμην ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ."  
 Ὡς φάτο, μεῖδησεν δὲ θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξε· δέμας δ' ἥϊκτο γυναικὶ  
 καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυίη·  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 290  
 "κερδαλέος κ' εἴη καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ὅς σε παρέλθοι  
 ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι, καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντίασειε.  
 σχέτλιε, ποικιλομήτα, δόλων ἄτ', οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμελλες,  
 οὐδ' ἐν σῇ περ ἔων γαίῃ, λήξειν ἀπατάων  
 μύθων τε κλοπίων, οἳ τοι πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν. 295  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε, μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα, εἰδότες ἄμφο  
 κέρδε', ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν ἔσσι βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν· οὐδὲ σύ γ' ἔγνως  
 Παλλὰδ' Ἀθηναίην, κούρην Διός, ἥ τέ τοι αἰεὶ 300  
 ἐν πάντεσσι πύνοισι παρίσταμαι ἡδὲ φυλάσσω,  
 καὶ δέ σε Φαιήκεσσι φίλον πάντεσσιν ἔθηκα.  
 νῦν αὖ δεῦρ' ἰκόμην, ἵνα τοι σὺν μῆτιν ὑφήνω

279 προερίσσαμεν Ar. (οὕτως αὖ πᾶσαι Did., i.e. all the editions used by Ar.),  
 G P H D: προερύσσαμεν F M X U al. 282 ἐπήλυθε] ἐπέλαβε vulg., see 10. 31.

289 om. G P. 293 ἄτ'] better *dat'*. 295 πεδόθεν P Eust.: παιδόθεν vulg.

281. αὐτως 'as we were,' without attempting more.

291. κερδαλέος 'crafty,' cp. πολυ-κερῆς in l. 255, and so κέρδεα in ll. 297, 299.

292. 'Even if a god presented himself,' 'even were it a god': cp. l. 312.

293. σχέτλια 'hard,' said in a friendly and admiring tone: cp. ll. 22. 41, 86.

295. παιδόθεν, cp. *funditus*: but prob-

ably the notion is that of *constancy*, as in *ἐμπεδος*. The variant *παιδόθεν* is easily explained by itacism. Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 86, n. 1) conjectures that the original word was *παίδεν*. But the substitution in all MSS. of a modern equivalent for an archaic word like *παίδεν* must have taken place, if at all, at a relatively early time—too early to produce the unmetrical *παιδόθεν*.

χρήματά τε κρύψω, ὅσα τοι Φαίηκες ἀγαυοὶ  
 ὥπασαν οἴκαδ' ἰόντι ἐμῇ βουλῇ τε νόφ τε, 305  
 εἶπω θ' ὅσσα τοι αἶσα δόμοις ἐνὶ ποιητοῖσι  
 κήδε' ἀνασχέσθαι· σὺ δὲ τετλάμεναι καὶ ἀνάγκη,  
 μηδὲ τφ ἐκφάσθαι μήτ' ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν,  
 πάντων, οὐνεκ' ἄρ' ἤλθες ἀλώμενος, ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ  
 πάσχειν ἄλγεα πολλά, βίας ὑποδέγμενος ἀνδρῶν." 310

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ἀργαλέον σε, θεά, γῶναι βροτῷ ἀντιδίσαντι,  
 καὶ μάλ' ἐπισταμένῳ· σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ εἴσκεις.  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐγὼν εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι μοι πάρος ἠπείη ἦσθα,  
 ἦος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ πολεμίζομεν υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν. 315  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέρασαμεν αἰπὴν,  
 βῆμεν δ' ἐν νήεσσι, θεὸς δ' ἐκέδασσεν Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 οὐ σέ γ' ἔπειτα ἴδον, κούρη Διός, οὐδ' ἐνόησα  
 νηὸς ἐμῆς ἐπιβᾶσαν, ὅπως τί μοι ἄλγος ἀλάλκοις,  
 [ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἔχων δεδαιγμένον ἦτορ 320  
 ἡλώμην, ἧός με θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν·]  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν ἐν πτόνι δῆμφ  
 θάρσυνάς τ' ἐπέεσσι καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἤγαγες αὐτή.  
 νῦν δέ σε πρὸς πατρός γουνάζομαι—οὐ γὰρ ὅτω  
 ἔκειν εἰς Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον, ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην 325  
 γαῖαν ἀναστρέφομαι· σὲ δὲ κερτομέουσιν ὅτω  
 ταυτ' ἀγορευέμεναι, ἴν' ἐμὰς φρένας ἠπεροπεύσῃς—

304 χρήματα G F D U al.: κτήματα vulg.

305 οἴκαδ' qu. ἐνθάδ'.

307 ἀνασχέσθαι] ἀναπλῆσαι M J Eust.

317 ἐκέδασσεν is given by good MSS.

(G F U &c.) and may be right: Fick, *Bes. Beitr.* xiv. 316.

325 ἦκειν MSS.

309. οὐνεκα 'that,' a meaning confined in Homer to the Odyssey.

320-323. These lines are generally condemned as spurious. As regards the first two there can be little doubt. The clause πρὶν γ' ὅτε κτλ. does not fit ll. 320-321, but is construed with οὐ σέ γ' ἔπειτα ἴδον (l. 318). Hence ll. 320-321 must be interpolated. A parenthesis such as they form is quite un-Homeric. The case against ll. 322-323 is not so clear. The ancients argued that

Ulysses could not know of the presence of Athene in Phaeacia, since the goddess did not reveal herself to him there. The objection supposes a degree of accuracy that is hardly to be expected in a poem. But it may be admitted that ll. 322-323 have in some degree the air of an insertion intended to reconcile the present speech with the Phaeacian episode (esp. 7. 12-81). The four lines are rejected by Nitzsch, *Sagenpoesie*, p. 173.

326. κερτομέουσιν 'seeking to vex.'

εἰπέ μοι εἰ ἔτεόν γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκάνω."

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

"αἰεὶ τοι τοιοῦτον ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόημα·

330

τῷ σε καὶ οὐ δύναμαι προλιπεῖν δύστηνον ἔδντα,

οὐνεκ' ἐπητής ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχίνοος καὶ ἐχέφρων·

ἀσπασίως γάρ κ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἔλθων

ἴετ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἰδέειν παῖδάς τ' ἀλοχόν τε·

σοὶ δ' οὐ πω φίλον ἐστὶ δαήμεναι οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι,

335

πρίν γέ τι σῆς ἀλόχου πειρήσῃαι, ἥ τέ τοι αὐτως

ἦσται ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν, διζυραὶ δέ οἱ αἰεὶ

φθίνουσιν νύκτες τε καὶ ἡματα δάκρυ χεούσῃ.

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτ' ἀπίστεον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ

ᾗ δέ' ὁ νοστήσεις ὀλέσας ἀπο πάντας ἐταίρους·

340

ἀλλὰ τοι οὐκ ἐθέλησα Ποσειδάωνι μάχεσθαι

πατροκασιγνήτῳ, ὅς τοι κότον ἔνθετο θυμῷ,

χρόμενος ὅτι οἱ νῖδν φίλον ἐξαλάωσας.

ἀλλ' ἄγε τοι δείξω Ἰθάκης ἔδος, ὅφρα πεποιθήης.

Φόρκυνος μὲν ὁδ' ἐστὶ λιμὴν ἀλίοιο γέροντος,

345

ἦδε δ' ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη·

[ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἀντρον ἐπήρατον ἡεροειδές,

ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἱ νηϊάδες καλέονται·]

τοῦτο δέ τοι σπέος ἐστὶ κατηρεφές, ἔνθα σὺ πολλὰς

ἔρδεσκες νύμφῃσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας·

350

τοῦτο δὲ Νήριτόν ἐστιν ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλην."

\*Ὡς εἰπούσα θεὰ σκέδασ' ἠέρα, εἰσατο δὲ χθών·

γῆθησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς

χαίρων ᾗ γαίῃ, κύσε δὲ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.

αὐτίκα δὲ νύμφης ἡρήσατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·

355

"νύμφαι νηϊάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς, οὐ ποτ' ἔγωγε

333-338 were rejected by Aristarchus.

347-348 om. G F U al.

342 νότον G D U al.: χόλον F P H al.

349 ἐστὶ] εἰρὴν G F X al.

332. ἐπητής 'charming,' 'polite':  
cp. ἐπητής 'civility,' 21. 306.

336. παρήσσεια, i.e. 'observe for your-  
self'—not trusting to report (πυθέσθαι):  
while any other man would have made

for his home without even enquiring.

347-348. Repeated wrongly in some  
MSS. from ll. 103-104. The cave is  
first mentioned in l. 349, and with the  
deictic τοῦτο: 'and there &c.'

ὄψεσθ' ὕμ' ἐφάμην· νῦν δ' εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσι  
χαίρειτ'· ἀτὰρ καὶ δῶρα διδώσομεν, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
αἷ κεν ἐᾷ πρόφρων με Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελεῖη  
αὐτόν τε ζῶειν καὶ μοι φίλον υἱὸν ἀέξῃ.” 360

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
“ θάρσει, μή τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῇσι μελόντων.  
ἀλλὰ χρήματα μὲν μυχῶ ἄντρου θεσπεσίοιο  
θείομεν αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα περ τάδε τοι σόα μίμνη·  
αὐτοὶ δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένηται.” 365

ᾧ εἰποῦσα θεὰ δύνε σπέος ἡεροειδές,  
μαιομένη κευθμῶνας ἀνὰ σπέος· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἄσπον πάντ' ἐφόρει, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀτειρέα χαλκὸν  
εἵματά τ' εὐποίητα, τά οἱ Φαίηκες ἔδωκαν.  
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκε, λίθον δ' ἐπέθηκε θύρῃσι 370  
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίης, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

Τὼ δὲ καθεζομένῳ ἱερῆς παρὰ πυθμὲν' ἐλαίης  
φραζέσθην μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν δλεθρον.  
τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἥρχε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
“ διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
φράζεο ὅπως μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσεις,  
οἳ δὴ τοι τρίετες μέγαρον κάτα κοιρανέουσι,  
μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες·  
ἡ δὲ σὸν αἰεὶ νόστον ὀδυρομένη κατὰ θυμὸν  
πάντας μὲν ῥ' ἔλπει καὶ ὑπίσχεται ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω, 380

358 διδώσομεν] παρέχομεν Aristoph. 359 πρόφρων με] The place of the με is unusual (*H. G.* § 365): possibly the original reading was *πρόφρασσα*, the proper fem. of *πρόφρων*. The enclitic με might be understood with αὐτόν in the next line.

365 ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα P H. 369 τὰ οἱ Φαίηκες ἔδωκαν] τὰ οἱ Φαίηκες ἀγαυοὶ | ὥπασαν οἶκαδ' ἴοντι διὰ μεγάρῳ μιν Ἀθήνην X D L: cp. ll. 120-121.  
376 φράζεο νῦν μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν δλεθρον P H S J L W (as in l. 373).

357. εὐχολῆς 'with my prayers,' 'now that you again hear my prayers.' χαίρειτε is hardly more than a form of greeting, but it is construed with the dative εὐχολῆς as though it had the literal meaning 'be gladdened.'

358. διδώσομεν. Ulysses associates Telemachus with himself, as we see from l. 360. For the form cp. 24. 314.

360. ἀέξῃ, an anacoluthon; cp. 16. 6.

364. ἵνα 'where,' = 'so that there —.' σόα. The form σόος is probably post-Homeric, for σάος: see on 19. 300., 22. 28, and cp. the Attic neut. pl. σά, which points to σόα.

377. κοιρανέουσι, ironically, 'are lording it.'

379. 'Lamenting about thy return,' i.e. crying for it: cp. ll. 2. 290 ὀδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

ἀγγελίας προΐεῖσα, νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾷ.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαι  
 φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον,  
 εἰ μή μοι σὺ ἕκαστα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ξειπες. 385  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μῆτιν ὕψηνον, ὅπως ἀποτίσομαι αὐτούς·  
 παρ δέ μοι αὐτὴ στήθι, μένος πολυθαρσές ἐνείσα,  
 οἶον ὅτε Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα.  
 αἶ κέ μοι ὥς μεμαυῖα παρασταίης, γλαυκῶπι,  
 καί κε τριηκοσίοισιν ἐγὼν ἀνδρεσσι μαχοίμην 390  
 σὺν σοί, πότνα θεά, ὅτε μοι πρόφρασς ἑπαρήγοις.”

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 “καὶ λίην τοι ἔγωγε παρέσσομαι, οὐδέ με λήσεις,  
 ὀππότε κεν δὴ ταῦτα πενώμεθα· καὶ τιν' οἶω  
 αἵματί τ' ἐγκεφάλῳ τε παλαξέμεν ἀσπετον οὐδας 395  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἳ τοι βίοντον κατέδουσιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε σ' ἀγνωστον τεύξω πάντεσσι βροτοῖσι·  
 κάρψω μὲν χροά καλὸν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι,  
 ξανθὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὀλέσω τρίχας, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαΐφος  
 ἔσσω δ κε στυγέησιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα, 400  
 κνυζώσω δέ τοι ὅσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' ἐόντε,  
 ὥς ἂν ἀεικέλιος πᾶσι μνηστῆρσι φανήῃς

400 στυγέησιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπος MSS. : στυγέει τις ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον v. l. ap. Eust.

381. ἀγγελίας ‘messages.’ No passage in Homer obliges us to assume the existence of a masc. ἀγγελῆς: see Buttman, *Lexil.* s. v.

388. κρήδεμνα ‘the diadem of towers’: from Π. 16. 100 ὅφρ' οἳ Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύομεν. This picturesque phrase is a sort of refinement upon the more ordinary metaphor by which the battlements of a town are called its ‘head’: as in Π. 2. 117 ὅς δὴ πόλιν πολλὰν κατέλυσε κάρηνα.

400. The common reading is δ κε στυγέησιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα ‘which any man who should see thee wearing would loathe.’ This is unsatisfactory, because (as was pointed out by Nitzsch, *Sagenpoesie der Griechen*, p. 176) ἄν-

θρωπος would not be used by Homer in the indefinite sense required, = ‘any man,’ τις. On the other hand the participle ἰδὼν may be = ἰδὼν τις ‘any one that sees’: cp. ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας ‘as far as one is heard when he shouts,’ and the other places quoted in *H. G.* § 243, 3, c. Hence it seems best to adopt ἄνθρωπον from the variant mentioned by Eustathius. Of course στυγέει τις ἰδὼν, which Eustathius gives with ἄνθρωπον, is impossible, and is only due to the failure to see that ἰδὼν has the indefinite force required.

It is curious that the word ἄνθρωπος is very rare in Homer in the singular. This is the only place in the *Odyssey* in which it occurs.



σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ παιδί, τὸν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες.  
 αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτιστα συβώτην εἰσαφικέσθαι,  
 ὃς τοι ὤων ἐπίουρος, ὁμῶς δέ τοι ἥπια οἶδε, 405  
 παῖδά τε σὸν φιλέει καὶ ἐχέφρονα Πηνελόπειαν.  
 δῆεις τὸν γε σύεσσι παρήμενον· αἱ δὲ νέμονται  
 παρ Κόρακος πέτρη ἐπὶ τε κρήνῃ Ἀρεθούσῃ,  
 ἔσθουσαι βάλανον μενοεικέα καὶ μέλαν ὕδωρ  
 πίνουσαι, τὰ θ' ὕεσσι τρέφει τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφήν. 410  
 ἔνθα μένειν καὶ πάντα παρήμενος ἐξερέεσθαι,  
 ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἔλθω Σπάρτην ἐς καλλιγύναικα  
 Τηλέμαχον καλέουσα, τεδν φίλον υἱόν, Ὀδυσσεῦ·  
 ὃς τοι ἐς εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα παρ Μενέλαον  
 ὦχετο πευσόμενος μετὰ σὸν κλέος, εἴ που ἔτ' εἴησ." 415

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "τίπτε τ' ἄρ' οὐ οἱ ἔειπες, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πάντα ἰδυῖα;  
 ἦ ἵνα που καὶ κείνος ἀλώμενος ἀλγεα πάσχη  
 πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, βίοντον δέ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐδουσι."

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη· 420  
 "μὴ δὴ τοι κείνός γε λῖν ἐνθύμιος ἔστω.  
 αὐτὴ μιν πόμπειον, ἵνα κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιο  
 κείσ' ἐλθὼν ἀτὰρ οὐ τιν' ἔχει πόνον, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος  
 ἦσται ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαι δόμοις, παρὰ δ' ἄσπετα κεῖται.  
 ἦ μὲν μιν λοχῶσι νέοι σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ, 425

414 παρ H U al.: πρὸς vulg. 415 εἴ] ἡ U: ἦν P H al. 417 τ' ἄρ' P H X al.:  
 γὰρ G F U al. 419 ἐδουσι M X D Eust.

405 = 15. 39. The pronoun τοι is generally construed with ἥπια οἶδε 'he is of friendly mind to thee.' With regard to ὁμῶς opinions differ. Ameis refers it to ὤων ἐπίουρος: Eumaeus was as much devoted to Ulysses himself as to his possessions, the swine. Others refer forwards to the words παῖδά τε κτλ. 'equally to thee' = 'even as he is towards thy son and Penelope.' This, however, will not suit 15. 39, where the line παῖδά τε κτλ. does not follow. It seems much too harsh to separate ὁμῶς τοι. The difficulty is really logical, arising from a certain blending of the ideas of *friendship* or *loyalty*, given in

ἥπια οἶδε, with that of *agreement*, expressed by ὁμῶς. Eumaeus was 'at one with Ulysses in the loyalty of his heart.' So Il. 4. 360 ὡς τοι θυμὸς . . . ἥπια δῆνεα οἶδε: τὰ γὰρ φρονέεις ἃ τ' ἐγὼ περ. And so in prose, Thuc. iii. 9 ἴσοι τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ. In such passages we see the endeavour to express the complex notion of *sympathy*.

407. παρήμενον 'abiding with,' as Il. 1. 421 νηυσὶ παρήμενος ἀνυπόροισιν.

415. 'After thy story,' i.e. seeking what was told, what he could hear, of Ulysses. Bekker reads ἡ που: but ἡ is only used = 'if' in the disjunctive ἢ-ἢ.

419. ἐδουσι = 'while others devour.'

ιέμενοι κτείναι, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι·  
ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ὄτω πρὶν καὶ τινα γαῖα καθέξει  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἳ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν.”

Ὡς ἄρα μιν φαμένη ράβδῳ ἐπεμάσασατ' Ἀθήνη.  
κάρψε μὲν οἱ χροῖα καλὸν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι, 430  
ξανθὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὄλεσε τρίχας, ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα  
πάντεσσιν μελέεσσι παλαιοῦ θῆκε γέροντος,  
κνύζωσεν δέ οἱ ὅσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' ἐόντε·  
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν ράκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,  
ῥωγαλέα ρυπῶντα, κακῶ μεμορνγμένα καπνῶ· 435  
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μέγα δέρμα ταχείης ἔσσο' ἐλάφοιο  
ψιλόν· δῶκε δέ οἱ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀεικέα πήρην,  
πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην· ἐν δὲ στρόφος ἦεν ἀορτήρ.

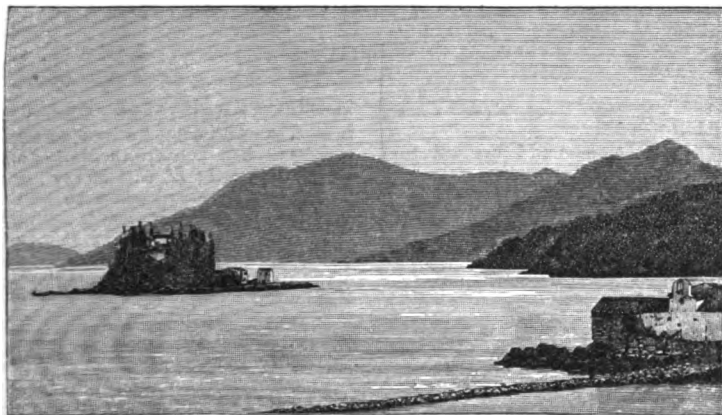
Τῷ γ' ὥς βουλευσάντε διέτμαγεν· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα  
εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διὰν ἔβη μετὰ παῖδ' Ὀδυσῆος· 440

428 om. H Eust. 430 μὲν οἱ MSS.: originally *κάρψεν μὲν* (Rekk.), or *κάρψεν*  
*ῥοι* (Herm. Oroph. 779). 435 *ρυπῶντα* F Eust.; cp. *σκιάοντα* (Il. i. 157).

431. Ulysses is here supposed to be  
*ξανθός*: but see 16. 176 (with the note),  
also 6. 231.

434. ἄλλο 'other' (than his own).

437. *ψιλόν* 'bare,' the wool worn off.  
440. The book ends in the middle of  
a sentence: *ἡ μὲν . . . αὐτὰρ ὁ κτλ.* 'she  
went to Sparta, while he &c.'



THE OLD HARBOUR OF CORFU.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Ξ

'Οδυσσεώς πρὸς Εὖμαιον ὁμιλία.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκ λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν  
 χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήεντα δι' ἄκριας· ἦ οἱ Ἀθήνη  
 πέφραδε δῖον ὑφορβόν, δ' οἱ βιότοιο μάλιστα  
 κήδετο οἰκῶν οὖς κτήσατο δῖος 'Οδυσεύς.

Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ προδόμφ' εὐρ' ἤμενον, ἔνθα οἱ αὐλή 5  
 ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
 καλὴ τε μεγάλη τε, περιδρομος· ἦν ῥα συβώτης  
 αὐτὸς δείμαθ' ὕεσσιν ἀποιοχόμενιο ἀνακτος,  
 νόσφιν δεσποίνης καὶ Λαέρταο γέροντος,  
 ῥυτοῖσιν λάεσσι καὶ ἐθρίγκωσεν ἀχέρδῳ· 10  
 σταυροὺς δ' ἐκτὸς ἔλασσε διαμπερὲς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
 πυκνοὺς καὶ θαμέας, τὸ μέλαν δρυὸς ἀμφικεάσσας·  
 ἔντοσθεν δ' αὐλῆς συφεοὺς δυοκαίδεκα πόλει  
 πλησίον ἀλλήλων, εὐνὰς συσὶν· ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῳ·  
 πεντήκοντα σύες χαμαιευνάδες ἐρχατόωντο, 15  
 θήλειαι τοκάδες· τοὶ δ' ἄρσενες ἐκτὸς ἱανον,  
 πολλὸν παυρότεροι· τοὺς γὰρ μινύθεσκον ἔδοντες

12 θαμέας] μεγάλους G X D: cp. Il. 12. 57, Od. 14. 521.  
 of P H al.

16 τοῖ A G F al.:

2. δι' ἄκριας 'through' or 'among the hill-tops.'

3. πέφραδε 'showed' (the way to): 15. 424.

7. περιδρομος 'with an open space round it,' serving as the glacis of the fortress, to guard against surprise.

10. ῥυτοῖσιν, probably not 'drawn,' but 'dug,' 'quarried.' This sense, as Schulze points out (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 318), may be traced in ἑρυσίχθων, and Lat. *rmo, eruo* (*rūta caesa* = minerals and timber).

12. τὸ μέλαν 'the dark part,' viz. the heart of the oak.

ἀμφικεάσσας 'splitting off all round,' i.e. splitting so as to separate the softer

outside and leave the heart. The article is used (as with comparatives) to mark a contrast, here between the darker and the lighter wood: *H. G.* § 260 (c).

Aristarchus took τὸ μέλαν to be the bark (*φλοιός*), and this view is adopted by Ameis and others. But the bark would hardly be called 'the black part of the wood,' and the process of stripping it off would not be splitting.

13-16. These lines are almost a parody of the description of Priam's palace, Il. 6. 244-249.

16. ἱανον 'lay,' passed the night: the word does not necessarily imply sleep, as appears e.g. from Il. 9. 325 ἀπνους νύκτας ἱανον.

ἀντίθειοι μνηστήρες, ἐπεὶ προΐαλλε συβώτης  
αἰεὶ ζατρεφῶν σιάλων τὸν ἀριστον ἀπάντων·  
οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι τε καὶ ἐξήκοντα πέλοντο. 20  
πὰρ δὲ κύνες θήρεσσιν ἐοικότες αἰὲν ἱαυον  
τέσσαρες, οὓς ἔθρεψε συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.  
αὐτὸς δ' ἀμφὶ πόδεσσιν ἐοῖς ἀράρισκε πέδιλα,  
τάμνων δέρμα βόειον ἐϋχροές· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι  
ᾤχοντ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλος ἄμ' ἀγρομένοισι σύεσσιν, 25  
οἱ τρεῖς· τὸν δὲ τέταρτον ἀποπροέηκε πόλινδε  
σὺν ἀγέμεν μνηστήρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ἀνάγκη,  
ὄφρ' ἱερεύσαντες κρειῶν κορρεσαίαιτο θυμῶν.  
Ἐξαπίνης δ' Ὀδυσῆα ἴδον κύνες ὕλακόμωροι.  
οἱ μὲν κεκλήγοντες ἐπέδραμον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς 30  
ἔξετο κερδοσύνη, σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χεῖρός.  
ἔνθα κεν ᾗ πὰρ σταθμῷ ἀεικέλιον πάθεν ἄλγος·  
ἀλλὰ συβώτης ὥκα ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι μετασπῶν  
ἔσσυτ' ἀνὰ πρόθυρον, σκύτος δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χεῖρός.  
τοὺς μὲν ὁμοκλήσας σεύεν κύνας ἄλλυδις ἄλλον 35  
πυκνήσιν λιθάδεσσιν· ὁ δὲ προσέειπεν ἄνακτα·

21 αἰὲν] ἐκτός G<sup>3</sup> T Eust. 22 was suspected by Callistratus διὰ τὴν  
ἐπαρίθμωσιν τῶν κυνῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπίθετον (Schol. H X). The epithet ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν  
is not unusual; but it is singular that the number of the dogs should be the  
same as that of the servants of Eumaeus. Possibly l. 22 originally referred to  
the θυμῶνες—a preceding line or lines, in which they were mentioned for the first  
time, having been lost. As the text stands οἱ ἄλλοι in l. 24 is obscure.

28 κρειῶν] For this form, in which the εἰ for εἰ is unexplained, we can always  
substitute κρεῖσσιν, a form preserved by the MSS. in H. Merc. 130. 30 κεκλη-  
γῶτες καὶ κεκληγόντες διχῶς αἰ' Ἀριστάρχου Did.: ὄντες G, γρ. H<sup>2</sup>: -όντες vulg.

35 ἄλλον Ar. D J U: ἄλλη vulg.

26. οἱ τρεῖς 'three of them,' H. G.  
§ 260 (c).

29. ὕλακόμωρος is a kind of parody  
of the heroic epithets ἐγχεσίμωρος,  
λόμωρος. We cannot tell what precise  
meaning (if any) was given by the latter  
part of the word. See on Il. 2. 692.

30. κεκληγόντες. In the history of  
this participle we may trace (1) an  
original (i. e. pre-Homeric) κεκληγόντες,  
the plur. of (Homeric) κεκληγῶς; (2) a  
metaplastic κεκληγόντες of the thematic  
conjugation, probably the only Homeric  
form of the plural; and (3) κεκληγῶτες,  
a corruption due on the one hand to

κεκληγῶς, and on the other to such  
plurals as ἐστεῶτες, τεθνεῶτες, and the  
like. The metaplastic pf. part. in -ων,  
-οντος is Aeolic; but whether κεκλη-  
γόντες in Homer has come from the  
Aeolic dialect is a different question.  
See H. G. App. F.

33. μετασπῶν 'taking in hand': ἔπω  
in this use is probably from a root *sep*,  
and therefore a different word from  
ἐπομαι *sequor* (root *seq*): see Brugmann,  
*Grundr.* II. 657, p. 1021.

34. πρόθυρον 'gateway,' sc. of the  
αὐλή. σκύτος 'the leather,' viz. which  
he was cutting into sandals (l. 24).

“ὦ γέρον, ἥ ὀλίγου σε κύνες διεδηλήσαντο  
 ἐξαπίνης, καὶ κέν μοι ἐλεγχείην κατέχευας.  
 καὶ δέ μοι ἄλλα θεοὶ δόσαν ἄλγεά τε στοναχάς τε·  
 ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἀνακτος ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων 40  
 ἡμαι, ἄλλοισιν δὲ σύας σιάλους ἀτιτάλλω  
 ἔδμεναι· αὐτὰρ κείνος ἐελδόμενός που ἔδωδῃς  
 πλάζετ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλοθρόων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε,  
 εἴ που ἔτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἡέλιοιο.  
 ἀλλ’ ἔπεο, κλισίηνδ’ ἵομεν, γέρον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὸς 45  
 σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν  
 εἴπῃς ὀππόθεν ἐσσι καὶ ὀππόσα κήδε’ ἀνέτλης.”  
 Ὡς εἰπὼν κλισίηνδ’ ἠγήσατο δῖος ὕφορβός,  
 εἶσεν δ’ εἰσαγαγών, ῥῶπας δ’ ὑπέχευε δασείας,  
 ἐστόρεσεν δ’ ἐπὶ δέρμα ἰονθάδος ἀγρίου αἰγός, 50  
 αὐτοῦ ἐνεύναιον, μέγα καὶ δασύ. χαῖρε δ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ὅττι μιν ὥς ὑπέδεκτο, ἔπος τ’ ἔφατ’ ἐκ τ’ ὀνόμαζε·  
 “Ζεὺς τοι δοίη, ξεῖνε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
 ὅττι μάλιστ’ ἐθέλεις, ὅτι με πρόφρων ὑπέδεξο.”  
 Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαῖε συβῶτα· 55  
 “ξεῖν’, οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ’, οὐδ’ εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,  
 ξείνον ἀτιμήσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες  
 ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε· δόσις δ’ ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε  
 γίγνεται ἡμετέρῃ· ἡ γὰρ δμῶων δίκη ἐστὶν  
 αἰεὶ δειδιδῶτων, ὅτ’ ἐπικρατέωσιν ἀνακτες 60  
 οἱ νέοι. ἥ γὰρ τοῦ γε θεοὶ κατὰ νόστον ἔδησαν,  
 ὅς κεν ἔμ’ ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὀπασσεν,

60 ἐπικρατέουσιν G F P T Eust.

41. ἡμαι ‘I bide,’ cp. *παρήμενος* 13.  
 407. The metre is defective: perhaps the impf. *ἤμην* should be read, = ‘I have been sitting’ (*H. G.* § 73).

51. αὐτοῦ ἐνεύναιον ‘his own very bed-covering’: cp. l. 102.

56. κακίων ‘one more miserable.’

57. πρὸς Διὸς, see on 6. 207.

58. Eumaeus means simply ὀλίγη, as the context shows: but he uses the set phrase ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε as a euphemism, in order to soften what he wishes to say.

59. ‘For that is the manner of bonds-

men,’ viz. to be cautious and penurious.

61. οἱ νέοι, article as in l. 12 (supra).

62. ἐνδυκέως. This word belongs to the *Odyssey* and the two last books of the *Iliad*. The meaning must be ‘kindly,’ ‘in gentle fashion,’ or else ‘zealously,’ *con amore*. The only clue to the derivation is the adj. *ἀδευκής* (also a word of the *Od.*), which probably means ‘harsh,’ ‘unkind,’ and is said to be from an Aeolic *δευκος* ‘sweetness.’ There is no ground for supposing a connexion with *γλυκύς* or *dulcis*.

οἶά τε ᾧ οἰκῇ ἄναξ εὐθυμος ἔδωκεν,  
οἰκόν τε κληρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα,  
ὅς οἱ πολλὰ κάμησι, θεὸς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἀέξῃ, 65  
ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ τῷδε ἔργον ἀέξεται, ᾧ ἐπιμίμνω·  
τῷ κέ με πόλλ' ὤνησεν ἄναξ, εἰ αὐτόθ' ἐγήρα·  
ἀλλ' ὄλεθ'—ὥς ὥφελλ' Ἑλένης ἀπὸ φῦλον ὀλέσθαι  
πρόχῳ, ἐπεὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε·  
καὶ γὰρ κείνος ἔβη Ἀγαμέμνονος εἵνεκα τιμῆς 70  
Ἴλιον εἰς εὐπῶλον, ἵνα Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο."

\*Ως εἰπὼν ζωστήρι θοῶς συνέεργε χιτῶνα,  
βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐς συφεούς, ὅθι ἔθνεα ἔρχατο χοίρων.  
ἔνθεν ἑλὼν δὺ ἔνεικε καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἰέρευσεν,  
εὖσέ τε μίστυλλέν τε καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρεν. 75  
ὀπητήσας δ' ἄρα πάντα φέρων παρέθηκ' Ὀδυσῇ  
θέρμ' αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσιν· ὁ δ' ἀλφίτα λευκὰ πάλυνεν·  
ἐν δ' ἄρα κισσυβίφ κίρνη μελιθεά οἶνον,  
αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἔξεν, ἐποτρύνων δὲ προσηύδα·  
"ἔσθιε νῦν, ᾧ ξεῖνε, τά τε δμῶεσσι πάρεσσι, 80  
χοίρε'· ἀτὰρ σιάλους γε σῖσας μνηστῆρες ἔδουσιν,  
οὐκ ὀπιδα φρονέοντες ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οὐδ' ἐλεητύν.  
οὐ μὲν σχέτλια ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσιν,  
ἀλλὰ δίκην τίουσιν καὶ αἶσιμα ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.  
καὶ μὲν δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαίης 85

67 *φοῖκοθ'* conj. Van Leeuwen.

75 *εὖσέ τε* A Eust.: *εἴσεν* vulg.

65. ἐπὶ ἀέξῃ 'makes to grow on-wards': ἐπὶ as in *ἐπιδοῖς*, &c.

69. *πρόχῳ*, lit. 'on the knees,' used metaphorically of utter downfall (as Il. 21. 460 *ἀπόλωνται πρόχῳ κακῶς*), but here with a play on the literal sense: 'may the race of Helen fall and be brought to its knees, even as she has loosed the knees of many men.'

77. *αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσιν* 'with the spits as they were,' without drawing them out of the meat.

82. *ὀπιδα*. The word generally occurs in the phrase *θεῶν ὅπῃ* 'the regard of the gods,' i.e. their watch kept on human transgression. Here and in l. 88 *ὅπῃ* by itself has this special meaning,

so that *οὐκ ὀπιδα φρονέοντες* is = *θεῶν ὅπῃ οὐκ ἀλέγοντες* (Il. 16. 388, the only place where *ὅπῃ* occurs in the Iliad): cp. Od. 20. 215 *οὐδ' ὀπιδα τρομέουσι θεῶν*, and 21. 28.

The constr. of the two accusatives *ὀπιδα* and *ἐλεητύν* is somewhat different: 'not bethinking them of the judgment of the gods, nor (alive to) compassion.'

85. *καὶ μὲν δυσμενέες*. This nom. has no verb, the sentence being taken up again in l. 88 *καὶ μὲν τοῖς κτλ.* with a different construction. But the anacoluthon is softened by the nom. in the intervening clause *οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαίης ἀλλοτρίης βῶσιν*: cp. the note on 13. 81.

ἄλλοτρίης βῶσιν καὶ σφι Ζεὺς ληΐδα δῶη,  
 πλησάμενοι δέ τε νῆας ἔβαν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,  
 καὶ μὲν τοῖς ὀπίδος κρατερὸν δέος ἐν φρεσὶ πίπτει.  
 οἶδε δέ τοι ἴσασι, θεοῦ δέ τιν' ἔκλυον αὐδὴν,  
 κείνου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, ὃ τ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι δικάϊως 90  
 μνᾶσθαι οὐδὲ νέεσθαι ἐπὶ σφέτερ', ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι  
 κτήματα δαρδάπτουσιν ὑπέρβιον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ φειδώ.  
 ὄσσαι γὰρ νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν,  
 οὐ ποθ' ἐν ἱεύουσ' ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ δὴ οἶω  
 οἶνον δὲ φθινύθουσιν ὑπέρβιον ἐξαφύοντες. 95  
 ἦ γὰρ οἱ ζῶή γ' ἦν ἄσπετος· οὐ τι νιν τόσση  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, οὐτ' ἠπεύροιο μελαίνης  
 οὐτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης· οὐδὲ ξυνεείκοσι φωτῶν  
 ἔστ' ἄφενος τοσσοῦτον· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω.  
 δώδεκ' ἐν ἠπεύρῳ ἀγέλαι· τόσα πῶεα οἶων, 100  
 τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν  
 βόσκουσι ξεῖνοι τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες.  
 ἐνθάδε δ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν ἔνδεκα πάντα  
 ἐσχατιῇ βόσκοντ', ἐπὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται.  
 τῶν αἰεὶ σφιν ἕκαστος ἐπ' ἡματι μῆλον ἀγινεῖ, 105  
 ζατρεφῶν αἰγῶν ὅς τις φαίνεται ἄριστος.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺς τάσδε φυλάσσω τε ρύομαί τε,  
 καὶ σφι συῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἐὺ κρίνας ἀποπέμπω."

ὦς φάθ', ὃ δ' ἐνδυκέως κρέα τ' ἥσθιε πίνε τε οἶνον

89. δέ τοι M: δέ τι vulg.

92. οὐδ' ἐπὶ vulg.: οὐδ' ἐπὶ v. l. ap. Eust.

94. δὴ οἶω] δὴ οἶα MSS.

104. ἐσχατιῇ Ar. The acc. with βόσκομαι occurs in the hymn to Hermes (27, 72, 232, 559), not in Homer.

89. Join ἴσασι κείνου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον. The common reading *τι ἴσασι* gives a less satisfactory meaning, besides making *τι* a long syllable.

90. ὃ τε 'in respect that,' 'as they show by the fact that —.'

91. ἔκηλοι 'untroubled,' *sans gêne*.

95. ὑπέρβιον is adverbial, as in l. 92.

97. Gen. of the *space within* which.

101. συβόσια. The *ι* is counted as long by metrical licence, the word being otherwise impossible in the hexameter. So καταλοφάδια 10. 169. In

both cases the spelling *-εια* is against all analogy (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* 255).

102. αὐτοῦ 'his own,' cp. l. 51.

104. ἐπὶ ὄρονται 'are watchers (οἶροι, ἐπιουροι) over them': see on 3. 471, ll. 23. 112.

105. ἐπ' ἡματι 'for the day,' 2. 284., 12. 105, ll. 10. 48.

109. ἐνδυκέως qualifies the whole clause *κρέα τ' ἥσθιε πίνε τε οἶνον*, and is further explained by the two adverbs *ἀρπαλῶς ἀκίον*. See on l. 62.

*κρέα*, see J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* p. 338.

ἀρπαλέως ἀκέων, κακὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσι φύτευεν. 110

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δείπνησε καὶ ἤραρε θυμὸν ἐδωδῇ,  
καὶ οἱ πλησάμενος δῶκε σκύφον, ᾧ περ ἔπινεν,  
οἶνου ἐνίπλειον· ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο, χαίρε δὲ θυμῷ,  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“ὦ φίλε, τίς γάρ σε πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν, 115

ᾧδε μάλ' ἀφνειὸς καὶ καρτέρους ὡς ἀγορεύεις;  
φῆς δ' αὐτὸν φθίσθαι Ἀγαμέμνονος εἵνεκα τιμῆς.

εἰπέ μοι, αἴ κέ ποθι γνῶω τοιοῦτον ἔοντα.

Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,  
εἴ κέ μιν ἀγγεῖλαιμι ἰδὼν· ἐπὶ πολλὰ δ' ἀλήθην.” 120

Τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·

“ὦ γέρον, οὗ τις κείνον ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν

ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γυναικὰ τε καὶ φίλον υἱόν,

ἀλλ' ἄλλως κομιδῆς κεχρημένοι ἄνδρες ἀλῆται

ψεύδοντ', οὐδ' ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι. 125

ὅς δέ κ' ἀλητεύων Ἰθάκης ἐς δῆμον ἵκηται,

ἐλθὼν ἐς δέσποιναν ἐμὴν ἀπατήλια βάξει·

ἢ δ' εὖ δεξαμένη φιλέει καὶ ἕκαστα μεταλλᾷ,

καὶ οἱ ὀδυρομένη βλεφάρων ἀπο δάκρυα πίπτει,

ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ γυναικὸς ἐπεὶ πόσις ἄλλοθ' ὀληται. 130

αἰψά κε καὶ σύ, γεραίέ, ἔπος παρατεκτῆναιο,

εἴ τίς τοι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα δοίη.

τοῦ δ' ἤδη μέλλουσι κύνες ταχέες τ' οἶωνοὶ

ρίνον ἀπ' ὀστεόφιν ἐρύσαι, ψυχὴ δὲ λέλοιπεν·

112 σκύφον Ar., σκύφος Aristoph. (Athen. xi. 498). 119 τό γε G F al.:  
τόδε vulg. 130 ἐπεὶ G Z: ἐπὶ vulg. 131 γεραί] γέριν G. 132 Διοκλῆς  
ἀδερφεῖ (Schol. H Q). 134 ἐρύσαι Ar. (αἱ πᾶσαι σχεδὸν Did.), vulg.: ἐρύειν  
G U al.

112. καὶ οἱ is the apodosis, 'then did he (sc. Eumaeus) fill &c.' The act being necessarily that of the host, the name of Eumaeus is not added.

118. αἴ κέ ποθι γνῶω 'in case I shall know,' i.e. 'find that I know.'

120. εἴ κέ μιν ἀγγεῖλαιμι ἰδὼν 'if I may bring news of having seen him.'

122-132. The connexion of the speech is: 'We cannot believe any of the wanderers who bring news of him; they

make up false tales in order to get entertainment: you may be one of them': i.e. 'There are so many false tales brought by wanderers that we must disbelieve you too.'

123. πείσειε, opt. after οὐ, H. G. § 299 (f).

133. μέλλουσι with the aorist inf. means 'are like to have —,' 'must have —,' cp. Il. 18. 362., 21. 83., 24. 46, Od. 4. 181 (ἀγασσασθαι G P D T).



ἡ τὸν γ' ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες, ὅστέα δ' αὐτοῦ 135  
 κεῖται ἐπ' ἡπείρου ψαμάθῳ εἰλυμένα πολλῇ.  
 ὥς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἀπόβλωε, φίλοισι δὲ κῆδέ' ὀπίσσω  
 πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τετεύχεται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλον  
 ἥπιον ὦδε ἀνακτα κιχήσομαι, ὅππῃς' ἐπέλθω,  
 οὐδ' εἴ κεν πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος αὐτίς ἴκωμαι 140  
 οἶκον, ὅθι πρῶτον γενόμην καὶ μ' ἔτρεφον αὐτοί.  
 οὐδέ νυ τῶν ἔτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, ἰέμενός περ  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ·  
 ἀλλὰ μ' Ὀδυσσῆος πόθος αἰνυται οἰχομένοιο.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν 145  
 αἰδέομαι· πέρι γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ·  
 ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἔοντα."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ δὴ πάμπαν ἀναίνεαι, οὐδ' ἔτι φῆσθα  
 κεῖνον ἐλεύσεσθαι, θυμὸς δέ τοι αἰὲν ἀπιστος· 150  
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐτῶς μυθήσομαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὄρκῳ,  
 ὡς νεῖται Ὀδυσσεύς· εὐαγγέλιον δέ μοι ἔστω  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ κεν κείνος ἰὼν τὰ ἅ δώμαθ' ἵκηται·  
 [ἔσσαι με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἴματα καλά·]  
 πρὶν δέ κε καὶ μάλα περ κεχρημένος, οὗ τι δεχοίμην. 155  
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀἰδαο πύλῃσι  
 γίγνεται, ὃς πενήν' εἰκὼν ἀπατήλια βάζει.  
 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίῃ τε τράπεζα,

142 νυ F P H D: τι G M Eust. ἰέμενός H al.: ἀχνύμενός vulg., Eust. (from 4. 104., 21. 250, Π. 22. 424, &c.). 154 om. G F P H M U: from 14. 396., 16. 79, &c.

145-147. The meaning seems to be that the swineherd does not name Odysseus in speaking of him, but uses the word *ἡθεῖος*, which is properly a form of respectful address. Elsewhere we only find the voc. *ἡθεῖε* or (once) *ἡθεῖη κεφαλῇ*. The modern use of titles shows many instances of the same kind.

149. ἀναίνεαι, properly 'refuse.' Cp. the use of *μή* in oaths and strong denial.

158-162. These five lines recur in 19. 303-307, and form the conclusion of the speech in which Ulysses assures

Penelope of his speedy return. The last line, *τοῦ μιν φθίνοντος μηνὸς τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο*, even fixes the day; for it describes the day called at Athens *ἐνὶ καὶ νέα*, the last of one month and first of another, which was the very day following the dialogue with Penelope. The chronology is further emphasized by the fact that it was the feast-day of Apollo (20. 156, 276-278., 21. 258). Thus Ulysses ends his speech in the most effective way, promising his own return on the day then about to dawn.

ιστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἦν ἀφικάνω  
 ἥ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὡς ἀγορεύω 160  
 [τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο,]

162 om. P. 162-164. The Harleian MS. has the following scholium: *ὑπο-  
 πείνεται οἱ τρεῖς ὡς ἀσύνφατοι πρὸς τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ὑποπτοι καὶ ὡς ἀπιστοι·  
 τίθεν γὰρ ἔδει εἰ καὶ ἐκ Δαϊδάνης ὑποστρέφον οὐ πλοῖσαι;* There is nothing in the  
 MS. to show which three lines are referred to. Buttmann assigned the scholium  
 to 162-164. Dindorf adds in confirmation of this that in the Venetian MS. the *five*  
 lines 160-164 are marked with asterisks: but this fact, if it has any value as  
 evidence, surely tends rather to make it doubtful which *three* lines were suspected.  
 Nor does the substance of the scholium clear up the doubt. The meaning seems  
 to be that the stranger's words would be suspicious; for how could he know exactly  
 when Ulysses would arrive in Ithaca? (For οὐ πλοῖσαι it is necessary to read  
*ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*.) This, however, only applies to l. 162; and 19. 306-307 show that  
 161 and 162 stand or fall together. Probably, then, the three lines anciently  
 suspected were 160-162.

In this place the case is different. The speech does not end with τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος κτλ., but we have a sort of second conclusion in 163-164 οἰκάδε νοστήσει κτλ., which is something of an anti-climax. These last lines have accordingly been questioned (but see the critical notes). It seems to me more probable that the two lines 161-162—or perhaps, as Kirchhoff held, the seven lines 158-164 that contain the oath—belong originally to the nineteenth book, and have been brought in wrongly here. This is a common form of corruption in Homer; whereas the interpolation of 163-164 would be difficult to account for. It is evident, too, on all principles of art, that in this place the prophecy about Ulysses ought to be general in its terms—οἰκάδε νοστήσει καὶ τίσσει—thus agreeing with the language of Helen to Telemachus in 15. 177. More threatening words are naturally used by Ulysses himself a little later (18. 146 ff. μάλα δὲ σχεδόν κτλ.). But the precise and emphatic τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος κτλ. is best kept to heighten the interest at the last and most critical point in the story.

This view of 161-162 (in which I have been partly anticipated by Dr. Hayman) is strongly confirmed by the interpretation which it enables us to give of the word λυκάβας. The word is otherwise known only in Alexandrian and later authors, who doubtless took it from Homer. They explained it as meaning literally the 'path of light,' i.e. of the sun, and so

as a poetical word for 'a year.' Admitting the etymology, we should rather expect it to mean 'a day,' or (more precisely) a νυχθήμερον, the period of time in which daylight goes and comes again. For λυκάβας is the 'going of light,'—not of the sun (or moon). Further, this explanation of λυκάβας gives a much better sense in the Odyssey. Critics have already noticed the absurdity of the announcement that Ulysses will come 'within this same year,' followed by a mention of the day, which happens to be the very next day (Buttmann on Schol. H. Od. 14. 162). In any case the words 'within this same year' must have sounded as a mockery to Penelope, who was literally on the eve of abandoning hope and consenting to accept one of the suitors. But if Ulysses said 'within a day' (in the sense of twenty-four hours), all is plain. The Slaying of the Suitors was on the day following the night of the dialogue with Penelope. Hence λυκάβας is correct, and indeed the only correct word (ἡμέρα being generally used of 'day' in contrast to night: cp. ἡματι τῷδε in 20. 116 after dawn). On the other hand in the dialogue with Eumaeus here Ulysses could not say τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος, since it still wanted four days to the μνηστήροφονία.

The period of the νυχθήμερον was probably reckoned from sunset to sunset: see Il. 19. 141. So in counting days, Od. 14. 93 δάσαι γὰρ νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν.

159. ἰστίη. In Homer the hearth is

οἶκαδε νοστήσει, καὶ τίσεται ὃς τις ἐκείνων  
ἐνθάδ' ἀτιμάζει ἀλοχον καὶ φαίδιμον υἱόν."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ', Εὐμαίε συβῶτα· 165  
"ὦ γέρον, οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼν εὐαγγέλιον τόδε τίσω,  
οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται· ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος  
πῖνε, καὶ ἄλλα παρέξ μεμνώμεθα, μηδὲ με τούτων  
μύμνησκ'. ἥ γὰρ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν 170  
ἄχνηται, ὅππότε τις μνήσῃ κεδνοῖο ἀνακτος.  
ἀλλ' ἥ τοι ὄρκον μὲν ἑάσομεν, αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἔλθοι ὅπως μιν ἔγωγ' ἐθέλω καὶ Πηνελόπεια  
Λαέρτης θ' ὁ γέρων καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής.  
νῦν αὖ παιδὸς ἀλαστον ὀδύρομαι, δν τέκ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
Τηλεμάχου· τὸν ἐπεὶ θρέψαν θεοὶ ἔρνεϊ ἴσον, 175  
καὶ μιν ἔφην ἔσσεσθαι ἐν ἀνδράσιν οἷ τι χεῖρεια  
πατρὸς ἐοῖο φίλοιο, δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγητόν,  
τὸν δέ τις ἀθανάτων βλάβῃ φρένας ἔνδον ἔϊσας  
ἢ τις ἀνθρώπων· ὁ δ' ἔβη μετὰ πατρὸς ἀκουήν  
εἰς Πύλον ἡγαθέην· τὸν δὲ μνηστήρες ἀγαυοὶ 180  
οἶκαδ' ἰόντα λοχῶσιν, ὅπως ἀπὸ φύλον δληται  
νώνυμον ἐξ Ἰθάκης Ἀρκεισίου ἀντιθέοιο.  
ἀλλ' ἥ τοι κείνον μὲν ἑάσομεν, ἥ κεν ἀλώῃ  
ἥ κε φύγῃ καὶ κέν οἱ ὑπέρσχη χεῖρα Κρονίων.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι σύ, γεραιέ, τὰ σ' αὐτοῦ κήδ' ἐνίσπες, 185  
καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ·  
τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;  
ὅπποίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο· πῶς δέ σε ναῦται

163 νοστήσας F P H U. 169-170 θυμὸς... ἄχνηται G L W: θυμὸν... ἄχνηται  
F P H X D U. 171 ὄρκον] κείνον Zen. 174-184 obel. in M: perhaps  
because Eumaeus could not know of the ambush. 176 χεῖρεια Ar.: χερείω MSS.  
177 δέμας L W, Eust.: φρένας vulg. 178 τὸν Ar., F P H: τοῦ G U al.

a sacred object, but is not a goddess, like the later *Ἑστία*. It only occurs in this form of oath; the ordinary word for 'hearth' in Homer is *ἑσχάρη*.

The house of Eumaeus was not the 'hearth of Ulysses.' The words apply only to his own palace, cp. 17. 156, 19. 304.

171. Eumaeus declines the oath which

Ulysses offered, but which (if 158 ff. are rejected) he had not actually taken.

177. ἀγητόν, masc., in apposition to οὐ τι χεῖρεια. On χεῖρεια see *H. G.* § 121.

178. τὸν δέ, apodosis to ἐπεὶ (l. 175).

179. μετὰ πατρὸς ἀκουήν, like μετὰ σὺν κλέος 13. 415.

187-190, = 1. 170-173.

ἡγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο;  
οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν οἶομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι." 190

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.  
εἷη μὲν νῦν νῶϊν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἡμὲν ἐδωδῇ  
ἡδὲ μέθυ γλυκερὸν κλισίης ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσι,  
δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ', ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔποιεν" 195

ῥηϊδίως κεν ἔπειτα καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαντα  
οὐ τι διαπρήξαιμι λέγων ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμοῦ,  
ὅσσα γε δὴ ξύμπαντα θεῶν ἰότητι μύγησα.  
ἐκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένος εὖχομαι εὐρείων,  
ἀνέρος ἀφνειοῖο πάϊς· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι 200

νῆες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἡμὲν τράφεν ἡδ' ἐγένοντο  
γνήσιοι ἐξ ἀλόχου· ἐμὲ δ' ὦνητὴ τέκε μήτηρ  
παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ με ἴσον ἰθαιγενέεσσιν ἐτίμα  
Κάστωρ Ἰλακίδης, τοῦ ἐγὼ γένος εὖχομαι εἶναι·  
ὅς τ' ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὥς τίετο δῆμφ 205

ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἰάσι κυδαλίμοισιν.  
ἀλλ' ἦ τοι τὸν κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι  
εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους· τοὶ δὲ ζῶν ἐδάσαντο  
παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ κλήρους ἐβάλοντο,  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν καὶ οἰκί' ἔνειμαν. 210  
ἡγαγόμεν δὲ γυναῖκα πολυκλήρων ἀνθρώπων

189 εὐχετόωντο F H M D U: -ται G P al. 202 ἀλόχου F P H X: ἀλόχαν  
G D al. 203 ἴσον] ἴσα P. ἰθαιγενέεσσιν G F: ἰθαγ. P H X D U al.  
205 ὅς τ' G D al.: ὅς ποτ' F P H U. 208 τοὶ δὲ] ἐπὶ δὲ G.

195. δαίνυσθαι, inf. of consequence,  
'wherewith to feast.'

196. ἅπαντα, with ἐνιαυτόν, as in 15.  
455: cp. the expression τελεσφόρον εἰς  
ἐνιαυτόν.

197. We expect a word meaning 'I  
could go on' (διατελοῖην or the like),  
to which οὐ διαπρήξαιμι is equivalent.

201. Better τράφον, see on Il. 2. 661.

203. ἰθαιγενέεσσι. The quantity of  
the ι is not certain. The ι of the text  
is supported by ἰθαμίνης (ι) in Il. 16.  
586: but both passages can be amended,  
as Fick proposed, by reading ἴσ' here

and Σθενέλον for Σθενέλαον in the Iliad.

209. 'Cast lots for it,' i.e. divided it  
and assigned the shares by lot. The  
order ἰδάσαντο καὶ . . ἐβάλοντο marks  
the division as the main thing, of which  
casting lots was a detail: cp. 13. 274.

210. οἰκία, sc. μάλα παῦρα, repeated  
from the preceding clause: cp. Il. 16.  
271 ὅς μετ' ἀριστος Ἀργείων παρὰ νηυσὶ  
καὶ ἀγχίμαχοι θεράποντες (sc. οὐ ἀριστοὶ  
εἰσιν).

211. ἀνθρώπων. The plur. stands for  
the family or tribe of the wife: cp. Il.  
3. 49 νῦν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητῶν.

εἵνεκ' ἐμῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφάλιος ἦα  
 οὐδὲ φυγοπτόλεμος· νῦν δ' ἤδη πάντα λέλοιπεν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης καλὰμην γέ σ' ὀτομαι εἰσορῶντα  
 γιγνώσκειν· ἡ γάρ με δύη ἔχει ἡλιθα πολλή. 215  
 ἡ μὲν δὴ θάρσος μοι Ἄρης τ' ἔδωσαν καὶ Ἀθήνη  
 καὶ ῥήξηνορίην, ὅποτε κρίνοιμι λόχονδε  
 ἀνδρας ἀριστῆας, κακὰ δυσμενέεσσι φυτεύων·  
 οὐ ποτέ μοι θάνατον προτιβίσσετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ,  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτιστος ἐπάλμενος ἔγχει ἔλεσκον 220  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων δ' τέ μοι εἴξειε πόδεσσι.  
 τοῖος ἔα ἐν πολέμῳ· ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἔσκειν  
 οὐδ' οἰκωφελή, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
 ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἦσαν  
 καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες ἐϋξέστοι καὶ οἷστοι, 225  
 λυγρά, τά τ' ἄλλοισιν γε καταριγγῆλὰ πέλονται.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τὰ φίλ' ἔσκε τά που θεὸς ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκεν·  
 [ἄλλος γάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις.]  
 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 εἰνάκις ἀνδράσιν ἦρξα καὶ ὠκυπόροισι νέεσσιν 230  
 ἀνδρας ἐς ἄλλοδαπούς, καὶ μοι μάλα τύγχανε πολλὰ.

222 ἔα ἐν F X: ἔαν ἐν G (perhaps for ἔδ'ν): δ' ἐν P H(?) L W: ἔην J H<sup>2</sup>. The other examples of ἔα (Il. 4. 321., 5. 887, Od. 14. 352) permit or require δ. Read therefore ἔα ἐν (with synizesis), or ἔα 'ν (cp. Il. 1. 277 Πηλεΐδῃ ἔθει' or θείλ'). It is tempting simply to omit ἐν: but there is no instance of πολέμῳ used as a locative.

212. ἀρετῆς, used of any advantages, not only prowess in war: see 13. 45. ἀποφάλιος 'useless,' for ἀπ-οφάλ-ιος (ἀφελ-ος), with ω for ο *metri gratia* (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 243).

217. Editors generally put a colon after ῥήξηνορίην, taking ὅποτε κρίνοιμι with the following clause οὐ ποτέ μοι κτλ. It is not Homeric, however, to begin a sentence with a word like ὅποτε in the middle of a line. But if ὅποτε κτλ. is construed with the preceding words, the clause οὐ ποτέ μοι κτλ. has still the character of an apodosis: '(in such a case) I never feared &c.' It is in fact a repetition in a new form of ἡ μὲν δὴ θάρσος μοι κτλ. (l. 216): hence the asyndeton. Cp. 15. 317., 16. 466., 18. 278, and see Riddell's *Digest*, § 205 A.

221. δ τε is here = ὅτε τις or εἰ τις, contrary to the Homeric usage of the article (*H. G.* 262). We expect δε ἐμοί.

εἴξειε πόδεσσιν is obscure. The usual renderings, 'whoever was inferior to me in speed,' or 'whoever fled before me with his feet,' give a poor sense. The context is a boast of courage and prowess rather than of speed, and does not suggest the mere slaughter of a flying-enemy. Probably we should read (with Bothe) δ τε μὴ εἴξειε, 'whoever did not save himself by speedy retreat.'

227. τὰ σου κτλ. 'things which a god made dear to me' (not being the things that would naturally be so).

228. This gnomic line is doubtless of later date. The form ἔργοις (for *φέρ-γοις*) is doubly post-Homeric.

τῶν ἐξαιρεύμην μενοεικέα, πολλὰ δ' ὀπίσσω  
 λάγχανον· αἶψα δὲ οἶκος ὀφέλλετο, καὶ ῥα ἔπειτα  
 δεινὸς τ' αἰδοῖός τε μετὰ Κρήτεσσι τετύγμην.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τήν γε στυγερὴν ὁδὸν εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς 235  
 ἐφράσαθ', ἡ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε,  
 δὴ τότ' ἔμ' ἤνωγον καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἴδομενῆα  
 νήεσσ' ἡγήσασθαι ἐς Ἴλιον· οὐδέ τι μῆχος  
 ἦεν ἀνήνασθαι, χαλεπὴ δ' ἔχε δῆμου φῆμις.  
 ἔνθα μὲν εἰνάετες πολεμίζομεν υἱες Ἀχαιῶν, 240  
 τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν Πριάμου πέρσαντες ἔβημεν  
 οἴκαδε σὺν νήεσσι, θεὸς δ' ἐκέδασσεν Ἀχαιοῦς.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ δειλῷ κακὰ μῆδετο μητίετα Ζεὺς·  
 μῆνα γὰρ οἶον ἔμεινα τεταρπόμενος τεκέεσσι  
 κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ κτήμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα 245  
 Αἴγυπτόνδε με θυμὸς ἀνώγει ναυτίλλεσθαι,  
 νῆας ἐὺ στείλαντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισιν.  
 ἐννέα νῆας στείλα, θοῶς δ' ἐσαγείρετο λαός.  
 ἐξῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι  
 δαίνυντ'· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἱερήϊα πολλὰ παρεῖχον 250  
 βεοῖσιν τε ῥέζειν αὐτοῖσι τε δαῖτα πένεσθαι.  
 ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ Κρήτης εὐρείης  
 ἐπλέομεν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῷ  
 ῥηϊδίως, ὥς εἴ τε κατὰ ῥόον· οὐδέ τις οὖν μοι  
 νηῶν πημάνθη, ἀλλ' ἀσκηθέες καὶ ἀνουσοὶ 255  
 ἤμεθα, τὰς δ' ἀνεμός τε κυβερνῆται τ' ἴθυνον.  
 πεμπταῖοι δ' Αἴγυπτον ἐϋρρεῖτην ἰκόμεσθα,

133 καὶ ῥα] καὶ σφιν Zen.

239 δῆμον MSS.: the archaic δῆμος may be restored.

248 ἐσαγείρετο A. : -ατο MSS.

255 ἀσκηθέες G P U<sup>2</sup>, Eust.

232. ὀπίσσω 'afterwards,' in the regular division of the spoil, after the γέρα ἐφαίρετα had been assigned to the leaders: cp. II. i. 368.

235. τήν. The art. expresses aversion or disgust: H. G. § 261 (2).

237. ἤνωγον, sc. the Cretans.

246. Αἴγυπτος may mean the river here, as in 257-258, and elsewhere in Homer.

253. Βορέῃ, an instrumental, with a partly comitative force. This use of the dat. is comparatively rare in the singular.

ἀκραεῖ seems to mean 'blowing at its height,' with the subsidiary notion of rightness or perfection. This metaphorical use of ἀκρος is common in later Greek, but there is no other example in Homer. See the note on 2. 421.

στῆσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.  
 ἔνθ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ κελόμην ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους  
 αὐτοῦ παρ νήεσσι μένειν καὶ νῆας ἔρυσθαι, 260  
 ὀπτῆρας δὲ κατὰ σκοπιάς ὥτρυνα νέεσθαι·  
 οἱ δ' ὕβρει εἷξαντες, ἐπισπόμενοι μένει σφῶ,  
 αἶψα μάλ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγροὺς  
 πόρθεον, ἐκ δὲ γυναικας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
 αὐτοὺς τ' ἔκτεινον· τάχα δ' ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ' αὐτή. 265  
 οἱ δὲ βοῆς αἰόντες ἀμ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφιν  
 ἦλθον· πλήτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων  
 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς· ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος  
 φύζαν ἑμοῖς ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 μείναι ἐναντίβιον· περὶ γὰρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔστη. 270  
 ἔνθ' ἡμέων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτανον ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ,  
 τοὺς δ' ἀναγον ζώους, σφίσιν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνάγκη.  
 αὐτὰρ ἑμοὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὤδε νόημα  
 ποίησ'—ὥς ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἔτι γάρ νύ με πῆμ' ὑπέδεκτο— 275  
 αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς κυνέην εὐτυκτον ἔθηκα  
 καὶ σάκος ὥμοϊν, δόρυ δ' ἐκβαλον ἔκτοσε χειρός·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βασιλῆος ἐναντίον ἤλυθον ἵππων  
 καὶ κύσα γούναθ' ἐλών· ὁ δ' ἐρύσατο καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν,  
 ἐς δίφρον δέ μ' ἔσας ἄγεν οἴκαδε δάκρυ χέοντα. 280  
 ἦ μὲν μοι μάλα πολλοὶ ἐπήϊσσον μελήσιν,  
 ἰέμενοι κτεῖναι—δὴ γὰρ κεχολώατο λίην—  
 ἄλλ' ἀπὸ κείνος ἔρυκε, Διὸς δ' ὠπίζετο μῆνιν  
 ξεινίου, ὃς τε μάλιστα νεμεσσᾶται κακὰ ἔργα.  
 ἔνθα μὲν ἐπτάετες μένον αὐτόθι, πολλὰ δ' ἄγεια 285

262 σφῶ vulg.: σφῶν X D J al. 270 μείναι] The parallel passage 17.439 has  
 στήναι, which may be right: see the note there. 272 ἀναγον] ἄγον F: ἀγαγον  
 X D Z. The gloss ἀπέφερων (Sch. V) points to ἀπαγον. 279 μ' ἐλέησεν]  
 μ' ἐσάωσεν G, Eust. 280 δέ μ' ἔσας] δ' ἀνέσας in the 'Aeolic' edition.

260. ἔρυσθαι 'to cover,' 'defend.'

272. ἀναγον 'took up,' i.e. inland.  
 Or perhaps 'into their hands'; cp. 18.  
 357 εἰ σ' ἀνελόμην 'if I took you into  
 my service.'

279. ἐρύσατο καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν is a  
 prothysteron of the common type; see  
 13. 274.

285. This chronology is not quite  
 arbitrary: the seven years in Egypt

χρήματ' ἀν' Αἰγυπτίους ἀνδρας· δίδοσαν γὰρ ἅπαντες.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὀγδοὺν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθε,  
 δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ ἀπατήλια εἰδώς,  
 τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἑώργει·  
 ὃς μ' ἄγε παρπεπιθὼν ᾗσι φρεσίν, ὅφρ' ἰκόμεσθα 290  
 Φοινίκην, ὅθι τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ' ἔκειτο.  
 ἔνθα παρ' αὐτῷ μείνα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεύντο  
 ἄψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὥραι,  
 ἐς Διβύην μ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔεσσατο ποντοπόροιο 295  
 ψεύδεα βουλεύσας, ἵνα οἱ σὺν φόρτον ἄγοιμι,  
 κείθι δέ μ' ὥς περάσσειε καὶ ἄσπετον ὦνον ἔλοιτο.

289 ἀνθρώποισιν ἑώργει vulg.: ἀνθρώπους G D U al., ἑώργει G. 295 ἐφέσσατο  
 Rhianus: ἐφέισατο Zen. 297 περάσσειε F H<sup>2</sup>: περάσσει vulg. ἔλοιτο] ἀρατο  
 F<sup>2</sup>, γρ. S.

take the place of the seven years that in the true history were spent in Calypso's isle.

287. For ὀγδοὺν (—) Dindorf reads ὀγδόατος, with synizesis.

The place of μοι after ὀγδοὺν (as has been pointed out by Mr. T. L. Agar in the *Journ. of Phil.* xxvi. 114) is accounted for by the emphasis on the numeral: so in Il. 9. 474 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ διακτῇ μοι ἐπήλυθε νῆξ ἐρεβενή; and the other instances which he quotes. The conjecture ὀγδόατος, with the synizesis δὴ ὠ, may be supported by Od. 12. 399 (= 15. 477) ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔβδομον ἤμαρ κτλ. It is difficult, however, to see why ὀγδόατος should have been corrupted into the unmetrical ὀγδοὺν, and it still seems possible (as suggested in *H. G.* § 365) that we have here a trace of an older form ὀγδωος, Indog. oktdō-o- (Brugmann, *Gr.* II. 481), Lat. *ocidōus*.

289. τρώκτης. Barytone nouns in -της seem often to have a hostile or contemptuous meaning: so δίκτης, σίντης, ἀλγήςτης, προίκτης, ἀγέρτης. 'Gnawer' may suggest thieving vermin, mice, &c.

ἀνθρώποισι cannot well be a true dat. = 'to men,' since (as scholars have observed) the proper constr. is ἐρθεῖν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους. The locative sense 'among men' is possible, but this sense of the dat. plur. is confined for the most part to certain idioms, such as the use

with words expressing rule or pre-eminence: see *H. G.* § 145 (7). The reading of G, ἀνθρώπους ἑώργει, is supported by Hesychius s.v. ἑώργει, where the alphabetical order (as M. Schmidt notes a. l.) requires us to read ἑώργει· ἐργάσατο ἐπεποίηκε. This ἑώργει points to an original ἐφεφόργει (Dawes, *Misc. Crit.* 184).

290. ᾗσι φρεσίν 'by his wit' or 'cunning': cp. Il. 1. 132 κλέπτε νόφ.

291. ἔκειτο goes with κτήματα, but does not fit δόμοι, either in sense or in construction (Zeugma).

294. ἐπήλυθον seems to mean, not 'came on' (as we speak of a time coming on), but 'came round,' 'passed by': cp. ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος (l. 287) and ἐπέρχομαι = 'to go round,' 'visit,' *obire*, as 4. 268 πολλὴν ἐπελήλυθα γαῖαν, 16. 27 οὐ . . ἀγρόν ἐπέρχει οὐδὲ νομῆας: ἐπὶ used as in ἐποίχομαι, ἐπιπώλλομαι.

295. ἐς Διβύην ἔεσσατο, a pregnant use, 'put me on board (to take me) to Libya': cp. l. 240 ἐς Τροίην ἀναβῆμεναι.

296. ἵνα has its local sense: 'that I should be his partner in taking a cargo there.'

297. The emphatic position of κείθι and the change from ἵνα to ὥς serve to indicate that this further purpose was not avowed, but was the real purpose: 'but in such wise that *when there* he might &c.'



τῷ ἐπόμενῃ ἐπὶ νηὸς οὐδ' ἔμενός περ ἀνάγκη.  
 ἢ δ' ἔθεεν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῷ,  
 μέσσον ὑπὲρ Κρήτης· Ζεὺς δέ σφισι μήδετ' ὀλεθρον. 300  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Κρήτην μὲν ἐλείπομεν, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη  
 φαίνετο γαίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,  
 δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων  
 νηὸς ὑπερ γλαφυρῆς, ἥχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.  
 Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν· 305  
 ἢ δ' ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα Διὸς πληγείσα κεραυνῷ,  
 ἐν δὲ θεοῖσι πλῆτο· πέσον δ' ἐκ νηὸς ἅπαντες.  
 οἱ δὲ κορώνησιν ἵκελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν  
 κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο· θεὸς δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἔχοντί περ ἄλγεα θυμῷ, 310  
 ἰστὸν ἀμαιμάκετον νηὸς κυανοπρόροιο  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔθηκεν, ὅπως ἔτι πῆμα φύγοιμι.  
 τῷ ῥα περιπλεχθεὶς φερόμεν ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν.

300 ὑπὲρ] ὑπε (sic) P, i. e. ὑπὲκ, the κ having been lost before the initial κ of the next word.

300. μέσσον is apparently to be construed as an adverb with ἔθεεν, 'ran before the north wind (taking) the mid-sea course' (cp. 3. 174 πύλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὐβοίαν τέμνειν). What then is this 'mid-sea course' for a ship which, starting from Phoenicia, has made its way to the south-west corner of Asia Minor? It is further described as being ὑπὲρ Κρήτης, which words are generally taken as = 'beyond,' 'far past Crete,' viz. to the south. This, however, is not a Homeric use of ὑπὲρ. It cannot be defended by such a phrase as ὑπὲρ πόντου 'across the sea' (said of Crete itself in 13. 257): land is seen 'over' sea, not conversely. Moreover, there is evidently a contrast intended between ἔθεεν μέσσον ὑπὲρ Κρήτης and the following line ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Κρήτην μὲν ἐλείπομεν, so that the former clause must belong to the time *before* the ship was far on its way to Libya. More probably, therefore, ὑπὲρ is used like καθύπερθε Χίοιο in 3. 170, to denote the side on which they passed the island, viz. by the N.W. or windward side; and μέσσον implies keeping off the lee shore of Crete.

The alternative was to follow the chain of islands—Cos, Rhodes, and Carpathus—and then run under the lee of Crete, i. e. along the southern coast. The latter was the course taken on St. Paul's voyage to Rome, which as far as Cnidus was the same as that described here: cp. Acts xxvii. 7 καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδου, μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμῶνιν (i. e. by the east). Here the fair N.E. wind made it possible to take the 'upper' or windward course.

311. ἀμαιμάκετον 'of vast length,' probably formed by intensive reduplication from the root μακ- (cp. δαίδαλος, παῖπαλος, μαιμάω) with the suffix -τος, as περι-μήκετος, πάχετος. The δ- is prothetic, as in ἀμαλδύνω, ἀμύνω, ἀμαυρός. The derivation from μαιμάσσω 'to rage, storm' (Ameis, &c.) is plausible, but the senses which it yields—'not to be raged against,' 'invincible,' or (with prothetic δ-) 'raging,' 'furious'—hardly suit this passage. Such an epithet might however be applied to a mast in a spirit of burlesque, such as we occasionally trace in the *Odyssey*.

ἐννήμαρ φερόμην, δεκάτῃ δέ με νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ  
 γαίῃ Θεσπρωτῶν πέλασεν μέγα κύμα κυλίνδον. 315  
 ἔνθα με Θεσπρωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκομίσσατο Φείδων  
 ἥρως ἀπριάτην· τοῦ γὰρ φίλος υἱὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 αἶθρῳ καὶ καμάτῳ δεδμημένον ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον,  
 χεῖρὸς ἀναστήσας, ὅφρ' ἵκετο δώματα πατρός·  
 ἀμφὶ δέ με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα ἔσσειν. 320  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ πυθόμην· κείνος γὰρ ἔφασκε  
 ξεινίσαι ἢ δὲ φιλῆσαι ἰόντ' ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 καὶ μοι κτήματ' ἔδειξεν ὅσα ξυναγείρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τε πολύκμητόν τε σίδηρον.  
 καὶ νῦ κεν ἐς δεκάτην γενεὴν ἕτερόν γ' ἔτι βόσκοι· 325  
 τόσσα οἱ ἐν μεγάρῳ κειμήλια κεῖτο ἀνακτος.  
 τὼν δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὅφρα θεοῖο  
 ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι,  
 ὅππῃ νοστήσει' Ἰθάκης ἐς πῖονα δῆμον  
 ἦδη δὴν ἀπεών, ἢ ἀμφοδὸν ἦε κρυφῆδόν. 330  
 ὦμοσε δὲ πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἀποσπένδων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
 νῆα κατειρύνθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἐταίρους,  
 οἳ δὴ μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ πρὶν ἀπέπεμψε· τύχησε γὰρ ἐρχομένη νηὺς  
 ἀνδρῶν Θεσπρωτῶν ἐς Δουλίχιον πολύπυρον. 335  
 ἔνθ' ὁ γέ μ' ἠνώγει πέμψαι βασιλῆϊ Ἀκάστῳ

317 ἀπριάτην Rhianus. 318 αἶθρῳ Zen. Aristoph. Ar.: λυθρῳ al. 325 νῦ  
 κεν] νῦν P H al. 326 τόσσα Ar. (πᾶσαι Did.), F, Eust.: ὅσσα vulg. (cp.  
 19. 295). 327 μεγάρῳ G: μεγάρους vulg. 328 ἐπακούσαι Aristoph. Herodian,  
 Sch. A. II. 1. 5, al.: ἐπ' ἀκούσῃ G: ἐπακούσῃ Ar., vulg. 329 νοστήσει MSS.:  
 but cp. 19. 298, where the metre requires νοστήσειε. 331 ἐπισπένδων ed. Aeolica.

315. The wind must now have gone  
 round from north-east to south or south-  
 east. This change would come with a  
 violent storm, such as is described. 'But  
 from Crete to Thesprotia is the regular  
 course of drift (independent of the wind),  
 owing to the set of the main current of  
 circulation in the Mediterranean. In  
 the same way St. Paul is "driven about  
 in Adria" (Acts xxvii. 27) for fourteen  
 days, before getting to Malta' (J. L. M.).

The story, however, is none the less im-  
 probable, considering the distance.

318. αἶθρος is a word only found here.  
 It seems to mean exposure to the air: cp.  
 the later ὑπαίθριος, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.

325. 'Would feed another (and so  
 on) to the tenth generation,' i.e. one  
 owner and then another to ten genera-  
 tions.

329. ὅππῃ νοστήσει 'how he should  
 return—whether openly or secretly.'

ἐνδυκέως τοῖσιν δὲ κακὴ φρεσὶν ἦνδανε βουλὴ  
 ἀμφ' ἐμοί, ὅφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύης ἐπὶ πῆμα γενοίμην.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε γαίης πολλὸν ἀπέπλω ποντοπόρος νηὺς,  
 αὐτίκα δούλιον ἦμαρ ἐμοὶ περιμηχανόωντο. 340  
 ἐκ μὲν με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ' ἔδυσαν,  
 ἀμφὶ δέ μοι βάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,  
 ῥωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρῃαι·  
 ἐσπέριοι δ' Ἰθάκης εὐδειέλου ἔργ' ἀφίκοντο.  
 ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν κατέδησαν ἐϋσσέλμῳ ἐνὶ νηϊ 345  
 ὀπλῳ ἐϋστρεφέϊ στερεῶς, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀποβάντες  
 ἐσσυμένως παρὰ θίνα θαλάσσης δόρπον ἔλοντο.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ δεσμὸν μὲν ἀνέγναμψαν θεοὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ῥηϊδίως· κεφαλῇ δὲ κατὰ βάκος ἀμφικαλύψας  
 ξεστὸν ἐφόλκαιον καταβὰς ἐπέλασσα θαλάσση 350  
 στῆθος, ἔπειτα δὲ χερσὶ διήρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι  
 νηχόμενος, μάλα δ' ὦκα θύρηθ' ἔα ἀμφὶς ἐκείνων.  
 ἔνθ' ἀναβάς, ὅθι τε δρύος ἦν πολυανθέος ὕλης,  
 κείμεν πεπτηώς. οἱ δὲ μεγάλα στενάχοντες  
 φοίτων· ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι 355  
 μαίεσθαι προτέρω, τοὶ μὲν πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαινον  
 νηὸς ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇ· ἐμὲ δ' ἔκρυψαν θεοὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ῥηϊδίως, καὶ με σταθμῷ ἐπέλασσαν ἄγοντες  
 ἀνδρὸς ἐπισταμένον· ἔτι γάρ νύ μοι αἶσα βιώναι."  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα· 360  
 "ἂ δειλὲ ξείνων, ἧ μοι μάλα θυμὸν ὄρινας

338 δὴν ἔτι πῆμα γίνεσθαι Aristoph.  
 Aristoph. 351 δῆρεια vulg.

343 ῥωγαλέον Rhianus.

349 κεφαλῇ

337. ἐνδυκέως 'with all kindness': in contrast to the κατὴ βουλὴ of the crew. See the note on l. 62.

338. ἐπὶ πῆμα γενοίμην 'might be brought into sorrow,' regarded as a place reached: cp. κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν, Il. 2. 234.

343. ὄρῃαι, formed as from a present ὄρημαι (like δίζημαι). Many MSS. give ὄρηαι, which is the Doric form: cp. ὄρητο, read by Zen. in Il. 1. 56, &c.

348. ἀνέγναμψαν 'bent back,' i. e. untied: cp. 8. 359 δεσμὸν ἀνίει.

350. ἐφόλκαιον is probably a 'lading plank,' to take in (ἐφέλκεσθαι) cargo. They are quite common on sailing boats, and on steamers in the Mediterranean. I have seen the lading plank used in shoal water as a gangway' (J. L. M.). See the fig. on p. 44. ἐπέλασσα, sc. without a splash. His head is disguised (l. 349), so as to look like flotsam as he swims away.

352. θύρηθ' 'out of the sea': cp. 5. 410 ἐκ βασις ἄλως πολιοῖο θύραζε.

ταῦτα ἕκαστα λέγων, ὅσα δὴ πάθες ἡδ' ὀδ' ἀλήθης.  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ὁδομαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις  
 εἰπὼν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ τί σε χρή τοῖον ἐόντα  
 μαψιδίως ψεύδεσθαι; ἐγὼ δ' εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς 365  
 νόστον ἐμοῖο ἀνακτος, ὃ τ' ἤχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 πᾶν γ' ἄνθρωπον, ὅττι μιν οὐ τι μετὰ Τρώεσσι δάμασσαν  
 ἦε φίλων ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε.  
 τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοί,  
 ἡδέ κε καὶ ᾧ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὅπισσ' αὖτε. 370  
 νῦν δέ μιν ἀκλειῶς ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρεΐσαντο.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ παρ' ὕεσσιν ἀπότροπος οὐδὲ πόλινδε  
 ἔρχομαι, εἰ μή πού τι περίφρων Πηνελόπεια  
 ἐλθέμεν ὀτρύνῃσιν, ὅτ' ἀγγελίη ποθὲν ἔλθῃ.  
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα παρήμενοι ἐξερέουσιν, 375  
 ἡμὲν οἱ ἀχνυνται δὴν οἰχομένοιο ἀνακτος,  
 ἡδ' οἱ χαίρουσιν βίοτον νήποινον ἔδοντες·  
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ φίλον ἐστὶ μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι,  
 ἐξ οὗ δὴ μ' Αἰτωλὸς ἀνὴρ ἐξήπαφε μύθοι,  
 ὅς ρ' ἀνδρα κτείνας, πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἀληθείς, 380  
 ἦλθεν ἐμὰ πρὸς δῶματ'. ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἀμφαγάπαζον.  
 φῆ δέ μιν ἐν Κρήτεσσι παρ' Ἰδομενῆϊ ιδέσθαι  
 νῆας ἀκείβμενον, τὰς οἱ ξυνέαζαν ἀελλαι·  
 καὶ φάτ' ἐλεύσεσθαι ἢ ἐς θέρος ἢ ἐς ὁπώραν,

366 δ τ'] δι G: δδ' X D al.

369-370 om. G F P H U Eust.: cp. I. 239-240.

363. κατὰ κόσμον 'aright': supply εἶπες by anticipation from οὐδέ με πείσεις εἰπὼν. The poet meant to say εἶπες, but the subordinate and parenthetical οὐδέ με πείσεις, coming before εἶπες, changed it to εἰπὼν. On this view ὁδομαι 'I suspect' is a parenthesis.

366. νόστον, acc. de quo: 'I know of his return that he has come to be hated,' i. e. that his return has been prevented by the hatred.

370. ἦρατο is doubtless a false form, due to an old confusion between ἡρόμην or (without augment) ἀρόμην, the 3 aor. of ἀρνυμαι 'to win,' and ἡράμην, the 1 aor. mid. of αἶρω 'to lift.' The latter

of these is post-Homeric, the Homeric form of the verb being αἶρω. For ἦρατο therefore we should restore ἦροτο.

371. ἄρπυιαι 'the snatchers,' a word formed like δργυια, δργυια, αἰθυια. The verb from which it comes is probably concealed in ἀνηρεΐσαντο, for which Fick (*Odyss.* p. 2) has happily proposed to read ἀνᾱρέψαντο, from ἀν-ἀρέψω, 'to snatch up' (*rapio*). Thus there is a play of language—the snatchers have snatched up.' See 20. 77, II. 20. 234.

For ἀρπυια Fick would read ἀρέπυια (a form given in the Et. Mag.): but ἀρπυια is related to the supposed ἀρέπω (or ἀρέπω) as δργυια to δρέγω.

πολλὰ χρήματ' ἄγοντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισι. 385  
καὶ σύ, γέρον πολυπενθές, ἐπεὶ σέ μοι ἤγαγε δαίμων,  
μήτε τί μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζεο μήτε τι θέλγε·  
οὐ γὰρ τοῦνεκ' ἐγὼ σ' αἰδέσσομαι οὐδὲ φιλήσω,  
ἀλλὰ Δία ξένιον δείσας αὐτόν τ' ἐλεαίρων."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς 390  
"ἦ μάλα τίς τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀπιστος,  
οἶδόν σ' οὐδ' ὁμόσας περ ἐπήγαγον οὐδέ σε πείθω.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ῥήτρην ποιησόμεθ'· αὐτὰρ ὅπισθε  
μάρτυροι ἀμφοτέροισι θεοί, τοὶ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
εἴ κεν νοστήσειεν ἀναξ τεὸς ἐς τὸδε δῶμα, 395  
ἔσσας με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα πέμψαι  
Δουλίχιόνδ' ἰέναι, ὅθι μοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ·  
εἰ δέ κε μὴ ἔλθῃσιν ἀναξ τεὸς ὥς ἀγορεύω,  
δμῶας ἐπισσεύας βαλέειν μεγάλης κατὰ πέτρης,  
ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλος πτωχὸς ἀλεύεται ἡπεροπυεύειν." 400

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε διὸς ὕφορβός·  
"ξεῖν', οὕτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐὔκλειή τ' ἀρετή τε  
εἴη ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα καὶ μετέπειτα,  
ὅς σ' ἐπεὶ ἐς κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα  
αὐτίς δὲ κτείναιμι φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην· 405  
πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἔπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην.  
νῦν δ' ὦρῃ δόρποιο· τάχιστα μοι ἔνδον ἐταῖροι  
εἰεν, ἴν' ἐν κλισίῃ λαρὸν τετυκοίμεθα δόρπον."

389 ξένιον X D, a. c. U: cp. 15. 514 ξείνιον G, 15. 546 ξείνιον G F P. As ξείνος (not ξένος) is the Homeric form, these readings may be right, and so ξεινίη in 14. 158., 17. 155., 20. 230., 24. 286, 314 (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 85). 393 ὅπισθεν G F P H al.: ὑπερθεν D U Eust. 395 εἰ κεν νοστήσειεν G: εἰ μὲν κεν νοστήσῃ vulg. On εἰ κεν see H. G. § 313. 406 Κρονίαν' ἀλιτοίμην X D H<sup>2</sup>, v.l. ap. Eust.

389. αὐτόν 'thysself.'

392. οἶδόν 'seeing that in such wise.'

402 ff. The form of the sentence is that in which the speaker begins by giving the reason, and then goes on to announce what he will do: but here the latter part is left unexpressed, being sufficiently conveyed by the ironical tone of what has been already said.

οὕτω 'on *that* plan,' 'if I did as *you* say.' On Homeric ἀρετή cp. 13. 45.

405. δέ, apodosis to ἐπεὶ δῶκα.

406. 'I should be fain thereupon to entreat Zeus' (sc. Ζεὺς ξείνιος), i. e. to make my peace with him. The aor. must refer to some *single* prayer to be made. The usual rendering — 'with good heart, forsooth, would I pray' — neglects the force of the tense. Moreover, πρόφρων implies *eagerness* to do something, not confidence in doing it. The reading ἀλιτοίμην 'I should (thereby) sin' is tempting, but gives a forced meaning to πρόφρων (= ἐθέλων γε), and to ἔπειτα.

\*Ως οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
 ἀγχιμόλον δὲ σῦες τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἦλθον ὑφορβοί. 410  
 τὰς μὲν ἄρα ἔρξαν κατὰ ἡθεα κοιμηθῆναι,  
 κλαγγὴ δ' ἄσπετος ὦρτο συῶν αὐλιζομένων·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ οἷς ἐτάροισιν ἐκέκλετο δῖος ὑφορβός·  
 “ἄξεθ' ὦν τὸν ἀριστον, ἵνα ξείνῳ ἱερεύσω  
 τηλεδαπῶ· πρὸς δ' αὐτοὶ ὀνησόμεθ', οἳ περ οἷζυν 415  
 δὴν ἔχομεν πάσχοντες ὦν ἑνεκ' ἀργιοδόντων,  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἡμέτερον κάματον νήποινον ἔδουσιν.”

\*Ως ἄρα φωνήσας κέασε ξύλα νηλεῖ χαλκῶ,  
 οἱ δ' ὕν εἰσήγον μάλα πίονα πενταέτηρον.  
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἔστησαν ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ· οὐδὲ συβώτης 420  
 λήθετ' ἄρ' ἀθανάτων· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθήσιν·  
 ἀλλ' ὁ γ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν  
 ἀργιόδοντος ὕος, καὶ ἐπεύχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα δνδε δόμονδε.  
 κόψε δ' ἀνασχόμενος σχίξῃ δρυός, ἣν λίπε κείων· 425  
 τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχῇ. τοὶ δ' ἔσφαζάν τε καὶ εὔσαν·  
 αἶψα δέ μιν διέχευαν· ὁ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,  
 πάντων ἀρχόμενος μελέων, ἐς πίονα δημόν.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε, παλύνας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῇ,  
 μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν, 430  
 ὥπτησάν τε περιφραδέως ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα,  
 βάλλον δ' εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἀολλέα· ἂν δὲ συβώτης  
 ἴστατο δαιτρεύσων· περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα ᾗδη.

424 = 21. 204, where it is more in place.

428 πάντων Ar.: πάντοθεν MSS.

433 δαιτρεύσων] δαιτρεύων G P U, perhaps rightly.

419. Imitation (or parody?) of Il. 2. 402. The epithet 'five years old' is proper for beef, but not for pork (Pierro *a.l.*).

422. ἀπαρχόμενος, = ἀποτέμνων ὡς ἄργμα (l. 446). In this sense it governs τρίχας: cp. Il. 19. 254 κάπρον ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος. See on Od. 3. 445-463.

425. ἀνασχόμενος 'raising his hand aloft,' Il. 23. 660 πῶς μάλ' ἀνασχομένην.

428. ἐς δημόν, with ὠμοθετεῖτο. The swineherd cut pieces of raw meat as first offerings from each of the limbs and laid them in fat. This, properly

speaking, represented the share of the gods in the sacrifice: but in the division among the guests one share was reserved for the host's especial patrons (l. 435), the nymphs and Hermes.

432. ἂν δὲ συβώτης κτλ. 'In Greece this is still done with great ceremony, and beforehand. The host stands, and picks over the whole dish of bits, putting fair equivalents towards each of the guests, before helping on to the plates—a clear survival from the plateless stage' (J. L. M.).

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑπταχα πάντα διεμοιράτο δαΐζων·  
 τὴν μὲν ἴαν νύμφῃσι καὶ Ἑρμῇ, Μαιάδος υἱεῖ, 435  
 θῆκεν ἑπενξάμενος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας νεῖμεν ἐκάστω·  
 νῶτοισιν δ' Ὀδυσῆα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν  
 ἀργιδόντος ὕς, κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἀνακτος·  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “αἶθ' οὕτως, Εὐμαίε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο 440  
 ὥς ἐμοί, ὅττι με τοῖον ἐντ' ἀγαθοῖσι γεραίρεις.”

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα·  
 “ἔσθιε, δαιμόνιε ξείνων, καὶ τέρπεο τοῖσδε,  
 οἷα πάρεστι· θεὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' ἑάσει,  
 ὅττι κεν ᾗ θυμῷ ἐθέλῃ· δύνатаι γὰρ ἅπαντα.” 445

Ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄργματα θύσε θεοῖς αἰεγενέτησι,  
 σπείσας δ' αἶθοπα οἶνον Ὀδυσσῆϊ πτολιπόρθῳ  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔθηκεν· ὁ δ' ἔξετο ἧ παρὰ μοίρῃ.  
 σῖτον δὲ σφιν ἔνειμε Μεσαύλιος, ὃν ῥα συβῶτης  
 αὐτὰς κτήσατο οἶος ἀποικομένοιο ἀνακτος, 450  
 νόσφιν δεσποίνης καὶ Λαέρταο γέροντος·  
 παρ δ' ἄρα μιν Ταφίων πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 σῖτον μὲν σφιν ἀφείλε Μεσαύλιος, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κοῖτον 455  
 σίτου καὶ κρειῶν κεκορημένοι ἐσσεύοντο.

Νυξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπῆλθε κακὴ, σκοτομήνιος· ὕε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς  
 πάννυχος, αὐτὰρ ἄη Ζέφυρος μέγας αἰὲν ἔφουδρος.  
 τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετέειπε, συβώτῳ πειρητίζων,  
 εἰ πῶς οἱ ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι, ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων 460  
 ἄλλον ἐποτρύνειεν, ἐπεὶ ἐο κήδετο λίην·

443 τοῖσδε] Read perhaps τοῖσιν, which makes a better antecedent to οἷα πάρεστι.  
 449 σφ' ἐπέειπε G. 456 κρειῶν] see on l. 28. 457 δ' ἄρ' (or δ' ἄρ)  
 G F U East. : γὰρ P H X al. 460 ἢ πως F.

435. Ἑρμῇ. The usual Homeric form of the name is Ἑρμείας: hence there must be some doubt of the genuineness of ll. 435-436. It may be noted that the giving of the chine as γέρας would come before the division.

446. ἄργματα 'the firstling pieces,' as described in l. 428.

457. σκοτομήνιος 'in the dark (part of the) month,' i.e. when there was no moon. It was then four days to the new moon: see on ll. 158-162.

“ κέκλυθι νῦν, Εὐμαίε καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι,  
 εὐξάμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω· οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει  
 ἡλέος, ὃς τ’ ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ’ ἀεῖσαι  
 καὶ θ’ ἀπαλὸν γελᾶσαι, καὶ τ’ ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκε, 465  
 καὶ τι ἔπος προέηκεν ὃ πέρ τ’ ἄρρητον ἄμεινον.  
 ἄλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέκραγον, οὐκ ἐπικεύσω.  
 εἴθ’ ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,  
 ὥς δθ’ ὑπὸ Τροίην λόχον ἤγομεν ἀρτύναντες.  
 ἡγείσθην δ’ Ὀδυσσεύς τε καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος, 470  
 τοῖσι δ’ ἅμα τρίτος ἦρχον ἐγών· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἄνωγον.  
 ἄλλ’ ὅτε δὴ ῥ’ ἰκόμεσθα ποτὶ πτόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος,  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν περὶ ἄστυ κατὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά,  
 ἀν δόνακας καὶ ἔλος, ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες  
 κείμεθα, νύξ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐπῆλθε κακὴ Βορέας πεσόντος, 475  
 πηγυλίσ· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε χιῶν γένετ’ ἥύτε πάχνη,  
 ψυχρή, καὶ σακέεσσι περιτρέφετο κρύσταλλος.  
 ἐνθ’ ἄλλοι πάντες χλαῖνας ἔχον ἡδὲ χιτῶνας,  
 εὐδον δ’ εὐκηλοι, σάκεσιν εἰλυμένοι ὤμους·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χλαῖναν μὲν ἰὼν ἐτάροισιν ἔλειπον 480  
 ἀφραδίης, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐφάμην ριγασέμεν ἔμπης,  
 ἄλλ’ ἐπόμην σάκος οἶον ἔχων καὶ ζῶμα φαεινόν.  
 ἄλλ’ ὅτε δὴ τρίχα νυκτὸς ἔην, μετὰ δ’ ἄστρα βεβήκει,

466. προέηκεν Ar. MSS. (cp. 20. 105): παρέθηκεν Aristoph. (prob. understanding it in the sense of Attic παρέστησεν ‘put into his mind’). 473 περὶ D U: παρὰ F M: προτὶ G P H al. 474 τεύχεσι Ar.: τείχεσι ancient v. l.

463. εὐξάμενός ἐρέω ‘I will say with a wish,’ i.e. give utterance to a wish. The aorist participle expresses coincidence with the action of the verb.

464. ἡλέος ‘mad,’ as being the cause of madness. So Διόνυσος is the ‘mad god,’ μαινόμενος (Il. 6. 132).

467. τὸ πρῶτον ‘once,’ ἀνέκραγον ‘raised my voice,’ ‘spoke out’: the word has a colloquial stamp.

473. περὶ ἄστυ is used (with some vagueness) of besiegers: Il. 8. 519., 24. 548.

475. πεσόντος ‘having fallen,’ i.e. ceased to blow: so 19. 202 ἀνεμὸς πέσε.

476. The emendation ἥυτε λάχνη (Naber) is very plausible.

477. περιτρέφετο ‘grew thick,’ ‘solid,’ cp. Od. 9. 246 (of milk curdling), 23. 237 περὶ χορὸν τίττροφεν ἄλμη.

479. The large oval ‘Mycenaean’ shield was swung round to the back, and served as a shelter, almost as an outer garment: see Reichel, *Ueber homerische Waffen*, p. 20.

481. ἔμπης, i.e. even without a χλαῖνα. 482. He has on a χιτῶν (l. 489): but that is always taken for granted. So in Il. 22. 124 Hector is γυμνός when he puts off his shield and helmet.

ζῶμα, a leathern apron or kilt: note the absence of a θώραξ, Reichel, p. 109.

483. τρίχα νυκτὸς ‘the third part of the night,’ see on 12. 312.



καὶ τότε ἔγων Ὀδυσῆα προσηύδων ἐγγὺς ἔοντα  
 ἀγκῶνι νύξας· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐμπαπέως ὑπάκουσε· 485  
 'διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ,  
 οὗτοι ἐτι ζωοῖσι μετέσσομαι, ἀλλὰ με χεῖμα  
 δάμναται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν· παρά μ' ἤπαφε δαίμων  
 οἰοχίτων' ἔμεναι· νῦν δ' οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται·  
 ὥς ἐφάμην, ὁ δ' ἐπειτα νόον σχέθε τόνδ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, 490  
 οἷος κείνος ἔην βουλευμένον ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι,  
 φθεγγάμενος δ' ὀλίγη ὅπιν με πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 'σίγα νῦν, μή τις σευ Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἀκούσῃ·  
 ἦ καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος κεφαλὴν σχέθεν εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 'κλῦτε, φίλοι· θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος. 495  
 λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἐκὰς ἤλθομεν· ἀλλὰ τις εἴη  
 εἰπεῖν Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,  
 εἰ πλέονας παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐποτρύνειε νέεσθαι·  
 ὥς ἔφατ', ὦρτο δ' ἐπειτα Θόας, Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,  
 καρπαλίμως, ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν θέτο φοινικέεσσαν, 500  
 βῆ δὲ θέειν ἐπὶ νῆας· ἐγὼ δ' ἐνὶ εἵματι κείνου  
 κείμεν ἀσπασίως, φάε δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἡώς.  
 ὥς νῦν ἡβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη·  
 [δοίῃ κέν τις χλαῖναν ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι συφορβῶν,  
 ἀμφοτέρων, φιλότῃ καὶ αἰδοῖ φωτὸς ἔηος· 505  
 νῦν δέ μ' ἀτιμάζουσι κακὰ χροῖ εἵματ' ἔχοντα.]"

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα·  
 "ὦ γέρον, αἴνος μὲν τοι ἀμύμων, ὃν κατέλεξας,

488 ἦλασε Callistratus.

489 ἔμεναι Callistratus.

491 βουλευμένον ἡδὲ

μάχεσθαι] τελέσαι ἔργον τε ἔπος τε v.l. ap. Eust. 494 σχέθεν] θέτο F P H M X.

500 θέτο G D U al.: βάλε F P H X.

504-506 obel. M (καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος

προσθέτει Schol. H).

490. τόνδε 'this' (which follows), viz. the device of sending Thoas.

495. This line is perhaps an interpolation, as Aristarchus thought, from Il. 2. 56. We expect to be told what this dream was, what it said, &c. In any case *λίην γὰρ κτλ.* is the real beginning of the speech, 'since we are so far &c.' But a form of address, such as *κλῦτε φίλοι*, cannot well be dispensed with.

504-506. These lines were rejected by ancient critics. They are weak in themselves and spoil the preceding story, the point of which is that it hints at the need of a cloak without directly asking for one.

508. αἴνος 'a tale,' 'account.' The meanings 'fable' and 'praise' are not clearly to be traced in Homer.

οὐδέ τί πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες·  
 τῷ οὗτ' ἐσθήτος δευήσεται οὔτε τευ ἄλλου,  
 ὧν ἐπέοιχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα,  
 νῦν ἄτὰρ ἠῶθέν γε τὰ σὰ ράκεα δνοπαλίζεις.  
 οὐ γὰρ πολλαὶ χλαῖναι ἐπημοιβοί τε χιτῶνες  
 ἐνθάδε ἐννυσθαί, μία δ' οἷη φωτὶ ἐκάστω.  
 [αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἔλθῃσιν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός,  
 αὐτὸς τοι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα δώσει,  
 πέμψει δ' ὅππῃ σε κραδίη θυμός τε κελεύει.]”

ᾧς εἰπὼν ἀνόρουσε, τίθει δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὸς ἐγγυς  
 εὐνήν, ἐν δ' οἶων τε καὶ αἰγῶν δέρματ' ἔβαλλεν.  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέλεκτ'· ἐπὶ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλεν αὐτῷ  
 πυκνήν καὶ μεγάλην, ἣ οἱ παρεκέσκειτ' ἀμοιβάς,  
 ἐννυσθαὶ ὅτε τις χεიმὼν ἔκπαγλος ὄροιτο.

ᾧς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κοιμήσατο, τοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἄνδρες κοιμήσαντο νεηνίαί· οὐδὲ συβῶτῃ  
 ἦνθανεν αὐτόθι κοῖτος, ὧν ἀπο κοιμηθῆναι,

509 ἔειπες] ἔειπες F M. 515-517 om. G F P H M X al.: cp. 15. 337-339,  
 where the lines are in place. 519 οἶων MSS. 521 μεγάλην] μαλακὴν  
 F M al. παρεκέσκειτ' Ar.: others (ἐν τισὶ Did.) παραχέσκειτ'. MSS. are divided;  
 παραέσκειτ' G: παρέσκειτ' P: παρεκέσκειτ', παρεχέσκειτ' al. 522 εἰνυσθαί  
 Aristoph. Rhianus: the true Ionic form, cp. εἶμα.

511. See on 6. 193.

512. δνοπαλίζεις has caused some difficulty. The meaning evidently is that Ulysses must wear his own rags again next day. In the Iliad the verb δνοπαλίζω seems to mean 'to knock aside' or 'against.' So metaphorically a man may be said to knock about the clothes which he wears. The word is doubtless colloquial, like so much of the vocabulary of the Odyssey: cp. 14. 467., 15. 426, 445., 16. 63.

519. The gen. sing. and plur. of δῖς appear in our texts of Homer in the forms δῖος, δῖων and οἶός, οἶων. In a majority of the passages (eighteen out of twenty-eight) the disyllabic οἶός, οἶων are required by the metre. In the remaining instances (as here) the metre admits either form. The MSS. favour οἶος in Il. 9. 207., 15. 373 (but οἶός in H and others), Od. 4. 764: οἶων in Il. 3.

198, Od. 9. 167., 14. 519., 20. 3; δῖων in Il. 18. 529, Od. 9. 441, 443. The ancients were divided. Aristarchus wrote οἶων (see La Roche on Il. 3. 198), and presumably also οἶός. Others, represented by Herodian, preferred δῖος, δῖων. They argued from the nom., which in Homer is always δῖς (not οἶός, as in Attic): so that the regular Ionic gen. would be δῖ-ος, δῖ-ων. But οἶός and οἶων, as the accent shows, are not contracted from δῖος, δῖων, but come directly from δῖ-ός, δῖ-ων: as δός from δέ-ε, and similarly δονός, γονός from δορ-ός, γορ-ός. Hence it is very probable that the forms δῖος, δῖων are fictitious: as are the gen. plur. δῖων and the datives πτόλι, μήτι, κόνι, &c. introduced by some modern grammarians.

521. ἀμοιβάς 'a change' = ἐπημοιβός (14. 513).

525. ὧν 'the boars,' see l. 16 (supra).

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἔξω ἰὼν ὠπλίζετο· χαίρει δ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὅττι ῥά οἱ βίβου περικλήδετο νόσφιν ἔντος.  
 πρῶτον μὲν ξίφος ὀξὺ περὶ στιβαροῖς βάλετ' ὥμοις,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ χλαῖναν ἐέσσατ' ἀλεξάνεμον, μάλα πυκνήν,  
 ἂν δὲ νάκην ἔλετ' αἰγὸς εὐτρεφέος μέγалоιο, 530  
 εἶλετο δ' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα, κυνῶν ἀλκτῆρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν.  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεναι κείων ὅθι περ σύες ἀργιῖδοντες  
 πῆτρῃ ὕπο γλαφυρῇ εὐδον, Βορέω ὑπ' ἰωγῇ.

528 στιβαροῖς . . . ὥμοις F, perhaps rightly, since the dat. plur. in -οις is probably not Homeric (*H. G.* § 102). But the true reading may be στιβαρῶ . . . ὥμῳ: as in the recurring περὶ δὲ ξίφος ὀξὺ θέτ' ὥμῳ (*Od.* 2. 3., 4. 308., 20. 125). Cp. however 6. 235., 8. 19., 15. 61., 23. 162.

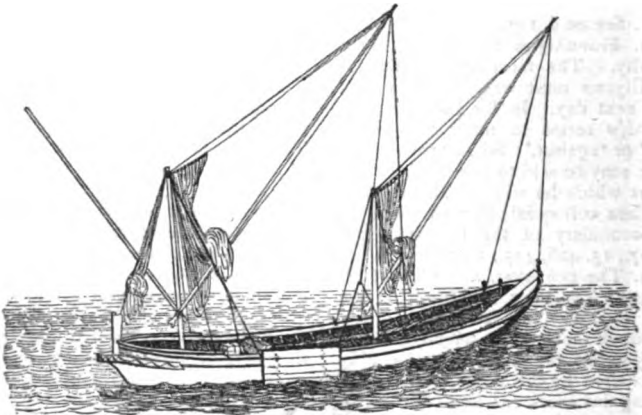
526. ὠπλίζετο 'furnished himself,' 'took what he needed for his bivouac.' The going out (*ἔξω ἰὼν*) properly comes after this furnishing, but is put first as being the main action: cp. 13. 274.

527. ἔντος is a possessive gen. governed by βίβου, instead of being construed with *ol*. For other examples see *H. G.* § 243 (*d*).

532. κείων, a fut. participle, always construed, as the Homeric rule requires (*H. G.* § 244), with a verb of *motion*: cp. 18. 428., 19. 48., 23. 292, *Il.* 14. 340, and the recurring κακκίοντες ἔβαν κτλ.; also *Od.* 7. 342 ὕρσο κίων. In 18. 408 ἀλλ' εὖ δαισάμενοι κατακίεστε οἰκαδ' ἰόντες (= 7. 188) we have the corresponding indicative (not an im-

perative, see the note *a. l.*); and the infinitive in 8. 315 οὐ μὲν σφεας ἐτ' ἔολπα . . . κειέμεν. The fut. may also be seen in κείω (19. 340) and κατακίωμεν (18. 419); but in both these places Homeric usage points rather to the subj. of an aorist *ἔκεια*, of which Hesychius has preserved the inf. (κακκίαι· κοιμηθῆναι). For the formation cp. ἔχευα: also δέατο seemed, which is for δει-ατο. There is no good evidence in Homer of a pres. κείω or κίων: hence the hypothesis of a Desiderative κείω (for κει-γω) seems unnecessary (see however Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 246).

533. Βορέω ἰωγῇ 'shelter from the north wind.'



A MEDITERRANEAN VESSEL, WITH LADING PLANK.

From a drawing by Mr. J. L. M yres.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Ο

Τηλεμάχου πρὸς Εὔμαιον ἀφίξις.

'Η δ' εἰς εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
 ᾤχετ', Ὀδυσσῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμον υἱὸν  
 νύκτου ὑπομήσσυσα καὶ ὄτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι.  
 εὔρε δὲ Τηλέμαχον καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν  
 εὐδοντ' ἐν προδόμφ Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο· 5  
 ἦ τοι Νεστορίδην μαλακῶ δεδμημένον ὕπνω,  
 Τηλέμαχον δ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔχε γλυκύς, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην μελεδήματα πατρὸς ἔγειρεν.  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 “Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι καλὰ δόμων ἀπο τῇλ' ἀλάλησαι, 10  
 κτήματά τε προλιπὼν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν σοῖσι δόμοισιν  
 οὕτω ὑπερφιάλους· μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσι  
 κτήματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τηῦσίην ὁδὸν ἔλθῃς.  
 ἀλλ' ὄτρυνε τάχιστα βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον  
 πεμπέμεν, ὅφρ' ἔτι οἴκοι ἀμύμονα μητέρα τέτμῃς. 15  
 ἤδη γάρ ῥα πατήρ τε κασιγνήτοί τε κέλονται  
 Εὐρυμάχῳ γήμασθαι· ὁ γὰρ περιβάλλει ἅπαντας  
 μνηστῆρας δάροισι καὶ ἐξώφελλεν ἔεδνα·  
 μή νύ τι σεῦ ἀέκητι δόμων ἐκ κτήμα φέρηται.  
 οἴσθα γὰρ οἶος θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γυναικός· 20

11 κτήματα FD Eust.: χρήματα G P H U al.: cp. 13. 203. 16 γάρ ῥα vulg.:  
 γάρ U: γάρ τε P L W: γάρ & Bothe. 19 obel. Aristoph.

The scene changes to Sparta, whither we follow Athene (13. 440). As the last book ended with the coming on of night, the story must now begin with the next day, the 36th. The chronology is not quite clear: see 17. 515.

4-7. There is an apparent contradiction: 'she found both sleeping . . . but Telemachus was not sleeping.' It may remind us of the famous contradiction about Zeus, between Il. 1. 611 and 2. 2. In both places the difficulty lies in the epic style of narration.

8. μελεδήματα πατρός 'his anxious thoughts about his father.'

ἔγειρεν 'roused,' 'kept him awake.'

10. τῇλῃ is perhaps said with allusion to the name Τηλέμαχος.

19. φέρεται 'carry with her,' 'carry off.' Aristophanes is said to have rejected the line ἐπὶ σμικρολογίᾳ, on account of the meanness to which it appeals. But it is necessary to the next sentence, οἴσθα γάρ κτλ. The ancient critics were apt to judge Homeric sentiment from their own standard.

κείνου βούλεται οἶκον ὀφέλλειν ὅς κεν ὀπυῖη,  
 παίδων δὲ προτέρων καὶ κουριδίοιο φίλοιο  
 οὐκέτι μέμνηται τεθνηὸτος οὐδὲ μεταλλᾷ.  
 ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἔλθων αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψειας ἕκαστα  
 δμφάων ἧ τίς τοι ἀρίστη φαίνεται εἶναι, 25  
 εἰς ὃ κέ τοι φήνωσι θεοὶ κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοί τι ἔπος ἔρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο θυμῷ.  
 μνηστήρων σ' ἐπιτηδὲς ἀριστῆες λοχόωσιν  
 ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
 ἰέμενοι κτείνειν, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι. 30  
 ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ὄϊω πρὶν καὶ τίνα γαῖα καθέξει  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἳ τοι βίοντον κατέδουσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ ἐκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα,  
 νυκτὶ δ' ὁμῶς πλείειν πέμψει δέ τοι οὔρον ὀπισθεν  
 ἀθανάτων ὅς τίς σε φυλάσσει τε ρύεται τε. 35  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης ἀφίκηται,  
 νῆα μὲν εἰς πόλιν ὀτρῦναι καὶ πάντας ἐταίρους,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ πρώτιστα συβώτην εἰσαφικέσθαι,  
 ὅς τοι ὦν ἐπίουρος, ὁμῶς δέ τοι ἡπία οἶδεν.  
 ἔνθα δὲ νύκτ' ἀέσαι· τὸν δ' ὀτρῦναι πόλιν εἴσω 40  
 ἀγγελίην ἐρέοντα περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
 οὐνεκά οἱ σῶς ἔσσι καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλουθας."  
 'Ἢ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη πρὸς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Νεστορίδην ἐξ ἡδέος ὕπνου ἔγειρε

21 ὅς κεν vulg.: ὅς τις P. ὀπυῖοι MSS.

42 σῶς, see on 19. 300., 22. 28.

21. The use of ὅς κεν in a gnomic sentence is unusual; but cp. l. 55. It might be defended here on the ground that βούλεται ὀφέλλειν is felt as a future. But it is of little use to discuss the syntax until the *f* of *φοῖον* has been restored. In any case the subj. ὀπυῖη is probably right: ὀπυῖα comes from 2. 336., 16. 386.

22. κουριδίοιο, sc. ἀνδρός: cp. 19. 266.

24-26. These three lines were rejected by some ancient critics, on the ground that they do not lead to anything in the subsequent story.

ἐπιτρέψειας, opt. as a polite form of imperative: 'I would have you entrust.'

28. ἐπιτηδὲς 'of set purpose.'

33. ἐκὰς νήσων, i.e. keeping close to the mainland. In νήσων the reference must be especially to Cephallonia, as the suitors lay in wait between that island and Ithaca. But the phrase seems regularly to denote the three islands often mentioned with Ithaca—*Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ Ἀλγέσσα Ζάκυνθος*. These are described as lying πρὸς Ἡλίδος (21. 347), and had therefore to be passed by Telemachus. See on 15. 299-300.

34. ὁμῶς, i.e. as well as by day: cp. the phrase ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμας.

39. ὁμῶς κτλ. See on 13. 405.

λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν· 45

“ἔγρεο, Νεστορίδῃ Πεισίστρατε, μώνυχας ἵππους  
ζεῦξον ὑφ’ ἄρματ’ ἄγων, ὅφρα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο.”

Τὸν δ’ αὖ Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος ἀντίον ἤυδα·

“Τηλέμαχ’, οὐ πως ἔστιν ἐπείγομένους περ ὁδοῖο  
νύκτα διὰ δνοφερὴν ἐλάαν· τάχα δ’ ἔσσεται ἡώς. 50

ἀλλὰ μὲν εἰς ὃ κε δῶρα φέρων ἐπιδίφρια θήῃ

ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος,

καὶ μῦθοις ἀγανοῖσι παραυδήσας ἀποπέμψῃ.

τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μιμνήσκεται ἡματα πάντα

ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου, ὅς κεν φιλότητα παράσχη.” 55

“Ὡς ἔφατ’, αὐτίκα δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἤλυθεν Ἡώς.

ἀγχιμόλον δέ σφ’ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,

ἀνστὰς ἐξ εὐνῆς, Ἑλένης πάρα καλλικόμοιο.

τὸν δ’ ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσεύς φίλος υἱός,

σπερχόμενός ρα χιτῶνα περὶ χροῖ σιγαλδέντα 60

δύνειν, καὶ μέγα φᾶρος ἐπὶ στιβαροῖς βάλετ’ ὥμοις

ἥρως, βῆ δὲ θύραζε, παριστάμενος δὲ προσηύδα

[Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσεύς θεῖοιο]

“Ἀτρεΐδῃ Μενέλαε διотреφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,

ἦδη νῦν μ’ ἀπόπεμπε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν· 65

ἦδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται οἴκαδ’ ἰκέσθαι.”

Τὸν δ’ ἡμείβετ’ ἔπειτα βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·

“Τηλέμαχ’, οὐ τί σ’ ἔγωγε πολὺν χρόνιον ἐνθάδ’ ἐρύξω

ἰέμενον νόστοιο· νεμεσσωμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλω

ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ’ ἔξοχα μὲν φιλήσιν, 70

ἔξοχα δ’ ἐχθαίρῃσιν· ἀμείνω δ’ αἶσιμα πάντα.

ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ’, ὅς τ’ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι

ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.

61 στιβαροῖς ὥμοις] see 14. 528. 63 om. vulg. 66 ἐέλδeto! (H. G. § 73).

45. Ar. and modern critics object to *λάξ ποδὶ κτλ.* as absurd when the man to be awakened was in a bed. But we do not know the form of the bed. In the parallel Il. 10. 158 this point is equally undetermined.

70. The opposition expressed by *φι-*

*λήσιν* and *ἐχθαίρῃσι* is repeated and explained in 72-73. Too much kindness, shown in keeping a guest against his will, is as bad as sending him away before he wishes to go. But the gnomic line 74 is clearly an addition, as such a line is apt to be.

[χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.]

ἀλλὰ μὲν' εἰς δ' κε δῶρα φέρων ἐπιδίφρια θείω  
καλά, σὺ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδης, εἶπω δὲ γυναιξὶ  
δεῖπνον ἐνὶ μεγάροις τετυκεῖν ἄλις ἔνδον ἔντων.  
ἀμφοτέρων κῶδος τε καὶ ἀγλαΐη καὶ δνειαρ  
δειπνήσαντας ἴμεν πολλὴν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφθῆναι ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, 80

74 ἐν πολλοῖς οὐκ ἐφέρετο Ariston. : see the note on l. 70. 76 ἴδης MSS. : ἴδῃ Ar. (as we gather from the scholia on Il. 1. 203., 3. 163., &c.). ἴδης was read by Zenodotus, and has most support in the manuscripts, especially in the Odyssey. Moreover the true Homeric form was ἴδῃαι, which is not likely to have been contracted : *H. G.* § 378\*, 2, a. 78-85 were rejected by Ar. (obel. M).

78. ἀμφοτέρων is adverbial. A feast is both an honour (κῶδος καὶ ἀγλαΐη) and a benefit (δνειαρ).

80-85. This passage has been recently discussed by Mr. J. B. Bury in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xv. pp. 217-238, with especial reference to the words ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος. These words are generally understood as a poetical or traditional periphrasis for the whole of Greece,—Hellas (a part of Thessaly) representing the north and Argos the Peloponnesus. Mr. Bury points out that, if this is so, the offer here made by Menelaus is a strange one. Telemachus has just entreated to be allowed to return home at once. How could Menelaus, who has himself been dwelling on the duty of speeding the parting guest, suddenly propose to be his companion on so long a tour? In seeking for a solution of this difficulty, Mr. Bury is led to examine afresh the old question (Thuc. 1. 3, &c.) of the different uses of the names Ἑλλάς and Ἑλληνες. Among other results he arrives at the conclusion that, just as in the Iliad the names Ἑλλάς and Ἀχαιοί are closely associated in Thessaly, so the name Ἑλλάς at a somewhat later time was applied to the 'Achaia' of history, the north coast-land of the Peloponnesus. If then this is the sense of the term in the passage before us, Menelaus does not invite Telemachus to go with him all over Greece, but only to make a *détour* through Argolis and Achaia—countries then under the dominion of the Atridae.

It is impossible here to discuss Mr. Bury's history of the name Ἑλλάς: but a word may be said regarding its application to the Odyssey. In the first place,

the difficulty with which he begins is surely not insuperable. Granting that Telemachus was not likely to accept the invitation, it may be that ancient manners required some such speech from the host—the *μῦθος ἀγανός* promised by Pisistratus (l. 53). And the main purpose of Telemachus, the quest of news of his father, though not again mentioned here, must be supposed present to the minds of both. Moreover, the difficulty is not one that is very much diminished by Mr. Bury's interpretation. For surely it lies (poetically at least) not so much in the length of the proposed journey as in the fact of such an expedition being proposed at that moment. Again, the phrase ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος is (or became) a piece of Epic commonplace. In Od. 1. 344 (= 4. 726, 816) τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος it seems to mean Greece generally. Moreover, it is plainly a variation of the line Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιῖδα καλλιγύναικα, which is also of a traditional type. The meaning of these phrases no doubt changed with time and circumstances; but it must always have been wide and conventional. It is hard to believe that Menelaus would use them to describe a route which he particularly wished to represent as a definite and limited one.

The phrase μέσον Ἄργος is not to be pressed: cp. Il. 6. 224 Ἀργεῖ μέσση. There is nothing to connect it with a distinction between Argos in the narrower sense of the Argive plain and in the wider sense in which it includes a large part (if not the whole) of Peloponnesus.

80. The apodosis to εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις

ἔφρα τοι αὐτὸς ἔπωμαι, ὑποζεύξω δέ τοι ἵππους,  
 ἄστεα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡγήσομαι· οὐδέ τις ἡμέας  
 αὐτῶς ἀππέμψει, δώσει δέ τι ἔν γε φέρεσθαι,  
 ἥε τινα τριπόδων ἑυχάλκων ἥε λεβήτων,  
 ἥε δὺ' ἡμιόνους ἥε χρύσειον ἀλειςον.”

85

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδ' α·  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,  
 βούλομαι ἤδη νείσθαι ἐφ' ἡμέτερ'· οὐ γὰρ ὅπισθεν  
 οὔρον ἰὼν κατέλειπον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν·  
 μὴ πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζήμενος αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι,  
 ἦ τί μοι ἐκ μεγάρων κειμήλιον ἐσθλὸν ὀλῆται.”

90

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,  
 αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἦ ἀλόχῳ ἠδὲ δμῳῇσι κέλευσε  
 δεῖπνον ἐνὶ μεγάροις τετυκεῖν ἄλις ἔνδον ἐόντων.  
 ἀγχίμολον δέ οἱ ἦλθε Βοηθοΐδης Ἑτεωνεύς,  
 ἀνστὰς ἐξ εὐνῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολλὸν ναίειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ·  
 τὸν πῦρ κῆαι ἄνωγε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος  
 ὀπτήσαι τε κρεῶν· ὁ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν ἀκούσας.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσето κηῶντα,  
 οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γ' Ἑλένη κίε καὶ Μεγαπένθης.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ β' ἴκαν' ὄθι οἱ κειμήλια κείμενα,  
 Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἔπειτα δέπας λάβεν ἀμφικύπελλον,  
 νῖδ' ἀνὴρ κρητῆρα φέρειν Μεγαπένθε' ἄνωγεν  
 ἀργύρεον· Ἑλένη δὲ παρίστατο φωριαμοῖσιν,  
 ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμπούκιλοι, οὓς κάμεν αὐτή.

95

100

105

83 δέ τι vulg.: δέ τε P J U: δέ τοι conj. Voss; cp. 4. 589., 17. 11, 19, 559.  
 101 ἴκαν' ὄθι οἱ F D: ἴκανον ὄθι οἱ G M U: ἴκανον ὄθι P H X al.: ἴκονθ' ὄθι οἱ  
 Herm. Orph. 779. 105 ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ] The most probable restoration is ἔνθα 'f'  
 ἔσαν, where 'f' is for 'φοι,' with elision. But the pronoun is hardly needed.

τραφῆναι is understood: 'if you wish to turn ... (do so).' Cp. Il. 6. 150 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ἔφρ' ἐν εἰδῇ, κτλ. (so 20. 213., 21. 487): also Il. 7. 375 αἰ κ' ἐθέλωσι παύσασθαι ... εἰς 5 κε κτλ., Od. 4. 388 (where δὲ κέν τοι κτλ. cannot be the apodosis), 21. 260. These parallels show that it is epiteles to make the apodosis begin at ἔφρα (Ameis, &c.), or ὅπως (Bury).

81. αὐτός, of Menelaus in contra-

distinction to Pisistratus, who would return to Pylos alone. The clause ὑποζεύξω κτλ. is subordinate in sense to ἔπωμαι: hence the prothysteron, cp. 13. 274., 14. 209.

83. αὐτως 'as we came,' i. e. without any present.

89. οὔρον 'watcher'; cp. the δοιδός left in charge by Agamemnon, 3. 267.

91. Anciently rejected, cp. l. 19.

98. Perhaps we should read ὀπτήσα,



τῶν ἐν' αἵραμένη Ἑλένη φέρε, δια γυναικῶν,  
 δς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἡδὲ μέγιστος,  
 ἀστὴρ δ' ὥς ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκειτο δὲ νεάτος ἄλλων.  
 βὰν δ' ἰέναι προτέρω διὰ δώματα, ἥος ἴκοντο  
 Τηλέμαχον· τὸν δὲ προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος· 110  
 "Τηλέμαχ', ἡ τοι νόστον, ὅπως φρεσὶ σῆσι μενοινᾷς,  
 ὥς τοι Ζεὺς τελέσειεν, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης.  
 [δῶρων δ', ὅσσ' ἐν ἐμῷ οἴκῳ κειμήλια κείται,  
 δώσω δ' κάλλιστον καὶ τιμηέστατόν ἐστι.  
 δώσω τοι κρητῆρα τετυγμένον· ἀργύρεος δὲ 115  
 ἔστιν ἅπας, χρυσῷ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράανται,  
 ἔργον δ' Ἐφαιστοιο· πόρεν δέ ἐ Φαίδιμος ἥρως,  
 Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, δθ' ἐδς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
 κεῖσ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα· τεῖν δ' ἐθέλω τόδ' ὀπάσσαι."]  
 \*Ὡς εἰπὼν ἐν χειρὶ τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον 120  
 ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης· ὁ δ' ἄρα κρητῆρα φαεινὸν  
 θῆκ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε φέρων κρατερὸς Μεγαπένθης  
 ἀργύρεον· Ἑλένη δὲ παρίστατο καλλιπάρης  
 πέπλον ἔχουσ' ἐν χερσίν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 "δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι, 125  
 μνήμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν, πολυηράτου ἐς γάμου ὥρην,  
 σῇ ἀλόχῳ φορέειν· τῆος δὲ φίλῃ παρὰ μητρὶ  
 κείσθαι ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ. σὺ δέ μοι χαίρων ἀφίκοιο  
 οἶκον ἐϋκτέμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν."  
 \*Ὡς εἰπούσ' ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο χαίρων. 130  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς πείρινθα τίθει Πεισίστρατος ἥρως  
 δεξάμενος, καὶ πάντα ἐφ' ἠθήσατο θυμῷ·  
 τοὺς δ' ἦγε πρὸς δῶμα κάρη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος.

109 δώματα Eust.: δώματος MSS.

113 δῶρον δ' G U al. 120 χερσὶ γρ. H.

113-119 (= 4. 613-619) om. P H.

128 κείσθαι Ar. G F: κείσθω vulg.

κρέαν 'wherewith to roast some of the flesh.' For κρέαν see on 14. 28.

116. 'The lips are wrought above, as finished, with gold.'

128. κείσθαι. The inf. carries on the constr. of φορέειν (inf. of consequence after δίδωμι). It illustrates the process

by which the inf. comes to be used as an imperative. In this place the vulg. κείσθω has a peremptory tone which the inf. avoids.

132. 'Gazed upon them with his heart,' i.e. with all his thoughts centred upon them.

ἐξέσθην δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε.  
 χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχῶφ' ἐπέχευε φέρουσα 135  
 καλῇ χρυσεῖῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,  
 νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.  
 σῖτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμῇ παρέθηκε φέρουσα,  
 [εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων·]  
 πὰρ δὲ Βοηθοῖδης κρέα δαίετο καὶ νέμε μοίρας· 140  
 οἶνοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχος καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 ἵππους τε ζεύγυντ' ἀνά θ' ἄρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον, 145  
 ἐκ δ' ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου.  
 τοὺς δὲ μετ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἔκιε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,  
 οἶνον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι  
 ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην.  
 στή δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε, δεδισκόμενος δὲ προσηύδα· 150  
 “χαίρετον, ὦ κούρω, καὶ Νέστορι ποιμένι λαῶν  
 εἰπεῖν· ἡ γὰρ ἔμοιγε πατὴρ ὥς ἦπιος ἦεν,  
 ἦος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ πολεμίζομεν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν.”  
 Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·  
 “καὶ λίην κείνῳ γε, διοτρεφές, ὥς ἀγορεύεις, 155  
 πάντα τάδ' ἐλθόντες καταλέξομεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὥς  
 νοστήσας Ἰθάκηνδε, κίχων Ὀδυσῇ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

139 om. G P H X al.; see on 17. 95.

141 οἶνοχόει Ar. G: φῖνοχόει vulg.

144 δὴ G U: καὶ vulg.

149 ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ G F U: χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαϊ P X al.:

perhaps χρυσέῳ δέπαϊ (so Ar. in 3. 41).

157 κίχων G U al.: κίων F P H

al. Eust. With κίων it is necessary to take Ὀδυσῇ as Ὀδυσῆϊ, or to read Ὀδυσῇ (as Ar., see Sch. H) or Ὀδυσῆϊ (Eust.).

146. προθύροιο, the gateway of the αὐλή or court-yard.

αἰθούσις, the 'portico' or *loggia* across the gateway, which echoed to the tramp of the horses (ἐριδούπος).

152. εἰπεῖν (so Ar.), sc. χαίρειν.

156-158. αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὥς . . . ὥς . . ., lit. 'would that I may tell it on returning to Ithaca and finding Ulysses in the house, even as I go on my way after receiving all hospitality from you,' i.e. 'my debt to you for hospitality is as great and sure as my desire to see my

father again in Ithaca.' This is the only interpretation consistent with the idiomatic use of ὥς—ὥς in wishes. The commentators take the first ὥς as = 'as surely as I shall tell it to Nestor,' and ὥς παρὰ σείῳ κτλ. as an object clause, so that the sense is 'would that I may be equally sure of telling my father of your hospitality.' But this does not lay due stress on ὥς παρὰ κτλ., which is the main assertion of the sentence. Cp. 3. 218., 18. 236., 21. 402, 11. 8. 538., 13. 825., 18. 464.

εἵποιμ', ὥς παρὰ σεῖο τυχὼν φιλόκτητος ἀπάσης  
ἔρχομαι, αὐτὰρ ἄγω κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἑσθλά."

\*Ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις, 160

αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων δνύχεσσι πέλωρον,  
ἥμερον ἐξ αὐλῆς· οἱ δ' ἰύζοντες ἔποντο  
ἄνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες· ὁ δὲ σφισιν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθων  
δεξιὸς ἦϊξε πρόσθ' ἵππων· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
γῆθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη. 165

τοῖσι δὲ Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος ἤρχετο μύθων·

"φράζεο δῆ, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,  
ἦ νῶϊν τόδ' ἔφηνε θεὸς τέρας ἦε σοὶ αὐτῷ."

\*Ὡς φάτο, μερμήριξε δ' ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος,  
δππως οἱ κατὰ μοῖραν ὑποκρίναιτο νοήσας. 170

τὸν δ' Ἑλένη τανύπεπλος ὑποφθαμένη φάτο μῦθον·

"κλυτέ μεν, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μαντεύσομαι, ὥς ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
ἄθᾶνatoi βάλλουσι καὶ ὥς τελέεσθαι. οἶω.

ὥς ὅδε χῆν' ἤρπασ' ἀτιταλλομένην ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

ἔλθων ἐξ ὄρεος, ὅθι οἱ γενεή τε τόκος τε, 175

ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς κακὰ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς

οἴκαδε νοστήσει καὶ τίσεται· ἦε καὶ ἦδη

οἴκοι, ἀτὰρ μνηστήρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει."

Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·

159 ἄγω vulg.: ἔχω XU: ἐγὼ PM.

167 δῆ] νῦν G X al.

158. ἀπάσης, as we say, 'nothing but kindness.'

160. ἐπέπτατο 'flew by': ἐπί as in ἐπαληθεῖς (l. 176).

δεξιός 'to the right': equivalent to ἐπιδείξια, and thus meaning 'from left to right.' So in l. 164 δεξιὸς ἦϊξε πρόσθ' ἵππων means 'sped to the right in front of the chariot,' so as to cross its path in the lucky direction.

Note the order of the narrative: first a brief statement, in the words ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις (l. 160), then the incident in detail (ll. 161-165). Hence the main fact is told over again in l. 164 δεξιὸς ἦϊξε κτλ. Cp. ll. 6. 158-168, where the story begins with the main fact of the banishment of Bellerophon (ὅς ῥ' ἐκ δήμου

ἔλασσε), and then goes back to the cause—τῷ δὲ γυνὴ Πρωΐτου ἐπεμήνατο κτλ.

170. ὑποκρίναιτο 'should expound,' 'read the sign'; cp. 19. 535, 555.

172. αὐτὰρ marks the slight contrast between the listeners (κλυτέ μεν) and the speaker: 'do you hear, and I &c.' Cp. ἀτὰρ, ll. 178, 197.

175. γενεή τε τόκος τε is an example of the kind of hendiadys formed by two nearly synonymous words: e.g. κραδίη θυμός τε, ἔβρις τε βίη τε, βουλή τε νόος τε, ἀνείρεαι ἠδὲ μεταλλᾶς, μάχης ἠδὲ πτολίεμοιο, Lat. *more modoque*, Germ. 'Art und Weise.' The two meanings are fused, as it were, into a single more complete conception.

“οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεΐη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης· 180  
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κείθι θεῶ ὥς εὐχετοφῆμν.”

Ἥ καὶ ἐφ’ ἵπποιϊν μᾶστιν βάλεν· οἱ δὲ μάλ’ ὦκα  
ῥίξαν πεδίοις διὰ πτόλιος μεμαῶτες.

οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι σείον ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες·  
δύσετό τ’ ἥελιος σκιδῶντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί, 185

ἐς Φηρὰς δ’ ἵκοντο Διοκλῆος ποτὶ δῶμα,  
υἱέος Ὀρτιλόχοιο, τὸν Ἀλφειὺς τέκε παῖδα.  
ἔνθα δὲ νύκτ’ ἄεσαν, ὃ δὲ τοῖς παρ ξείνια θῆκεν.

Ἥμος δ’ ἡριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
ἵππους τε ζεύγυνντ’ ἀνά θ’ ἄρματα ποικίλ’ ἔβαινον, 190

ἐκ δ’ ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου·  
μᾶστιξεν δ’ ἐλάαν, τῷ δ’ οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην.

αἶψα δ’ ἔπειθ’ ἵκοντο Πύλου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον·  
καὶ τότε Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεε Νέστορος υἱόν·  
“Νεστορίδῃ, πῶς κέν μοι ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειας 195

μῦθον ἐμόν; ξεῖνοι δὲ διαμπερὲς εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι  
ἐκ πατέρων φιλότῃτος, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὁμήλικές εἰμεν·  
ἦδε δ’ ὁδὸς καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμοφροσύνῃσιν ἐνήσει.

μή με παρέξ ἄγε νῆα, διοτρεφές, ἀλλὰ λίπ’ αὐτοῦ,  
μή μ’ ὃ γέρων ἀέκοντα κατίσχη ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ 200  
ἱέμενος φιλέειν· ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶ θάσσον ἰκέσθαι.”

\*Ὡς φάτο, Νεστορίδης δ’ ἄρ’ ἐφ’ συμφράσσατο θυμῷ,

188 ὃ δὲ τοῖς παρ ξείνια θῆκεν] In the parallel 3. 490 most MSS. give the smoother half-line ὃ δ’ ἄρα ξεινήϊα δῶκεν. The other may come from Od. 5. 91., 9. 517 ἵνα τοι παρ ξείνια θείω. 200 κατίσχη G: κατάσχη vulg.

181. τῷ κέν τοι ‘then to thee I &c.’ 184-192, = 3. 486-494. The line δύσετό τ’ ἥελιος κτλ. is obviously archaic and conventional. It is always used when the poet wishes to say what point, in a journey or process of some kind, had been reached at sunset. The form is noticeable as an instance of primitive parataxis. Here (e.g.) there are three statements virtually forming a single sentence: ‘the horses rattled the yoke—the sun set—and they reached Phœacæ’; i.e. ‘they trotted along until, at sunset, they reached Phœacæ.’ The connexion of the clauses is generally

obscured in our texts by the punctuation. It is well seen in the shorter 6. 321 δύσετό τ’ ἥελιος καὶ τοὶ κλυτὸν ἄλσος ἵκοντο (cp. 8. 417). See also the note on 15. 296.

189. Morning of the 37th day.

198. Cp. Il. 9. 700 ἀγνῶρῃσιν ἐνήκεας = ‘you have encouraged in haughtiness.’

199. This shows, as Strabo points out, that the city of Pylos was some way inland.

201. ἐμὲ may be subject to ἰκέσθαι (as in 210), ‘needs must that I reach my end quickly.’ But χρεῶ (sc. ἰστέ) may take an accusative: 1. 225, Il. 9. 75., 10. 43.

ὅπως οἱ κατὰ μοῖραν ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειεν  
 ὦδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι·  
 στρέψ' ἵππους ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν καὶ θίνα θαλάσσης, 205  
 νῆϊ δ' ἐνὶ πρυμνῇ ἐξαίνυτο κάλλιμα δῶρα,  
 ἐσθῆτα χρυσόν τε, τὰ οἱ Μενέλαος ἔδωκε·  
 καὶ μιν ἐποτρύνων ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“σπουδῇ νῦν ἀνάβαινε κέλευέ τε πάντας ἑταίρους,  
 πρὶν ἐμὲ οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε γέροντι. 210  
 εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·  
 οἶος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος, οὗ σε μεθήσει,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καλέων δεῦρ' εἴσεται, οὐδέ ἔφημι  
 ἂψ ἰέναι κενέον· μάλα γὰρ κεχολώσεται ἔμπης.”

ᾧς ἄρα φωνήσας ἔλασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους 215  
 ἂψ Πυλίων εἰς ἄστυ, θοῶς δ' ἄρα δώμαθ' ἵκανε.  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσεν·  
 “ἐγκοσμεῖτε τὰ τεύχε', ἑταῖροι, νῆϊ μελαίνῃ,  
 αὐτοὶ τ' ἀμβαίνωμεν, ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο.”

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἡδ' ἐπίθοντο,  
 αἶψα δ' ἄρ' εἰσβαίνον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον. 221  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν τὰ πονεῖτο καὶ εὖχετο, θύε δ' Ἀθήνη  
 νῆϊ πάρα πρυμνῇ· σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἤλυθεν ἀνὴρ  
 τηλεδαπός, φεύγων ἐξ Ἀργεὸς ἄνδρα κατακτάς,  
 μάντις· ἀτὰρ γενεήν γε Μελάμποδος ἔκγονος ἦεν, 225  
 ὃς πρὶν μὲν ποτ' ἔναιε Πύλφ' ἐνι, μητέρι μῆλων,  
 ἀφνειὸς Πυλίοισι μέγ' ἔξοχα δώματα ναίων·

213 εἴσεται] ἔσεται G F. ἔ] σέ G F H M U al. 217 ἐποτρύνας F X D U al.  
 (H. G. § 77): ἐποτρύνων G P H. 218 ἑταῖροι νῆϊ μελαίνῃ] ἐμοὶ ἐρήρης ἑταῖροι P.

206. ἐξαίνυτο, a pregnant use, 'took out (and placed)': cp. 13. 274, &c.

209. κέλευέ τε, sc. ἀναβαίνειν.

212. ὑπέρβιος 'overbearing,' 'masterful.' The words are repeated from II. 18. 262, and here are only half-serious.

213. εἴσεται 'will make his way.'

214. ἔμπης 'in any case,' here with a general affirmative force, 'for certain': see on 19. 37.

218. τὰ τεύχεα 'the arms,' cp. 16.

474 βεβρίθει δὲ σάκεσσι καὶ ἔρχεσιν ἀμφιγύνοισι (of the ship manned by the Suitors). The word does not include the rigging (ὀπλα), which is taken in hand later (287-291).

225. ἔκγονος, sc. great-grandson: see the genealogy of Theoclymenus given in the notes on 11. 281 ff.

226. ὅς, sc. Melampus: cp. 11. 291.

227. Πυλίοισι, a locative dative, with μέγ' ἔξοχα δώματα ναίων: cp. 21. 266

δὴ τότε γ' ἄλλων δῆμον ἀφίκετο πατρίδα φεύγων  
 Νηλέα τε μεγάθυμον, ἀγαυότατον ζώντων,  
 ὃς οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν 230  
 εἶχε βίη. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐνὶ μεγάροις Φυλάκοιο  
 δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ δέδετο, κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων  
 εἵνεκα Νηλῆος κούρης ἄτης τε βαρείης,  
 τήν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ δασπλῆτις Ἐρινύς.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔκφυγε κῆρα καὶ ἤλασε βοῦς ἐριμύκους 235  
 ἐς Πύλον ἐκ Φυλάκης καὶ ἐτίσατο ἔργον ἀεικὲς  
 ἀντίθεον Νηλῆα, κασιγνήτῳ δὲ γυναῖκα  
 ἡγάγετο πρὸς δῶμαθ'. ὁ δ' ἄλλων ἵκετο δῆμον,  
 Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον· τόθι γάρ νύ οἱ αἴσιμον ἦεν  
 ναιέμεναι πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσοντ' Ἀργείοισιν. 240  
 ἔνθα δ' ἔγημε γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπερεφές θέτο δῶμα,  
 γείνατο δ' Ἀντιφάτην καὶ Μάντιον, υἱὲ κραταιῷ.  
 Ἀντιφάτης μὲν ἔτικτεν Ὀϊκλῆα μεγάθυμον,  
 αὐτὰρ Ὀϊκλείης λαοσσόβον Ἀμφιάραον,  
 δν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων 245  
 παντοίην φιλότῃτ'. οὐδ' ἵκετο γήραος οὐδόν,  
 ἀλλ' ὄλετ' ἐν Θήβῃσι γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων.  
 τοῦ δ' υἱεὶς ἐγένοντ' Ἀλκμαίων Ἀμφίλοχός τε.  
 Μάντιος αὖ τέκετο Πολυφειδέα τε Κλεῖτόν τε  
 ἀλλ' ἥ τοι Κλεῖτον χρυσόθρονος ἤρπασεν Ἥως 250  
 κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἴο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη·

228 ἄλλων G H U al.: ἄλλον F P X D (cp. 238).

originally doubtless τῆος.

234 ἐπὶ vulg.: ἐνὶ F U.

231 τέως μὲν MSS.: but

244 Ἀμφιάραον Zen.

G F P H U L W: probably the true Ionic form.

251 obel. Ar. (Il. 20. 235).

μέγ' ἐξοχοὶ αἰπολίοισιν, also l. 70 κράτος  
 ἐστὶ μέγιστον πᾶσιν Κυκλώπεισιν, and  
 Il. 2. 480 ἀγίληφι μέγ' ἐξοχος.

228. ἄλλων δῆμον, sc. Argos, as we  
 learn from l. 238, where the words are  
 taken up again.

234. δασπλῆτις 'smiter of houses':  
 cp. τευχισπλήτης. The first part of the  
 compound is probably from the same root  
 as δεσ- in δεσπότης 'house-master.'

240. ἀνάσσοντ', i. e. ἀνάσσοντα, acc.  
 with the subject of ναιέμεναι.

246. The 'threshold' of old age is  
 not here thought of as the entrance  
 or beginning. The meaning is that he  
 never fairly set foot in old age: cp. Il.  
 22. 60.

Some of the ancients (as Plutarch,  
*Consol. ad Apoll.* c. 17) saw in this verse  
 a proof of the saying that those whom  
 the gods love die young. But no such  
 'pathetic fallacy' was in the poet's  
 mind.

247. γυναίων δώρων, Il. 521.

αὐτὰρ ὑπέρθυμον Πολυφείδεα μάντιν Ἀπόλλων  
 θῆκε βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ θάνεν Ἀμφιάραος·  
 δς β' Ἐπερησίηνδ' ἀπενάσασατο πατρὶ χολωθεῖς,  
 ἐνθ' ὃ γε ναιετάων μαντεύετο πᾶσι βροτοῖσι. 255

Τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' υἱὸς ἐπῆλθε, Θεοκλύμενος δ' ὄνομ' ἦεν,  
 δς τότε Τηλεμάχου πέλας ἴστατο· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανε  
 σπένδοντ' εὐχόμενόν τε βοῇ παρὰ νητὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ σε θύοντα κιχάνω τῷδ' ἐνὶ χώρῃ, 260  
 λίσσομ' ὑπὲρ θυέων καὶ δαίμονος, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 σῆς τ' αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐταίρων, οἳ τοι ἔπονται,  
 εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῃ νημερτέα μῆδ' ἐπικεύσης·  
 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;”

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα· 265  
 “τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, ξεῖνε, μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.  
 ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος εἰμί, πατὴρ δέ μοι ἐστὶν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 εἴ ποτ' ἔην· νῦν δ' ἤδη ἀπέφθιτο λυγρὸν δλεθρον.  
 τοῦνεκα νῦν ἐτάρους τε λαβὼν καὶ νῆα μέλαιναν  
 ἦλθον πευσόμενος πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο.” 270

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής·  
 “οὔτω τοι καὶ ἐγὼν ἐκ πατρίδος, ἄνδρα κατακτὰς  
 ἔμφυλον· πολλοὶ δὲ κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε  
 Ἄργος ἂν ἱππόβοτον, μέγα δὲ κρατέουσιν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 τῶν ὑπαλευάμενος θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν 275  
 φεύγω, ἐπεὶ νῦ μοι αἴσα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι.

268 λυγρὸν δλεθρον Ar. (αἱ χαριέστεραι Did.): λυγρῷ δλέθρῳ MSS.

256. τοῦ, viz. Polyphides.

268. εἴ ποτ' ἔην. This well-known formula is generally understood as a pathetic expression of *doubt* whether a former happiness ever really existed. It seems rather to be an *assurance*: ‘Ulysses was my father if he lived’ (as of course he did); i.e. ‘as surely as there was a Ulysses.’ So in Il. 3. 180 δαῖτηρ ἐμὸς ἔσκε . . . εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, ‘Agamemnon was my brother-in-law, as surely as he was at all’: and Il. 11. 762.

272. ἐκ πατρίδος, sc. εἰμί.

273. πολλοὶ δὲ κτλ. carries on in paratactic form the description of ἄνδρα: ‘one who has many brothers and comrades.’

275. Editors generally construe τῶν θάνατον, ‘their death’ = ‘death at their hands,’ comparing 9. 411 νοῦσον Διὸς μεγάλου. But the parallel does not hold: a ‘disease of Zeus’ is one that he only is known to send. More probably τῶν is governed by the ὑπό of ὑπαλευάμενος. With φεύγω and similar verbs ὑπό c. gen. is = ‘under stress of.’

ἄλλά με νηὸς ἔφεσσαι, ἐπεὶ σε φυγὼν ἰκέτευσα,  
μή με κατακτείνωσι· διωκόμεναι γὰρ οἶω.”

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦῤα·  
“οὐ μὲν δὴ σ' ἐθέλοντά γ' ἀπώσω νηὸς εἴσης, 280  
ἀλλ' ἔπεν· αὐτὰρ κεῖθι φιλήσεται, οἷά κ' ἔχωμεν.”

\*Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας οἱ ἐδέξατο χάλκεον ἔγχος,  
καὶ τό γ' ἐπ' ἰκρίδφιν τάνυσεν νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης·  
ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς νηὸς ἐβήσετο ποντοπόροιο.  
ἐν πρύμνῃ δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καθέζετο, παρ δὲ οἱ αὐτῷ 285  
εἶσε Θεοκλύμενον· τοὶ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔλυσαν.

Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσεν  
δπλων ἄπτεσθαι· τοὶ δ' ἐσσυμένως ἐπίθοντο.  
ἰστὸν δ' εἰλάτινον κοίλης ἔντοσθε μεσόδμης  
στῆσαν ἀείραντες, κατὰ δὲ προτόνοισιν ἔδησαν, 290  
ἔλκον δ' ἰστιά λευκὰ εὔστρέπτοισι βοεῦσι.

τοῖσιν δ' ἴκμενον οὔρον ἴει γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
λάβρον ἐπαιγίζοντα δι' αἰθέρος, ὅφρα τάχιστα  
νηὺς ἀνύσειε θέουσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ. 294

δύσετό τ' ἥελιος σκιδῶντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί· 296

ἡ δὲ Φεᾶς ἐπέβαλλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὐρῷ, 297

[βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον,] 295

ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατεύουσιν Ἐπειοί. 298

293. *ἰπαιτσοῦντα* Aristoph.

295 is not in any MS. of the Odyssey, but is quoted by Strabo (viii. 26, p. 350). I have placed it after 297, for the reasons stated below. 297. *Φεᾶς* Ar.: *Φεῖς* U: *Φεράς* vulg. ἀγαλλομένη Strab. l. c.

277. *ἔφεσσαι* 'put me on board,' cp. 13. 274.

280. *ἐθέλοντά γε* 'fain as thou art (to come).'

287-292. See on 2. 420-426.

294. *ὕδωρ* is governed by *ἀνύσειε*, or perhaps rather by the phrase *ἀνύσειε θέουσα*, which is = *διαπρήξειε*.

295-298. These four lines are quoted by Strabo in his discussion of the voyage of Telemachus (viii. 26, p. 350). Line 295, now placed after 297, is not in any MS. of the Odyssey: but the three lines 295, 298, 297 (in this order) are found, with certain variations, in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, vv. 425-

427: βῆ δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ Δύμην, | ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατεύουσιν Ἐπειοί· | εὔτε Φεράς ἐπέβαλλεν ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὐρῷ, κτλ.

It will be seen that the differences mainly concern the *order* of the lines, and that these differences may be reduced to two points: (1) line 295, which is placed first in Strabo's quotation, comes before 298 in the Hymn to Apollo; and (2) line 297 is placed last in the Hymn. If we can decide between our sources on these points we may go on to the other questions raised by the passage, and in particular the question whether it belongs originally



ἐνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε βοήσιν,  
ὀρμαίνων ἢ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἢ κεν ἀλόϊη.

300

300 ἀλόϊη Ven. 457: ἀλώη, ἀλώη, ἀλῶη vulg.

to the Odyssey, or is an ancient interpolation from the Homeric Hymn.

1. It seems clear, in the first place, that the Hymn is right, as against Strabo, in putting the line βῆ δὲ παρὰ κτλ. before ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα διᾶν. In Strabo, as in our texts of the Odyssey, παρ' Ἥλιδα διᾶν has to be construed with ἐπέβαλλεν, which is apparently a nautical term meaning 'stood for' or 'ran for' (a point in view). There is therefore a 'zeugma' of more than ordinary harshness. In the Hymn the construction of βῆ δὲ παρὰ Κρονουὺς . . . ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα is smooth and natural. Moreover it finds a close parallel—perhaps an imitation—in Od. 24. 11–12 πᾶρ δ' Ἰσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ῥόδς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην, | ἡδὲ παρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον δνείρων.

The same conclusion follows with no less certainty from the usage in regard to the conventional line δύσετό τ' ἥελιος κτλ. (as to which see the note on 184–186). That line is always preceded by a description, also usually in a conventional formula, of a journey (or process of some kind)—here τοῖσιν δ' ἔκμενον οὖρον ἔει κτλ.—and is followed by a mention of the stage in the journey then reached. Such a line as βᾶν δὲ παρὰ Κρονουὺς κτλ. would come very well after δύσετό τ' ἥελιος, but not before it. I have therefore no hesitation in accepting 295 as genuine, and in following the order of the Hymn so far as to place it immediately before 298.

2. The place of line 297 (ἢ δὲ Φεῖς κτλ.) is almost fixed by the geography. Nearly all the MSS. of the Odyssey give the form Φεράς, and that is also the word in the Hymn to Apollo: but Aristarchus and Strabo read Φεῖς, which we can hardly be wrong in adopting, and identifying with the Φεῖά of Il. 7. 135, a town on the Iardanus, and of Thuc. 2. 25. A ship going northwards from Pylos would steer for Pheia. The headland near Pheia, the ancient Ichthys, now Katákolo, must have been familiar as a land-mark. On the other hand there is no place of the name of Pherae in this part of the Peloponnesus. But Pheia, being to the south of Elis, naturally comes before it in this narra-

tive. Hence the original order of the lines is—

296. δύσετό τ' ἥελιος . . .

297. ἢ δὲ Φεῖς ἐπέβαλλεν . . .

295. βᾶν δὲ παρὰ Κρονουὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα

298. ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα διᾶν κτλ.

On this point, then, we are led to adopt the order of the Odyssey in preference to that of the Hymn.

3. This last conclusion evidently leads us to infer that the whole passage belongs originally to the Odyssey: and this again is strongly confirmed by the words καὶ παρὰ Δύμην, which the Hymn to Apollo gives in place of καλλιρέεθρον at the end of 295. The town of Dyme, in Achaia, is not on the course of Telemachus, and *a fortiori* nowhere near Κρονοί or Χαλκίς. It is evidently brought in with a view to the voyage described in the Hymn, the voyage from Crete to Delphi. Similarly it is not improbable that the substitution of Φεράς for Φεῖς in 297 was suggested by the Achaian town Φαραί.

299–300. νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε βοήσιν. These enigmatical words describe the course of Telemachus after passing Elis. According to Strabo's view he obeyed the injunction of Athene ἐκδς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργεία νῆα (15. 33) by first steering eastwards towards the Echinades: the νήσοι Θοαί being part of that group, and so called from their 'sharp' or 'pointed' form. Again shifting his course, Telemachus passed between Acarnania and Ithaca, and landed on the further side of the island: thus escaping the Suitors, who lay in wait for him in the channel between Ithaca and Cephallonia.

Plausible as this theory is, it fails to explain the Homeric narrative. It obliges us to suppose that the poet left out the last part of the journey—a distinct stage in Strabo's account—viz. from the Echinades home. We feel this especially with the words ὀρμαίνων ἢ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἢ κεν ἀλόϊη, which evidently apply best to the critical moment when Telemachus was approaching the shores of Ithaca. Again, there is no independent ground for Νῆσοι Θοαί as a proper name denoting some of the Echinades. This is a view which has satisfied many scholars (see

Τὼ δ' αὐτ' ἐν κλισίῃ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος  
δορπείτην· παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐδῶρπεον ἄνδρες ἄλλοι.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετέειπε συβώτῳ πειρητίζων,  
ἦ μιν ἔτ' ἐνδυκῶς φιλέοι μείναι τε κελεῦοι 305  
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ σταθμῷ, ἧ ὀτρύνειε πόλινδε·  
“ κέκλυθι νῦν, Εὐμαίε, καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι·  
ἧῶθεν προτὶ ἄστυ λιλαίομαι ἀπονέεσθαι  
πτωχεύσων, ἵνα μὴ σε κατατρύχω καὶ ἑταίρους.  
ἀλλὰ μοι εὖ θ' ὑπόθευ καὶ ἄμ' ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν δπασσον,  
ὅς κέ με κείσ' ἀγάγῃ· κατὰ δὲ πτόλιν αὐτὸς ἀνάγκῃ 311  
πλάγξομαι, αἶ κέν τις κοτύλῃν καὶ πύρνον ὀρέξῃ.  
καὶ κ' ἐλθὼν πρὸς δώματ' Ὀδυσσεύος θείοιο  
ἀγγελίῃν εἶπομι περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
καὶ κε μνηστῆρεςσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι μιγείην, 315

304 δ' om. F.

309 πτωχεύων G P.

310 θ' om. P H al.

Buttmann's *Lex.* s. v. *θοός*); but there is nothing to show that it is more than the ancient geographer's hypothesis. It is true that on the other hand we are almost driven to some such hypothesis by the difficulty of explaining *θοῶσιν* otherwise. The meaning 'swift' cannot be seriously thought of. The meaning 'pointed' is supposed to be established by the verb *θοῶν* 'to sharpen.' This, however, is not certain. It may be that *θοῶν* meant 'to make quick' or 'active,' and only acquired the sense of sharpening when applied to weapons and implements. It seems best, then, to leave *θοῶσιν* unexplained.

Had it not been for the arguments based on *θοῶσιν* the commentators would doubtless have taken the expression 'the islands' to denote the three that are so often associated with Ithaca: cp. 1. 245 *δοσοὶ γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι*, | *Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ἔλθεντι Ζακύνθῳ*, | *ἧδ' ὅσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκῃν κτλ.* (= 16. 122., 19. 130); and 21. 346 *οὐδ' ὅσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκῃν κῆτα κορανήουσιν*, | *οὐθ' ὅσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἠλίδος Ἰπποβοτόιο*. The description 'towards Elis' applies very well to Zante, and partly to Cephallonia; in any case it shows that in the poet's

conception Telemachus in coming from Elis would pass 'the islands' more or less closely. So in the Hymn to Apollo, after Elis is passed, Ithaca and the other islands come in sight. The injunction 'to keep his ship away from the islands' (*ἐκὰς νήσων*, 15. 33) would be satisfied by giving them a moderately wide berth: for he trusts rather to darkness (*νυκτὶ δμῶς πλείειν*), and to landing on Ithaca at a distance from the town.

On the whole it seems likely that 'the islands' here are the group associated with Ithaca, viz. Dulichium, Same, and Zacynthus. It is impossible to say what idea the poet had of their relative position: but the description of Ithaca in *Od.* 9. 25 as *πανυπερτάτῃ πρὸς ζόφον* falls in with the view now taken.

301-495. The scene changes to the hut of Eumaeus. This digression serves a double purpose in the narrative: (1) it carries on the idyl of Ulysses in the swine-herd's hut, and gives it artistic continuity; and (2) it fills up the otherwise blank space of the night voyage of Telemachus.

309. *κατατρύχω*, cp. *Hes. Op.* 305 (of drones) *οἳ τε μελισσάων κάματος τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ ἐσθοντες*.

311. *αὐτός*, without the guide.

εἴ μοι δειπνον δοῖεν ὀνείατα μυρὶ ἔχοντες·  
 αἰψά κεν εὖ δρώοιμι μετὰ σφίσιν ἄσσ' ἐθέλοιν.  
 ἐκ γάρ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μευ ἄκουσον·  
 Ἑρμείαιο ἔκητι διακτόρου, ὅς ῥά τε πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων ἔργοισι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάξει,  
 δρηστοσύνη οὐκ ἂν μοι ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος,  
 πῦρ τ' εὖ νῆσαι διὰ τε ξύλα δανὰ κεάσσαι,  
 δαιτρεῦσαί τε καὶ ὀπτῆσαι καὶ οἶνοχοῆσαι,  
 οἶά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρώωσι χέρηες."

320

Τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα·  
 "ὦ μοι, ξεῖνε, τίη τοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νόημα  
 ἔπλετο; ἦ σύ γε πάγχυ λιλαίεαι αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι,  
 εἰ δὴ μνηστήρων ἐθέλεις καταδύναι δμῖλον,  
 τῶν ὕβρις τε βίη τε σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν ἵκει.  
 οὗ τοι τοιοῖδ' εἰσὶν ὑποδρηστήρες ἐκείνων,  
 ἀλλὰ νέοι, χλαῖνας εὖ εἰμένοι ἡδὲ χιτῶνας,  
 αἰεὶ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,  
 οἳ σφιν ὑποδρώωσιν· ἐϋξεστοὶ δὲ τράπεζαι  
 σίτου καὶ κρειῶν ἡδ' οἶνου βεβρίθασιν.  
 ἀλλὰ μέν' οὐ γάρ τίς τοι ἀνιᾶται παρεόντι,  
 οὐτ' ἐγὼ οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἐταίρων, οἳ μοι ἔασιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἔλθῃσιν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός,  
 κεῖνός σε χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἴματα ἔσσει,  
 πέμψει δ' ὅππῃ σε κραδίη θυμὸς τε κελεύει."

325

330

335

Τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·

340

317 ἄσσ' ἐθέλοιν Ar.: the MSS. have ὅττι θέλοιν or ὅττ' ἐθέλοιν. 321 δρη-  
 σμοσύνη Ahrens: cp. h. Cer. 476. 322 δανὰ F P H Eust.: πολλὰ G X D U al.

317. αἰψά κεν κτλ. This is a kind of second apodosis to εἴ μοι δειπνον κτλ.: '(if they would), I would readily serve right well, &c.' Cp. 14. 217, and see Riddell, *Digest*, § 207 A.

322. νῆσαι and the other infinitives are to be construed with ἐρίσσειε, and thus form a sort of epexegetis of δρηστοσύνη: 'no one would contend with me in respect of service, in piling up a fire, &c.' Cp. Ar. Pax 1133 ἐκκίας τῶν ξύλων ἄττ' ἂν ᾧ δανήτατα κτλ.

324. τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι. The art. is used as with comparatives, see on 14. 12 τὸ μέλαν, 14. 61 οἱ νέοι, 12. 252 ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοις.

327. αὐτόθι 'on the spot,' without escape.

330. τοιοῖδε 'such as you.'

334. This spondaic line has been thought to express the notion of heaviness (βεβρίθασι). But probably the original was more dactylic: σίτου καὶ κρέων ἰδὲ φαίνοο βεβρίθασι.

"αἰθ' οὕτως, Εὖμαιε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο  
 ὥς ἐμοί, ὅττι μ' ἔπαυσας ἄλης καὶ οἰζύος αἰνῆς.  
 πλαγκτοσύνης δ' οὐκ ἔστι κακώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔνεκ' οὐλομένης γαστρὸς κακὰ κήδε' ἔχουσιν  
 [άνερες, ὃν τιν' ἱκῆται ἄλη καὶ πῆμα καὶ ἄλγος.] 345  
 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἰσχανάας μείναι τέ με κείνον ἄνωγας,  
 εἴπ' ἄγε μοι περὶ μητρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο  
 πατρός θ', ὃν κατέλειπεν ἰὼν ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῶ,  
 ἥ που ἔτι ζώουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡλείοιο,  
 ἥ ἥδη τεθνῶσι καὶ εἰν' Αἶδαο δόμοισι." 350

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, ξεῖνε, μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.  
 Λαέρτης μὲν ἔτι ζῶει, Διὶ δ' εὖχεται αἰεὶ  
 θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν·  
 ἐκπάγλως γὰρ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται οἰχομένοιο 355  
 κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχοιο δαΐφρονος, ἥ ἔ μάλιστα  
 ἥκαχ' ἀποφθιμένη καὶ ἐν ὦμῳ γῆραι ἦθκεν.  
 ἥ δ' ἀχεῖ οὐ παιδὸς ἀπέφθιτο κυθαλίμοιο,  
 λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ, ὥς μὴ θάνοι ὅς τις ἔμοιγε  
 ἐνθάδε ναιετάων φίλος εἴη καὶ φίλα ἔρδοι. 360  
 δφρα μὲν οὖν δὴ κείνη ἔην, ἀχέουσά περ ἔμπης,  
 τόφρα τί μοι φίλον ἔσκε μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι,  
 οὐνεκά μ' αὐτὴ θρέψεν ἅμα Κτιμένη τανυπέπλω,  
 θυγατέρ' ἰφθίμη, τὴν ὀπλοτάτην τέκε παίδων·  
 τῇ ὁμοῦ ἐτρεφόμεν, ὀλίγον δέ τί μ' ἦσσον ἐτίμα. 365  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἦβην πολυήρατον ἰκόμεθ' ἄμφω,  
 τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα Σάμηνδ' ἔδοσαν καὶ μυρί' ἔλοντο,

345 om. G F U. τῷ P H al.: κεν Eust.

364 παῖδα U Eust.

344. οὐλομένης 'miserable.' The epithet in this context has a slightly mock-heroic effect.

The word οὐλομένης has been again discussed by Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* 192-201), who shows conclusively that it is the same as the 2 aor. participle ὀλόμενος, and not transitive in meaning (= ὀλοός or ὀλέθριος). It always means 'miserable,' 'accursed,' and has the

same relation to the *κωρε* δλοιο or δλοιο that *ὀνήμενος* 'happy' has to the *ῥωσση* δναιο. The *ov* for *o* in the first syllable is simply a metrical license, necessary in hexameter verse.

357. ὦμῳ 'unripe,' 'premature.' The meaning of ὠμογέρον is curiously different (Il. 23. 791).

367. Σάμηνδ' ἔδοσαν, pregnant use, cp. 14. 295 ἔς Λιβύην ἔεσσατο, Il. 10. 268

αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα κείνη  
καλὰ μάλ' ἀμφιέσασα ποσὶν θ' ὑποδήματα δοῦσα  
ἀγρόνδε προΐαλλε· φίλει δέ με κηρόθι μᾶλλον. 370  
νῦν δ' ἤδη τούτων ἐπιδεύομαι· ἀλλὰ μοι αὐτῷ  
ἔργον ἀέξουσιν μάκαρες θεοὶ ᾧ ἐπιμίμνω·  
τῶν ἔφαγόν τ' ἐπιόν τε καὶ αἰδοίοισιν ἔδωκα.  
ἐκ δ' ἄρα δεσποίνης οὐ μέλιχον ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι  
οὔτ' ἔπος οὔτε τι ἔργον, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ, 375  
ἄνδρες ὑπερφίαλοι· μέγα δὲ δμῶες χατέουσιν  
ἀντία δεσποίνης φάσθαι καὶ ἕκαστα πυθέσθαι,  
καὶ φαγέμεν πῖεμεν τε, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τι φέρεσθαι  
ἀγρόνδ', οἷά τε θυμὸν ἀεὶ δμῶεσσιν ἰαίνει."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 380  
"ὦ πόποι, ὥς ἄρα τυτθὸς ἐών, Εὖμαιε συβῶτα,  
πολλὸν ἀπεπλάγχθης σῆς πατρίδος ἠδὲ τοκῆων.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,  
ἥ ἐ διεπράθετο πτόλις ἀνδρῶν εὐρυάγυια,  
ἧ ἔνι ναιετάεσκε πατὴρ καὶ πτόντια μήτηρ, 385  
ἧ σέ γε μουνωθέντα παρ' οἴεσιν ἢ παρὰ βουσὶν  
ἄνδρες δυσμενέες νηυσὶν λάβον ἠδ' ἐπέρασαν  
τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώμαθ', ὃ δ' ἄξιον ὄνον ἔδωκε."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·  
"ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ ἄρ δὴ ταῦτά μ' ἀνείρειαι ἠδὲ μεταλλάς, 390

369 ποσὶν θ' G F D: ποσὶν δ' vulg. 379 ἀεὶ δμῶεσσιν] ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν M X D Z.  
385 ναιετάεσκε P X D U al. Eust.: -άσκει G F H. 390 ταῦτά μ'] με ταῦτ' G:  
perhaps read ταῦτα (with hiatus).

Ἰκάνδειανδ' ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίῳ Ἀμφιδάμαντι, also 7. 79 σῶμα δὲ οἶκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν.

368. ἐμέ, with προΐαλλε (370).

370. κηρόθι μᾶλλον, a fixed phrase, in which the comparative has no application to the present context. It properly means 'rather much (than little)', then, by a litotes, 'right well': cp. θᾶσσον = 'right quickly.' It does not mean 'more than before,' as Ameis takes it.

373. τῶν, neut. plur., denoting the things implied in ἔργον, viz. the different fruits of the work. The gen. is partitive.

αἰδοίοισιν, i. e. to those who have a claim on my regard (αἰδώς), as members of the family (αἰδοίη παράκοιτις, &c.), guests (9. 271 ξείνιος, δὲ ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ), suppliants (7. 165 ἰκέτησιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ).

375. Note that ἀκοῦσαι only suits ἔπος. But the zeugma is "softened" if we restore οὐ φέρος οὐδέ τι φέρων.

379. οἷά τε refers to all the preceding clauses, ἀντία φάσθαι, &c.

386. οἴεσιν, for δεσιν *metri gratia*.

387. ἐπέρασαν πρὸς δώματα, a pregnant use, = 'brought to the house and there sold'; cp. 367 (supra).

σιγῇ νῦν ξυνίει καὶ τέρπεο, πίνει τε οἶνον  
 ἤμενος. αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὐδειν,  
 ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν· οὐδέ τί σε χρή,  
 πρὶν ὥρη, καταλέχθαι· ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὸς ὕπνος.  
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὅτινα κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀνώγη 395  
 εὐδέτω ἐξελθῶν· ἅμα δ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφι  
 δειπνήσας, ἅμ' ὕεσιν ἀνακτορήσιν ἐπέσθω.  
 νῶϊ δ' ἐνὶ κλισίῃ πίνοντέ τε δαινυμένω τε  
 κήδεσιν ἀλλήλων τερπόμεθα λευγαλέοισι  
 μνωομένων· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ, 400  
 ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῇ.  
 τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέω ὃ μ' ἀνείρεαι ἡδὲ μεταλλάς.

Νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται, εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
 Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο,  
 οὗ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν, 405  
 εὐβοτος εὐμηλος, οἶνοπληθὴς πολύπυρος.  
 πείνη δ' οὐ ποτε δῆμον ἐσέρχεται, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη  
 νοῦσος ἐπὶ στυγερῇ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κάτα φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν 410  
 οἷς ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.  
 ἔνθα δὴ πόλιες, δίχα δὲ σφισι πάντα δέδασται·  
 τῆσιν δ' ἀμφοτέρησι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐμβασιλευε,  
 Κτήσιος Ὀρμενίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν.

Ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες, 415

393 ἀκούειν At. : -μεν MSS.  
 Βελέεσσιν vulg.

411 ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν MU : ἀγανοῖς

394. πρὶν ὥρη, sc. ἔρ.

400. μνωομένω, from μνάομαι 'call to mind.'

μετὰ 'in turn,' cp. 460.

403. The islands Συρίη and Ὀρτυγίη have a mythical character, as the 'turning points' of the sun (so the island of Circe has the house of the dawn and the rising of the sun, 12. 4), and also in respect of the superhuman felicity of the inhabitants. We need not seek to identify them with real places, such as the islands Syra and Delos.

405. λίην τόσον. The force of τόσον here is analogous to that of τοῖον in θάμα τοῖον, &c. (see on l. 451), i.e. it insists on the preceding word as *not too much*: cp. 4. 371 νήπιός εἰς, ὃ ξεῖνε, λίην τόσον 'you are really λίην νήπιος.' Here the meaning is that the island is large, but not quite to be called *very* large. Similarly in Latin, *tantum* = 'just so much,' *procul tantum* = 'apart but no more' (Virg. Ecl. 6. 16).

407. ἄλλη νοῦσος 'disease as well,' according to the familiar idiom.

τρῶκται, μυρὶ ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ.  
ἔσκε δὲ πατὴρ ἐμοῖο γυνὴ Φοίνισσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
καλὴ τε μεγάλη τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυῖα·  
τὴν δ' ἄρα Φοίνικες πολυπαίπαλοι ἡπερόπουνον.

πλυνούσῃ τις πρῶτα μίγῃ κοίλῃ παρὰ νηὶ 420

εὐνῇ καὶ φιλότῃτι, τά τε φρένας ἡπεροπεύει  
θῆλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησιν.  
εἰρώτα δὴ ἔπειτα τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι·  
ἡ δὲ μάλ' αὐτίκα πατὴρ ἐπέφραδεν ὑπερεφές δῶ·

ἔκ μὲν Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου εὖχομαι εἶναι, 425

κούρῃ δ' εἴμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγὼ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο·  
ἀλλὰ μ' ἀνὴρπαξαν Τάφιοι ληῖστορες ἄνδρες  
ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένην, πέρασαν δέ με δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες  
τοῦδ' ἄνδρὸς πρὸς δώμαθ'· ὁ δ' ἄξιον ὦνον ἔδωκε·

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἀνὴρ, δς ἐμίσηγο λάθρῃ· 430

ἥ ρά κε νῦν πάλιν αὖτις ἄμ ἡμῖν οἴκαδ' ἔποιο,  
δφρα ἴδῃς πατὴρ καὶ μητέρος ὑπερεφές δῶ  
αὐτοὺς τ'; ἡ γὰρ ἔτ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται·

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ·

εἴη κεν καὶ τοῦτ', εἴ μοι ἐθέλοιτέ γε, ναῦται, 435  
δρῶν πιστωθῆναι ἀπήμονά μ' οἴκαδ' ἀπάξειν·

422 ἥ κ'] εἰ κ' G F Eust. 432 ἴδῃς vulg.: ἴδῃ Ar. (?) P H M. See the note on 15. 76. 436 μ' om. X D Z Eust.: ἀπήμονα δ' F: ἀπήμονα εὖ (sic) P. The pronoun should probably be omitted.

416. τρῶκται, see on 14. 289.

417. πατὴρ, with οἴκῳ, not γυνή (as Ameis takes it).

422. θῆλυτερος does not mean 'more θῆλυς,' but 'θῆλυς in contrast to ἀρσῆν': cp. θεώτερος 'divine' (13. 111), ἀγρότερος 'of the country,' &c.

424. πατὴρ must surely mean 'my father,' as M. Pierron and Dr. Hayman explain it, not 'her father,' as it is generally taken. ἐπέφραδεν, said of a house, means 'pointed out,' 'showed the way to,' cp. Od. 7. 49., 10. 111. Here the woman naturally pointed out the 'lofty roof' of the house that she belonged to, and went on to relate that she had been brought from her home in Sidon τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώματα, where τοῦδε = 'this that I am showing you.'

The use of πατὴρ = πατὴρ ἐμοῦ is easier on account of πατὴρ ἐμοῖο in l. 417. The repetition of ὑπερεφές δῶ in l. 432 with a different reference is probably intentional. The Phoenician seems to say,—'You have shown us the "great house" where you are kept in slavery: will you return to the "great house" of your father and mother?'

426. ῥυδόν 'in a stream'; 'one to whom riches came in a flood'—an appropriate word for a trader's wealth. It sounds like a piece of mercantile argot. Ἀρύβας seems to be a Phoenician name—perhaps Hasdrubal.

433. καλέονται 'are reputed,' 'have the credit of being.' This also looks like a trader's way of speaking.

435. τοῦτο, istud, 'what you say.'

\*Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπώμνουν ὡς ἐκέλευεν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἄμυσαν τε τελευτήσαν τε τὸν ὄρκον,  
 τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειπε γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ·  
 'σιγῇ νῦν, μή τις με προσαιδάτω ἐπέεσσιν 440  
 ὑμετέρων ἐτάρων, ξυμβλήμενος ἢ ἐν ἀγυίῃ  
 ἢ που ἐπὶ κρήνῃ· μή τις ποτὶ δῶμα γέροντι  
 ἔλθων ἐξείπῃ, ὃ δ' οἰσάμενος καταδήσῃ  
 δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ, ὑμῖν δ' ἐπιφράσσει· ὄλεθρον.  
 ἀλλ' ἔχετ' ἐν φρεσὶ μῦθον, ἐπείγετε δ' ὄνον ὀδαίων. 445  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηὺς πλείῃ βιότοιο γένηται  
 ἀγγελίῃ μοι ἔπειτα θοῶς ἐς δῶμαθ' ἰκέσθω·  
 οἴσω γὰρ καὶ χρυσόν, ὅτις χ' ὑποχείριος ἔλθῃ·  
 καὶ δέ κεν ἄλλ' ἐπίβαθρον ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσά γε δοίην.  
 παῖδα γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔηος ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀτιτάλλω, 450  
 κερδαλέον δὴ τοῖον, ἅμα τροχόωντα θύραζε·  
 τόν κεν ἄγοιμ' ἐπὶ νηὸς, ὃ δ' ὑμῖν μυρίον ὄνον  
 ἄλφοι, ὅπῃ περάσαιτε κατ' ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους·  
 'Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦς' ἀπέβη πρὸς δώματα καλά·  
 οἱ δ' ἐνιαντὸν ἅπαντα παρ' ἡμῖν αὖθι μένοντες 455

437 ἐπώμνουν Ar. vulg.: ἀπώμνουν G F X al. 443 οἰσάμενος F P H M U  
 al., and so in Apoll. Rhod. &c. (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 354: Veitch s.v.).  
 445 ἔχετε φρεσὶ X D U Z. 447 ἐς F U: πρὸς G P H X al. 448 ἔλθῃ F:  
 ἔλθοι vulg.: εἴη P H. 451 τροχόωντα] τραχώντα Schol. V: cp. τρώχων  
 (Od. 6. 318) and τραχώσι (Il. 22. 163). But these are doubtless from original  
 τρώχων, τραχώσι, *H. G.* § 55, 9. 453 περάσαιτε] περάσητε, the reading of the  
 MSS., is post-Homeric both in form and in syntax (*H. G.* §§ 82, 298): cp. 14. 297,  
 where the opt. has been preserved in two MSS. only. κατ' G X: πρὸς F P H U.

445. ὄνον ὀδαίων 'the buying (lit. the price) of your freight': ὀδαῖα = 'things belonging to the voyage' (ὀδός), hence cargo taken in on the way, return cargo: see on 8. 163.

ὄνος always means 'price paid'; here 'hurry on with the price' must be a (slightly colloquial) way of saying 'make haste with your bargaining.'

449. ἐπίβαθρον 'passage money.'

451. τοῖον is best taken as an adjective, as in ἀβληχρὸς μάλ᾽ αὖτις (Il. 135., 23. 282), and so whenever it follows an adj., as μέγα τοῖον (3. 321), σαρδάνιον μάλ᾽ αὖτις (20. 302). After an adverb it is of course adverbial, as θαμὰ τοῖον (1. 209), σιγῇ τοῖον, &c. The meaning

is not, as usually given, 'so very —,' but 'quite,' 'just': κερδαλέον δὴ τοῖον of a child means that it may properly be called κερδαλέος. So in the only instance of the phrase in the Iliad, 23. 246 οὐ μάλ᾽ αὖτις πολλόν, ἀλλ' ἐπικέῃα τοῖον, 'but just a befitting one.' Compare the corresponding use of τῶσον (l. 405 supra): also the common use of οὕτω after an adv. with the sense of 'quite,' as in μὰθ' οὕτω (Il. 2. 120), Attic σαφῶς οὕτως, &c. The modern use of 'so much' in the sense of 'very much' is not Greek. The supposition that τοῖος may have a deictic force (= τοιούσδε) is also untenable.

453. περάσαιτε, see the critical note.



ἐν νηϊ γλαφυρῇ βίοτον πολὺν ἐμπολῶντο.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κοίλῃ νηὺς ἤχθετο τοῖσι νέεσθαι,  
 καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἄγγελον ἦκαν, ὃς ἀγγεῖλαιε γυναικί.  
 ἦλυθ' ἀνὴρ πολυΐδρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς  
 χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο. 460  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ δμῳαὶ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 χερσὶν τ' ἀμφαφῶντο καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶντο,  
 ὦνον ὑπισχόμεναι· ὁ δὲ τῇ κατένευσε σιωπῇ.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ καννεύσας κοίλῃν ἐπὶ νῆα βεβήκει,  
 ἡ δ' ἐμὲ χειρὸς ἐλοῦσα δόμων ἐξῆγε θύραζε. 465  
 εὔρε δ' ἐνὶ προδόμφῳ ἡμὲν δέπα ἡδὲ τραπέζας  
 ἀνδρῶν δαιτυμόνων, οἳ μὲν πατέρ' ἀμφεπένοντο.  
 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς θῶκον πρόμολον δῆμοιό τε φῆμιν,  
 ἡ δ' αἰψα τρί' ἄλεια κατακρύψας' ὑπὸ κόλπῳ  
 ἔκφερεν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ δμῳν ἀεσιφροσύνησι. 470  
 δύσετό τ' ἡέλιος σκιδῶντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγνυαί·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἤλθομεν ὧκα κίοντες·  
 ἔνθ' ἄρα Φοινίκων ἀνδρῶν ἦν ὠκύαλος νηὺς.  
 οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὕγρα κέλευθα,  
 νῶ ἀναβησάμενοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Ζεὺς οὖρον ἵαλλεν. 475

463 ὑπισχόμεναι vulg.: ὑποσχόμεναι F: ἐπισχόμεναι G. 469 κόλπου Aristoph.  
 (see Sch. H on Od. 9. 329). 473 ὠκύπορος G al. cp. 12. 182.

460. The ὄρμος was a chain which passed round the neck and hung down on the breast: cp. H. Ven. 88 ὄρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποικίλοι· ὥς δὲ σελήνῃ στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο: also H. vi. 10 δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυρέοισιν ὄρμοισι χρυσίοισιν ἐκόσμεον. It was therefore of some length (ἐννεά-πηχυν, H. Apoll. 104).

μετὰ 'in turn,' 'at intervals.'  
 ἡλέκτροισιν 'with pieces of amber.' It appears that the ancients distinguished between neut. ἡλεκτρον 'amber' and masc. ἡλεκτρος, the metal so called, an alloy of gold and silver. The plural would not suit a metal, but it would naturally be used of a substance that is always found in lumps. See Helbig, *Hom. Epos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 268.

463. ὑποσχόμεναι 'tendering,' i. e.

making offers for it, chaffering.

466. προδόμφ. After the feast the serving-maids carried off the remains, with the tables and drinking-cups (19. 61-62). From this place we may infer that they were taken into the πρόδομος or entrance hall of the μέγαρον.

467. ἀμφεπένοντο, viz. as γέροντες or counsellors, like the twelve elders in Phaeacia.

468. πρόμολον 'had gone forth': πρό as in προβαῖνον, προερέσσω, προῖάλλω, &c. (not of time).

θῶκος is the 'sitting-place' or tribunal: φῆμις, which elsewhere means the 'talk' of the people, is here (= ἀγορή) the place of talking.

470. ἀεσιφροσύνησι must here mean 'in childish thoughtlessness.' The derivation is obscure: see the note on ἀεσίφρων (21. 302).

ἔξημαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔβδομον ἡμαρ ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε Κρονίων,  
 τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα γυναῖκα βάλ' Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα,  
 ἄντλφ δ' ἐνδούπησε πεσοῦς' ὥς εἰναλίη κῆξ.  
 καὶ τὴν μὲν φώκησι καὶ ἰχθύσι κύρμα γενέσθαι 480  
 ἔκβαλον· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ λιπόμην ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ·  
 τοὺς δ' Ἰθάκη ἐπέλασσε φέρων ἀνεμὸς τε καὶ ὕδωρ,  
 ἔνθα με Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν.  
 οὕτω τήνδε γε γαῖαν ἐγὼν ἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι."

Τὸν δ' αὖ διογενὴς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἡμείβετο μύθῳ· 485  
 "Εὖμαι', ἦ μάλα δὴ μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν δρινας  
 ταῦτα ἕκαστα λέγων, ὅσα δὴ πάθες ἀλγεα θυμῷ.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι σοὶ μὲν παρὰ καὶ κακῷ ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε  
 Ζεὺς, ἐπεὶ ἀνδρὸς δώματ' ἀφίκεο πολλὰ μογήσας  
 ἥπιον, ὃς δὴ τοι παρέχει βρῶσιν τε πόσιν τε 490  
 ἐνδυκέως, ζῶεις δ' ἀγαθὸν βίον· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστ' ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω."

\*Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
 καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ μίνυνθα·  
 αἴψα γὰρ Ἡὼς ἦλθεν εὐθρόνος. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ χέρσου 495  
 Τηλεμάχου ἔταροι λύον ἰστία, καδ δ' ἔλον ἰστὸν  
 καρπαλίμως, τὴν δ' εἰς ὄρμον προέρεσαν ἐρετμοῖς.  
 ἐκ δ' εὐνὰς ἔβαλον, κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔδησαν·  
 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης,  
 δεῖπνόν τ' ἐντύνοντο κερῶντό τε αἶθωπα οἶνον. 500

484 τήνδε γε Bothe: τήνδε τε MSS.: see 13. 238. 487 ἀλγεα θυμῷ] ἡδ' ὅσ' ἀλήθης F M, cp. 14. 362. 497 ἐς λιμένα G X al. προέρεσαν Ar.: προέρυσσαν MSS., see II. 1. 435. ἱρετμοῖς, see 13. 22.

479. ἐνδούπησε πεσοῦσα, an adaptation, perhaps a parody, of the conventional δούπησεν δι' ὅσων of the Iliad.

487. ἀλγεα properly belongs to the antecedent clause, ἀλγεα ὅσα δὴ πάθες. Cp. 18. 37.

488. καὶ goes with ἐσθλόν, and κακῷ is placed between them in order to bring the contrasted κακῷ ἐσθλόν together: cp. 17. 285 μετὰ καὶ τότε τοῖσι γενέσθω.

491. ἐνδυκέως, see on 14. 62.

495. Dawn of the 38th day. Change of scene, to the landing of Telemachus on the neighbouring coast.

ἐπὶ χέρσου means that they had now reached land, not that they had landed. The mast is taken down before the ship is run aground (l. 497).

499. ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι, cp. 4. 430. The word seems always to mean the 'broken water' or 'surf' (χέρσφ ῥηγνύμενον), not the beach on which it breaks.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 τοῖσι δὲ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἤρχετο μύθων·  
 “ὕμεις μὲν νῦν ἄστυδ’ ἐλαύνετε νῆα μέλαιναν,  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀγροὺς ἐπιείσομαι ἡδὲ βοτῆρας·  
 ἐσπέριος δ’ εἰς ἄστυ ἰδὼν ἐμὰ ἔργα κάτειμι.  
 ἥωθεν δέ κεν ὕμιν ὁδοιπόριον παραθείμην,  
 δαῖτ’ ἀγαθὴν κρειῶν τε καὶ οἴνου ἡδυπότοιο.”

505

Τὸν δ’ αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής·  
 “πῇ γὰρ ἐγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω; τεῦ δώμαθ’ ἵκωμαι  
 ἀνδρῶν οἱ κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κατά κοιρανέουσιν;  
 ἦ ἰθὺς σῆς μητρὸς ἴω καὶ σοῖο δόμοιο;”

510

Τὸν δ’ αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤδα·  
 “ἄλλως μὲν σ’ ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ἡμέτερόνδε κελοίμην  
 ἔρχεσθ’. οὐ γάρ τι ξενίων ποθή· ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ  
 χεῖρον, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέσσομαι, οὐδέ σε μήτηρ  
 ὄψεται· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θαμὰ μνηστῆρσ’ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 φαίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερωῖφ ἰστὸν ὑφαίνει.  
 ἀλλὰ τοι ἄλλον φῶτα πιφαύσκομαι δν κεν ἴκοιο,  
 Εὐρύμαχον, Πολύβοιο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
 τὸν νῦν Ἰσα θεῶ Ἰθακήσιοι εἰσορόωσι·  
 καὶ γὰρ πολλὸν ἄριστος ἀνὴρ μέμονέν τε μάλιστα  
 μητέρ’ ἐμὴν γαμέειν καὶ Ὀδυσσῆος γέρας ἔξειν·  
 ἀλλὰ τά γε Ζεὺς οἶδεν Ὀλύμπιος, αἰθέρι ναιῶν,

520

503 νῆα μέλαιναν] δῖοι ἑταῖροι P. 504 ἀγροὺς vulg.: ἀγρόνδ’ FM: ἀγροὺς δ’ G.  
 ἐπιείσομαι] ἐπελεύσομαι G X al.: ἀγρόνδε ἐλεύσομαι La Roche. 507 κρειῶν]  
 See 14. 28. 514 ξενίων G: see on 14. 389.

505. ἐσπέριος. Telemachus does not in fact return till next day.

511. ἦ ‘or,’ circumflexed because it is put as the second member of a disjunctive question, the first being in form a simple question: cp. *H. G.* § 340.

513. ἄλλως ‘were it otherwise.’

517. ἀπὸ τῶν ‘away from them.’ This use of the article—as an unemphatic pronoun of the third person (= anaphoric *ou* of ἐ)—is hardly found except with prepositions: see *H. G.* § 257, 5.

519. The introduction of the name of Eurymachus seems at first sight to have no sufficient motive, and to lead to

nothing in the sequel. Probably it is merely intended to give occasion for the prophecy of Theoclymenus, one of the steps which prepare us for the final *denouement*. Here Telemachus confesses that he cannot receive a stranger in his house, and advises Theoclymenus to go to Eurymachus, who seems likely to be the future lord of Ithaca. But on seeing the omen, Theoclymenus proclaims that the line of Ulysses will continue to be the ‘most kingly.’ In consequence of this prophecy the resort to Eurymachus is tacitly given up, and Telemachus promises ample hospitality.

εἴ κέ σφι πρὸ γάμοιο τελευτήσῃ κακὸν ἡμαρ."

"Ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις, 525

κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος· ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι  
τῶλε πέλειαν ἔχων, κατὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεῖνεν ἔραζε  
μεσσηγὺς νηὸς τε καὶ αὐτοῦ Τηλεμάχοιο.

τὸν δὲ Θεοκλύμενος ἐτάρων ἀπονόσφι καλέσσας  
ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε· 530

"Τηλέμαχ', οὐ τοι ἀνευ θεοῦ ἔπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις·  
ἔγνων γάρ μιν ἐσάντα ἰδὼν οἰωνὸν ἔοντα.

ὑμετέρου δ' οὐκ ἔστι γένος βασιλεύτερον ἄλλο  
ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς καρτεροὶ αἰεῖ."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδδα· 535

"αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἶη·  
τῷ κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότῃτά τε πολλὰ τε δῶρα  
ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὥς ἂν τίς σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι."

Ἥ καὶ Πείραιον προσεφώνεε, πιστὸν ἐταῖρον·

"Πείραιε Κλυτίδῃ, σὺ δέ μοι τά περ ἄλλα μάλιστα 540

πεῖθῃ ἐμῶν ἐτάρων, οἳ μοι Πύλον εἰς ἄμ' ἔποντο·  
καὶ νῦν μοι τὸν ξεῖνον ἄγων ἐν δώμασι σοῖσιν  
ἐνδυκέως φιλέειν καὶ τιέμεν, εἰς δ' κεν ἔλθω."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἀντίον ἦδδα·

"Τηλέμαχ', εἰ γάρ κεν σὺ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μίμνῃς, 545  
τόνδε δ' ἐγὼ κομιῶ, ξενίων δέ οἱ οὐ ποθὴ ἔσται."

531. ἔπτατο] ἤλυθε G X U al. 533. γένος H<sup>2</sup> corr.: γένους vulg.: γένους G M.  
The contraction of gen. -ος is extremely rare in Homer. 536. τετελεσμένον εἶη]  
τελέσειε Κρονίων G, as in 4. 699., 20. 236. 546. τόνδε δ' Herodian, G: τὸν δέ τ'  
vulg.: τόνδε τ' Wolf, Ludw.: τόνδε γ' U. ξενίων G F P; see on 14. 389.

524. εἴ κε . . . τελευτήσῃ. This is the only instance in Homer of εἴ κε with the future in an object clause. We should probably read τελευτήσῃ. Cp. the similar question as to ἥ κε, 16. 261., 18. 265.

525. ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις, see the note on l. 160.

532. ἔγνων, aor. of what happens in the moment of speaking; H. G. § 78, 1. οἰωνόν, from ὄφι- (Lat. *avis*) 'a bird.' The suffix is rare: cp. υἱωνός 'grandson.' It apparently has an ampliative meaning.

534. καρτεροί 'powerful.' The word is generally used of physical strength; but cp. the common use of κρατέω in the sense of 'bear rule.'

537. φιλότῃτά τε πολλὰ τε δῶρα, perhaps a hendiadys, = δῶρα φιλοτήσια, hospitality as shown in many gifts.

545. εἴ γάρ κεν 'why, if &c.' On γάρ in this use—serving as a kind of interjection—see H. G. § 348, 4: and on εἴ κεν with the opt., § 313.

ἐνθάδε 'here': Telemachus has landed at a point not far from the homestead of Eumaeus.

ὧς εἰπὼν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβη, ἐκέλευσε δ' ἑταίρους  
 αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι.  
 οἱ δ' αἰψ' εἰσβαῖνον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον·  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα, 550  
 εἶλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ,  
 νηὸς ἀπ' ἱκριόφιν· τοὶ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔλυσαν.  
 οἱ μὲν ἀνώσαντες πλέον ἐς πόλιν, ὥς ἐκέλευσε  
 Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο·  
 τὸν δ' ὦκα προβιβάντα πόδες φέρον, ὅφρ' ἴκετ' αὐλήν, 555  
 ἔνθα οἱ ἦσαν ὕες μάλα μυρίαί, ᾗσι συβώτης  
 ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἐνλαυνε, ἀνάκτεσιν ἥπια εἰδώς.

552 ἀπ'] ἐν' G F X U. 555 προβιβάντα Ar. (see the note): προβιβάντα MSS.  
 557 ἀνάκτεσιν vulg.: ἀνάκτεσσιν U: φανάκτεσσ' Ahrens.

547. ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβη, sc. Πείραιος, who now takes the command of the ship, and proceeds to carry out the directions of Telemachus (l. 503 *ὅμεις μὲν κτλ.*).

548. Prothysteron, since they must have unfastened the cables before embarking. The embarkation is put first as being the main action: cp. 13. 274.

551. The reference is not to the spear of Theoclymenus (l. 283), as Ameis supposes. The spear usually carried by Telemachus himself (2. 10) would also be in the *ἱκρία*.

553. ἀνώσαντες 'pushing off': ἀνά = 'out to sea'—not of the direction of the voyage.

555. The question between the principles *βιβάς* and *βιβῶν* is left unsettled by La Roche (*H. T.* 215): and both forms are admitted by Ludwig (*βιβάς* in Od. 9. 450., 17. 27, *βιβῶσα* in 11. 539, *προβιβῶντα* here). The MSS. are overwhelmingly in favour of the nom. masc. *βιβάς*, while they give fem. *βιβῶσα* in Od. 11. 539, and *βιβῶντα*, &c. in Il. 3. 22., 13. 807., 16. 609, Od. 15. 555, but *βιβάντα* in Il. 13. 371. About the reading of Aristarchus there is an apparent contradiction. On Il. 15. 307 both the 'marginal' and the 'text' scholia of *A* tell us that he read *βιβῶν* (*βιβῶν πᾶσαι εἶχον A, Ἀρίσταρχος βιβῶν A<sup>t</sup>*,—both from Didymus). The Townley scholia have: *βιβάς] οὗτω τινές, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔνι βιβῶντα* (13. 371) *φησὶν ἄλλοι δὲ βιβῶν γράφουσι καὶ περισπῶσι*. On the other hand, on Il. 7. 213 *A<sup>t</sup>* has

*οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος βιβάς* (from Did.): and on Il. 13. 371 we find in *A* and *T* the statement, probably coming from Herodian (see Ludwig), that he wrote *βιβῶντα* as *δαμέντα* and *ιστάντα*. It seems to me certain that in the scholia *A* and *A<sup>t</sup>* on Il. 15. 307 *βιβάς* should be written for *βιβῶν*. The agreement of scholia *A* and *A<sup>t</sup>* does not prove (as La Roche seems to think) that *βιβῶν* must be right. *A* and *A<sup>t</sup>* are taken from a common source, the comparatively late 'epitome.' Against this evidence we have the testimony of Didymus himself on Il. 7. 213, and of Herodian on Il. 13. 371, ascribing *βιβάς* and *βιβῶντα* to Aristarchus. Moreover, Schol. *T* on Il. 15. 307 is practically conclusive in the same direction. In a Townley scholium of the form *οὕτω τινές, ἄλλοι δὲ*—, the word *τινές* almost certainly includes Aristarchus (see examples in Ludwig, *A. H. T.* p. 128). This is strongly confirmed by the reference to *βιβῶντα* in Il. 13. 371, since we know that that form was expressly adopted there by Aristarchus. On the whole, then, we may take it that in his view the Homeric declension was *βιβάς*, gen. *βιβάντος*, &c. And considering that the MSS. are practically unanimous for *βιβάς*, while they are not unanimous against *βιβάντος*, &c., and further that the declension *βιβάς*, gen. *βιβῶντος*, &c. is improbable, we infer that *βιβῶν*, *βιβῶντος*, &c. may be banished from Homer.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Π

## Τηλεμάχου ἀναγνωρισμὸς Ὀδυσσεως.

Τῷ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος  
 ἐντύνοντ' ἀριστον ἄμ' ἡοῖ, κημένω πῦρ,  
 ἔκπέψαν τε νομῆας ἄμ' ἀγρομένοισι σύεσσι·  
 Τηλέμαχον δὲ περισσαινὸν κύνας ὕλακώμωροι,  
 οὐδ' ὕλαον προσίοντα. νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 σαίνοντάς τε κύνας, περὶ τε κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῦν.  
 αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαιὸν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "Εὐμαί', ἦ μάλα τίς τοι ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' ἐταῖρος,  
 ἦ καὶ γνώριμος ἄλλος, ἐπεὶ κύνες οὐχ ὕλαουσιν,

5

2 ἐντύνοντ' G F P X D Eust. ἀριστον with α, the original Homeric form probably being ἀφρίστον; cp. Il. 24. 124. 8 ἐταῖρον G.

The scene changes again, but without a sensible break in the narrative. The transition is made by means of the movements of Telemachus, whom we follow from the landing place, where he parted from his companions, to the hut of Eumaeus. A further link is formed by the mention of dawn (l. 2), which takes us back to the coming of dawn mentioned in 15. 495.

2. ἀριστον ἄμ' ἡοῖ. There may be an intentional play of language here; the original doubtless was ἀφρίστον ἄμ' ἀφῶι. The stem ἀφερ-, older *auser* (seen in ἡρι, ἡέριος 'at dawn', αὔριον 'to-morrow', Lat. *aurōra*) is a parallel form to ἀφωσ-, older *ausos*, 'dawn.' We may conjecture that ἀφρίστον came from ἀφερ- through a verb ἀφερίω 'to take a morning (meal).' The suffix -το is regularly used of *time* or *season*; so in δειπνηστος, δόρηστος, βουλῆτος 'the time of unyoking,' ἀροτος 'plough-time,' ἀμητος 'reaping,' τρυγητός 'vintage.' Note that δειπνηστος may be a compound; the second part containing the

root ἐδ- 'to eat' (lengthened under the general rule as to compounds whose second part begins with a vowel, *H. G.* § 125, 8). So δόρη-στος: but not ἀφρίστον, which is properly ἡ ἄρα τοῦ ἀφερί-ζεν. For ἀφερίω 'to breakfast', cp. δειλιᾶω 'to sup' (17. 599). Similarly θερίω 'to do summer-work', i. e. 'to reap,' ὀπωρίω 'to gather in fruit': also ἐαρίω 'to blossom,' ὀρθρίω 'to rise early' (Luke xxi. 38). See Curt. Stud. 11. 175.

4. ὕλακώμωροι, see on 14. 29.

6. The two clauses of this line are parallel in sense: Ulysses perceived at once the fawning of the dogs and the sound of feet. The governing word νόησε is strictly appropriate to σαίνοντας κύνας only: hence the poet was naturally led into the slight anacoluthon involved in the use of the indic. ἦλθε instead of a participle. Cp. Il. 3. 80 (ἐπετοξάζοντο) ἰοῖσιν τε τιτυσκομένοι λάεσσι τ' ἔβαλλον.

περὶ is often used of sound heard: cp. 17. 261 περὶ δὲ σφεας ἤλυθ' ἰσὴ φόρμυγος. So ἀμφί, as 1. 352 ἀκούν-τεσσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται.

ἀλλὰ περισσάλνουσι· ποδῶν δ' ὑπὸ δοῦπον ἀκούω." 10

Οὐ πῶ πάν εἴρητο ἔπος, ὅτε οἱ φίλος υἷδς  
ἔστη ἐνὶ προθύροισι. ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσε συβώτης,  
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ χειρῶν πέσον ἄγγεα, τοῖς ἐπονείτο  
κιρναὺς αἰθόπα οἶνον. ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἦλθεν ἀνακτος,  
κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά, 15  
χείρας τ' ἀμφοτέρας· θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ.  
ὥς δὲ πατὴρ δν παῖδα φίλα φρονέων ἀγαπάσῃ  
ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,  
μῦνον τηλύγετον, τῷ ἔπ' ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσῃ,  
ὥς τότε Τηλέμαχον θεοειδέα διῶς ὑφορβὸς 20  
πάντα κύσεν περιφύς, ὥς ἐκ θανάτοιο φυγόντα·  
καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

13 πέσον F U: πέσεν vulg. 14 ἦλυθ' MSS.: ἦλθεν Wolf, Bekker.

10. ποδῶν δ' ὑπὸ δοῦπον ἀκούω. The constr. must be *ὑπὸ ποδῶν*: cp. II. 2. 465 *ὑπὸ χθὼν σμερδαλίον κονάβιζε ποδῶν*. So Hes. Theog. 70 *ἑρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ὑπο δοῦπος ὁράρει* (cp. Hes. fr. 70). This constr. is confined in general to verbs expressing *ποιῶν*, or *sound made* (as in the passages quoted). In this place we must suppose a construction *ad sensum*, *δοῦπον ἀκούω* being = *δοῦπος γίγνεται*. The force of ὑπὸ is half-way between the literal sense of 'under' and the derived sense of 'caused by.'

12. προθύροισι 'the door-way,' sc. of the αὐλή: properly the spaces round the door, see on 10. 220.

15. φάεα, with α by metrical lengthening (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 206).

18. ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης 'from a far-off land.' This must be the meaning here and in 7. 25 (see the note). From Aristonicus (Schol. A. on II. 1. 270) we learn that of *νέστεροι*, i.e. post-Homeric authors, understood it as a name for the Peloponnesus. This is possible in the *Iliad* (1. 270., 3. 49). If it is so, we must suppose that in the time of the *Odyssey* the word *ἄπιος* survived, though its proper meaning was forgotten, and that it was then connected with *ἀπὸ* by a kind of 'popular etymology.' The true derivation may be, as Curtius conjectured (*Grunds.* 469), from a root *ap* 'water,' whence *Μεσσο-ἄπιοι*, &c. Or, if

the root is *aq*, it may be connected with Latin *aqua*, Goth. *ahwa* 'river.'

19. τηλύγετον. As Buttmann showed (*Lexil.* s.v.), this word probably meant 'beloved,' 'favourite.' No probable derivation has been proposed. It may be worth suggesting that it comes from *θῆλυς* 'soft,' 'delicate,' through a verb *θηλύω*, and thus originally meant 'made tender,' 'caressed.' For the initial τ cp. *τηλεθῶν* from *θάλλω*, *θαλέθω*. So *ταῦγος* is probably from *ταῦς* 'great' (*ταῦσας μεγαλύνας* Hesych.). The γ is doubtless a formative element, and has nothing to do with the root γᾶ.

21. πάντα. This is one of several places where *πάντα* may be either a masc. sing. or a neut. plur. used adverbially (= 'in all parts'). Here the neut. plur. would refer to the head and face and hands (l. 15). So in 17. 480 *ἀποδύσσει δὲ πάντα*, 19. 475 *πάντα ἀνακτ' ἐμὸν ἀμφαφάσθαι*, II. 22. 354 *κατὰ πάντα δάσονται*, 24. 20 *περὶ δ' αἰγίδι πάντα κάλυπτε*. The adverbial use is clear in II. 22. 491 *πάντα δ' ὑπεμνήμυκε*, Od. 4. 654 *τῷ δ' αἰτῷ πάντα ἐφίκει* (so 24. 446, II. 5. 181., 11. 613., 21. 600., 23. 66), perhaps in Od. 6. 217, *εἰπὶ δὲ πάντα λοίσσατο* (viz. back, shoulders, and head): cp. also 18. 167. It seems to give the best construction in all the passages quoted.

“ ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος· οὐ σ’ ἔτ’ ἔγωγε  
 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ ᾤχεο νηὶ Πύλονδε.

ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν εἴσελθε, φίλον τέκος, ὅφρα σε θυμῷ 25  
 τέρψομαι εἰσορόων νέον ἄλλοθεν ἔνδον ἑόντα.

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θάμ’ ἀγρὸν ἐπέρχεται οὐδὲ νομῆας,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐπιδημεύεις· ὥς γάρ νύ τοι εὔαδε θυμῷ,  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων ἑσορᾶν αἰδῆλον δμῖλον.”

Τὸν δ’ αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα· 30  
 “ ἔσσεται οὕτως, ἄττα· σέθεν δ’ ἔνεκ’ ἐνθάδ’ ἰκάνω,

ὅφρα σέ τ’ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδω καὶ μῦθον ἀκούσω,  
 ἥ μοι ἔτ’ ἐν μεγάροις μήτηρ μένει, ἥ τις ἤδη  
 ἀνδρῶν ἄλλος ἔγῃμεν, Ὀδυσσῆος δέ που εὖνῃ  
 χήτει ἐνευναίων κάκ’ ἀράχνια κεῖται ἔχουσα.” 35

Τὸν δ’ αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·  
 “ καὶ λίην κείνη γε μένει τετληῖτι θυμῷ  
 σοῖσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν· διῆυραι δέ οἱ αἰεὶ  
 φθίνουσιν νύκτες τε καὶ ἡματα δάκρυ χεοῦσῃ.”

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας οἱ ἐδέξατο χάλκεον ἔγχος· 40  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ’ εἶσω ἵεν καὶ ὑπέρβη λαῖνον οὐδόν.

τῷ δ’ ἔδρης ἐπιόντι πατὴρ ὑπέβηξεν Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 Τηλέμαχος δ’ ἐτέρωθεν ἐρήτυε φώνησέν τε·

“ ἦσο, ξεῖν· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι δήμεν ἔδρην

24 After this line *n* has in the margin λάθρη ἐμεῦ ἀέκητι φίλον μετὰ πατρός ἀκουήν (17. 43). 29 ἑσορᾶν P H U al.: προσορᾶν G F M X Eust. al. 31 οὕτως Ar. MSS.: αὐτως Zen. (?), cp. Il. 13. 447.

33 μεγάροις Ar. MSS.: there was therefore a rival ancient reading—perhaps μεγάρον. 35 ἐνευναίῳ Schol. H Q, v. l. ap. Eust. 44 ἦσο] ἦσ’ ὦ G F Eust.

28. ἐπιδημεύεις, from *dēmos* in the sense of ‘town’—probably the original sense.

33–35. It has been thought strange that Telemachus should ask this question after an absence of a month. It is no doubt designed to remind us that the inevitable crisis in the fortunes of Penelope and her son was rapidly drawing near. Ulysses, as we shall see, returned just in time.

35. ἐνευναίων may be masc., ‘sleepers in the bed,’ or neut., ‘bed-trappings.’ The latter sense is supported by 14. 51

ἐνεύναιον (sc. *δέρμα*); but it does not suit this context nearly so well. The reading *χήτει ἐνευναίῳ*, attributed by Eust. to ‘the ancients’ (viz. Aristarchus?), might mean ‘from want within the bed.’ But the phrase is more like Aeschylus than Homer. For κείται cp. καταθήσει in l. 45.

41. For the prothysteron cp. 13. 274.

42. ἔδρης, with ὑπέβηξεν, not ἐπιόντι.

44. ἡμεῖς . . . ἡμετέρῳ. Telemachus takes care to associate the others, especially Eumaeus, in the reception of the stranger, and the ownership of the



σταθμῶ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ· πάρα δ' ἀνὴρ ὃς καταθήσει." 45  
 ὧς φάθ', ὃ δ' αὖτις ἰὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο· τῷ δὲ συβώτης  
 χεῦεν ὑπο χλωρὰς ῥῶπας καὶ κῶας ὑπερθεν·  
 ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα Ὀδυσσεύς φίλος υἱός.  
 τοῖσιν δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκε συβώτης  
 ὀπταλέων, ἃ βα τῇ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες, 50  
 σῖτον δ' ἔσσυμένως παρενήνεεν ἐν κανέοισιν,  
 ἐν δ' ἄρα κισσυβίῳ κίρνη μελιηδέα οἶνον·  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἔζεν Ὀδυσσεύς θεῖοιο.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, 55  
 δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεε δῖον ὕφορβόν·  
 "ἄττα, πόθεν τοι ξείνος ὃδ' ἵκετο; πῶς δέ ἐ ναῦται  
 ἡγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο;  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τί ἐ πεζὸν οἶομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰέσθαι."  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα· 60  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύσω.  
 ἐκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένος εὐχεται εὐρεῖάνων,  
 φησὶ δὲ πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστεα δινηθῆναι  
 πλαζόμενος· ὥς γάρ οἱ ἐπέκλωσεν τά γε δαίμων.

47 κῶα καλὰ G. 49 δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας F X D Eust.: δ' αὖ πίνακας κρειῶν vulg.  
 50 om. X<sup>1</sup> D Z k. 51 παρενήνεεν P. Knight, perhaps rightly. 52 κίρνα G.  
 58 εὐχετόωντο] εὐχετόωνται G X al.: cp. 14. 189.

homestead. The use of the plural 'we' as a mere variety for the singular is not Homeric: see however 16. 442., 19. 344, 11. 13. 257., 15. 224.

45. καταθήσει, sc. ἔδωκεν, cp. 11. 3. 425 δίφρον . . . κατέθηκε φέρουσα.

49. πίνακες, lit. 'boards' or 'panels,' here wooden 'platters,' 'trenchers.' The meaning 'slices of meat' (so Ameis on 1. 141) is evidently less natural. The platters of meat are mentioned, as are also the baskets in which the bread was brought, and the κισσύβιον in which the wine was mixed (11. 51, 52). According to Athenaeus (vi. 228 d) Aristophanes the grammarian said that the practice of serving meat on πίνακες was later than Homer. Whether he rejected Od. 1. 141-142 (= 4. 57-58), where the word occurs in a similar passage, or took it

there in the sense of 'slices,' does not appear.

51. παρενήνεεν 'heaped up and served': παρά as in παρέθηκε (1. 49). The form νηνέω is given by the MSS. here and in Od. 1. 147, 11. 7. 428, 431: also by Eust. in 11. 23. 139, and by one MS. in 11. 24. 276. But it is improbable that there should have been two forms, νηνέω and νηέω, identical in meaning.

52. κισσυβίῳ, see on 9. 346.

61. ἀληθέα πάντα 'nothing but the truth': cp. 15. 158.

63. δινηθῆναι, lit. 'whirled,' 'wheeled about,' but here 'wandered about': so 9. 153 νῆσον θαυμάζοντες ἐδινεόμεσθα κατ' αὐτήν, also 19. 67 δινεῖων κατὰ οἶκον. This derivative sense is probably colloquial. It can hardly be traced in the Iliad (except doubtfully in 4. 541).

νῦν αὖ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν παρὰ νηὸς ἀποδρὰς 65  
 ἦλυθ' ἐμὸν πρὸς σταθμόν, ἐγὼ δέ τοι ἐγγυαλίξω·  
 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις· ἱκέτης δέ τοι εὔχεται εἶναι."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδδα·  
 "Εὖμαί, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ξείπες·  
 πῶς γὰρ δὴ τὸν ξεῖνον ἐγὼν ὑποδέξομαι οἴκῳ; 70  
 αὐτὸς μὲν νέος εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ πω χερσὶ πέποιθα  
 ἀνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ·  
 μητρὶ δ' ἐμῇ δίχα θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει,  
 ἦ αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμοί τε μένη καὶ δῶμα κομίζῃ,  
 εὐνὴν τ' αἰδομένη πόσιος δῆμοιό τε φῆμιν, 75  
 ἦ ἤδη αἶμ' ἔπῃται Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἀριστος  
 μῶνται ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀνὴρ καὶ πλείστα πόρρησιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι τὸν ξεῖνον, ἐπεὶ τεδν ἴκετο δῶμα,  
 ἔσσω μιν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα καλά,  
 δώσω δὲ ξίφος ἀμφηκες καὶ ποσσὶ πέδιλα, 80  
 πέμψω δ' ὅππῃ μιν κραδίη θυμὸς τε κελεύει.  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, σὺ κόμισσον ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσιν ἐρύξας·  
 εἵματα δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ πέμψω καὶ σίτον ἅπαντα  
 ἔδμεναι, ὥς ἂν μὴ σε κατατρύχῃ καὶ ἐταίρους.  
 κεῖσε δ' ἂν οὐ μιν ἔγωγε μετὰ μνηστῆρας ἐῶμι 85  
 ἔρχεσθαι· λίην γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔχουσι·  
 μή μιν κερτομέωσιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος ἔσσεται αἰνόν.  
 πρῆξαι δ' ἀργαλέον τι μετὰ πλεόνεσσιν ἐόντα  
 ἀνδρα καὶ ἴφθιμον, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολλὸ φέρτεροί εἰσι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς· 90

65 παρὰ vulg.: ἐκ F D: ἀπὸ U. 70 ἐγὼν] ἐμῷ M. The F may perhaps be restored by reading πῶς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον (a stranger) *φοίκα* ὑποδέξομαι ἀμῷ. If the ἀμῷ became ἐμῷ the rest of the corruption would easily follow. 73 δ' ἐμοὶ (δέ μοι) G M U. 79 ἔσσω μιν Ar. and most MSS.: ἔσσω μὲν F. Cp. 17. 550, where μὲν is impossible. 85 ἔσσω P H M al.

72. χαλεπήνῃ 'does violently.'

75. αἰδομένη 'out of respect for' suits εὐνὴν πόσιος and δῆμοιο φῆμιν with hardly a variation of meaning.

79. μιν, resuming τὸν ξεῖνον. This use of the enclitic pronoun is hardly Homeric; but the reading μιν is supported by the other places where the

line occurs, viz. 17. 550 and 21. 339.

80. This line looks like an abbreviation of the two lines 21. 340-341 δώσω δ' ὄξιν ἀκοντα, κενῶν ἀλεκτῆρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ξίφος ἀμφηκες, δώσω δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ πέδιλα.

84. κατατρύχῃ, cp. 15. 309.

"ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ θήν μοι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι θέμις ἐστίν,  
 ἥ μάλα μεν καταδάπτει' ἀκούοντος φίλον ἦτορ,  
 οἶά φατε μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάσθαι  
 ἐν μεγάροις, ἀέκητι σέθεν τοιούτου ἐόντος.  
 εἰπέ μοι ἡὲ ἐκὼν ὑποδάμνασαι, ἥ σέ γε λαοὶ 95  
 ἐχθαίρουσ' ἀνὰ δῆμον, ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὀμφῇ,  
 ἥ τι κασιγνήτοις ἐπιμέμφεαι, οἷσί περ ἀνὴρ  
 μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε, καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος δρῆται.  
 αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω νέος εἶην τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ,  
 ἥ παῖς ἐξ 'Οδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἡὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 100  
 [ἔλθοι ἀλγτεύων· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ ἐλπίδος αἶσα·]  
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ κείνοισι κακὸν πάντεσσι γενοίμην  
 ἐλθὼν ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδew 'Οδυσῆος.  
 εἰ δ' αὖ με πληθυὶ δαμασαίατο μῶνον ἐόντα, 105

92 μὲν] δὴ μὲν H: perhaps we should read δὴ in place of μὲν. The dat. μοι is also possible, notwithstanding ἀκούοντος: see Il. 14. 25, Od. 9. 256, and other instances given in *H. G.* § 243, 3, d. 99 ἐπὶ Ar. U: ἐνὶ vulg. 100 ἡ] ἡὲ F P: read ἡὲ πᾶσι 'Οδυσῆος? 101 obelized by Ar. and perhaps other ancient critics (οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐνόθευσαν τὸν στίχον ὀβελίσαντες Eust.). 104 obelized by Zen. Ar. It may come from 21. 262: cp. also 18. 24.

96. θεοῦ ὀμφῇ, not probably an actual 'oracle':—rather the Homeric mode of conceiving what we now should call a wave of unreasoning popular sentiment. See the excellent note on 3. 215.

97. ἐπιμέμφεαι 'complain of': 'is it that you have brothers who do not stand by you as they ought!'

99. οὕτω νέος 'so young' (as I had need to be for the purpose), 'young enough for that.'

ἐπὶ 'with': 'would that I had the youthful strength, as I have the spirit, to act.' Cp. 17. 308 ἐπὶ εἶδει τῷδε.

101. If this line is genuine, we must suppose an anacoluthon: 'would that I were young enough, either being the son of Ulysses, or would that he might come himself.' That is to say, instead of ἡὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν (subordinate to νέος εἶην), the second alternative takes the form of an independent clause of wish. This is an irregularity of a type common enough in Greek (cp. *H. G.* § 272): but here there is a real anaco-

luthon or change of meaning; since the second clause—the wish that Ulysses himself would come—does not fit οὕτω νέος εἶην. Thus the line interferes with the main point of the sentence—the duty incumbent on Telemachus of resisting the Suitors at all hazards. Moreover, the half-line ἔτι γὰρ καὶ ἐλπίδος αἶσα is much more effective in the other place where it occurs, viz. 19. 84.

ἐλπίδος αἶσα 'hope has its share,' i.e. a claim to its place, a *raison d'être*.

104. The objection that the ancient critics made to this line probably was that it interferes with the play of suggestion which characterises the speech. It implies that the speaker is only a stranger offering help. But Ulysses is now supposing himself to be Ulysses (cp. l. 106). His aim is to lead rapidly up to the point at which he reveals himself to his son (l. 188). On the other hand the introduction of the name Λαερτιάδης 'Οδυσσεύς has some rhetorical value.

βουλοίμην κ' ἐν ἐμοῖσι κατακτάμενος μεγάροισι  
 τεθνάμεν ἢ τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὀράσθαι,  
 ξείνους τε στυφελιζομένους δμῳάς τε γυναικάς  
 ρυστάζοντας ἀεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά,  
 καὶ οἶνον διαφυσσόμενον, καὶ σίτον ἔδοντας 110  
 μὰ ψ αὖτως ἀτέλεστον, ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, ξεῖνε, μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.  
 οὔτε τί μοι πᾶς δῆμος ἀπεχθόμενός χαλεπαίνει,  
 οὔτε κασιγνήτοις ἐπιμέμφομαι, οἷσί περ ἀνὴρ 115  
 μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε, καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος δρῆται.  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἡμετέρην γενεὴν μούνωσε Κρονίων·  
 μῦνον Λαέρτην Ἀρκείσιος υἱὸν ἔτικτε,  
 μῦνον δ' αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα πατὴρ τέκεν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 μῦνον ἔμ' ἐν μεγάροισι τεκὼν λίπεν οὐδ' ἀπόνητο. 120  
 τῷ νῦν δυσμενέες μάλα μυρίοι εἶσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.  
 ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,  
 Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ,  
 ἢ δ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,  
 τόσσοι μητέρ' ἐμὴν μνῶνται, τρύχουσι δὲ οἶκον. 125  
 ἢ δ' οὐτ' ἀρνεῖται στυγερὸν γάμον οὔτε τελευτὴν  
 ποιῆσαι δύναται· τοὶ δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἔδοντες

106 κ' ἐν] κεν Ar. MSS.: κεν (sic) F.  
 120 ἔμ' ἐν] ἐμὲ? cp. l. 106.

113 ἀγορεύσω] καταλέγω U.

108-110 are three successive lines without a caesura in the middle. The rhythm is probably intended to mark the rising passion of the speaker. Throughout this speech Ulysses is on the verge of using language only suited to his own character.

109. ρυστάζοντας, used substantively, = ρυστάζοντάς τινας; and so ἔδοντας in the next line. For this use of the participle cp. 13. 400. The force of -αζω is frequentative or ampliative, 'dragging about': see on 13. 9.

111. ἀτέλεστον is an adv., explained in the phrase ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ 'with no end to the business.' For examples

of this kind of epexegetis see on 1. 300. For ἐπὶ = 'with,' 'in presence of,' cp. 11. 548 τοιῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ, 16. 99 τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ, also Il. 4. 175, 2:8.

114. ἀπεχθόμενος 'having become your enemy,' cp. l. 95 σέ γε λαοὶ ἐχθαίρουσι. ἀπηχθόμεν is generally passive, 'came to be hated'; but here it applies to both sides of the supposed quarrel, expressing simply the fact of enmity between them. So probably in 19. 407 ὀδυρσάμενος, which is generally 'having been angered,' is used in the more comprehensive sense of 'having quarrelled.'

125. τρύχουσι, cp. 15. 309.

οἶκον ἐμόν· τάχα δὴ με διαρραίσουσι καὶ αὐτόν.  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται·  
 ἄττα, σὺ δ' ἔρχεο θάσσον, ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ 130  
 εἴφ' ὅτι οἱ σῶς εἰμι καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλουθα.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν αὐτοῦ μενέω, σὺ δὲ δεῦρο νέεσθαι  
 οἷῃ ἀπαγγείλας· τῶν δ' ἄλλων μή τις Ἀχαιῶν  
 πευθέσθω· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ κακὰ μηχανῶνται."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιο συβῶτα· 135  
 "γιγνώσκω, φρονέω· τά γε δὴ νοέοντι κελεύεις.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,  
 εἰ καὶ Λαέρτη αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄγγελος ἔλθω  
 δυσμῶρ, ὃς τῆος μὲν Ὀδυσσῆος μέγ' ἀχεύων  
 ἔργα τ' ἐποπτεύεσκε μετὰ δμῶων τ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ 140  
 πῖνε καὶ ἦσθ', ὅτε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνάγοι·  
 αὐτὰρ νῦν, ἐξ οὗ σὺ γε ᾤχεο νηϊ Πύλονδε,  
 οὐ πῶ μὲν φασιν φαγέμεν καὶ πιέμεν αὐτῶς,  
 οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἔργα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ στοναχῇ τε γόῳ τε  
 ἦσται ὀδυρόμενος, φθινύθει δ' ἀμφ' ὀστεόφι χρώς." 145

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤρδα·  
 "ἄλγιον, ἀλλ' ἔμψης μιν ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·  
 εἰ γάρ πως εἴη αὐτάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσι,  
 πρῶτόν κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλοίμεθα νόστιμον ἦμαρ.

138 εἰ vulg.: ἢ M: ἢ H<sup>2</sup> al. The choice is between εἰ and ἢ. 142 γε ᾤχεο] γ' ἐπ' ᾤχεο G: hence we may read γ' ἀπ' ᾤχεο, a v. l. on the margin of Barnes' edition (Van Leeuwen). 145 ἦσθαι ὀδυρόμενον F. 147 ἀχνύμενόν F, v. l. in Eust.

128. διαρραίσουσι, lit. 'break in pieces.'

131. σῶς, see on 22. 28.

140. μετὰ with the gen., as in 10. 320.

143. οὐ πῶ 'not yet,' i.e. he has not reached the point of doing it.

αὐτῶς 'merely': he has not so much as barely eaten and drunk. A person might eat and drink αὐτῶς, without doing more: Laertes does not even do this.

144. ἐπὶ ἰδεῖν 'has seen to,' cp. ἐποπτεύω (l. 140).

148. αὐτάγρετα 'taken of themselves,' without further ado, i.e. 'to be had for the taking.'

149. τοῦ πατρὸς. The force of the article probably is to point the contrast: 'my father is the one whom I should choose.' See the examples of the article with πατήρ and other words of relationship given in *H. G.* § 261, 3.

This is one of the passages in which Zenodotus probably read οὐ for τοῦ, and understood it in a 'general reflexive' sense, here = 'our own.' We know that he read in *Il.* 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ οὐ πατρὸς δεικέα τίσετε λῶβην. On this question also I must refer to the discussion in *H. G.* § 255. It still seems to me most probable that the reflexive εἶς or ὅς was originally used of the

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἀγγείλας ὀπίσω κίε, μηδὲ κατ' ἀγροῦς 150  
 πλάζεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνων ἀτὰρ πρὸς μητέρα εἰπεῖν  
 ἀμφίπολον ταμῖν ὀτρυνέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα  
 κρύβδην κείνη γάρ κεν ἀπαγγεῖλει γέροντι."

Ἡ ῥα καὶ ὥρσε συφορβόν ὃ δ' εἴλετο χερσὶ πέδιλα,  
 ἠσάμενος δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ πόλινδ' ἔεν. οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνην 155  
 λῆθεν ἀπὸ σταθμοῖο κιὼν Εὖμαιος ὑφορβός,  
 ἀλλ' ἡ γε σχεδὸν ἦλθε δέμας δ' ἥϊκτο γυναικὶ  
 καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυῖν.  
 στῇ δὲ κατ' ἀντίθυρον κλισίης Ὀδυσσῇ φανεῖσα·  
 οὐδ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἶδεν ἀντίον οὐδ' ἐνόησεν, 160  
 οὐ γάρ πως πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἑναργεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς τε κύνες τε ἶδον, καὶ ῥ' οὐχ ὑλάοντο,  
 κνυζημῶ δ' ἐτέρωσε διὰ σταθμοῖο φόβηθεν.  
 ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἐκ δ' ἦλθεν μεγάρῳ παρὲκ μέγα τειχίον αὐλῆς, 165  
 στῇ δὲ πάροιθ' αὐτῆς· τὸν δὲ προσέειπεν Ἀθήνη·  
 "διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 ἦδη νῦν σὺ παιδὶ ἔπος φάο μηδ' ἐπείκευθε,  
 ὥς ἂν μνηστῆρσιν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἀραρόντε  
 ἔρχησθον προτὶ ἄστυ περικλυτόν· οὐδ' ἐγὼ αὐτῇ 170  
 δηρὸν ἀπὸ σφῶϊν ἔσομαι μεμαυῖα μάχεσθαι."

Ἡ καὶ χρυσείῃ ῥάβδῳ ἐπεμάσασα' Ἀθήνη.  
 φᾶρος μὲν οἱ πρῶτον εὐπλυνὲς ἡδὲ χιτῶνα  
 θῆκ' ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι, δέμας δ' ὤφελλε καὶ ἥβην.

152-153 rejected by Ar.

161 πως G F X U al. Eust.: πω P H al.

Third person only, and that the extension to the First and Second persons, though ancient, was on the whole post-Homeric.

152. We hear no more of this message to Laertes.

159. ἀντίθυρον seems to be the space just outside the doorway of the αὐλή or courtyard. Odysseus sees Athene from the μέγαρον, passes out beyond the wall (τειχίον) of the αὐλή, and is then somewhere in (παρά) the adjoining ἀντίθυρον. In 343-344 (infra) the Suitors go out,

as here, παρὲκ μέγα τειχίον αὐλῆς, and are then προπάροιθε θυράων.

162-163. An instance of the sympathy with the dog which is so noticeable in the *Odyssey*: cp. 14. 29., 16. 5, and (above all) 17. 291-327.

165. τειχίον, of the wall of the courtyard: τείχος being used of a city wall or fortification.

174. δέμας δ' ὤφελλε καὶ ἥβην, a slightzeugma: 'she glorified his form and (granted him increase of) youthful strength.'

ἀψ δὲ μελαγχροίης γένετο, γναθμοὶ δὲ τάνυσθεν, 175  
κυνάεαι δ' ἐγένοντο γενειάδες ἀμφὶ γένειον.

ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς ἔρξασα πάλιν κίεν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἦεν ἐς κλισίην· θάμβησε δέ μιν φίλος υἱός,  
ταρβήσας δ' ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὄμματα, μὴ θεὸς εἴη,  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 180

“ἀλλοιὸς μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ πάροιθεν,  
ἀλλα δὲ εἴματ' ἔχεις, καὶ τοι χρῶς οὐκέθ' ὁμοῖος.  
ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν·  
ἀλλ' ἴληθ', ἵνα τοι κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρὰ  
ἡδὲ χρύσεια δῶρα, τετυγμένα· φείδεο δ' ἡμέων.” 185

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“οὐ τίς τοι θεὸς εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσκες;  
ἀλλὰ πατὴρ τεὸς εἰμι, τοῦ εἵνεκα σὺ στεναχίζων  
πάσχεις ἄλγεα πολλά, βίας ὑποδέγμενος ἀνδρῶν.”

ᾧς ἄρα φωνήσας υἷὸν κύσε, καδ δὲ παρειῶν 190  
δάκρυον ἦκε χαμᾶζε· πάρος δ' ἔχε νωλεμέες αἰεῖ.  
Τηλέμαχος δ' οὐ γάρ πω ἐπείθετο δν πατέρ' εἶναι,  
ἐξαυτίς μιν ἔπεσσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν  
“οὐ σὺ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι, πατὴρ ἐμός, ἀλλὰ με δαίμων  
θέλγει, ὅφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω. 195

176 γενειάδες] ἰθειράδες G U, v. l. in Eust. 179 ταρβήσας] θαμβήσας G P.  
195 θέλγει] θέλγεις was an ancient variant (ἡ κυκλικὴ θέλγεις Sch. H, cp.  
17. 25).

175. τάνυσθεν ‘were filled out,’ were no longer shrunken.

176. κύνεαι must mean ‘dark.’ The poet forgets that Ulysses had ‘yellow’ hair before : see Od. 13. 399. 431.

An interesting parallel to this contradiction has been pointed out to me by a friend. In the first edition of Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, vol. I. ch. iv (p. 119), Effie Deans is described as ‘a modest-looking black-haired girl.’ In ch. ix of the same volume (p. 240) it is said that ‘her Grecian-shaped head was profusely rich in waving ringlets of brown hair.’ Finally, in vol. II. ch. x (p. 231) in the account of the trial special mention is made of ‘her beautiful and abundant tresses of long fair hair.’

In later editions the inconsistency was removed by altering ‘black-haired’ in the first of these places into ‘fair-haired.’ But the necessity for such a correction was probably not felt before the ages when ‘second editions’ and the like made revision possible.

181. νέον, viz. when Telemachus saw him. Telemachus was not now looking towards Ulysses.

185. τετυγμένα, cp. 13. 32.

189. βίας ‘the forceful deeds,’ a plural like ἀσπασθάλαι, ἱπποσύναι, &c. : cp. the Latin *laudes* = ‘glorious deeds.’ Cp. 13. 310.

191. πάρος δ' ἔχε νωλεμές αἰεῖ, parataxis, ‘though up to that time he had borne up firmly.’

οὐ γάρ πως ἂν θνητὸς ἀνὴρ τάδε μηχανόφτο  
 ᾧ αὐτοῦ γε νόφ, ὅτε μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων θεΐη νέον ἢδὲ γέροντα.

ἦ γάρ τοι νέον ἦσθα γέρων καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσο·  
 νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἕοικας, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι.” 200

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ Τηλέμαχ', οὐ σε ἕοικε φίλον πατέρ' ἐνδον ἐόντα  
 οὔτε τι θαυμάζειν περιώσιον οὔτ' ἀγάασθαι·  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἀλλ' ὁδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παθὼν κακά, πολλὰ δ' ἀληθείς, 205  
 ἦλθον ἐεικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.  
 αὐτάρ τοι τόδε ἔργον Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης,  
 ἥ τέ με τοῖον ἔθηκεν ὅπως ἐθέλει, δύναται γάρ,  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν πτωχῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
 ἀνδρὶ νέφ καὶ καλὰ περὶ χροῖ εἵματ' ἔχοντι. 210  
 ῥηϊδίον δὲ θεοῖσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
 ἡμὲν κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν ἢδὲ κακῶσαι.”

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ  
 ἀμφιχυθεὶς πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ὀδύρετο, δάκρυα λείβων.  
 ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ὑφ' ἱμερος ὦρτο γόοιο· 215  
 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἶνοιο,

198 ἢδὲ vulg.: ἢ P H L W. So ἢ for ἢδὲ in 16. 273 (P H L W), 17. 202 (M), 24. 157 (L W). 205 ἀληθείς P H al.: ἀνατλάς G F X U al. 206 ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ is the reading of all MSS. here and 19. 484: but in 21. 208 ἦλθον M, εἰκοστῷ H<sup>2</sup>, and in 24. 322 ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ U: cp. 23. 102, 170 ἔλθοι εἰκοστῷ. These traces seem to justify us in adopting the form which the F of *Feukostós* proves to be the older one. 216 ἢ τ' ] ἦντ F.

198. ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων is a kind of respectful parenthesis: 'as he does easily when he chooses.'

νέον ἢδὲ γέροντα 'young or old,' i.e. 'now young, now old.' Two opposites presented in this way as *alternating* with each other are usually connected by ἡμὲν—ἢδὲ (cp. 212, 306–307). Sometimes by ἢδὲ only: cp. 19. 316 ἀποπεπήμεν ἢδὲ δέχεσθαι, II. 5. 223 (= 8. 107) ἡκίμεν ἢδὲ φέβεσθαι, 9. 100 (= Od. 17. 584) φάσθαι ἔπος ἢδ' ἐπακοῦσαι, 24. 45 μέγα σίνεταί ἢδ' ὀνίνησιν. Hence ἢδὲ is here more idiomatic than ἢέ,

which has been adopted by editors from a few MSS.

202. ἐνδον 'at home': cp. I. 355.

216. ἀδινώτερον. The adj. ἀδινός means 'thick,' 'full' (Buttmann, *Lex.* s.v.). Applied to sound it suggests a continuous or 'thick-coming' cry. It may be connected with ἄδην 'fully,' 'richly,' ἄτος (for *δατος*) 'unsatisfied,' and Lat. *sa-tis*, *sa-tur*.

ἢ τε 'than,' cp. II. 4. 277 μελάντερον ἢτε πῖσσα, where Bekker proposed to read ἢε τε. If this is not adopted we must read ἦτ' or εὔτ' here (Buttmann,



φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἷσί τε τέκνα  
 ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι  
 ὥς ἄρα τοί γ' ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἶβον.  
 καὶ νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδω φάος ἡέλιος,  
 εἰ μὴ Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεεν δν πατέρ' αἶψα·  
 "ποίη γὰρ νῦν δευρο, πάτερ φίλε, νῆϊ σε ναῦται  
 ἡγαγον εἰς Ἴθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο;  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν ὄτομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι."

220

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθείην καταλέξω.  
 Φαίηκές μ' ἄγαγον ναυσίκλυτοι, οἳ τε καὶ ἄλλους  
 ἀνθρώπους πέμπουσιν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκηται  
 καὶ μ' εὐδοντ' ἐν νῆϊ θοῇ ἐπὶ πόντον ἄγοντες  
 κάτθεσαν εἰς Ἴθάκην, ἔπορον δέ μοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,  
 χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντήν.

225

230

219 δάκρυα λείβον P. 223 εὐχετόωντο F H: -ται G P X U al.: cp. 14. 189.,  
 16. 58. 230 εἰν' Ἴθάκῃ G.

*Lex. s. v.*). The former is supported by one good manuscript, viz. F. This *ἦντε* or *εἦτε* is evidently to be identified with *ἦντε* 'like as.' The disyllabic form is found with the meaning 'as' or 'like' in two places in the *Iliad*, viz. 3. 10 *εἦτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι κτλ.* (ancient variants *ἦντ' ὄρεος* and *ὣς τ' ὄρεος*), and 19. 386 *τῷ δ' εἦτε πετὰ γίγνεται κτλ.* (v. l. *ἦντε* and *αὔτε*). In the latter place *εἦτε* is possible: cp. the variation of *ἦν-*, *εἦ*, and *εὔ*.

There remains the question,—what is the force of the comparative followed by *ἦντε*? Buttmann and other modern scholars have taken *ἦντε* as equivalent to 'than,' comparing the use of *as* in provincial English, and of *als* and *wie* in German. The difficulty, however, is not the use of a word with the double sense of 'like as' and 'than,' but the improbability that such a use, if it existed in the language, should occur so very rarely. It must be said, too, that the phrase 'blackier than pitch' is an exaggeration, such as Homer does not resort to in his descriptions of nature. In the ancient view, put forward or at least maintained by Aristarchus, the

comparative was used as a positive (*ἢ διπλῇ ὅτι κέρρηται τῷ συγκριτικῷ ἀντὶ ἀπλοῦ* Aristonicus, *στικτέον μετὰ τὸ μελάντερον* Nicanor). That is to say, *μελάντερον* does not express a degree of blackness, but blackness instead of its opposite. Bekker (*H. B. I. 312*) quotes as instances *ἀκιδνότερος* (*Od.* 8. 169), *κουφότερον* (8. 201), comparing Lucian (*Philopat.* 4) *Ἀθῖοφι ἀνδράσι μελαντέροις καὶ τὴν ὕψιν ἰσοφαιμένοις*. The meaning 'dark and pitch like' seems sufficiently Homeric. So here *ἰκιδνότερον*, of a cry that comes fast, like the cry of certain birds, cp. *ἰκασσύτερος*. A good parallel to the form of the sentence is to be found in Herodotus (3. 23) *ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατάπερ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη*, where the meaning is not that they became more shining than if it were a fountain of oil, but that they shone as with oil.

219. *ἐλεεινόν*, adv. 'piteously.'

222. The γάρ marks the suddenness (*αἶψα*) of the speech.

230. *κάτθεσαν εἰς Ἴθάκην*, pregnant construction, 'brought to and set down in Ithaca': cp. 13. 274.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν σπήεσσι θεῶν ἰότητι κέονται·  
 νῦν αὖ δεῦρ' ἰκόμεν ὑποθημοσύνησιν Ἀθήνης,  
 ὄφρα κε δυσμενέεσσι φόνου πέρι βουλευσώμεν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι μνηστῆρας ἀριθμήσας κατάλεξον, 235  
 ὄφρ' εἰδῶ ὅσοι τε καὶ οἱ τινες ἄνδρες εἰσί·  
 καὶ κεν ἐμὸν κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα μερμηρίζας  
 φράσσομαι, ἥ κεν νῶϊ δυνησόμεθ' ἀντιφέρεσθαι  
 μούνω ἀνευθ' ἄλλων, ἧ καὶ διζησόμεθ' ἄλλους."  
 Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα· 240  
 "ὦ πάτερ, ἧ τοι σείο μέγα κλέος αἰὲν ἄκουον,  
 χεῖράς τ' αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν·  
 ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα εἶπες· ἄγη μ' ἔχει· οὐδέ κεν εἴη  
 ἄνδρε δύω πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισι μάχεσθαι.  
 μνηστῆρων δ' οὗτ' ἄρ δεκάς ἀτρεκέες οὔτε δύ' οἶαι, 245  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλείονες· τάχα δ' εἴσαι αὐτὸς ἀριθμόν.  
 ἐκ μὲν Δουλιχίου δὺν καὶ πεντήκοντα

234 βουλευσώμεν] better βουλευώμεν, see *H. G.* § 82. 238 ἡ H: εἰ vulg.  
 246 τάχα εἴσαι (with asyndeton) would be idiomatic; cp. 13. 42. αὐτὸς G P X U  
 (as 2. 40., 24. 506): ἐνθάδ' vulg.

232. σπήεσσι may stand for σπεί-εσσι, or may simply be a metrical licence for the regular σπείεσσι, which cannot come into the hexameter.

κέονται is an isolated thematic form, for the Homeric κείται: see however Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 436.

238. δυνησόμεθα is doubtless a subj.: see on l. 261. So διζησόμεθα in the next line, although the ind. διζήσῃμην is not found.

242. βουλὴν is generally taken as an acc. of limitation—'wise in counsel.' But if we compare 3. 128 νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ, and 19. 326 νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα μῆτιν, it becomes more probable that ἐπίφρονα is an epithet of βουλὴν,—the constr. being χεῖράς τε καὶ βουλήν 'in strength of hands and wise counsel.' For 'wise in counsel' we should expect rather ἐπίφρον βουλῇ (cp. ἐπιστήμων βουλῇ in l. 374).

245. ἀτρεκέις, adv. 'exactly': i. e. 'it is not a simple ten, or two tens only.'

247-251. It would seem from this enumeration that the recurring line

Δουλιχίον τε Σάμη τε καὶ Ἰθάκη τε Ζάκυνθος places the islands in the order of their importance—Ithaca itself being the smallest of the four, though, as the home of Ulysses, it was the most important.

The representation here given of the Suitors as the 'kings' or chief men of the four islands is borne out by the words of Telemachus in 1. 245 ff. ὅσοι γὰρ νῆσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι Δουλιχίῳ κτλ. (= 19. 130 ff.): also by the instances of Amphimachus of Dulichium (16. 396), and Ctesippus of Same (20. 288). It is difficult, however, to reconcile it with other passages. The Suitors do not live in the palace of Ulysses. They come every day (2. 55 = 17. 534 οἱ δ' εἰς ἡμέτερον πολυεύμενοι ἡμέα πάντα), and return at night to their several abodes in the town of Ithaca (1. 424 κακχείοντες ἔβαν οἰκύνδε ἑκαστος, 2. 397 οἱ δ' εὖδειν ὠρνυντο κατὰ πτόλιν, 18. 428 βάν δ' ἵμεναι κείοντες ἐὰ πρὸς δώμαθ' ἑκαστος, also 20. 6). And when they give presents to Penelope

κοῦροι κεκριμένοι, ἐξ δὲ δροστήρες ἔπονται  
 ἐκ δὲ Σάμης πίσυρές τε καὶ εἴκοσι φῶτες ἔασιν,  
 ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου ἔασιν ἐείκοσι κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, 250  
 ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἀριστοί,  
 καὶ σφιν ἅμ' ἐστὶ Μέδων κῆρυξ καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς  
 καὶ δοιὼ θεράποντε, δαήμονε δαιτροσυνάων.  
 τῶν εἴ κεν πάντων ἀντήσομεν ἔνδον ἐόντων,  
 μὴ πολὺπικρα καὶ αἰνὰ βίας ἀποτίσσει ἐλθών. 255  
 ἀλλὰ σύ γ', εἰ δύνασαι τιν' ἀμύντορα μερμηρίζαι,  
 φράξεν, ὃ κέν τις νῶϊν ἀμύνοι πρόφρονι θυμῷ."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἔρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μευ ἄκουσον·  
 καὶ φράσαι ἢ κεν νῶϊν Ἀθήνη σὺν Διὶ πατρὶ 260  
 ἀρκέσει, ἥ εἰ τιν' ἄλλον ἀμύντορα μερμηρίζω."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤδα·  
 "ἐσθλῷ τοι τούτῳ γ' ἐπαμύντορε, τοὺς ἀγορεύεις,

250 κοῦροι] φῶτες G X al.  
 note.

257 φράζε' H: φράζε J: φράξεν vulg.: see the note.

261 ἀρκέσει, see the note.

(18. 291 ff.), the messengers go and return immediately. So too in 2. 51 they are described as τῶν ἀνδρῶν φίλοι υἱες αἱ ἐνθάδε γ' (i.e. in Ithaca) εἰσὶν ἀριστοί. The contradiction, such as it is, seems undeniable. Moreover, it is not one which can easily be explained by a difference of authorship. — Rather, like other contradictions or unevennesses in works of fiction, it arises partly from the limitation of human memory, partly from our ignorance of circumstances which the contemporaries of the poet would have been able to supply. If the three other islands are apt to be ignored (so in 1. 394 in reference to the 'kingdom' of Ulysses), that is because Ithaca was the dominant island, to which the others stood in the relation of *perioikides*. The chiefs of the dependent communities doubtless had their *πρόξενοι* in the capital. In any case, every hearer of the Homeric poems would know how to meet the difficulty of carrying on his suit in a neighbouring town. (See Kern, *Ueber die Freier in der Odyssee*, Ulm, 1861.)

255. 'See that you do not in right

bitter and terrible fashion take your vengeance,' i.e. 'I fear that instead of taking vengeance you will suffer a terrible fate.' The expression is a kind of oxymoron: cp. 17. 448 μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴσται, i.e. 'something bitter instead of Egypt and Crete.'

257. φράξεν 'think of.' But as δ (the art.) is not generally used = δς with an *indefinite* reference, perhaps we should read φράζ' δς κέν τις 'tell me of one who —.'

261. ἀρκέσει. The fut. after ἢ κεν is very doubtful, see on 15. 524. We should probably read ἀρκέσῃ.

263-264. The point of this passage has generally been missed. Ulysses having named Zeus and Athene as the helpers to be looked for, Telemachus answers ironically that Zeus and Athene are good champions, no doubt—sitting aloft in the clouds (instead of helping). Hence the reply of Ulysses: 'yet will these two not long hold aloof from the combat.' Note the significant change from τούτῳ γε, *istī*, 'those, forsooth,' to κείνῳ γε, *illī*.

ὑψι περ ἐν νεφέεσσι καθήμενῳ ὦ τε καὶ ἄλλοις  
ἀνδράσι τε κρατέουσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι." 265

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"οὐ μὲν τοι κείνω γε πολὺν χρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔσεσθον  
φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς, ὅπότε μνηστῆρσι καὶ ἡμῖν  
ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι μένος κρίνηται Ἄρης.

270

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν ἔρχευ ἅμ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφιν  
οἴκαδε, καὶ μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ὀμίλει·  
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ προτὶ ἄστυ συβώτης ὕστερον ἄξει,  
πτωχῷ λευγαλέφ' ἐναλίγκιον ἡδὲ γέροντι.

275

εἰ δέ μ' ἀτιμήσουσι δόμον κάτα, σὸν δὲ φίλον κῆρ  
τετλάτῳ ἐν στήθεσσι κακῶς πάσχοντος ἐμεῖο,  
ἦν περ καὶ διὰ δῶμα ποδῶν ἔλκωσι θύραζε  
ἢ βέλεσιν βάλλωσι· σὺ δ' εἰσορῶν ἀνέχεσθαι.

280

ἀλλ' ἦ τοι παύεσθαι ἀνωγέμεν ἀφροσυνάνων,  
μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παραυδῶν· οἱ δέ τοι οὐ τι  
πείσονται· δὴ γάρ σφι παρίσταται αἰσιμον ἡμαρ.

285

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν·  
ὅππότε κεν πολύβουλος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆσιν Ἀθήνη,  
νεύσω μὲν τοι ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ, σὺ δ' ἔπειτα νοήσας  
δοσσα τοι ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀρήϊα τεύχεα κείται  
ἐς μυχὸν ὑψηλοῦ θαλάμου καταθεῖναι ἀείρας  
πάντα μάλ'· αὐτὰρ μνηστῆρας μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσι  
παρφάσθαι, ὅτε κέν σε μεταλλῶσιν ποθέοντες·

264 ἄλλοις] Perhaps ἄλλως (cp. 15. 513, ll. 9. 699., 20. 99). 273 ἡδὲ]  
‡ P H L W. 274 εἰ δὲ] οἱ δὲ G F D. 280 αἰσιμον ἡμαρ] αἰὲς δλεθρος G  
(as 5. 305., 22. 28). 282 θῆσιν G X U al.: θήσιν F P H.

269. κρίνηται 'is brought to the issue,' i. e. when the combat has to be decided.

281-298. These eighteen lines were condemned by Zenodotus and Aristarchus. The question of their genuineness must be treated in connexion with 19. 4-13 (where the advice to move the arms is given nearly in the words of ll. 284-294), and with the whole story of the *μνηστηροφονία*. It may be observed that the repetition of the formula ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν

(l. 281 and l. 299) clearly indicates the limits of the interpolation, if there is one.

283. νεύσω κτλ. These words imply that Ulysses is to give Telemachus a secret signal, in the presence of the Suitors, but unobserved by them. This does not agree with the actual course of events: see on 19. 4 ff. Indeed it is inconsistent with 287 ὅτε κέν σε μεταλλῶσιν ποθέοντες, which would be said of men struck by the absence of something to which they are used.

'ἐκ καπνοῦ κατέθηκ', ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τοῖσιν ἔφκει  
 οἷά ποτε Τροίηνδε κιὼν κατέλειπεν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἀλλὰ κατήκισται, ὅσπον πυρὸς ἵκετ' αὐτμή. 290  
 πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τότε μείζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε Κρονίων,  
 μή πως οἰνωθέντες, ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν,  
 ἀλλήλους τρώσῃτε καταισχύνητέ τε δαῖτα  
 καὶ μνηστῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.  
 νῶϊν δ' οἴοισιν δύο φάσγανα καὶ δύο δοῦρε 295  
 καλλιπέειν καὶ δοιὰ βοάγρια χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι,  
 ὥς ἂν ἐπιθύσαντες ἐλοίμεθα· τοὺς δέ κ' ἔπειτα  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη θέλξει καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν·  
 εἰ ἔτεβν γ' ἐμός ἐσσι καὶ αἵματος ἡμετέροιο, 300  
 μή τις ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀκουσάτω ἔνδον ἐόντος,  
 μήτ' οὖν Λαέρτης ἴστω τό γε μήτε συβώτης  
 μήτε τις οἰκῆων μήτ' αὐτὴ Πηνελόπεια,  
 ἀλλ' οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε γυναικῶν γνώομεν ἰθύν·  
 καὶ κέ τεο δμῶων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι πειρηθεῖμεν, 305  
 ἡμὲν ὅπου τις νῶϊ τίει καὶ δεῖδιε θυμῷ,  
 ἡδ' ὅτις οὐκ ἀλέγει, σὲ δ' ἀτιμᾶ τοῖον ἐόντα."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε φαίδιμος υἱός·

“ὦ πάτερ, ἦ τοι ἐμὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἔπειτά γ', οἶω,

290 κατήκισται] Read κατηέικισται (?).  
 (note). τε G F: δι PH DU al.

293 τρώσῃτε] Read τρώητε οἱ τρώσσετε  
 306 ὅπου G P H: ὅπως vulg.

288. ἔφκει, in past time with reference to κατέθηκα: = 'I found them no longer like.'

290. κατήκισται is not a good epic form, since δεικνῆς and δεικίω are always uncontracted (ἀφεικ-). It is easy to substitute κατηέικισται ὅσον (or perhaps κατηέικιστο, like ἐφίκει)—unless we prefer to regard the passage as a comparatively late insertion.

291. θῆκε Κρονίων. In 19. 10 ἔμβαλε δαίμον.

293. τρώσῃτε. The subj. after the aor. θῆκε may be defended, on the ground that the event which is referred to is still future. But the η of τρώσῃτε is not Homeric. It is open to us (subject to the remark made on l. 290) to read

either τρώητε (cp. τρώει, Od. 21. 293), or τρώσσετε and καταισχύνοιτε. Cp. 369 (infra).

294. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος. Cp. Tac. Hist. 1. 80 *et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui mouere*. Regarding this mention of iron as the ordinary material of arms, see on 19. 13.

295. This injunction is not borne in mind when the arms are removed (19. 31 ff.): cp. 22. 101.

297. ἐπι-θύσαντες 'making a rush for them' (not ἐπι-θύσαντες).

301. Notice the aor. imper. ἀκουσάτω with μή: H. G. § 328.

306. ὅπου, viz. in the various ἔργα, see 314.

γνώσσαι· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι χαλιφροσύνη γέ μ' ἔχουσιν· 310

ἀλλ' οὐ τοι τόδε κέρδος ἐγὼν ἔσσεσθαι ὄτω

ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροισι· σὲ δὲ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα.

θηθὰ γὰρ αὐτως εἶπῃ ἐκάστου πειρητίζων,

ἔργα μετερχόμενος· τοὶ δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν ἔκηλοι

χρήματα δαρδάπτουσιν ὑπέρβιον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ φειδῶ. 315

ἀλλ' ἦ τοί σε γυναῖκας ἐγὼ δεδάασθαι ἄνωγα,

αἱ τέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ αἱ νηλείτιδες εἰσιν·

ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγωγε κατὰ σταθμοὺς ἐθέλοιμι

ἡμέας πειράζειν, ἀλλ' ὕστερα ταῦτα πένεσθαι,

εἰ ἐτέον γέ τι οἴσθα Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο." 320

Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ' Ἰθάκηνδε κατήγετο νηὺς ἑυεργής,

ἡ φέρε Τηλέμαχον Πυλῶθεν καὶ πάντας ἐταίρους.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντὸς ἵκοντο,

νῆα μὲν οἱ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἔρυσσαν, 325

τεύχεα δέ σφ' ἀπένεικαν ὑπέρθυμοι θεράποντες,

αὐτίκα δ' ἐς Κλυτίοιο φέρον περικαλλέα δῶρα.

αὐτὰρ κήρυκα πρῶεσαν δόμον εἰς Ὀδυσῆος,

ἀγγελίην ἐρέοντα περίφρاني Πηνελοπείῃ,

313 εἶπῃ] εἶσθα conj. Bekker. 317 νηλείτιδες] νηλιτεῖς vulg. Eust. (vulg. 19. 498): νηλιτεῖς J: νηλητεῖς G Hesych. (U 19. 498, H 22. 418: νηλητεῖς J 22. 418): νηλίτιδες Hesych. Suid. Eust. (F M X J Eust. 19. 498, F Eust. 22. 418).

313. θηθὰ αὐτως εἶπῃ (εἶσθα Bekk.) 'for a long time you will go about doing no more than making trial.'

317 (= 19. 498., 22. 418). νηλείτιδες. Of the various forms offered to our choice, here and in the two other places where this line appears (see the crit. note), the two which have most external support are νηλιτεῖς and νηλίτιδες. If however, as seems probable, the word meant 'unoffending,' from δλιτεῖν, the second syllable should be written with εἰ (not ι): cp. δλείτῃ 'offender,' rightly so written by Aristarchus, also the 'ablaut' form δλοιτός (Lycophr. 136). Evidently νηλιτεῖς is related to δλιτεῖν as νημερτής to δμαρτεῖν. Further, we have sufficient authority for preferring the uncontracted ending -έες, to the

advantage of the metre. The final question, therefore, lies between νηλιτεῖς and νηλείτιδες. Both forms doubtless existed, and may well have existed together in the language of which this line is an archaic fragment; but in the present context the feminine form has a good deal of point. It should be observed, however, that a fem. νηλιτεῖς does not answer regularly to νηλιτεῖς (gen. -έος), but rather to a masc. of the First Declension (possibly νηλείτης, negative of δλείτης). Cp. the fem. forms ἐργάτις, ληῖτις, δασπληῖτις, χερσηῖτις, &c., which answer to barytone masc. forms in -της.

322. Ἰθάκηνδε. Here the town is meant.

326. τεύχεα 'arms,' see 15. 218.

- οὔνεκα Τηλέμαχος μὲν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ, νῆα δ' ἀνώγει 330  
 ἄστυδ' ἀποπλείειν, ἵνα μὴ δείσας' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 ἰφθίμη βασιλεια τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβοι.  
 τῷ δὲ συναντήτην κῆρυξ καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος  
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἔνεκ' ἀγγελίης, ἐρέοντε γυναικί.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκοντο δόμον θεῖου βασιλῆος, 335  
 κῆρυξ μὲν ῥα μέσσησι μετὰ δμῶησιν ἔειπεν.  
 "ἤδη τοι, βασιλεια, φίλος πάϊς εἰλήλουθε."  
 Πηνελοπείη δ' εἶπε συβώτης ἄγχι παραστάς  
 πάνθ' ὅσα οἱ φίλος υἱὸς ἀνώγει μωθήσασθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐφημοσύνην ἀπέειπε, 340  
 βῆ ῥ' ἵμεναι μεθ' ὕας, λίπε δ' ἔρκεά τε μέγαρόν τε.  
 Μνηστήρες δ' ἀκάχοντο κατήφησάν τ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,  
 ἐκ δ' ἦλθον μεγάροιο παρὲκ μέγα τειχίον αὐλῆς,  
 αὐτοῦ δὲ προπάροιθε θυράων ἐδριβῶντο.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου πάϊς, ἥρχ' ἀγορεύειν 345  
 "ὦ φίλοι, ἡ μέγα ἔργον ὑπερφιάλως τετέλεσται  
 Τηλεμάχῳ ὁδὸς ἦδε· φάμεν δέ οἱ οὐ τελέεσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν, ἥ τις ἀρίστη,  
 ἔς δ' ἐρέτας ἀλιῆας ἀγείρομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
 κείνοισ ἀγγείλωσι θοῶς οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι." 350  
 Οὗ πω πᾶν εἶρηθ', ὅτ' ἄρ' Ἀμφίνομος ἶδε νῆα

335 βασιλῆος] Ὀδυσῆος G, v. l. in M<sup>a</sup>.  
 P H X U al.

344 αὐτοῦ] ἀγχοῦ G F al.

337 εἰλήλουθε G F D: ἐκ Πύλου ἦλθεν  
 346 ἐτελέσθη G F X al.

348 ἡ τις ἀρίστη] εἰς ἅλα δῖαν G.

351 ἄρ' om. F P H: read εἶρητο, ὅτ' Ἀμφ.

331. δέισσα 'taking alarm,' viz. by the ship arriving without Telemachus.

333. συναντήτην is one of the curious group of forms, chiefly duals and infinitives in -μεναι of verbs in -αιω and -εω, which have ἦ instead of ἄ (from αἶ) or α (from εἶ): συλήτην, προσαυδήτην, φοιτήτην, ἀρήμεναι, γοήμεναι, πεινήμεναι: ἀπειλήτην, ὁμαρτήτην, καλήμεναι, πενήμεναι, φορήμεναι, φιλήμεναι, ποθήμεναι, ἀλιτήμενος, ὄρηαι (14. 343). Whether these are originally non-thematic, as Brugmann holds (*M. U.* I. 86, *Grundr.* II. 953, 963), or arise from pre-Hellenic contraction of *aie, cie* (as Wackernagel, *K. Z.* xxvii. 84-88),

can hardly be determined. In any case there seems to be no reason for regarding them as derived from Aeolic: especially as in that dialect the dual was lost at an early period.

341. ἔρκεα is properly the whole enclosure, μέγαρον the chief hall of the palace.

342. κατήφησαν 'were downcast': from κατήφης (24. 432): cp. κατηφείη 'rebuke, disgrace.'

343. Cp. l. 165.

344. ἐδριβῶντο 'held a sitting': on the verbs in -ιδόμαι see 17. 530.

350. κείνοισ 'those others,' viz. those who lay in wait for Telemachus.

στρεφθεῖς ἐκ χώρας, λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντός, .  
 ιστία τε στέλλοντας ἐρετμά τε χερσὶν ἔχοντας.  
 ἡδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας μετεφώνεεν οἷς ἐτάροισι·  
 “μή τιν' ἔτ' ἀγγελίην ὑτρύνομεν· οἶδε γὰρ ἔνδον· 355  
 ἥ τίς σφιν τόδ' ἔειπε θεῶν, ἣ εἰσίδον αὐτοὶ  
 νῆα παρερχομένην, τὴν δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο κιχῆναι.”  
 ὦς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν ἐπὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης,  
 αἶψα δὲ νῆα μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἔρυσσαν,  
 τεύχεα δὲ σφ' ἀπένεικαν ὑπέρθυμοι θεράποντες. 360  
 αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς ἀγορὴν κίον ἀθρόοι, οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον  
 εἶων οὔτε νέων μεταίξιν οὔτε γερόντων.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός·  
 “ὦ πόποι, ὥς τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν.  
 ἡματα μὲν σκοποὶ ἴζον ἐπ' ἄκριας ἡνεμοέσσας 365  
 αἰὲν ἐπασσύτεροι· ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι  
 οὐ ποτ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου νύκτ' ἄσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 νηϊ θοῇ πλείοντες ἐμίμνομεν Ἡῶ διαν,  
 Τηλέμαχον λοχβώντας, ἵνα φθίσαιμεν ἐλόντες  
 αὐτόν· τὸν δ' ἄρα τῆος ἀπήγαγεν οἴκαδε δαίμων, 370

358 θινὶ G X D. 367 ἄσαμεν vulg.: ἔσσαμεν F X: ἀέσσαμεν D. The form ἄσαμεν (for ἀέσαμεν) is not elsewhere found: read perhaps ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἀέσσαμεν (Wackemagel, *K. Z.* xxv. 278). 369 φθίσαιμεν Hermann: φθίσαιμεν MSS. The opt. is required by form and syntax. 370 τῆος] τέως vulg.: τέως μὲν F U.

352. ἐκ χώρας, with lsa: 'turning, saw from his place.' Cp. Il. 23. 349 ἀψ' ἐνὶ χώρῃ ἔξετο 'took his seat again.'

353. ιστία τε κτλ. a kind of apposition to νῆα, 'saw the ship, men furling sails, &c.'

361. αὐτοὶ 'themselves,' in contrast to θεράποντες.

362. μεταίξαν 'to sit with them' (i(ω); so with a collective noun (= a plural) in 11. 449 μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἴζει ἀριθμῷ.

365. ἐπ' ἄκριας 'along the heights': ἐπὶ gives the notion of distribution *over* a space: cp. 14. 2.

366. ἐπασσύτεροι 'one close upon another.' The force of the comparative is 'closer than commonly' (cp. 15. 370., 16. 216). The word is usually connected with ἄσσαν, ἄσσανίρω: but on this view the *v* is not easily accounted for. A probable derivation has now

been given by Brugmann (*Rh. Mus.* liii. p. 630). He supposes an adverb ἐπασσύ(ς), for ἐπ-αν-σσύ(ς), from the root of σέω (Indog. *gheu, ghnu*), with the meaning 'pressing on after': cp. παν-συνδῆρ (v. l. πασσυνδῆρ), and the adverbs formed from root-nouns, as ἐγ-γύς, μεσση-γύς(ς), ἀντι-κρύς(ς), πρό-χρυ, ὑπό-δρα, ἐπί-παρ, ἐπι-μύς. This explanation suits the use of ἐπασσύτερος in the Iliad (nearly = ἐπεσσύμενος), and is supported by the gloss ἄσσαντι· ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλαις (Hesych.). An adj. ἄσσαντιος would stand to ἄσσαν as πηλῆσιος to πέλας.

370. αὐτόν, in implied contrast to his companions and ship, about which they did not care. But probably we should read αὐτοῦ, the sense being 'just where we took him,' not letting him go further. So Bekker (*Hom. Bl.* i. 274), quoting such passages as Il. 15. 349



ἡμεῖς δ' ἐνθάδε οἱ φραζώμεθα λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον  
 Τηλεμάχῳ, μηδ' ἡμας ὑπεκφύγοι· οὐ γὰρ οἶω  
 τούτου γε ζῶντος ἀνύσσεσθαι τάδε ἔργα.  
 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστήμων βουλῇ τε νόφ τε,  
 λαοὶ δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦρα φέρουσιν. 375  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, πρὶν κεῖνον ὀμηγυρίσασθαι Ἀχαιοὺς  
 εἰς ἀγορήν—οὐ γάρ τι μεθυσμέναί μιν οἶω,  
 ἀλλ' ἀπομηνίσει, ἑρέει δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναστὰς  
 οὐνέκα οἱ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν οὐδ' ἐκίχμεν·  
 οἱ δ' οὐκ αἰνήσουσιν ἀκούοντες κακὰ ἔργα· 380  
 μή τι κακὸν βέξωσι καὶ ἡμέας ἐξελάσσωσι  
 γαίης ἡμετέρης, ἄλλων δ' ἀφικώμεθα δῆμον·  
 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλόντες ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πάλλης  
 ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ· βίοντον δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ κτήματ' ἔχωμεν,  
 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας, οἰκία δ' αὐτε 385  
 κείνου μητέρι δοῖμεν ἔχειν ἢδ' ὅς τις ὀπυῖοι.  
 εἰ δ' ὑμῖν ὅδε μῦθος ἀφανδάνει, ἀλλὰ βόλεσθε  
 αὐτόν τε ζῶειν καὶ ἔχειν πατρώϊα πάντα,  
 μή οἱ χρήματ' ἔπειτα ἄλις θυμηδέ' ἔδωμεν  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μεγάρῳ ἕκαστος 390

372 ἡμας] a form only found here: read ἄμμε. 387 βόλεσθε G U<sup>2</sup>: βούλεσθε  
 vulg. 389 θυμήρῃ Bekker: but θυμαρῇ would be more Homeric. The form  
 θυμηδῆς must be later: in Homer it would be θυμοφάδῆς.

αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι, II. 11. 141  
 αὐθι κατακτείνει μηδ' ἐξέμεν ἀψ ἔς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς, &c. For the combination  
 αὐτοῦ ἐλόντες cp. Od. 18. 91 αὐθι  
 πεσόντα 'even as he falls.'

375. οὐκέτι πάμπαν, = 'do not now  
 at all.' So in Attic οὐ πάνν = 'not at  
 all.' This idiom is originally a litotes,  
 like our ironical 'hardly,' 'rather,' &c.:  
 see Riddell's *Digest*, § 139.

On the phrase ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν see the  
 note on 3. 164.

376. ἀλλ' ἄγετε κτλ. The sentence  
 is taken up again in 383 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν  
 κτλ.

380. οὐκ αἰνήσουσιν, a litotes, = 'will  
 resent.'

385. ἐφ' ἡμέας 'among us': ἐπὶ  
 nearly as in I. 365.

386. δοῖμεν is concessive, i.e. it ex-  
 presses, not a direct *propositio* (like ἐχω-

μεν), but a part of the plan to be  
 acquiesced in.

387. ἀφανδάνει cannot be ἀφ-ανδάνει  
 in Homer, since ἀνδάνω has the *f*. The  
 form ἀφανδάνει, proposed by Dr. Hay-  
 man, is against analogy, the prefix *d*-  
 not being used with verbs (for *d*τίει  
 in Theogn. 621 is a word coined for  
 the nonce). Is it possible that ἀφαν-  
 δάνω contains the preposition *av*, Sanscr.  
*ava*, Lat. *an* (in *aufero*, *aufergio*)? See  
 Delbrück, *Grundriss* III. 670.

βόλεσθε is perhaps an aor.: cp. I. 234  
 νῦν δ' ἐτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοί, where an  
 aor. is required by the sense.

390. ἐκ μεγάρῳ ἕκαστος 'each from  
 his own hall.' ἐκ μεγάρῳ goes with  
 μνάσθω ἐδνοῖσιν, words that imply  
 sending ἔδνα, or at least offers of ἔδνα,  
 from the several houses. Cp. 19. 256  
 (ἐγὼ πόρον) ἐκ θαλάμου.

μνάσθω ἐέδνοισιν διζήμενος· ἡ δέ κ' ἔπειτα  
γῆμαιθ' ὅς κε πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι."

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀμφίνomos ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε,

Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός, Ἀρητιάδαο ἀνακτος,

395

ὅς ρ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου πολυπύρου ποιήεντος

ἡγεῖτο μνηστήρσι, μάλιστα δὲ Πηνελοπεΐῃ

ἦνδανε μύθοισι· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν·

ὃ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·

"ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε κατακτείνειν ἐθέλοιμι

400

Τηλέμαχον· δειδὼν δὲ γένος βασιλῆϊόν ἐστι

κτείνειν· ἀλλὰ πρῶτα θεῶν εἰρώμεθα βουλάς.

εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαλοιο θέμιστες,

αὐτὸς τε κτενέω τοὺς τ' ἄλλους πάντας ἀνώξω·

εἰ δέ κ' ἀποτρωπῶσι θεοί, παύσασθαι ἀνωγα."

405

ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀμφίνomos, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν δόμον εἰς Ὀδυσῆος,

ἐλθόντες δὲ καθίζον ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι θρόνοισιν.

Ἥ δ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,

μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἔχουσι·

410

πεύθετο γὰρ οὗ παιδὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν δλεθρον·

κῆρυξ γάρ οἱ ἔειπε Μῆδων, ὃς ἐπεύθετο βουλάς.

βῆ δ' ἵεναι μέγαρόνδε σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστήρας ἀφίκετο δία γυναικῶν,

στῇ ρα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,

415

ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα,

392 ὅς κε] ὅς τις G U al. (cp. 21, 162).

τόμοιροι τινές (Strab. vii. p. 328).

perhaps rightly, the verb being τροπάω, not τραπάω.

Eust.: λίθοισιν G P H al.

401 δειδὼν] χαλεπὸν G.

403 θέμιστες]

405 ἀποτρωπῶσι vulg.: ἀποτροπῶσι M,

408 θρόνοισιν F D U

401. γένος is doubtless nom. to ἐστί, the construction being personal: so 17. 15 φίλ' ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι, 17. 347.

403. θέμιστες 'sentences,' 'oracles' in the sense of answers to the question what ought to be done.

For θέμιστες there was an ancient v. l. Τόμοιροι, preserved by Strabo.

The word denoted the priests of Zeus at Dodona. It was doubtless brought into the Homeric text by some learned grammarian.

414-416. Repeated from 1. 332-334. The σταθμὸς τέγεος is generally taken to be the door-post of the μέγαρον: see the Appendix on the Homeric house.

Ἀντίνοον δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν  
 "Ἀντίνο', ὕβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, καὶ δέ σέ φασιν  
 ἐν δήμῳ Ἰθάκης μεθ' ὀμήλικας ἔμμεν ἀριστον  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἔσθα. 420  
 μάργε, τίη δὲ σὺ Τηλεμάχῳ θάνατόν τε μύρον τε  
 ράπτεις, οὐδ' ἰκέτας ἐμπάζσαι, οἷσιν ἄρα Ζεὺς  
 μάρτυρος, οὐδ' ὁσίη κακὰ ράπτειν ἀλλήλοισιν;  
 ἦ οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτε, δεῦρο πατὴρ τεὸς ἵκετο φεύγων,  
 δῆμον ὑποδείσας; δῆ γὰρ κεχολώατο λήην, 425  
 οὐνεκα ληϊστῆρσιν ἐπισπόμενος Ταφίοισιν  
 ἥκαχε Θεσπρωτοὺς, οἱ δ' ἡμῖν ἄρθμοι ἦσαν.  
 τόν ρ' ἔθελον φθίσαι καὶ ἀπορραῖσαι φίλον ἦτορ  
 ἠδὲ κατὰ ζῶην φαγέειν μενοεικέα πολλήν.

428 φθίσαι vulg.: κτείνει X D U al.

417. ἐνένιπεν appears to be a form of the type of *ἀναγε, πέπληγον, ἐτέγωνε*, &c., sc. a pf. stem with thematic endings (*H. G.* p. 397).

419. μεθ' ὀμήλικας. The acc. with *μετά* 'among' is rare except with verbs of motion. Possibly the convenience of ὀμήλικας for the metre had something to do with this extension of use.

422. ἰκέτας ἐμπάζσαι. This cannot be applied to Telemachus, who was in no sense a 'suppliant' to the Suitors. It must refer to the story which Penelope proceeds to tell, about the father of Antinous coming as a suppliant (*ἵκετο φεύγων*) to Ulysses, and receiving his protection; in consequence of which Antinous was bound by a sacred tie (*ὁσίη*) to the house of Ulysses. Thus the sense is not 'you neglect (certain persons who are) suppliants,' but, more generally, 'you disregard the order or class of suppliants,'—the relation of suppliant and protector. Elsewhere *ἐμπάζομαι* takes a gen. of the person or thing that is cared for, as 19. 134 *οὔτε ξείνων ἐμπάζομαι οὐδ' ἱκετῶν*. Possibly the use of the acc. marks this difference of meaning; as with *οἶδα* and *μύμνημαι* the acc. is used when the existence of a person or thing constitutes the *fact* known or remembered (*H. G.* § 140 (3), § 151 d). The ancients, who saw that Antinous, as representing his father, was

the suppliant, met the difficulty by holding that *ἰκέτης* was a word of double meaning, and might denote the protector of the suppliant (viz. Ulysses or Telemachus), just as *ξείνος* meant 'host' as well as 'guest.' Of this, however, there is no other evidence.

423. It is best to put a comma only after *μάρτυρος*, since the sense is continuous: 'to whom Zeus is witness, and for whom it is impiety to devise evil to one another,' = 'who in the sight of Zeus *ἱκετῆσι* are bound to be at peace with each other.'

428. ἀπορραῖσαι 'to smite away,' i. e. to take away with violence. The word is formed like *ἀπαράσσω, ἀπορρήγνυμι, ἀποκόπτω* (*H. G.* § 224): cp. 1. 404 *κτῆματ' ἀπορραῖσει*. Mr. T. L. Agar (*Journ. of Phil.* xxvi. 116) would restore *ἀποφρῆσαι, ἀποφρῆσει*, supposing the words to be first aorists formed from the root which we have in *ἀπνύραν*, part. *ἀπνύρας*, and perhaps also in the fut. *ἀπνύρσουσιν* in 11. 22. 489—if we follow the reading and analysis suggested by Buttmann and adopted by Bekker and Curtius. The proposed tense, it is evident, would yield a very suitable sense in the context. On the other hand there are considerable difficulties in regard to the form of the word. The point is, what is the root? If, as G. Meyer holds (*G. G.* 9

ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένους περ. 430  
 τοῦ νῦν οἶκον ἀτιμον ἔδεις, μνάφ δὲ γυναῖκα  
 παῖδά τ' ἀποκτείνεις, ἐμὲ δὲ μεγάλως ἀκαχίζεις·  
 ἀλλὰ σε παύσασθαι κέλομαι καὶ ἀνωγέμεν ἄλλους."

Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου πάϊς, ἀντίον ἤδα·  
 "κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρον Πηνελόπεια, 435  
 θάρσει· μή τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῇσι μελόντων.  
 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται,  
 ὅς κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σφ' υἱεῖ χεῖρας ἐποίσει  
 ζῶοντός γ' ἐμέθεν καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο.  
 ᾧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, καὶ μὴν τετελεσμένον ἔσται· 440  
 αἰψά οἱ αἶμα κελαϊνὸν ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρὶ  
 ἡμετέρῳ, ἐπεὶ ἡ καὶ ἐμὲ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 πολλάκι γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφессάμενος κρέας ὀπτόν  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔθηκεν, ἐπέσχε τε οἶνον ἐρυθρόν.  
 τῷ μοι Τηλέμαχος πάντων πολὺ φίλτατός ἐστιν 445  
 ἀνδρῶν, οὐδέ τί μιν θάνατον τρομέεσθαι ἀνωγα  
 ἔκ γε μνηστήρων· θεόθεν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι."

\*Ὡς φάτο θαρσύνων, τῷ δ' ἤρτυεν αὐτὸς δλεθρον.  
 ἡ μὲν ἄρ' εἰσαναβᾶσ' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόεντα  
 κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα, φίλον πόσιν, ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον 450  
 ἠδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Ἐσπέριος δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ καὶ υἱεῖ διος ὕφορβος  
 ἤλυθεν· οἱ δ' ἄρα δόρπον ἐπισταδὸν ὀπλίζοντο,  
 σὺν ἱερεύσαντες ἐνιαύσιον. αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη

432 ἐμὲ δὲ G: ἐμέ τε P H X al., Eust.  
 πάϊς] πεπνυμένος G U al.

433 παύεσθαι G P H.

434 Πολύβου

§ 527), ἀπηύρα is for ἀπ-εφρά, and this φρά- is the weak form of a root φερ-, the first aorist would not be ἐ-φρη-σα, but ἐ-φερ-σα or ἐ-φερα.

429. ζῶν 'substance,' as in 14. 96.

431. ἀτιμον 'without recompense,' like εἴποιον ἰδοῦντες (14. 377).

437. Cp. 6. 201. The Attic idiom corresponding to οὐ γένηται is given in Plato's translation, *Kéryx*, p. 492 οὐτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὐτε γέγονεν οὐδ' οὖν μὴ

γένηται.

442. ἡμετέρῳ. The plur. is used in order to seem to associate others with the speaker: cp. l. 44 (supra).

446. οὐδέ . . . ἀνωγα = 'I bid him not to,' 'I forbid'; as οὐ φημι = 'I deny,' οὐκ ἐάω 'I prevent.'

453. ἐπισταδόν means 'attending to each in order,' viz. in the distribution of the shares of meat, see on 12. 392., 18. 425.

ἀγχι παρισταμένη Λαερτιάδην Ὀδυσῆα 455  
 ράβδῳ πεπληγυῖα πάλιν ποίησε γέροντα,  
 λυγρὰ δὲ εἴματα ἔσσεε περὶ χροῖ, μὴ ἔσβώτης  
 γνοίῃ ἐσάντα ἰδὼν καὶ ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῳ  
 ἔλθοι ἀπαγγέλλων μηδὲ φρεσὶν εἰρύσσαιτο.

Τὸν καὶ Τηλέμαχος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν 460  
 “ἦλθες, δι’ Εὐμαιε. τί δὴ κλέος ἔστ’ ἀνὰ ἄστυ;  
 ἦ ρ’ ἦδη μνηστῆρες ἀγῆνορες ἔνδον ἔασιν  
 ἐκ λόχου, ἦ ἔτι μ’ αὖθ’ εἰρύαται οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα;”

Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα· 465  
 “οὐκ ἔμελέν μοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι  
 ἄστυ καταβλώσκοντα· τάχιστα μὲ θυμὸς ἀνάγει  
 ἀγγελίην εἰπόντα πάλιν δεῦρ’ ἀπονέεσθαι.  
 ὦμήρησε δέ μοι παρ’ ἐταίρων ἄγγελος ὥκυσ,  
 κῆρυξ, ὃς δὴ πρῶτος ἔπος σῆ μητρὶ ἔειπεν.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι τόδε οἶδα· τὸ γὰρ ἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν· 470  
 ἦδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ’ Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφος ἐστίν,  
 ἦα κίων, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ἰδόμεν κατιούσαν  
 ἐς λιμέν’ ἡμέτερον· πολλοὶ δ’ ἔσαν ἄνδρες ἐν αὐτῇ,  
 βεβρίθει δὲ σάκεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι·

461 δι’ Εὐμαιε G U P<sup>2</sup>: δι, Εὐμαιε vulg. 462 ἦ ρ’] editors generally write  
 ἦ ρ’: but the disjunctive ἦ—ἦ seems in place here. 463 αὖθ’ vulg.: αὐτ’  
 G F U al. εἰρύαται] perhaps εἰρύατο ‘were they guarding (when you heard)?’  
 οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα] ἔνδον ἔοντα n. 466 ἀνάγει G al.: ἀνάγει vulg. 470 τόδε  
 vulg.: τό γε H J al.

459. εἰρύσσαιτο ‘keep safe’: the aorist because ‘keeping silence’ is thought of as a single act or exercise of will.

463. αὖθι ‘in the same place,’ ‘as before’ (not ‘yonder,’ as some commentators translate). The reading αὐτ’ (i.e. αὐτε ‘on the other hand,’ ‘instead’) is not so pointed.

εἰρύαται ‘keep in guard’: the word is properly used of protection, but here ironically of men watching with hostile purpose.

The reading ἔνδον ἔοντα is plausible: but after ἔνδον ἔασιν in the preceding line it is somewhat too epigrammatic for Homer.

466. καταβλώσκοντα ‘as I went down through.’ The acc., notwithstanding μοι, to show that it goes with the infinitives μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι: H. G. § 240.

τάχιστα μὲ κτλ. The asyndeton is epexegetic, the clause being put as a re-statement: ‘I did not care to ask about this:—my desire was &c.’ See on 14. 217., 15. 317., 18. 278.

ἀνάγει, plpf.: a past tense is required to correspond with ἐμελεν.

470. τόδε ‘this’ (which I am going to tell): the reading τό γε is less appropriate.

474. ἀμφιγύοισι. It is uncertain, according to Helbig (*Das hom. Epos*),

καὶ σφέας ὥσθην τοὺς ἔμμεναι, οὐδέ τι οἶδα.” 475

Ὡς φάτο, μείδησεν δ' ἱερῇ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο  
ἐς πατέρ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν, ἀλέεινε δ' ὑφορβόν.

Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,  
δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἵσης.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, 480  
κοίτου τε μνήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

481 κοίτου τε μνήσαντο] δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο F, Eust.

p. 245). whether this epithet means that the spears were sharp at the butt end as well as the point, or that the spear heads were sharp on both sides (like the blade of a two-edged sword). Mr. Myres decides in favour of the second alternative. 'There are some specimens of the Mycenaean *σανρωτήρ*, but they are rare, and not the least like the *head* of the lance. Nor do the monuments show

Mycenaean spears as double-ended, but rather with a butt. On the other hand the Mycenaean (and especially the late Mycenaean and Iron Age) lance-head is decidedly two-edged, with two "hollow-ground" cutting blades and a tubular mid-rib' (see Tsountas and Manatt, fig. 90). It may be noticed also that in Homer the word *σανρωτήρ* only occurs in the Doloneia.



From a vase, probably of the seventh century, in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

ἄγχι παρισταμένη Λαερτιάδην Ὀδυσῆα 455  
 ῥάβδῳ πεπληγυῖα πάλιν ποίησε γέροντα,  
 λυγρὰ δὲ εἵματα ἔσσε περὶ χροῖ, μή ἐ σὺβώτης  
 γνοίῃ ἐσάντα ἰδὼν καὶ ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ  
 ἔλθοι ἀπαγγέλλων μηδὲ φρεσὶν εἰρύσσαιτο.

Τὸν καὶ Τηλέμαχος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν 460  
 “ἦλθες, δι’ Εὐμαιε. τί δὴ κλέος ἔστ’ ἀνὰ ἄστυ;  
 ἦ ῥ’ ἤδη μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες ἔνδον ἔασιν  
 ἐκ λόχου, ἧ ἔτι μ’ αὐθ’ εἰρύεται οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα;”

Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα· 465  
 “οὐκ ἔμελέν μοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι  
 ἄστυ καταβλώσκοντα· τάχιστα με θυμὸς ἀνώγει  
 ἀγγελίην εἰπόντα πάλιν δεῦρ’ ἀπονέεσθαι.  
 ὠμήρησε δέ μοι παρ’ ἐταίρων ἄγγελος ὥκυσ,  
 κῆρυξ, ὃς δὴ πρῶτος ἔπος σῇ μητρὶ ἔειπεν.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι τόδε οἶδα· τὸ γὰρ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν 470  
 ἤδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ’ Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφος ἐστίν,  
 ἦα κιών, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ἰδόμην κατιοῦσαν  
 εἰς λιμέν’ ἡμέτερον· πολλοὶ δ’ ἔσαν ἄνδρες ἐν αὐτῇ,  
 βεβρίθει δὲ σάκεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι·

461 δι’ Εὐμαιε G U P<sup>2</sup>: δῆ, Εὐμαιε vulg. 462 ἦ ῥ’] editors generally write  
 ἦ ῥ’; but the disjunctive ἦ—ἦ seems in place here. 463 αὐθ’ vulg.: αὐτ’  
 G F U al. εἰρύεται] perhaps εἰρύατο ‘were they guarding (when you heard)?’  
 οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα] ἔνδον ἔόντα n. 466 ἀνώγει G al.: ἀνωγει vulg. 470 τόδε  
 vulg.: τό γε H J al.

459. εἰρύσσαιτο ‘keep safe’: the  
 aorist because ‘keeping silence’ is  
 thought of as a single act or exercise of  
 will.

463. αὐθ’ ‘in the same place,’ ‘as  
 before’ (not ‘yonder,’ as some com-  
 mentators translate). The reading αὐτ’  
 (i.e. αὐτε ‘on the other hand,’ ‘in-  
 stead’) is not so pointed.

εἰρύεται ‘keep in guard’: the w  
 is properly used of protection  
 ironically of men watching  
 purpose.

The reading ἔνδον ἔον  
 but after ἔνδον ἔασιν  
 line it is somewhat  
 for Homer.

466. καταβλώσκοντα ‘go  
 through.’ The acc.  
 μοι, to show that  
 finitives μετα  
 § 240.  
 τάγ  
 ερ

καὶ σφαιρὸν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν

ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν

ἐστὶν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

ὅτι ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

δαίμων ἐστὶν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

20

25

πρὸς τὸν ἀνέμονα ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

τὸν ἀνέμονα ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

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τὸν ἀνέμονα ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔστιν ἀντίον τοῦ ἀνέμου

30

35

ἢ κυκλικὴ ἐπηροίη  
χος μὲν στήσε πρὸς  
α μακρὸν ἐρείσας X,  
a correction of this

the heat of the day. It is connected with εἶλη 'warmth': (sely) with σέλας or Lat. *sól*. This line may be taken as showing the δουροδόκη or receptacle for the spear was outside the μέγαρον. So in the *Iliad* Telemachus gives his spear to his father and then crosses the threshold: *Il.* 1. 128. The column used for this purpose was doubtless one of those which formed the πρόθυρον.

35. κύνεον. The metrical lengthening of -ον, -αν (3 plur.) is not found in the *Iliad* except in the Catalogue. For the *Odyssey* cp. 7. 341, 9. 413, 16. 3f, 21. 224, 22. 449, 499, 24. 311.



# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Λ Σ Ρ

Τηλεμάχου ἐπάνοδος εἰς Ἰθάκην.

Ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 δὴ τότε' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα  
 Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο,  
 εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὃ οἱ παλάμῃφιν ἀρήρει,  
 ἄστυδε ἰέμενος, καὶ ἐδὼν προσέειπε συβώτην·5  
 " ἄττ', ἧ τοι μὲν ἐγὼν εἴμ' ἐς πόλιν, ὅφρα με μήτηρ  
 ὄψεται· οὐ γὰρ μιν πρόσθεν παύσεσθαι ὄτω  
 κλαυθμοῦ τε στυγεροῖο γόοιό τε δακρυβέντος,  
 πρίν γ' αὐτόν με ἴδῃται· ἀτὰρ σοί γ' ὦδ' ἐπιτέλλω.  
 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον ἄγ' ἐς πόλιν, ὅφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι10  
 δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ· δώσει δέ οἱ ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃσι  
 πύρνον καὶ κοτύλην· ἐμὲ δ' οὐ πῶς ἔστιν ἀπαντας  
 ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἔχοντά περ ἄλγεα θυμῷ.  
 ὃ ξείνος δ' εἴ περ μάλα μνηΐει, ἄλγιον αὐτῷ  
 ἔσσεται· ἧ γὰρ ἐμοὶ φίλ' ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι."15

10 ὅφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι] Better ὅφρα καὶ κείθι, cp. 2. 124 ὅφρα καὶ κείνη. The form ἐκείθι is not found.

1. Here the 39th day of the action begins. The story of the day extends to 20. 90.

The three main threads of the narrative—the fortunes of Ulysses himself, of Penelope, and of Telemachus—are now drawn together, and the climax of the poem is speedily reached.

4. παλάμῃφιν is an instrumental dative with ἀρήρει, while οἱ is *dat. commodi*: 'fitted his hands.'

13. ἀνέχεσθαι 'to hold up against,' 'tolerate': cp. 7. 32 οὐ γὰρ ξείνους ἀνέχονται, 19. 27 ἀεργὸν ἀνέφομαι.

ἔχοντά περ 'even when I have,' 'at the very time when I have.'

14. ὃ ξείνος δ' κτλ. The inversion of the usual order gives emphasis to ὃ ξείνος: cp. 8. 408 ἔπος δ' εἰ πέρ τι βέβηκται δειδόν, 11. 113 αὐτὸς δ' εἰ πέρ κεν ἀλύξῃς, 13. 143 ἀνδρῶν δ' εἰ πέρ τίς σε κτλ., 11. 10. 225 μοῖνος δ' εἰ πέρ τε νόησῃ.

The article is not deictic—'this stranger'—but probably gives a contemptuous tone: so in 1. 10 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον.

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ φίλος, οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς ἐρύκεσθαι μενεαίνω  
 πτωχῷ βέλτερόν ἐστι κατὰ πτόλιν ἢ κατ' ἀγροὺς  
 δαῖτα πτωχεύειν· δώσει δέ μοι ὅς κ' ἐθέλησιν.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμί, 20  
 ὥς τ' ἐπιτεилаμένῳ σημάτωντορι πάντα πιθέσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἔρχεν· ἐμὲ δ' ἄξει ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τὸν σὺ κελεύεις,  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ κε πυρὸς θερέω ἀλέη τε γένηται.  
 αἰνῶς γὰρ τάδε εἶματ' ἔχω κακά· μή με δαμάσση  
 στίβῃ ὑπηοίῃ· ἔκαθεν δέ τε ἄστν φάτ' εἶναι." 25

\*Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ διὰ σταθμοῖο βεβήκει,  
 κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβιβάς, κακὰ δὲ μνηστήρσι φύτευεν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκανε δόμους εὐ ναιετάοντας,  
 ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' εἶσω ἔεν καὶ ὑπέρβῃ λάϊνον οὐδόν. 30

Τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτῃ εἶδε τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια,  
 κῶεα καστορνύσα θρόνοις ἐνι δαιδαλέοισι,  
 δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτ' ἰθὺς κίεν· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄλλαι  
 δμφαὶ Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἡγερέοντο,  
 καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὤμους. 35  
 'Ἡ δ' ἔεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περιφρῶν Πηνελόπεια,

17 οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς G F X al., Eust. : οὐδ' αὐτός τοι vulg. 25 ἡ κυκλικὴ ἐπηοίη  
 Sch. H : see on 16. 195. 26 διὰ] διὰ G U al. 29 ἔγχος μὲν στήσε πρὸς  
 κίονα μακρὸν ἐρείσας G al. : ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν ἐρείσας X,  
 doubtless from 8. 66, 473. The reading of G was probably a correction of this  
 unmetrical line.

21. ὥς τ' . . . πιθέσθαι. This is not properly an instance of the Attic use of *ὥς* τε with an inf., since *πιθέσθαι* carries on the construction of *μένειν* (inf. of *consequence* after *τηλίκος*). Similarly in II. 9. 42 *ἐπίσονται ὥς τε γέεσθαι* the inf. is governed by *ἐπίσονται*. But these instances show how the later Attic construction must have originated.

22. *θερέω* is regarded by Curtius (*Verb.* ii. 334) as the subj. of a pass. aor. *θερήναι*. But from *θερ-* (*θέρμαι*, *θέρω*) the regular form would be *θαρείω*. Perhaps there was a present *θερέω* (like *τέλειω*, &c.), with intrans. meaning.

ἀλέη is said to mean 'the sun's

warmth,' i.e. the heat of the day. It is doubtless connected with *εἰλη* 'warmth': but not (surely) with *σίλας* or Lat. *sol*.

29. This line may be taken as showing that the *δοιροδόκη* or receptacle for spears was outside the *μέγαρον*. So in 16. 40 Telemachus gives his spear to Eumaeus and then crosses the threshold: cp. 1. 128. The column used for this purpose was doubtless one of those which formed the *πρόθυρον*.

35. *κύνεον*. The metrical lengthening of *-ον*, *-αν* (3 plur.) is not found in the Iliad except in the Catalogue. For the Odyssey cp. 7. 341., 9. 413., 16. 358., 21. 224., 22. 449, 499., 24. 311.

Ἀρτέμιδι ἱκέλη ἡὲ χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ βάλε πήχεε δακρύσασα,  
 κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 40  
 “ ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος. οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγωγε  
 δψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ ὄχρεο νηὶ Πύλονδε  
 λάθρῃ, ἐμεῦ ἀέκητι, φίλου μετὰ πατρὸς ἀκούην.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ὅπως ἦντ' ἔσας ὁπωπῆς.”

Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδ' αὖ 45  
 “ μήτερ ἐμή, μή μοι γόνυ δρυνθὶ μηδὲ μοι ἦτορ  
 ἐν στήθεσιν ὄρινε φυγόντι περ αἰπὺν δλεθρον·  
 ἀλλ' ὕδρηνάμενη, καθαρὰ χροῖ εἴμαθ' ἐλοῦσα,  
 [εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν]  
 εὔχεο πᾶσι θεοῖσι τελεέσσας ἐκατόμβας 50  
 ῥέξειν, αἳ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἀντίτα ἔργα τελέσσει.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀγορήνδε ἐλεύσομαι, ὅφρα καλέσσω  
 ξεῖνον, ὅτις μοι κεῖθεν ἄμ' ἔσπετο δεῦρο κίοντι.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προὔπεμψα σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισι,  
 Πείραιον δέ μιν ἠνώγεα προτὶ οἶκον ἄγοντα 55

37 ἢ G Eust. al.: ἡδὲ F H X U al.: κε (sic) P. 46 μή μοι Eust. 49 om. vulg.: cp. 4. 751. 52 ἀγορήνδε ἐλεύσομαι Aristophanes: ἀγορήνδ' ἐλεύσομαι F: ἀγορήνδ' ἐσελεύσομαι Ar., J H<sup>2</sup>: ἀγορήν ἐσελ- G H U al.: ἀγορήν ἐπελ- P. Thus ἀγορήνδε has the strongest ancient support, while the variety in the MSS. points to the simple ἐλεύσομαι. Cp. Od. i. 88, II. 6. 365.

44. 'How thou hast gained sight of him,' i. e. εἰ που ὅπως ὀφθαλμοῖσι τείοισιν ἢ ἄλλου μῦθον ἀκουσας (3. 93). Strictly of course ὁπωπῆ applies only to the former alternative.

46-56. Améis justly directs attention to the dramatic truth and propriety of this speech. Telemachus is still under the influence of the recognition scene, and is oppressed by the great secret of his father's presence in Ithaca. Consequently his reply to Penelope is brief and troubled. As she afterwards complains (II. 104-106), he does not answer her question, or even tell her whether he has news of Ulysses or not. He bids her make vows to the immortals, and offer hecatombs if Zeus will grant retribution. This is like the answer of Hector when he was met at the Scaean

gate by the Trojan women, who asked about their husbands and brothers (II. 6. 240 ὃ δ' ἔπειτα θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι ἀνώγει πᾶσας ἐφεῖς). It was perhaps a recognized formula for refusing to say anything. Telemachus then pleads that he must hasten to the ἀγορά. It is only on his return, and when he has had time to collect himself, that he is ready to give Penelope a connected story of his journey.

47. φυγόντι περ 'even when I have escaped': see on I. 13 (supra).

53. ὅτις is used, instead of ὅς, of the comparatively unknown stranger: 'one that followed' (whoever he was).

55. μιν is governed by ἄγοντα φίλειαν. It is placed early in the sentence according to the general rule; as to which see H. G. § 365.

ἐνδυκέως φιλέειν καὶ τιέμεν, εἰς δ' κεν ἔλθω."

ᾧ δ' ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος.

ἡ δ' ὑδρηναμένη, καθαρὰ χροὶ εἴμαθ' ἑλοῦσα,

εὖχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι τελεήσας ἐκατόμβας

ῥέξειν, αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἄντιτα ἔργα τελέσσαι.

60

Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα διέκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει

ἔγχος ἔχων, ἅμα τῷ γε δῶα κύνες ἄργοι ἔποντο.

θεσπεσίην δ' ἄρα τῷ γε χάριν κατέχευεν Ἀθήνη·

τὸν δ' ἄρα πάντες λαοὶ ἐπερχόμενον θιγέοντο.

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες ἠγερέθοντο

65

ἔσθλ' ἀγορεύοντες, κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ βυσοδόμενον.

αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν μὲν ἔπειτα ἀλεύατο πούλυν δμῖλον,

ἀλλ' ἵνα Μέντωρ ἦστο καὶ Ἀντιφός ἡδ' Ἀλιθέρης,

οἱ τέ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρώϊοι ἦσαν ἑταῖροι,

ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἰών· τοὶ δ' ἐξερέεινον ἕκαστα.

70

τοῖσι δὲ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε

ῥεῖνον ἄγων ἀγορήνδε διὰ πτόλιν· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν

60 τελέσσαι Hermann Op. 1. 287 : τελέσση MSS.  
κύνες πτόδας ἄργοι vulg. See 2. 11.

62 δῶα κύνες ἄργοι U :

56. ἔλθω, subj. notwithstanding the past tense ἠνώγεα, because the action is future at the time of speaking. But in l. 60 Hermann's τελέσσαι, for the τελέσση of the MSS., is necessary.

57. τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος is generally taken to mean that the speech stayed in the mind, was not forgotten or neglected. But ἔπεα πτερόεντα, the Epic phrase upon which this one is evidently founded, means words uttered, not words that fly away and are lost; and similarly ἀπτερος μῦθος must be an *unspoken* word. Hence 'her speech took not wings' means simply that she heard in silence. Cp. 13. 254 πάλιν δ' ὅ γε λόζετο μῦθον 'he took back his (unspoken) word,' i.e. did not utter what he thought; and the common phrases ἔχειν ἐν φρεσὶ μῦθον, ἔχειν σιγῇ μῦθον, &c.

62-64, = 2. 11-13, a description of Telemachus going from his house to the ἀγορά. Hence ἔγχος ἔχων is not to be pressed as implying that he had his spear within the μέγαρον : cp. the note

on l. 29.

66. βυσοδόμενον, the indic. instead of a participle, by a species of parataxis; cp. I. 162., 16. 6, 101., 19. 368, II. 3. 80.

67. πούλυν is a very doubtful form : the lengthening is only defensible *metri gratia*, viz. only in such words as πούλυ-ποδος, πούλοβύτειρα, which cannot otherwise be scanned. πούλως and πούλυν occur in nine places in Homer. Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 447) has pointed out the curious facts (1) that in five of these places the word is feminine, and (2) that the neut. πούλυ is only found in one place, Od. 19. 387, and there only in a few MSS.; whereas in later epic poets it is quite common. Hence he infers that the masc. πούλως and πούλυν are corrupted from πολλός, πολλύν.

72. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν κτλ. is a litotes, meaning that he did not turn away at all : cp. II. 16. 736 οὐδὲ δὴν χάζετο φάτος 'it did not long give way from,' = 'was quick in reaching the man.'

ἡμεῖς δ' ἐνθάδε οἱ φραζώμεθα λυγρὸν δλεθρον  
 Τηλεμάχῳ, μηδ' ἡμας ὑπεκφύγοι· οὐ γὰρ οἶω  
 τούτου γε ζῶντος ἀνύσσεσθαι τάδε ἔργα.  
 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστήμων βουλῇ τε νόφ τε,  
 λαοὶ δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦρα φέρουσιν. 375  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, πρὶν κεῖνον ὀμηγυρίσασθαι Ἀχαιοὺς  
 εἰς ἀγορήν—οὐ γάρ τι μεθυσέμεναί μιν οἶω,  
 ἀλλ' ἀπομηνίσει, ἑρέει δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναστὰς  
 οὐνεκά οἱ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν οὐδ' ἐκίχμεν·  
 οἱ δ' οὐκ αἰνήσουσιν ἀκούοντες κακὰ ἔργα· 380  
 μή τι κακὸν βέξωσι καὶ ἡμέας ἐξελάσσωσι  
 γαίης ἡμετέρης, ἄλλων δ' ἀφικώμεθα δῆμον·  
 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλόντες ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πύλλης  
 ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ· βίσιον δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ κτήματ' ἔχωμεν,  
 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας, οἰκία δ' αὐτε 385  
 κείνου μητέρι δοῖμεν ἔχειν ἡδ' ὅς τις ὀπυῖοι.  
 εἰ δ' ὑμῖν ὅδε μῦθος ἀφανδάνει, ἀλλὰ βόλεσθε  
 αὐτόν τε ζῶειν καὶ ἔχειν πατρώϊα πάντα,  
 μή οἱ χρήματ' ἔπειτα ἄλις θυμηδέ' ἔδωμεν  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μεγάρῳ ἕκαστος 390

372 ἡμας] a form only found here: read ἄμμε. 387 βόλεσθε G U<sup>2</sup>: βούλεσθε  
 vulg. 389 θυμηρέ Bekker: but θυμαρέ would be more Homeric. The form  
 θυμηδής must be later: in Homer it would be θυμοφάδης.

αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι, II. 11. 141  
 αὐθι κατακτεῖναι μηδ' ἐξέμεν ἀψ ἔς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς, &c. For the combination  
 αὐτοῦ ἐλόντες cp. Od. 18. 91 αὐθι  
 πεσόντα 'even as he falls.'

375. οὐκέτι πάμπαν, = 'do not now  
 at all.' So in Attic οὐ πάνν = 'not at  
 all.' This idiom is originally a litotes,  
 like our ironical 'hardly,' 'rather,' &c.:  
 see Riddell's *Digest*, § 139.

On the phrase ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν see the  
 note on 3. 164.

376. ἀλλ' ἄγετε κτλ. The sentence  
 is taken up again in 383 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν  
 κτλ.

380. οὐκ αἰνήσουσιν, a litotes, = 'will  
 resent.'

385. ἐφ' ἡμέας 'among us': ἐπὶ  
 nearly as in l. 365.

386. δοῖμεν is concessive, i.e. it ex-  
 presses, not a direct *promise* (like ἔχω-

μεν), but a part of the plan to be  
 acquiesced in.

387. ἀφανδάνει cannot be ἀφ-ανδάνει  
 in Homer, since ἀνδάνω has the *f*. The  
 form ἀφανδάνει, proposed by Dr. Hay-  
 man, is against analogy, the prefix *d*-  
 not being used with verbs (for *d*τίει  
 in Theogn. 621 is a word coined for  
 the nonce). Is it possible that ἀφαν-  
 δάνω contains the preposition *av*, Sanscr.  
*ava*, Lat. *au* (in *ausero*, *ausugio*)? See  
 Delbrück, *Grundriss* III. 670.

βόλεσθε is perhaps an aor.: cp. 1. 234  
 νῦν δ' ἐτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοί, where an  
 aor. is required by the sense.

390. ἐκ μεγάρῳ ἕκαστος 'each from  
 his own hall.' ἐκ μεγάρῳ goes with  
 μνάσθω ἐδδνοισιν, words that imply  
 sending ἔδνα, or at least offers of ἔδνα,  
 from the several houses. Cp. 19. 256  
 (ἐγὼ πόρον) ἐκ θαλάμου.

μνάσθω ἑέδνοισιν διζήμενος· ἡ δέ κ' ἔπειτα  
γῆμαιθ' ὅς κε πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι."

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀμφίνομος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε,  
Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός, Ἀρητιάδαο ἀνακτος, 395

ὅς ρ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου πολυπύρου ποιήεντος  
ἡγεῖτο μνηστήρσι, μάλιστα δὲ Πηνελοπείῃ  
ἦνδανε μῦθοισι· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν·  
ὁ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν

"ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε κατακτείνειν ἐθέλοιμι 400

Τηλέμαχον· δεινὸν δὲ γένος βασιλῆϊόν ἐστι  
κτείνειν· ἀλλὰ πρῶτα θεῶν εἰρώμεθα βουλάς.

εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαλοιο θέμιστες,  
αὐτὸς τε κτενέω τοὺς τ' ἄλλους πάντας ἀνώξω·  
εἰ δέ κ' ἀποτρῴπῳσι θεοί, παύσασθαι ἄνωγα." 405

ᾧς ἔφατ' Ἀμφίνομος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν δόμον εἰς Ὀδυσῆος,  
ἐλθόντες δὲ καθίζον ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι θρόνοισιν.

Ἡ δ' αὐτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἔχουσι· 410

πεύθετο γὰρ οὐ παιδὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν δλεθρον·  
κῆρυξ γάρ οἱ ἔειπε Μέδων, ὃς ἐπεύθετο βουλάς.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι μέγαρόνδε σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν.  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστήρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
στῇ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο, 415

ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα,

392 ὅς κε] ὅς τις G U al. (cp. 21. 162).  
τόμουροι τινές (Strab. vii. p. 328).

403. θέμιστες 'sentences,' 'oracles'  
in the sense of answers to the question  
what *οὐκ* is to be done.

For θέμιστες there was an ancient  
v. l. Τόμουροι, preserved by Strabo.

401 δεινόν] χαλεπὸν G. 403 θέμιστες]

405 ἀποτρῴπῳσι vulg.: ἀποτροπῶσι M,  
perhaps rightly, the verb being τροπᾶω, not τροπᾶω.

408 θρόνοισιν F D U

The word denoted the priests of Zeus  
at Dodona. It was doubtless brought  
into the Homeric text by some learned  
grammarian.

414-416. Repeated from 1. 332-334.  
The σταθμός τέγεος is generally taken  
to be the door-post of the μέγαρον: see  
the Appendix on the Homeric house.

Ἀντίνοον δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν  
 "Ἀντίνο', ὕβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, καὶ δέ σέ φασιν  
 ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης μεθ' ὀμήλικας ἔμμεν ἄριστον  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἐξῆθα. 420  
 μάργε, τίη δὲ σὺ Τηλεμάχῳ θανάτῳ τε μόρον τε  
 ῥάπτεις, οὐδ' ἰκέτας ἐμπάζεαι, οἷσιν ἄρα Ζεὺς  
 μάρτυρος, οὐδ' ὁσίη κακὰ ῥάπτειν ἀλλήλοισιν;  
 ἦ οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτε δεῦρο πατὴρ τεὸς ἵκετο φεύγων,  
 δῆμον ὑποδείσας; δῆ γὰρ κεχολώατο λήην, 425  
 οὐνεκα ληϊστῆρσιν ἐπισπόμενος Ταφίοισιν  
 ἥκαχε Θεσπρωτοὺς, οἱ δ' ἡμῖν ἄρθμιοι ἦσαν.  
 τόν ρ' ἔθελον φθίσαι καὶ ἀπορραῖσαι φίλον ἦτορ  
 ἠδὲ κατὰ ζῶνιν φαγέειν μενοεικέα πολλήν.

428 φθίσαι vulg.: κτείνειν X D U al.

417. ἐνένιπεν appears to be a form of the type of ἀναγε, πέπληγον, ἐγέγωνε, &c., sc. a pf. stem with thematic endings (*H. G.* p. 397).

419. μεθ' ὀμήλικας. The acc. with μετά 'among' is rare except with verbs of motion. Possibly the convenience of ὀμήλικας for the metre had something to do with this extension of use.

422. ἰκέτας ἐμπάζεαι. This cannot be applied to Telemachus, who was in no sense a 'suppliant' to the Suitors. It must refer to the story which Penelope proceeds to tell, about the father of Antinous coming as a suppliant (ἵκετο φεύγων) to Ulysses, and receiving his protection; in consequence of which Antinous was bound by a sacred tie (ὁσίη) to the house of Ulysses. Thus the sense is not 'you neglect (certain persons who are) suppliants,' but, more generally, 'you disregard the order or class of suppliants,'—the relation of suppliant and protector. Elsewhere ἐμπάζομαι takes a gen. of the person or thing that is cared for, as 19. 134 οὔτε ξείνων ἐμπάζομαι οὐθ' ἱκετῶν. Possibly the use of the acc. marks this difference of meaning; as with οἶδα and μέμνημαι the acc. is used when the existence of a person or thing constitutes the *fact* known or remembered (*H. G.* § 140 (3), § 151 d). The ancients, who saw that Antinous, as representing his father, was

the suppliant, met the difficulty by holding that ἰκέτης was a word of double meaning, and might denote the protector of the suppliant (viz. Ulysses or Telemachus), just as ξείνος meant 'host' as well as 'guest.' Of this, however, there is no other evidence.

423. It is best to put a comma only after μάρτυρος, since the sense is continuous: 'to whom Zeus is witness, and for whom it is impiety to devise evil to one another,' = 'who in the sight of Zeus ἱκετῆσιν are bound to be at peace with each other.'

428. ἀπορραῖσαι 'to smite away,' i. e. to take away with violence. The word is formed like ἀπαράσσει, ἀπορήγνυμι, ἀποκόπτω (*H. G.* § 224): cp. 1. 404 κτήματ' ἀπορραῖσει. Mr. T. L. Agar (*Journ. of Phil.* xxvi. 116) would restore ἀποφρήσαι, ἀποφρήσειε, supposing the words to be first aorists formed from the root which we have in ἀπηύρα, part. ἀπούρας, and perhaps also in the fut. ἀπουρήσουσιν in 11. 22. 489—if we follow the reading and analysis suggested by Buttman and adopted by Bekker and Curtius. The proposed tense, it is evident, would yield a very suitable sense in the context. On the other hand there are considerable difficulties in regard to the form of the word. The point is, what is the root? If, as G. Meyer holds (*G. G.*

ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένους περ. 430  
 τοῦ νῦν οἶκον ἀτιμον ἔδεις, μνάα δὲ γυναικα  
 παῖδά τ' ἀποκτείνεις, ἐμὲ δὲ μεγάλως ἀκαχίζεις·  
 ἀλλὰ σε παύσασθαι κέλομαι καὶ ἀνωγέμεν ἄλλους."

Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου πάϊς, ἀντίον ἤδα·  
 "κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρον Πηνελόπεια, 435  
 θάρσει· μὴ τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῇσι μελόντων.  
 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται,  
 ὅς κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σῶ νιέει χεῖρας ἐποίσει  
 ζῶοντός γ' ἐμέθεν καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο.

ᾧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, καὶ μὴν τετελεσμένον ἔσται· 440  
 αἰψά οἱ αἶμα κελαινὸν ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρὶ  
 ἡμετέρῳ, ἐπεὶ ἡ καὶ ἐμὲ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 πολλάκι γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφessάμενος κρέας ὀπτόν  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔθηκεν, ἐπέσχε τε οἶνον ἐρυθρόν.  
 τῷ μοι Τηλέμαχος πάντων πολὺ φίλτατός ἐστιν 445  
 ἀνδρῶν, οὐδέ τί μιν θάνατον τρομέεσθαι ἀνωγα  
 ἔκ γε μνηστήρων· θεόθεν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι."

Ὡς φάτο θαρσύνων, τῷ δ' ἤρτυεν αὐτὸς ἄλεθρον.  
 ἡ μὲν ἄρ' εἰσαναβᾶσ' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόεντα  
 κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα, φίλον πόσιν, ὅφρα οἱ ὕπνον 450  
 ἦδον ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Ἐσπέριος δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ καὶ νιέει διὸς ὕφορβος  
 ἤλυθεν οἱ δ' ἄρα δόρπον ἐπισταδὸν ὀπλίζοντο,  
 σὺν ἱερεύσαντες ἐνιαύσιον. αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη

432 ἐμὲ δὲ G: ἐμέ τε P H X al., Eust. 433 παύσασθαι G P H. 434 Πολύβου  
 πάϊς] πεπνυμένος G U al.

§ 527), ἀπηύρα is for ἀπ-εφρά, and this  
 φρά- is the weak form of a root φερ-,  
 the first aorist would not be ἐ-φρη-σα,  
 but ἐ-φερ-σα or ἐ-φερα.

429. ζῶν 'substance,' as in 14. 96.

431. ἀτιμον 'without recompense,'  
 like ῥήποιον ἰδωντες (14. 377).

437. Cp. 6. 201. The Attic idiom  
 corresponding to οὐ γένηται is given in  
 Plato's translation, *Kerynē*, p. 492 οὐτε  
 γὰρ γίγνεται οὐτε γέγονεν οὐδ' οὖν μὴ

γένηται.

442. ἡμετέρῳ. The plur. is used in  
 order to seem to associate others with  
 the speaker: cp. l. 44 (supra).

446. οὐδέ . . . ἀνωγα = 'I bid him not  
 to,' 'I forbid'; as οὐ φημι = 'I deny,'  
 οὐκ ἔω = 'I prevent.'

453. ἐπισταδὸν means 'attending to  
 each in order,' viz. in the distribution of  
 the shares of meat, see on 12. 392., 18.  
 425.



ἀγχι παρισταμένη Λαερτιάδην Ὀδυσῆα 455  
 ῥάβδῳ πεπληγυῖα πάλιν ποίησε γέροντα,  
 λυγρὰ δὲ εἴματα ἔσσεε περὶ χροῖ, μή ἐ σὺβάτῃς  
 γνοίῃ ἐσάντα ἰδὼν καὶ ἐχέφρουι Πηνελοπείῃ  
 ἔλθοι ἀπαγγέλλων μηδὲ φρεσὶν εἰρύσσαιτο.

Τὸν καὶ Τηλέμαχος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ξείπεν 460  
 “ἦλθες, δι’ Εὐμαιε. τί δὴ κλέος ἔστ’ ἀνὰ ἄστῳ;  
 ἦ ρ’ ἦδη μνηστῆρες ἀγῆνορες ἔνδον ἔασιν  
 ἐκ λόχου, ἦ ἔτι μ’ αὐθ’ εἰρύεται οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα;”

Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα· 465  
 “οὐκ ἔμελέν μοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι  
 ἄστῳ καταβλώσκοντα· τάχιστα με θυμὸς ἀνώγει  
 ἀγγελίην εἰπόντα πάλιν δεῦρ’ ἀπονέεσθαι.  
 ὠμήρησε δέ μοι παρ’ ἐταῖρων ἄγγελος ὦκύς,  
 κῆρυξ, ὃς δὴ πρῶτος ἔπος σῆ μητρὶ ξείπεν.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι τόδε οἶδα· τὸ γὰρ ἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν· 470  
 ἦδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ’ Ἑρμαιοὺς λόφος ἐστίν,  
 ἦα κίων, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ἰδόμην κατιούσαν  
 ἐς λιμέν’ ἡμέτερον· πολλοὶ δ’ ἔσαν ἄνδρες ἐν αὐτῇ,  
 βεβρίθει δὲ σάκεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισιν·

461 δ’ Εὐμαιε G U P<sup>2</sup>: δῆ, Εὐμαιε vulg. 462 ἦ ρ’] editors generally write  
 ἦ ρ’: but the disjunctive ἦ—ἦ seems in place here. 463 αὐθ’ vulg.: αὐτ’  
 G F U al. εἰρύεται] perhaps εἰρύατο ‘were they guarding (when you heard)?’  
 οἴκαδ’ ἰόντα] ἔνδον ἰόντα n. 466 ἀνώγει G al.: ἀνάγει vulg. 470 τόδε  
 vulg.: τό γε H J al.

459. εἰρύσσαιτο ‘keep safe’: the aorist because ‘keeping silence’ is thought of as a single act or exercise of will.

463. αὐθ’ ‘in the same place,’ ‘as before’ (not ‘yonder,’ as some commentators translate). The reading αὐτ’ (i.e. αὐτε ‘on the other hand,’ ‘instead’) is not so pointed.

εἰρύεται ‘keep in guard’: the word is properly used of protection, but here ironically of men watching with hostile purpose.

The reading ἔνδον ἰόντα is plausible: but after ἔνδον ἔασιν in the preceding line it is somewhat too epigrammatic for Homer.

466. καταβλώσκοντα ‘as I went down through.’ The acc., notwithstanding μοι, to show that it goes with the infinitives μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι: H. G. § 240.

τάχιστα με κτλ. The asyndeton is expegetical, the clause being put as a re-statement: ‘I did not care to ask about this:—my desire was &c.’ See on 14. 217., 15. 317., 18. 278.

ἀνώγει, 3rd pl. a past tense is required to correspond with ἔμελεν.

470. τόδε ‘this’ (which I am going to tell): the reading τό γε is less appropriate.

474. ἀμφιγύοισιν. It is uncertain, according to Helbig (*Das hom. Epos*),

καὶ σφέας ὥισθην τοὺς ἔμμεναι, οὐδέ τι οἶδα.” 475

‘Ὡς φάτο, μείδησεν δ’ ἱερὴ ἱς Τηλεμάχοιο  
ἐς πατέρ’ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδών, ἀλέεινε δ’ ὕφορβον.

Οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,  
δαίνυντ’, οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἵσης. 480  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
κοίτου τε μνήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

481 κοίτου τε μνήσαντο] δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο F, Eust.

p. 245), whether this epithet means that the spears were sharp at the butt end as well as the point, or that the spear heads were sharp on both sides (like the blade of a two-edged sword). Mr. Myres decides in favour of the second alternative. ‘There are some specimens of the Mycenaean *σαυρωτήρ*, but they are rare, and not the least like the *head* of the lance. Nor do the monuments show

Mycenaean spears as double-ended, but rather with a butt. On the other hand the Mycenaean (and especially the late Mycenaean and Iron Age) lance-head is decidedly two-edged, with two “hollow-ground” cutting blades and a tubular mid-rib’ (see Tsountas and Manatt, fig. 90). It may be noticed also that in Homer the word *σαυρωτήρ* only occurs in the Doloneia.



From a vase, probably of the seventh century, in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Λ Σ Ρ

Τηλεμάχου ἐπάνοδος εἰς Ἰθάκην.

Ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 δὴ τότε' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα  
 Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θεῖοιο,  
 εἶλετο δ' ἀλκιμον ἔγχος, ὃ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει,  
 ἄστυδε ἰέμενος, καὶ ἐδὼν προσέειπε συβώτην 5  
 " ἄττ', ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼν εἴμ' ἐς πόλιν, ὅφρα με μήτηρ  
 ὀψεται· οὐ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν παύσεσθαι δῖω  
 κλαυθμοῦ τε στυγεροῦ γόοιό τε δακρυβέντος,  
 πρὶν γ' αὐτόν με ἴδῃται· ἀτὰρ σοί γ' ὦδ' ἐπιτέλλω.  
 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον ἄγ' ἐς πόλιν, ὅφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι 10  
 δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ· δῶσει δέ οἱ ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃσι  
 πύρνον καὶ κοτύλην· ἐμὲ δ' οὐ πῶς ἔστιν ἅπαντας  
 ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἔχοντά περ ἄλγεα θυμῷ.  
 ὃ ξείνος δ' εἴ περ μάλα μηνίει, ἀλγιον αὐτῷ  
 ἔσσεται· ἦ γὰρ ἐμοὶ φίλ' ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι." 15

10 ὅφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι] Better ὅφρα κε κείθι, cp. 2. 124 ὅφρα κε κείνη. The form ἐκείθι is not found.

1. Here the 39th day of the action begins. The story of the day extends to 20. 90.

The three main threads of the narrative—the fortunes of Ulysses himself, of Penelope, and of Telemachus—are now drawn together, and the climax of the poem is speedily reached.

4. παλάμηφιν is an instrumental dative with ἀρήρει, while οἱ is *dat. com-modi*: 'fitted his hands.'

13. ἀνέχεσθαι 'to hold up against,' 'tolerate': cp. 7. 32 οὐ γὰρ ξείνους ἀνέχονται, 19. 27 ἀεργὸν ἀνέχομαι.

ἔχοντά περ 'even when I have,' 'at the very time when I have.'

14. ὃ ξείνος δ' κτλ. The inversion of the usual order gives emphasis to ὃ ξείνος: cp. 8. 408 ἔπος δ' εἰ πέρ τι βέλκεται δεινόν, 11. 113 αὐτὸς δ' εἰ πέρ κεν ἀλύξῃς, 13. 143 ἀνδρῶν δ' εἰ πέρ τις σε κτλ., 11. 10. 225 μῶϊνος δ' εἰ πέρ τε νοήσῃ.

The article is not deictic—'this stranger'—but probably gives a contemptuous tone: so in l. 10 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον.

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ φίλος, οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς ἐρύκεσθαι μενεαίνω·  
 πτωχῷ βέλτερόν ἐστι κατὰ πτόλιν ἢ κατ' ἀγρούς  
 δαῖτα πτωχεύειν· δώσει δέ μοι ὅς κ' ἐθέλησιν.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμί, 20  
 ὥς τ' ἐπιτελαμένῳ σημάντορι πάντα πιθέσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἔρχεν· ἐμὲ δ' ἄξει ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τὸν σὺ κελεύεις,  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ κε πυρὸς θερέω ἀλέη τε γένηται.  
 αἰνῶς γὰρ τάδε εἶματ' ἔχω κακά· μή με δαμάσση  
 στίβῃ ὑπιοίῃ· ἔκαθεν δέ τε ἄστυ φάτ' εἶναι." 25

\*Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ διὰ σταθμοῖο βεβήκει,  
 κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβιβάς, κακὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσι φύτευεν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκανε δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας,  
 ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' εἶσω ἔεν καὶ ὑπέρβῃ λάϊνον οὐδόν. 30

Τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτη εἶδε τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια,  
 κῶεα καστορνῦσα θρόνοις ἐνὶ δαιδαλέοισι,  
 δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτ' ἰθὺς κίεν· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄλλαι  
 δμφαὶ Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἡγερέθοντο,  
 καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὦμους. 35

'Η δ' ἔεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,

17 οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς G F X al., Eust. : οὐδ' αὐτός τοι vulg. 25 ἡ κυκλικὴ ἐπιοίη  
 Sch. H : see on 16. 195. 26 διὰ] διὰ G U al. 29 ἔγχος μὲν ἔστησε πρὸς  
 κίονα μακρὸν ἑρείσας G al. : ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν ἑρείσας X,  
 doubtless from 8. 66, 473. The reading of G was probably a correction of this  
 unmetrical line.

21. ὥς τ' . . . πιθέσθαι. This is not properly an instance of the Attic use of ὥς τε with an inf., since πιθέσθαι carries on the construction of μένειν (inf. of consequence after τηλίκος). Similarly in II. 9. 42 ἐπείσονται ὥς τε νείεσθαι the inf. is governed by ἐπείσονται. But these instances show how the later Attic construction must have originated.

23. θερέω is regarded by Curtius (*Verb.* ii. 334) as the subj. of a pass. aor. θερῆναι. But from θερ- (θέρομαι, θέρος) the regular form would be θαρείω. Perhaps there was a present θερῶ (like τέλειω, &c.), with intrans. meaning.

ἀλέη is said to mean 'the sun's

warmth,' i. e. the heat of the day. It is doubtless connected with εἶλη 'warmth': but not (surely) with σέλας or Lat. *sol*.

29. This line may be taken as showing that the δουροδόκη or receptacle for spears was outside the μέγαρον. So in 16. 40 Telemachus gives his spear to Eumaeus and then crosses the threshold: cp. 1. 128. The column used for this purpose was doubtless one of those which formed the πρόθυρον.

35. κύνεον. The metrical lengthening of -ον, -αν (3 plur.) is not found in the Iliad except in the Catalogue. For the Odyssey cp. 7. 341., 9. 413., 16. 358., 21. 224., 22. 449, 499., 24. 311.

Ἀρτέμιδι ἱκέλη ἡὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ βάλε πήχεε δακρύσασα,  
 κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος. οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἔγωγε  
 δψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ ὄχρεο νηϊ Πύλονδε  
 λάθρῃ, ἐμεῦ ἀέκητι, φίλου μετὰ πατρὸς ἀκούην.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ὅπως ἦντησας ὁπωπῆς.”  
 Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·  
 “μῆτερ ἐμή, μή μοι γόνυ δρυνθὶ μηδὲ μοι ἦτορ  
 ἐν στήθεσιν ὄρινε φυγόντι περ αἰπὺν δλεθρον·  
 ἀλλ' ὕδρηνά μιν, καθαρὰ χροὶ εἴμαθ' ἐλοῦσα,  
 [εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀναβάσας σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν]  
 εὖχεο πᾶσι θεοῖσι τελέεσσας ἐκατόμβας  
 ῥέξειν, αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἄντιτα ἔργα τελέσῃ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀγορήνδε ἐλεύσομαι, ὅφρα καλέσσω  
 ξεῖνον, ὅτις μοι κείμεν ἄμ' ἔσπετο δεῦρο κίοντι.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προῦπεμψα σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισι,  
 Πείραιον δέ μιν ἠνώγεα προτὶ οἶκον ἄγοντα

37 ἡὲ G Eust. al.: ἡδὲ F H X U al.: κε (sic) P. 46 μή μοι Eust. 49 om. vulg.: cp. 4. 751. 52 ἀγορήνδε ἐλεύσομαι Aristophanes: ἀγορήνδ' ἐλεύσομαι F: ἀγορήνδ' ἐσελεύσομαι Ar., J H<sup>2</sup>: ἀγορήν ἐσελ- G H U al.: ἀγορήν ἐπελ- P. Thus ἀγορήνδε has the strongest ancient support, while the variety in the MSS. points to the simple ἐλεύσομαι. Cp. Od. i. 88, Il. 6. 365.

44. 'How thou hast gained sight of him,' i.e. εἰ που ὕπατος ὀφθαλμοῖσι τεοῖσιν ἢ ἄλλου μῦθον ἀκούσας (3. 93). Strictly of course ὕπαυ applies only to the former alternative.

46-56. Améis justly directs attention to the dramatic truth and propriety of this speech. Telemachus is still under the influence of the recognition scene, and is oppressed by the great secret of his father's presence in Ithaca. Consequently his reply to Penelope is brief and troubled. As she afterwards complains (Il. 104-106), he does not answer her question, or even tell her whether he has news of Ulysses or not. He bids her make vows to the immortals, and offer hecatombs if Zeus will grant retribution. This is like the answer of Hector when he was met at the Scaean

gate by the Trojan women, who asked about their husbands and brothers (Il. 6. 240 ὃ δ' ἔπειτα θεοῖς εὖχεσθαι ἀνάγει πάσας ἐξείης). It was perhaps a recognized formula for refusing to say anything. Telemachus then pleads that he must hasten to the ἀγορά. It is only on his return, and when he has had time to collect himself, that he is ready to give Penelope a connected story of his journey.

47. φυγόντι περ 'even when I have escaped': see on l. 13 (supra).

53. ὅτις is used, instead of ὅς, of the comparatively unknown stranger: 'one that followed' (whoever he was).

55. μιν is governed by ἄγοντα φιλείην. It is placed early in the sentence according to the general rule; as to which see H. G. § 365.

ἐνδουκέως φιλέειν καὶ τιέμεν, εἰς δ' κεν ἔλθω."

Ὡς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος.

ἡ δ' ὑδρηναμένη, καθαρὰ χροὶ εἵμαθ' ἑλοῦσα,

εὖχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι τελεήσσας ἐκατόμβας

ρέξειν, αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἀντιτα ἔργα τελέσσαι.

60

Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα διέκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει

ἔγχος ἔχων, ἅμα τῷ γε δῶν κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο.

θεσπεσίην δ' ἄρα τῷ γε χάριν κατέχευεν Ἀθήνη·

τὸν δ' ἄρα πάντες λαοὶ ἐπερχόμενον θιέοντο.

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες ἠγερέθοντο

65

ἔσθλ' ἀγορεύοντες, κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ βυσσοδόμενον.

αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν μὲν ἔπειτα ἀλεύατο πούλυν δμῖλον,

ἀλλ' ἵνα Μέντωρ ἦστο καὶ Ἀντιφός ἡδ' Ἀλιθέρσης,

οἱ τέ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρώϊοι ἦσαν ἑταῖροι,

ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἰών· τοὶ δ' ἐξερέεινον ἕκαστα.

70

τοῖσι δὲ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε

ῥέεινον ἄγων ἀγορήνδε διὰ πτόλιν· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν

60 τελέσσαι Hermann Op. i. 287: τελέσση MSS.  
κύνες πόδας ἀργοὶ vulg. See 2. 11.

62 δῶν κύνες ἀργοὶ U:

56. ἔλθω, subj. notwithstanding the past tense ἠνώγεα, because the action is future at the time of speaking. But in l. 60 Hermann's τελέσσαι, for the τελέσση of the MSS., is necessary.

57. τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος is generally taken to mean that the speech stayed in the mind, was not forgotten or neglected. But ἔπειτα πτερύοντα, the Epic phrase upon which this one is evidently founded, means words uttered, not words that fly away and are lost; and similarly ἀπτερος μῦθος must be an *unspoken* word. Hence 'her speech took not wings' means simply that she heard in silence. Cp. 13. 254 πάλιν δ' ὁ γε λόγος μῦθον 'he took back his (unspoken) word,' i.e. did not utter what he thought; and the common phrases ἔχειν ἐν φρεσὶ μῦθον, ἔχειν σιγῇ μῦθον, &c.

62-64, = 2. 11-13, a description of Telemachus going from his house to the ἀγορά. Hence ἔγχος ἔχων is not to be pressed as implying that he had his spear within the μέγαρον: cp. the note

on l. 29.

66. βυσσοδόμενον, the indic. instead of a participle, by a species of parataxis; cp. i. 162, 16. 6, 101., 19. 368, II. 3. 80.

67. πούλυν is a very doubtful form: the lengthening is only defensible *metri gratia*, viz. only in such words as πούλυ-ποδος, πούλυβύτεια, which cannot otherwise be scanned. πούλως and πούλυν occur in nine places in Homer. Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 447) has pointed out the curious facts (1) that in five of these places the word is feminine, and (2) that the neut. πούλυ is only found in one place, Od. 19. 387, and there only in a few MSS.; whereas in later epic poets it is quite common. Hence he infers that the masc. πούλως and πούλυν are corrupted from πούλως, πούλυν.

72. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν κτλ. is a litotes, meaning that he did not turn away at all: cp. II. 16. 736 οὐδὲ δὴν χάζετο φάως 'it did not long give way from,' = 'was quick in reaching the man.'

Τηλέμαχος ξείνοιο ἐκὰς τράπετ', ἀλλὰ παρέστη.

τὸν καὶ Πείραιος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

“Τηλέμαχ', αἰψ' ὄτρυνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα γυναικάς, 75  
ὥς τοι δῶρ' ἀποπέμψω, ἃ τοι Μενέλαος ἔδωκε.”

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦυδα·

“Πείραι', οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,  
εἴ κεν ἐμὲ μνηστῆρες ἀγῆνορες ἐν μεγάροισι 80  
λάβῃ κτείναντες πατρώϊα πάντα δάσωνται,  
αὐτὸν ἔχοντα σὲ βούλομ' ἐπαυρέμεν ἢ τινα τῶνδε·  
εἰ δέ κ' ἐγὼ τοῦτοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φυτεύσω,  
δὴ τότε μοι χαίρουσι φέρειν πρὸς δώματα χαίρων.”

ἌΩς εἰπὼν ξεῖνον ταλαπείριον ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκοντο δόμους εὐ ναιετάοντας, 85  
χλαίνας μὲν κατέθεντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε,  
ἐς δ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐνξέστας λούσαντο.

τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμῳαὶ λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ,  
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας οὐλας βάλλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνας,  
ἐκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθων βάντες ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον. 90

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχῶρ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
καλῇ χρυσεῖῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,  
νίσσασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.  
σίτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμίῃ παρέθηκε φέρουσα,  
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων. 95

84 ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον] Originally perhaps ἦγετο [οἶκον].  
vulg.

90 ἀσαμίνθων U: -θων

78. οὐ γάρ τ' κτλ. 'inasmuch as we do not know': cp. I. 337 (note).

81. σῆ. The orthotone form seems required by the sense. The editors generally write ἔχοντά σε.

95. This conventional line is found in Od. I. 140., 4. 56., 7. 176, and (in some MSS.) in 10. 372., 15. 139. It was explained by Aristarchus (see the comment of Aristonicus on Od. 4. 54-56) as applying to the cases in which hasty preparation is made for an unexpected guest. On that ground, apparently, he rejected I. 140 (or possibly did not find it in his sources). In his view—if we

may judge of it from the argument in Athenaeus (V. p. 193 b)—the εἶδατα of this line are pieces of meat, the remnants of a former feast, which the ταμίη has in her store: consequently they are superfluous when meat is otherwise provided in the usual way. This theory is surely open to much objection. There is no reason for confining the word εἶδατα to meat (see Brosin, *De Coenae Homericis*, p. 55). In the style of Homer the participial phrase εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα after σίτον παρέθηκε would naturally be taken as a simple exegesis. And εἶδατα may well denote

μήτηρ δ' αντίον. ἴξε παρὰ σταθμὸν μεγάροιο  
 κλισμῷ κεκλιμένη, λέπτ' ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσα.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "Τηλέμαχ', ἦ τοι ἐγὼν ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα  
 λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν, ἥ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται,  
 αἰεὶ δάκρυσ' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη, ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ᾤχεθ' ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἐς Ἴλιον· οὐδέ μοι ἔτλης,  
 πρὶν ἐλθεῖν μνηστήρας ἀγήνορας ἐς τόδε δῶμα,  
 νόστον σοῦ πατρὸς σάφα εἰπέμεν, εἰ που ἄκουσας."

Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδ' αὖ  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, μήτερ, ἀληθείην καταλέξω.  
 ᾤχόμεθ' ἔς τε Πύλον καὶ Νέστορα, ποιμένα λαῶν·  
 δεξάμενος δέ με κείνος ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισιν  
 ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει, ὥς εἴ τε πατὴρ ἐδὼν υἱά  
 ἐλθόντα χρόνιον νέον ἄλλοθεν· ὥς ἐμὲ κείνος  
 ἐνδυκέως ἐκόμιζε σὺν υἱάσι κυδαλίμοισιν.  
 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς ταλασίφρονος οὐ ποτ' ἔφασκε  
 ζῶου οὐδὲ θανόντος ἐπιχθονίων τευ ἀκούσαι,

111 *υἱά* vulg. : *υἱόν* X D al. The scholium found in H X (οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος· ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει ὥς εἴ τε πατὴρ ἐδὼν παῖδα) does not decide whether Ar. wrote *υἱά* or *υἱόν*. The reading ascribed to Zen. is evidently corrupt. As Dindorf suggests, he probably ended the line like Il. 9.481 ὥς εἴ τε πατὴρ ἐν παῖδα φιλήσῃ (simply omitting ἐφίλει!).

the various 'bake meats' that the *ταμῆ* would bring in her basket (like Pharaoh's chief baker, Gen. xl. 17). In general, the bread and the wine are in the keeping of the *ταμῆ* (cp. Il. 19. 44 *ταμῆαι σίτοινο δατῆρες*); but the meat is freshly killed, roasted on the spot, and taken in hand at once by the *δατρός*, who gives the portions. It is only in the humble household of Eumæus that we hear of remnants from a former meal (Od. 16. 50). It does not seem at all likely that a stately formula, like the line in question, should have been framed for such a case.

96. *σταθμὸν*, see the Appendix.

97. *στρωφῶσα*, perhaps an early corruption from *στρωφάουσα*, see *Il. G.*

§ 55, 9. The forms with *o* can be easily restored everywhere except in Il. 13. 557, where *στρωφᾶτ'* begins the line. And *στρωφάετο* may there be defended on metrical grounds (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 140 ff., p. 400).

104. οὐδέ μοι ἔτλης κτλ. This clause really qualifies the preceding sentence: Penelope complains that she will have to return to her chamber *before* Telemachus has consented to give his report.

106. *νόστον* is *acc. de quo*; the meaning is 'to tell whether you have heard of the return.'

115. ζῶου οὐδὲ θανόντος 'of his being alive, nor yet of his death.' The second is the more important point, Telemachus



ἀλλά μ' ἐς Ἀτρεΐδην, δουρικλειτὸν Μενέλαον,  
 ἵπποισι προὔπεμψε καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσιν.  
 ἐνθ' ἴδον Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλὰ  
 Ἀργεῖοι Τρῶές τε θεῶν ἰότητι μύγησαν.  
 εἶρετο δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος 120  
 ὅττευ χρητίζων ἰκόμην Λακεδαίμονα διὰν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ πᾶσαν ἀληθείην κατέλεξα·  
 καὶ τότε δὴ μ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·  
 'ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ  
 ἤθελον εὐνήθῃναι, ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἔοντες. 125  
 ὥς δ' ὀπὸτ' ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος  
 νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνοὺς  
 κνημοὺς ἐξερέησι καὶ ἄγχεα ποιήεντα  
 βοσκομένη, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα ἐὴν εἰσήλυθεν εὐνήν,  
 ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήκεν, 130  
 ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς κείνοισιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσει.  
 αἱ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλων,  
 τοῖος ἐὼν οἶός ποτ' εὐκτιμένη ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ  
 ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλείδῃ ἐπάλαισεν ἀναστάς,  
 καὶ δ' ἔβαλε κρατερῶς, κεχάροντο δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί, 135  
 τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὀμιλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροί τε γενοῖατο πικρόγαμοί τε.  
 ταῦτα δ' ἃ μ' εἰρωτᾶς καὶ λίσσασαι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε  
 ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι παρακλιδόν, οὐδ' ἀπατήσω,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἄλιος νημερτῆς, 140  
 τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω,

118-119 πολλὰ . . . μύγησαν F P H (?) D: πολλοὶ . . . δάμησαν G U L W Z.  
 129 ὃ δ' ἔπειτα] ὃ δέ τ' ἄκα G X D U. 130 ἐφήκεν] ἐφῆει H K (i.e. ἐρίει).

wishing to make it clear that Nestor's account was at least not unfavourable. The commentators who take οὐδὲ θανόντος as a mere exegesis of ζωῶν—'living, not dead'—lose sight of this.

124-141. Repeated from 4. 333-350. So 142-146 = 4. 556-560, and 148-149 = 4. 585-586.

130. ἀμφοτέροισι, i.e. both the hind and her fawns.

134. ἐξ ἔριδος. For the force of ἐξ cp. 18. 38 ὃ ξείνός τε καὶ Ἴρος ἐρίετον ἀλλήλοισιν χερσὶ μαχέσασθαι. The dispute (ἐρίς) leads up to a challenge to fight.

137. πικρόγαμοι, an oxymoron, cp. l. 448: 'bitter marriage' means no marriage—μόρος instead of γάμος.

140 (= 4. 349). For the use of the article cp. ll. 1. 125.

φῆ μιν δ' γ' ἐν νήσῳ ἰδέειν κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,  
 νύμφης ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψοῦς, ἥ μιν ἀνάγκη  
 ἴσχει, ὃ δ' οὐ δύναται ἦν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι.  
 οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι, 145  
 οἳ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.  
 ὥς ἔφατ' Ἀτρεΐδης, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος.  
 ταῦτα τελευτήσας νέεσθαι· ἔδοσαν δέ μοι οὖρον  
 ἀθάνατοι, τοί μ' ὦκα φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἐπεμψαν."

Ἦς φάτο, τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι δρινε. 105  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Θεοκλόμενος θεοειδής·  
 "ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος,  
 ἥ τοι δ' γ' οὐ σάφα οἶδεν, ἐμείο δὲ σύνθεο μῦθον·  
 ἀτρεκέως γάρ τοι μαντεύσομαι οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω.  
 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα 155  
 ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω,  
 ὥς ἡ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ,  
 ἦμενος ἡ ἔρπων, τάδε πευθόμενος κακὰ ἔργα,  
 ἔστιν, ἀτὰρ μνηστῆρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει·  
 οἶον ἐγὼν οἶωνόν ἐϋσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηὸς 160  
 ἦμενος ἐφρασάμην καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ ἐγεγώνευν."

150-165 ἀθετοῦνται Schol. H : but according to Schol. Q X (as emended by Buttmann, see his note a. l.) only the two lines 160-161 were rejected ἐν τοῖς χαριεστέροις, while ἐν τοῖς εἰκαιτέροις (or κοινότεροις) the condemnation extended to the sixteen 150-165. The meaning of this statement is obscure. Elsewhere we usually hear of χαριεστεραι and εἰκαιότεραι, sc. ἐκδόσεις, but the neuter (sc. ἀντίγραφα 'copies') is not unknown (cp. 2. 182., 19. 83, Il. 15. 50., 18. 100., 20. 255, 384); the reference in either case being to editions or copies made use of, or at least referred to, by Aristarchus. The term ἀθετεῖν, however, expresses the judgement of a critic, not the reading of a manuscript. Hence the meaning of the scholium probably is that Aristarchus found that the 'common' texts favoured the rejection of 150-165 (which may have been προηθετημένοι, obelized by Zenodotus or Aristophanes), but was led by his own better sources to confine the athetesis to 160-161. 153 δ' γ' vulg.: δδ' F.

143. ἥ μιν ἀνάγκη ἴσχει, δδ' οὐ δύναται κτλ. Note the change to *oratio recta*: Telemachus is still quoting Menelaus, whose speech ends with l. 146.

148. ταῦτα τελευτήσας. Telemachus does not give an account of all that he did, but only of what he heard regarding Ulysses.

153. As δ' γ' is not used as a deictic pronoun, it can only refer here to Menelaus, who has just been mentioned. On

the other hand the context points rather to Telemachus. Perhaps we should read δδ', with one of the oldest manuscripts.

161. ἐγεγώνευν 'declared aloud, made known': a use of the word that is common in later poets, esp. Aeschylus. The evidence for a form γεγώνεω is very slight: e.g. for ἐγεγώνευν we can always read ἐγέγωνον (9 47., 12. 370). The line is doubted on other grounds: see the crit. note.

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 “αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἶη·  
 τῷ κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότρητά τε πολλά τε δῶρα  
 ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὥς ἂν τίς σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι.” 165

ᾧς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·  
 μνηστῆρες δὲ πάροιθεν Ὀδυσσῆος μεγάρου  
 δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέησιν ἰέντες,  
 ἐν τυκτῷ δαπέδῳ, ὅθι περ πάρος, ὕβριν ἔχοντες.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δειπνηστος ἦν καὶ ἐπήλυθε μῆλα 170  
 πάντοθεν ἐξ ἀγρῶν, οἱ δ' ἤγαγον οἱ τὸ πάρος περ,  
 καὶ τότε δὴ σφιν ἔειπε Μένδων, ὃς γάρ ῥα μάλιστα  
 ἦνδανε κηρύκων καὶ σφιν παρεγίγνετο δαιτί·  
 “κῶροι, ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντες ἐτέρφθητε φρέν' ἀέθλοισι,  
 ἔρχεσθε πρὸς δώμαθ', ἵν' ἐντυνώμεθα δαῖτα· 175  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι χέριον ἐν ὥρῃ δειπνον ἐλέσθαι.”

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν πείθοντό τε μύθῳ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκοντο δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας,  
 χλαίνας μὲν κατέθεντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε,  
 οἱ δ' ἰέρευνον δις μεγάλους καὶ πῖονας αἶγας, 180  
 ἱρευνον δὲ σῶας σιάλους καὶ βούν ἀγελαίην,  
 δαῖτ' ἐντυνόμενοι. τοὶ δ' ἐξ ἀγροῖο πόλινδε  
 ὠτρύνοντ' Ὀδυσσεύς τ' ἰέναι καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·  
 “ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ ἄρ δὴ ἔπειτα πόλινδ' ἰέναι μενεαίνεις 185  
 σήμερον, ὥς ἐπέτελλεν ἀναξ ἐμός, — ἦ σ' ἂν ἔγωγε

169 ἔχοντες Ar. G U Eust.: ἔχεσκον vulg.

170 Herodian distinguishes δειπνηστος = τὸ δειπνον, and δειπνηστος 'the time of δειπνον'; and similarly with δημτος, &c. See on 16. 2, also Spitzner on Il. 19. 223.

174 δέθλων, a v. l. in the edition of Stephanus, perhaps preserves the original reading. The gen. is used with τέρπω meaning 'to satisfy.'

177 πείθοντό τε μύθῳ] οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος F: ποτὶ οἶκον ἕκαστος P H al.—phrases elsewhere used of returning home.

181. Obelized by Aristoph. (and Ar. ? see Ludw.).

169. ὅθι περ πάρος does not qualify ὕβριν ἔχοντες, but the whole description. The poet wishes to insist on the daily repetition of the scene: cp. l. 171 οἱ δ' ἤγαγον οἱ τὸ πάρος περ.

176. οὐ χέριον 'not a bad kind of thing.' The comparative does not mean 'worse' (as Ameis takes it), but 'bad

rather than good': cp. 15. 370., 16. 216.

185. ἐπεὶ κτλ. The apodosis is in l. 190 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἵσμεν.

186. The words ἦ σ' ἂν ἔγωγε κτλ. are a parenthetical 'though for my part I would rather &c.': see on Il. 3. 215. Note the use of ἄν = 'else,' 'otherwise,' where κεν would be less pointed.

αὐτοῦ βουλοίμην σταθμῶν ρυτῆρα λιπέσθαι·  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰδέομαι καὶ δεΐδια, μή μοι ὅπισσῳ  
 νεικέῃ· χαλεπαὶ δέ τ' ἀνάκτων εἰσὶν ὁμοκλαί·  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἴομεν· δὴ γὰρ μέμβλωκε μάλιστα 190  
 ἡμαρ, ἀτὰρ τάχα τοι ποτὶ ἔσπερα ρίγιον ἔσται."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "γιγνώσκω, φρονέω· τά γε δὴ νοέοντι κελεύεις.  
 ἀλλ' ἴομεν, σὺ δ' ἔπειτα διαμπερὲς ἡγεμόνευε.  
 δὸς δέ μοι, εἴ ποθὶ τοι ῥόπαλον τετμημένον ἐστί, 195  
 σκηρίπτεσθ', ἐπεὶ ἡ φατ' ἀρισφαλὲ' ἔμμεναι οὐδὸν."

Ἡ ῥα καὶ ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν αἰκέα βάλλετο πῆρην,  
 πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην· ἐν δὲ στρόφος ἦεν ἀορτῆρ.  
 Εὖμαιος δ' ἄρα οἱ σκῆπτρον θυμαρὲς ἔδωκε.  
 τῷ βήτην, σταθμὸν δὲ κύνες καὶ βώτορες ἄνδρες 200  
 ῥύατ' ὀπισθε μένοντες· ὁ δ' ἐς πόλιν ἦγεν ἀνακτα  
 πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι,  
 σκηπτόμενον· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο.

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ στείχοντες ὁδὸν κάτα παιπαλδέσσαν  
 Ἀστεος ἐγγὺς ἔσαν καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο 205  
 τυκτὴν καλλίροον, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται,  
 τὴν ποίησ' Ἴθακος καὶ Νήριτος ἠδὲ Πολύκτωρ·  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφέων ἦν ἄλσος,

187 λιπέσθαι G P H U: γενέσθαι F X al. Eust. (from 223, where it is the vulg.).

191 ῥίγιον] ἄλγιον F. 193 φρονέοντι M, cp. 281. 199 θυμηρὲς F al.  
 The distinction made by Herodian between θυμᾶρῆς and θυμήρης cannot be well  
 founded. Doubtless θυμηρὲς is Ionic, θυμᾶρῆς either Old Attic or Aeolic: *H. G.*  
*p. 391.*

187. ρυτῆρα 'as keeper': cp. ῥύατο  
 (L 201, &c.).

191. ἔσπερα 'the evening time,' a col-  
 lective plural of ἔσπερος.

196. It is impossible to explain οὐδὸς  
 as the Ionic form, only found here, of  
 ὁδός. In all similar cases (κοῦρος and  
 κόρος, ξείνος and ξένος, &c.) the long  
 form is the regular Homeric form. The  
 word must surely be the same as οὐδός  
 'threshold.' Probably, when applied  
 to a road, it had the meaning 'road-  
 way,' *agger viae*. See however Schulze,  
*Quaest. Ep. p. 435.*

206. τυκτὴν, that is, with a basin of  
 wrought stone.

207. According to Acusilaus, the  
 three brothers Ithacus, Neritus and  
 Polycctor were founders, first of Cephal-  
 lenia, and afterwards of Ithaca. As  
 they are evidently local names, and not  
 connected by tradition with the family  
 of Ulysses, this seems to be one of  
 the instances in which the ruling families  
 of the Trojan War have partially sup-  
 planted an earlier group of heroes. See  
 the *English Historical Review*, vol. I.  
 pp. 43-52.

ἵπάντοσε κυκλοτερές, κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ  
 ὑψόθεν ἐκ πέτρης· βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο 210  
 νυμφᾶων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέεσκον ὀδίται·  
 ἔνθα σφέας ἐκίχανεν υἱὸς Δολιόιο Μελανθεὺς  
 αἴγας ἄγων, αἱ πᾶσι μετέπρεπον αἰπολίοισι,  
 δειπνον μνηστήρεσσι· δύω δ' ἅμ' ἔποντο νομῆς  
 τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νείκεσεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν 215  
 ἔκπαγλον καὶ ἀεικές· ὄρινε δὲ κῆρ 'Οδυσῆος·  
 "νῦν μὲν δὴ μάλα πάγχυ κακὸς κακὸν ἡγηλάζει·  
 ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον.  
 πῇ δὴ τόνδε μολοβρὸν ἄγεις, ἀμέγαρτε συβῶτα,  
 πτωχὸν ἀνιηρόν, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντήρα; 220  
 ὃς πολλῆς φλιῆσι παραστὰς θλίψεται ὥμους,  
 αἰτίζων ἀκόλους, οὐκ ἄορά γ' οὐδὲ λέβητας·

217 ἡγηλάζει (not -ζεις) Aristoph. Ar. MSS.: cp. 16. 195. 218 ὥς τὸν] ἐς τὸν  
 G P X D (evidently an emendation). 221 ὃς πολλὰς G P al.: ὃς πολλῆσι F H U al.  
 Read perhaps ὃς πολλὰ: or πολλῆσι (omitting ὃς). θλίψεται vulg.: φλίψεται H X U  
 al., v. l. ap. Eust. The two readings were discussed by Zen. and Ar., but the  
 scholia are too fragmentary to enable us to say more. In Schol. Q V we should  
 doubtless read φλίψεται Αἰολικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ θλιβήσεται (φ for θ being Aeolic). With  
 this reading there is probably an intentional play in φλιῆσι φλίψεται. 222 ἄορά  
 γ' P H: ἄορας vulg. The form ἄορα is noticed in the Scholia, and by Eust.

212. Μελανθεὺς, so called in 20. 255.,  
 21. 176., 22. 152, 159, but more com-  
 monly Μελάνθιος. These (and also the  
 female name Μελανθώ) are abbrevia-  
 tions; cp. Πάτροκλος from Πατρο-κλήης.  
 The full form may have been Μελαν-  
 ἀνθης (Fick, *Personennamen*. p. 54).

213. Cp. 14. 105-106. We are to  
 imagine these parties with their tributes  
 of sheep or goats coming in from all parts  
 of the island (170 ἐπῆλυθε μῆλα π' ντοθεν  
 ἐξ ἀγρῶν), and occasionally meeting, as  
 now.

217. ἡγηλάζει 'plays fogleman to.'  
 The form implies an adj. ἡγηλός 'apt  
 to lead,' and doubtless has an ironical  
 or contemptuous force: cp. the note on  
 ἀκούσσομαι, 13. 9.

218. ὥς . . . ὥς are correlatives: 'as  
 heaven brings one (like), so it ever  
 brings his like.' This was first pointed  
 out by Mr. Ridgeway (*Journ. of Phil.*  
 xvii. 113). The commentators take the  
 second ὥς to be the Attic preposition  
 ὥς, = εἰς or πρὸς. Such a solitary use is  
 evidently most improbable.

219. The only clue to the meaning of  
 μολοβρός is the statement that μολό-  
 βριον denoted the young of the wild  
 swine (Aelian, *N. H.* vii. 47). This at  
 least is a meaning which suits the use of  
 the word here and in 18. 26. As we  
 find ὀβρίκαλα and ὀβρια used in nearly  
 the same sense we may gather that  
 μολ-οβρός is a compound; but the  
 derivation of μολ- (Curt. *Gr.* p. 370)  
 must be very doubtful. The explana-  
 tion ought to include various other  
 words; μόλος (Hesych.), μόλουρος, μο-  
 λούειν, and the proper names Μόλορχος,  
 Μολώτας, Μολίαν, Μόλυκος, &c. In any  
 case the derivation of μολοβρός need  
 not affect the sense which it bears in  
 the context. If it means a kind of pig,  
 it is not likely that the first syllable is  
 a mere general epithet, such as 'dirty.'

220. δαιτῶν, from δαίς: unless we  
 read δαιτέων, gen. plur. of δαίτη.

222. ἄορά γ'. The common reading  
 ἄορας is open to the objections (1) that  
 the noun ἄορ is only known as a neuter,  
 and (2) that scansion of the first α as

τόν γ' εἴ μοι δοίης σταθμῶν ρυτῆρα γενέσθαι  
 σηκοκόρον τ' ἔμεναι θαλλόν τ' ἐρίφοισι φορῆναι,  
 καί κεν ὄρν πίνων μεγάλην ἐπιγουνίδα θέιτο. 225  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δὴ ἔργα κάκ' ἔμαθεν, οὐκ ἐβελήσει  
 ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πτώσσω κατὰ δῆμον  
 βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἦν γαστέρ' ἀναλτον.  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 αἶ κ' ἔλθῃ πρὸς δώματ' Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο, 230  
 πολλά οἱ ἀμφὶ κάρη σφέλα ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παλαμᾶων  
 πλευραὶ ἀποτρίψουσι δόμον κάτα βαλλομένοιο."  
 ὧς φάτο, καὶ παριὼν λαῖξ ἔνθορεν ἀφραδίῃσιν  
 ἰσχίῳ· οὐδέ μιν ἐκτὸς ἀταρπιτοῦ ἐστυφέλιξεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἔμεν' ἀσφαλῶς· ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεὺς 235  
 ἥε μεταίξας ῥοπάλῳ ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο,  
 ἥ πρὸς γῆν ἐλάσειε κάρη ἀμφουδὶς ἀείρας.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπετόλμησε, φρεσὶ δ' ἔσχετο· τὸν δὲ συβώτης  
 νείκεσ' ἐσάντα ἰδὼν, μέγα δ' εὗξατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·  
 "νύμφαι κρηναῖαι, κοῦραι Διὸς, εἴ ποτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς 240  
 ὑμῖ ἐπὶ μηρὶ ἔκκε, καλύψας πῖονι δημῷ,

223 λιπέσθαι P H.

After 233 ἦλθεν ἐσσυμένως μεγάλην σοφίην ἀνιχνεύων F.

237 ἀμφουδὶς Herodian, G P H: ἀμφ' οὐδας F X U al. αείρας] ἐρείσας M.

Apoll. Soph. 29, 30.

241 πῖονα δῆμον G: ἀργεῖα δημῷ F M al.

long is a metrical licence only allowable in forms like *δορα* and *δορι*, which cannot otherwise be used in the hexameter (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 207). Some would read *δορα*, with hiatus in the bucolic diaeresis: but the *γε* seems in place here.

225. *θεῖτο* 'would make,' 'would get himself.'

228. *ἀναλτος*, for *ἀναλστος*, which again is for *ἀν-αλδ-τος*, 'not to be filled out': *αλδ-* as in *αλδ-άνω* and *αλδ-ήσκω*. This derivation (given by Van Leeuwen) seems more probable than that from *αλ-* (Lat. *al-ere*), which is not found as a root in Greek.

231-232. 'His ribs will wear out many a foot-stool (hung at him) on both sides of his head': a piece of exaggeration or inversion of the natural statement, suited to the rough humour of the speech. The difficulty is to ex-

plain ἀμφὶ κάρη, especially to connect it with *πλευραὶ*. The meaning cannot be that some foot-stools will be flung at his head, some at his ribs. This sense may be obtained by reading *πλευρά τ'* (as Bothe proposed): 'his head on both sides and his ribs will wear out &c.': or perhaps better (taking *σφέλα* as the nom.), 'many a foot-stool will bang him about the head and ribs.' Cp. 18.335 ἀμφὶ κάρη κεκοπῶς χερσὶ στιβαρῆσι.

237. The exact sense of ἀμφουδὶς is unknown; but it evidently implies lifting by the middle. Ameis quotes Ter. *Adelph.* iii. 2.18 *Sublimem medium arriperem et capite in terram statuerem, ut cerebro dispergat viam*. Probably it is an adverb in *-ds*, and has nothing to do with οὐδός or οὐδας.

238. *φρεσὶ δ' ἔσχετο* 'refrained in his heart,' mastered his impulse.

ἀρνῶν ἢδ' ἐρίφων, τόδε μοι κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ,  
ὥς ἔλθοι μὲν κεῖνος ἀνὴρ, ἀγάγοι δέ ἐ δαίμων·  
τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαΐας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας,  
τὰς νῦν ὑβρίζων φορέεις, ἀλαλήμενος αἰεὶ 245  
ἄστν κατ'. αὐτὰρ μῆλα κακοὶ φθείρουσι νομῆες."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μελάνθιος, αἰπὸλος αἰγῶν·  
"ὦ πόποι, οἷον ἔειπε κύων ὀλοφώϊα εἰδώς,  
τόν ποτ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νηὶς εὐστέλμοιο μελαίνης  
ἄξω τῇλ' Ἰθάκης, ἵνα μοι βίον πολὺν ἄλφοι. 250  
αἱ γὰρ Τηλέμαχον βάλοι ἀργυρότοφος Ἀπόλλων  
σήμερον ἐν μεγάροις, ἣ ὑπὸ μνηστῆρσι δαμείη,  
ὥς Ὀδυσῆϊ γε τηλοῦ ἀπώλετο νόστιμον ἡμαρ."

Ὡς εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν λίπεν αὐτόθι ἦκα κίοντας,  
αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ, μάλα δ' ὤκα δόμους ἵκανεν ἀνακτος. 255  
αὐτίκα δ' εἴσω ἵεν, μετὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσι καθίζεν,  
ἀντίον Εὐρυμάχου· τὸν γὰρ φιλέεσκε μάλιστα.  
τῷ πάρα μὲν κρειῶν μοῖραν θέσαν οἱ πονέοντο,  
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμὴν παρέθηκε φέρονσα  
ἔδμεναι. ἀγχιμόλον δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος 260  
στήτην ἐρχομένῳ, περὶ δὲ σφεας ἤλυθ' ἰωή  
φόρμιγγος γλαφυρῆς· ἀνὰ γὰρ σφισι βάλλετ' αἰεῖδεν  
Φήμιος. αὐτὰρ ὁ χειρὸς ἐλὼν προσέειπε συβώτην·  
"Εὐμαί, ἦ μάλα δὴ τάδε δώματα κάλ' Ὀδυσῆος,  
ρεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖσιν ιδέσθαι. 265  
ἐξ ἐτέρων ἕτερ' ἐστίν, ἐπήσκηται δέ οἱ αὐλή

247 Μελανθέος G. cp. H. G. § 306, 1 a. δὲ P H X al.

250 ἄλφοι MSS.: but the true reading is probably ἄλφῃ, 254 αὐτόθι G F U: αὐτοῦ vulg. 262 γὰρ G F U:

244. ἀγλαΐας 'bravery,' as in l. 310.  
248. ὀλοφώϊα seems to mean 'crafty' or 'deceitful' rather than 'destructive': see 4. 410, 460., 10. 289. Hence it may be connected with ἐλεφαίρομαι.

254. ἦκα 'gently,' 'quietly': Ulysses is in the guise of the infirm old man.

257. τὸν γὰρ φιλέεσκε μάλιστα must mean that Eurymachus was especially kind to Melanthius. Cp. for the change of subject, and also the usage of φιλέω,

7. 171 ὅτε οἱ πλεσίον ἴξε, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε, 11. 3. 388. The word applies to the protector, hardly to the *protégé*.

261. περὶ, of sound filling the ears, cp. 16. 6.

262. ἀνὰ βάλλετο, 1. 155.

266. 'One set of buildings joining on to another': meaning probably the women's apartments, which lay behind the main hall or *μέγαρον*. See however the Appendix on the Homeric House.

τοίχῳ καὶ θριγκοῖσι, θύραι δ' εὐεργέες εἰσὶ  
 δικλίδες· οὐκ ἂν τίς μιν ἀνήρ ὑπεροπλίσσαιτο.  
 γιγνώσκω δ' ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δαῖτα τίθενται  
 ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ κνίσῃ μὲν ἐνήνοθεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ 270  
 ἡπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα·  
 "ρεῖ' ἔγνωσ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τά τ' ἄλλα πέρ ἐσθ' ἀνόημων.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα.  
 ἦε σὺ πρῶτος ἔσελθε δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας, 275  
 δύσεο δὲ μνηστῆρας, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπολείβομαι αὐτοῦ·  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἐπίμεινον, ἐγὼ δ' εἴμι προπάροιθε·  
 μηδὲ σὺ δηθύνειν, μή τίς σ' ἔκτοσθε νοήσας  
 ἦ βάλλῃ ἢ ἐλάσῃ· τὰ δέ σε φράζεσθαι ἀνωγα."

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς· 280  
 "γιγνώσκω, φρονέω· τά γε δὴ νοέοντι κελεύεις.  
 ἀλλ' ἔρχευ προπάροιθεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπολείβομαι αὐτοῦ.  
 οὐ γάρ τι πληγέων ἀδαήμων οὐδὲ βολάων.  
 τολμήεις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπονθα  
 κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ· μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω. 285  
 γαστέρα δ' οὗ πῶς ἔστιν ἀποκρύψαι μεμαυῖαν,

267 εὐεργέες H J U, v. l. ap. Eust. 270 ἐνήνοθεν Ar. H J : ἀνήνοθεν (αἱ κοιναὶ  
 Did.) vulg. 276 δύσαι (δύσε) P H M. 281 φρονέοντι M K. 284 κακὰ  
 πολλὰ] δὴ πολλὰ M J.

268. ὑπεροπλίσσαιτο 'would show himself able to spurn it.' From *ὑπέρωλος* 'haughty,' 'masterful,' comes the verb *ὑπεροπλίζομαι* 'to play the superior,' in the aorist 'to do some act of superiority,' to spurn or like.

270. ἐνήνοθεν is the reading of Aristarchus, but the MSS. generally have ἀνήνοθεν. It is difficult to believe that these are distinct words, as Buttmann and most scholars have held. The form ἀνήνοθεν can be explained as the regular perfect from the root *ἀνεθ-*, *ἀνεθ-*, which means 'to rise or spring from,' 'appear on the surface'; and this meaning suits all the Homeric uses. But no similar account of ἐνήνοθεν can be given. So far, therefore, ἀνήνοθεν has the better claim to a place in the Homeric text.

The supposed connexion with *ἀνά* or *ἐνί* takes us into extremely speculative ground.

273. The *τε* in the phrase *τά τ' ἄλλα περ* is probably a survival from the full form *τά τ' ἄλλα — καὶ νῦν* —. Cp. 5. 29 *σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἀγγελοῖς ἔσαι*.

275-277. Ulysses and Eumæus affect to be unknown to each other, in order to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Suitors.

284. *τολμήεις* 'full of hardihood.'

285. The contrasted words *τόδε τοῖσι* are brought together for effect: so in 15. 488 *παρὰ καὶ κακῷ ἔσθλον ἔθηκε*, 5. 155 *παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθειλόση*.

286. ἀποκρύψαι 'to hide away,' 'make a secret of.'



οὔλομένην, ἥ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσι,  
τῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ νῆες ἐΰφυγοι ὀπλίζονται  
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, κακὰ δυσμενέεσσι φέρουσαι."

Ἄλς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον. 290  
ἀν δὲ κύων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ οὔατα κείμενος ἔσχεν,  
Ἄργος, Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς  
θρέψε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο, πάρος δ' εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρὴν  
ᾤχετο. τὸν δὲ πάροιθεν ἀγίνεσκον νέοι ἄνδρες  
αἴγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας ἠδὲ πρόκας ἠδὲ λαγούς. 295  
δὴ τότε κεῖτ' ἀπόβεστος ἀποιχομένοιο ἄνακτος,  
ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἥ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων  
ἡμιόνων τε βοῶν τε ἄλις κέχυτ', ὅφρ' ἂν ἀγοιεν  
δμῶες Ὀδυσσῆος τέμενος μέγα κοπρήσοντες.  
ἐνθα κύων κεῖτ' Ἄργος, ἐνίπλειος κυνοραιστέων. 300  
δὴ τότε γ', ὥς ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσῆϊ ἐγγὺς ἐόντα,  
οὐρῇ μὲν ῥ' ὃ γ' ἔσηνε καὶ οὔατα κάββαλεν ἀμφῳ,  
ἄσσον δ' οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα δυνήσατο οἷο ἄνακτος  
ἐλθέμεν· αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ,  
ρεῖα λαθὼν Εὐμαιον, ἄφαρ δ' ἐρεείνετο μύθῳ. 305  
"Εὐμαι', ἥ μάλα θαῦμα κύων ὄδε κεῖτ' ἐνὶ κόπρῳ.  
καλὸς μὲν δέμας ἐστίν, ἀτὰρ τόδε γ' οὐ σάφα οἶδα,  
εἰ δὴ καὶ ταχὺς ἔσκε θέειν ἐπὶ εἶδεϊ τῷδε,  
ἥ αὐτως οἰοί τε τραπεζῆες κύνες ἀνδρῶν  
γίγνοντ', ἀγλαΐης δ' ἔνεκεν κομέουσιν ἄνακτες." 310

296 ἄνακτος] Ὀδυσῆος G F P H M U.  
not elsewhere found in Homer).  
ap. Eust. 308 εἰ] ἡ Bekker, perhaps rightly.

301 Ὀδυσσῆϊ G: Ὀδυσσέα vulg. (a form  
304 νόσφιν κίων G. 305 μῦθον F, v. l.

296. ἀπόβεστος 'cast aside': probably from a root meaning 'to desire, pray for.' This root is probably not *θεσ-*, as Curtius supposed, but *θεθ-* (whence *θέσαντο* for *θεθ-σαντο*, *θέστωρ* for *θεθ-τωρ*, &c.), Indo-germanic *ghedh-*: whence also *πίθ-ος* for *φθθ-ος* (related to *θεθ-* as *φόνος* to *θεν-* in *θείνω*). See Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. 320, 366.

298. ὅφρ' ἂν ἀγοιεν '(waiting) till they should take it away.'

306. The wonder that Ulysses affects to feel is that so fine looking a dog

should be allowed to lie on the dung-hill.

308. ἐπὶ εἶδεϊ 'with this beauty of form,' cp. l. 454.

309. τραπεζῆες 'fed from the table,' Il. 22. 69., 23. 173.

310. ἀγλαΐης δ' κτλ. This clause is logically dependent, = οἷους δὲ κομέουσιν ἄνακτες: but as usual the relative is not repeated. It is incorrect to regard this as a specially Homeric kind of parataxis (Kühner, II. § 799).

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα·  
 “καὶ λίην ἀνδρὸς γε κύων ὄδε τῇλε θανόντος·  
 εἰ τοιούσδ' εἴη ἡμὲν δέμας ἡδὲ καὶ ἔργα,  
 οἶδόν μιν Τροίηνδε κιὼν κατέλειπεν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 αἰψά κε θηήσαιο ἰδὼν ταχυτήτα καὶ ἀλκὴν. 315  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι φύγεσκε βαθείης βένθεσιν ὕλης  
 κνώδαλον, ὅττι δίοιτο· καὶ ἵχνεσι γὰρ περιήδη·  
 νῦν δ' ἔχεται κακότητι, ἀναξ δέ οἱ ἄλλοθι πάτρης  
 ὦλετο, τὸν δὲ γυναιῖκες ἀκηδέες οὐ κομέουσι.  
 δμῶες δ', εὐτ' ἂν μηκέτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἀνακτες, 320  
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἐθέλουσιν ἐναίσιμα ἐργάζεσθαι·  
 ἡμῖσιν γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυνται εὐρύσopa Ζεὺς  
 ἀνέρος, εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἡμαρ ἔλθῃσιν.”

\*Ως εἰπὼν εἰσῆλθε δόμους εὐ ναιετάοντας,  
 βῆ δ' ἰθὺς μεγάροιο μετὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγαυούς. 325  
 Ἄργον δ' αὖ κατὰ μοῖρ' ἔλαβεν μέλανος θανάτοιο,  
 αὐτίκ' ἰδόντ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐεικοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ.

Τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτος ἶδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδὴς  
 ἐρχόμενον κατὰ δῶμα συβώτην, ὥκα δ' ἔπειτα

318 *πάτρης*] γαίης M. 322-323 are quoted by Plato (Legg. vi. p. 777 a) in the form *ἡμῖσιν γάρ τε νόον ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύσopa Ζεὺς ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἡμαρ ἔλθῃσι*. This version appears in Eust., who follows it in commenting on 14. 434 with reference to *ἀπαμείρεται*, and only notices the variation between *ἀρετῆς* and *νόον*. When he comes to the present passage, however, he quotes the vulgate and does not refer to any difference of reading. *ἀπαμείρεται* is recognized in the Et. Mag., and occurs in Hesiod (Op. 578 *ἔργον τρίτην ἀπαμείρεται αἶσαν*, also Th. 801). The meaning 'takes away a portion' is not inappropriate here, with *ἡμῖσιν* (cp. *τρίτην αἶσαν* in Hesiod): but *νόον* and *ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἂν δὴ* are evidently less Homeric than *ἀρετῆς* and *ἀνέρος εὐτ' ἂν μιν*. 327 Perhaps αὐθι 'on the spot when he saw' (Bekker, *H. B.* i. 275).

312. It seems best to put a stop at the end of this line, rather than to treat 312-315 as one sentence. Eumaeus explains at once what seemed to surprise Ulysses: the dog belonged to one who had died far from his home—hence his neglected condition. καὶ λίην = 'you may well see that,' 'it is indeed because' (Lat. *immo*).

317. ὅττι δίοιτο 'whatever one he chased.'

ἵχνεσι 'in tracking,' 'hunting by scent.'

318. Ἄλλοθι πάτρης must here be = 'away from his country,' a use of ἄλλοθι not elsewhere found. The Venetian MS. (M) has γαίης (as in Od. 2. 131). The vulgate here may have arisen by contamination of ἄλλοθι γαίης with τηλόθι πάτρης (2. 365).

322. ἀρετῇ appears here to have its later meaning (see 13. 45). But probably the sense is very general: 'Zeus takes out half the good of a man, when &c.'

νεῦσ' ἐπὶ οἷ καλέσας· ὁ δὲ παπτήνας ἔλε δίφρον 330  
 κείμενον, ἔνθα τε δαιτρὸς ἐφίξεσκε κρέα πολλὰ  
 δαιόμενος μνηστήρσι δόμον κάτα δαινυμένοισι·  
 τὸν κατέθηκε φέρων πρὸς Τηλεμάχοιο τράπεζαν  
 ἀντίον, ἔνθα δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸς ἐφέζετο· τῷ δ' ἄρα κήρυξ  
 μοῖραν ἔλῶν ἐτίθει κανέου τ' ἐκ σίτον ἀείρας. 335

Ἀγχίμολον δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐδύσετο δώματ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιος ἥδὲ γέροντι,  
 σκηπτόμενος· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο.  
 Ἴξε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυράων,  
 κλινάμενος σταθμῷ κυπαρισσίνῳ, ὃν ποτε τέκτων 340  
 ξέσσειν ἐπισταμένως καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἵθυνε.

Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐπὶ οἷ καλέσας προσέειπε συβώτην,  
 ἄρτον τ' οὔλον ἔλῶν περικαλλέος ἐκ κανέοιο  
 καὶ κρέας, ὥς οἱ χεῖρες ἐχάνδανον ἀμφιβαλόντι·  
 “ὃς τῷ ξείνῳ ταῦτα φέρων αὐτόν τε κέλευε 345  
 αἰτίζειν μάλα πάντας ἐποιχόμενον μνηστήρας·  
 αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεκρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι.”

Ὡς φάτο, βῆ δὲ συφορβός, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν,  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευε·  
 “Τηλέμαχος τοι, ξεῖνε, διδοῖ τάδε, καὶ σε κελεύει 350  
 αἰτίζειν μάλα πάντας ἐποιχόμενον μνηστήρας·  
 αἰδῶ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴν φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προῖκτη.”

334 ἔνθα δ' ἄρ'] ἔνθα περ P H al.  
 κεκρημένον ἀνδρα κομίζειν G.

349 ἀγόρευε] προσηύδα F X U al.

344 κρέα U. 347 κεκρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι]  
 προῖκτη (for παρεῖναι) U Eust. (from l. 352).

330. νεῦσε καλέσας. The aor. part. is used as a description of an act, 'made a sign to call him': *H. G.* § 77.

331. κείμενον 'placed', 'set': cp. *κατ-έθηκε*, l. 333.

ἐφίξεσκε 'used to sit in attendance': ἐπί as in *ἐπίουρος*, &c.

332. Notice the play of words, *δαιόμενος* . . . *δαινυμένοις*: cp. 13. 24, &c.

338. τά, with εἴματα (*H. G.* § 259. a), *λυγρὰ* being a predicate; cp. l. 573.

339. μελίνου. On the relation of this threshold to the *λάϊνος οὐδός* of l. 30 see

the Appendix on the Homeric House. Elsewhere the word is always *μέλιος*.

341. στάθμη is properly 'a weight,' then a plumb line, a line with a weight attached.

345. αὐτόν, with αἰτίζειν, 'to beg in person.'

347. οὐκ ἀγαθὴ παρεῖναι 'is not good to be with,' a personal constr. for 'it is not a good thing that it should attend on': cp. Il. i. 107, &c.

352. προῖκτη, from *προῖξ*, or rather *πρύξ*, see on 13. 15.

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιον εἶναι,  
 καὶ οἱ πάντα γένοιτο δσα φρεσὶν ᾗσι μενοινᾶ.” 355

Ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφοτέρησιν ἐδέξατο καὶ κατέθηκεν  
 αὖθι ποδῶν προπάροιθεν, ἀεικελῆς ἐπὶ πῆρης,  
 ἥσθιε δ' ἥος ἀοιδὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀειδεν·  
 εὐθ' ὁ δεδειπνήκειν, ὁ δ' ἐπαύετο θεῖος ἀοιδός,  
 μνηστῆρες δ' ὁμάδησαν ἀνὰ μέγαρ'. αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη 360

ἄγχι παρισταμένη Λαερτιάδην Ὀδυσῆα  
 ὦτρυν', ὥς ἂν πύρνα κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγείροι,  
 γνοίῃ θ' οἱ τινες εἶεν ἐναΐσιμοι οἱ τ' ἀθέμιστοι·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τιν' ἔμελλ' ἀπαλεξήσκειν κακότητος.  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεν αἰτήσων ἐνδέξια φῶτα ἕκαστον, 365

πάντοσε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων, ὥς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἴη.  
 οἱ δ' ἐλεαῖροντες δίδοσαν, καὶ ἐθάμβεον αὐτόν,  
 ἀλλήλους τ' εἶροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστῆρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης, 370

τοῦδε περὶ ξείνου· ἦ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν ὅπωπα.  
 ἦ τοι μέν οἱ δεῦρο συβώτης ἡγεμῶνευεν·  
 αὐτὸν δ' οὐ σάφα οἶδα, πόθεν γένος εὐχεται εἶναι.”  
 “ὦς ἔφατ', Ἀντίνοος δ' ἔπεσιν νείκεσσε συβώτην·  
 “ὦ ἀρίγνωτε συβῶτα, τίη δὲ σὺ τόνδε πόλινδε 375  
 ἡγαγες; ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ἡμῖν ἀλήμονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι,

358 ἥος] ἥως U: ἥως δτ' H<sup>3</sup> M<sup>a</sup>: ὥς δτ' vulg. 363 εἶεν F: εἰσιν G P H X al.  
 371 μιν πρόσθεν H: πρόσθεν μιν G F P X U al. 374 ἔπεσιν] αἰσχροῦς  
 Bekker.

358. The readings *ἥως δτ'* (or *δ τ'*) and *ὥς δτ'* are excluded by the sense, and are in fact merely successive corruptions of *ἥως*, for which the metre requires -ω. The original is doubtless *ἥος* or *ἄος*.

359. The apodosis is the aor. *ὁμάδησαν*, rather than the impf. *ἐπαύετο*, which is logically subordinate to 'when he had eaten, with the pausing of the singer the noise of the Suitors began.' For the succession of tenses compare

Π. I. 193-4 *ἥος ὥρμαινε . . . ἔλαετο δὲ . . . ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη*.

364. 'She was not going to,' 'was destined not to.' *μέλλω* does not refer to intention.

367. *αὐτόν* 'the man': *αὐτός* is especially used of bodily presence, figure, &c.

372. *ἡγεμῶνευεν*, impf. because referred to the time of *ὅπωπα*: 'I have seen him—when the swine-herd was leading him.'

πτωχοὶ ἀνιηροί, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρες ;  
 ἢ ὄνοσαι ὅτι τοι βίοντον κατέδουσιν ἀνακτος  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, σὺ δὲ καὶ προτὶ τόνδ' ἐκάλεσσας ;"

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὖμαιε συβῶτα· 380

"Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν καλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἀγορεύεις·  
 τίς γὰρ δὴ ξείνονα καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 ἄλλον γ', εἰ μὴ τῶν οἱ δημοεργοὶ ἔασι,  
 μάντιν ἢ ἱητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,  
 ἢ καὶ θέσπιν αἰοδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων ; 385

οὔτοι γὰρ κλητοὶ γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν  
 πτωχὸν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις καλέοι τρύξοντα ἔ αὐτόν.  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς περὶ πάντων εἰς μνηστῆρων  
 δμῶσιν Ὀδυσσῆος, πέρι δ' αὐτ' ἐμοί· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
 οὐκ ἀλέγω, ἧδ' μοι ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια 390  
 ζῶει ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδ' α·

"σίγα, μὴ μοι τοῦτον ἀμείβεο πόλλ' ἐπέεσσιν·

Ἀντίνοος δ' εἴωθε κακῶς ἐρεθιζόμεν αἰεὶ

379 προτὶ P H : ποτὶ G : ποθι Herodian, F X U al. 389 πέμ U, Eust. : περι  
 vulg. 391 μεγάρῳ J L W q : μεγάροις vulg. 393 σίγα] ἄττα P H M al. On  
 the possibility of α in the thesis of the first foot see Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 419.

377. δαιτῶν, see l. 220.

378. ὄνοσαι 'are you dissatisfied?' i.e. 'do you not think it (bad) enough?' Cp. the ironical sense of *paenitet* in Latin comedy: e.g. Ter. Eun. 3, 6, 12 *an paenitebat flagitii te auctore quod fecisset adulescens?*

383. δημοεργοὶ 'workers for the common weal,' in contrast to husbandmen or merchants, who deal only with their own or their master's property.

386. ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν 'all the world over': ἐπὶ of *extensiv*, without a verb of *motion*—a use chiefly found in the Odyssey (*H. G.* § 199, 4).

387. τρύξοντα ἔ αὐτόν, cp. for the metre ll. 17. 551 *πυκάσσα ἔ αὐτήν*. We get rid of one hiatus by writing either 'fè αὐτόν or 'f' αὐτόν, but we cannot account in this way for both. The anomaly is probably due to causes similar to those which produced the Attic *σαντών* and *ξαντόν* as alternatives with *σαντόν* and *αὐτόν*. Ahrens and

Brugmann (*Griech. Gr.* p. 133), suppose that the genitives *σέο αὐτοῦ*, 'fèο αὐτοῦ, passing into *σαντοῦ*, *ξαντοῦ*, were the model on which other cases were formed. This view is strongly supported by the form *φαντώ* (gen.) found in the Cyprian dialect. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* xxvii. 279) finds the solution in the double forms *τεν*, *νε* and *εν*, *νε*. Thus he treats *ξαντόν* and *αὐτόν* as 'f' αὐτόν and 'f' αὐτόν respectively. The two explanations are not wholly incompatible, since 'f' αὐτόν and 'φαντόν may have both existed, and after the loss of *f* would both become *ξαντόν*. In Homer, however, the hiatus of 'fè αὐτόν is easily accounted for by the analogy of *ἐο αὐτοῦ* and *οὐ αὐτῷ*. We may compare *ἀφθιτα αἰεὶ* in ll. 13. 22, due to the recurring *ἀφθιτον αἰεὶ*; also *μέροπες ἀνθρώποι* (ll. 18. 288), due to *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*, &c. But 'f' αὐτήν may be recognized in ll. 14. 162 *εὐ ἐντύνασαν ἔ αὐτήν*.

μύθοισιν χαλεποῖσιν, ἐποτρύνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλους.”

395

Ἡ ῥα καὶ Ἀντίνοον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“Ἀντίνε, ἧ μεν καλὰ πατήρ ὥς κήδεαι υἱός,

ὅς τὸν ξεῖνον ἀνωγας ἀπὸ μεγάροιο δῖεσθαι

μύθοι ἀναγκαῖω· μὴ τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσειε.

δὸς οἱ ἐλών· οὗ τοι φθονέω· κέλομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε.

400

μήτ’ οὖν μητέρ’ ἐμήν ἄξει τὸ γε μήτε τιν’ ἄλλον

δμῶων, οἱ κατὰ δώματ’ Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο.

ἄλλ’ οὗ τοι τοιοῦτον ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόημα·

αὐτὸς γὰρ φαγέμεν πολλὰ βούλειαι ἢ δόμεν ἄλλω.”

Τὸν δ’ αὖτ’ Ἀντίνοος ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε·

405

“Τηλέμαχ’ ὑψαγόρη, μένος ἄσχετε, ποῖον ξείπες.

εἴ οἱ τόσσον πάντες ὀρέξειαν μνηστῆρες,

καὶ κέν μιν τρεῖς μῆνας ἀπόπροθι οἶκος ἐρύκοι.”

Ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη, καὶ θρήνυν ἐλών ὑπέφηνε τραπέζης

κείμενον, ᾧ ῥ’ ἔπεχεν λιπαροὺς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

410

οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες δίδοσαν, πλῆσαν δ’ ἄρα πῆρην

σῖτου καὶ κρεῖων· τάχα δὴ καὶ ἔμελλεν Ὀδυσσεὺς

αὐτὶς ἐπ’ οὐδὸν ἰὼν προικὸς γεύσεσθαι Ἀχαιῶν·

στῆ δὲ παρ’ Ἀντίνοον, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

“δὸς, φίλος· οὐ μέν μοι δοκέεις ὁ κάκιστος Ἀχαιῶν

415

401 μήτ’ οὖν· μήτε τι G al. (from μήτε τιν’?). τό γε vulg.: τότε F: read perhaps τότε γ’ ἄξει. 405 ἀπαμειβετο φάνησέν τε X D Z, γρ. H<sup>2</sup>. 408 ἀπόπροθι G U: ἀπόπροθεν vulg.

409 ὑπέφηνε] ὑπέθηκε G U. τραπέζης H: τραπέζη vulg. 415 ὦ φίλος P: οὐ γάρ Ariston.

399. Cp. γ. 316 μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο.

401. τό γε ‘to that point,’ i.e. so as to refuse to give away what belongs to her.

407. ὀρέξαι. The word is chosen to cover the sort of dole that Antinous thought of.

408. ‘The house would keep him aloof for quite three months.’ The words are intentionally ambiguous; they might mean that the beggar would have food enough for three months.

409. ὑπέφηνε ‘showed from under,’ ‘made to peep from under the table.’

410. κείμενον, cp. l. 331 (supra).

413. προικὸς γεύσεσθαι Ἀχαιῶν is generally translated ‘to taste the present

of the Achaeans,’ i.e. to eat the food which he has just collected from them. But (1) προικὸς is only known as an adverb, = *gratis* (see l. 15); and (2) the verb γένοιτο in other Homeric passages always has the metaphorical sense ‘to make trial of’: Il. 20. 258 γευσόμεθ’ ἀλλήλων χαλεπῆρην ἐγγείρην, and so γ. χειρῶν (Od. 20. 181), διστοῦ (Od. 21. 98), δουρὸς ἀεωῆς (Il. 21. 61). Hence the meaning more probably is, ‘he was going to try (his fortune with) the Achaeans without paying for it,’ i.e. his bold experiment on the good nature of the Suitors was like to be made with impunity.

415. There is much to be said for reading ὦ φίλος, οὐ γάρ μοι κτλ. The

ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὄριστος, ἐπεὶ βασιλῆϊ ἔοικας.  
 τῷ σε χρὴ δόμεναι καὶ λώϊον ἢ περ ἄλλοι  
 σίτου· ἐγὼ δέ κέ σε κλείω κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔναιον  
 δλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ πολλὰκι δόσκον ἀλήτη, 420  
 τοίφ' ὁποίους ἔοι καὶ ὅτευ κεχρημένος ἔλθοι·  
 ἦσαν δὲ δμῶες μάλα μυρίοι ἄλλα τε πολλὰ  
 οἰσὶν τ' εὖ ζῶουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται.  
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἀλάπαξε Κρονίων—ἤθελε γάρ που—  
 ὃς μ' ἄμα ληϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισιν ἀνῆκεν 425  
 Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι, δολιχὴν ὁδόν, ὅφρ' ἀπολοίμην.  
 στήσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιερίσσας.  
 ἐνθ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ κελδὸμην ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους  
 αὐτοῦ παρ νήεσσι μένειν καὶ νῆας ἔρυσθαι,  
 ὀπτῆρας δὲ κατὰ σκοπιᾶς ὥτρυνα νέεσθαι. 430  
 οἱ δ' ὕβρει εἷξαντες, ἐπισπόμενοι μένει' σφῶ,  
 αἶψα μάλ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγροὺς  
 πόρθεον, ἐκ δὲ γυναῖκας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
 αὐτοὺς τ' ἔκτεινον· τάχα δ' ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ' αὐτή.  
 οἱ δὲ βοῆς αἶοντες ἄμ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφιν 435  
 ἦλθον· πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων  
 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς· ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραννος  
 φύσαν ἑμοῖς ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 στήναι ἐναντίβιον· περὶ γὰρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔσθη.  
 ἐνθ' ἡμέων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτανον ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ, 440  
 τοὺς δ' ἀναγον ζωούς, σφίσιν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνάγκη.

421 ὅτευ] Perhaps ὅτις: see 19. 77.

441 ἀναγον] see 14. 272.

sentence would then consist of a clause with γάρ with the main clause following it and introduced by τῷ: = 'since you are the best of the Achaeans, therefore you should give me most.' The only objection is that this form of sentence is confined to the Iliad (*H. G.* § 382.2).

418. σίτου, a partitive gen., as in 1. 457.

κλείω may be either a subj. (Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 315), or a fut. (Schulze,

*Quaest. Ep.* p. 281). In either case the original Homeric form is κλεφέω, from κλέφος: cp. τελέω, &c.

423. οἰσὶν τ' κτλ. 'because of which men live well.'

425. ὃς, with causal force, 'in respect that he &c.'

427-441. Repeated from 14. 258-272.

439. στήναι makes an awkward jingle with ἔσθη. In the parallel 14. 270 most MSS. have μέναι.

441. ἀναγον, see on 14. 272.

αὐτὰρ ἔμ' ἐς Κύπρον ξείνῳ δόσαν ἀντιάσαντι,  
Δμήτορι Ἰασίδῃ, δς Κύπρου ἴφι ἀνασθεν  
ἔνθεν δὴ νῦν δεῦρο τόδ' ἴκω πήματα πάσχων."

Τὸν δ' αὐτ' Ἀντίνοος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε 445  
"τίς δαίμων τόδε πῆμα προσήγαγε, δαιτὸς ἀνίην;  
στῆθ' οὕτως ἐς μέσσον, ἐμῆς ἀπάνευθε τραπέζης,  
μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴκηαι·  
ὥς τις θαρσαλέος καὶ ἀναιδής ἐσσι προΐκτης.  
ἐξείης πάντεσσι παρίστασαι· οἱ δὲ διδοῦσι 450  
μαψιδίως, ἐπεὶ οὐ τις ἐπίσχεσις οὐδ' ἐλεητὺς  
ἀλλοτρίων χαρίσασθαι, ἐπεὶ πὰρὰ πολλὰ ἐκάστω."

Τὸν δ' ἀναχωρήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"ὦ πόποι, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γ' ἐπὶ εἶδεϊ καὶ φρένες ἦσαν·  
οὐ σύ γ' ἂν ἐξ οἴκου σῶ ἐπιστάτῃ οὐδ' ἄλλα δόλῃς, 455  
δς νῦν ἀλλοτρίοισι παρήμενος οὐ τί μοι ἔτλης  
σίτου ἀποπροελὼν δόμεναι· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πάρεστιν."

᾽Ως ἔφατ', Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,  
καί μιν ὑπὸ δρα ἰδὼν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
"νῦν δὴ σ' οὐκέτι καλὰ διέκ μεγάροίό γ' οἶω 460  
ἀψ ἀναχωρήσειν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὀνείδεα βάζεις."

᾽Ως ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ θρῆνυν ἐλὼν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον

450-452 obel. Ar. (νοθεύονται Ariston.).

447. οὕτως, not properly an adverb of place, but used to emphasize the words ἐς μέσον, 'to the middle, as I tell you': cp. the use in the phrase *μὲν οὕτω* (Il. 2. 120), lit. 'vainly—just so,' = 'quite vainly,' and similar phrases in Attic (*σαφῶς οὕτως*, &c.); also the idiomatic use of *τόσον* (15. 405) and *τοῖον* (15. 451), and of *ὅδε* in l. 544 (infra). In these uses it is generally unnecessary to suppose any explanatory gesture.

448. A typical example of oxymoron: 'a sad kind of Egypt,' meaning something quite different from Egypt. Cp. *πιερόγαμοι*, l. 137 (supra).

454. οὐκ ἄρα ἦσαν 'are not as we thought.'

ἐπὶ εἶδεϊ 'with a fair outside,' cp. 308 (supra).

455. *ἐπιστάτῃ* generally taken to mean a 'suppliant' or 'almsman,' one that comes and takes his stand to beg. But perhaps the notion is rather that of 'standing by' as follower or dependant. As the patron is *προστάτης*, 'standing in front,' the client might be described as standing 'with' or 'behind.' Similarly *προστάτης* in Attic military language meant 'front rank man,' and *ἐπιστάτης* 'rear rank man.' We may compare the Latin *applicatio* denoting a mode of creating client-ship (Cic. de Orat. 1. 39, 177 *si se ad aliquem quasi patronum applicavisset*).

456. δς has a causal force, = 'seeing that you had not the heart': cp. 425 (supra). ἀλλοτρίοισι, neut.: so 18. 18.

458. κηρόθι μᾶλλον 'right heartily,' see 15. 370.



πρυμνότατον κατὰ νῶτον ὁ δ' ἐστάθη ἥτε πέτρῃ  
 ἔμπεδον, οὐδ' ἄρα μιν σφῆλεν βέλος Ἀντινόοιο,  
 ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων. 465  
 ἀψ δ' ὁ γ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο, καὶ δ' ἄρα πῆρην  
 θῆκεν ἔϋπλείην, μετὰ δὲ μνηστήρσιν ἔειπε·  
 "κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστήρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης,  
 ὅφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.  
 οὐ μὰν οὐτ' ἄχος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσὶν οὔτε τι πένθος, 470  
 ὀππότε' ἀνὴρ περὶ οἷσι μαχεύμενος κτεάτεσσι  
 βλήεται, ἢ περὶ βουσὶν ἢ ἀργεννῆς ὅτεσσιν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἔμ' Ἀντίνοος βάλε γαστέρος εἵνεκα λυγρῆς,  
 οὐλομένης, ἢ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσιν.  
 ἀλλ' εἰ που πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἑρινύες εἰσὶν, 475  
 Ἀντίνοον πρὸ γάμοιο τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη."

Τὸν δ' αὐτ' Ἀντίνοος προσέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός·  
 "ἔσθι' ἐκηλός, ξεῖνε, καθήμενος, ἢ ἀπιθ' ἄλλῃ,  
 μή σε νέοι διὰ δῶμα ἐρύσσωσ', οἷ' ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἢ ποδὸς ἢ καὶ χειρός, ἀποδρύνῃσιν δὲ πάντα." 480  
 Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως νεμέσῃσαν·  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε νέων ὑπερηνορεόντων·  
 "Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην·

466 ἀψ δ' ὁ γ' F Pal.: ἀψ δ' γ' H: ἀψ δ' ἄρ G X al.: ἀψ ἄρ U. 475-480 obe-  
 lized by Ar. 478 ἔσθι' ἐκηλός] Originally perhaps ἔσθε ἔκηλος. 479 δῶμα  
 G M: δῶμ' U: δῶματ' vulg.

463. πρυμνότατον goes with ὤμων, as  
 in l. 504: 'the shoulder at its very  
 base,' which is then explained by κατὰ  
 νῶτον, = 'where it joins the back.' Ameis  
 and others take πρυμνότατον with νῶτον,  
 and explain it of the upper part of the  
 back. It is difficult to say what πρυμνὸν  
 νῶτον would mean. The word is regu-  
 larly used of the *hindmost* or *under-*  
*most* part of a thing (the base, root,  
 &c.), and in the case of a limb denotes  
 the end next the body. Here the point  
 is that the blow was from *behind*, and  
 also that it struck Ulysses *full* in the  
 back—not so as to glance off.

465. βυσσοδομεύων, see on l. 66.

471. μαχεύμενος, metrical lengthen-  
 ing for μαχεόμενος: cp. μαχεούμενος

(11. 403., 24. 113).

480. πάντα, probably a neut. plur.:  
 see 16. 21.

483 ff. It is usual to punctuate as  
 though the clause εἰ δὴ πού τις κτλ.  
 were construed with the preceding line.  
 But the vocative οὐλόμενε (wretched  
 man!) makes a break which obliges us  
 to take it as the beginning of a new  
 sentence. This sentence will then con-  
 sist of a protasis—'if now perchance he  
 is some god'—with no apodosis ex-  
 pressed, but followed by a parenthesis,  
 καὶ τε θεοὶ κτλ., which suggests the  
 proper apodosis (viz. 'it will go hard  
 with us,' or the like). This apodosis is  
 especially indicated by the last words  
 of the parenthesis (ἔβαν . . . ἐφορῶντες).

οὐλόμεν', εἰ δὴ πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεὸς ἔστι,—  
καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἑοικότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι, 485  
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πύλῃας,  
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες."

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν μνηστῆρες, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων.  
Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐν μὲν κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἄεξε  
βλημένον, οὐδ' ἄρα δάκρυ χαμαὶ βάλεν ἐκ βλεφάροϊν, 490  
ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσοδομεύων.

Τοῦ δ' ὥς οὖν ἤκουσε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια  
βλημένου ἐν μεγάρῳ, μετ' ἄρα δμῳῇσιν ἔειπεν·  
"αἰθ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων."  
τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρυνόμη ταμίη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν 495  
"εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρῇσιν τέλος ἡμετέρῃσι γένοιτο·  
οὐκ ἂν τις τούτων γε εὐθρονον Ἡῶ ἴκοιτο."

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
"μαῖ', ἐχθροὶ μὲν πάντες, ἐπεὶ κακὰ μηχανῶνται·  
Ἀντίνοος δὲ μάλιστα μελαίνῃ κηρὶ ἔοικε. 500  
ξείνός τις δύστηνος ἀλητεύει κατὰ δῶμα  
ἀνέρας αἰτίξων· ἀχρημοσύνη γὰρ ἀνωγεν·  
ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἀνέπλησάν τ' ἔδοσάν τε,  
οὗτος δὲ θρήνῃ πυρμυδὸν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον."

Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς ἀγόρευε μετὰ δμῳῇσι γυναιξίν, 505  
ἡμῇν ἐν θαλάμῳ· ὁ δ' ἐδείπνει διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.

496 τέλος X U al. : τέκος G F P H M al.

502 ἀνωγεν G : ἀνάγει vulg.

Thus the structure of the sentence is like Il. i. 580 εἰ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν Ὀλύμπιος . . . συφελῆσαι, ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατός ἐστιν: cp. Il. 21. 567, Od. 21. 260.

486. τελέθοντες 'turning,' i. e. 'becoming.' ἐπιστροφῶσι, see l. 97.

489. ἄεξε 'cherished,' 'allowed to swell,' cp. Il. 17. 139 μέγα πένθος ἐνὶ στήθεσιν αἴξων.

490. βλημένου, gen. of the object, 'sorrow for him thus struck,' or rather (since the emphasis is on the *fact*) 'for that he had been struck.'

494. οὕτως 'in like manner,' 'as you have done to him.'

499-504. It is difficult to see how

Penelope is supposed to have gained the knowledge which she here shows of what has been passing in the *μέγαρον*. She appears to assume that Eurynome and the maids know nothing: see Seeck, *Quellen*, p. 29. Possibly the 'lady's bower' in the Homeric palace was furnished with some window or opening by which she could see the company in the hall. So she hears Telemachus sneeze (l. 542), and the song of Phemius (l. 328); and Ulysses hears her voice (20. 92).

501. The asyndeton is epexegetic: Penelope is explaining the words μελαίνῃ κηρὶ ἔοικε.

504. πυρμυδόν, see l. 463.

ἡ δ' ἐπὶ οἱ καλέσσασα προσηύδα δῖον ὕφορβόν  
 “ἔρχεο, δῖ' Εὐμαιε, κίων τὸν ξεῖνον ἀνωχθί  
 ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα τί μιν προσπτύξομαι ἡδ' ἐρέωμαι  
 εἴ που Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἡὲ πέπυσται 510  
 ἡ ἶδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι· πολυπλάγκτω γὰρ ἔοικε.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα·  
 “εἰ γάρ τοι, βασιλεία, σιωπήσειαν Ἀχαιοί·  
 οἱ δ' γε μυθεῖται, θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ.  
 τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ μιν νύκτας ἔχον, τρία δ' ἡματ' ἔρυσθα 515  
 ἐν κλισίῃ· πρῶτον γὰρ ἔμ' ἵκετο νηὶς ἀποδράς·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ κακότητα διήνυσεν ἦν ἀγορεύων.  
 ὥς δ' ὄτ' αἰοδὸν ἀνὴρ ποτιδέσκεται, ὅς τε θεῶν ἔξ  
 αἰεὶ δὴ δεδαῶς ἔπ' ἰμερόεντα βροτοῖσι,  
 τοῦ δ' ἄμοτον μεμάασιν ἀκούμεν, ὀππότε' αἰεὶ δὴ· 520  
 ὥς ἐμὲ κείνος ἔθελγε παρήμενος ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 φησὶ δ' Ὀδυσσῆος ξείνος πατρῷος εἶναι,  
 Κρήτη ναιετάων, ὅθι Μίνως γένος ἐστίν·  
 ἔνθεν δὴ νῦν δεῦρο τόδ' ἵκετο πῆματα πάσχων;

514. οἷα is causal: 'with such things as he tells.'

515. νύκτας. The night is regularly put first, as in the phrase *νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμῶν*, and the later *νυχθήμερον*.

The chronology is open to some doubt. If the homeward journey of Telemachus did not begin till the morning after Ulysses landed in Ithaca (as we have assumed, see the note on 15. 1), Ulysses must have spent *four* nights in the hut of Eumaeus, viz. (1) the night after his landing; (2) the night which Telemachus passed at Phœacæ, 15. 188; (3) the night of the voyage from Pylos; and (4) the night after the return of Telemachus. This is the reckoning of Kirchhoff, who observes that 'in this and similar things it is advisable not to demand too scrupulous an exactness from the poet' (*Die homerische Odyssee*, p. 516). The ancients got rid of the discrepancy by making Telemachus start on his journey on the same day as that on which his father reached Ithaca. On this view (if a prosaic accuracy is insisted on)

Athene reached Sparta before she left Ulysses in Ithaca (so Dr. Hayman, vol. III. app. H 2). And in any case, when one book ends with the end of a day (14. 523 ff.), and the next begins with an early morning scene (15. 1-55), the days are surely meant to be successive. On the other hand, the miscalculation—if such a word may be applied to it—becomes intelligible when we consider that only three evenings in the hut of Eumaeus are actually described—one in each of the three books 14-16. The rest of the time spent there—the second and early part of the third day—is a blank in respect of incident, and naturally passed even from the poet's own mind.

522. This is quite different from the account given by Ulysses himself to Eumaeus (14. 321 ff.); but it agrees with the story which he tells to Penelope 19. 172 ff. A discrepancy of this kind, in a story supposed to be the invention of the moment, does not seem to have as much significance as modern critics are apt to give it.

προπροκυλινδόμενος· στεύται δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀκούσαι 525  
 ἀγχοῦ, Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν πίοιι δῆμψ,  
 ζῶου· πολλὰ δ' ἄγει κειμήλια ὄνδε δόμονδε.”

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 “ ἔρχεο, δεῦρο κάλεσσον, ἵν' ἀντίον αὐτὸς ἐνίσπῃ.  
 οὔτοι δ' ἤε θύρῃσι καθήμενοι ἐψιαάσθων 530  
 ἢ αὐτοῦ κατὰ δώματ', ἐπεὶ σφισι θυμὸς εὐφρων.  
 αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ κτήματ' ἀκήρατα κείτ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
 σίτος καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ· τὰ μὲν τ' οἰκῆς ἔδουσιν,  
 οἱ δ' εἰς ἡμετέρου πωλεούμενοι ἡματα πάντα,  
 βούς ἱερεύοντες καὶ οἷς καὶ πίνοντας αἶγας, 535  
 εἰλαπινάζουσιν πίνουσί τε αἶθοπα οἶνον  
 μαψιδίως· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατάνεται· οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνὴρ,  
 οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι.  
 εἰ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔλθοι καὶ ἵκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 αἶψά κε σὺν ᾧ παιδί βίας ἀποτίσεται ἀνδρῶν.” 540

\*Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπτарεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια,  
 αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαιον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ ἔρχεό μοι, τὸν ξεῖνον ἐναντίον ὧδε κάλεσσον.  
 οὐχ ὀράας ὃ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπτаре πᾶσιν ἔπεισι; 545  
 τῷ κε καὶ οὐκ ἀτελὴς θάνατος μνηστῆρσι γένοιτο

534 ἡμετέρου G F P H: ἡμέτερον vulg. The gen. ἡμετέρου cannot well be explained by ellipse, like ἐς πατρός, ἐς διδασκάλου, &c., but may be due to the analogy of these phrases. It is supported by the scholiasts, who probably followed Ar., and is the reading of most MSS. in Od. 2. 55., 7. 301. See also H. Merc. 370 Hdt. 1. 35., 7. 8, 4.

525. στεύται literally means ‘presses up’ or ‘forwards’ (as II. 584 στεῦτο δὲ διψάων); here with an aor. inf. ‘he insists,’ ‘is positive that he has heard.’

530. The verb ἐψιαάσθαι means ‘to indulge in play, to jest.’ It implies a noun ἔψις, from a root ἐπ-, Indog. *ieḡ*, seen in Lat. *jocus*. Verbs in -ιαω seem often to have a frequentative meaning, or at least to express some form of continuous action: cp. μειδιάω (beside μειδῶω), δηριάσθαι, ἐδριάσθαι (16. 344), δαριάσθαι (18. 33), μηγιάω, δοιδιάω, κνυδιάω,

κελευτιάω, φυσιάω, δειλιάω (17. 599); also (of play of colour, &c.) γλαυκιάω, ἀεροκελαινιάω, φαληριάω.

534-538. Repeated from 2. 55-59.

542. σμερδαλέον is an adv., qualifying κονάβησε. The use of such a word to describe a sneeze is mock-heroic: see on 18. 5, also on II. 499-504.

544. ὧδε qualifies ἐναντίον: cp. I. 447 οὕτως ἐς μέσσον; 18. 224 ἡμενος ὧδε: 21. 196.

546. οὐκ ἀτελὴς θάνατος seems to be a variation of the phrase τέλος θανάτοιο.

πᾶσι μάλ', οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἔρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν  
 αἶ κ' αὐτὸν γνῶω νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνέποντα,  
 ἔσσω μιν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἴματα καλά." 550

Ὡς φάτο, βῆ δὲ συφορβός, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν,  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "ξείνε πάτερ, καλέει σε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 μήτηρ Τηλεμάχοιο· μεταλλῆσαι τί ἐ θυμός  
 ἀμφὶ πόσει κέλεται, καὶ κήδεά περ πεπαυθίη. 555  
 εἰ δέ κέ σε γνῶω νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνέποντα,  
 ἔσσει σε χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, τῶν σὺ μάλιστα  
 χρηΐσεις· σίτον δὲ καὶ αἰτίζων κατὰ δῆμον  
 γαστέρα βοσκήσεις· δώσει δέ τοι ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃσι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς· 560  
 "Εὐμαί', αἰψά κ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνέποιμι  
 κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ·  
 οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κείνου, ὁμῆν δ' ἀνεδέγμεθ' οἷζύν.  
 ἀλλὰ μνηστήρων χαλεπῶν ὑποδείδι' ὄμιλον,  
 τῶν ὕβρις τε βίη τε σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν ἵκει. 565  
 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε μ' οὔτος ἀνὴρ κατὰ δῶμα κίοντα  
 οὐ τι κακὸν ῥέξαντα βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν,  
 οὔτε τι Τηλέμαχος τό γ' ἐπήρκεσεν οὔτε τις ἄλλος.  
 τῷ νῦν Πηνελόπειαν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀνωχθεῖ

547 om. G F U. ἀλύξαι DU': ἀλύξει P H M: ἀλύξοι Eust. al. 555 πεπαυθίη] Read perhaps πεπαυθίης: see the note. 556 γνῶω] γνῶη G: γνῶη vulg.

564 ὄμιλον] ὄλεθρον P Y. 565 om. P H X U. 568 After this line U J have δμῶν οἱ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσσεὺς θέοιο (from 402).

547. The aor. opt. ἀλύξαι has not much support in the MSS., but it is most according to Homeric usage, and suits γένοιτο in the preceding clause.

549. αὐτόν, in contrast to the report of Eumaeus, 'with his own lips.'

555. πεπαυθίη. The dat. is construed with θυμός κέλεται, on the analogy of such constructions as 16. 73 μητρὶ δ' ἐμῇ δίχα θυμός ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει, 18. 75.

Schol. Q has the note ἀντὶ τοῦ πέπον-θας, from which Buttmann inferred a v. l. κῆδε' ἃ περ πεπαυθίης. It is surely more probable that the scholium is corrupt:

read ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπονθῆναι, or πεπονθῆναι. If the latter reading is right, the original word must have been πεπαυθίης, a gen. to be construed with θυμός: cp. 6. 155-157 μάλα πού σφισι θυμός... λαίνεται... λευσσόντων, and H. G. § 243, 3, d.

561 ff. Regarding this answer see the Appendix on the Homeric House.

564. ὑποδείδω. The prep. ὑπό indicates the quasi-passive meaning of the verb: so ὑπακούω. It does not mean 'I am a little afraid.' Cp. Soph. Aj. 691 μέγαν αἰγυπιδὸν ὑποδείσαντες, of birds cowering beneath a bird of prey.

μείναι, ἐπειγομένην περ, ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα· 570

καὶ τότε μ' εἰρέσθω πόσιος πέρι νῆστιμον ἡμαρ,  
ἀσσοτέρω καθίσασα παραὶ πυρί· εἴματα γάρ τοι  
λύγρ' ἔχω· οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός, ἐπεὶ σε πρῶθ' ἰκέτευσα."

Ὡς φάτο, βῆ δὲ συφορβός, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἀκουσε.  
τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ οὐδοῦ βάντα προσηύδα Πηνελόπεια· 575

"οὐ σύ γ' ἄγεις, Εὐμαιε; τί τοῦτ' ἐνόησεν ἀλήτης;  
ἦ τινά που δείσας ἐξάισιον ἦε καὶ ἄλλως  
αἰδεῖται κατὰ δῶμα; κακὸς δ' αἰδοῖος ἀλήτης."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα·  
"μυθεῖται κατὰ μοῖραν, ἃ πέρ κ' οἶοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, 580  
ὑβριν ἀλυσκάζων ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηγορόντων.

ἀλλὰ σέ μείναι ἀνωγεν ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα.  
καὶ δὲ σοὶ ᾧδ' αὐτῇ πολὺ κάλλιον, ᾧ βασιλεια,  
οἷην πρὸς ξείνον φάσθαι ἔπος ἡδ' ἐπακοῦσαι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια· 585

"οὐκ ἄφρων ὁ ξείνος· οἶεται, ὥς περ ἂν εἴη·  
οὐ γάρ πού τινες ᾧδε καταθητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἄνδρες ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανῶνται."

Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς ἀγόρευεν, ὁ δ' ᾤχετο δῖος ὑφορβὸς  
μνηστῆρων ἐς ὄμιλον, ἐπεὶ διεπέφραδε πάντα. 590

αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα,  
ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλὴν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοῖαθ' οἱ ἄλλοι·  
"ὦ φίλ', ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι, σῦας καὶ κείνα φυλάξων,

573 οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός] Originally perhaps αὐτὸς φοῖσθα. 577 After this line F has ἔβριαν ἀλυσκάειν (sic) ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηγορόντων (from 581). 581 ἀλυσκάειν F: ἀλυσκάων vulg. (ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Did.). 586 ὥς vulg.: ὅς D U Eust. al. 587 πῶς Eust.: πῶ vulg.

571. εἰρέσθω . . . ἡμαρ. The acc. is used because the sense is 'let her ask *which* is the day of return.' So with αἶσα, μέμνημαι, πυνθάνομαι, &c.: *H. G.* § 140, 3, a.

578. κακὸς is predicate, with personal constr.; the meaning being 'it is a bad thing for an ἀλήτης to be αἰδοῖος' (cp. l. 347). It is hardly likely that there is an allusion to the sense in which Ulysses is really αἰδοῖος (as Ameis suggests).

586. It seems necessary to put a stop at ξείνος: 'the stranger is no fool,—he divines &c.' The construction ἀφρων οἶεται 'he thinks foolishly,' required with the usual punctuation of the line, is hardly Homeric.

ὥς περ ἂν εἴη 'how it may be': cp. 19. 312 οἶεται ὥς εἶναι περ. The reading ὅς περ is indefensible: it cannot mean 'whoever he may be' (ὅς τις ἂν εἴη).

587. ᾧδε 'as (the suitors do) here.'

σὸν καὶ ἔμὸν βίον· σοὶ δ' ἐνθάδε πάντα μελόντων.  
αὐτὸν μὲν σε πρῶτα σάω, καὶ φράξω θυμῷ  
μῇ τι πάθης· πολλοὶ δὲ κακὰ φρονέουσιν Ἀχαιῶν,  
τοὺς Ζεὺς ἐξολέσειε πρὶν ἡμῖν πῆμα γενέσθαι."

595

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦυδα·  
"ἔσσεται οὕτως, ἄττα· σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειελήσας·  
ἥωθεν δ' ἰέναι καὶ ἄγειν ἱεράϊα καλά·  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μελήσει."

600

Ἦς φάθ', ὁ δ' αὖτις ἄρ' ἔρετ' ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου,  
πλησάμενος δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος  
βῇ ῥ' ἵμεναι μεθ' ὕας, λίπε δ' ἔρκεά τε μέγαρόν τε  
πλείον δαιτυμόνων· οἱ δ' ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ  
τέρποντ'· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἐπήλυθε δειέλων ἡμαρ.

605

596 Ἀχαιῶν G F U: Ἀχαιοί P H X al.

602 ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου G F (ἐνιοί

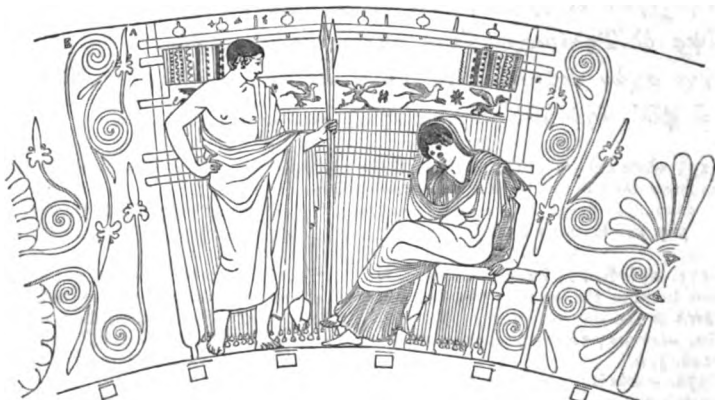
Did.): ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου U: ἐπὶ θρόνῳ ἐνθεν ἀνέστη P H J.

603 After this

line U has αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δειννῆσε καὶ ἥραρε θυμὸν ἰδαδῇ (from 5. 95., 14. 111).

599. δειελήσας. The verb δειελιάω properly means 'to evening,' 'to act as befits the evening,' here apparently 'to sup.' So ἀριστον is from a verb ἀρίζω 'to do the early,' sc. breakfast: cp. the note on 16. 2.

606. The impf. τέρποντο is to be connected with the aor. ἤλαθ' at the beginning of the next book: 'they were pleasing themselves with dance and song, when there came the beggar Irus.'



PENELOPE AT HER LOOM, WITH TELEMACHUS.

(From a vase in the Museum at Chiusi.)

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Σ

'Οδυσσέως καὶ 'Ιρου πυγμῆ.

'Ηλθε δ' ἐπὶ πτωχὸς πανδήμιος, δς κατὰ ἄστυ  
 πτωχεύεσκ' 'Ιθάκης, μετὰ δ' ἔπρεπε γαστέρι μάργη  
 ἀζηχὲς φαγέμεν καὶ πιέμεν· οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἰς  
 οὐδὲ βίη, εἶδος δὲ μάλα μέγας ἦν ὀράασθαι.  
 'Αρναῖος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ 5  
 ἐκ γενετῆς· 'Ιρον δὲ νέοι κίκλησκον ἅπαντες,  
 οὐνεκ' ἀπαγγέλλεσκε κιών, ὅτε πού τις ἀνώγοι·  
 ὃς ῥ' ἐλθὼν 'Οδυσῆα διώκετο οἷο δόμοιο,  
 καὶ μιν νεικεῖων ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "εἵκε, γέρον, προθύρου, μὴ δὴ τάχα καὶ ποδὸς ἔλκη. 10  
 οὐκ αἶεις ὅτι δὴ μοι ἐπιλλίσουσιν ἅπαντες,  
 ἐλκόμεναι δὲ κέλονται; ἐγὼ δ' αἰσχύνομαι ἔμψης.  
 ἀλλ' ἄνα, μὴ τάχα νῶϊν ἕρις καὶ χερσὶ γένηται."  
 Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις 'Οδυσσεύς·

5 θέτο πότνια] θέτο of ποτε Et. M. 146, 12. 6 γενετῆς] γενετῆς was an ancient  
 v. l. (διχῶς Did.). 14 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος P H al.

1. πανδήμιος is explained by the following clause δς κατὰ ἄστυ κτλ. On δῆμιος cp. 16. 28.

3. ἀζηχὲς is usually explained as ἀ-δεχίς; but the lengthening of εχ- to ηχ- is against all analogy. The form points to a noun \*ζῆχος, from a verbal stem ζηχ-. If the χ is formative (as in νή-χω, τρέ-χω, &c.), the root would be ζη-, Indog. gîc, gî (Sanscr. jvā), 'to be strong,' 'to live.' Possibly ἀ-ζηχ-ές, with copulative ἀ-, means 'with one life,' that is, 'with uniform, unbroken vigour.' Cp. ἀξυλος ἔλη of a wood that is 'all trees.'

4. βίη is not meant to be distinguished from ἰς. The two words are used for

the sake of emphasis, by a kind of hendiadys: see 15. 176.

5. πότνια. The epithet is here mock-heroic. But the ancient reading τὸ γὰρ θέτο of ποτε μήτηρ is plausible.

6. 'Ιρος. The name is evidently formed by turning 'Ιρις into the corresponding masculine.

8. διώκετο, impf. *de conatu*.

10. προθύρου, here the gateway of the μέγαρον: cp. 15. 146.

ἐλκη, for ἐλκται, a rare contraction in Homer. Read perhaps μὴ τις . . . ἐλκη.

11. ἐπιλλίσουσιν, lit. 'squint;' make side-long glances: cp. the adj. ὠλλέος 'squinting.'



“δαιμόνι, οὔτε τί σε ῥέξω κακὸν οὔτ’ ἀγορεύω, 15  
οὔτε τινὰ φθονέω δόμεναι καὶ πόλλ’ ἀνελόντα.  
οὐδὸς δ’ ἀμφοτέρους ὁδε χεῖσεται, οὐδέ τί σε χρη  
ἀλλοτρίων φθονέειν· δοκέεις δέ μοι εἶναι ἀλήτης  
ὥς περ ἐγών, ὄλβον δὲ θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὑπάζειν.  
χερσὶ δὲ μή τι λήην προκαλίζεο, μή με χολώσῃς, 20  
μή σε γέρων περ ἐὼν στήθεος καὶ χεῖλεα φύρσω  
αἵματος· ἡσυχίη δ’ ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτ’ εἴη  
αὔριον· οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σ’ ὑποστρέψεσθαι ὄτω  
δεύτερον ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδew ’Οδυσῆος.”

Τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσεφώνεεν Ἴρος ἀλήτης· 25  
“ὦ πόποι, ὥς ὁ μολοβρὸς ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγορεύει,  
γρηῖτ’ καμῖνοι ἴσος· ὃν ἂν κακὰ μητισαίμην  
κόπτων ἀμφοτέρησι, χαμαὶ δέ κε πάντας ὁδόντας  
γναθμῶν ἐξελάσσαιμι σὺς ὥς ληΐβοτειρης.  
ζῶσαι νῦν, ἵνα πάντες ἐπιγνώωσι καὶ οἶδε 30  
μαρναμένους· πῶς δ’ ἂν σὺ νεωτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ μάχοιο;”

Ἦς οἱ μὲν προπάροιθε θυράων ὑψηλῶν  
οὔδοῦ ἐπὶ ξεστοῦ πανθυμαδὸν ὀκριδώντο.  
τοῖν δὲ ξυνέηχ’ ἱερὸν μένος Ἀντινόοιο,  
ἡδὺ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐγελάσας· μετεφώνει μνηστήρεσσιν 35  
“ὦ φίλοι, οὐ μὲν πῶ τι πάρος τοιοῦτον ἐτύχθη,  
οἷην τερπωλὴν θεὸς ἤγαγεν ἐς τόδε δῶμα.  
ὁ ξεῖνός τε καὶ Ἴρος ἐρίζετον ἀλλήλοισιν  
χερσὶ μαχέσασθαι· ἀλλὰ ξυνελάσσομεν ὦκα.”

28 δὲ κ. Ar. (σχεδὸν πᾶσαι Did., i. e. nearly all the ancient editions quoted by Aristarchus); δ’ in MSS.

19. μέλλουσιν, with pres. inf., ‘are like to,’ i. e. it would seem to be the gods who grant wealth.

22. αἵματος, gen. of *material*.

26. μολοβρός, 17. 219.

33. πανθυμαδὸν = παντὶ θυμῷ, ‘with all spirit,’ most heartily.

ὀκριδώντο, probably ‘dealt in sharps,’ jarred with each other: cp. *δκριόεις* ‘rough,’ jagged, from *δρις* ‘a jagged point.’

34. τοῖν, gen. as often with verbs meaning to *hear* or *learn*.

36, 37. τοιοῦτον οἷην τερπωλὴν is put for *τοιαύτη τερπωλὴ οἷην*: as we say ‘nothing like the pleasure which,’ instead of ‘no pleasure like that which.’ Cp. the note on 15. 487. The word *τερπωλή* does not occur elsewhere in Homer.

38. ἐρίζετον ‘are provoking,’ ‘challenging.’

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνήϊξαν γελῶντες, 40  
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα πτωχοὺς κακοείμονας ἡγερέθοντο.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός·  
“κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστῆρες ἀγῆνορες, ὅφρα τι εἴπω.  
γαστέρες αἶδ' αἰγῶν κέατ' ἐν πυρί, τὰς ἐπὶ δόρπῳ  
καθθέμεθα κνίσσης τε καὶ αἵματος ἐμπλήσαντες. 45  
ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν ἀναστὰς αὐτὸς ἐλέσθω  
αἰεὶ δ' αὖθ' ἡμῖν μεταδίδεται, οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον  
πτωχὸν ἔσω μίσγεσθαι ἐάσομεν αἰτήσοντα.”

ᾧς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος. 50  
τοῖς δὲ δολοφρονέων μετέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“ὦ φίλοι, σὺ πῶς ἔστι νεωτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι  
ἄνδρα γέροντα, δῦν ἀρημένον· ἀλλὰ με γαστήρ  
ὀτρύνει κακοεργός, ἵνα πληγῇσι δαμείω.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν μοι πάντες ὁμόσσετε καρτερὸν ὄρκον, 55  
μή τις ἐπ' Ἴρῃ ἦρα φέρων ἐμὲ χειρὶ βαρεῖη  
πλήξῃ ἀτασθάλλων, τούτῳ δέ με ἴφι δαμάσση.”

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπώμνουν ὥς ἐκέλευεν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὁμοσάν τε τελεύτησάν τε τὸν ὄρκον,  
τοῖς αὖτις μετέειψ' ἱερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο 60  
“ξείν', εἴ σ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
τοῦτον ἀλέξασθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μή τιν' Ἀχαιῶν  
δείδιθ', ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσι μαχήσεται ὅς κέ σε θείνῃ.

44 τὰς G P M U : τὰς δ' F H X al. 51 προσέφη G F. 56 βαρεῖη  
G P H U al. : παχείῃ F X Eust. al. 58 ἐπώμνουν Ar. F P H X U al. : ἀπώμνουν  
G D Eust. (cp. 15. 437). 59 om. F Eust. 60 τοῖς G F M U : τοῖς δ' vulg.  
62 δ' om. G.

46. ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται, a formula repeated from Il. 3. 71, — doubtless in the spirit of parody.

53. ἀρημένος seems rightly explained as = βεβλαμμένος ‘impaired, broken down.’ It is doubtless derived from ἀρῆ ‘harm’ (ἀρος· ἐκούσιον βλάβος Hesych.). The α is a difficulty: it must represent a reduplication: but the temporal reduplication (there is no evidence of initial *f* or *s*) would give ἡρημένος.

Possibly the true form is ἀραρημένος, like ἀλαλήμενος, ἀκαχημένος (properly ἀλαλημένος, ἀκαχημένος).

58. The weight of authority is for ἐπώμνουν (against ἀπ-) here and in 15. 437. Elsewhere in the *Odyssey* (2. 377., 10. 345, 381., 12. 303) ἀπώμνουν is used of swearing *not* to do a thing. For ἐπὶ with δμῶνυι denoting a *negatīve* oath, see Il. 9. 132, 274., 10. 332., 21. 373., 23. 42.

ξεινοδόκος μὲν ἐγών, ἐπὶ δ' αἰνεῖτον βασιλῆε,  
Ἀντίνοός τε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω." 65

Ἄψ εἶφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον, αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ζώσατο μὲν βάκεσιν περὶ μήδεα, φαίνει δὲ μηροὺς  
καλοὺς τε μεγάλους τε, φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι  
στήθεά τε στιβαροί τε βραχίονες· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη  
ἄγχι παρισταμένη μέλε' ἤλδανε ποιμένι λαῶν. 70

μνηστῆρες δ' ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως ἀγάσαντο·  
ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον  
"ἦ τάχα Ἴρος Ἀῖρος ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν ἔξει,  
οἷν ἐκ ράκων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει." 75

Ἄψ ἄρ' ἔφαν, Ἴρῳ δὲ κακῶς ὠρίνετο θυμός.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς δρυστῆρες ἄγον ζώσαντες ἀνάγκη  
δειδιότα· σάρκες δὲ περιτρομέοντο μέλεσσιν.  
Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
"νῦν μὲν μῆτ' εἴης, βουγάϊε, μῆτε γένοιο,

64 βασιλῆε Ar. : -ῆες MSS.  
Εὐ. τε καὶ Ἀντ. F P H U L W.

65 Ἀντινοός τε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος G X D Eust. :  
75 κακός F X al.

65. This line is an echo (or parody) of Il. 3. 148 Οὐκαλέγων τε καὶ Ἀντήνωρ, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω.

71. ὑπερφιάλως 'beyond measure.' This is perhaps an example of the original sense of *ὑπερφιάλος*, viz. 'overflowing the φιάλη or pan.' That derivation has been rejected by modern scholars, but no other at all probable has been put forward. We may compare *ὑπέροπλος* 'with excess of tackle,' 'over-rigged.' Words of this kind begin by being colloquial metaphors; when they have made their way into general use the original metaphor is apt to be more or less forgotten.

73. Ἀῖρος 'Irus no more,' no longer fit to be our messenger.

ἐπίσπαστον 'drawn upon himself.'

74. οἶν, with causal force, = *ὅτι τοῖν*.

79. μῆτ' εἴης κτλ., in form a wish, really an impassioned way of saying 'What is the use of your existence!'

So Il. 2. 340 ἐν πυρὶ δὴ γενόιατο = 'might as well be thrown into the fire,' 6. 164 τεθναίης 'you might as well be dead.' Cp. also Hdt. vii. 11 μὴ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου

... μὴ τιμωρησάμενος κτλ., 'to what purpose am I the son of Darius, if I do not punish &c.'

βουγάϊα. In Il. 13. 824 this word is addressed by Hector to Ajax, and evidently carries with it the notion of stupidity or clumsiness. Here the application is somewhat different; Irus is accused of sheer cowardice. Perhaps there is meant to be a sarcastic allusion to the use in the Iliad: as though Irus claimed to be the Ajax of his class. The meaning 'braggart' (L. and S.) is not especially appropriate in either passage.

As to the derivation, the most hopeful material is the gloss of Hesychius, γαῖος δ' ἐργάτης βοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γαίος ἄνεμος. This at least proves that there was a word γαῖος (or γαῖος), and that ἄνεμος γ. was 'a land breeze, βοῦς γ. 'a plough ox.' Hence βοῦς γ. or βουγάϊος might mean *ἀνθρώπος παχὺς καὶ ἀναίσθητος* (Eust.). The notice in Eust. that among the people of Dulichium and Samos οἱ γαλακτοφαγούντες καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχύοντες were called βουγάϊοι may point to the same etymology.

εἰ δὴ τοῦτόν γε τρομέεις καὶ δεΐδιας αἰνῶς, 80  
 ἄνδρα γέροντα, δῦν ἀρημένον, ἥ μιν ἰκάνει.  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τοι ἔρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 αἶ κέν σ' οὗτος νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
 πέμψω σ' ἡπειρόνδε, βαλὼν ἐν νηϊ μελαίνῃ,  
 εἰς Ἑχέτον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων, 85  
 ὃς κ' ἀπὸ ῥίνα τάμησι καὶ ὄσατα νηλεῖ χαλκῷ,  
 μήδεά τ' ἐξερύσας δῶν κυσὶν ὦμά δάσασθαι."

ᾧς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα.  
 ἐς μέσσον δ' ἀναγον· τὸ δ' ἄμφω χεῖρας ἀνέσχον.  
 δὴ τότε μερμήριξε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς 90  
 ἥ ἐλάσει' ὥς μιν ψυχὴ λίποι αὐθι πεσόντα,  
 ἥέ μιν ἦκ' ἐλάσειε τανύσσειέν τ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ.  
 ὦδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,  
 ἦκ' ἐλάσαι, ἵνα μή μιν ἐπιφρασσαίαιτ' Ἀχαιοί,  
 δὴ τότ' ἀνασχομένω ὁ μὲν ἤλασε δεξιὸν ὦμον 95  
 Ἴρος, ὁ δ' αὐχέν' ἔλασεν ὑπ' ὤατος, ὅστέα δ' εἶσω  
 ἔθλασεν· αὐτίκα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ στόμα φοῖνιον αἶμα,  
 καδ δ' ἔπες' ἐν κονίῃσι μακῶν, σὺν δ' ἤλασ' ὀδόντας  
 λακτίζων ποσὶ γαῖαν· ἀτὰρ μνηστῆρες ἀγανοὶ  
 χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι γέλῳ ἔκθανον. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς 100

88 ἔλλαβε] ἤλυθε G F U. 97 ἦλθε κατὰ] ἦλθεν ἀνὰ G F. 98 μακῶν]  
 χαῶν ed. Aeolica. 99 ποσὶ vulg.: ποτὶ G P X al. 100 γέλῳ G F X U al.

85. Ἑχέτος is doubtless purely imaginary, the 'Croquemitaine' of the *Odyssey*. See on 20. 383.

94. ἐπιφρασσαίαιτο 'should take note of him,' begin to wonder who he was.

95. ἀνασχομένω 'raising their hands': cp. Il. 3. 362., 22. 34., 23. 660, Od. 14. 425.

98. μακῶν 'with a cry': a word properly used of the *bleating* of sheep.

100. γέλῳ ἔκθανον. The common rendering is 'were ready to die with laughter.' But this sense can hardly be extracted from the *aor.* of ἐκθνήσκω (if that compound was known to Homer, of which there is no other evidence). Possibly the word should be ἔκχανον 'gaped, opened their mouths in laughter.'

It is conceivable also that ἔκθανον is grammatically the 2 *aor.* of the verb ἐκ-θνήσκω, and means properly 'struck out,' i.e. 'burst' or 'broke out.' Cp. προ-τύπτω in 24. 319 ὁρμὴ μένος προύτυψε. It is true that θνήσκω and ἔθανον are now supposed to be from the same root (*ghen*) as θείνω, ἔπεφον, Lat. *ferdo*, &c. (Brugmann, *Grundr.* I. p. 320). Possibly ἐκ-θανον represents an older use of the root, before θαν-εἶν acquired the sense of *dying*. This hypothesis would explain Attic ἐκθνήσκω meaning 'I faint' (not 'I die'). But the later use was doubtless influenced by this passage: cp. Antiphanes Πλουσ. 1. 7 γελῶντες ἐξέθνησκον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, Menand. Κολ. 2 γέλῳτι ἐκθανοῦμενοι.

ἔλκε διῆκ προθύροιο λαβὼν ποδός, ὅφρ' ἵκετ' αὐλήν  
αἰθούσης τε θύρας· καί μιν ποτὶ ἑρκίον αὐλῆς  
εἶσεν ἀνακλίνας, σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε χεῖρί,  
καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“ἐνταυθοὶ νῦν ἦσο σύας τε κύνας τ' ἀπερύκων,  
μηδὲ σύ γε ξείνων καὶ πτωχῶν κοίρανος εἶναι  
λυγρὸς ἑὼν, μή πού τι κακὸν καὶ μείζον ἐπαύρης.”

Ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφ' ὅμοισιν ἀεικέα βάλλετο πήρην,  
πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην· ἐν δὲ στρόφος ἦεν ἀορτήρ.  
ἀψ δ' ὁ γ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο· τοὶ δ' ἴσαν εἶσω  
ἡδὺ γελοίωντες καὶ δεικανόωντ' ἐπέεσσιν

“Ζεὺς τοι δοίη, ξεῖνε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
ὅττι μάλιστ' ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον ἐπλέτο θυμῷ,  
ὅς τοῦτον τὸν ἀναλτον ἀλητεύειν ἀπέπαυσας  
ἐν δῆμῳ· τάχα γάρ μιν ἀνάξομεν ἡπειρόνδε  
εἰς Ἐχέτον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων.”

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν, χαίρειν δὲ κληδόνι διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.  
Ἀντίνοος δ' ἄρα οἱ μεγάλην παρὰ γαστέρα θῆκεν,

101 ἔλκε Ar. F P: εἶλκε vulg.

105 κύνας τε σύας τ' G F U.

107 ἐπαύρης

F: ἐπαύρη vulg. 110 ὁ γ' F M J: ἄρ G P H U al. (cp. 17.466).

111 γε-

λοίωντες, cp. 20. 347. After 111 G and others have the line ὦδε δὲ τις εἶπεσκε

νόον ὑπερηγορέοντων (2. 324, &c.).

115-116 obel. by Ar., as a repetition of

84-85.

102. θύρας, the gate of the αὐλή or

courtyard: called 'gate of the αἰθουσα'

because the αἰθουσα or 'portico' was

across the gateway, cp. 15.146.

105. ἐνταυθοὶ κτλ., from Il. 21.122

ἐνταυθοὶ νῦν κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν.

107. ἐπαύρης (or ἐπαύρη, as nearly

all the MSS. read) means 'take,' 'incur.'

ἐπαυρίσκω, literally 'to touch,' 'graze.'

acquires (especially in the mid., but

sometimes also in the act.) the sense of

deriving from contact, 'gaining from.'

In this sense it is construed with a neut.

adj. or pronoun in the accusative, ex-

pressing the good or harm taken or

'gained': e.g. Theogn. 111 τὸ μέγιστον

ἐπαυρίσκουσι, Aesch. Prom. 28 ταῦτ'

ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τρόπου, Andoc.

20. 2 ἀγαθὸν ἐμοῦ ἐπαυρίσθαι. Of the

two readings ἐπαύρη is not satisfactory

as 2 sing. subj. mid., the proper Homeric

form of which is ἐπαύρηαι (Il. 15.17).

Hence we should read ἐπαύρης (with

Buttmann, &c.). Some take ἐπαύρη as

3 sing. act., and κακὸν as nom. to it; as

though the evil were a weapon that is

to 'touch' the beggar. This however

is a metaphor at variance with the *usus*

*loquendi*, in which the good or evil is

always treated as the thing gained by

touch.

111. γελοίωντες, see the note on 20.

347.

δεικανόωντο, by metrical lengthening

for δεικανόωντο: cp. δεικανάτω: ἀσπάξεται

Hesych. (Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 155).

114. τὸν ἀναλτον. The article ex-

presses contempt: *H. G.* § 261, 2.

117. Α κληδόν, or φήμη (so in 2. 35.,

20. 105), is a word which conveys a

truth unknown to the person who utters

it. Such is evidently the prayer that

the stranger may have his desire ful-

filled.

ἐμπλείην κνίσης τε καὶ αἵματος· Ἀμφίνομος δὲ  
 ἄρτους ἐκ κανέοιο δύνω παρέθηκεν ἀέρας 120  
 καὶ δέπαι χρυσέφ' δειδίσκετο φώνησέν τε·  
 “χαῖρε, πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε· γένοιτό τοι ἔς περ ὀπίσσω  
 ὀλβος· ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι.”  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος πρῶσέφῃ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “Ἀμφίνομ', ἦ μάλα μοι δοκέεις πεπνυμένος εἶναι 125  
 τοῖσιν γὰρ καὶ πατρός, ἐπεὶ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄκουον,  
 Νίσσον Δουλιχίῃα ἐὺν τ' ἔμεν ἀφνειὸν τε·  
 τοῦ σ' ἔκ φασι γενέσθαι, ἐπηγῇ δ' ἀνδρὶ ξοικας.  
 τοῦνεκά τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μευ ἄκουσον·  
 οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο 130  
 πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.  
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,  
 ὀφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχῃσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέσωσι,  
 καὶ τὰ φέρεי ἀεκαζόμενος τετληῶτι θυμῷ. 135  
 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 οἷον ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἀγῆσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὀλβιος εἶναι,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἀτάσθαλ' ἔρεξα-βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ εἰκων,  
 πατρὶ τ' ἐμῷ πύσυνος καὶ ἐμοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι. 140  
 τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστιος εἴη,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν·  
 οἶ' ὀρώω μνηστήρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανδώντας,  
 κτήματα κείροντας καὶ ἀτιμάζοντας ἀκοιτιν

122 ἔς περ] ὡς περ G F X U al.

130 οὐθέν Zen.

131 om. F P H.

134 τελέσωσι D H<sup>1</sup> U<sup>2</sup>: τελέωσι vulg.

126. τοῖον 'of such a kind (as to account for your good qualities).'

133. ἀρετὴν 'prosperity,' cp. 13. 45.

137. ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἀγῆσι 'brings round the day,' ἐπὶ as in ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος. The two lines are imitated by Archilochus, fr. 70 τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνας πάϊ, γίγνεται θνητοῖς δακνὴν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἀγῆ.

138. ἡμελλον, not 'I was destined'

—which would require a fut. inf.—but 'I was like to be,' i. e. it seemed that I ought to be ὀλβιος. Cp. l. 19.

139. βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ εἰκων, 13. 143.

141. The opt. is a softened imperative: 'I would have no one be lawless, but' &amp;c.

143. οἶα is causal: = 'I say so, considering what outrages I see &amp;c.': cp. 16. 93., 17. 479, 514.

ἀνδρός, ὃν οὐκέτι φημὶ φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης 145  
 δηρὸν ἀπέσσεσθαι· μάλα δὲ σχεδόν· ἀλλὰ σε δαίμων  
 οἶκαδ' ὑπεξαγάγοι, μηδ' ἀντιάσειας ἐκείνῳ,  
 ὅππότε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀναιμωπὶ γέ διακρινέεσθαι οἶω  
 μνηστῆρας καὶ κείνον, ἐπεὶ κε μέλαθρον ὑπέλθῃ." 150

Ἵως φάτο, καὶ σπείσας ἔπιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον,  
 ἀψ' δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε δέπας κοσμήτορι λαῶν.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ διὰ δῶμα φίλον τετιημένος ἦτορ,  
 νευστάζων κεφαλῇ· δὴ γὰρ κακὸν ὅσσετο θυμῷ.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς φύγε κῆρα· πέδησε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀθήνη 155  
 Τηλεμάχου ὑπὸ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχεϊ ἴφι δαμῆναι.  
 ἀψ' δ' αὖτις κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου ἔνθεν ἀνέστη.  
 Τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,

153 διὰ F: κατὰ G P H X al.: πρὸς U.

154 θυμῷ vulg.: θυμός F M.

152. κοσμήτορι λαῶν, viz. Amphinomos, who had given him the cup, l. 121.

154. Cp. 10. 374 κατὰ δ' ὅσσετο θυμός, where the v. l. θυμῷ is impossible.

158-303. The scene which now follows has been recently discussed by Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, Seeck and others, from the points of view suggested by their different theories of the *Odyssey*. Confining ourselves here to the immediate context, we may notice briefly some of the suggestions which bear on the meaning and character of the passage.

The whole scene, as Wilamowitz observes (*Hom. Unt.* p. 30), may be struck out without causing any break in the narrative. It is now late afternoon (δείλον ἦμαρ 17. 606), and the Suitors have interrupted their usual dance and song (ibid.) to enjoy the combat between Ulysses and Irus. When this is over, the story naturally goes on as in 18. 304 οἱ δ' εἰς ὀρχηστὴν τε καὶ ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν τρεψάμενοι τέρποντο, μένον δ' ἐπὶ ἔσπερον ἔλθειν. Moreover, as the poet has given us these indications, there is force in the remark that the appearance of Penelope, with the sending for the gifts which she requires from the Suitors, would take up too much time. Other

arguments are found in the character of Penelope—who suddenly throws aside the restraint of so many years, and descends to arts hardly consistent with modesty—and in the tone and style.

We may add, surely, that the narrative betrays some want of the Homeric finish. The sleep of Penelope (187-197) begins and ends while Eurynome is calling the maids from the μέγαρον—a space of time which would naturally be neglected altogether. On the other hand, when the Suitors send to fetch costly presents for Penelope (291-303), a considerable interval must be supposed, during which the action in the palace is at an absolute standstill. This is surely a violation of one of the most fundamental rules of Epic art. There are many examples of the care which the poet takes to avoid any sensible pause of the kind: see II. i. 493., 3. 121.

The tendency of the considerations put forward by Seeck (*Quellen*, pp. 34-40) is to show that the passage has suffered some mutilation, and that this is due to its having originally been part of a shorter poem, one of those which, on his theory, were combined to form the existing *Odyssey*. His argument is somewhat as follows. He finds traces of mutilation in the speech of Eurynome

κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
 μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι, ὅπως πετάσειε μάλιστα 160  
 θυμὸν μνηστῆρων ἰδὲ τιμήεσσα γένοιτο  
 μᾶλλον πρὸς πόσιός τε καὶ υἱέος ἢ πάρος ἦεν.  
 ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλασεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·  
 "Εὐρυνόμη, θυμός μοι ἐέλδεται, αὖ τι πάρος γε,  
 μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι, ἀπεχθομένοισί περ ἔμπης· 165  
 παιδὶ δέ κεν εἴποιμι ἔπος, τό κε κέρδιον εἴη,  
 μὴ πάντα μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ὀμιλεῖν,  
 οἷ τ' εὖ μὲν βάζουσι, κακῶς δ' ὀπιθεν φρόνέουσι."  
 Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρυνόμη ταμίη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 "ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, τέκος, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες. 170

160 πετάσειε vulg. : θέλξει U al.

164 γε] περ G P.

167 ὀμιλεῖν] ἐπαινεῖν G M.

(170-176), which must have conveyed more than finds expression in the present text. Penelope, as we see, does not merely appear to the Suitors in order to gain their admiration and their gifts. She announces the end of her long refusal of their advances, and puts this on the ground that Telemachus has now reached man's estate (269 *ἔτην δὲ παῖδα γενεήσαντα ἰθαί*). Now this is precisely what Eurynome had said (176). Hence Eurynome must have meant to urge Penelope to make the declaration that she consented to marriage. The lines in which she did so are wanting: hence, they were cut out in the process of 'working up' the Odyssey. The advice to adorn herself must have been merely a consequence. The 'word to Telemachus,' again, cannot have been the trivial warning of l. 167, but the announcement that he would thenceforth be master in the house.

The reasons now adduced, and especially the comparison of l. 176 and l. 269, make it probable that Seec's interpretation of the speech of Eurynome is the true one. The question, then, is whether the desired meaning is to be gathered from the present text. Surely this may be done without too much forcing, or reading between the lines. Eurynome, it may be understood, could not venture to advise her mistress in so many words to accept one of the Suitors. But when Penelope declared her inten-

tion to show herself to them, she took this as meaning all that (as we see from the sequel) it did mean. She did not use the word marriage (any more than Nausicaa did to her father, 6.66), but merely said: 'Do so, my child: but adorn yourself, lay aside your mourning; your son, who has been your care till now, is a bearded man.'

On the whole it seems not improbable that the passage in question is an interpolation as regards the context in which we now find it. There are some traces of post-Homeric language: as *χρῶτα* (172, 179), *τέος* (190), *θησαίετο* (191), *πλέωνες* scanned *πλεῖνες* (247), *ἀνέσει* (265), *κάλλος* = 'a cosmetic' (192). Cp. also the scanning *δάκρυοισι* (173).

160. *πετάσειε* 'might flutter.' The metaphor is obscure. The notion may be that the minds of the Suitors would be excited or 'elated' as a sail is filled by the wind: cp. the phrase *ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πετάσας*, and the later uses of *δαστέλλω*. See also l. 327.

163. *ἀχρεῖον ἐγέλασεν* 'laughed a needless,' i.e. a pointless, forced laugh: cp. *ἀχρεῖός γελος* of untimely laughter, in Cratinus (incert. 51).

164. *οὐ τι πάρος γε*, sc. *ἐέλδεται*, 'it has by no means so desired before.' *πάρος γε* means 'before' in opposition to 'now': *πάρος περ* = 'even before,' 'before as well as now' (*H. G.* § 354).

168. *ὀπιθεν* 'afterwards.' *κακῶς φρονέουσι* 'have evil purposes.'



ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ σῶ παιδὶ ἔπος φάο μηδ' ἐπίκουθε,  
 χρῶτ' ἀπονίψαμένη καὶ ἐπιχρίσασα παρειάς·  
 μηδ' οὕτω δακρύοισι πεφυρμένη ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα  
 ἔρχεν, ἐπεὶ κάκιον πενήθμεναι ἄκριτον αἰεῖ.  
 ἤδη μὲν γάρ τοι παῖς τηλίκος, ὃν σὺ μάλιστα  
 ἥρῳ ἀθανάτοισι γενεῖσθαι ἰδέσθαι."

175

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "Εὐρυνόμη, μὴ ταῦτα παραύδα κηδομένη περ,  
 χρῶτ' ἀπονίπτεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχρίεσθαι ἀλοιφῇ·  
 ἀγλαῖην γὰρ ἔμοιγε θεοί, τοὶ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,  
 ὦλεσαν, ἐξ οὗ κείνος ἔβη κοίτης ἐνὶ νηυσίν.  
 ἀλλὰ μοι Αὐτονόην τε καὶ Ἴπποδάμειαν ἀνωχθί  
 ἐλθέμεν, ὅφρα κέ μοι παρστήτεον ἐν μεγάροισιν·  
 οἷη δ' οὐκ εἴσειμι μετ' ἀνέρας· αἰδέομαι γάρ."

180

ᾧς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρη῏ς δὲ διὲκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει  
 ἀγγελέουσα γυναιξὶ καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι.

185

Ἐνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 κοῦρη Ἰκαρίοιο κατὰ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχευεν,  
 εὖδε δ' ἀνακλινθεῖσα, λύθεν δέ οἱ ἄψα πάντα  
 αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ κλιντῇρι· τέως δ' ἄρα διὰ θεάων  
 ἄμβροτα δῶρα δίδου, ἵνα μιν θησαῖατ' Ἀχαιοί.  
 κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν

190

173 δάκρυσι P H al. 178 κηδομένη MSS.: κηδομένη was an ancient variant, cp. Il. 22. 416 καὶ μ' οἶον ἔασατε κηδόμενοι περ κτλ., where κηδόμενοι is the reading of Ar., but the best MSS. have κηδόμενον. Here the scholia are corrupt, see Ludwig *a. l.*, who makes it probable that Ar. preferred the nom. in both places.

179 ἀπονίψασθαι G. 184 οὐκ εἴσειμι vulg.: οὐ κείσ' εἰμι Hdn. F H al.  
 190 διὰ θεάων] δι' Ἀφροδίτῃ Zen. The scholium has been wrongly referred to l. 197, see Ludwig *a. l.* 191 θησαῖατο is hardly a possible form in Homer: read ἵνα θησαῖατ'.

172. χρῶτα (here and l. 179) is post-Homeric, for χρῶα: so χρῶτός in Il. 10. 575.

173. The shortening of the α in δακρύοισι may be defended by metrical necessity: but cp. δάκρυπλῶειν, 19. 122. The form δάκρυσι, suggested by Nauck, is not Homeric: for νέκυσι &c. see on 22. 401.

174. κάκιον 'it is ill' (not well): the compar. as in 15. 370., 17. 176.

ἄκριτον, lit. 'undistinguishing,' hence

'endless,' 'unmeasured': so Il. 2. 796 μῦθοι ἄκριτοι, &c.

175. τηλίκος 'of the age' (to lead you to do so): cp. τοῖον in l. 126.

190. κλιντῇρι. The word only occurs here in Homer. If the passage were certainly genuine we should be tempted to read κλισίῃ (or κλισμῷ)· τῆς δ' ἄρα κτλ.

192. κάλλει ἄμβροσφι appears to be used in a concrete sense, for some kind of paint or ointment.

ἀμβροσίῳ, οἷ' περ εὐστέφανος Κυθήρεια  
 χρίεται, εὐτ' ἂν ἦ Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱμερόεντα·  
 [καί μιν μακροτέρην καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι,] 195  
 λευκοτέρην δ' ἄρα μιν θῆκε πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος.  
 ἡ μὲν δρ' ὥς ἔρξασ' ἀπεβήσето διὰ θεάων,  
 ἦλθον δ' ἀμφίπολοι λευκώλενοι ἐκ μεγάροιο  
 φθόγγῳ ἐπερχόμεναι· τὴν δὲ γλαυκὺς ἔπνος ἀνῆκε,  
 καὶ ῥ' ἀπομόρξατο χερσὶ παρειᾶς φώνησέν τε· 200  
 "ἦ με μάλ' αἰνοπαθῇ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυνψεν.  
 αἶθε μοι ὧς μαλακὸν θάνατον πρόροι Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή  
 αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα μηκέτ' ὀδυρομένη κατὰ θυμὸν  
 αἰῶνα φθινύθω, πόσιος ποθέουσα φίλοιο  
 παντοίην ἀρετήν, ἐπεὶ ἔξοχος ἦεν Ἀχαιῶν." 205  
 \*Ὡς φαμένη κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόμεντα,  
 οὐκ οἶη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δὴ ἔποντα.  
 ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
 στῇ βα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο  
 ἄντα παρειᾶν σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα· 210  
 ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἐκάτερθε παρέστη.  
 τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λῦτο γούνατ', ἔρψ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔβελχθεν,  
 πάντες δ' ἡρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι.  
 ἡ δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχον προσεφώνεεν, δν φίλον υἱόν·

197 ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη P.

212 ἔβελχθεν] ἔβελγεν G P al.

195 (=8.20) is out of place here, as Kirchhoff notices (*Odyssey*, p. 520). The ivory complexion follows as the effect (*ἀρα*) of the cosmetic. Observe also the needless repetition of *θήκε*.

206. κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα must mean 'came down from the upper chambers,' a use only found here and in 23.85. Elsewhere in the *Odyssey* καταβαίνω with the acc. means 'to come down to' or 'by' (a ladder, &c.). The constr. is not found in the *Iliad*.

207-211 = 1.331-335, and 213 = 1.366.

214-243. These lines are almost certainly an interpolation, as has been shown by Wilamowitz (*Hom. Unt.* p. 30). The Suitors are described as struck

with admiration of the beauty of Penelope (212-213), and their admiration is expressed in glowing language by Eurymachus (244 ff.). It is evident that the speech of Eurymachus was intended to follow immediately on the statement in ll. 212-213. Furthermore, the dialogue which thus breaks in upon the thread of the narrative is irrelevant to the context, as it has nothing to do with the appearance of Penelope in the *μέγαρον*. Moreover, it is a dialogue which must have been intended to be secret: yet it is carried on in the presence of the Suitors, with every circumstance that could tend to arrest their attention. The interpolation was no doubt suggested by Penelope's words in l. 166, though the 'word

“Τηλέμαχ’, οὐκέτι τοι φρένες ἔμπεδοι· οὐδὲ νόημα· 215  
 παῖς ἔτ’ ἐὼν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κέρδε’ ἐνώμας·  
 νῦν δ’ ὅτε δὴ μέγας ἐσσί καὶ ἤβης μέτρον ἱκάνεις,  
 καὶ κέν τις φαίη γόνον ἔμμεναι ὀλβίου ἀνδρός,  
 ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ὀρώμενος, ἀλλότριος φῶς,  
 οὐκέτι τοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναΐσιμοι οὐδὲ νόημα, 220  
 οἶον δὴ τόδε ἔργον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐτύχθη,  
 ὅς τὸν ξεῖνον ἕασας ἀεικισθῆμεναι οὕτως.  
 πῶς νῦν, εἴ τι ξεῖνος ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισιν  
 ἤμενος ὦδε πάθοι ρυστακτύος ἐξ ἀλεγεινῆς;  
 σοὶ κ’ αἰσχος λῶβη τε μετ’ ἀνθρώποισι πέλοιτο.” 225  
 Τὴν δ’ αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα·  
 “μῆτερ ἐμή, τὸ μὲν οὖν σε νεμεσῶμαι κεχολῶσθαι·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θυμῷ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα,  
 ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια· πάρος δ’ ἔτι νήπιος ἦα.  
 ἀλλὰ τοι οὐ δύναμαι πεπνυμένα πάντα νοῆσαι· 230  
 ἐκ γάρ με πλήσσουσι παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος  
 οἶδε κακὰ φρονέοντες, ἐμοὶ δ’ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρωγοί.  
 οὐ μὲν τοι ξείνου γε καὶ Ἴρου μῶλος ἐτύχθη  
 μνηστήρων ἰότητι, βίῃ δ’ ὃ γε φέρτερος ἦεν.

223 τι Ar. vulg.: τις G F al.: τοι M al.  
 obel. by Aristoph. and Aristarchus.

225 πέλοιτο] γένοιτο F.  
 234 βίην F.

229

to Telemachus' there indicated is quite different from what she now says. See also the note on 244-245.

216. κέρδεα 'clever thoughts,' cp. κερδαίος.

217. ἤβης μέτρον, i.e. the point from which ἤβη is measured, is considered to begin: cp. ὄρμου μέτρον (13. 101) 'the distance for anchorage.'

219. ἀλλότριος, who therefore would have no other knowledge of him.

221-222. οἶον κτλ. and ὅς κτλ. are both causal, and do not go together quite smoothly, especially as ὅς must refer back to τοι in l. 220.

224. ἤμενος ὦδε, cp. 17. 447, 544. The adv. re-affirms ἤμενος: 'while sitting, as he does,'—as much as to say 'while he sits here quietly.'

229. τὰ χέρεια. The art. is regular

with comparatives, but there is also an express contrast here: *H. G.* § 259.

231. παρήμενοι 'keeping by my side': as Il. 9. 311 ὅς μή μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, cp. Il. 24. 652.

234. μνηστήρων ἰότητι 'at the will of the Suitors,' as they wished (so the Schol.). This hardly agrees with the story as told. The Suitors are quite impartial: indeed, Antinous affects a sympathy for Ulysses (79-81) which does not belong to his usual character. Moreover, ἰότητι in Homer means not 'in accordance with the wish,' but 'by the will,' i.e. the command or instigation. So θεῶν ἰότητι (often in the *Odyssey*) = 'by divine providence,' and Il. 15. 41 μὴ δὲ ἐμὴν ἰότητα = 'it is not my doing that.' Hence the sense here should be that the combat with Irus was

αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων, 235  
 οὕτω νῦν μνηστῆρες ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι  
 νεύοιεν κεφαλὰς δεδμημένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐλῇ,  
 οἱ δ' ἔντοσθε δόμοιο, λελύτο δὲ γυῖα ἐκάστω,  
 ὥς νῦν Ἴρος κείνος ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρῃσιν  
 ἦσται νευσάζων κεφαλῇ, μεθύοντι ἰοικώς, 240  
 οὐδ' ὀρθὸς στήναι δύναται ποσὶν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι  
 οἴκαδ', ὅπῃ οἱ νόστος, ἐπεὶ φίλα γυῖα λέλυνται."

Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·  
 Εὐρύμαχος δ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα Πηνελόπειαν· 245  
 "κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρον Πηνελόπεια,  
 εἰ πάντες σε ἴδοιεν ἀν' Ἰασον Ἄργος Ἀχαιοί,  
 πλεονές κε μνηστῆρες ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισιν  
 ἥῳθεν δαινύατ', ἐπεὶ περίεσσι γυναικῶν  
 εἶδος τε μέγεθος τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον εἴσας."

Τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια· 250  
 "Εὐρύμαχ', ἡ τοι ἐμὴν ἀρετὴν εἶδος τε δέμας τε  
 ὥλεσαν ἀθάνατοι, δτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον  
 Ἀργεῖοι, μετὰ τοῖσι δ' ἐμὸς πόσις ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 εἰ κείνός γ' ἐλθὼν τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἀμφιπολεύει,

238 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔκτοσθεν μεγάρων εὖ ναιεταύτων G. λελύτο Hdn. G P H al. :  
 λέλυτο X D Z. 247 πλεονές] Baunack (*Sind.* 1. 6) would restore the old  
 comparative form πλείες: cp. πλείες (Il. 11. 395), πλείας (Il. 2. 129). 253 ἦεν  
 Aristoph. Ar., vulg.: ἦεν G P U al.

not brought about by the Suitors. This however does not fit the next words βίῳ δ' ὃ γε φέρτερος ἦεν. Thus we are driven to regard the use of *λέγηναι* as one of the indications of the post-Homeric character of the scene (158-303).

238. λελύτο, pf. opt., for λελύ-ι-το. So in l. 248 δαινύατο for δαυν-ι-ατο.

244-245. The repetition of the name Πηνελόπεια is a little awkward. When the interpolated lines 214-243 are cut out the name is not wanted in 244. It would certainly be an improvement in that case to read Εὐρύμαχος δὲ ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα μελιχίαισι.

246. Ἰασον Ἄργος, a phrase which only occurs here, must denote the whole of the Peloponnesus, if not all the Greece of the time (cp. 15. 80). It is

one of the old geographical names that survive in poetical tradition, sometimes after their original application is forgotten. It is quoted by E. Curtius as a proof of the wide diffusion of Ionian settlements in the earliest period of Greek history. He combines it with the statement of Pausanias (ii. 37, 3) that before the Dorian invasion the people of Argos spoke the same dialect as the Athenians (Curtius, *Die Ionier*, p. 3). On the other hand it is difficult to understand why the Peloponnesians should be called 'Ionian' when it was mainly occupied by an Achæan population. And the formation of the word Ἰασος, in the sense of Ἰαόνιος (or Ἰώνιος), is not according to any obvious analogy.

251. ἀρετῇ, cp. 13. 45.

μεῖζόν κε κλέος εἶη ἐμὸν καὶ κάλλιον οὕτως. 255  
 νῦν δ' ἄχομαι· τόσα γάρ μοι ἐπέσσευεν κακὰ δαίμων.  
 ἥ μὲν δὴ ὅτε τ' ἦε λιπὼν κάτα πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ καρπῷ ἐλὼν ἐμὲ χεῖρα προσηύδα·  
 'ὦ γύναι, οὐ γὰρ οἶω εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἐκ Τροίης εὖ πάντας ἀπήμονας ἀπονέεσθαι· 260  
 καὶ γὰρ Τρῳάς φασι μαχητὰς ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας,  
 ἡμὲν ἀκοντιστὰς ἡδὲ ρυτῆρας οἰστῶν  
 ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
 ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο.  
 τῷ οὐκ οἶδ' ἥ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεός, ἥ κεν ἀλώω 265  
 αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ· σοὶ δ' ἐνθάδε πάντα μελόντων.  
 μεμνήσθαι πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἐν μεγάροισιν  
 ὥς νῦν, ἥ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν ἐόντος·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ παῖδα γενειήσαντα ἴδῃαι,  
 γῆμασθ' ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, τεδὼν κατὰ δῶμα λιπούσα.' 270

256 ἐπέκλωσεν F (cp. 19. 129).

μιο F P al.: πολέμοιο vulg.

note. 269 ἐπὴν δὴ] ἐπειδὴ F: read probably ἐπεὶ κεν.

263 τάχιστα] μάλιστα M J.

265 ἥ] εἰ MSS.

264 πτολέ-

μιο F P al.: πολέμοιο vulg.

ἀνέσει, better ἀνέσῃ, see the

263. οἳ κε τάχιστα ἔκριναν. These words can hardly be made to yield a satisfactory sense. They can only mean 'who would have decided' (in a case which has not happened). If the aorist is gnomic, as is generally supposed, it cannot take κε. We may however read οἳ τε, which gives the gnomic sense required. The change is supported by a parody (as it seems to be) in the Comic poet Metagenes, Ἀδρ. 1 αὐλητρίδας αἳ τε τάχιστα ἀνδρῶν φορηγῶν ἐνδὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἐλυσαν.

264. πτολέμοιο, for πολέμοιο, which is given in a few MSS., is doubtless a survival of the original Epic formula ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο. Similarly the πτ- has been preserved in 24. 543, Il. 9. 440., 13. 358, 635., 15. 670., 18. 242., 21. 294. In the Iliad the weight of MS. authority in its favour is greater than is shown in La Roche's edition.

265. ἀνέσει is said by the commentators to be shortened from ἀνήσει (fut. of ἀνίημι), and to mean 'will let me return home.' Such a licence, however,

is quite inadmissible. If any part of the verb ἀνίημι is required here we must read ἀνῆ (with hiatus after με), or else ἀνῆρ, as Thiersch conjectured (*Gr.* § 226, comparing ἀφῆρ in Il. 16. 590). But it is a further question whether ἀνίημι can have the sense of 'sending home.' It seems much more probable that the word is from the root *sed*, whence aor. *ἔσα* (inf. *ἔσαι*, *ἔσαι*). It is true that the fut. *ἔσσω* or *ἔσω* is only found in one doubtful instance (viz. Il. 9. 455 ἐφίσσεσθαί, with v. l. ἐφίσσασθαί), the true fut. being probably preserved in the Attic καθ-εδοῦμαι. And the use of the fut. after ἥ κεν (with the subj. ἀλώω in the other clause) is very doubtful. These difficulties, however, may be met by the easy correction ἀνέσῃ. The meaning 'seat again,' 'restore to my place,' seems possible enough: the examples are confined to the literal sense, e.g. Il. 1. 310 ἀνὰ δὲ Χρυσήϊδα εἰσεν ἀγων, Il. 13. 657 ἐς δίφρον ἀνέσαντες, Il. 14. 209 εἰς ἐνὴν ἀνέσαιμι (the two last wrongly referred by L. and S. to ἀνίημι).

κείνος τὼς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὲ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.  
 νῦξ δ' ἔσται ὅτε δὴ στυγερός γάμος ἀντιβολήσῃ  
 οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς δλβον ἀπηύρα.  
 ἀλλὰ τὸδ' αἰὼν ἀχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει·  
 μνηστήρων οὐχ ἦδε δίκη τὸ πάροιθε τέτυκτο, 275  
 οἳ τ' ἀγαθὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφνειοῖο θυγάτρα  
 μνηστεύειν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐρίσωσιν·  
 αὐτοὶ τοί γ' ἀπάγουσι βῆας καὶ ἱφία μῆλα,  
 κούρης δαῖτα φίλοισι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῦσιν·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον βίον νήποιον ἔδουσιν." 280

Ὡς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 οὐνεκα τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο, θέλγε δὲ θυμὸν  
 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι, νόος δὲ οἱ ἄλλα μενοῖνα.

Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντίνοος προσέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός·  
 "κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρον Πηνελόπεια, 285  
 δῶρα μὲν ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃσιν Ἀχαιῶν ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖκαι,

271 τὼς Ar. (Il. 2. 530) : θ' δὲ Herodian, G F H al. : τόσ' U. 275 τέτυκται P,  
 perhaps rightly.

272. νῦξ ἔσται, perhaps said with  
 conscious allusion to the formula ἴσεται  
 ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἂν κτλ.

275. Most editors put a colon or full  
 stop at τέτυκτο, which gives rather an  
 abrupt effect to the next sentence. On  
 the other hand the asyndeton after  
 ἐρίσωσιν (l. 277) is regular, since αὐτοὶ  
 τοί γ' ἀπάγουσι κτλ. is a restatement, in  
 an affirmative form, of μνηστήρων οὐχ  
 ἦδε δίκη κτλ. Other examples of this  
 cpeuegetic asyndeton are 14. 216-219,  
 15. 318., 16. 466.

282. παρέλκετο 'drew off to herself':  
 παρὰ implies something irregular or  
 wrong, as in παραπλάζω (20. 346), παρ-  
 ελθεῖν (5. 104), and frequently in  
 Attic. See also on 21. 111.

The customs governing the giving  
 and receiving of presents evidently had  
 a serious importance in Homeric times,  
 as they still have in the East, and in  
 uncivilized countries generally. We have  
 several indications in the Odyssey of  
 the richness of the parting gifts (ξερῆλα)  
 which a hero such as Ulysses or Menelaus

might collect: see 14. 323-326., 15.  
 82-86., 19. 272.

It has been asked how Ulysses can  
 be supposed to know that Penelope is  
 only deceiving her suitors, and is still  
 faithful to himself (Seeck, *Quellen der  
 Odyssee*, p. 35). The accounts which  
 he has had from Athene (13. 336,  
 379), confirmed, as we may assume, by  
 Eumæus and Telemachus, surely go  
 a long way to account for his trust.  
 We may note that the actual words  
 νόος δὲ οἱ ἄλλα μενοῖνα (l. 283) recall  
 13. 381, where they are said to him by  
 Athene. His knowledge of Penelope's  
 character would do the rest. The in-  
 cident, therefore, gives no support to  
 the theory of an Odyssey in which the  
 recognition by Penelope came earlier in  
 the story. Indeed we may hold that  
 the confidence shown by Ulysses is true  
 to nature, and adds to the poetical value  
 of the passage.

286. ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃσιν. The antecedent  
 is understood: 'receive from him who,'  
 &c.: *H. G.* § 267, 2, a.

δέξασθ'· οὐ γὰρ καλὸν ἀνήνασθαι δόσιν ἐστίν·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' οὗτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ' ἴμεν οὔτε πη ἄλλη,  
 πρὶν γέ σε τῷ γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἀριστος."

Ὡς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος, 290

δῶρα δ' ἄρ' οἰσέμεναι πρέσσαν κήρυκα ἕκαστος.  
 Ἀντινόῳ μὲν ἔνεικε μέγαν περικαλλέα πέπλον,  
 ποικίλον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν περόναι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι  
 χρύσειαι, κληῖσιν ἐϋγνάμποις ἀραρυῖαι.

ὄρμον δ' Εὐρυμάχῳ πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ' ἔνεικε, 295  
 χρύσειον, ἡλέκτροισιν ἐρμένον, ἥελιον ὥς.

ἔρματα δ' Εὐρυδάμαντι δῶν θεράποντες ἔνεικαν  
 τρίγληνα μορβέντα· χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή.  
 ἐκ δ' ἄρα Πεισάνδροιο Πολυκτορίδαο ἀνακτος  
 ἴσθμιον ἤνεικεν θεράπων, περικαλλὲς ἀγαλμα. 300

ἄλλο δ' ἄρ' ἄλλος δῶρον Ἀχαιῶν καλὸν ἔνεικεν.  
 ἡ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνέβαιν' ὑπερῶϊα διὰ γυναικῶν,  
 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' ἀμφίπολοι ἔφερον περικαλλέα δῶρα.

Οἱ δ' εἰς ὄρχηστὺν τε καὶ ἱμερδέσσαν ἀοιδὴν  
 τρεψάμενοι τέρποντο, μένον δ' ἐπὶ ἔσπερον ἐλθεῖν. 305

302 ὑπερῶϊα σιγαλόεντα P (16. 449).

287. δέξασθαι, inf. = a softened imperative, expressing what Penelope will naturally do as her part: 'if the Suitors bring gifts, it is for you to take them at their hands.'

ἀνήνασθαι δόσιν 'to refuse (to give) a gift': so 4. 651 χαλεπὸν κεν ἀνήνασθαι δόσιν εἴη. This may be taken to be a formula for unwilling consent. The next words limit this consent to the gifts: 'yes, but we will not leave the house.'

291. οἰσέμεναι is aor. inf.: cp. the imper. ὀσε (22. 106, 481), ὀσέτω (8. 255), &c.

294. The 'keys' of a περόνη or brooch are the metal sheaths into which the pins were passed. They were curved in form, hence ἐϋγνάμποι. See Helbig, p. 275 (ed. 2).

295. For the ὄρμος, with its ornaments consisting of pieces of amber

(ἡλέκτρα), see the passages quoted on 15. 460.

297. ἔρματα 'ear-rings': cp. 11. 14. 182.

298. τρίγληνα 'of three drops' or 'beads': γλήνη is properly a 'bead,' hence applied to the pupil of the eye. Cp. the Attic τρισπίς, also τρισπίς, the name of a 'three-eyed' brooch. As to μορβέντα the most probable suggestion is that it means 'clustering' (μόρον being a mulberry). But as the word only occurs in this obviously conventional verse, it may be an archaism—one of the words that kept their place in Epic poetry after their meaning was more or less forgotten.

305. τρεψάμενοι τέρποντο, apparently an intentional play of language: cp. 13. 144, &c.

μένον . . . ἐλθεῖν, cp. Simonides fr. 1, 7 οἱ μὲν ἡμέρην μένουσιν ἐλθεῖν.

τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοισι μέλας ἐπὶ ἔσπερος ἦλθεν.  
 αὐτίκα λαμπτήρας τρεῖς ἵστασαν ἐν μεγάροισιν,  
 ὄφρα φαένοιν· περὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα θήκαν,  
 αὖα πάλαι περίκηλα, νέον κεκεασμένα χαλκῷ,  
 καὶ δαΐδας μετέμισγον· ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἀνέφαινον 310  
 δμῶαί 'Οδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τῆσιν  
 αὐτὸς διογενὴς μετέφη πολύμητις 'Οδυσσεύς·  
 "δμῶαί 'Οδυσσῆος, δὴν οἰχομένοιο ἀνακτος,  
 ἔρχεσθε πρὸς δώμαθ', ἵν' αἰδοίῃ βασιλεια·  
 τῇ δὲ παρ' ἡλάκατα στροφαλίζετε, τέρπετε δ' αὐτὴν 315  
 ἡμεναι ἐν μεγάρῳ, ἣ εἴρια πείκετε χερσίν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοῦτοισι φάος πάντεσσι παρέξω.  
 εἴ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλωσιν ἐϋθρονὸν 'Ηῶ μέμναι,  
 οὐ τί με νικήσουσι· πολυτλήμων δὲ μάλ' εἰμί."  
 ὣς ἔφαθ', αἱ δ' ἐγέλασαν, ἐς ἀλλήλας δὲ ἴδοντο. 320  
 τὸν δ' αἰσχροῦς ἐνένιπε Μελανθὼ καλλιπάρῃος,  
 τὴν Δολίος μὲν ἔτικτε, κόμισσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια,  
 παῖδα δὲ ὥς ἀτίταλλε, δίδου δ' ἄρ' ἀθύρματα θυμοῦ·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἔχε πένθος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ Πηνελοπείης,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' Εὐρυμάχῳ μισγέσκετο καὶ φιλέεσκεν. 325

308 ἵστασαν G U: other MSS. have ἵστασαν or ἵστασαν. 308 περὶ] ἐπὶ P H  
 M 310 ἀνέφαινον] ἀνέκαιον G. 314 δώμα P, perhaps rightly. 318 εἴ  
 F 323 θυμοῦ F P H U. 324 ἔχε] σχίθε F U M.

307. λαμπτήρες are 'brasiers,' cp. 19. 63.

308. περὶ δὲ ξύλα κτλ. These words seem to describe the making of the fire in the brasiers (not the mere placing of fuel with which to feed it): cp. the replenishing of the fire in 19. 63 ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν νήσαν ξύλα πολλὰ φῶς ἔμεν ἥδ' ἐρέεσθαι.

310. δαΐδας μετέμισγον, i. e. besides the λαμπτήρες, and in the spaces between them, there were torches held by attendants. These relieved each other in this service (ἀμοιβηδὶς ἀνέφαινον). Cp. the figures holding torches in the palace of Alcinoüs, φαίνοντες νύκτας (7. 100-103). Some commentators take δαΐδας here in the sense of 'slips of pine wood,' which were mixed with the

ξύλα (of which, therefore, they were merely a variety), and ἀνέφαινον as 'kept up the fire,' sc. of the λαμπτήρες. But on this view the service of the δμῶαί is not very noticeable, and we lose the striking picture of Ulysses acting himself as the unwearied torch-bearer.

316. πείκετε is probably only a metrical lengthening of πέκετε (Schulze, *Quaest.* Ep. p. 223): cp. 11. 14. 176.

323. The MSS. are divided pretty equally between θυμοῦ and θυμῷ. The dat. would be construed with δίδου, 'gave to please her mind': the gen. would go with ἀθύρματα, cp. μελίγματα θυμοῦ (Od. 10. 217). The latter is more Homeric.

324. Πηνελοπείης, objective gen., 'sorrow for Penelope.'



ἡ ρ' Ὀδυσῆ' ἐνένιπεν ὀνειδέοις ἐπέεσσι·

“ ξεῖνε τάλαν, σὺ γέ τις φρένας ἐκπεπαταγμένος ἐσσί,

οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὐδειν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθών,

ἡέ που ἐς λέσχην, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πόλλ' ἀγορεύεις

[θαρσαλέως πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ 330

ταρβεῖς· ἡ ῥά σε οἶνος ἔχει φρένας, ἡ νύ τοι αἰεὶ

τοιούτος νόος ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ μεταμόνια βάζεις.]

ἡ ἀλύεις ὅτι Ἴρον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλήτην;

μή τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρου ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστή,

ὅς τίς σ' ἀμφὶ κάρη κεκοπῶς χερσὶ στιβαρῇσι 335

δώματος ἐκπέμψῃσι φορύξας αἵματι πολλῷ.”

Τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

“ ἡ τάχα Τηλεμάχῳ ἐρέω, κύον, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις,

κεῖσ' ἐλθών, ἵνα σ' αὐθι διὰ μελεῖσσι τάμῃσιν.”

\*Ὡς εἰπὼν ἐπέεσσι διεπτοίησε γυναῖκας. 340

βὰν δ' ἴμεναι διὰ δῶμα, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάστης

ταρβουσύνῃ· φὰν γάρ μιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.

αὐτὰρ ὁ παρ' λαμπτήρσι φαείνων αἰθομένοισιν

ἐστήκειν ἐς πάντας ὁράμενος· ἀλλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ

ᾠρμαινε φρεσὶν ᾗσιν, ἃ ρ' οὐκ ἀτέλεστα γέγοντο. 345

327 ἐκπεπαταγμένος L W.

332 μεταμόνια F H M U al.

336 ἐκπέμψῃς G.

343 αὐτὰρ ὁ λαμπτήρσιν G.

344 ἐστήκει G U al.: -εν F H K: see Lud-

wich on Il. 14. 412.

327. φρένας ἐκπεπαταγμένος is a somewhat difficult phrase. The word πατάσσω is used of the beating of the heart from fear (Il. 7. 216., 13. 282) or excitement (Il. 23. 370): hence the meaning might be 'frightened out of his wits,' or else 'stirred to madness.' Two MSS. have ἐκπεπατασμένος, and perhaps a better sense, or at least one more suitable to the context, may be obtained by connecting this word with the obscure πετάσσει of l. 160. If πετάννυμι said of the mind means 'to set agog' or 'intoxicate,' the participle would express the restless excitement that Melantho complains of.

328. χαλκήϊον δόμον 'house of the χαλκεύς,' cp. l. 353.

329. This is the only mention in

Homer of the λέσχη, afterwards a familiar institution in Greece.

330-332. These lines, which recur in 390-392, were rejected by Aristarchus. They certainly fit the later context, and are superfluous here. And the repetition πολλὰ . . . πολλοῖσι is awkward.

332. δ καὶ 'wherefore,' 'which is the reason that.' Cp. 4. 206 τοῖον γὰρ καὶ πατρός, δ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάζεις: H. G. § 269, 1.

338. οἷ' ἀγορεύεις, not 'what things you say,' but with causal force, 'since you say such things': cp. 389, &c.

343. φαείνων. Ulysses took the place of the maidservants and held up lights, as they had been doing in turn.

344. ἀλλὰ 'other' than he seemed to be attending to.

Μνηστῆρας δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀγήνορας εἶα Ἀθήνη  
 λώβης ἴσχεσθαι θυμαλγέος, ὅφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 δὴ ἄχος κραδίην Λαερτιάδῃσιν Ὀδυσῆος.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβον πάϊς, ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν,  
 κερτομέων Ὀδυσῆα, γέλω δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔτευχε· 350  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστῆρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης,  
 ὅφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.  
 οὐκ ἄθει δδ' ἀνὴρ Ὀδυσῆϊον ἐς δόμον ἵκει·  
 ἔμψης μοι δοκεῖ δαΐδων σέλας ἔμμεναι αὐτοῦ  
 κακ' κεφαλῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ οἱ ἐνὶ τρίχες οὐδ' ἦβαιαί.” 355  
 Ἥ ρ' ἄμα τε προσέειπεν Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον·  
 “ξεῖν', ἦ ἄρ κ' ἐθέλοις θητευέμεν, εἰ σ' ἀνελοίμην,  
 ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῆς—μισθὸς δέ τοι ἄρκιος ἔσται—  
 αἵμασιός τε λέγων καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ φυτεύων ;  
 ἔνθα κ' ἐγὼ σῖτον μὲν ἐπηετανδὸν παρέχοιμι, 360  
 εἶματα δ' ἀμφιέσαιμι ποσὶν θ' ὑποδήματα δοίην.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δὴ ἔργα κάκ' ἔμμαθες, οὐκ ἐθέλῃσεις  
 ἔργον ἐποιχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πτώσσειν κατὰ δῆμον  
 βούλει, ὅφρ' ἂν ἔχῃς βόσκειν σὴν γαστέρ' ἀναλτον.”  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 365

348 Λαερτιάδῃσιν Ὀδυσῆα G U : cp. 20. 286. 350 γέλω vulg. (cp. 20. 8).  
 δ' ἐτάροισιν] δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν P H M al. ἔτευξε P H M al. 355 κακ' Barnes : καὶ  
 MSS. 356 πτολίπορθον] μεγάλθυμον U.

346. οὐ πάμπαν 'not at all,' = Attic  
 οὐ πάν.

348. δὴ is opt., for δὴ-ιγ.

354. ἔμψης 'after all,' 'really now,'  
 said in a deprecating tone before an-  
 nouncing a prodigy : cp. 19. 37 ἔμψης  
 μοι τοῖχοι κτλ. Eurymachus pretends  
 to think that Ulysses with his torches  
 is a source of light that can only be  
 ascribed to the presence of a divine  
 being (19. 40 ἡ μᾶλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον).

355. κακ' κεφαλῆς 'down from his  
 very own head.' The gen. with κατὰ  
 is generally found with verbs of motion :  
 here δοκεῖ σέλας ἔμμεναι = 'light seems  
 to come.' The joke about Ulysses as  
 a self-luminous body is now improved

upon by the remark that the light must  
 come from himself, since he has no hair  
 which could help to produce it. The  
 MS. reading καὶ κεφαλῆς involves the  
 hardly possible constr. ἔμμεναι κεφαλῆς  
 'to be on, or come from, the head.'

357. ἀνελοίμην, of taking into service :  
 cp. 14. 272, also 19. 22 ἐπιφροσύνας  
 ἀνέλω of 'taking thought.'

359. αἵμασιός 'a wall,' as 24. 224  
 αἵμασιός λέγοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἔρκος.  
 It is apparently a dry wall, as Herodotus  
 speaks of lizards living in such a wall  
 (2. 69 προκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμα-  
 σιῇσι). λέγων must here mean 'laying' :  
 cp. αἵμασιολογῆν in Theopompus Com.  
 (incert. 11).

“Εὐρύμαχ’, εἰ γὰρ νῶϊν ἔρις ἔργοιο γένοιτο  
 ὦρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τ’ ἤματα μακρὰ πέλονται,  
 ἐν ποίῃ, δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι,  
 καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἔχῃς, ἵνα πειρησαίμεθα ἔργου  
 νήστιες ἄχρι μάλα κνέφαος, ποίῃ δὲ παρείῃ. 370  
 εἰ δ’ αὖ καὶ βόες εἴεν ἐλαυνέμεν, οἳ περ ἄριστοι,  
 αἰθῶνες μέγαλοι, ἄμφω κεκορηότε ποίης,  
 ἥλικες ἰσοφόροι, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,  
 τετράγυον δ’ εἴη, εἴκοι δ’ ὑπὸ βῶλος ἀρότρη·  
 τῷ κέ μ’ ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην. 375  
 εἰ δ’ αὖ καὶ πόλεμόν ποθεν ὀρμήσειε Κρονίων  
 σήμερον, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σάκος εἴη καὶ δύο δοῦρε  
 καὶ κυνὴ πάγχαλκος, ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖα,  
 τῷ κέ μ’ ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα,  
 οὐδ’ ἂν μοι τὴν γαστέρ’ ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύεις. 380  
 ἀλλὰ μάλ’ ὑβρίζεις καὶ τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής·  
 καὶ πού τις δοκέεις μέγας ἔμμεναι ἡδὲ κραταίος,  
 οὐνεκα πὰρ παύροισι καὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ὀμιλεῖς.  
 εἰ δ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔλθοι καὶ ἵκοιτ’ ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 αἰψὰ κέ τοι τὰ θύρετρα, καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ’ ἐόντα, 385  
 φεύγοντι στείνοιτο διὰ κροθύροιο θύραζε.”

“Ὡς ἔφατ’, Εὐρύμαχος δ’ ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,  
 καὶ μιν ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ἂ δειλ’, ἧ τάχα τοι τελέω κακόν, οἷ’ ἀγορεύεις

370 κνέφος G al. 371 ὦ περ ἄριστω G. Probably the dual should be restored in the two next lines also: thus αἰθῶνε μέγαλω . . . ἥλικε ἰσοφόροι.  
 379 κεν ἴδοις P, i. e. originally κε ἴδοις, and so in 375. In 379 the pronoun με can be understood from the context. 383 οὐτιδανοῖσιν G U: οὐκ ἀγαθοῖσιν vulg.  
 386 κροθύροιο Ar. G F P H U: μεγάροιο Rhianus, X D al.

366. ἔρις ‘rivalry,’ as 6.92 θοῶς ἔριδα προφέρουσαι.

367. πέλονται ‘come round,’ cp. ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος.

377. Note the absence of the θώρης: so in 14.482.

380. The art. with μοι has the force of a possessive adj. (μοι τὴν γαστέρα = τὴν ἐμὴν γ.): see on 13.262, and H. G. § 261, 3, 6.

381. ἀπηνής ‘averse, ungentle’: cp. προσηνής ‘favouring, kind’: prob. from a word ἥνος (or ἄνος) ‘mouth’ or ‘face’ (Sansk. *anika*, *ānana*). Hence also ὑπ-ήνη ‘beard.’

383. οὐτιδανοῖσιν, conjectured by Barnes in place of the prosaic οὐκ ἀγαθοῖσιν, is now found in two good MSS.

θαρσαλέως πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ 390  
ταρβείς· ἥ ῥά σε οἶνος ἔχει φρένας, ἥ νύ τοι αἰεὶ  
τοιοῦτος νόος ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ μεταμῶνια βάζεις.

[ἥ ἀλύεις, ὅτι Ἴρον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλήτην·;]”

“Ὡς δ' αὖρα φωνήσας σφέλας ἔλλαβεν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς 395  
Ἀμφινόμου πρὸς γούνα καθέζετο Δουλιχιῆος,

Εὐρύμαχον δεισας· ὃ δ' ἄρ' οἶνοχόον βάλε χεῖρα  
δεξιτερήν· πρόχοος δὲ χαμαὶ βόμβησε πεσοῦσα,  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' οἰμῶξας πέσεν ὑπτιος ἐν κονίῃσι.

μνηστῆρες δ' ὁμάδησαν ἀνὰ μέγαρον σκιέντα, 400  
ὧδε δὲ τις εἵπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·

“αἴθ' ὦφελλ' ὃ ξείνος ἀλώμενος ἄλλοθ' ὀλέσθαι  
πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῷ κ' οὐ τι τόσον κέλαδον μετέθηκε·  
νῦν δὲ περὶ πτωχῶν ἐριδαίνομεν, οὐδέ τι δαιτὸς  
ἐσθλῆς ἔσσεται ἦδος, ἐπεὶ τὰ χερεῖονα νικᾷ.”

Τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειψ' ἱερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο· 405

“δαιμόνιοι, μαίνεσθε καὶ οὐκέτι κεῦθετε θυμῷ  
βρωτὺν οὐδὲ ποτῆτα· θεῶν νύ τις ὕμ' ὀροθύνει.  
ἀλλ' εὖ δαισάμενοι κατακεῖτε οἴκαδ' ἰόντες,  
ὀππότε θυμὸς ἀνωγε· διώκω δ' οὐ τιν' ἔγωγε.”

“Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὁδᾶξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες 410  
Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον, ὃ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.  
τοῖσιν δ' Ἀμφίνomos ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε

390-392. μεταμῶνια F al.

393 om. G F X U al.

402 τόσον] πολλὸν G F.

μετέθηκε Ag.: μετέθηκε MSS. (μετέκειν P).

390-392. See on 330-332.

393. This line is repeated from 333. It is wanting in several good MSS., and is evidently out of place here.

397. πρόχοος here a 'wine-jug': elsewhere in Homer it is a vessel from which water was poured on the hands.

402. μετέθηκε 'brought among us': cp. Il. i. 575 ἐν δὲ θεοῖσι κολφὸν ἐλαύνετον. The next two lines are obviously an imitation—in some respects a parody—of Il. i. 574-576.

406. κεῦθετε κτλ. The food and wine are thought of as reappearing in

the insolence and violence of which they are the exciting cause. Cp. Hdt. i. 213 ὥστε κατόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλῶναι ὕμῃν ἔπεια κακά.

408. κατακεῖτε, fut. indic. (not imperative), used to show that Telemachus does not wish to do more than hint at the end of the feast (διώκω δ' οὐ τιν' ἔγωγε). On κείω see 14. 532. For the future—an imperative with a difference (i. e. an indirect, not a direct, request) we may compare Il. 6. 70 ἄλλ' ἀνδρας κτείνωμεν ἔπειτα δὲ . . . συλῆσθε τεθνηῶτας.

[Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός, Ἀρητιάδαο ἀνακτος]

“ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δῆ τις ἐπὶ ρηθέντι δικαίῳ  
ἀντιβίοις ἐπέεσσι καθαπτόμενος χαλεπαῖνοι·  
μήτε τι τὸν ξεῖνον στυφελίζετε μήτε τιν’ ἄλλον  
δμῶων, οἳ κατὰ δῶματ’ Ὀδυσσῆος θέλοιο.  
ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’, οἶνοχόος μὲν ἐπαρξάσθω δεπάεσσιν,  
ὄφρα σπείσαντες κατακείομεν οἶκαδ’ ἰόντες·  
τὸν ξεῖνον δὲ ἔωμεν ἐνὶ μεγάροις Ὀδυσσῆος  
Τηλεμάχῳ μελέμεν τοῦ γὰρ φίλον ἴκετο δῶμα.”

415

420

“Ὡς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ἑαδόντα μῦθον ἔειπε.  
τοῖσιν δὲ κρητῆρα κεράσσατο Μούλιος ἦρας,  
κῆρυξ Δουλιχεύς· θεράπων δ’ ἦν Ἀμφινόμοιο·  
νόμησεν δ’ ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπισταδόν· οἳ δὲ θεοῖσι  
λείψαντες μακάρεσσι πῖον μελιηδέα οἶνον.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τ’ ἐπὶ θ’ ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός,  
βάν ρ’ ἵμεναι κείοντες ἐὰ πρὸς δῶμαθ’ ἕκαστος.

425

413 om. G H X U al. (16. 395).  
restore the F of οἶνοχόος.

419 κατακείομεν] Perhaps κατακείετε, as in 408 (cp. στυφελίζετε in 416).

420 μεγάροις Ὀδυσσῆος not consistent with τοῦ γὰρ . . . δῶμα in the next line.

426 λείψαντες G F X U al.: σπείσαντες vulg. 428 βάν δ’ P H X al.

418 ἄγε D X Z, perhaps rightly, if we

414. ἐπὶ ρηθέντι δικαίῳ ‘after the right word has been spoken.’

418. ἐπαρξάσθω. This word denotes the pouring in of the first drop, which was then immediately poured out in libation (σπείσαντες), and the full draught poured in by the οἶνοχόος. The preposition ἐπὶ has the force of going ‘round’ the company: see on 14. 294.

419. κατακείομεν, cp. l. 408. For ὄφρα with fut. indic. see *H. G.* § 326, 3.

425. ἐπισταδόν means ‘stopping at each in succession.’ The οἶνοχόος waited for the libation to be made by the guest, and then passed to the next. The preposition has the same force as in ἐπαρχεσθαι (418). On the whole passage see the note on 3. 340.



MYCENAEAN CRATER FOUND IN CYPRUS.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Τ

'Οδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης ὁμιλία· ἀναγνωρισμὸς ὑπὸ  
Εὐρυκλείας.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐν μεγάρῳ ὑπελείπετο δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς,  
μνηστήρεσσι φόνον σὺν 'Αθήνῃ μερμηρίζων·  
αἴψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
"Τηλέμαχε, χρὴ τεύχε' ἀρήϊα κατθέμεν εἶσω  
πάντα μάλ', αὐτὰρ μνηστῆρας μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσι

5

1-50. The removal of the arms from the μέγαρον to an inner θάλαμος has already been mentioned in 16. 281-298. The two passages are to some extent identical, the nine lines 19. 5-13 being a repetition of 16. 286-294. Ancient and modern critics are generally agreed in regarding 16. 281-298 as an interpolation, founded upon the present passage, and intended to lead up to it. They argue that Ulysses would not be likely to think of the arms in the μέγαρον until he came to the palace himself: that exact directions, such as he gives for an answer to the Suitors, are more appropriate at the later stage: that the phrase μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσι παρ-φάσθαι (16. 286) comes awkwardly after μελιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παραυδῶν in 16. 279: and that the injunction to keep two sets of arms for himself and Telemachus, which does not recur in the 19th book, is inconsistent with the subsequent story. It has also been pointed out that the words in 16. 283 νεῖσω κτλ. refer to a signal to be given by Ulysses to Telemachus while the Suitors are in the hall, whereas the removal of the arms could only be carried out while they were absent. Finally, the repetition of

the formula ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω κτλ. (16. 281, 299) is strongly suggestive of insertion.

On the other hand it is maintained by Kirchhoff (*Odyssee*, p. 560) that the passage in the 16th book is genuine, and is the source from which the passage before us was derived. His arguments turn upon minute points of comparison between the language of the two places. Thus in 19. 10 the unusual construction ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἔμβαλε is best accounted for by supposing that the vague phrase ἔμβαλε δαίμον was substituted for θῆκε Κρονίων, which is the reading in 16. 291. Again, 19. 4 gives in one line the substance of the two lines 16. 284-285, and has probably been abbreviated from them. The speech of Ulysses in 19. 4 ff. begins abruptly, and is not clear by itself: e.g. the words κατθέμεν εἶσω are only intelligible if they recall 16. 285 ἐς μυχὸν ὑψηλοῦ θαλάμου καταθεῖναι. And χρὴ κατθέμεν is not so Homeric as the use of the infinitives καταθεῖναι and παρφάσθαι as imperatives.

These considerations, if not all equally decisive, show at least that we cannot be content simply to bracket 16. 281-298. But other reasons lead rather to

παρφάσθαι, ὅτε κέν σε μεταλλῶσιν ποθέοντες·  
ἐκ καπνοῦ κατέθηκ', ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τοῖσιν ἐφείκει,  
οἶά ποτε Τροίηνδε κιῶν κατέλειπεν Ὀδυσσεύς,

the conclusion that both passages are additions to the original context.

(1) If the repetition of ἄλλο δέ τοι ἔρῳ κτλ. is suspicious, the same may be said with still greater force of 19. 1-2 and 51-52. And it may be noticed that αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐν μεγάρῳ ὑπελείπετο ἕως Ὀδυσσεύς is more correct in l. 51, when Ulysses is left quite alone, than in l. 1, when Telemachus is still with him.

(2) The speech which Telemachus is to make to the Suitors (16. 286-294 = 19. 5-13) does not fall in with the course of events. He is here furnished with the answer to be given to them when they notice the absence of the arms. This leads us to expect that the Suitors, when they come to the palace next day, will at once ask about the arms, and receive the preconceived answer, repeated in the Epic manner. But no such incident takes place.

(3) One of the reasons which Telemachus is to give is that arms tempt men to use them. This assumes that the Suitors were otherwise unarmed: whereas (as we presently find) every one had his sword by his side. It would seem, then, that this argument was suggested in an age when the habit of wearing arms no longer prevailed.

(4) The proverb ἐφέλκεται ἀνδρὰ σίδηρος is a similar anachronism. It belongs to a period when iron was the chief or only metal of which weapons were made. But although the use of iron was well known in the time of the Odyssey, it was evidently still rare in comparison with bronze. Not only do we never hear of iron spears or swords, but the word χαλκός is often used of weapons generally, like σίδηρος here: cp. Od. 4. 226, 700, 743., 11. 120, 519, 535., 13. 271., 14. 271., 17. 440, &c.

(5) The vocabulary in the two passages in question has a post-Homeric stamp. This applies to κατήκισται (for κατηφέκισται), τρώσῃτε (for τρώσετε), χρύσειον as a spondee, λείχον. See also the note on l. 48.

There are however two passages in the 22nd book, and one in the 24th, which seem to imply that the arms had been removed from the μέγαρον.

(1) 22. 23-25, where the μνηστροφονία begins by the slaying of Antinous, and the others start up in excitement πάντοσε παπταίνοντες εὐδμήτους ποτὶ τοίχους, οὐδέ πη δόσις ἦν οὐδ' ἀλαιμον ἐγχεος ἐλίσθαι. These words however, as Kirchhoff has happily shown, do not suit the context. They imply that the Suitors looked for arms for their combat with Ulysses. But the Suitors did not yet expect any combat. They thought that the stranger had killed Antinous by accident, and did not dream of the fate that was hanging over them. Hence these lines are an interpolation, and prove nothing about the removal of the arms.

(2) 22. 140-141 ἐκ θαλάμου· ἔνδον γάρ, ὅισμαι, οὐδέ πη ἄλλη τεύχεα καθέσθην Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός. These words are generally taken to mean that Melanthius would bring arms from the θάλαμος, since it was there, and nowhere else, that Ulysses and Telemachus had put them. But as Kirchhoff points out, that cannot be the true sense. The word ἔνδον does not mean 'there,' but 'within' (opposed to 'without'), hence 'at home,' 'in their place.' What Melanthius wishes to say is that the arms will be found in their proper place, the θάλαμος—that Ulysses and Telemachus have not put them anywhere else (which they might have done as a precaution). The passage therefore is really a confirmation of the view that the whole incident of the removal of the arms is a later addition.

We may go further, and conjecture that it was the misunderstanding of this passage that gave the incident its place in the existing narrative.

(3) The removal of the arms is also mentioned in 24. 164-166. The fact may rank with other indications of the later date of that book. It is worth while noticing that the words ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν ἔγειρε Διὸς νόος (24. 164) recall 16. 291 ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε Ἑκρόνιον (16. 291), and αἶψας in 24. 165 must come from 16. 285. Possibly the author of the 24th book knew 16. 281-298, but not 19. 1-50.

ἀλλὰ κατήκισται, ὅσσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' αὐτμή.  
 πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τόδ᾽ ἐμείζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἔμβαλε δαίμων, 10  
 μή πως οἴνωθέντες, ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν,  
 ἀλλήλους τρώσῃτε καταισχύνητέ τε δαῖτα  
 καὶ μνηστύν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος."

Ἄλς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθετο πατρί,  
 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσάμενος προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν· 15  
 "μαί, ἄγε δὴ μοι ἔρυξον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκας,  
 ὄφρα κεν ἐς θάλαμον καταθείομαι ἔντεα πατρὸς  
 καλὰ, τὰ μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἀκηδέα καπνὸς ἀμέρδει  
 πατρὸς ἀποικομένειο· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα.  
 νῦν δ' ἐθέλω καταθέσθαι, ἵν' οὐ πυρὸς ἴζετ' αὐτμή." 20

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλῃ τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια·  
 "αἶ γὰρ δὴ ποτε, τέκνον, ἐπιφροσύνας ἀνέλοιο  
 οἴκου κήδεσθαι καὶ κτήματα πάντα φυλάσσειν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε, τίς τοι ἔπειτα μετοικομένη φάος οἴσει;  
 δμῶς δ' οὐκ εἷας προβλωσκέμεν, αἶ κεν ἔφαινον." 25

Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤυδα·  
 "ξείνος δδ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀεργὸν ἀνέξομαι ὅς κεν ἐμῆς γε  
 χοίνικος ἀπτηται, καὶ τηλόθεν εἰληλουθώς."

Ἄλς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἀπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος.  
 κλήϊσεν δὲ θύρας μεγάρων εὖ ναιεταόντων. 30  
 τὼ δ' ἄρ' ἀναΐξαντ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱὸς  
 ἐσφόρεον κόρυθ' ἀς τε καὶ ἀσπίδας ὀμφαλοέσσας  
 ἔγχεά τ' ὀξυβεντα· πάροιθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,  
 χρύσειον λύχνον ἔχουσα, φάος περικαλλὲς ἐποίει.

9 κατήκισται, see 16. 290. 10 ἔμβαλε δαίμων] ὅθι κε Κρονίαν (16. 291) should perhaps be read here, to avoid the tautology ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἔμβαλε. 12 τρώσῃτε, see on 16. 293. 31 ἀναΐξαντε πατὴρ F.

16. ἐνὶ μεγάροισι 'indoors': the plural μέγαρον is used of the house or palace generally. It is not likely that the women's apartments are here meant, as some think.

24. μετοικομένη, not 'going after you,' but 'going off to fetch' (the light): cp. 8. 47 κῆρυξ δὲ μετόχετο θεῖον δαῖδόν.

25. οὐκ εἷας = 'you forbade.'

28. χοίνικος ἀπτηται 'lays hold of a ration of meal.' χοῖνιξ is used like ποτήλη καὶ πένρος (15. 312., 17. 12). But the phrase seems colloquial.

29. ἀπτερος κτλ. See the note on 17. 57.

34. λόχνος is post-Homeric, both word and thing. The synizesis in the word χρύσειον is not Homeric.



δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεεν ὃν πατέρ' αἶψα· 35  
 “ὦ πάτερ, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι.

ἔμπης μοι τοῖχοι μεγάρων καλά τε μεσόδμαι  
 εἰλάτιναί τε δοκοὶ καὶ κίονες ὑψόσ' ἔχοντες  
 φαίνοντ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὥς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.  
 ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον, οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι.” 40

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “σίγα καὶ κατὰ σὸν νόον ἴσχανε μῆδ' ἐρέεινε·  
 αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κατάλεξαι, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπολείψομαι αὐτοῦ,  
 ὄφρα κ' ἔτι δμῶδες καὶ μητέρα σὴν ἐρεθίζω· 45  
 ἦ δέ μ' ὀδυρομένη εἰρήσεται ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα.”

Ἦς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ διέκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει  
 κείων ἐς θάλαμον δαῖδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων,  
 ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ', ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἰκάνοι·  
 ἔνθ' ἄρα καὶ τότ' ἔλεκτο καὶ Ἡῶ διὰν ἔμιμνεν. 50  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐν μεγάρῳ ὑπελείπετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 μνηστήρεσσι φόνον σὺν Ἀθήνῃ μερμηρίζων.

Ἡ δ' ἱὲν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 Ἀρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἡὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

37 μεγάρων] μεγάλοι G.

54 ἢ U al. : ἡδὲ G F Pal.

37. ἔμπης. See on 18. 354.  
 The μεσόδμαι of a house, according to Aristarchus, were the spaces between the columns (τὰ μεσόστυλα): according to others, the interval between the beams (τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν δοκῶν διαστήματα). When used of a ship the word meant a sort of box in which the mast was set (κοίτης ἐντοσθε μεσόδμης, see note on 2. 424). It does not seem likely that the same word would denote two things so different. Moreover, a phrase like καλά μεσόδμαι, used as it is in this context, would naturally be applied to a prominent part of the building, or at least to something of importance for the decoration. Possibly the μεσόδμαι are the stone bases or pedestals on which the wooden columns stood. In the palace at Tiryns thirty-one stone bases are still *in situ* (Tsountas and Manatt,

p. 53). The resemblance between the base of a pillar and the box in which the mast was set is sufficiently obvious.

39. ὥς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο ‘as though with a fire blazing,’ i.e. as if in the light of a bright fire.

40. Cp. 18. 353 οὐκ ἀθεὶς δδ' ἀνὴρ κτλ.

42 κατὰ ἴσχανε ‘keep in check.’

48. δαῖδων ὑπο ‘by the light of torches.’ The poet does not explain who held these torches. Apparently the maidservants came back with or after Penelope (60).

The θάλαμος of Telemachus was probably a building that opened on the αὐλή: cp. 11. 9. 475-476 καὶ τοτ' ἐγὼ θαλάμοιο θύρας πυκνῶς ἀραμίας ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ὑπέρθορον ἐκίον αὐλῆς (of the escape of Phoenix).

τῇ παρὰ μὲν κλισίην πυρὶ κάτθεσαν, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἐφίξε, 55  
 δινωτὴν ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ· ἦν ποτε τέκτων  
 ποίησ' Ἰκμάλιος, καὶ ὑπὸ θρήνυν ποσὶν ἦκε  
 προσφυέ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅθ' ἐπὶ μέγα βάλλετο κῶας.  
 ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.  
 ἦλθον δὲ δμῳαὶ λευκῶλενοι ἐκ μεγάρου. 60  
 αἱ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν σίτον πολὺν ἤρεον ἠδὲ τραπέζας  
 καὶ δέπα, ἔνθεν ἄρ' ἄνδρες ὑπερμενέοντες ἔπινον·  
 πῦρ δ' ἀπὸ λαμπτήρων χαμάδις βάλλον, ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν  
 νήησαν ξύλα πολλὰ, φῶς ἔμεν ἠδὲ θέρεσθαι.  
 ἡ δ' Ὀδυσῆ' ἐνέειπε Μελανθῷ δευτέρῳ αὐτῆς· 65  
 “ξείν', ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐνθάδ' ἀνιήσεις διὰ νύκτα  
 δινεύων κατὰ οἶκον, ὅπιπτεύσεις δὲ γυναῖκας;  
 ἀλλ' ἔξελθε θύραζε, τάλαν, καὶ δαιτὸς ὄνησο·  
 ἡ τάχα καὶ δαλῶ βεβλημένος εἴσθα θύραζε.”  
 Τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “δαιμονίη, τί μοι ᾧδ' ἐπέχεις κεκοτηῖτι θυμῷ; 71  
 ἡ ὅτι δὴ ῥυπῶω, κακὰ δὲ χροὶ εἴματα εἴμαι,  
 πτωχεύω δ' ἀνὰ δῆμον; ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἐπέγει.  
 τοιοῦτοι πτωχοὶ καὶ ἀλήμονες ἄνδρες ἔασι.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔναιον 75  
 ὀλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτην  
 τοίφ, ὅποῖος ἔοι καὶ ὅτευ κεχρημένος ἔλθοι·

57 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ G. θρήνυν ποσὶν ἦεν F. 67 ὅπιπτεύσεις H U: ὀπιπτεύσεις G F al.:  
 ὀπιπτεύσεις P. 69 εἴσθα] ἦσθα G F P.

73 ἐπέγει vulg.: ἐπείγει G.

77 ὅτευ] ὅτις M (cp. 17. 421).

55. κλισίην 'a couch': here and in 4. 123 apparently = κλισμός.

56. δινωτὴν 'turned,' with ivory and silver carried round the wood-work.

60. μεγάρου, sc. that of the women.

61. Cp. Simonides, fr. 26 ἀπὸ τράπεζαν εἶλε καὶ ποτήρια.

63. πῦρ δ' . . . βάλλον, 'they raked out the fire from the brasiers on to the floor,' and then replenished them with fresh wood.

67. δινεύων 'circling round.'  
 ὀπιπτεύσεις, the fut. is generally pre-

ferred, as agreeing with ἀνήσεις. But the pres., which is given by some of the best MSS., seems admissible.

68. δαιτὸς ὄνησο 'make the best of your feast,' i. e. take it and be thankful. It is an ironical form of the German *gesegnete Mahlzeit*.

71. ἐπέχεις 'press on,' 'set upon.' This sense of ἐπέχω is probably derived from holding a weapon aimed at a person: cp. ἐπισχόμενος in 22. 15.

74. τοιοῦτοι, 'are such' (as you complain of), viz. dirty and ill-clothed.

ἦσαν δὲ δμῶες μάλα μυῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ  
 οἶσιν τ' εὖ ζῶουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται.  
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἀλάπαξε Κρονίων· ἤθελε γάρ που· 80  
 τῷ νῦν μή ποτε καὶ σὺ, γύναι, ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσης  
 ἀγλαΐην, τῇ νῦν γε μετὰ δμῳῇσι κέκασσαι·  
 μὴ πῶς τοι δέσποινα κοτεσσαμένη χαλεπήνῃ,  
 ἣ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔλθῃ· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ ἐλπίδος αἴσα.  
 εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὥς ἀπόλωλε καὶ οὐκέτι νῴσιτός ἐστιν, 85  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη παῖς τοῖος Ἀπόλλωνός γε ἔκῃτι,  
 Τηλέμαχος· τὸν δ' οὐ τις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναικῶν  
 λήθει ἀτασθάλλουσ', ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλίκος ἐστίν."  
 Ὡς φάτο, τοῦ δ' ἤκουσε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 ἀμφίπολον δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε· 90  
 "πάντως, θαρσαλέη, κύον ἀδεές, σὺ τί με λήθεις  
 ἔρδουσα μέγα ἔργον, ὃ σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις·  
 πάντα γὰρ εὖ ᾔδησθ', ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἔκλυες αὐτῆς,  
 ὥς τὸν ξείνον ἔμελλον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἑμοῖσιν  
 ἀμφὶ πόσει εἶρεσθαι, ἐπεὶ πυκινῶς ἀκάχημαι." 95  
 Ἥ ῥα καὶ Εὐρυνόμην ταμίνην πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 "Εὐρυνόμη, φέρε δὴ δίφρον καὶ κῶας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,  
 δφρα καθεζόμενος εἴπῃ ἔπος ἡδ' ἐπακούσῃ  
 ὃ ξείνος ἐμέθεν· ἐθέλω δέ μιν ἐξερέεσθαι."

86. τοῖος 'like him.'

88. τηλίκος 'of an age for that': he was no longer too young to note such things.

91. πάντως 'any way,' i.e. 'be sure that': cp. the use of ἐμνησ (l. 37, &c.).

92. μέγα ἔργον here has a bad sense, a 'violent' or 'outrageous deed': so in 3. 261., 11. 272., 12. 373., 24. 426, 458. Elsewhere it is neutral in meaning, as in 3. 275, 4. 663., 16. 346., 22. 149, 408, and always in the Iliad.

σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις 'thou shalt wipe out the stain of it with thine own head.' The traditional explanation is that this refers to a belief that the pollution incurred by murder could be got rid of by the murderer wiping off the blood from his weapon on the hair of the

slain man's head. So Clytemnestra, when she murdered Agamemnon, κάρη κηλίδας ἐξέμαζεν (Soph. El. 445). The expression however owes some of its force to the use of κεφαλῇ in the sense of 'life,' as in Il. 4. 161 σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν, σὺν σφῆσιν κεφαλῇσι κτλ. It is borrowed by Herodotus, 1. 155 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. Cp. also Od. 22. 218 σφ' δ' αὐτοῦ κρέατι τίσεις.

95. εἶρεσθαι, almost the only instance in Homer of a pres. inf. after μέλλω meaning 'to be about to': see on 14. 133., 18. 138. The exceptions are, νείεσθαι (6. 110, Il. 17. 497,—where however it may be fut.), and λίσσεσθαι in Il. 10. 455. The aor. inf. is also very rare (Krüger, Dial. § 53, 8, 6).

ὧς ἔφαθ', ἥ δὲ μάλ' ὀτραλέως κατέθηκε φέρουσα 100  
 δίφρον ἔϋξεστον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κῶας ἔβαλλεν  
 ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "ξεῖνε, τὸ μὲν σε πρῶτον ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτή·  
 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆς;" 105  
 Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ γύναι, οὐκ ἂν τίς σε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν  
 νεικέοι· ἥ γάρ σευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει,  
 ὥς τέ τευ ἡ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὃς τε θεοῦδης  
 ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσων 110  
 εὐδικίας ἀνέχρησι, φέρησι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα  
 πυροῦς καὶ κριθάς, βρῖθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῷ,  
 τίκτη δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθύς  
 ἐξ εὐηγεσίης, ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.  
 τῷ ἐμὲ νῦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετὰλλα σφ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, 115

101 αὐτῷ G F U : αὐτοῦ P H al. 108 σευ] σοι Eust. 113 ἔμπεδα] ἀσπετα  
 Rhianus. μῆλα] πάντα Ar., Themist. Or. xv. 189a, U. 114 εὐηγεσίης G M.  
 αὐτοῦ vulg.: αὐτῷ M U K.

109-114. These lines are not quite in place here. The general words of l. 108 form a sufficient introduction to the speech of Ulysses. And, as Friedländer has pointed out (*Analecta Hom.* p. 462), l. 115 τῷ ἐμὲ νῦν κτλ. implies that a reason has been given why Penelope should not ask who the stranger is—a reason which the lines in question cannot be thought to supply. In substance and in style they are Hesiodic: see the very similar passage Hes. Op. 225-237. The mention of fishing as an important source of wealth points to a post-Homeric state of things. The scanning *παρέχῃ* is perhaps to be defended by *εὐηγεσίης* in 9. 74, but is at least unusual. Probably we have here one of the instances of a fragment of early gnomic poetry finding its way into epic narrative.

109. ὥς τέ τευ ᾄ. With this reading ᾄ is an affirmative or emphasizing particle, as in *τίη* (or *τί ᾄ*). *ἰσεί ᾄ*. The vulgate reading ἥ is usually supported by the parallel 3. 348 ὥς τέ τευ ἡ παρὰ πάντων ἀνείμονος ἢ ἐπενιχοῦ. But, as

Bekker showed (*Hom. Bl.* ii. 200), the disjunctive ἥ—ἡ is out of place there, and we must read ᾄ—ἡδέ. So in ll. 2. 289 we should probably read (with Ameis) ὥς τε γὰρ ἡ παῖδες νεαρὸι χῆραί τε γυναῖκες.

θεοῦδης, properly *θεοδφεῖς*, 'god-fearing.'

111-112. φέρησι, βρῖθῃσι. The subj. is used as if the construction with the relative were carried on: the sense being 'and under whom the earth bears &c.'

113. τίκτη ἔμπεδα 'bring forth un-faillingly.' So in Hesiod (l. c.) *τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες κτλ.*

114. ἐξ εὐηγεσίης 'from his good leading': the word only occurs here. The use of ἐξ with an abstract word is hardly Homeric: *H. G.* § 229, 5. The other reading *εὐεργεσίης* gives us a word that is otherwise known; but the sense is less satisfactory. Toup's conjecture *εὐηγεσίης* 'good sport' is not more than plausible.

ἀρετῶσι 'prosper,' see on 13. 45.

μηδ' ἔμδν ἐξερέεινε γένος καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 μή μοι μᾶλλον θυμὸν ἐνιπλήσης ὀδυνάων  
 μνησαμένω· μάλα δ' εἰμὶ πολύστονος· οὐδέ τί με χρῆ  
 οἴκω ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ γούωντά τε μυρόμενόν τε  
 ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ κάκιον πενθήμεναι ἄκριτον αἰεῖ·  
 μή τίς μοι δμῶν νεμεσῇσεται, ἥ ἐσὺ γ' αὐτή,  
 φῆ δὲ δακρυπλῶειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνω·"

120

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "ξείν', ἦ τοι μὲν ἐμὴν ἀρετὴν εἶδος τε δέμας τε  
 ὤλεσαν ἀθάνατοι, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον  
 Ἀργεῖοι, μετὰ τοῖσι δ' ἔμδς πόσις ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 εἰ κείνός γ' ἔλθων τὸν ἐμδν βίον ἀμφιπολεῖοι,  
 μεῖζόν κε κλέος εἴη ἐμδν καὶ κάλλιον οὗτω.

125

νῦν δ' ἄχομαι· τόσα γάρ μοι ἐπέσσευεν κακὰ δαίμων.

[ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,  
 Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ,  
 οἳ τ' αὐτὴν Ἰθάκην εὐδείλεον ἀμφινέμονται,  
 οἳ μ' ἀεκαζομένην μνῶνται, τρύχουσι δὲ οἴκον.]

130

τῷ οὔτε ξείνων ἐμπάζομαι οὔθ' ἱκετάων

οὔτε τι κηρύκων, οἳ δημοεργοὶ ἔασιν·

135

ἀλλ' Ὀδυσῇ ποθέουσα φίλον κατατήκομαι ἥτορ.

οἱ δὲ γάμον σπεύδουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω.

φᾶρος μὲν μοι πρῶτον ἐνέπνευσε φρεσὶ δαίμων

στησαμένη μέγαν ἱστὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὑφαίνειν,

λεπτὸν καὶ περίμετρον· ἄφαρ δ' αὐτοῖς μετέειπον·

140

116 μηδ' ἔμδν vulg.: μηδέ μοι Ar.: μηδ' ἐμοὶ G. 122 om. G U: καὶ μέ φησι δακρυπλῶειν βεβαρημένον οἴνω Arist. Probl. 30. 1, from which we may perhaps restore καὶ τέ με φῆ δακρυπλῶειν βεβαρηότα οἴνω. The vulgate cannot be a genuine Homeric verse. 129 ἐπέσσευεν] ἐπέκλωσεν G F (cp. 18. 256).

130-133 obelized by Ar. (1. 245., 16. 122). 136 Ὀδυσῇ ποθέουσα Ar.: Ὀδυσῇ ποθέουσα or ποθεύσα G F H U M al.: ἀλλὰ πόσιν ποθέουσα Fick. 138 φρεσὶ] μέγα G. 139 ὑφαίνειν Ar., F: ὑφαινον G P H X U al.

120. κάκιον 'not well,' κακόν rather than not. On this comparative see 15. 370.

122. δακρυπλῶειν 'to be maudlin.' The second part of the word is derived from the root *pleu*, in the sense

which it has in Lat. *pluere* 'to rain.' For the application to tears cp. *plōdare*.

124. ἀρετὴν, cp. 13. 45.

135. δημοεργοὶ 'in the public service,' in contrast with the *kēruktes* who belong to individual chiefs.

'κούροι, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 μίμνεν' ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰς δ' κε φᾶρος  
 ἐκτελέσω, μή μοι μεταμῶνια νήματ' ὀληται,  
 Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ ταφήϊον, εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν  
 μοῖρ' ὀλοή καθέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο· 145  
 μή τίς μοι κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιῖάδων νεμεσήσῃ,  
 αἶ κεν ἄτερ σπείρου κείται πολλὰ κτεατίσσας.  
 ὥς ἐφάμην, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπεεῖθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνων.  
 ἔνθα καὶ ἡματίη μὲν ὑφαίνεσκον μέγαν ἱστόν,  
 νύκτας δ' ἀλλύεσκον, ἐπεὶ δαΐδας παραθείμην. 150  
 ὥς τρίετες μὲν ἔλθον ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειθον Ἀχαιοὺς·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε τέτρατον ἦλθεν ἔτος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὦραι,  
 [μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἡματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,]  
 καὶ τότε δὴ με διὰ δμφάς, κύνας οὐκ ἀλεγούσας,  
 εἶλον ἐπελθόντες καὶ ὁμόκλησαν ἐπέεσσιν. 155  
 ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐξετέλεσσα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης·  
 νῦν δ' οὗτ' ἐκφυγείην δύναμαι γάμον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλην  
 μῆτιν ἔθ' εὐρίσκω· μάλα δ' ὀτρύνουσι τοκῆες  
 γήμασθ', ἀσχαλάα δὲ πᾶις βίοτον κατεδόντων,  
 γιγνώσκων· ἤδη γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἶός τε μάλιστα 160  
 οἴκου κήδεσθαι, τῷ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μοι εἶπε τέδν γένος, ὀππότεν ἔσσι·

142 ἐπειγόμενοι περ Van Leenwen, perhaps rightly. 147 κείται vulg.:  
 κῆται n. 150 ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ MSS. 153 om. G U D. 161 κῦδος G F al.:  
 κῆδος X U: ἔλβον P H M al. ὀπάζει P: hence perhaps read ὀπάζῃ.

147. κείται here is subj. The regular form would be κείται (cp. φθίεται, βλήεται, &c.), whence κείται, κῆται. The form κῆται is found in one MS. here, and in one (viz. Ven. A) in ll. 19. 32. It was adopted by Hermann (Op. ii. 55), Wolf, &c. Probably the true Homeric form was κείται, which suits the metre everywhere except in ll. 24. 554 (where κείται is admissible). It may be noticed that the contracted subj. form κῆται would originally have been quite distinguishable from the indic. κῆται. In the pre-Euclidean alphabet

the former would be written ΚΕΤΑΙ, the latter ΚΕΙΤΑΙ.

150. παραθείμην 'caused to be placed beside me.'

159. κατεδόντων, gen. after ἀσχαλάα.

160. οἶός τε . . . κήδεσθαι. This use of οἶος with the infinitive is still rare in Homer: cp. 5. 484., 21. 117, 173. It is not found in the Iliad. For the corresponding use of ὥς τε see on 17. 20, also II. 9. 42: H. G. § 235, § 271, 3.

161. τῷ refers to οἴκου, not to ἀνὴρ (as Ameis takes it).

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

"ὦ γύναι αἰδοίῃ Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος, 165

οὐκέτ' ἀπολλήξεις τὸν ἐμὸν γόνον ἐξερέουσα;

ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω· ἡ μὲν μ' ἀχέεσσί γε δώσεις

πλείουσιν ἢ ἔχομαι· ἡ γὰρ δίκη, ὅππότε πάτρης

ἦς ἀπέησιν ἀνὴρ τόσσον χρόνον ὅσσον ἐγὼ νῦν,

πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστε' ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων. 170

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐρέω ὃ μ' ἀνείρειαι ἡδὲ μεταλλάς.

Κρήτη τις γαί' ἔστι, μέσφ' ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,

καλὴ καὶ πλείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἀνθρώποι

πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις—

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, 175

174 ἐννήκοντα U: ἐνετήκοντα vulg.

163. 'For you are not come of some old-world stock or stone.' The phrase is evidently an echo from older poetry; and, as usually happens in such cases, the original application had been more or less forgotten. In ll. 22. 126 οὐ πως ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης τῇ δαριζέμεναι seems to mean 'you cannot converse with him just as you like,' in casual fashion; and so Hes. Theog. 35 τῇ μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; (= περὶ τὰ τυχόντα). A different turn is given to the phrase by Plato, *Apol.* 34 D οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Similarly here it appears to be—οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος εἰ γένους, 'you are not a *terrae filius*—a mere nobody in birth.' The attempts to connect the phrase with myths of the origin of mankind are surely quite in the wrong direction.

175–177. The form of the sentence ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, ἐν δὲ κτλ. seems intended to make a distinction between the Ἀχαιοί and the four other nations. As this distinction is expressly founded upon *language* (ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα), it is practically the later contrast of 'Hellenic' and 'barbarian.'

The name Ἐρεώρητες—'true' or 'native' Cretans—shows that they were commonly recognized as the original population of the island, like the Sicani and Siculi in Sicily. In historical times

they are found in the eastern end of Crete, near Mount Dicte, the seat of the primitive worship of the Dictæan Zeus. Their city was Praesus (Πράσος in Strabo, x. 4. 6, but Πραιῖος on the inscriptions: see Pashley, i. p. 290). From an inscription discovered at Praesus some years ago it appears that they retained their ancient non-Hellenic language down to a comparatively late period. See Kretschmer, *Einf. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, p. 407; Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, pp. 85–86; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 354.

The Κυδωνες were probably Semitic, either Carian or Phoenician. They are described in Od. 3. 293 as living 'about the streams of the Ἰάρδανος' or 'Jordan' (see Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, ii. 534).

The name Δωριῆες presents great difficulty. It is hard to believe that these were the Dorians of history, of whom as yet there is no trace in the Peloponnesus. They are represented here as speaking a different language from the Ἀχαιοί, whereas even in later times the divergence between Doric and Achaean Greek was unimportant. The name Δωριῆες means simply 'people of Δώριον,' and as there was a Δώριον in Messenia (as well as in Doris itself), there may have been one among the non-Achaean cities of Crete. The name

ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,  
 Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δίοι τε Πελασγοί—  
 τῇσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως  
 ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου βασιστῆς,  
 πατὴρ δ' ἐμοῖο πατήρ, μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος. 180  
 Δευκαλίων δ' ἐμὲ τίκτε καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἀνακτα·  
 ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νῆεσσι κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἶσω  
 ᾤχεθ' ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων,  
 ὀπλότερος γενεῇ· ὁ δ' ἄρα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων.  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐγὼν ἰδὼμην καὶ ξένια δῶκα. 185

178 τοῖσι M X D Eust. al.

184 ἀρα] ἀμα U (cp. Il. 2. 707).

180 ἐμοῖο Ar. vulg.: ἐμῷ Zen. Fal.

Ἰάρβανος also occurs both in Triphylia and in Crete. On the other hand it may be said that the Dorian colonization of Rhodes is referred to in the Catalogue (Il. 2. 653 ff.), and that their settlements in Crete are not likely to have been later. But if so, we should expect to find the Catalogue making some distinction, such as the *Odyssey* makes here, between the Achaean and the Dorian element in Crete.

The epithet *τριχάϊκες* must be derived from *θρίξ* and *ἀίσσω*, and compared in respect of form with *κορυθαίαι πταλεμιστῇ* (Il. 22. 132) and *πολυαῖξ* (epithet of *κάματος*); in meaning with *κορυθαίολος*, *κάρη κομῶντες*, *διπθεῖν κομῶντες* and the like. It is a picturesque word, descriptive of the dashing movement of long-haired warriors. In time however it suffered a kind of popular etymology, and came to be connected with *τρίχυ* and the threefold division which was characteristically Dorian. Thus we find quoted from Hesiod (*fr.* 178) *πάντες δὲ τριχάϊκες καλίσσονται, οἵνεκα τρισσὴν γαῖαν ἐκὼς πατρὶς ἰδῶσιν αὐτοί*. Modern attempts to clothe this derivation in a scientific form have not been satisfactory (Fick in *Beis. Beitr.* 111-168).

The Πελασγοί appear in the *Iliad* (2. 840, 10. 429) among the allies of the Trojans, and are therefore non-Achaean, and presumably *βαρβαρόφωνοι*. This agrees with the statement in Hdt. 1. 57 about the historical Pelasgians speaking a 'barbarous' language (Grote,

Pt. II. ch. ii). In Homeric times their chief seat was Larisa (Il. 2. 841),—probably the city of that name in Aeolis, to the south of the Troad. There are also Homeric traces of Pelasgians in Thessaly—the name Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, and Πελασγικὸς as an epithet of Zeus at Dodona.

On the various traces of affinity between Crete and Asia Minor, see Grote, Pt. I. ch. xii.

178. τῇσι δ' ἐνὶ 'among them,' viz. the ninety cities.

179. ἐννέωρος probably means 'in the ninth season,' and so 'nine years old.' Sometimes however nine seems to be used as a vague or round number; so that the word would mean 'of full age.' Plato (*Legg.* 624) takes it here with *βασιστῆς* (τοῦ Μίνω φατῶτος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείστοτε συνουσίαν δὲ ἑνάτωρ ἔτους). It is more natural to join ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς, the adjective having an adverbial force: 'was king' (*i. e.* came down from his converse with Zeus and ruled his people) 'after nine years,' or, with the vaguer sense, 'in the fulness of the seasons.' Some translate ἐννέωρος 'at nine years old,' others 'during nine years.' The former rendering gives us a marvel of a somewhat pointless kind; the latter is against the usage of adjectives of time (e.g. *δευτεραίος* 'on the second day').

184. ὀπλότερος, nom. by attraction to Αἴθων; the dat. would be more logical, since the word qualifies ἐμοί (183).



καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κρήτηνδε κατήγαγεν ἰς ἀνέμοιο,  
 ἰέμενον Τροίηνδε, παραπλάγασα Μαλειῶν·  
 στήσῃ δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης,  
 ἐν λιμέσιν χαλεποῖσι, μόγισ δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἀέλλας.  
 αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενῆα μετάλλα ἄστυδ' ἀνελθών· 190  
 ξεῖνον γάρ οἱ ἔφασκε φίλον τ' ἔμεν αἰδοῖόν τε.  
 τῷ δ' ἤδη δεκάτῃ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῃ πέλεν ἡὼς  
 οἰχομένῃ σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἴσω.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς δῶματ' ἄγων ἐὺ ἐξείνισσα,  
 ἐνδυκέως φιλέων, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον ἐόντων· 195  
 καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτάροις, οἳ ἅμ' αὐτῷ ἔποντο,  
 δημόθεν ἄλφιστα δῶκα καὶ αἶθωπα οἶνον ἀγείρας  
 καὶ βοῦς ἱρεύσασθαι, ἵνα πλησαίητο θυμόν.  
 ἔνθα δωδέκα μὲν μένον ἥματα δῖοι Ἀχαιοί·  
 εἴλει γὰρ Βορέης ἀνεμος μέγας οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ 200  
 εἶα ἴστασθαι, χαλεπὸς δέ τις ὥρορε δαίμων·  
 τῇ τρισκαίδεκάτῃ δ' ἀνεμος πέσε, τοὶ δ' ἀνάγοντο."  
 "Ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοία·  
 τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἀκουούσης ῥέε δάκρυα, τήκετο δὲ χρῶς.  
 ὥς δὲ χιῶν κατατήκετ' ἐν ἀκροπύλοισιν ὄρεσσιν, 205  
 ἦν τ' Εὐρος κατέτηξεν, ἐπὴν Ζέφυρος καταχεύῃ

189 μόγισ F: μόλις vulg.  
 αἶρας G P H U.

200 γαίης G.

192 πέλεν] γένετ' G.

197 ἀγείρας F al.:

188. στήσῃ, sc. νῆας, cp. 14. 258.  
 Ἀμνισός was the ancient harbour of  
 the city of Cnossus (Bursian, ii. 560).

195. πολλῶν, gen. of material, 'of  
 the great store that was within.'

197. Δημόθεν goes with δῶκα and  
 ἀγείρας: 'I gave from the public store,  
 making a collection' (ἀγείρομενος κατὰ  
 δῆμον, 13. 14).

200. 'Did not allow them even to  
 stand up on land'—much less therefore  
 to put to sea.

203. ἴσκε 'he made like,' i. e.  
 'feigned,' 'imitated': as 4. 279 φωνῇ  
 ἴσκειν ἀλόχοισι. See also on 22. 31.

ψεύδεα, with λέγων, as in Hes. Theog.  
 27 ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν  
 ὁμοία.

204–208. Note the difference in the  
 sense of τήκω, first (in 204) 'to moisten'  
 but in the simile 'to melt.'

206. In this line the parts which we  
 expect to be assigned to the two winds  
 Eurys and Zephyrus are reversed. Else-  
 where Zephyrus is represented as stormy  
 and wet (ἐφύερος, see 14. 458), but not  
 as bringing frost or snow. It ripens  
 the fruits in the garden of Alcinoüs  
 (7. 118), and blows constantly in the  
 Elysian fields (4. 567). On the other  
 hand Eurys is a cold and snowy wind  
 in the Mediterranean lands. It is true  
 that Boreas and Zephyrus are sometimes  
 associated, as in Il. 9. 5 Βορέης καὶ  
 Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον, and in  
 Il. 23. 195: but this does not make

τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες·  
 ὥς τῆς τήκετο καλὰ παρήϊα δάκρυ χεούσης,  
 κλαιούσης ἔδν ἄνδρα παρήμενον. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 θυμῷ μὲν γόῳσσαν ἔην ἐλέαιρε γυναῖκα, 210  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥς εἰ κέρα ἔστασαν ἡὲ σίδηρος  
 ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι· δόλω δ' ὃ γε δάκρυα κεύθεν.  
 ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο,  
 ἐξαυτὶς μιν ἔπεσιν ἀμειβομένη προσέειπε·  
 “νῦν δὴ σείω, ξεῖνε, ὅτω πειρήσεσθαι, 215  
 εἰ ἐτεδν δὴ κείθι σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισι  
 ξείνισας ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμὸν πόσιν, ὥς ἀγορεύεις.  
 εἰπέ μοι ὅπποι' ἄσσα περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο,  
 αὐτὸς θ' οἶος ἔην, καὶ ἐταίρους, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ὦ γύναι, ἀργαλέον τόσσον χρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντα 221  
 εἰπέμεν· ἤδη γάρ οἱ ἐεικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν  
 ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβη καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθε πάτρης·  
 αὐτὰρ τοι ἐρέω ὥς μοι ἰνδάλλεται ἦτορ.  
 χλαῖναν πορφυρέην σάλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, 225  
 διπλὴν· αὐτὰρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο

215 δὴ σείω Flor.: δὴ σευ F: μὲν δὴ σευ vulg. ξεῖνε γ' MSS. πειρήσθαι  
 P, perhaps rightly. 223 ἐξ οὗ] μέσφ' ὅτε G M U. 226 αὐτὰρ] ἐν δ' ἄρα G.

it likely that Zephyrus was a cold wind.

Mr. Myres suggests that the two names should be interchanged: ἦν Ζέφυρος κατέτῃξεν, ἐπεὶ α' Εὐρος καταχέυει.

207. τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς. This inversion of the natural order throws a stress on τηκομένης, to show that it refers to κατέτῃξεν in the preceding line.

215. νῦν δὴ σείω. This, which is the reading of the *editio princeps*, seems better than the vulg. νῦν μὲν δὴ σευ.

The MSS. give ξεῖνε γ', but the use of γε or any similar particle with a voc. is unknown in Homer: *H. G.* § 164.

221. τόσσον χρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντα has a double meaning, since it may be understood by the hearer (though not by

Penelope) of the absence of Ulysses from his own home.

224. ὥς μοι ἰνδάλλεται ἦτορ. The sense required evidently is, 'as his figure remains in my mind'; but there is no satisfactory construction. We cannot take ἦτορ as an acc. of the part affected, or as a dat. (so e.g. Döderlein, *Hom. Gloss.* 414). If the reading is right, ἦτορ must be the nom., and ἰνδάλλεται = 'imagines, pictures to itself': cp. δόκω meaning 'I think' as well as 'I seem,' also *δύεται* in 19. 312. The easiest emendation is ἰνδάλλεται εἶναι (Nauck).

225. σάλην 'thick,' 'woolly,' from the same root as Lat. *vellus*, also *lana* (for *vilana*). Whether it is akin to *είρος*, *ἔρια* (Lat. *vernex*) is more than doubtful.

αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι· πάροιθε δὲ δαίβαλον ἦεν·  
 ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἑλλόν,  
 ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,  
 ὥς οἱ χρύσειοι ἰόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων, 230  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαῶς ἥσπαιρε πόδεσσι.  
 τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροῖ σιγαλόντα,  
 οἷόν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλίοιο·  
 τὼς μὲν ἦν μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἥελιος ὥς  
 ἥ μὲν πολλάι γ' αὐτὸν ἐθήησαντο γυναικες. 235  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν·  
 οὐκ οἶδ' ἡ τάδε ἔστο περὶ χροῖ οἴκοθ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἥ τις ἐταίρων δῶκε θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰόντι,  
 ἥ τίς που καὶ ξείνος, ἐπεὶ πολλοῖσιν Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἔσκε φίλος· παῦροι γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν ἦσαν ὁμοῖοι. 240  
 καὶ οἱ ἐγὼ χάλκειον ἄορ καὶ δίπλακα δῶκα  
 καλὴν πορφυρέην καὶ τερμιδόντα χιτῶνα  
 αἰδοίως δ' ἀπέπεμπον εὖσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηός.  
 καὶ μὲν οἱ κῆρυξ ὀλίγον προγενέστερος αὐτοῦ

239 τίς που] πού τις G.

227. αὐλοῖσιν. These are the tubes or sheaths into which the two pins are passed, answering to the 'keys' of the brooches described in 18. 293-4.

πάροιθε 'in front,' i.e. at the heads of the pins, where the ornament was placed: see Helbig<sup>2</sup>, p. 188.

229, 230. The verb *λάω* must be a technical term for a dog 'gripping' or 'pinning' an animal. The sense of 'gazing at' or 'watching,' which occurs in H. Merc. 360 *αἰετὸς ἐφ' ὁ δὲ λάων*, might apply to a dog with something between its paws, but hardly to one that holds a struggling animal by the throat (*ἀπάγχων*).

230. χρύσειοι ἰόντες, cp. Il. 18. 549 *χρυσεῖη περ ἰοῦσα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο*. The marvel was that inanimate gold should have the effect of life and movement.

233. οἷόν τε κρομύοιο λόπον κάτα ἰσχαλίοιο. With this reading the sense must be 'like as (it glistens) over the skin of a dried onion.' That is, the

tunic glistened all over like the surface of a dried onion. Or, reading *κατά*, and taking *οἷόν τε λόπον* as = *οἷός ἐστι λόπος*, 'as is the peel over (covering) a dried onion': *κατά* with a gen. as 18. 355. The explanation of *λόπον κάτα* as = 'after the fashion of peel' is surely untenable. Several MSS., however, read *καταῖσχαλίοιο*, which is free from difficulty. The prep. may be used as in *καταρηγνός, καταρεφής*, &c.

The passage is referred to in a fragment of the Comic poet Theopompus (Mein. ii. 806) *χιτῶνά μοι φέραν δέδωκας δαιδάλεον ὃν ἤκασεν ἄρισθ' Ὀμηρος κρομύου λευγάνην*. 'The χιτῶν or shirt, a cut and sewn linen garment which fits like an onion peel, in sharp contrast with the mere web of woollen girt about the loins as an apron or thrown over the shoulders like a cloak' (Tsountas and Manatt, p. 161).

242. τερμιδόντα 'with a tērmys,' i.e. a fringe: cp. Il. 16. 803.

εἶπετο· καὶ τὸν τοι μυθήσομαι, ὅς τοι ξὺν περ. 245

γυρὸς ἐν ὤμοισιν, μελανόχροος, οὐλοκάρηνος,  
Εὐρυβάτης δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε· τίεν δέ μιν ἑξοχὸν ἄλλων  
ὦν ἐτάρων Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅτι οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ᾗδῃ."

Ὡς φάτο, τῇ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἱμερον ὥρσε γόοιο,  
σῆματ' ἀναγνούσῃ τὰ οἱ ἔμπεδα πέφραδ' Ὀδυσσεύς. 250

ἢ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο,  
καὶ τότε μιν μῦθοισιν ἀμειβομένη προσέειπε·  
"νῦν μὲν δὴ μοι, ξεῖνε, πάρος περ ἐὼν ἐλεεινός,  
ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι φίλος τ' ἔσῃ αἰδοῖός τε·  
αὐτὴ γὰρ τάδε εἶματ' ἐγὼ πόρον, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις, 255

πτύξας' ἐκ θαλάμου, περόνην τ' ἐπέθηκα φαεινὴν  
κείνῳ ἀγαλμ' ἔμεναι· τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις  
οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.  
τῷ βα κακῇ αἴσῃ κοίλῃς ἐπὶ νηὶς Ὀδυσσεύς  
ῥ' ἔχει' ἐποψόμενος Κακοῖτιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν." 260

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"ὦ γύναι αἰδοῖή Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος,  
μηκέτι νῦν χροῖα καλὸν ἐναίρεο μηδὲ τι θυμὸν  
τῆκε πόσιν γόῳσα· νεμεσσωμαί γε μὲν οὐδέν·  
καὶ γάρ τίς τ' ἄλλοιον ὀδύρεται ἄνδρ' ὀλέσασα 265  
κουρίδιον, τῷ τέκνα τέκῃ φιλότῃτι μιγεῖσα,  
ἣ Ὀδυσῆ', ὃν φασὶ θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον εἶναι.

246 γυρὸς ἐν ὤμοισι Herodian, who must also have read μελάγχροος, with Aphthon. in Rhet. Gr. i. 104, 1.

255. οἱ' ἀγορεύεις doubtless has the usual causal sense, = 'since thou dost declare such things' (of them), *i. e.* 'as I judge from your account of them.'

263. ἐναίρεο, lit. 'spoil' (a slain enemy): hence by a (perhaps colloquial) metaphor 'ruin,' 'cry havoc to.'

265. ἄλλοιον . . . ἢ Ὀδυσῆα 'one far other than Ulysses,' *i. e.* inferior to him.

266. κουρίδιον. This word, as Buttmann showed, means 'wedded,' 'legitimate.' It is probably derived from some part of the marriage ceremony; cp. Hesych. κουρίζομενος ὑμναιούμενος.

Ahrens ('Pē, p. 7) compares Pind. Pyth. 3. 18 παρθένου φιλέουσιν ἑταῖραι ἐσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ' αἰδοῖαις, and suggests that this song of the κούραι was called κουρίς, whence κουρίζεσθαι 'to honour with bridal song,' and κουρίδιος of a bridegroom or bride so honoured. Cartius finds the explanation in the practice of cutting the bride's hair (κουρά), for which he quotes Hesych. s. v. γάμον ἐθῆ, Pollux iii. 38, Paus. i. 43, 4. ii. 32, 1 (ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεται οἱ πρὸ γάμον 'cuts off a lock,' sc. as an offering to Hippolytus).

ἀλλὰ γόου μὲν παῦσαι, ἐμεῖο δὲ σύνθεο μῦθον·  
 νημερτέως γάρ τοι μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω  
 ὥς ἤδη Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ περὶ νόστου ἄκουσα 270  
 ἀγχοῦ, Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν πτόνι δῆμψ,  
 ζωοῦ· αὐτὰρ ἄγει κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ  
 αἰτίζων ἀνὰ δῆμον· ἀτὰρ ἐρίηρας ἐταῖρους  
 ὤλεσε καὶ νῆα γλαφυρὴν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,  
 Θρινακίης ἀπο νήσου ἰών· ὀδύσαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ 275  
 Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἡέλιος· τοῦ γὰρ βόας ἔκταν ἐταῖροι.  
 οἱ μὲν πάντες ὄλοντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ·  
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ τρόπιός νεὸς ἔκβαλε κῦμ' ἐπὶ χέρσου,  
 Φαιήκων ἐς γαῖαν, οἱ ἀγχιῖθες γεγάασιν,  
 οἱ δὲ μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὧς τιμήσαντο 280  
 καὶ οἱ πολλὰ δόσαν πέμπειν τέ μιν ἤθελον αὐτοὶ  
 οἴκαδ' ἀπήμαντον· καὶ κεν πάλοι ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἦην· ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ τό γε κέρδιον εἶσατο θυμῷ,  
 χρήματ' ἀγυρτάζειν πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἰόντι·  
 ὥς περὶ κέρδεα πολλὰ καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων 285  
 οἶδ' Ὀδυσσεύς, οὐδ' ἂν τις ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.  
 ὥς μοι Θεσπρωτῶν βασιλεὺς μυθήσατο Φεῖδων·  
 ὦμνε δὲ πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἀποσπένδων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
 νῆα κατειρύσθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἐταῖρους,

272 πολλὰ δ' ἄγει κειμήλια ὅνδε δόμονδε U (17. 527). 275-277 om. F U.

278 νεὸς ἔκβαλε D U : νεὸς ἔμβαλε H al. : νηὸς ἔμβαλε F P : νηὸς βάλε G (Ludw.).

283 ἦην vulg. : εἶην P H al. : εἶην eras. U : ἦειν, which is a v.l. on the margin of Barnes' ed., is plausible : but εἶην is probably right. τό γε φείσατο κέρδιον εἶναι Cobet.

270. Ὀδυσῆος must surely be taken with νόστου, notwithstanding the construction Ὀδυσῆος ἀκούσαι in 17. 114, 525. Cp. 1. 287 εἰ μὲν κεν πατρός βίον καὶ νόστον ἀκούσῃς, also 2. 215, 218, 264, &c.

περὶ with the gen. after verbs meaning to *speak, hear*, &c., is occasionally found in the Odyssey, but not in the Iliad.

272. ζωοῦ, = ὅτι ζωὸς ἐστί. After a verb of *hearing*, &c., an adj. or part. expresses the *fact* heard: as 16. 301

Ὀδυσῆος ἀκούσάτω ἔνδον ἐόντος, II. 4. 357 ὅς γινώχωμένοιο.

278 ff. Ulysses here omits the long episode of the island of Calypso. It is the landing on that island to which the incident of the keel belongs, see 12. 424 ff.

283. For ἦην see on 23. 316.

285. Construe περὶ ἀνθρώπων 'beyond all men.'

288-299. These lines are repeated from 14. 323, 325-335, with some change of order.

οἱ δὴ μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἔς πατρίδα γαίαν. 290  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ πρὶν ἀπέπεμψε· τύχησε γὰρ ἐρχομένη νηὺς  
 ἀνδρῶν Θεσπρωτῶν ἔς Δουλίχιον πολύπυρον.  
 καὶ μοι κτήματ' ἔδειξεν, ὅσα ξυναγείρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 καὶ νύ κεν ἔς δεκάτην γενεὴν ἑτερόν γ' ἔτι βόσκοι·  
 τόσσα οἱ ἐν μεγάροις κειμήλια κείτο ἀνακτος. 295  
 τὸν δ' ἔς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὅφρα θεοῖο  
 ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικρόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι,  
 ὅπως νοστήσειε φίλην ἔς πατρίδα γαίαν  
 ἦδη δὴν ἀπεῶν ἢ ἀμφαδὸν ἢ κρυφιδόν.  
 ὥς ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐστὶ σῶος καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἦδη 300  
 ἄγχι μάλ', οὐδ' ἔτι τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης  
 δηρὸν ἀπεισσεῖται· ξμπης δέ τοι ὄρκια δώσω.  
 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος,  
 ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω·  
 ἢ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὥς ἀγορεύω. 305  
 τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μῆνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο."

291-292 om. G Z. 295 τόσσα Ar. ! H<sup>3</sup> U: ὅσα vulg. (cp. 14. 326).  
 297 ἐπακούσαι G F U: ἐπακούσῃ vulg.: ὑπακούσῃ P.

300. σῶος. The original form of this adj. is *σῶος*, preserved in *σῶότερος* (Il. 1. 32), *σῶέφρων*, and the verb *σῶω*. The form *σῶον* is given as an ancient variant in Il. 16. 252, where Aristarchus read *σῶον* (this appears from the use made of Il. 16. 252 in the notes of Didymus on Il. 1. 117 and 9. 681). It is also found in a quotation of Il. 1. 117 in Apollonius *de conj.* (Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 489, 16). A trace of *σῶος* also remains in the rare Attic neut. plur. *σῶα* (for *σῶα*, see on Od. 13. 364).

The form *σῶς*, acc. *σῶν*, arose from the contraction of *σῶος*. Aristarchus read *σῶς* and *σῶν* wherever the metre admits a long monosyllable. The MSS. are inconsistent: they read nom. *σῶς* wherever it is metrically possible, but always acc. *σῶον*,—except in Il. 17. 367, where one important family of MSS. (Mr. Allen's h) has *σῶν*.

The form *σῶος* (*σῶον*, *σῶα*, *σῶη*, *σῶα*) must have arisen by the process which

produced *φῶος* for *φῶος*, *ὄρω* for *ὄρῶν*, &c. That is to say, where the metre forbade the usual form *σῶς*, an approximation to it was made in the shape of *σῶος* (*H. G.* § 55, 10). Thus *σῶος* is a conventional form not drawn from any living dialect, and is necessarily later than the contraction of *σῶος* to *σῶς*. Nevertheless it was adopted by Aristarchus where the metre required a disyllable.

Out of nine instances of *σῶς* and *σῶν* there is only one (Il. 22. 332) that does not admit *σῶος*, *σῶον*. It can hardly be assumed, however, that *σῶς* is a post-Homeric contraction. The forms *σῶος* and *σῶς* may have subsisted together, like *ἐὺ* and *εὐ*, *παῖς* and *παῖς*.

302. ἔμπης 'nay even,' *immo*: i. e. whether my story is enough for you or not, 'anyhow I will go on to confirm it with an oath.'

303-307 = 14. 158-162: see the notes on that passage.

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἶη·  
 τῷ κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότῃτά τε πολλά τε δῶρα 310  
 ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὥς ἂν τίς σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι.  
 ἀλλὰ μοι ᾧδ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὀίεται, ὥς ἔσεται περ·  
 οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται, οὔτε σὺ πομπῆς  
 τεύξε', ἐπεὶ οὐ τοιοῖοι σημάντορές εἰσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκε μετ' ἀνδράσιν, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, 315  
 ξείνους αἰδοίους ἀποπεμπέμεν ἠδὲ δέχεσθαι.  
 ἀλλὰ μιν, ἀμφίπολοι, ἀπονίψατε, κάθθετε δ' εὐνήν,  
 δέμνια καὶ χλαίνας καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλδέντα,  
 ὥς κ' εὖ θαλπιῶν χρυσόθρονον Ἥῳ ἵκηται.  
 ἡῶθεν δὲ μάλ' ἦρι λοέσσαι τε χρῖσθαι τε, 320  
 ὥς κ' ἔνδον παρὰ Τηλεμάχῳ δείπνοιο μέδῃται  
 ἦμενος ἐν μεγάρῳ· τῷ δ' ἄλγιον ὅς κεν ἐκείνων  
 τοῦτον ἀνιάσῃ θυμοφθόρος· οὐδέ τι ἔργον  
 ἐνθάδ' ἔτι πρήξει, μάλα περ κεχολωμένος αἰνῶς.  
 πῶς γὰρ ἐμεῦ σύ, ξεῖνε, δαήσεται εἴ τι γυναικῶν 325  
 ἀλλάων περίειμι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα μῆτιν,  
 εἴ κεν αὖσταλέος κακὰ εἰμένος ἐν μεγάροισι  
 δαινύη; ἄνθρωποι δὲ μινυνθάδιοι τελέθουσιν.  
 ὅς μὲν ἀπηνῆς αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδῆ,

314 τεύξε'] τεύξεται G M X D H<sup>2</sup>: τεύξαι (τεύξε') F: τεύξῃ P al.  
 G F: ὅς τι P H al.: ὅς τοι D Eust. 319 κ' εἶ] κεν G P M. 325 σύ om.  
 F X: read perhaps ἐμείο (cp. 215). 326 ἐχέφρονα G Eust. al. μῆτιν]

οὐ τοιοῖοι  
 325 σύ om.  
 μῆτιν]

312. ὀίεται. This is the only instance of ὀίεσθαι used impersonally. Axt conj. ὑπὸ θυμῷ ὀίεται (*Conj. Hom.* p. 34).

315. εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, see on 15. 268.

316. ἀποπεμπέμεν ἠδὲ δέχεσθαι, an apparent prothysteron: but it is a *πομπή* that is in question, and ἠδὲ δέχεσθαι is merely added to cover all the duties of a host.

323. θυμοφθόρος 'corrupting the mind,' 'heart-breaking,' i. e. vexing beyond endurance. So in 4. 716 ἄχος θυμοφθόρον, of the 'crushing grief' of Penelope on hearing of the departure of

Telemachus: and Il. 6. 169 θυμοφθόρα σήματα of the letter which was to poison the mind of the King of Lycia against Bellerophon. Cp. θυμοδακτὴς μῦθος (8. 185), also θυμοβόρος (of ἔρις, &c.).

323-324. 'He will bring nothing to an issue in this house, however furiously wrathful he may be,' i. e. 'he will have no success in his wooing, and I will not care how he may storm.'

325. The omission of σύ in three MSS. suggests reading ἐμείο, ξεῖνε.

329. ἀπηνῆς, ἀπηνέα, see on 18. 381.

τῷ δὲ καταρῶνται πάντες βροτοὶ ἀλγέ' ὀπίσσω 330  
 ζῶν, ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ' ἐφεψιδῶνται ἅπαντες·  
 δς δ' ἂν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀμύμονα εἶδῃ,  
 τοῦ μὲν τε κλέος εὐρὺ διὰ ξεῖνοι φορέουσι  
 πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, πολλοὶ τέ μιν ἐσθλὸν ἔειπον."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδῃσιν Ὀδυσῆος, 336  
 ἧ τοι ἐμοὶ χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλδέντα  
 ἤχθεθ', ὅτε πρῶτον Κρήτης ὄρεα νιφόμεντα  
 νοσφισάμην ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰὼν δολιχηρέτμοιο,  
 κείω δ' ὡς τὸ πάρος περ αὖπνους νύκτας ἴαυον· 340  
 πολλὰς γὰρ δὴ νύκτας ἀεικελίφ' ἐνὶ κοίτῃ  
 ἄεσα καὶ τ' ἀνέμεινα ἐϋθρονον Ἡῶ διαν.  
 οὐδέ τί μοι ποδάνιπτρα ποδῶν ἐπιήρανα θυμῷ  
 γίγνεται· οὐδὲ γυνὴ ποδὸς ἄψεται ἡμετέροιο  
 τῶν αἶ τοι δῶμα κάτα δρήσκειραὶ ἔασιν, 345  
 εἰ μή τις γρηῦς ἐστὶ παλαιή, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα,

334. ἐσθλόν is masc., 'call him ἐσθλός,' say of him 'a true man.'

338. ἤχθεθo, aor. 'have become hateful.'

340. κείω, see on 18. 408.

344. ἡμετέροιο. The plural of the First Person is not used in Homer as a mere variety for the singular. Here the intention may be to lessen the self-assertion of the speech: as though Ulysses spoke for others as well as himself. Cp. the notes on 16. 44, 442.

346-348. These three lines were rejected by ancient critics on the ground that Ulysses could not choose to be washed by one who would recognize the scar. But (1) the poet makes the very natural supposition that he has not yet remembered about the scar (cp. l. 390); and (2) in the praise which Penelope gives him in her answer she is evidently moved by his preference for the aged nurse.

Some recent writers have been led to another solution of the difficulty. They see in the incident a trace of a different version of the story. Ulysses, they say, must have asked for the services of

Eurycleia in order to be recognized by her,—desiring in this way to bring about his recognition by Penelope, which in our *Odyssey* follows the slaying of the Suitors. There was therefore an *Odyssey* in which Penelope recognized Ulysses at this point, and acted in concert with him in the *τόξου θέσις* and other events of the 20th and 21st books. And this version is supported by *Od.* 24. 167-169 αὐτὰρ δ' ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδεῖσιν ἀναγε τόξον κτλ. (Niese, *Hom. Poësie*, p. 164: Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* p. 55: Seeck, *Quellen*, p. 4).

It will be admitted, in the first place, that the recognition of Ulysses as told in the *Odyssey* is an admirable specimen of a common type of incident. In almost every tale or romance there is a point at which the author allows the fortunes of his hero to be brought to the verge of ruin by the intervention of some unforeseen agency. In the highly wrought story of the *Odyssey* the recognition by the nurse is just such a critical moment, and has probably heightened the interest of every hearer or reader of the poem. It is, in short, an incident which any



ἢ τις δὴ τέτληκε τόσα φρεσὶν δοσσα τ' ἐγὼ περ·  
τῇ δ' οὐκ ἂν φθονέοιμι ποδῶν ἄψασθαι ἐμεῖο."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
"ξείνε φίλ'. οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος ὧδε 350  
ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα,  
ὥς σὺ μάλ' εὐφραδέως πεπνυμένα πάντ' ἀγορεύεις·  
ἔστι δέ μοι γρη῏ς πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε' ἔχουσα,  
ἢ κείνῳν δύστηνον ἐν τρέφειν ἢδ' ἀτίταλλε,  
δεξαμένη χεῖρεσσ', ὅτε μιν πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ· 355  
ἦ σε πῶδας νίψει, ὀλιγηπελέουσά περ ἔμπης.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἀνστᾶσα, περίφρων Εὐρύκλεια,  
νίσσον σοῖο ἀνακτος ὁμήλικα. καὶ που Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἤδη τοιῶσδ' ἐστὶ πῶδας τοιῶσδε τε χεῖρας·  
αἴψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγρηάσκουσιν." 360

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρη῏ς δὲ κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα,  
δάκρυα δ' ἐκβαλε θερμά, ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυδνὸν ἔειπεν·  
"ὦ μοι ἐγὼ σέο, τέκνον, ἀμήχανος· ἦ σε περὶ Ζεὺς

348 τῇ δ' οὐκ ἂν F: τῇ δ' οὐδ' ἂν U: τῇδε δ' ἂν οὐ G P H: τῇδε δ' ἂν οὐ Eust.  
al. 358 σοῖο P H U: σεῖο G F al.

poet who knew of it, or was capable of inventing it, would desire to weave into his narrative.

The only difficulty, then, is the way in which it is introduced. Why make Ulysses *ask* to be washed by Eurycleia? Why does not Penelope simply tell Eurycleia to wash 'the compeer of her master'? The answer is probably to be sought in the code of manners which governed the Homeric age. We may gather from the words of Ulysses in 344 ff. (οὐδὲ γυνὴ ποδὸς ἀμείβεται κτλ.), and of Eurycleia in 373 ff. (τάων . . . δαείνων οὐκ ἴσας νίψω), that in the ordinary course the washing would have been done by one of the younger maid-servants. Cp. the washing of Telemachus at Pylos (3. 464) by a daughter of the house.

If this is so, the poet had to contrive some reason why Ulysses was to be washed by the old nurse. And he has done so in a way that serves also to bring out the modesty and wisdom of his hero. It is the invariable discretion

(*πεπνυμένα πάντα*) of Ulysses that leads him to refuse the services of the maids. In the same spirit soon afterwards (20. 140 ff.) he declared himself to be too miserable an outcast to sleep in the couch offered to him by the order of Penelope.

As to 24. 167 it is probably enough to point out that it does not directly contradict 19. 570-587. The difference is accounted for by the later date of the 24th book.

350-352. The sense is, 'no one that has come to the house has been so wise as you are': ὧδε—*as* in 380-381. Hence φίλων is out of place; it must have crept in from 24. 268 *ὅς τις . . . ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα*. The original half-line here may have been *ἐμὸν ἵκετο χαλκοβατὲς δῶ*, or *κλυτὸν ἵκετο δῶμα Ὀδυσῆος*: see 13. 4. The comparative φιλίων is doubtless one of the post-Homeric words of the 24th book.

363. ὦ μοι . . . σέο, gen. as 20. 209 ὦ μοι ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος. For the phrase ὦ

- ἀνθρώπων ἤχθηρε θεοῦδ' ἀθυμὸν ἔχοντα.  
 οὐ γάρ πώ τις τόσσα βροτῶν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ 365  
 πίοινα μῆρ' ἔκη' οὐδ' ἐξαίτους ἐκατόμβας,  
 ὅσσα σὺ τῷ ἐδίδους, ἀρώμενος ἦος ἵκοιο  
 γῆράς τε λιπαρὸν θρέψαιδ' τε φαίδιμον υἱόν·  
 νῦν δέ τοι οἴῳ πάμπαν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἡμάρ.  
 οὕτω που καὶ κείνῳ ἐφεψιδῶντο γυναῖκες 370  
 ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν, ὅτε τευ κλυτὰ δόμαθ' ἵκοιτο,  
 ὥς σέθεν αἱ κύνες αἶδε καθεψιδῶνται ἅπασαι,  
 τῶν νῦν λῶβην τε καὶ αἴσχεα πόλλ' ἀλεείνων·  
 οὐκ ἔαας νίξειν· ἐμὲ δ' οὐκ ἀέκουσαν ἀνωγε  
 κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια. 375  
 τῷ σε πόδας νίψω ἅμα τ' αὐτῆς Πηνελοπείης  
 καὶ σέθεν εἵνεκ', ἐπεὶ μοι ὁρώρεται ἔνδοθι θυμὸς  
 κήδεσιν. ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ξυνίει ἔπος, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·  
 πολλοὶ δὴ ξεῖνοι ταλαπεῖριοι ἐνθάδ' ἵκοντο,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πώ τινά φημι ἐοικῶτα ὧδε ἰδέσθαι 380  
 ὥς σὺ δέμας φωνήν τε πόδας τ' Ὀδυσῆϊ ἔοικας."  
 Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ γρη῏, οὕτω φασὶν ὅσοι ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 ἡμέας ἀμφοτέρους, μάλα εἰκέλω ἀλλήλοῦιν  
 ἔμμεναι, ὥς σύ περ αὐτῇ ἐπιφρονέουσ' ἀγορεύεις." 385  
 "ὦς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρη῏ς δὲ λέβηθ' ἔλε παμφανώοντα,

366 οὐδ' ἢ δ' G : read perhaps ἔσθην ἰδ' (note). 371 ὅτε τευ] Perhaps δτεο.  
 372 καθεψιδῶνται F Eust. : καθεψιδῶντο G P H X al.

μοι ἐγὼ ἀμήχανος cp. 5. 299 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ  
 δειλός, also ll. 18. 54, 24. 255. Else-  
 where in Homer ἀμήχανος means 'not  
 to be managed,' 'with whom no con-  
 trivance avails'; but here it must be  
 = 'helpless.'

366. For the more rhythmical reading  
 ἔσθην ἰδ' it may be noticed that ἢ δὲ  
 after a negative (instead of οὐδὲ) seems  
 to be allowed when the things denied  
 constitute in effect a single notion. So  
 21. 233 οὐκ ἔασουσιν ἐμοὶ δόμους βιδὸν  
 ἢ δὲ φαρύγγην, ll. 9. 133 (= 275) μή ποτε  
 τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἢ δὲ μῆγῃναι, 11.

255 οὐδ' ἢ δὲ ἀπέλγχε μάχης ἢ δὲ πτολέμοιο.  
 In these cases there is a kind of hen-  
 diadys.

368. The place of the first τε is due  
 to a slight anacoluthon, the sentence  
 beginning as if ἵκοιο were the governing  
 word of both clauses. Cp. ll. 3. 80  
 τοῖσιν τε τιτυσόμενοι λάεσσι τ' ἔβαλλον.

372. αἱ κύνες, the art. of aversion or  
 contempt: *H. G.* § 261, 2.

374. The form ἀνωγε may be a pf. or  
 an impf. (as from a thematic \*ἀνώγω).  
 Here the pf. agrees better with the pres.  
 ἔαας.

τοῦ πόδας ἐξαπένιζεν, ὕδωρ δ' ἐνεχεύατο πολλὸν  
 ψυχρόν, ἔπειτα δὲ θερμὸν ἐπήφυσεν. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἴζεν ἀπ' ἐσχαρόφιν, ποτὶ δὲ σκότον ἐτράπετ' αἰψα·  
 αὐτίκα γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν δῖσατο, μὴ ἐλαβοῦσα 390  
 οὐλὴν ἀμφράσσαιτο καὶ ἀμφαδὰ ἔργα γένοιτο.  
 νίξε δ' ἄρ' ἄσπον ἰοῦσα ἀναχθ' ἐόν· αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
 οὐλὴν, τὴν ποτὲ μιν σὺς ἤλασε λευκῷ ὀδόντι  
 Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα μετ' Αὐτόλυκόν τε καὶ νῆας,  
 μητρὸς ἧς πατέρ' ἐσθλόν, δς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο 395  
 κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκω τε· θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν  
 Ἑρμείας· τῷ γὰρ κεχαρισμένα μηρία καίεν  
 ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων· ὁ δέ οἱ πρόφρων ἄμ' ὀπήδει.  
 Αὐτόλυκος δ' ἐλθὼν Ἰθάκης ἐς πῖονα δῆμον  
 παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα κιχήσατο θυγατέρος ἧς· 400  
 τὸν ρά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε  
 παυομένῳ δόρποιο, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·  
 “Αὐτόλυκ', αὐτὸς νῦν ὄνομ' εὔρεο ὅττι κε θῆαι

387 τοῦ U: τῷ vulg. πολλὸν G P H U al.: πολλὰ F. 389 ἀπ' G U Eust.  
 al.: ἐπ' F P H. 391 ἀμφαδὰ G. 403 θῆαι] θείαι G U: θείω P H al.: θείης F.

387. τοῦ πόδας ἐξαπένιζε 'from it (with water taken from it) she set about washing his feet.' ἴξ as in 10. 361 λó' ἐκ τρίποδος: so 6. 224. Nearly all the MSS. have τῷ, but this does not give so good a construction for ἐξαπένιζε. Note the impf., 'she was going to wash.'

389. ἴζεν ἀπ' ἐσχαρόφιν 'sat away from the fire-place.' Ulysses had to seat himself for the purpose of the washing, and as he did so he bethought him of the wound. He therefore kept away from the fire-light, and turned his back upon it. After the washing (506) he drew his seat nearer to the fire again (αὐτίς).

There is also a reading ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν, which may perhaps be explained by pressing the tenses of ἴζεν and ἐτράπετο: 'as he sat by the fire, he suddenly turned away.' But this does not account for the evidently significant αὐτίς of l. 506. Probably, too, ἐσχαρόφιν is meant as a gen., used instead of the unmetrical ἐσχάρης: and ἐπ' ἐσχάρης would not be

said of a person sitting *at* or *by* the fire-place (only of the fire *on* the fire-place, as 5. 59).

391. ἀμφαδὰ ἔργα. The difficulty is that ἀμφαδὰ must be an adv., derived from an abstract noun in -δo- (plur. -δα): the adj. being ἀμφάδιος. It is possible that ἀμφατά, the reading of G, is right.

395-466. This episode has been condemned as an interpolation (Kirchhoff, *Odyssey*, p. 523; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* p. 59). It certainly interrupts the action in a way that is not Homeric. And the repetition of Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα κτλ. as well as other words (393-394 = 465-466) points in the same direction. On the other hand (as Wilamowitz observes) the mention of Autolycus without any description of him is too abrupt: and if we keep 395-398 the reference of τῆν in 467 becomes obscure. The style and language of the passage show no trace of later date.

403. θῆαι, the subj., is better after

παιδὸς παῖδι φίλῳ· πολυάρητος δέ τοί ἐστι.”

Τὴν δ' αὐτ' Αὐτόλυκος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε· 405

“γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς θυγάτηρ τε, τίθεσθ' ὄνομ' ὅττι κεν εἴπω·

πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσσάμενος τδ' ἰκάνω,

ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν·

τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε,

ὅππότε' ἀν' ἡβήσας μητρῷον ἐς μέγα δῶμα 410

ἔλθῃ Παρνησόνδ', ὅθι πού μοι κτήματ' ἔασι,

τῶν οἱ ἐγὼ δώσω καὶ μιν χαίροντ' ἀποπέμψω.”

Τῶν ἔνεκ' ἦλθ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ἵνα οἱ πόροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.

τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Αὐτόλυκος τε καὶ υἱέες Αὐτολύκοιο

χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο ἔπαισι τε μελιχίοισι· 415

μήτηρ δ' Ἀμφιθέη μητρὸς περιφῦς Ὀδυσῆϊ

κύσσει· ἄρα μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά.

Αὐτόλυκος δ' υἱοῖσιν ἐκέκλετο κυδαλίμοισι

δείπνον ἐφοπλίσσαι· τοὶ δ' ὀτρύνοντος ἄκουσαν,

αὐτίκα δ' εἰσάγαγον βοὺν ἄρσενά πενταέτηρον· 420

τὸν δέρον ἀμφὶ θ' ἔπον, καὶ μιν διέχευαν ἅπαντα,

μίστυλλον τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πείραν τ' ὀβελοῖσιν,

ῶπτησάν τε περιφραδέως δάσσαντό τε μοίρας.

408 βατιάνειραν G P H U Eust.

G. 416 Ὀδυσῆα G F Z.

3. 462, &c.).

423 δάσσαντό τε μοίρας G U: ἐρύσαντό τε μοίρας P H al.: ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα F M X al.

409 ἔγωγε] ἔπειτα G.

410 πατρώϊον

422 ἄρα τάλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν G (cp.

3. 462, &c.).

423 δάσσαντό τε μοίρας G U: ἐρύσαντό τε μοίρας P H al.: ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα F M X al.

the imperative εὔρεο than θεῖο, which most MSS. have. The middle is properly used of the *parents* giving the name: but Autolycus is to be regarded as acting for them.

406. θυγάτηρ τε. The nom. is required here by the rule that the voc. is never used with a conjunction such as τε or δέ. So in Sanscrit, and doubtless in the original language, the voc. cannot be *part* of a sentence in any respect: *H. G.* § 164.

407. γὰρ introduces the reason: ‘inasmuch as I have come to you here as one that has been angered with many,’ as a man of many quarrels. Some take ὀδυσσάμενος to be = ‘having been the

object of anger’; but there is no support for this sense of ὀδυσσάσθαι.

409. ὄνομα ἐπώνυμον ‘a name to be named by.’

410. μητρῷον probably means, not strictly ‘maternal,’ but ‘belonging to the *μήτραις*,’ the mother’s kindred. It is true that πατρώϊος in Homer means simply ‘belonging to a father’; but it is not unlikely that it was originally used in a more limited sense, as the adj. of *πάτριος*.

421. ἀμφὶ θ' ἔπον ‘dealt with,’ the most general word for doing whatever was necessary.

ἅπαντα, see on 16. 21.

ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα  
 δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἴσης· 425  
 ἡμος δ' ἥλιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε,  
 δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.  
 Ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 βάν ρ' ἔμεν ἐς θήρην, ἡμὲν κύνες ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 υἷες Ἀυτολύκων· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς 430  
 ἦεν· αἰπὺν δ' ὄρος προσέβαν καταειμένον ὕλη  
 Παρνησοῦ, τάχα δ' ἴκανον πτύχας ἡνέμοέσσας.  
 Ἥελιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας  
 ἐξ ἀκααρρεΐταιο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο,  
 οἱ δ' ἐς βῆσαν ἴκανον ἐπακτῆρες· πρὸ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶν 435  
 ἰχνί' ἐρευνῶντες κύνες ἦϊσαν, αὐτὰρ ὅπισθεν  
 υἷες Ἀυτολύκων· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἦεν ἄγχι κυνῶν, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.  
 ἔνθα δ' ἄρ' ἐν λόχμῃ πυκινῇ κατέκειτο μέγας σὺς·  
 τὴν μὲν ἄρ' οὗτ' ἀνέμων διάη μένος ὕγρον ἀέντων, 440  
 οὔτε μιν Ἥελιος φαέθων ἀκτίσιν ἔβαλλεν,  
 οὗτ' ὄμβρος περάσσκε διαμπερές· ὥς ἄρα πυκνῇ  
 ἦεν, ἀτὰρ φύλλων ἐνέην χύσις ἦλιθα πολλή.  
 τὸν δ' ἀνδρῶν τε κυνῶν τε περὶ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖιν,  
 ὥς ἐπάγοντες ἐπῆσαν· ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἐκ ξυλόχοιο, 445  
 φρίξας εὖ λοφίην, πῦρ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς,  
 στῆ ρ' αὐτῶν σχεδόν· ὁ δ' ἄρα πρῶτιστος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἔσσυτ' ἀνασχόμενος δολιχὸν δόρυ χειρὶ παχείῃ,  
 οὐτάμεναι μεμαῶς· ὁ δὲ μιν φθάμενος ἔλασεν σὺς  
 γουνὸς ὕπερ, πολλὸν δὲ διήφυσε σαρκὸς ὀδόντι 450

429 αἰτοί] ἀνδρες G.  
F U. 440 διάη G U: διὰε vulg.

431 ἐπέβαν F M X.

ἔλην G F.

436 ἰχνη

440-443, repeated from 5. 478 ff.  
444. ποδοῖιν, dual used in a distributive sense: cp. 20. 348, II. 23. 362.

445. ἐπάγοντες 'driving on' (sc. the game), cp. ἐπακτῆρες (I. 435).

446. Cp. Ar. Ran. 822 φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμον λοφίᾳς λασιὰχένα χαίταν—evidently a reminiscence of Homer.

450. πολλόν is adverbial, = 'a long way,' 'far,' and σαρκός is a partitive gen., akin to the gen. of the space within which something moves; cp. II. 20. 178 ὁμίλων πολλὸν ἐπελθών.

διήφυσε 'drained,' laid open so as to draw off the life: II. 13. 507 καὶ δ' ἔντερά χαλκὸς ἤφυσε, also 14. 517.

λικριφὶς αἶξας, οὐδ' ὀστέον ἵκετο φωτός.  
 τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οὔτησε τυχὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὄμον,  
 ἀντικρὺ δὲ διῆλθε φαεινοῦ δουρὸς ἀκκῆ·  
 καδ δ' ἔπεσ' ἐν κονίησι μακῶν, ἀπὸ δ' ἔπατο θυμός.  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Αὐτολύκου παῖδες φίλοι ἀμφεπένοντο, 455  
 ὤτειλῃν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο  
 δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν  
 ἔσχεθον, αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο φίλου πρὸς δώματα πατρός.  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Αὐτόλυκός τε καὶ υἱέες Αὐτολύκοιο  
 εὖ ἰησάμενοι ἡδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πορόντες 460  
 καρπαλίμως χαίροντα φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' ἐπεμπον  
 εἰς Ἰθάκην. τῷ μὲν ῥα πατὴρ καὶ πτόνιᾳ μήτηρ  
 χαίρον νοστήσαντι καὶ ἐξερέεινον ἕκαστα,  
 οὐλὴν ὅτι πάθοι· ὁ δ' ἄρα σφίσιν εὖ κατέλεξεν  
 ὥς μιν θηρεύοντ' ἔλασεν σὺς λευκῷ ὀδόντι, 465  
 Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα σὺν υἰάσιν Αὐτολύκοιο.

Τὴν γρη῏ς χεῖρεσσι καταπρηνέσσι λαβοῦσα  
 γνῶ ῥ' ἐπιμασσαμένη, πόδα δὲ προέηκε φέρεσθαι·  
 ἐν δὲ λέβητι πέσε κνήμη, κανάχησε δὲ χαλκός,  
 ἄψ δ' ἐτέρωσ' ἐκλίθη· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἐξέχυθ' ὕδωρ. 470  
 τὴν δ' ἄμα χάρμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλε φρένα, τῷ δέ οἱ ὅσσε  
 δακρυόφι πλησθεν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.  
 ἀψαμένη δὲ γενείου Ὀδυσσῆα προσέειπεν·  
 “ἦ μάλ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι, φίλον τέκος· οὐδέ σ' ἔγωγε

461. φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' F al.: φίλῃς χαίροντες vulg.: φίλῃν χαίροντες Wolf, Bekk.

463. ἕκαστα] ἀπαντα l (Vind. 5). 474. μάλ'] σὺ γ' F O Z.

454. μακῶν 'with a cry,' 18. 98.

455. τὸν . . . ἀμφεπένοντο 'busied themselves with it' (sc. the boar), i.e. did what it was usual for hunters to do on killing their game.

461. Most MSS. have φίλῃς χαίροντες ἐπεμπον, which is intolerably harsh after καρπαλίμως. Possibly χαίροντες is a gloss on φίλῃς: cp. Il. 4. 347 νῦν δὲ φίλος χ' ὀρώμε, which is = φίλον ἄν εἴη ὑμῖν ὀρᾶν. Or it may be due to 17. 83 χαίροντι φέρειν πρὸς δώματα χαίρων.

However this may be, the reading φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' ἐπεμπον, given by the Laurentian (F) and other MSS., is free from objection, and has been adopted by Ludwig. The reading φίλῃν χαίροντες separates φίλῃν too far from the substantive (Ἰθάκην) which it qualifies.

464. οὐλὴν is acc. de quo, 'asked about the wound, what befell him,' i.e. asked for the story of the wound.

470. ἐκλίθη, sc. χαλκός, 'the vessel was turned over.'

πρὶν ἔγνων, πρὶν πάντα ἀνακτ' ἐμὸν ἀμφαφάσθαι." 475

Ἦ καὶ Πηνελόπειαν ἐσέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι,  
πεφραδέειν ἐθέλουσα φίλον πόσιν ἔνδον ἐόντα.  
ἡ δ' οὐτ' ἀθρήσαι δύνατ' ἀντίη οὔτε νοῆσαι·  
τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηναίῃ νόον ἔτραπεν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
χείρ' ἐπιμασσάμενος φάρυγος λάβε δεξιτερῇφι, 480  
τῇ δ' ἐτέρῃ ἔθεν ἄσπον ἐρύσσατο φώνησέν τε·

“μαῖα, τίη μ' ἐθέλεις ὀλέσαι; σὺ δέ μ' ἔτρεφες αὐτὴ  
τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μαζῶ· νῦν δ' ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας  
ἦλθον ἐικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐφράσθης καὶ τοι θεὸς ἔμβαλε θυμῷ, 485  
σίγα, μή τίς τ' ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πύθηται.  
ᾧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, καὶ μὴν τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
εἴ χ' ὑπ' ἔμοιγε θεὸς δαμάσῃ μνηστῆρας ἀγαυούς,  
οὐδὲ τροφοῦ οὔσης σεῦ ἀφέξομαι, ὅππότε' ἂν ἄλλας  
δμῶας ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖς κτείνωμι γυναῖκας.” 490

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Εὐρύκλεια·  
“τέκνον ἐμόν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων.  
οἶσθα μὲν οἶον ἐμὸν μένος ἔμπεδον, οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν,  
ἔξω δ' ὥς ὅτε τις στερεὴ λίθος ἢ σίδηρος.  
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν· 495  
εἴ χ' ὑπὸ σοί γε θεὸς δαμάσῃ μνηστῆρας ἀγαυούς,  
δὴ τότε τοι καταλέξω ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκας,  
αἱ τέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ αἱ νηλεΐτιδες εἰσι.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“μαῖα, τίη δέ σὺ τὰς μυθήσεται; οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ. 500  
εὖ νυ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ φράσομαι καὶ εἴσομ' ἐκάστην·  
ἀλλ' ἔχε σιγῇ μῦθον, ἐπίτρεψον δὲ θεοῖσιν.”

484 ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ MSS.: see on 16. 206. 487 καὶ μὴν] καὶ κεν P al.: τὸ δὲ  
καὶ F: τὸ δὲ κεν J. 490 ἐμοῖς] Read perhaps ἐμὰς. κτείνωμι H U:  
κτείνειαιμ G F P. 493 οὐκ G F P U: οὐδ' H X D al. 498 νηλεΐτιδες, cp.  
16. 317.

475. πάντα, see on 16. 21.

489. οὔσης. This is not the Homeric form; but no good emendation of the line has been proposed.

494. ἔξω, intrans., as with adverbs.

498. νηλεΐτιδες, cp. 16. 317.

502. ἐπίτρεψον δὲ θεοῖσιν 'leave the matter to the gods,' a formula for de-

ὦς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρη῏ς δὲ διὲκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει  
 οἰσομένη ποδάνιπτρα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερ' ἔκχυτο πάντα.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νίψεν τε καὶ ἤλειψεν λίπ' ἐλαίφ, 505  
 αὐτὶς ἄρ' ἀσσοτέρω πυρὸς ἔλκετο δίφρον Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 θερσόμενος, οὐλὴν δὲ κατὰ ρακέεσσι κάλυψε.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "ξεῖνε, τὸ μὲν σ' ἔτι τυτθὸν ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτῇ·  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοῖτου τάχα ἡδέος ἔσσεται ὥρη, 510  
 ὃν τινά γ' ὕπνος ἔλη γλυκερός, καὶ κηδόμενόν περ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον πόρε δαίμων·  
 ἥματα μὲν γὰρ τέρπομ' ὀδυρομένη, γούωσα,  
 ἔς τ' ἐμὰ ἔργ' ὀρόωσα καὶ ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νύξ ἔλθῃ, ἔλῃσί τε κοῖτος ἀπαντας, 515  
 κείμεαι ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ, πυκιναὶ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἀδινδὼν κῆρ  
 ὀξεῖαι μελεδῶνες ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόυρη, χλωρηῖς ἀηδὼν,

510 κοῖτοιο τάχ' ἡδέος ἔσσεται ed. Flor.: κοῖτοιο τάχ' ἔσσεται ἡδέος MSS.: corr.  
 Herwerden. 511 ἔλη G F M X U al.: ἔλοι P H. 515 ἐπεὶ H: ἐπὶν vulg.  
 517 μελεδῶνες M U al.: μελεδῶναι vulg. 518 Πανδαρή G.

precatings further action. Cp. 22. 288  
 ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι μῦθον ἐπιτρέπει (in contrast  
 to μέγα εἰπεῖν): also of the contest with  
 the bow, 21. 279 νῦν μὲν παῦσαι τόξον,  
 ἐπιτρέπει δὲ θεοῖσι. Here, as Ameis  
 points out, and in 21. 279 it has a double  
 meaning. To the person addressed it is  
 a mere formula = 'say no more': to the  
 hearer, who knows the course of events,  
 it is significant of the fate that the gods  
 have in store.

505. The final α of λίπας is always  
 elided in Homer, but the form is proved  
 by Thuc. 1. 6. 5. It is doubtless one of  
 the adverbs in -α (like λίγα, πῶσα, κάρτα,  
 &c.), which are generally regarded as  
 survivals of the instrumental case (Brug-  
 mann, *M. U.* ii. 158). Possibly the  
 phrase λίπ' ἐλαίφ represents an ancient  
 instrum. λίπα ἐλαίω 'with oil olive.'

507. θερσόμενος, fut. part.

509. τυτθόν is adverbial.

511. ἔλη, the subj. suits the context  
 best: the effect of the opt. ἔλοι would  
 be to avoid assuming that any one will  
 sleep: *H. G.* § 305 (c).

512. καὶ strengthens ἀμέτρητον.

513. τέρπομαι goes with ὀδυρομένη  
 γούωσα (not with the next line, as some  
 take it). Cp. 4. 194 τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος,  
 also 4. 102 γόφ' φρίνα τέρπομαι. The  
 sense is that Penelope mourns both by  
 day, when she has other occupation,  
 and by night, when she is sleepless with  
 grief. The sense is much the same in  
 20. 83-87.

515. ἐπεὶ, which is more in accord-  
 ance with Homeric syntax than ἐπὶν  
 (*H. G.* § 362), is here preserved by the  
 Harleian MS.

518. χλωρηῖς cannot be explained of  
 the colour of the nightingale, which is  
 in the main a dull brown, the throat  
 and breast only being greenish. More-  
 over, the form of the word is against  
 taking it as simply = χλωρός, and  
 favours the interpretation of the Schol.  
 ἡ ἐν χλωροῖς διατρίβουσα. Cp. νηῖς and  
 νηρηῖς of the nymphs that live in *springs*  
 (πόες) and *water* (if Modern Greek νερό  
 points to an ancient νηρόν): also ὀρεαῖς,  
 ὄρεαῖς, &c. The epithet χλωραύχην given  
 to the bird by Simonides (fr. 73) may  
 have been suggested by misunderstand-



καλὸν αἰέδησιν ἕαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιοι,  
 δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνιοῖσιν, 520  
 ἥ τε θαμὰ τροπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,  
 παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῷ  
 κτείνει δι' ἀφραδίας, κούρον Ζήθοιο ἀνακτος,  
 ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὁρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
 ἥ ἐ μὲνω παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσω, 525  
 κτήσιν ἐμήν, δμῶάς τε καὶ ὑψερεφές μέγα δῶμα,  
 εὐνὴν τ' αἰδομένη πόσιος δῆμοιό τε φῆμιν,  
 ἥ ἤδη ἅμ' ἔπωμαι Ἀχαιῶν ὃς τις ἄριστος  
 μνάται ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, πορὼν ἀπερείσια ἔδνα,  
 παῖς δ' ἐμὸς ἦος ἔην ἔτι νῆπιος ἡδὲ χαλὶφρων, 530  
 γήμασθ' οὐ μ' εἶα πόσιος κατὰ δῶμα λιποῦσαν  
 νῦν δ' ὅτε δὴ μέγας ἐστὶ καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἰκάνει,  
 καὶ δὴ μ' ἀράται πάλιν ἐλθέμεν ἐκ μεγάροιο,  
 κτήσιος ἀσχαλῶν, τήν οἱ κατέδουσιν Ἀχαιοί.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸν δνειρον ὑπόκριναι καὶ ἀκουσον. 535  
 χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἐείκοσι πυρὸν ἔδουσιν  
 ἐξ ὕδατος, καὶ τέ σφιν λαίνομαι εἰσορόωσα·  
 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξ ὄρεος μέγας αἰετὸς ἀγκυλοχείλης

521. τροπῶσα] Better perhaps τροπύωσα, cp. 16. 405.  
 corr. Nauck. 534 ἀσχαλῶν vulg.: ἀσχάλλων U al.

530 ἦος] ἔως μὲν MSS.:

ing of this or some similar passage, though the later poet took care to be more true to nature. But such a term as bird 'of the greenwood' is surely more natural than any description based upon colour.

521. χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν, cp. Ar. Vesp. 555 τὴν φωνὴν ολτροχοοῦντες.

522. Ἴτυλος seems to be a name formed in imitation of the nightingale's note.

529. μνάται, subj. It has been proposed to read μνάητ' ἐν, but needlessly.

535. τὸν δνειρον. The article seems to have a possessive force, μοι τὸν = τὸν ἐμόν: H. G. § 261.

ὑπόκριναι καὶ ἀκουσον, a prothysteron arising from the important word being put first: cp. 13. 274.

537. ἐξ ὕδατος. Two explanations are given in the scholia: ἡ ἀντὶ τοῦ βεβρεγμένον ὕδατι σίτον, ἢ ἐξίνοντες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐνθα διατρίβουσιν B.P. ἔγω καὶ χωρὶς ὕδατος V. The second seems the more probable. The geese come from the water, which is their usual abode;—just as the eagle has come from the mountain (ἐξ ὄρεος, cp. the preceding line). They are fed on grain from a trough or box (κύβλος). The picture which the commentators draw of a flock of geese eating grain that had been thrown into a water trough does not rest on any evidence.

538. ἀγκυλοχείλης. The true form is probably ἀγκυλοχέλη 'with crooked claw'; cp. Ar. Eq. 205, where the epithet is said to be given ὅτι ἀγκύλαι ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάζων φέρεται.

πᾶσι κατ' αὐχέν' ἔαξε καὶ ἔκτανεν· οἱ δ' ἐκέχυντο  
 ἀθρόοι ἐν μεγάροις, ὃ δ' ἐς αἰθέρα διὰν ἀέρθη. 540  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κλαῖον καὶ ἐκώκυον ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ,  
 ἀμφὶ δέ μ' ἠγερέθοντο ἑὺπλοκαμίδες Ἀχαιοί,  
 οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρομένην ὃ μοι αἰετὸς ἔκτανε χῆνας.  
 ἀψ δ' ἐλθὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετ' ἐπὶ προὔχοντι μελάθρῳ,  
 φωνῇ δὲ βροτῇ κατερήτυε φώνησέν τε· 545  
 'θάρσει, Ἰκαρίου κούρη τηλεκλειτοῖο·  
 οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν, ὃ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται.  
 χῆνες μὲν μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ δέ τοι αἰετὸς ὄρνις  
 ἦα πάρος, νῦν αὖτε τεὸς πόσις εἰλήλουθα,  
 ὃς πᾶσι μνηστῆρσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσω.' 550  
 ὥς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ μελιθεῖς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε·  
 παπτήνασα δὲ χῆνας ἐνὶ μεγάροις νόησα  
 πυρὸν ἐρεπτομένους παρὰ πύελον, ἦχι πάρος περ."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ γύναι, οὗ πῶς ἔστιν ὑποκρίνασθαι ὄνειρον 555  
 ἄλλη ἀποκλίναντ', ἐπεὶ ἡ ῥά τοι αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 πέφραδ' ὅπως τελέει· μνηστῆρσι δὲ φαίνεται ὀλεθρος  
 πᾶσι μάλ', οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "ξεῖν', ἡ τοι μὲν ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι 560  
 γίγνONT', οὐδέ τι πάντα τελεῖται ἀνθρώποισι.  
 δοῖαι γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμνηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·  
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι·  
 τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἐλθῶσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,

539 αὐχέν' ἔαξε] αὐχέν' ἔηξε Herodian π. μον. λέξ. p. 15 Dind. (but ἔαξε in cod.  
 V): αὐχένας ἔξε MSS. 558 ἀλύξει] ἀλύξει vulg.: ἀλύξαι F.

544. ἐπὶ προὔχοντι μελάθρῳ 'on a projecting roof-beam.'

552. παπτήνασα 'peering,' 'looking about for': χῆνας is to be construed with παπτήνασα as well as νόησα, cp. Il. 4. 200 παπταίνων ἦρῶα Μαχάονα· τὸν δ' ἐνόησεν κτλ.

556. αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεύς has a fuller meaning to the hearer than to Penelope — 'the real Ulysses,' not merely the

Ulysses of her dream.

557. τελέει, sc. Ὀδυσσεύς.

558. ἀλύξει. The subj. after οὐδέ κε is more Homeric than the fut.

560. ἀκριτόμυθοι, cp. Il. 2. 796 μῦθοι ἀκριτοί.

562. ἀμνηνῶν 'shadowy,' 'bodiless.

564-567. There is a play of language on ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρωμαι, and doubtless also on κέρας and κρᾶινω.

οἷ ρ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες· 565  
οἷ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,  
οἷ ρ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν δτε κέν τις ἴδῃται.  
ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐντευθεν ὀλομαι αἰνὸν δνειρον  
ἐλθέμεν· ἡ κ' ἀσπαστὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ παιδὶ γένοιτο.  
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν· 570  
ἦδε δὴ ἡὼς εἰσι δυσώνυμος, ἡ μ' Ὀδυσῆος  
οἴκου ἀποσχῆσει· νῦν γὰρ καταθήσω ἄεθλον

567 δτε κέν τις] Read probably δτε τίς τε, *H. G.* § 365, 4.



FIG. A.

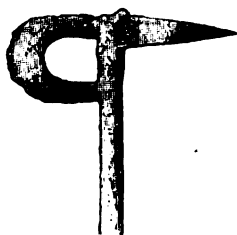


FIG. B.



FIG. C.

565. ἐλεφαίρονται 'deceive': cp. *δολοφώα* (17. 248, with the note).

572-578. The latest and most adequate commentary on this much vexed passage will be found in Helbig's work, *Das homerische Epos*, ed. 2, pp. 348-353. This discussion is the basis of the following notes.

The *δρύοχοι* to which the axes are compared in l. 574 are stays or trestles on which the keel of a ship rested while it was being built (*στηρίγματα τῆς πηγυμένῃς νεώς* Suid.; *ξύλα ἐφ' ᾧν ἡ τρύπις ἵσταται* Eust.). Hence the phrase *ἐκ δρύοχων* = 'from the laying down of the keel.' Others (as Ameis) understand the word of the ribs of the ship. In any case we are to imagine a straight line of upright pieces of timber.

In what sense, then, could it be said that Ulysses 'used to shoot an arrow through' (*διαρρίπτασκεν διστόν*) all the twelve axes? In 21. 421-422 we are told that he 'did not miss the foremost point of the haft' of any of them (see the note there on the phrase *πρώτῃ στείλει*). Evidently we must suppose that at the end of the haft, *i. e.* at or in

the head of the axe, there was a hole or opening of some sort, and that the axes could be so placed that the twelve openings were in line, and formed a kind of tube, through which a very expert archer could send an arrow. Two forms of axe satisfying these conditions are given by Helbig. One of these is a double axe or *bipennis*, in which the two blades are separated by circular openings, above and below the end of the shaft (fig. A). This form is chiefly known from post-Alexandrian representations, but Helbig finds traces of it in early times. In the other, which is known from the figure of an Amazon on one of the metopes of Selinunte, the two sides are different. One side is a fragmentary blade (or, as Mr. Myres thinks, an adze seen edge-ways); the other is rounded, and perforated by a crescent-shaped opening (fig. B). To these alternatives—between which Helbig does not decide—a third has now been added by an axe found in the famous 'Mycenean' tomb at Vaphio (fig. C, from Tsountas and Manatt, p. 207). In this axe the blade is shaped

τοὺς πελέκεας, τοὺς κείνος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐοῖσιν  
ἵστασθ' ἐξείης, δρυόχους ὥς, δώδεκα πάντας·  
στὰς δ' ὃ γε πολλὸν ἀνευθε διαρρίπτασκεν οἷστόν. 575

νῦν δὲ μνηστήρεσσιν ἀέθλον τοῦτον ἐφήσσω  
ὅς δέ κε ῥῆϊτατ' ἐντανύσῃ βιδὸν ἐν παλάμῃσι  
καὶ διοῖστέυσῃ πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα πάντων,  
τῷ κεν ἄμ' ἐσποίμην, νοσφισσαμένη τῷδε δῶμα  
κουρίδιον, μάλα καλόν, ἐνίπλειον βιότοιο, 580  
τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι οἶομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"ὦ γύναι αἰδοίῃ Λαερτιάδῳ Ὀδυσῆος,  
μηκέτι νῦν ἀνάβαλλε δόμοις ἐνὶ τοῦτον ἀέθλον·  
πρὶν γάρ τοι πολύμητις ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς, 585  
πρὶν τούτους τῷδε τόξον εὖξοον ἀμφαφάοντας  
νευρὴν τ' ἐντανύσαι διοῖστέυσαι τε σιδήρου."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
"εἴ κ' ἐθέλοις μοι, ξεῖνε, παρήμενος ἐν μεγάροισι  
τέρπειν, οὐ κέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι χυθείη. 590  
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ πως ἔστιν αὐπνους ἔμμεναι αἰὲν  
ἀνθρώπους· ἐπὶ γάρ τοι ἐκάστω μοῖραν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι θνητοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.  
ἀλλ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼν ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα

579 ἄμ' ἐσποίμην] Better ἄμα σποίμην, *H. G.* § 36, 6 note. 586 ἀμφαφάοντας  
G F: -δωντας vulg. 589 εἴ κ' The *κ* is doubtful: to what condition can it  
refer? Read perhaps εἴ γ' (*H. G.* § 313).

like an arch, with two large holes instead of the single opening in the second form.

If we had merely to consider which of these forms answers best to the story as told in the *Odyssey*, it might be difficult to arrive at a conclusion. But as a question of archaeological evidence there is no doubt that the Vaphio axe has the advantage. We possess the actual implement (or weapon): and we know that it belongs, in time and in place, to the Homeric world.

572. ἀέθλον is acc. masc., as in 576 and 584, meaning a 'contest' or 'com-

petition' (later ἀγών). The axes were to be made 'the contest,' in the sense that they were the material of it: cp. 21. 3-4 τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολὺν τε σιδήρον ἐν μεγάροις Ὀδυσῆος ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχήν.

591-593 are perhaps interpolated: the repetition of ἀλλά in 594 is suspicious.

592. ἐκάστω, apparently neut.: 'to each thing the gods have assigned a share for mortals,' i. e. sleep, like other things, has its place among men. See on 20. 171 οὐδ' αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν, also ἐλπίδος αἶσα (19. 84).

λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν, ἥ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται, 595  
 αἰεὶ δάκρυς' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη, ἐξ οὗ 'Οδυσσεὺς  
 ᾤχετ' ἐποψόμενος Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν.  
 ἔνθα κε λεξαίμην· σὺ δὲ λέξεο τῷδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
 ἧ χαμάδις στορέσας ἦ τοι κατὰ δέμνια θέντων."

Ἦς εἰποῦς' ἀνέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλδεντα, 600  
 οὐκ οἶη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφιπόλοι κίον ἄλλαι.  
 ἐς δ' ὑπερῷ ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶ  
 κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' 'Οδυσῆα, φίλον πόσιν, ὅφρα οἱ ὕπνον  
 ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

599. There is a slight anacoluthon : after ἧ χαμάδις στορέσας we expect another participle, to be construed (like

στορέσας) with the verb λέξεο. Instead of this we have an independent imperative θέντων : cp. l. 368.



EURYCLEIA WASHING ULYSSES.  
 (From a vase in the Museum at Chiusi.)

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Τ

Τὰ πρὸ τῆς μνηστηροφονίας.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐν προδόμῳ εὐνάζετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 καὶ μὲν ἀδέψητον βοήην στόρεσ', αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε  
 κῶεα πόλλ' οἶων, τοὺς ἱρεύεσκον Ἀχαιοί·  
 Εὐρυνόμῃ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ χλαῖναν βάλε κοιμηθέντι.  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μνηστήρσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ 5  
 κείτ' ἐγρηγορόων· τὰ δ' ἐκ μεγάρου γυναικες  
 ἦϊσαν, αἱ μνηστήρσιν ἐμισγέσκοντο πάρος περ,  
 ἀλλήλησι γέλω τε καὶ εὐφροσύνην παρέχουσαι.  
 τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι·  
 πολλὰ δὲ μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, 10  
 ἥε μεταίξας θάνατον τεύξειεν ἐκάστη,  
 ἦ ἔτ' ἐφ' μνηστήρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι μιγῆναι  
 ὕστατα καὶ πύματα, κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει.  
 ὥς δὲ κύων ἀμαλῇσι περὶ σκυλάκεσσι βεβῶσα  
 ἀνδρ' ἀγνοίησας ὑλάει μέμονέν τε μάχεσθαι, 15  
 ὥς ῥα τοῦ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει ἀγαιομένου κακὰ ἔργα·  
 στήθεος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθοι·

3 οἶων G P H U M al. : οἶων F.  
 γέλωτα FM.

8 γέλω τε G P X U : γέλων τε H al. :  
 14 βεβῶσα is probably not Homeric : βιβῶσα Fick (cp. II. 539).

1. αὐτὰρ κτλ. This clause should be read with the last sentence of the preceding book.

6. ἐκ μεγάρου, and so past the entrance-hall where Ulysses was, on their way to the houses of the Suitors (Ameis). See however the Appendix on the Homeric house.

14. περὶ βεβῶσα 'standing over.' The comparison is imitated by Simonides of Amorgos, fr. 7. 15 λέληκεν ἦν καὶ μηδέν' ἀνθρώπων ὄρε', 7. 33 ὥστερ' ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν κύων.

15. ἀγνοίησας. The force of the aor. must be 'having failed to recognize,' 'having heard and not known.'

“τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ’ ἔτλης,  
 ἥματι τῷ ὅτε μοι μένος ἄσχετος ἦσθιε Κύκλωψ  
 ἰφθίμους ἐτάρους· σὺ δ’ ἐτόλμας, ὅφρα σε μῆτις 20  
 ἐξάγαγ’ ἐξ ἀντροιο οὐόμενον θανέεσθαι.”

ἌΩς ἔφατ’, ἐν στήθεσσι καθαπτόμενος φίλον ἦτορ·  
 τῷ δὲ μάλ’ ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη μένε τετληνῖα  
 νωλεμέως· ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἐλίσσετο ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.  
 ὥς δ’ ὅτε γαστέρ’ ἀνὴρ πολέος πυρὸς αἰδομένοιο, 25  
 ἐμπλείην κνίσσης τε καὶ αἵματος, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 αἰδῶλη, μάλα δ’ ὄκα λιλαιέται ὀπτηθῆναι,  
 ὥς ἄρ’ ὁ γ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσετο μερμηρίζων  
 ὅπως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσει  
 μῦθος ἐὼν πολέσι. σχεδὸν δὲ οἱ ἦλθεν Ἀθήνη 30  
 οὐρανόθεν καταβᾶσα· δέμας δ’ ἦϊκτο γυναικί·  
 στῇ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 “τίπτ’ αὐτ’ ἐγρήσσεις, πάντων περὶ κάμμορε φωτῶν;  
 οἶκος μὲν τοι ὅδ’ ἐστί, γυνὴ δέ τοι ἦδ’ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 καὶ πάϊς, οἶδν πού τις ἐέλδεται ἔμμεναι νῆα.” 35

Τὴν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες·  
 ἀλλὰ τί μοι τόδε θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει,  
 ὅπως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσω  
 μῦθος ἐὼν· οἱ δ’ αἰὲν ἀολλέες ἔνδον ἔασι. 40

18 δὴ om. F P H X al.

19 μοι] τοι F X M al.

34 ἦδ’] ὅδ’ G F.

18. Cp. the imitation in Archilochus, fr. 66 θυμέ, θυμ’ ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, ἀσχετο.

19. For μοι some good MSS. have τοι, which agrees with σύ and σε in the next line. But, though slightly illogical, μοι seems more likely to be right.

23. ἐν πείσῃ, ἐν δεσμοῖς (Schol.). The word πείσα only occurs here. It is probably akin to πείσμα ‘a cable’ (root πειθ- ‘to bind’).

25. πυρὸς might be a gen. absolute, but it is better to take it as a local gen. with ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, ‘this way and that in the blaze of the great fire’: cp. Il. 6. 2 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ’ ἴθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο.

27. αἰδῶλη ‘tosses,’ ‘makes it dance’: from αἰδῶλος, in the sense which it has in κορυθαῖολος, &c.—a sense in which the notions of light and movement seem to pass into each other.

29. ἐφήσει. With ὅπως or a similar adv., after a past tense in the governing clause, Homeric usage almost requires the opt.: see Hermann, Op. ii. 26. The only real parallel to this fut. is Il. 12. 59 πεσοὶ δὲ μενοίνεον εἰ τελέουσιν. In l. 386 some MSS. have ὀπνότε . . . ἐφείη, whence we may read ἐφείη here also. The form ἐφήσει may have crept in from l. 39 ὅπως δὴ . . . ἐφήσω: cp. also 13. 376 φράξεν ὅπως . . . ἐφήσεις.

πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τόδε μῆϊον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζω·  
εἴ περ γὰρ κτείναιμι Διὸς τε σέθεν τε ἔκῃτι,  
πῇ κεν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι; τά σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
"σχέτλιε, καὶ μὲν τίς τε χερεῖονι πείθεθ' ἑταῖρῳ, 45  
ὅς περ θνητὸς τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μῆδεα οἶδεν·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θεὸς εἰμι, διαμπερὲς ἦ σε φυλάσσω  
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοις. ἐρέω δέ τοι ἑξαναφανδόν·  
εἴ περ πεντήκοντα λόχοι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
νῶϊ περισταῖεν, κτεῖναι μεμαῶτες Ἀρτῆϊ, 50  
καὶ κεν τῶν ἐλάσαιο βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα.  
ἀλλ' ἐλέτω σε καὶ ὕπνος ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν  
πάννυχον ἐγρήσσοντα, κακῶν δ' ὑποδύσειαι ἤδη."

Ὡς φάτο, καὶ ρά οἱ ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔχευεν,  
αὕτῃ δ' ἅψ' ἐς Ὀλύμπον ἀφίκετο διὰ θεῶων. 55  
εὖτε τὸν ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε, λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ,  
λυσιμελῆς, ἄλοχος δ' ἄρ' ἐπέγρετο κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα,  
κλαῖε δ' ἄρ' ἐν λέκτροισι καθεζομένη μαλακοῖσιν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κλαίουσα κορέσσατο δν κατὰ θυμόν,  
Ἀρτέμιδι πρῶτιστον ἐπεύξατο διὰ γυναικῶν 60  
"Ἀρτεμι, πότνα θεά, θύγατερ Διὸς, αἴθε μοι ἦδη  
ἰδὼν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλοῦσ' ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιο  
αὐτίκα νῦν, ἣ ἔπειτά μ' ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα  
οἴχοιτο προφέρουσα κατ' ἡερόεντα κέλευθα,

43 τά σε vulg.: τὸ δὲ F: τόδε σε M: τό σε Barnes.

55 ἀψ' αὐτ' G.

43. ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι, viz. from the vengeance of the relatives of the slain, as in every case of homicide: cp. Il. 15. 224 φεύγων ἐξ Ἀργεῖος ἀνδρα κατακτάς, Il. 13. 696., 15. 335.

45. σχέτλιε 'obstinate,' 'incorrigible,' said in a half-admiring tone: cp. Il. 16. 203 (the Myrmidons to Achilles), 22. 41 (Priam to Hector), 22. 86 (Hecuba to Hector), Od. 12. 279, &c.

49. Λόχοι, here apparently = 'troops,' a sense of Λόχοι not found elsewhere in Homer.

52. ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν. This is

the nearest approach in Homer to the 'articular infinitive': cp. I. 370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἐστὶν δοῖδου, where the art. is not brought so close to the inf. as in this place.

57. λυσιμελῆς is used as if it were equivalent to the phrase λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ in the line before. We cannot, however, suppose that the poet understood λυσιμελῆς in this sense. He probably meant no more than to play on the likeness between μελίδημα 'care' and μέλος 'limb.' For the latter cp. 18. 189 λύθην δὲ οἱ ἀπ' αἵμα πάντα.



ἐν προχοῇς δὲ βάλοι ἀψαρρόου Ὀκεανοῖο. 65  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόυρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι,  
 τῇσι τοκῆας μὲν φθίσαν θεοί, αἱ δ' ἐλίποντο  
 ὄρφαναί ἐν μεγάροισι, κόμισσε δὲ δι' Ἀφροδίτη  
 τυρῷ καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῷ καὶ ἡδέϊ ὄϊφι·  
 Ἥρῃ δ' αὐτῇσιν περὶ πάσῃων δῶκε γυναικῶν 70  
 εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν, μῆκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἀρτεμις ἀγνή,  
 ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη δέδαε κλυτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι.  
 εὐτ' Ἀφροδίτη δῖα προσέστιχε μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
 κούρης αἰτήσουσα τέλος θαλεροῖο γάμοιο,  
 ἐς Δία τερπικέραυνον—ὃ γάρ τ' εὖ οἶδεν ἅπαντα, 75  
 μοῖράν τ' ἀμμορίην τε καταβνητῶν ἀνθρώπων—  
 τόφρα δὲ τὰς κόυρας ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο  
 καὶ ῥ' ἔδοσαν στυγερῇσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν·  
 ὥς ἔμ' αἰστώσειαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,  
 ἥ ἐμ' ἐϋπλόκαμος βάλοι Ἀρτεμις, ὅφρ' Ὀδυσῆα 80  
 ὀσσομένη καὶ γαίαν ὑπο στυγερὴν ἀφικοίμην,  
 μηδέ τι χείρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐϋφραίνοιμι νόημα.  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν ἔχει κακόν, ὅππότε κέν τις

65 προχοῇ G (cp. II. 242).

66. This story of the 'daughters of Pandareus' does not directly clash with the story told of Aedon 'daughter of Pandareus' in 19. 518-523: but the two passages have the air of belonging to different myths, as Bekker observed (*H. Bl.* I. 125).

74. τέλος γάμοιο. The word τέλος, in phrases like this, means the 'coming to pass,' hence the crisis or 'supreme moment': so τέλος θανάτῳ (often), also νόστοιο τέλος (*Od.* 22. 323), μισθοῖο τέλος (*Il.* 21. 450) 'the actual payment of the wage.'

77. ἀνηρείψαντο, see on 14. 371. It should have been noticed there that the correction ἀνῆρέψαντο was suggested by Döderlein (*Hom. Gloss.* 2325), and supported by the Hesychian gloss ἀνερεψάμενοι: ἀναρπάζαντες, and by some MSS. in *Hesiod Theog.* 990 (ἀναρπάζαμένη V, ἀναρπάζαμένη Ald. al.).

78. ἐρινύσιν should rather be ἐρινύσσ',

cp. νέκυσσι, &c. (better perhaps νέκυσσι, &c., Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 90).

ἀμφιπολεύειν 'to attend to,' a euphemism.

81. ὀσσομένη 'looking for Ulysses,' 'with his image before my mind,' cp. 1. 115 ὀσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, εἰ ποθεν ἔλθων κτλ. See also the note on 1. 93 (*infra*).

82. νόημα 'thought, mind': cp. *Hesiod*, fr. 189 γυνὴ τέρπουσα νόημα.

83-87. The general sense is the same as in Penelope's speech, 19. 512-517. She weeps by day, and even at night her dreams are full of sorrow.

83. ἀνεκτὸν ἔχει κακόν 'has in it (brings with it, involves) an endurable ill.' So *Faesi* and the older commentators, rightly. Ameis objects that ἔχει cannot be shown to have this meaning. Accordingly he takes τό as an acc., and supplies τις as nom. from the following clause ὅππότε κέν τις κτλ.: 'a man

ἡματα μὲν κλαίῃ, πυκινῶς ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ,  
 νύκτας δ' ὕπνος ἔχρυσιν—ὁ γάρ τ' ἐπέλησεν ἀπάντων, 85  
 ἐσθλῶν ἠδὲ κακῶν, ἐπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψῃ—  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὀνείρατ' ἐπέσσευεν κακὰ δαίμων.  
 τῇδε γὰρ αὖ μοι νυκτὶ παρέδραθεν εἵκελος αὐτῷ,  
 τοῖος ἐὼν οἶος ἦεν ἄμα στρατῷ· αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ  
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἦδη." 90  
 \*Ὡς ἔφατ', αὐτίκα δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἤλυθεν Ἥως.  
 τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης ὅπα σύνθετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 μερμήριζε δ' ἔπειτα, δόκησε δὲ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν  
 ἦδη γιγνώσκουσα παρεστάμεναι κεφαλῇφι.  
 χλαῖναν μὲν συνελὼν καὶ κῶεα, τοῖσιν ἐνεῦδεν, 95  
 ἐς μέγαρον κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἐκ δὲ βοείην  
 θῆκε θύραζε φέρων, Διὶ δ' εὔξατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ μ' ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὕγρην  
 ἦγετ' ἐμὴν ἐς γαίαν, ἐπεὶ μ' ἐκακώσατε λίην,  
 φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων 100  
 ἐνδοθεν, ἔκτωσθεν δὲ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φανήτω."  
 \*Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς,

85 ἀπάντων] πάντας P.

101 φανῆται F.

suffers an endurable evil when he' &c. But this is too artificial, and is against the Homeric usage of the correlatives τὸ—ὅτε (e.g. Il. 15. 207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται δὲ ἄγγελος αἰσιμα εἰδῶ), in which τὸ means the whole fact or state of things described by the clause with ὅτε. Here (e.g.) τὸ—ὅπότε κέν τις κλαίῃ would be in later prose (ἀνεῖτον ἔχει κακόν) τὸ κλαίειν τινα. As to ἔχω the only question is whether the phrase ἔχει κακόν, which is said of a person suffering evil, may be said of a state of things. We may compare the Attic phrases such as ἀγανάττησιν ἔχει, κατὰ-μεμῆν ἔχει (Thuc.), ταῦτ' ἀπιστίαν ἔχει, ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἔχει (Demosth.). Some take κακόν as a nom., and ἔχει=ἔχει τινα: but this absolute use of ἔχω is doubtful. Possibly, however, ἔχει is an old corruption for ἔπει, as in 12. 209 οὐ μὲν δὴ τότε μείζον ἔπει κακόν (so Ameis, La Roche: vulg. ἔπει κακόν). In that

place, it is worth noting, Zen. read ἔχει.

91. Dawn of the 40th day—that which ends at 23. 343.

93. ὅδεσσι δὲ οἱ κτλ. These words describe a vivid *waking* impression: the recognition to which Ulysses is looking forward seems turned into a present reality by the sound of her voice. The Odyssey is rich in words expressing strong imagination, such as ὄσσομαι, ὀδομαι, ἰσθάλωμαι.

98. ἐθέλοντες, plur. because he desires to include the action of the gods generally. ἐθέλω is used (not βούλομαι) to express the *will* of the gods.

99. ἦγετε is used like an aor.: H. G. § 72, 2, note 2.

100. Α φήμη, called also κληθών (4. 317., 18. 117., 20. 120), is a speech that serves as an omen: see on 18. 117. Neither word occurs in the Iliad.

101. τέρας ἄλλο 'a sign besides.'

αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος 'Ολύμπου,  
 ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων· γήθησε δὲ δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς.  
 φήμην δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο γυνὴ προέηκεν ἀλετρίῃς 105  
 πλησίον, ἐνθ' ἄρα οἱ μύλαι ἦατο ποιμένι λαῶν,  
 τῇσιν δῶδεκα πᾶσαι ἐπερρώοντο γυναῖκες  
 ἀλφίτα τεύχουσai καὶ ἀλείατα, μυελὸν ἀνδρῶν.  
 αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλαι εὐδον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ πυρὸν ἄλεσσαν,  
 ἡ δὲ μί' οὐ πω παύετ', ἀφαιροτάτῃ δ' ἐτέτυκτο· 110  
 ἡ ῥα μύλην στήσασα ἔπος φάτο, σῆμα ἀνακτι·  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις,  
 ἡ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,

108 ἀλείατα] ἀλείφατα F P H.

103. 'Ολύμπου, here simply = 'sky': in the Iliad, as Aristarchus observed, 'Ολυμπος is always a mountain.

104. The words ἐκ νεφέων destroy the significance of the thunder as an omen—the point being that it came from a clear sky (l. 113 ἀστερόεντος, οὐδὲ ποθι νέφος ἐστὶ). Probably therefore the line is spurious: the latter part of it anticipates 120–121.

105. οἴκοιο, not the μέγαρον, but one of the detached buildings or minor θάλαμοι, opening on the αὐλή. These were inhabited by slaves or used for household operations, and would be within earshot of Ulysses, who is in the πρόδομος (J. L. M.).

106. ἦατο 'were set down.' This is the only place where ἦμαι is used of inanimate objects. The mills 'sat,' i.e. (probably) 'lay flat.' Presumably, like the hand-mills still used in Greece, they were too heavy to be placed on any support, such as a table.

107. ἐπερρώοντο 'sped on, plied their task at' (the mills). ῥώομαι seems to express continuous movement, e.g. the 'rippling' of hair (Il. i. 529). For the ἐπὶ cp. 7. 104 ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης ἐπὶ μήλοισι κορπύν.

108. ἀλείατα, the later δλευρα, 'wheaten flour,' ἀλφίτα being of barley: cp. Plat. Rep. 372 B ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἀλφίτα σκευαζόμενοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν δλευρα: also Arist. Probl. i. 36, where it is said to be an argument for πτωσύνη of wheat as compared with barley water ὅτι πολὺν

εὐχρόστεροι οἱ περὶ τὴν τῶν δλεύρων ἐργασίαν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀλφίτων. In this case, however, the grain was all wheat (l. 109): while ἀλφίτα is much commoner than ἀλείατα (only mentioned here in Homer). Probably the original distinction was one between meal (ἀλφίτα) and flour (ἀλείατα, as being more ground): but practically the 'meal' was usually of barley, and the 'flour' of wheat.

The form ἀλείατα is a metrical lengthening of ἀλείατα (Schulze, Quaest. Ep. p. 226).

109. To avoid the hiatus Fick reads ἄλλαι ἔθ' εὐδον, supposing that the woman who presently speaks had got up before the rest. But this does not agree with οὐ πω παύετο in the next line. Apparently the work of grinding was done at or before dawn, so that the meal should be fresh and ready for the day's use, and the workers were allowed to sleep when their task was done.

110. ἡ δὲ μία 'but one,' cp. 14. 26.

111. μύλην στήσασα, apparently 'stopping the mill': otherwise he could not have heard what she said. The Greek women at the present day sing while the mill is going, and always stop when you speak to them. Hence the place given to the circumstance in the account of the φήμη. It is a 'sound-note,' like the step on the threshold (J. L. M.).

οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεφ τόδε φαίνεις.  
 κῆνον νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ δειλῇ ἔπος, ὅττι κεν εἴπω 115  
 μνηστῆρες πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἡματι τῷδε  
 ἐν μεγάροις Ὀδυσῆος ἐλοίατο δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν,  
 οἱ δὴ μοι καμάτῳ θυμαλγείῃ γούνατ' ἔλυσαν  
 ἄλφιστα τευχούσῃ· νῦν ὕστατα δειπνήσειαν."

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, χαίρεν δὲ κληδόνι διός Ὀδυσσεὺς 120  
 Ζηνός τε βροντῇ· φάτο γὰρ τίσεσθαι ἀλείτας.

Αἰ δ' ἄλλαι δμῳαὶ κατὰ δώματα κάλ' Ὀδυσῆος  
 ἐγρόμεναι ἀνέκαιον ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἀκάματον πῦρ·  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' εὐνήθεν ἀνίστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,  
 εἵματα ἐσάμενος· περὶ δὲ ξίφος ὀξὺ θέτ' ὤμφ· 125  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ·  
 στή δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, πρὸς δ' Εὐρύκλειαν ἔειπε·

"μαῖα φῖλη, πῶς ξεῖνον ἐτιμήσασθ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 εὐνῇ καὶ σίτῳ, ἥ αὐτως κεῖται ἀκηδής;  
 τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐμὴ μήτηρ, πινυτή περ ἑοῦσα·  
 ἐμπλήγδην ἕτερόν γε τίει μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
 χείρονα, τὸν δέ τ' ἀρείον' ἀτιμήσας ἀποπέμπει."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Εὐρύκλεια· 135  
 "οὐκ ἂν μιν νῦν, τέκνον, ἀναίτιον αἰτιόω.  
 οἶνον μὲν γὰρ πῖνε καθήμενος, δφρ' ἔθελ' αὐτός,  
 σίτου δ' οὐκέτ' ἔφη πεινήμεναι· εἵρετο γάρ μιν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κοίτοιο καὶ ὕπνου μιμνήσκοντο,

115 κῆνον F P H al. This, the Homeric form, may be restored, omitting νῦν

(Bothe). 121 τίσεσθαι, cp. Il. 3. 28: τίσασθαι Ven. 457: τίσασθαι MSS.

123 ἐγρόμεναι G U: ἀγρόμεναι vulg.

132 ἐμπλήγδην Ar., vulg.: ἐκπλήγδην F M al.

138 μιμνήσκοντο U: μιμήσκοντο G: μιμήσκαιτο vulg.

123. ἐγρόμεναι 'waking' seems much more in point than the vulg. ἀγρόμεναι 'assembling.' Conversely ἔγρετο has probably taken the place of ἀγρετο (or ἔγρετο) in Il. 7. 434., 24. 789.

132. ἐμπλήγδην 'mightily,' lit. 'in striking fashion': the reading ἐκπλήγδην 'in maddening fashion,' 'astoundingly' is not impossible, but errs by

being somewhat too emphatic.

135. οὐκ ἂν αἰτιόω is a polite form of saying 'do not blame': cp. Il. 2. 250., 14. 126.

138. μιμνήσκοντο, sc. Penelope and her guest. The opt., which is the vulg. reading, would have an iterative force, which is inapplicable in this context (L. and G.).

ἡ μὲν δέμνι' ἀνωγεν ὑποστορέσαι δμῳῆσιν,  
αὐτὰρ ὁ γ', ὥς τις πάμπαν οἷζυρὸς καὶ ἀποτμος, 140  
οὐκ ἔθελ' ἐν λέκτροισι καὶ ἐν ῥήγεσσι καθεῦδειν,  
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδεψήτῳ βοέῃ καὶ κώεσιν οἴων  
ἔδραθ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ· χλαῖναν δ' ἐπιέσσαμεν ἡμεῖς."  
ἄΩς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ διέκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει  
ἔγχος ἔχων· ἅμα τῷ γε δύο κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο. 145  
βῆ δ' ἴμεν εἰς ἀγορὴν μετ' ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς.  
ἡ δ' αὐτε δμῳῆσιν ἐκέκλετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
Εὐρύκλει', ὦπος θυγάτηρ Πεισηνορίδαο·  
"ἀγρεῖθ', αἱ μὲν δῶμα κορήσατε ποιπνύσασαι,  
ῥάσσατέ τ' ἐν τε θρόνοισι εὐποιήτοισι τάπητας 150  
βάλλετε πορφυρέους· αἱ δὲ σπύργοισι τραπέζας  
πάσας ἀμφιμάσασθε, καθήρατε δὲ κρητῆρας  
καὶ δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα τετυγμένα· ταὶ δὲ μεθ' ὕδαρ  
ἔρχεσθε κρήνηνδε, καὶ οἴσετε θᾶσσον ἰούσαι.  
οὐ γὰρ δὴν μνηστῆρες ἀπέσσονται μεγάροιο, 155  
ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἦρι νέονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐορτή."  
ἄΩς ἔφαθ', αἱ δ' ἄρα τῆς μάλα μὲν κλύον ἡδ' ἐπίθοντο.  
αἱ μὲν ἐείκοσι βῆσαν ἐπὶ κρήνην μελάνυδρον,  
αἱ δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δώματ' ἐπισταμένως πονέοντο.  
ἐς δ' ἦλθον δρηστήρες ἀγήμερες· οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα 160  
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως κέασαν ξύλα, ταὶ δὲ γυναικες  
ἦλθον ἀπὸ κρήνης· ἐπὶ δὲ σφισιν ἦλθε συβώτης

145 δύο κύνες Bekker, cp. 2. 11., 17. 62: κύνες πόδας MSS. 159 δῶμα F P.  
160 ἐς G F U: ἐκ P H al. δρηστήρες P H U al.: μνηστήρες G F.

139. ἀνωγεν with the dat. (δμῳῆσιν) is not found elsewhere in Homer.

140. Cp. the note on 19. 346-348. It is part of the character assumed by Ulysses to refuse all luxury.

153. τετυγμένα, cp. 13. 32.

156. ἐορτή, viz. the νομηνία, 'day of new moon': see on 14. 162. 'It is a high-day for them all' may be intended to bear a double significance.

According to the Herodotean life of Homer the νομηνία was kept as a festival of Apollo in the island of

Samos. This is implied in the story that Homer went about there *on the day of new moon* to the richest houses, led by children and singing the short poem called *εἰρεσιδωνή*: 'whence (adds the writer) these verses were sung for a long time afterwards by the children in Samos when they went round begging at the festival of Apollo' (δρ' ἀγείρουεν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος). See E. Meyer in *Hermes*, xxvi. 376.

158. αὶ ἐείκοσι 'twenty of them,' cp. 14. 26.

τρεῖς σιάλους κατάγων, οἳ ἔσαν μετὰ πᾶσιν ἄριστοι.  
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ῥ' εἶασε καθ' ἔρκεα καλὰ νέμεσθαι,  
αὐτὸς δ' αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα προσηύδα μελιχίοισι· 165

“ ξεῖν', ἦ ἄρ τί σε μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοὶ εἰσορόωσιν,  
ἥέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσι κατὰ μέγαρ', ὥς τὸ πάρος περ; ”

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“ αἱ γὰρ δὴ, Εὖμαιε, θεοὶ τισαῖατο λῶβην,  
ἦν οἷδ' ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανδύωνται 170  
οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ, οὐδ' αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν.”

ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
ἀγχιμόλον δέ σφ' ἦλθε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν,  
αἴγας ἄγων αἱ πᾶσι μετέπρεπον αἰπολίοισι,  
δεῖπνον μνηστήρεσσι· δῶω δ' ἄμ' ἔποντο νομῆες. 175

καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέδθησεν ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδοῦπφ,  
αὐτὸς δ' αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα προσηύδα κερτομίοισι·  
“ ξεῖν', ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐνθάδ' ἀνιήσεις κατὰ δῶμα  
ἀνέρας αἰτίζων, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἔξειςθα θύραζε;  
πάντως οὐκέτι νῶϊ διακρινέεσθαι δῖω 180

πρὶν χειρῶν γεύσασθαι, ἐπεὶ σύ περ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον  
αἰτίζεις· εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι δαῖτες Ἀχαιῶν.”

ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὗ τι προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων.

Τοῖσι δ' ἐπὶ τρίτος ἦλθε Φιλοτίος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν,  
βοῦν στείραν μνηστήρεσιν ἄγων καὶ πίονας αἴγας. 186  
πορβμῆες δ' ἄρα τοὺς γε διήγαγον, οἳ τε καὶ ἄλλους

170 ἀτάσθαλα G X H<sup>2</sup>, as 3. 207., 16. 93., 17. 588., 18. 143., 20. 370: δεικέα F P  
H U al., as 20. 394., 22. 432. 176 τὰς F X: τοὺς G P H U al. κατέδθησεν  
F H X: -σαν G P al. 182 ἄλλαι F P H al.: ἄλλοι G X U al.

171. οὐδ' αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν.  
The notion is that there is a certain  
place or share in the mind to which  
αἰδώς is entitled, and which the Suitors  
do not assign to it. So in 19. 592 it is  
said that each thing—and therefore sleep  
—has its μοῖρα or claim upon men.  
Cp. also ἐλπίδος αἶσα (16. 101., 19. 84)  
'place to be given to hope'; and the  
later phrase μοῖραν νέμειν 'to respect,

value.'

178. Cobet would read εἰ for ἔτι,  
making πάντως κτλ. the apodosis. But  
ἔτι is supported by 19. 66, where the  
same words are put into the mouth of  
Melantho. And πάντως usually begins  
a fresh sentence, like our 'really now':  
cp. 19. 91, Il. 8. 450.

187. For the flocks on the mainland  
see 14. 100 ff.

ἀνθρώπους πέμπουσιν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκηται.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ κατέδθησεν ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούφῃ,  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὐτ' ἐρέεινε συβώτην ἀγχι παραστάς· 190  
 "τίς δὴ ὄδε ξείνος νέον εἰλήλουθε, συβῶτα,  
 ἡμέτερον πρὸς δῶμα; τέων δ' ἐξ εὔχεται εἶναι  
 ἀνδρῶν; ποῦ δέ νύ οἱ γενεὴ καὶ πατρὶς ἄρουρα;  
 δύσμορος, ἣ τε ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆϊ ἀνακτι·  
 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ δυνώσι πολυπλάγκτους ἀνθρώπους, 195  
 ὁππότε καὶ βασιλεύσιν ἐπικλώσωνται οὔζυν."  
 Ἦ καὶ δεξιτερῇ δειδίσκετο χειρὶ παραστάς,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "χαῖρε, πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε· γένοιτό τοι ἔς περ ὀπίσσω  
 ὄλβος· ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι. 200  
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὗ τις σείῳ θεῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος·  
 οὐκ ἐλαίρεις ἀνδρας, ἐπὴν δὴ γείνεται αὐτός,  
 μισγέμεναι κακότητι καὶ ἄλγεσι λευγαλέοισιν.  
 ἴδιον, ὥς ἐνόησα, δεδάκρυνται δέ μοι ὅσσε  
 μνησαμένῳ Ὀδυσῆος, ἐπεὶ καὶ κείνον ὄτω 205  
 τοιάδε λαίφε' ἔχοντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι,  
 εἴ που ἔτι ζῶει καὶ ὀρᾷ φάος ἥελιοιο.  
 εἰ δ' ἤδη τέθνηκε καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν,  
 ὦ μοι ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς μ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν

188 ἐπ' εὐρία νῶτα θαλάσσης G. 189 τὰ μὲν εὖ] τὰς μὲν εὖ G<sup>2</sup>: τὰς μὲν (as  
 in 176). 199 ἔς περ U Eust.: ὥς περ vulg. 204 μοι ὅσσε] μοι παρειαί G.

189. τὰ μὲν εὖ κατλ. The neut. is used of sheep, &c., when they are spoken of collectively: see *H. G.* § 171, 5. It is especially suitable when animals of different kinds are intended.

196. The words καὶ βασιλεύσιν belong logically to the principal clause: the sense is that 'the gods mar the form of much-wandering men, even of kings, whenever they ordain sorrow for them.' The effect of the postponement of the words is that they come in as an after-thought: 'whenever the gods decree, even to kings, the lot of sorrow.'

A different explanation was given by Ernesti: 'sensus est; sed intellegi potest

quam proclives dii sint ad homines miseriis mergendos, cum etiam regibus decernant atque immittant miseriam.' If by 'cum decernant' he means 'since they decree,' these words cannot be accepted as the translation of ὁππότε with a subj.

203. μισγέμεναι 'to bring into, make acquainted with.' The inf. is construed as with a verb of *privative* meaning, 'pity in regard to mixing' = 'pity so as not to mix.' Cp. *Il.* 7. 408 κατακαίμεν οὐ τι μεγάρων· οὐ γὰρ τις φειδῶ . . . μειλισσέμεν: *Soph. Aj.* 652 ολατρίων δέ νιν χήραν παρ' ἐχθροῖς παῖδά τ' ὀρφανὸν λιπεῖν.

εἶς' ἔτι τυτθὸν ἔοντα Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ. 210  
 νῦν δ' αἱ μὲν γίνονται ἀθέσφατοι, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως  
 ἀνδρὶ γ' ὑποσταχύοιτο βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων·  
 τὰς δ' ἄλλοι με κέλονται ἀγινέμεναί σφισιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἔδμεναι· οὐδέ τι παιδὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀλέγουσιν,  
 οὐδ' ὅπιδα τρομέουσι θεῶν· μεμάασι γὰρ ἤδη 215  
 κτήματα δάσσασθαι δὴν οἰχομένοιο ἀνακτος.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τόδε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι  
 πόλλ' ἐπιδινεῖται· μάλα μὲν κακὸν υἱὸς ἔδντος  
 ἄλλων δῆμον ἰκέσθαι ἰόντ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσιν  
 ἀνδρας ἐς ἄλλοδαπούς· τὸ δὲ βίγιον αὐθι μένοντα 220  
 βουσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίησι καθήμενον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.  
 καὶ κεν δὴ πάλαι ἄλλον ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων  
 ἐξικόμεν φεύγων, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὰ πέλονται·  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον ὀϊομαι, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθων  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θεῖη." 225  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "βουκόλ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὐτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας,  
 γιγνώσκω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δ τοι πινυτὴ φρένας ἴκει,  
 τοῦνεκά τοι ἔρέω καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·  
 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίῃ τε τράπεζα, 230

213 αἶψας?

215 φρονέουσι G P.

230 ὑπατος καὶ ἀριστος G P U.

210. Κεφαλλῆνες as a national or tribal name is applied in the Catalogue (Il. 2.631 ff.) to all the subjects of Ulysses. Here the mainland, where the herds of cattle were (14.100), must be intended. There is nothing in the Odyssey to connect the name with the island afterwards called Κεφαλληνία. Possibly it was then still confined to a district of Epirus.

211. 'Cattle could not thrive in other fashion' means, not merely that they could not do better, but that they thrive *unlike*, in the one right way, 'like nothing else.' Cp. 8.176.

212. ἀνδρὶ γὰρ 'for a man' (not a god): cp. 5.120., 9.191.

ὑποσταχύοιτο 'yield their increase,' a metaphor from the growth and ripening of corn.

215. ὅπιδα, cp. 14.82.

218. ἐπιδινεῖται 'turns over,' cp. 16.63 ἐπὶ ἅστεα δινηθῆναι. Here also ἐπὶ = 'over' or 'round,' cp. 16.365.

219. αὐτῇσι βόεσσι 'my cattle all alive with me,' 'cowherd and cows.' The phrase has a curiously different meaning in Il. 7.474 ἄλλοι δὲ βουνοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσιν, i.e. with the whole animals.

221. ἀλλοτρίησι, because now given over to the use of the Suitors,—the ἄλλοι of l. 213.

224. τὸν δύστηνον is an acc. *de quo*; that is to say, ὀϊομαι would not take an acc. of the persons unless such a clause as εἴ ποθεν κτλ. followed to express the thing expected.

230-231 = 14.158-159 (where see the note).



ιστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἦν ἀφικάνω  
 ἦ σέθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐόντος ἐλεύσεται οἶκαδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 σοῖσιν δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐπόψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα,  
 κτεινομένους μνηστῆρας, οἳ ἐνθάδε κοιρανέουσι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνήρ 235  
 "αἶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τελέσειε Κρονίων·  
 γνοῖης χ' οἷη ἐμή δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται."

ἌΩς δ' αὐτως Εὐμαιος ἐπέυξατο πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολέφρονα δνδε δόμονδε.

ἌΩς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον, 240  
 μνηστῆρες δ' ἄρα Τηλεμάχῳ θάνατόν τε μόρον τε  
 ἤρτυον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀριστερὸς ἤλυθεν ὄρνις,  
 αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀμφίνομος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν· 245  
 "ὦ φίλοι, οὐχ ἡμῖν συνθεύσεται ἡδὲ γε βουλή,  
 Τηλεμάχοιο φόνος· ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα δαιτὸς."

ἌΩς ἔφατ' Ἀμφίνομος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήδανε μῦθος.  
 ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δώματ' Ὀδυσσῆος θέλειο

χλαῖνας μὲν κατέθεντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε, 250  
 οἳ δ' ἱέρευον δις μεγάλους καὶ πίνοντας αἶγας,

ἱρευνον δὲ σῦας σιάλους καὶ βοὴν ἀγελαίην·  
 σπλάγχχνα δ' ἄρ' ὀπτήσαντες ἐνώμων, ἐν δ' ἄρα οἶνον  
 κρητῆρσιν κερώνοντο· κύπελλα δὲ νεῖμε συβώτης.

232 οἶκαδ' ἐνθάδ' G U.  
 G P H Eust. (13. 244).

248 δῶμα P.

252 ἐν δ' ἄρα F M X U: ἐν δὲ τε

232. ἐνθάδε, i. e. in Ithaca, before the  
 neat-herd's return to the mainland (187,  
 210).

237. οἷη ἐμή δύναμις, sc. ἔστι.  
 καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται 'and (how) my  
 hands play their part.' We have to  
 understand *πως* out of οἷη (ἐμή δύναμις):  
 cp. Il. 16. 271 *ὅς μ' ἐγ' ἀριστος Ἀργείων*  
*παρὰ νηυσὶ καὶ ἀγχιέμαχοι θεράποντες*.

240 ff. Arrival of the Suitors. It is  
 not clear where they are supposed to be  
 when they are plotting to kill Tele-  
 machus. In 16. 361 ff. they assemble  
 in the Agora, and when Amphinomos  
 warns them against any such attempt

(16. 400 ff.) they then go to the palace  
 of Ulysses.

246. Τηλεμάχοιο φόνος, in apposition  
 to βουλή, as being the substance of the  
 βουλή: cp. the similar brachylogy, 21.  
 4 *ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχὴν* (of the bow  
 and the axes), 21. 24 αἶ (sc. the mares)  
 καὶ ἔπειτα φόνος καὶ μοῖρα γέγοντο.

248. ἐλθόντες κτλ. So in 16. 407 ff.  
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν δόμον εἰς  
 Ὀδυσῆος, ἐλθόντες δὲ καθίζον ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι  
 θρόνοισι.

252. σπλάγχχνα κτλ., as a kind of  
 πρόγευσις, or preliminary rite, before  
 the feast; see on 3. 461.

σῖτον δέ σφ' ἐπένειμε Φιλοίτιος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν,  
καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν, ἐφνοχέει δὲ Μελανθεύς. 255

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.

Τηλέμαχος δ' Ὀδυσῆα καθίδρυε, κέρδεα νομῶν,  
ἐντὸς ἑυσταθέος μεγάρου, παρὰ λαΐνον οὐδόν,  
δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθεῖς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν·  
πὰρ δ' ἐτίθει σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον ἔχευεν 260  
ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

“ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν ἦσο μετ' ἀνδράσιν οἰνοποτάζων·  
κερτομίας δέ τοι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καὶ χεῖρας ἀφέξω  
πάντων μνηστήρων, ἐπεὶ σὺ τοι δῆμιός ἐστιν  
οἶκος δδ', ἀλλ' Ὀδυσῆος, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐκτήσατο κείνος. 265  
ὕμεις δέ, μνηστήρες, ἐπίσχετε θυμὸν ἐνιπῆς  
καὶ χειρῶν, ἵνα μὴ τις ἕρις καὶ νεῖκος ὀρηται.”

\*Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὁδᾶξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες  
Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον, ὃ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.  
τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός· 270

“καὶ χαλεπὸν περ ἔοντα δεχόμεθα μῦθον, Ἀχαιοί,  
Τηλεμάχον· μάλα δ' ἡμῖν ἀπειλήσας ἀγορεύει.  
οὐ γὰρ Ζεὺς εἶασε Κρονίων τῷ κέ μιν ἥδη  
παύσαμεν ἐν μεγάροισι, λιγύν περ ἔοντ' ἀγορητήν.”

\*Ὡς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος· ὃ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων. 275  
κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην

259 καταθεῖς XU: καθεῖς G: παραθεῖς FPH al. (perhaps from πὰρ δ' ἐτίθει in 260). 261 Read perhaps χρυσέῳ δέπαϊ, as Ar. in 3. 41: cp. 15. 149, 11. 24. 285.

257. κέρδεα νομῶν seems to imply that Telemachus knew of the stratagem of the bow. Or the reference may be vague: he did the proper thing, and so fell in with his father's plan.

258. λαΐνον οὐδόν, here (as always) the threshold at the entrance: cp. 17. 30.

262. ἐνταυθοῖ, cp. 18. 105.

273. οὐ γὰρ Ζεὺς εἶασε 'Zeus did not suffer it—.' The sentence is elliptical: what it was that Zeus did not suffer is not expressed, but is implied in the following clause τῷ κέ κτλ. = 'if he had, we should have silenced Telemachus.' Thus the whole sentence is

a paratactic way of saying 'for Zeus did not suffer us to silence him as we should otherwise have done.' Antinous naturally chooses to use somewhat veiled language.

For τῷ = 'in that case,' when the case is one that has not happened, cp. 14. 369 τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν κτλ. It is commoner after a *ὑπόθεσις*, as in 18. 402., 24. 32, 11. 21. 280, 432., 22. 427.

276-278. As to this feast of Apollo see on 14. 158 ff. The mention of it is rather abrupt. It serves to remind us that the eventful day had now come.

ἦγον· τοὶ δ' ἀγέροντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
ἄλσος ὑπο σκιερὸν ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὤπτησαν κρέ' ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐρύσαντο,  
μοῖρας δασσάμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα· 280  
παρ δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῇ μοῖραν θέσαν οἱ πονέοντο  
ἴσην, ὥς αὐτοὶ περ ἐλάγχανον· ὧς γὰρ ἀνώγει  
Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο.

Μνηστήρας δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀγήνορας εἶα Ἀθήνη  
λώβης ἴσχεσθαι θυμαλγέος, ὅφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον 285  
δύη ἄχος κραδίην Λαερτιάδῳ Ὀδυσῆος.  
ἦν δέ τις ἐν μνηστήρσιν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστια εἰδώς,  
Κτήσιππος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε, Σάμῃ δ' ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναῖεν·  
ὅς δῃ τοι κτεάτεσσι πεποιθὼς θεσπεσίοισι  
μνάσκετ' Ὀδυσσῆος δὴν οἰχομένοιο δάμαρτα. 290  
ὅς ρα τότε μνηστήρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι μετηύδα·  
“κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστήρες ἀγήνορες, ὅφρα τι εἴπω·  
μοῖραν μὲν δὴ ξείνος ἔχει πάλαι, ὥς ἐπέοικεν,  
ἴσην· οὐ γὰρ καλὸν ἀτέμβειν οὐδὲ δίκαιον  
ξείνους Τηλεμάχου, ὅς κεν τάδε δώμαθ' ἵκηται. 295  
ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ καὶ ἐγὼ δῶ ξείνιον, ὅφρα καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἧέ λοετροχόῳ δῶη γέρας ἧέ τῳ ἄλλῳ  
δμῶων, οἱ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο.”

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἔρριψε βοδὸς πόδα χειρὶ παχείῃ,  
κείμενον ἐκ κανέοιο λαβών· ὁ δ' ἀλεύατ' Ὀδυσσεὺς 300  
ἦκα παρακλίνας κεφαλὴν, μείδῃσεν δὲ θυμῷ

286 Λαερτιάδῳ Ὀδυσῆος G : Λαερτιάδην Ὀδυσῆα vulg., but cp. 18. 348.  
289 θεσπεσίοισι G X U Eust. : πατρός τοῖο F P H al.

278. A sanctuary in Homer is usually an altar in a grove: cp. 6. 291., 8. 363., 9. 200, &c. But temples are not unknown, cp. 6. 10.

279. κρέ' ὑπέρτερα, i. e. the flesh on the carcase (not the ἔγκατα), cp. 3. 65.

280. δασσάμενοι δαίνυντο, a play of language: cp. 13. 24.

284-286, repetition of 18. 346-348.

286. δύη, opt., cp. 18. 348.

297. λοετροχόῳ, apparently a 'bath attendant,' one who made ready the hot

water. It is a *ἄραξ εἰρημένον* as a substantive, but it is applied elsewhere (8. 435, 11. 18. 346) as an adj. to the tripod which served to carry the kettle of hot water.

301. θυμῷ is naturally used with verbs of *feeling* or *thought*, hardly with a word like μείδῃσεν, denoting an act or outward *sign* of feeling. Cp. however 8. 450 ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἀσπασίας ἰδε θυμῷ, and the phrase *θηήσατο θυμῷ* (15. 132, &c.) 'gazed (and admired) at heart.'

σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον· ὁ δ' εὐδμητον βάλε τοῖχον.  
 Κτήσιππον δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἠνέπαπε μύθῳ·  
 “Κτήσιππ', ἦ μάλα τοι τόδε κέρδιον ἐπλετο θυμῷ·  
 οὐκ ἔβαλες τὸν ξεῖνον· ἀλεύατο γὰρ βέλως αὐτός. 305  
 ἦ γάρ κέν σε μέσον βάλλον ἐγχεῖ ὀξυβεντι,  
 καὶ κέ τοι ἀντὶ γάμοιο πατὴρ τάφον ἀμφεπονείτο  
 ἐνθάδε. τῷ μὴ τίς μοι ἀεικέας ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 φαίνεται· ἤδη γὰρ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα,  
 ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια· πάρος δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα. 310  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης τάδε μὲν καὶ τέτλαμεν εἰσορόωντες,  
 μήλων σφαζομένων οἴνοιο τε πινομένοιο  
 καὶ σίτου· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐρυκακέειν ἓνα πολλούς.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μηκέτι μοι κακὰ βέξετε δυσμενέοντες,  
 εἰ δὴ μὴ μ' αὐτὸν κτεῖναι μενεαίνετε χαλκῷ· 315  
 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη  
 τεθνάμεν ἢ τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὀράσθαι,  
 ξείνους τε στυφελισμένους δμῶας τε γυναικάς

302. σαρδάνιον H, Plat. Rep. 337 A, Apoll. Soph., &c.: σαρδάνιον G F P X al.,  
 Hesych. Et. M. &c. 315 εἰ δὴ μὴ G P H al.: εἰ δὴ μὴ U: εἰ δ' ἦδη F X, Eust.

302. σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον 'surely  
 a smile of quite Sardanian bitterness.'  
 For τοῖον in this use cp. 15. 451.

σαρδάνιον or σαρδόνιον—the former  
 spelling has rather the better claim to  
 antiquity—must come from some proper  
 name which had passed into a proverb,  
 or else from some foreign word—perhaps  
 Egyptian or Phoenician. The notion  
 that it meant 'Sardinian,' and referred  
 to a certain bitter herb found in that  
 island, is doubtless later than Homer.

304. θυμῷ is even more difficult here  
 than in 301. The clause looks like a  
 contamination of the common phrase  
 φίλον ἐπλετο θυμῷ and 19. 283 τό γε  
 κέρδιον εἶσατο θυμῷ. But we may  
 translate 'this has been a wiser thought  
 in thy heart,' = 'you show discretion in  
 not hitting the stranger.' The compli-  
 ment is ironical, as Telemachus shows  
 by immediately adding that it was the  
 stranger himself who avoided the missile.

Notice the paratactic structure, with  
 asyndeton, = κέρδιον ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔβαλες,

or τὸ μὴ βαλεῖν: cp. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 θαυμάζω ἴδον κτλ.

The recurrence of θυμῷ at the end of  
 ll. 301, 304 is suspicious, especially as  
 it does not give a perfectly smooth sense  
 in either place.

315. εἰ δὴ μὴ μ'. With this reading,  
 which has the best support in the MSS.,  
 there should be only a comma at  
 δυσμενέοντες, but a colon at χαλκῷ:  
 the sense being, 'do not go on doing  
 mischief to me,—unless you desire to  
 slay me: and indeed I would rather die  
 than &c.' This gives a more natural  
 train of thought than the usual reading  
 εἰ δ' ἦδη μ', with the chief stop at  
 δυσμενέοντες.

317-319. = 16. 107-109. The lines  
 are perhaps wrongly repeated here.  
 They are superfluous in the construc-  
 tion, and do not agree with 311-313,  
 which express a similar complaint, but  
 in a somewhat different tone. Notice  
 too the awkward repetition εἰσορόωντες  
 (l. 311), ὀράσθαι (l. 317).

ρύσταζοντας ἀεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά.”

“Ὡς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ· 320

ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος·

“ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἐπὶ ῥηθέντι δικαίῳ

ἀντιβίοις ἐπέεσσι καθαπτόμενος χαλεπαίνοι·

μήτε τι τὸν ξεῖνον στυφελίζετε μήτε τιν’ ἄλλον

δμῶων, οἳ κατὰ δώματ’ Ὀδυσσῆος θέλειο. 325

Τηλεμάχῳ δέ κε μῦθον ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρι φαίην

ἥπιον, εἴ σφωῖν κραδίῃ ἄδοι ἀμφοτέροϊν.

ὄφρα μὲν ὑμῖν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐώλπει

νοστήσειν Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὄνδε δόμονδε,

τόφρ’ οὐ τις νέμεσις μενέμεν τ’ ἦν ἰσχύμεναί τε 330

μνηστῆρας κατὰ δώματ’, ἐπεὶ τόδε κέρδιον ἦεν,

εἰ νόστησ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ ὑπότροπος ἴκετο δῶμα·

νῦν δ’ ἤδη τόδε δῆλον, ὃ τ’ οὐκέτι νόστιμός ἐστιν.

ἀλλ’ ἄγε, σῇ τάδε μητρὶ παρεζόμενος κατάλεξον,

γήμασθ’ ὅς τις ἄριστος ἀνὴρ καὶ πλείστα πόρρησιν, 335

ὄφρα σὺ μὲν χαίρων πατρώϊα πάντα νέμῃαι,

ἔσθων καὶ πίνων, ἢ δ’ ἄλλου δῶμα κομίσῃ.”

Τὸν δ’ αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἠύδα·

“οὐ μὰ Ζῆν’, Ἀγέλαε, καὶ ἄλγεα πατὴρς ἐμοῖο,

ὅς που τῇλ’ Ἰθάκης ἢ ἐφθίται ἢ ἀλάληται, 340

οὐ τι διατρίβω μητρὸς γάμον, ἀλλὰ κελεύω

γήμασθ’ ὃ κ’ ἐθέλῃ, ποτὶ δ’ ἀσπετα δῶρα δίδωμι.

329 νοστήσειν G, Eust. : νοστήσαι F P H al.

U al. 337 δώμαθ’ ἴκηται Eust.

333 τόδε vulg. : τό γε G : τὸ  
339 ἐμοῖο] ἐμείο G P X.

322-325, = 18.414-417.

330. ἰσχύμεναί ‘to restrain the Suitors,’  
i.e. to hold your ground, not to give  
way to them.

331. τόδε, i.e. what you have done.

332. εἰ νόστησ’ Ὀδυσσεύς suggests a  
slightly different principal clause, but  
one implied in τόδε κέρδιον ἦεν: ‘this  
was the wiser course (and would have  
been proved wiser), if Ulysses had re-  
turned.’ Cp. the implied conditional  
protasis in 4.171 καὶ μιν ἔφην ἐλθόντα  
φιλησέμεν . . . εἰ νῦν νόστον ἔδωκε Ζεὺς,

= ‘I thought I should entertain him  
(and would have done so), if Zeus &c.’:  
4.292 οὐ γὰρ εἰ τι τόδ’ ἤρκεισε λυγρὸν  
ὀλεθρον, οὐδ’ εἰ οἱ κραδίῃ γε σιδηρῇ  
ἐνδοθεν ἦεν ‘this did not save him—not  
even (would it have saved him) though  
his heart had been of iron.’ Compare  
also the Latin use of the indic. in such  
sentences as Cic. Verr. 5.49 *si licitum  
esset, matres veniebant*, i.e. ‘were  
coming (and would have come) if it  
had been allowed’ (Roby, ii. p. 246).

342. For δίδωμι Eust. reads δίδρσι,

αἰδέομαι δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο δῖεσθαι  
μύθῳ ἀναγκαίῳ· μὴ τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσειεν."

\*Ὡς φάτο Τηλέμαχος· μνηστῆρσι δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
ἄσβεστον γέλω ὥρσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα. 346

οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἄλλοτρίοισιν,  
αἰμοφόρυκτα δὲ δὴ κρέα ἥσθιον· ὅσσε δ' ἄρα σφέων  
δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, γόνον δ' ὤϊετο θυμός.

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής· 350

"ὦ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων

εἰλύεται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γούνα,

οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηκε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί,

αἵματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλάι τε μεσόδμα·

εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή, 355

346 γέλω P X U: γέλον M U<sup>2</sup>: γέλον G al.: γέλωτ' F. 347 γελοῖον Eust.:  
γέλωτ' vulg. 351 ὦ δειλοί] δαιμόνιοι Plat. Ion 539 A. 352 γούνα] γυῖα  
ibid. 355 πλέον] πλέων G F P X al.

a subj. to be construed as if it were *καὶ ὅς κε δίδωσι*. But on this view *ποτὶ δέ* 'and besides' would have no reference. Note the conative use of *δίδωμι* 'offer,' as of *διατρέβω* in l. 341: cp. 16. 432, 18. 8.

347. The impf. *γελοῖον* or *γέλωτ'*, and the participle variously written *γελοῖοντες*, *γελόντες*, *γελώοντες* (18. 111., 20. 390) cannot come from *γέλω*. We must assume a derivative verb *γελοῖω* (or *γελοῖάω*), meaning 'to deal with, indulge in laughter' (*γέλω* or *γελοῖα*). The form *γελοῖάω* is supported by H. Ven. 49 ἥδ' *γελοῖήσασα*, and by Eust.: the MSS. of Homer generally have *γέλωτ'*, &c. For the formation cp. *κολήω* (11. 2. 212), *ἀκράωμαι* (18. 33), *ἐφράωμαι* (17. 530, see the note), *κυνῶμαι*, *φυσῶμαι*, &c.

ἄλλοτρίοισιν 'not their own,' not answering to their real feeling. The phrase *ἀχρεῖον γελάσαι* (18. 163) expresses much the same thing.

348. 'They even (ὅς) were eating meat bedabbled with blood,' i.e. the meat *seemed* to be bleeding as they ate. So in a passage of the Icelandic *Njal-saga* (quoted in the notes to Butcher and Lang's translation of the *Odyssey*): 'It seems as though the gable wall

were thrown down, but the whole board and the meat on it is one gore of blood.'

349. = 10. 248 (where see the note).

γόνον ὤϊετο = 'was full of the thought of lamentation.' It impelled them to lamentation, while outwardly they were laughing.

351 ff. Theoclymenus by his gift of divination or 'second sight' has the future scene before him as if it were already present,—the darkness of death on the heads of the Suitors, the loosing of knees, the wailing cries that burst forth, the tears, the blood bespattering the walls, the shades of the slain passing to Hades.

The shroud of mist covering the feet and knees is found in Celtic belief as a sign of approaching death. If it reaches (as here) to the head it shows that the death is very near. The bespattering of the walls with blood occurs as a portent in the oracle in Hdt. 7. 140 (*νηὸς*) ὃς *πὺν νῦν ἰδρῶτι μεθύμενοι ἐσθήκασιν δαίματι παλλόμενοι*· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι αἷμα μέλαν κέχυνται, προῖδον κακότητος ἀνάγκης (Butcher and Lang, l. c.).

353. *δέδωκε*, lit. 'is lighted up': cp. 11. 2. 93 *μετὰ δὲ σφισιν Ὅσσα δέδωκε*, also 11. 12. 35 *μάχη ἐνοπή τε δέδωκε*.

ιεμένων Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ  
οὐρανοῦ ἔξαπλόωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλὺς."

Ἄς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἠδὸν γέλασαν.  
τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου παῖς, ἥρχ' ἀγορευεῖν·

"ἀφραίνει ξεῖνος νέον ἄλλοθεν εἰληλουθώς.

360

ἀλλὰ μιν αἶψα, νέοι, δόμου ἐκπέμψασθε θύραζε  
εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τάδε νυκτὶ ἔισκει."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής·

"Εὐρύμαχ', σὸ τί σ' ἀνωγα ἐμοὶ πομπήας ὑπάζειν·

εἰσί μοι ὀφθαλμοὶ τε καὶ ὄσθα καὶ πόδες ἀμφω

365

καὶ νόος ἐν στήθεσσι τετυγμένος οὐδὲν ἀεικῆς.

τοῖς ἔξεμι θύραζε, ἐπεὶ νοέω κακὸν ὕμνιν

ἐρχόμενον, τό κεν σὸ τις ὑπεκφύγοι οὐδ' ἀλέαιτο

μνηστῆρων, οἱ δῶμα κάτ' ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος

ἀνέρας ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθε."

370

Ἄς εἰπὼν ἐξῆλθε δόμων εὐ ναιεταόντων,

ἴκετο δ' ἐς Πείραιον, ὃ μιν πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο.

μνηστῆρες δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρώοντες

Τηλέμαχον ἐρέθιζον, ἐπὶ ξείνοισι γελῶντες·

ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε νέων ὑπερνηορέοντων·

375

"Τηλέμαχ', σὸ τις σεῖο κακοξεινώτερος ἄλλος·

οἷον μὲν τινα τοῦτον ἔχεις ἐπίμαστον ἀλήτην,

361 μιν] μοι G. 362 ἔφακε M al. 368 τό κεν FXU: τὸ μὲν G P H al.  
369 ἀνδρῶν οἱ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσῆος θέλειο G, v. l. in H<sup>2</sup>. 370 μηχανάσσονται G.  
374 ἐρέθιζον] θαύμαζον G al. ξείνω F. 377 ἔχεις] ἄγεις v. l. ap. East.

357. We do not hear of any actual darkness on the day of the μνηστηροφονία. Although it was new moon, we can hardly suppose that an eclipse is intended by the words κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλὺς. Rather, the darkness or 'night' is that of death: cp. Il. 13. 425 ἐρεβεννῇ νυκτὶ καλῶμαι = 'to slay,' and phrases such as θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς, &c.

362. ἔισκει is transitive, 'thinks like.'  
365-367. The structure is paratactic: 'I have eyes &c., with them I will go out,' = 'I will go out guided by the eyes &c. that I have.'

366. Cobet would omit this line, so that τοῖς ἔξεμι may be taken closely with πόδες in l. 365. But τοῖς has a 'comitative' sense, which will apply to eyes and ears as well as feet: cp. Il. 13. 506 τοῖσιν ἤρσαν 'with these (sceptres) they started up.'

374. ξείνοισι, see on l. 383.

377. ἐπίμαστον, apparently from ἐπιμαίνομαι 'I feel after, seek out,' cp. ἀπρωτίμαστος 'untouched' (Il. 19. 263). The exact meaning is difficult to determine. Probably the vagrant is 'sought out' in the sense that he did not come unasked, but was brought by Eumaeus.

σίου καὶ οἴνου κεχρημένον, οὐδέ τι ἔργων  
 ἔμπαιον οὐδὲ βίης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀχθος ἀρούρης.  
 ἄλλος δ' αὐτὲ τις οὔτος ἀνέστη μαντεύεσθαι. 380  
 ἀλλ' εἰ μοί τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολλὸν κέρδιον εἴη·  
 τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νηϊ παλυκλήϊδι βαλόντες  
 ἐς Σικελοὺς πέμπωμεν, ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι."  
 \*Ὡς ἔφασαν μνηστῆρες· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων,  
 ἀλλ' ἀκέων πατέρα προσεδέρκετο, δέγμενος αἰεὶ 385  
 ὁππότε δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσει.  
 'Ἡ δὲ κατ' ἀντηστὶν θεμένη περικαλλέα δίφρον  
 κούρη 'Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐκάστου μῦθον ἄκουε.

380 μαντεύεσθαι G X U: -σασθαι F P H M D. 381 εἰ μοί τι G P H al.: εἰ δὲ τι U: ἔφη τι F. 383 πέμπωμεν (or -ομεν) F M al.: πέμψωμεν vulg.: ἐφείη F X n: ἐφίη M.

Cp. *ἐπίσταστος* *κακόν* (18. 73) of an evil which a man brings on himself (so Döderlein, *Hom. Gloss.*).

379. *ἐμπαιον* 'experienced,' cp. 21. 400. The scansion of the diphthong *αι* as a short syllable is without parallel in Homer, but *αι* is similarly treated in *οιοι*. The derivation of *ἐμπαιος* is not ascertained: it may be connected with the Doric *πῶμαι* 'I possess,' and thus with *ἐμψης*, *παμπήδην*, and the Attic *παμπησία* 'full possession' (Brugmann, *Griech. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 548).

383. *Σικελούς*. The earliest Greek colonists in the south of Italy came in contact with a people of this name, apparently the same as the *Siculi* of history. In the time of the *Odyssey* these Italian *Σικελοί* may have been known to the Greeks as slave-dealers: cp. the *γυνή* *Σικελή* among the servants of Laertes (24. 211).

A different view was suggested by Niebuhr (*Philological Museum*, I. 174). The scholia on *Od.* 18. 85 tell us that the king *Ἐχέρος* there mentioned was said to have been 'tyrant of the *Σικελοί*.' As other indications place him in Epirus, Niebuhr inferred that the *Σικελοί* of the *Odyssey* were to be found in that country. But, though *Σικελοί* may have been the name of a real people, it is most probable that *Ἐχέρος* was purely mythical. The notice connecting him

with the *Σικελοί* looks like the guess of an ancient commentator.

*ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι*. The difficulty here is to find a nominative for *ἄλφοι*. It is extremely harsh to understand 'the thing done,' viz. 'the sale,' as subject (as proposed by Nauck). Bentley conjectured *ὅθεν κέ τις*, which seems to meet the case. As Dr. Hayman observes, the word *ἄλφοι* must be understood of the man who is sold: so that *τις* would be = *τῶν ξείνων τις*. There is some plausibility in Düntzer's conjecture *τὸν ξείνον*, for *τοὺς ξείνους* in l. 382. If it is adopted (or if l. 382 is struck out, with Bergk), we should also read *ξείνω* for *ξείνους* in l. 374 (*ξείνω* F Z). The subject will then be the *πῶν* *ξείνος*, Theoclymenus, with only a parenthetical reference in 377-379 to *Ulysses*. Failure to perceive this would easily lead to the plurals *ξείνους* and *τοὺς ξείνους*. Bekker's proposal (in *H. B.* I. 113) to read *ἄλφον* as a 3rd plur. is quite inadmissible.

387. *κατ' ἀντηστὶν* seems to mean 'opposite,' like *κατ' ἐναντίον*. The supposed *ἀντηστis* may be compared in formation with the nouns implied in the words *ἀγχιστῖνοι* and *προμηστῖνοι*—both used of *relative position* (21. 230). Regarding the place of Penelope, see on 17. 492, 542 and the appendix on the Homeric House.



δείπνον μὲν γὰρ τοί γε γελοιῶντες τετύκοντο  
 ἡδύ τε καὶ μενοεικές, ἐπεὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἱέρευσαν  
 δόρπου δ' οὐκ ἂν πῶς ἀχαρίστερον ἄλλο γένοιτο,  
 οἶον δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε θεὰ καὶ καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ  
 θησέμεναι· πρότεροι γὰρ ἀεικέα μηχανῶντο.

390

390. On the form γελοιῶντες see the note on l. 347.

392. οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο 'there could not have been,' = οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο.



HARPIES

(From a Lebes in the Museum of Berlin.)

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Φ

## Τόξου θέσις.

Τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
 τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολίων τε σιδηρον  
 ἐν μεγάροις Ὀδυσῆος ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχήν.  
 κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν προσεβήσετο οἶο δόμοιο, 5  
 εἶλετο δὲ κληῖδ' εὐκαμπέα χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 καλὴν χαλκείην κόπη δ' ἐλέφαντος ἐπήεν.  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεναι θάλαμόνδε σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν  
 ἔσχατον· ἔνθα δὲ οἱ κειμήλια κείμενα ἀνακτος,  
 χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκμητός τε σιδηρός. 10  
 ἔνθα δὲ τόξον κείμενον παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρη  
 ἰοδόκος, πολλοὶ δ' ἔνεσαν στονβεντες ὀϊστοί,  
 δῶρα τὰ οἱ ξεῖνος Λακεδαιμόνι δῶκε τυχήσας  
 Ἴφιτος Εὐρυτίδης, ἐπικείκελος ἀθανάτοισι.  
 τῷ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλουϊν 15

7 χρυσεῖην F P H al.

3. σιδηρον, viz. the axes which were brought with the bow, cp. 61, 81, 97.

4. ἀέθλια 'a contest,' i. e. the material of a contest, cp. 19. 572-573.

5. προσεβήσετο 'set foot upon,' 'began to descend.'

9. ἔσχατον, a distant store-room, not in common use: cp. l. 48.

11. παλίντονον. It is difficult to decide whether this is a general epithet — 'springing back,' as a bow does when drawn—, or denotes a particular kind

of bow, as in Herodotus (7. 69). In the latter case it may imply that the middle part of the bow is curved 'backwards,' i. e. is convex towards the archer: cp. Il. 8. 266.

12. στονβεντες 'charged with groaning.' The groans which the arrow may cause are regarded as something that is inherent in it.

15. Perhaps the only line in Homer that consists wholly of spondee. In some others (as 15. 334, 23. 323, 11.

οἶκφ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο δαΐφρονος. ἦ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἦλθε μετὰ χρεῖος, τό βᾶ οἱ πᾶς δῆμος ὄφελλε·  
 μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἀειραν  
 νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομήας.  
 τῶν ἔνεκ' ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθεν Ὀδυσσεὺς 20  
 παιδὸνδ' ἑών· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε πατὴρ ἄλλοι τε γέροντες.  
 Ἴφιτος αὖθ' ἵππους διζήμενος, αἶ οἱ ὀλοντο  
 δῶδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί·  
 αἶ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα φόνος καὶ μοῖρα γέγοντο,  
 ἐπεὶ δὴ Διδὸς υἱὸν ἀφίκετο καρτερόθυμον, 25  
 φῶθ' Ἡρακλῆα, μεγάλων ἐπίστορα ἔργων,  
 ὅς μιν ξεῖνον ἔοντα κατέκτανεν φ' ἐνὶ οἶκφ,  
 σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὕπιν ᾗδέσατ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν  
 τὴν ἣν οἱ παρέθηκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν,  
 ἵππους δ' αὐτὸς ἔχε κρατερώνυχας ἐν μεγάροισι. 30  
 τὰς ἐρέων Ὀδυσσῇ συνήντετο, δῶκε δὲ τόξον,  
 τὸ πρὶν μὲν β' ἐφόρει μέγας Εὐρύτος, αὐτὰρ ὁ παιδὶ  
 κάλλιπ' ἀποθνήσκων ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσι.  
 τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ξίφος ὄξυ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,

11. 130) one or more contracted syllables can be resolved.

Messenia, as this passage shows, was regarded in Homeric times as part of Lacedaemon. Pherae, the home of Ortilochus (3. 488), is treated by Agamemnon (11. 9. 293) as being within his dominions.

17. χρεῖος, better perhaps χρῆος: cp. 3. 367, 11. 11. 686.

20. ἐξεσίην 'on an embassy' (ἐξίημι): acc. like ἀγγελίην ἔλθειν.

24. ἔπειτα 'thereafter,' 'in the sequel.' φόνος κτλ. 'turned to, led in the end to, his slaughter and fate.' The idiom is Homeric: as 11. 1. 228 τὸ δὲ τοι κτλ εἶδεται εἶναι, and so 4. 155 θάνατόν νύ τοι δρᾶν ἔταμνον 'I made a truce (that turned to) death for you.'

26. μεγάλων ἐπίστορα ἔργων is a phrase of which it is very difficult to determine the exact meaning. ἱστορ in Homer means 'a judge,' one who takes cognizance and decides (11. 18. 501., 23. 486): and ἐπίστωρ must be much

the same (cp. μάρτυρος and ἐπιμάρτυρος, οἶσρος and ἐπίοισρος, &c.). It can hardly mean 'knowing, versed in,' though that sense is probable in Hom. H. xxxii (where the Muses are called ἱστορες φιδῆς) and in Hes. Op. 790. Still less can it mean 'privy to,' 'an accomplice in.' Again, μεγάλα ἔργα can only mean 'great deeds' or 'great things.' The bad sense, or tendency to a bad sense, observable in the phrase μέγα ἔργον depends on the context (see on 19. 92). It does not justify us in taking μεγάλα ἔργα as simply equivalent to 'deeds of violence.' But how or under what aspect of his character Heracles is called 'judge of great deeds' is hard to say. The title does not appear particularly suitable to the context in which we find it here.

27. φ' refers to μιν (not to θε).

29. ἔπειτα 'thereafter,' i. e. after they had eaten at the same table.

31. ἐρέων 'asking about,' 'looking for.'

ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέξῃ 35  
 γνῶτην ἀλλήλω· πρὶν γὰρ Διὸς υἱὸς ἐπεφνεν  
 Ἴφιτον Εὐρυτίδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 ὃς οἱ τόξον ἔδωκε. τὸ δ' οὔ ποτε δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἐρχόμενος πόλεμόνδε μελαινώων ἐπὶ νηῶν  
 ἥρεϊτ', ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μνήμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο 40  
 κέσκετ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, φέροι δέ μιν ἦς ἐπὶ γαίης.  
 Ἴη δ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμον τὸν ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
 οὐδὲν τε δρῶνιν προσεβήσεται, τὸν ποτε τέκτων  
 ἔσσειεν ἐπισταμένως καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνεν,  
 ἐν δὲ σταθμοῦς ἄρσε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαιινάς· 45  
 αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἡ γ' ἱμάντα θεῶς ἀπέλυσε κορώνης,  
 ἐν δὲ κληῖδ' ἦκε, θυρέων δ' ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας  
 ἄντα τιτυσκομένη· τὰ δ' ἀνέβραχεν ἥτε ταῦρος  
 βοσκομένος λειμῶνι· τόσ' ἔβραχε καλὰ θύρετρα  
 πληγέντα κληῖδι, πετάσθησαν δέ οἱ ὦκα. 50  
 ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐφ' ὕψηλῆς σανίδος βῆ· ἐνθα δὲ χηλοῖ

35 περιηδέος P: εἰρηδέος U. 36 ἀλλήλων G al.: ἀλλήλων vulg., cp. 23. 109.  
 41 θέσκετ' G F al. 42 τὸν om. F P: ἐν U<sup>3</sup>, v. l. in K. 46 κορώνη G P, v. l.  
 ap. Kant.

42. τὸν 'that' chamber, viz. the one described in l. 8. But this use of the article is hardly defensible. The reading ἐν is attractive, but has little MS. support. The omission of τὸν in two good MSS. suggests the conjecture θάλαμονδε ἀφίστητο (so Nauck).

43. ἐπείθων is perhaps used here in the general sense of 'wooden.' ἐπὶς is etymologically the same word as 'tree,' and originally had an equally wide meaning.

46-48. The bar or bolt (ὀχέας), which was on the inside of the door, was drawn from the outside by means of a thong (ἱμάς) passing through a hole or slit in the door. Cp. 4. 802, where the vision came into the chamber παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμάντα. After the door was bolted the thong was fastened to a knob or handle (κορώνη) on the outside. The 'key' (κληῖς) was a curved instrument with a handle (ll. 6-7). When the door was opened from without the key was passed

through the aperture (which of course fitted it in size and shape), and was so directed or 'aimed' (ἄντα τιτυσκομένη) as to thrust back (ἀναένειν) the bolts. Before this was done it was necessary to unfasten the thong from the knob.

It does not appear why the thong was so fastened: it could not add much to the security of the door. But it would serve to prevent the door being opened from within. The κορώνη was also used as a handle to pull the door to (l. 441 θύραν ἐπένευσσε κορώνη δρυγυγής).

On other points, especially the double sense of κληῖς, see the note on l. 441-442. Cp. also l. 241 (infra).

48. τά, neut. in anticipation of καλὰ θύρετρα, the words ἥθρε... ἔβραχε being of the nature of a parenthesis. The creaking of the lock reminds us that it has not been opened for a long time.

49. τόσα, adv. 'so loud.'

51. σανίδος, generally explained as a dais or stage on which the chests were

ἔστασαν, ἐν δ' ἄρα τῇσι θυώδεα εἴματ' ἔκειτο.  
 ἔνθεν ὀρεξαμένη ἀπὸ πασσάλου αἶνυτο τόξον  
 αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ, ὃς οἱ περὶκετο φαεινός.  
 ἔζομένη δὲ κατ' αὖθι, φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θεῖσα, 55  
 κλαῖε μάλα λιγέως, ἐκ δ' ἤρεε τόξον ἄνακτος.  
 ἢ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο,  
 βῆ ρ' ἵμεναι μέγαρόνδε μετὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγαυούς  
 τόξον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ παλίντανον ἠδὲ φαρέτρην  
 ἰοδόκον· πολλοὶ δ' ἔνεσαν στονόβεντες δίστοί. 60  
 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' ἀμφίπολοι φέρον ὄγκιον, ἔνθα σίδηρος  
 κεῖτο πολὺς καὶ χαλκός, ἀέθλια τοῖο ἄνακτος.  
 ἢ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
 στῇ βα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,  
 ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα. 65  
 [ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κενὴ ἐκάτερθε παρέστη.]  
 αὐτίκα δὲ μνηστῆρσι μετηύδα καὶ φάτο μῦθον·  
 “κέκλυτέ μευ, μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες, οἳ τόδε δῶμα  
 ἐχράετ' ἐσθιέμεν καὶ πινέμεν ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀποικομένοιο πολὺν χρόνον· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην 70  
 μύθου ποιήσασθαι ἐπισχεσίην ἐδύνασθε,  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ἰέμενοι γῆμαι θέσθαι τε γυναῖκα.

56 ἤρεε] ἤρετο P. τῶσα Dawes. 58 ἵμεναι G U: ἵμεν is vulg. 66 om.  
 P H U M. 69 ἐσθιέμεναι Van Leeuwen.

placed, to raise them above the earthen floor of the room. Mr. Myres thinks it probable that the room, being upstairs, had a wooden floor, and that the word *σανίς* 'boarding' refers to this floor. The mention of it, he thinks, is a 'sound-note': the ring of Penelope's steps as she reaches the boarding forms a characteristic touch in the description.

61. *ὄγκιον* is *ἀναξ εληγμένον*: it is said by the ancients to be a box for holding *ὄγχοι*, i.e. barbs for arrow-heads. The explanation seems improbable, and is evidently a mere inference from this passage. Perhaps, as Döderlein suggested (*Hom. Gloss.* 2399), it is from the root *ἐνεκ*- 'to carry,' and means a box or 'tray' for carrying things.

62. ἀέθλια, as in l. 4. It does not mean that the iron and bronze (i.e. the axes &c.) had been won as prizes.

63-66, = l. 332-335: see on l. 6. 414.

69. *ἐχράετο* 'have set on, assailed': cp. Il. 21. 369 *ἔμην βόον ἔχραι κήδεον*. *ἐσθιέμεν* is an inf. of purpose (cp. Il. 24. 212 *τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἦπαρ ἔχοιμι ἐσθιέμεναι*), and governs *δῶμα*, 'have set on to eat up this house.'

71. *μύθου ἐπισχεσίην* 'the offering, putting forward, of a word,' i.e. of a plea in defence of their conduct. Cp. Hdt. 6. 133 *τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγου ἦν* (λόγος = Homeric *μῦθος*).

72. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ἰέμενοι κτλ. is a brachylogy, the full sense being 'but (you only pretended that you did so) desiring &c.'

- ἀλλ' ἄγετε, μνηστήρες, ἐπεὶ τόδε φαίνεται ἀέθλον·  
 θῆσω γὰρ μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο  
 ὃς δέ κε ρῆϊτατ' ἐντανύσῃ βιδὸν ἐν παλάρῃσι 75  
 καὶ διοῖστεύσῃ πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα πάντων,  
 τῷ κεν ἄμ' ἐσποίμην, νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα  
 κουρίδιον, μάλα καλὸν, ἐνέπλειον βιδότιο,  
 τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι ὀδομαι ἐν περ ὀνείρῳ."  
 \*Ὡς φάτο, καὶ ῥ' Εὐμαιὸν ἀνάγει, δῖον ὑφορβόν, 80  
 τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολὺν τε σιδήρον.  
 δακρύσας δ' Εὐμαιὸς ἐδέξατο καὶ κατέθηκε·  
 κλαῖε δὲ βουκόλος ἄλλοθ', ἐπεὶ ἶδε τόξον ἀνακτος.  
 Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 "νήπιοι ἀγροῖῳται, ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες· 85  
 ἃ δειλῶ, τί νυ δάκρυ κατεΐβεται ἡδὲ γυναικὶ  
 θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι δρίνεται; ἦ τε καὶ ἄλλως  
 κεῖται ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμός, ἐπεὶ φίλον ὦλεσ' ἀκοίτην.  
 ἀλλ' ἀκέων δαίνυσθε καθήμενοι, ἡ δὲ θύραζε  
 κλαίετον ἐξελθόντε, κατ' αὐτόθι τόξα λιπόντε, 90  
 μνηστήρεσσιν ἀέθλον ἀάατον· οὐ γὰρ οἶω  
 ρῆϊδίως τόδε τόξον ἐύχοον ἐντανύεσθαι.  
 οὐ γὰρ τις μέτα τοῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσδεσι πᾶσιν  
 οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν· ἐγὼ δέ μιν αὐτὸς ὅπωπα,  
 καὶ γὰρ μνήμων εἰμί, πᾶσι δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα." 95  
 \*Ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἐώλπει  
 νευρὴν ἐντανύειν διοῖστεύσειν τε σιδήρου.  
 ἦ τοι οἶστοῦ γε πρῶτος γεύσεσθαι ἔμελλεν

83. ἄλλοθ' G: ἄλλος F P H al.  
 (τοισίδε) F X U al.

93 τοῖσδεσι (τοῖς-) G P H al.: τοῖσι δὲ

73. ἐπεὶ κτλ. The apodosis is left to be understood. 'Since this prize is open to you—for I will offer the bow &c.—(come and join in the contest).' See the note on 15. 80.

ἀέθλον 'prize,' viz. the hand of Penelope, as she proceeds to explain: cp. 106-107 ἀέθλον, αἷν νῦν ἔστι γυνή.

75-79. = 19. 577-581.

85. This line is an exclamation like

the Virgilian *O fortunatus &c.* The speech addressed to Eumaeus and the ox-herd begins with ἃ δειλῶ, in the next line.

89. ἀκέων. The indeclinable use of this word has seemingly not been explained. Eust. mentions the variant ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς, which is plausible.

91. ἀάατος, from ἀάη (Homeric form of ἀή), with irregular ἀ- for ἀν-

ἐκ χειρῶν Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ὃν τότ' ἀτίμα  
 ἤμενος ἐν μεγάροις, ἐπὶ δ' ὥρνυε πάντας ἐταίρους. 100  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειψ' ἱερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο·  
 "ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα με Ζεὺς ἀφρονα θῆκε Κρονίων·  
 μήτηρ μὲν μοί φησι φίλη, πινυτή περ ἑούσα,  
 ἄλλω ἄμ' ἔψεσθαι νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γελῶω καὶ τέρπομαι ἀφρονι θυμῷ. 105  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ τόδε φαίνεται ἄεθλον,  
 οἷη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ κατ' Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν,  
 ὅσπερ Πύλου ἱερῆς οὗτ' Ἀργεὺς ὅσπερ Μυκῆνης  
 [οὗτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὗτ' ἠπειροῖο μελαίνης·]  
 καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τό γε ἴστε· τί με χρὴ μητέρος αἶνου; 110  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μὴ μύνησι παρέλκετε μῆδ' ἔτι τόξον  
 δηρὸν ἀποτρωπᾶσθε τανυστύος, ὅφρα ἴδωμεν.  
 καὶ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ τόξου πειρησάμην·  
 εἰ δέ κεν ἐντανύσω διοῖστεύσω τε σιδήρου,  
 ὃς κέ μοι ἀχνυμένῳ τάδε δώματα πόντια μήτηρ 115  
 λείποι ἄμ' ἄλλω ἰούσῳ, δὲ ἐγὼ κατόπισθε λιποίμην  
 οἶός τ' ἦδη πατρὸς ἀέθλια κάλ' ἀνελέσθαι."  
 Ἦ καὶ ἀπ' ὁμοῖν χλαῖναν θέτο φοινικέσσαν  
 ὀρθὸς ἀναΐξας, ἀπὸ δὲ ξίφος ὀξὺ θέτ' ὤμων.  
 πρῶτον μὲν πελέκεας στήσεν, διὰ τὰφρον ὀρύξας 120

99 ὃν ποτ' P Enst.

105 ἐγὼ γελῶω vulg.: ἐγὼ γ' ἴσθω F: ἐγὼ ἴσθω M.

109 om. P H M U.

110 τό γε 1 (Vind. 5): τόδε F U: τόδε γ' G P H al.

111 μύνησι] μ' ὤρησι F.

119 ὤμω (-ω) F P al.

privative; hence 'not admitting δῆρ',  
 'not to be done mischief to', 'un-  
 impeachable' or 'decisive': cp. 22. 5,  
 II. 14. 271. See Buttmann, *Lexil.* s. v.

100. For ἤμενος Wilamowitz con-  
 jectures ἤμενον, comparing I. 424 οὐ σ'  
 ὁ ξείνος ἐν μεγάροις ἐλέγχει ἤμενος.

106-107. 'Since there is offered this  
 prize, namely a woman, whose like is  
 not in the Achaean land.'

111. μύνησι appears to mean 'with  
 excuses, pretexts.' If μύνη is connected  
 with ἀ-μύνω it may mean 'a defence,'  
 a way of parrying or evading. It is not  
 otherwise known.

παρέλκετε 'play false,' 'trick': cp.

18. 282 παρέλκετο = 'gained by a trick.'  
 The meaning is mainly given by the  
 preposition, as in Attic παρακρούομαι,  
 παρακρίπτω, &c.

112. ἀποτρωπᾶσθε, better ἀποτρο-  
 πᾶσθε, a frequentative: cp. 16. 405.,  
 19. 521.

115. ὃς κέ μοι ἀχνυμένῳ can only  
 mean 'I should not be vexed if &c.'  
 This interpretation is confirmed by the  
 clause δὲ ἐγὼ κτλ. 'if I were left  
 behind (i. e. seeing that I should remain  
 here) able to take up my father's con-  
 tests.'

120 ff. It has been a matter of  
 doubt whether the row of axes was set

πᾶσι μίαν μακρὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἵθουνεν,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ γαίαν ἔναξ· τάφος δ' ἔλε πάντας ἰδόντας,  
 ὥς εὐκόσμως στήσῃ· πάρος δ' οὐ πῶ ποτ' ὑπώπει.  
 στή δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν καὶ τόξου πειρήτιζε.  
 τρὶς μὲν μιν πελέμιξεν ἐρύσσεσθαι μενεαίνων, 125  
 τρὶς δὲ μεθῆκε βίης, ἐπιελπόμενος τό γε θυμῷ,  
 νευρὴν ἐντανύειν δι᾽ οἰστεύσειν τε σιδήρου.  
 καὶ νῦ κε δὴ β' ἐτάνυσσε βίῃ τὸ τέταρτον ἀνέλκων,  
 ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀνένευε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἰεμένον περ.  
 τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειψ' ἱερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχου· 130  
 "ὦ πόποι, ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα κακὸς τ' ἔσομαι καὶ ἄδικος,  
 ἢ νεώτερός εἰμι καὶ οὐ πῶ χερσὶ πέποιθα  
 ἀνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', οἳ περ ἐμείω βίῃ προφερέστεροί ἐστε,  
 τόξου πειρήσασθε, καὶ ἐκτελέωμεν ἀεθλον." 135  
 ὣς εἰπὼν τόξον μὲν ἀπὸ ξο θῆκε χαμᾶζε,  
 κλίνας κολλητῇσιν ἐϋξέστης σανίδεσσιν,  
 αὐτοῦ δ' ὠκὺ βέλος καλῇ προσέκλινε κοράνῃ,  
 ἄψ δ' αὖτις κατ' ἄρ' ἕξετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου ἔνθεν ἀνέστη.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός· 140  
 "ὄρνυσθ' ἐξείης ἐπιδέξια πάντες ἐταῖροι,  
 ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χώρου ὅθεν τ' ἐπιοινοχοεῖς."  
 ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος, τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος.

122 ἰδόντας] Ἀχαιοὺς Et. M., al.: cp. 3. 372 θάμβος δ' ἔχε πάντας ἰδόντας  
 ('Αχαιοὺς G P M), and 24. 441 ἄνδρα ἱπαστον (πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς L W). 131 ἀικανί]  
 ἀναλκας M al. 142 τ' ἐπιοινοχοεῖς (-ειν) F X U J: τέ περ οἰνοχοεῖς vulg.

up within the μέγαρον, or outside in the  
 αὐλή. The question is surely settled in  
 favour of the former alternative by the  
 procedure described, and especially by  
 the repeated formula ἀψ δ' αὖτις κτλ.  
 (ll. 139, 166). The Suitors were to try  
 in turn, according to the order in which  
 they sat, counting from left to right.  
 Each was to go to the threshold, make  
 his effort with the bow, and return to his  
 seat. Moreover, it is while this is pro-  
 ceeding that Ulysses goes out and reveals  
 himself to Eumaeus and the neat-herd,  
 unseen by any of the company in the

μέγαρον (l. 229). And when Antinous  
 proposes to leave the axes standing till  
 the next day, it is because no one will  
 come to the μέγαρον and take them up  
 (l. 262).

The floor of the μέγαρον was not  
 paved or boarded, but was of earth  
 trodden hard (γαίαν ἔναξ, l. 122): cp.  
 22. 455.

125. = Il. 21. 176, where πελεμίσω is  
 used of the effort of pulling out a spear  
 that has been struck in the ground.  
 Here the word does not seem to be  
 quite so appropriate.



Λειώδης δὲ πρῶτος ἀνίστατο, Οἶνοπος υἱός,  
 ὃ σφι θυοσκόος ἔσκε, παρὰ κρητῆρα δὲ καλὸν 145  
 ἔζε μυχοίτατος αἰέν· ἀτασθαλῖαι δὲ οἱ οἴφ  
 ἐχθραὶ ἔσαν, πᾶσιν δὲ νεμέσσα μνηστῆρεσσιν·  
 ὅς ῥα τότε πρῶτος τόξον λάβε καὶ βέλος ὤκν.  
 στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν καὶ τόξου πειρήτιζεν,  
 οὐδέ μιν ἐντάνυσσε· πρὶν γὰρ κάμε χεῖρας ἀνέλκων 150  
 ἀτρίπτους ἀπαλάσ· μετὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσιν ἔειπεν·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ τανύω, λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος.  
 πολλοὺς γὰρ τόδε τόξον ἀριστῆας κεκαδήσει  
 θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστι  
 τεθνάμεν ἢ ζῶντας ἀμαρτεῖν, οὐ θ' ἔνεκ' αἰεὶ 155  
 ἐνθάδ' ὀμιλέομεν, ποτιδέγμενοι ἡματα πάντα.  
 νῦν μὲν τις καὶ ἔλπετ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἡδὲ μενοινᾷ  
 γῆμαι Πηνελόπειαν, Ὀδυσσῆος παράκοιτιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν τόξον πειρήσεται ἡδὲ ἴδηται,  
 ἄλλην δὴ τιν' ἔπειτα Ἀχαιῶδων εὐπέπλων 160  
 μνάσθω ἐέδνοισιν διζήμενος· ἡ δέ κ' ἔπειτα  
 γῆμαιθ' ὅς κε πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι.”  
 ὧς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν καὶ ἀπὸ ἔο τόξον ἔθηκε,  
 κλῖνας κολλητῆσιν ἐϋξέστης σανίδεσσιν,  
 αὐτοῦ δ' ὤκν βέλος καλῇ προσέκλινε κορώνῃ, 165  
 ἀψ δ' αὖτις κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου ἐνθεν ἀνέστη.  
 Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 “Λειῶδες, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων,  
 δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε,—νεμεσσωμαι δέ τ' ἀκούων,—  
 εἰ δὴ τοῦτό γε τόξον ἀριστῆας κεκαδήσει 170  
 θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασαι σὺ τανύσσαι.  
 οὐ γάρ τοι σέ γε τοῖον ἐγείνατο πότνια μήτηρ

144 οἶνοπος H U : ἡνοπος G F P M al.  
 16. 392). ἔλθοι] εἴη F M al.

162 ὅς κε] ὅς τις G F X U al. (cp.

165 πρόσκλινε Spitzner *metri causa*.

153. The prediction here put into the mouth of Leiodes is to be fulfilled in a manner which was very far from his thoughts. For other examples of

this dramatic effect see 17. 355. Here it is especially in place, since Leiodes was a *θυοσκόος*, and as such had the gift of prophecy.

οἶδν τε ρυτῆρα βιοῦ τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ὄστῳν  
ἀλλ' ἄλλοι τανύουσι τάχα μνηστῆρες ἀγανοί."

“Ὡς φάτο, καὶ ρ' ἐκέλευσε Μελάνθιον, αἰπόλον αἰγῶν  
“ ἄγρει δῆ, πῦρ κῆον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, Μελανθεῖ, 176  
παρ δὲ τίθει δίφρον τε μέγαν καὶ κῶας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,  
ἐκ δὲ στέατος ἔνεικε μέγαν τροχὸν ἔνδον ἰόντος,  
ὄφρα νέοι θάλποντες, ἐπιχρίοντες ἀλοιφῇ,  
τόξου περὶ ῥέμεσθα καὶ ἐκτελέωμεν ἀέθλον.” 180

“Ὡς φάθ', ὁ δ' αἰψ' ἀνέκαie Μελάνθιος ἀκάματον πῦρ,  
παρ δὲ φέρων δίφρον θῆκεν καὶ κῶας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,  
ἐκ δὲ στέατος ἔνεικε μέγαν τροχὸν ἔνδον ἰόντος·  
τῷ ῥα νέοι θάλποντες ἐπειρῶντ'· οὐδ' ἐδύναντο  
ἐντανύσαι, πολλὸν δὲ βίης ἐπιθευέες ἦσαν. 185

Ἀντίνοος δ' ἔτ' ἐπεῖχε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος θεοειδής,  
ἄρχοι μνηστῆρων· ἀρετῇ δ' ἔσαν ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι.  
τῷ δ' ἐξ οἴκου βῆσαν ὁμαρτήσαντες ἀμ' ἄμφω  
βουκῶλος ἡδὲ συφορβὸς Ὀδυσσεύος θείοιο·  
ἐκ δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῖς δόμου ἤλυθε διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς. 190  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆ ρ' ἐκτὸς θυρέων ἔσαν ἡδὲ καὶ αὐλῆς,  
φθεγγάμενός σφ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα μελιχίοισι·  
“βουκῶλε καὶ σύ, συφορβέ, ἔπος τί κε μυθησάιμην,  
ἥ αὐτῶς κεῖθω; φάσθαι δέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει.  
ποιοί κ' εἴτ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ ἀμυνέμεν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι 195

181 φάθ', ὁ δ' αἰψ' G X U: φάτο, αἶψα δ' F P H M al. Melantheus G.  
188 ὁμαρτήσαντες] ὁμ- FU al.: ἄμ- Ar. G P H. Ar. probably wrote ἄμ- (La Roche, *H. T.* 189). 191 ἐκτοσθε G al. 192 σφ' ἐπέεσσι G X: μν  
ἔπεισσι P H al. (cp. l. 206): μν ἐπέεσι F: the original being σφε φέπεισσι.  
194 αὐτῶς P al., conj. Bothe: αὐτὸς vulg.

173. οἶδν τε . . . ἔμεναι. For the use of οἶδν with an inf. cp. 19. 160; and see *H. G.* § 235.

178. Either στέατος is scanned as a disyllable (σῆ by synizesis), or the vowel before στ- is allowed to be short, as in the case of Σακάμανδρος, Ζάκυνθος, &c.

186. The fresh paragraph should begin here, not with l. 188: for the meaning is that *while* Antinous and Eurymachus were still busy with the bow, Ulysses

took the opportunity to steal out and make himself known to the two faithful servants. Hence the impf. ἐπέεχε followed by the aor. βῆσαν.

ἐπέεχε 'held on,' 'persisted': as we say, 'kept at it.' This interpretation, given in Ebeling's *Lexicon*, suits the context best. Most commentators take it to mean 'waited,' 'refrained' from trying. But when ἐπέεχω has this sense it is generally more clear what is the process or action that is stopped.

ὦδε μάλ' ἐξαπίνης καί τις θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐνείκει·  
 ἥ κε μνηστῆρεςσιν ἀμύνοιτ' ἢ Ὀδυσῆϊ;  
 εἴπαθ' ὅπως ὑμέας κραδίη θυμὸς τε κελεύει."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ·  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο τελευτήσῃας ἐέλδωρ,  
 ὥς ἔλθοι μὲν κείνος ἀνὴρ, ἀγάγοι δέ ἐ δαίμων·  
 γνολῆς χ' οἷη ἐμὴ δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται."

ἌΩς δ' αὖτως Εὐμαιὸς ἐπεύχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὄνδε δόμονδε.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τῶν γε νόον νημερτέ' ἀνέγνω,  
 ἐξαυτίς σφ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·

"ἔνδον μὲν δὴ ὅδ' αὐτὸς ἐγώ, κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας  
 ἦλθον ἐικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

γινώσκω δ' ὥς σφῶϊν ἐελδομένοισιν ἰκάνω  
 οἴοισι δμῶων· τῶν δ' ἄλλων σὺ τευ ἄκουσα  
 εὐξαμένον ἐμὲ αὖτις ὑπότητροπον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.  
 σφῶϊν δ', ὥς ἔσεται περ, ἀληθείην καταλέξω.

εἴ χ' ὑπ' ἔμοιγε θεὸς δαμάσῃ μνηστῆρας ἀγανούς,  
 ἄξομαι ἀμφοτέροις ἀλδχους καὶ κτήματ' ὀπάσσω  
 οἰκία τ' ἐγγυὺς ἐμεῖο τετυγμένα· καὶ μοι ἔπειτα  
 Τηλεμάχου ἐτάρω τε κασιγνήτω τε ἔσεσθον.

εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι δεῖξω,  
 ὄφρα μ' ἐὺ γνῶτον πιστωθῆτόν τ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,  
 οὐλήν, τήν ποτέ με σὺς ἤλασε λευκῷ ὀδόντι  
 Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα σὺν υἱάσιν Αὐτολύκοιο."

ἌΩς εἰπὼν ῥάκεα μεγάλης ἀποέργαθεν οὐλῆς.  
 τὼ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσιδέτην εὖ τ' ἐφράσαντο ἕκαστα,  
 κλαῖον ἄρ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δαΐφροني χεῖρε βαλόντε,

203 ἐπεύχετο G al. 206 μιν ἐπέεσσιν F M. 208 ἦλθον ἐικοστῷ M: ἦλυθον  
 ἐικοστῷ vulg.: see on 16. 206. 211 ἐμὲ φοῖκαδ' ὑπότητροπον αὖτις ἰκέσθαι Fick.  
 213 αἱ G F P H U al. 219 με] μοι G al. 220 μετ' (ἐς G) Αὐτολύκῳ τῷ  
 καὶ υἱᾷ M<sup>a</sup> Eust. 222 ἕκαστα] ἀνακτα L W, v. 1. in M. 223 Ὀδυσῆα  
 δαΐφρονα G Eust.

196. ὦδε μάλ' ἐξαπίνης 'just sud-  
 denly,' see on 17. 447, 544.

201, = 17. 243.  
 202-204, = 20. 237-239.

καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμενοι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὦμους.  
 ὧς δ' αὐτως Ὀδυσσεὺς κεφαλᾶς καὶ χεῖρας ἔκυσσε. 225  
 καὶ νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδν φάος ἡελίοιο,  
 εἰ μὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸς ἐρύκακε φῶνησέν τε·  
 "παύεσθον κλαυθμοῖο γδοιό τε, μὴ τις ἴδῃται  
 ἐξελθὼν μεγάραιο, ἀτὰρ εἴπησι καὶ εἴσω.  
 ἀλλὰ προμνηστῖνοι ἐσέλθετε, μῆδ' ἅμα πάντες, 230  
 πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὕμμες· ἀτὰρ τόδε σῆμα τετύχθω·  
 ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, ὅσοι μνηστῆρες ἀγαυοί,  
 οὐκ ἑάσουσιν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι βιδὸν ἡδὲ φαρέτρην·  
 ἀλλὰ σύ, δι' Εὐμαίε, φέρων ἀνὰ δώματα τόξον  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἐμοὶ θέμεναι, εἰπεῖν τε γυναιξὶ 235  
 κληῖσαι μεγάραιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας,  
 ἣν δέ τις ἢ στοναχῆς ἢ κτύπου ἔνδον ἀκούσῃ  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡμετέροισιν ἐν ἔρκεσι, μὴ τι θύραζε  
 προβλώσκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀκὴν ἔμεναι παρὰ ἔργῳ.  
 σοὶ δέ, Φιλοτίε διέ, θύρας ἐπιτέλλομαι αὐλής 240  
 κληῖσαι κληῖδι, τοῶς δ' ἐπὶ δεσμὸν ἰῆλαι."

\*Ὡς εἰπὼν εἰσῆλθε δόμους εὐ ναιετάοντας·  
 ἔξετ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ δῖφρον ἰὼν ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη·  
 ἐς δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ δμῶε ἵτην θείου Ὀδυσῆος.

Εὐρύμαχος δ' ἤδη τόξον μετὰ χερσὶν ἐνώμα, 245  
 θάλαπιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα σέλα πυρός· ἀλλὰ μιν οὐδ' ὧς  
 ἐντανύσαι δύνατο, μέγα δ' ἔστενε κυδάλιμον κῆρ·  
 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·

224 χεῖρας τε καὶ ὦμους M<sup>a</sup>: κεφαλὴν τε χεῖρας τε X. 229 εἴσω] ἄλλως G,  
 cp. 22. 373. 233 οὐ μοι ἑάσουσιν P. Knight. 244 δμῶε ἵστην P: δμῶ' ἵσῃτην  
 D al. 248 εἶπε πρὸς δν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν F P H al.

230. προμνηστῖνοι 'one after another' (11. 233): the opposite of ἀγχιστῖνοι 'close together.' The two words are formed as if from abstract nouns, viz. *πρόμνηστις* and *ἀγχιστίς*: cp. *ἀντιστίς* (20. 387).

231. The sense is: 'Let this be made the sign, namely (γάρ) the refusal of the Suitors to allow the bow to be given to me.' When this took place (285-358) Eumaeus was to bring the bow

and give it to Ulysses (so 369 ff.).

236. μεγάραιο. If this means the great hall, we must suppose a second door, opposite to the main entrance, and leading to the women's quarters. Otherwise the *μέγαρον* of the women is meant. See the Appendix on the Homeric house.

243. δῖφρον, the same as the δῖφρος - δεικέλιος which Ulysses placed by the door (20. 259).

“ὦ πόποι, ἦ μοι ἄχος περί τ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων·  
 οὐ τι γάμου τοσσούτον ὀδύρομαι, ἀχνύμενός περ· 250  
 εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Ἀχαιῖδες, αἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ  
 ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, αἱ δ’ ἄλλῃσιν πολίεσσιν·  
 ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ τοσσόνδε βίης ἐπιδευέες εἰμὲν  
 ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος, ὃ τ’ οὐ δυνάμεσθα τανύσσαι  
 τόξον· ἐλεγχείῃ δὲ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.” 255

Τὸν δ’ αὖτ’ Ἀντίνοος προσέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός·  
 “Εὐρύμαχ’, οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται· νοεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτός.  
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἑορτὴ τοῖο θεοῖο  
 ἀγνὴ· τίς δέ κε τόξα τιταίνουσιν; ἀλλὰ ἔκῃλοι  
 κάτθεται· ἀτὰρ πελέκεάς γε καὶ εἴ κ’ εἰώμεν ἅπαντας 260  
 ἐστάμεν· οὐ μὲν γάρ τιν’ ἀναιρήσεσθαι ἴδω,  
 ἐλθόντ’ ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος.  
 ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’, οἶνοχδος μὲν ἐπαρξάσθω δεπάεσσιν,  
 δῖφρα σπείσαντες καταθείομεν ἀγκύλα τόξα·  
 ἡῶθεν δὲ κέλεσθε Μελάνθιον, αἰπόλον αἰγῶν, 265  
 αἴγας ἄγειν, αἱ πᾶσι μέγ’ ἔξοχοι αἰπολίοισιν,  
 δῖφρ’ ἐπὶ μηρία θέντες Ἀπόλλωνι κλυτοτόξῳ  
 τόξου πειρώμεσθα καὶ ἐκτελέωμεν ἀεθλον.”

Ὡς ἔφατ’ Ἀντίνοος, τοῖσιν δ’ ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος.  
 τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχεναν, 270  
 κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο,  
 νόμῃσαν δ’ ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.  
 οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν σπείσαν τ’ ἐπὶν θ’ ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός,  
 τοῖς δὲ δολοφρονέων μετέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

260 εἰώμεν] originally ἐάωμεν: εἰ- is only correct in augmented forms.

263 ἄγετ’] originally ἄγε, as in l. 281.

274 τοῖσι δὲ D L W: τοῖσι U<sup>2</sup>.

258. ἑορτή, viz. the ‘new moon,’ see on 14. 162., 20. 156.

τοῖο θεοῖο, sc. Apollo (20. 276–278).

260. εἴ κ’ εἰώμεν. The apodosis is not expressed, but is suggested by ἐστάμεν: ‘if we leave them to stand (they will).’ The form of the sentence is like 15. 80 εἰ δ’ ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι (see the note): see also on 4. 388 (where

the first of the two explanations given is the better one), and 17. 483.

263. See on 18. 418.

267–268. κλυτοτόξῳ is used here with meaning. The sacrifice to Apollo, god of the bow, will properly come before a contest with the bow.

270–272. = 3. 338–340. See the note on ἐπαρξάμενοι (3. 340).

“κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστήρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης· 275  
 [ὄφρ’ εἶπω τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει·]  
 Εὐρύμαχον δὲ μάλιστα καὶ Ἀντίνοον θεοειδέα  
 λίσσομ’, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἔπος κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπε,  
 νῦν μὲν παῦσαι τόξον, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ θεοῖσιν·  
 ἥῳθεν δὲ θεὸς δώσει κράτος φ’ κ’ ἐθέλησιν. 280  
 ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἐμοὶ δότε τόξον ἐύξοον, ὅφρα μεθ’ ὑμῖν  
 χειρῶν καὶ σθένεος πειρήσομαι, ἥ μοι ἔτ’ ἐστὶν  
 ἔς, οἷη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν,  
 ἥ ἤδη μοι ὄλεσσαν ἄλῃ τ’ ἀκομιστήν τε.”  
 \*Ὡς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως νεμέσησαν, 285  
 δεῖσαντες μὴ τόξον ἐύξοον ἐντανύσειεν.  
 Ἀντίνοος δ’ ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ’ ἔφατ’ ἔκ τ’ ὀνόμαζεν·  
 “ἂ δειλὲ ξείνων, ἐνὶ τοι φρένες οὐδ’ ἡβαιαί·  
 οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς δ’ ἐκηλος ὑπερφιάλοισι μεθ’ ἡμῖν  
 δαίνυσαι, οὐδέ τι δαιτὸς ἀμέρδαι, αὐτὰρ ἀκούεις 290  
 μύθων ἡμετέρων καὶ ῥήσιος; οὐδέ τις ἄλλος  
 ἡμετέρων μύθων ξείνος καὶ πῖτωχὸς ἀκούει.  
 οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδῆς, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
 βλάπτει, ὃς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλῃ μῆδ’ αἴσιμα πίνῃ.  
 οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα, 295  
 ἄσ’ ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο,  
 ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ’· ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄσεν οἶνφ,  
 μαινόμενος κάκ’ ἔρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθόοιο·  
 ἥρωας δ’ ἄχος εἶλε, διὲκ προθύρου δὲ θύραζε  
 ἔλκον ἀναΐξαντες, ἀπ’ οὔατα νηλεῖ χαλκῷ 300

276 is wanting in the MSS. It is found in the old editions (Flor. Rom. &c.).  
 289 δ] δθ' F: δ δθ' P. 296 ἄσ' ἐνὶ] ἄσεν F Z.

281. *ἄγε*, sing. notwithstanding the plur. *δοτε*: the form *ἄλλ' ἄγε* having become a mere interjection: cp. 16. 348., 18. 55., 20. 314., 21. 111.

285. *ὑπερφιάλως* 'beyond measure,' see 18. 71.

*νεμέσησαν* 'affected indignation': their real feeling was fear.

294. *χανδὸν* 'open-mouthed' (*χαίρω*).

\* 296. *ἄσεν* 'did harm to,' 'impaired.' The word is especially used of mental injury or aberration, as in ll. 297, 301. Hence the middle *ἄσάμην* and passive *ἄσθην* 'I was stricken in mind,' - 'I did a senseless thing.' And so *ἄτη* means originally the mental 'harm' that causes acts of folly.

ῥίνας τ' ἀμήσαντες· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἀασθεὶς  
ἦεν ἦν αἶτην ὀχέων ἀεσίφρονι θυμῷ.

ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη,  
οἳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτῳ κακὸν εὔρετο οἰνοβαρείων.

ὥς καὶ σοὶ μέγα πῆμα πιφαύσκομαι, αἶ κε τὸ τόξον 305

ἐντανύσῃς· οὐ γάρ τευ ἐπητύος ἀντιβολήσεις

ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ δῆμῳ, ἄφαρ δέ σε νηὶ μελαίνῃ

εἰς Ἑχέτον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων,

πέμψομεν· ἔνθεν δ' οὐ τι σαώσεται· ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος  
πῖνέ τε, μηδ' ἐρίδαινε μετ' ἀνδράσι κουροτέροισι." 310

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·

"Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν καλὸν ἀτέμβειν οὐδὲ δίκαιον

ξείνους Τηλεμάχου, ὅς κεν τάδε δῶμαθ' ἵκηται.

ἔλπεαι, αἶ χ' ὁ ξείνος Ὀδυσσεύς μέγα τόξον

ἐντανύσῃ χερσὶν τε βίηφί τε ᾗφι πιθήσας, 315

οἴκαδ' ἐμ' ἄξεσθαι καὶ ἐὴν θήσεσθαι ἄκοιτιν;

οὐδ' αὐτός που τοῦτό γ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ξολπε·

μηδέ τις ὑμείων τοῦ γ' εἵνεκα θυμὸν ἀχεύων

ἐνθάδε δαινύσθω, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε."

Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου παῖς, ἀντίον ἤδα·

"κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρον Πηνελόπεια, 321

οὐ τί σε τόνδ' ἄξεσθαι διδμεθ'· οὐδὲ ἔοικεν·

ἀλλ' αἰσχυρόμενοι φάτιν ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ γυναικῶν,

μή ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν·

ἥ πολὺ χείρονες ἄνδρες ἀμύμονος ἀνδρὸς ἄκοιτιν 325

μνῶνται, οὐδέ τι τόξον ἐύξοον ἐντανύουσιν·

302 ὀχέων] ἀχέων G al.

308 om. G X U.

315 πεποιθὲς P Eust.

326 μνῶνται δτ' F P H U X: μνῶνται δ D L W: the original reading was probably μνάοντ'.

302. ἀεσίφρονι. We expect the form ἀασί-φρον, from ἀασα, cp. ταλασί-φρον. But ἀεσι- may be due to the analogy of ταμεισί-χρος, ὠλεσι-καρπος, ἀλφεισί-βοιος, ἔλκεσι-πεπλος, &c.

306. ἐπητύος 'gentleness,' 'courteous treatment': the abstract noun that answers to ἐπητής (13. 332, &c.).

312-313, = 20. 294-295.

318. θυμὸν ἀχεύων is the logical predicate, the sense being 'let no one of you that feast here vex his soul on that account.'

323. αἰσχυρόμενοι is construed *ad sensum*; οὐ τι διόμεθα = οὐ τι πράττομεν διόμενοι, 'we do not do so because we think' &c.

ἀλλ' ἄλλος τις πτωχὸς ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν  
 ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνυσσε βίον, διὰ δ' ἦκε σιδήρου.  
 ὥς ἐρέουσ', ἡμῖν δ' ἂν ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα γένοιτο."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια· 330

"Εὐρύμαχ', οὐ πως ἔστιν ἐϋκλείας κατὰ δῆμον  
 ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ οἶκον ἀτιμάζοντες ἔδουσιν  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος· τί δ' ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα τίθεσθε ;  
 οὗτος δὲ ξεῖνος μάλα μὲν μέγας ἦδ' εὐπηγῆς,  
 πατρὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γένος εὐχεται ἔμμεναι υἱός.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ δότε τόξον ἐύξοον, ὄφρα ἴδωμεν. 335

ᾧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 εἰ κέ μιν ἐντανύσῃ, δῶν δέ οἱ εὐχος Ἀπόλλων,  
 ἔσσω μιν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἴματα καλά,  
 δώσω δ' ὄξυν ἄκοντα, κυνῶν ἀλκτῆρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν, 340  
 καὶ ξίφος ἄμφηκες· δώσω δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ πέλδιλα,  
 πέμψω δ' ὀππῃ μιν κραδίη θυμὸς τε κελεύει."

Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·  
 "μήτερ ἐμή, τόξον μὲν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ τις ἐμεῖο  
 κρείσσω, φῶ κ' ἐθέλω, δόμεναί τε καὶ ἀρνήσασθαι, 345  
 οὐθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,  
 οὐθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἥλιδος ἵπποβοτόιο  
 τῶν οὐ τίς μ' ἀέκοντα βιήσεται αἶ κ' ἐθέλωμι  
 καὶ καθάπαξ ξείνῳ δόμεναι τάδε τόξα φέρεσθαι.

335 πατρὸς] ἀνδρὸς F M U Eust.

327. Join ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν, cp. 13.  
 333 ἀσπασίας γὰρ κ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀλαλή-  
 μενος ἐλθὼν κτλ.

329. ἐλέγχεα is predicate: 'this would  
 be a reproach.'

333. τί δ' ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα τίθεσθε ; In  
 this question Penelope echoes the last  
 words of Eurymachus. 'In any case,'  
 she says, 'your action does you no  
 credit: but why make this (the success  
 of the stranger in stringing the bow)  
 into a reproach?' It is unnecessary to  
 give τίθεσθε the post-Homeric sense  
 'regard,' 'consider as.'

335. γένος is an acc., cp. 14. 199,  
 16. 62. The line is taken from Il. 14.

113 πατρὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος  
 εὐχομαι εἶναι. The superfluous word  
 υἱός was doubtless added to fill up the  
 verse, after the necessary omission of  
 καὶ ἐγώ (Sittl, *Die Wiederholungen in  
 der Odyssee*, p. 41).

344. τόξον is object to δόμεναι, but is  
 placed at the beginning of the sentence  
 for the sake of emphasis.

347. 'The islands towards Elis' are  
 evidently the three so often named,  
 Δουλιχίον τε Σάμη τε καὶ Ἰθάκη Ζά-  
 κυνθος: see the notes on 15. 33, 299.

349. καὶ καθάπαξ 'once for all,' 'out-  
 right.'

φέρεσθαι 'to take with him.'



ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε, 350  
 ἱστόν τ' ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε  
 ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· τόξον δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει  
 πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ."

Ἡ μὲν θαμβήσασα πάλιν οἰκόνδε βεβήκει·  
 παιδὸς γὰρ μῦθον πεπνυμένον ἔνθετο θυμῷ. 355  
 ἐς δ' ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶ  
 κλαίειν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα, φίλον πόσιν, ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον  
 ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τόξα λαβὼν φέρε καμπύλα διὸς ὕφορβος·  
 μνηστῆρες δ' ἄρα πάντες ὁμόκλεον ἐν μεγάροισιν· 360  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεςκε νέων ὑπερηνορέοντων·  
 "πῇ δὴ καμπύλα τόξα φέρεις, ἀμέγαρτε συβῶτα,  
 πλαγκτέ; τάχ' αὖ σ' ἐφ' ὕεσσι κύνες ταχέες κατέδονται  
 οἶον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὓς ἔτρεφες, εἴ κεν Ἀπόλλων  
 ἡμῖν ἰλήκησι καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι." 365

Ὡς φάσαν, αὐτὰρ ὁ θῆκε φέρων αὐτῇ ἐνὶ χώρῃ,  
 δέισας, οὐνεκα πολλοὶ ὁμόκλεον ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀπειλήσας ἐγεγώνει·  
 "ἄττα, πρόσω φέρε τόξα· τάχ' οὐκ εὖ πᾶσι πιθήσεις·

352 τόξον X U L W Eust. : μῦθος G F P M al. (cp. 1. 358). 360 ἄρα] ἄμα P.  
 366 αὐτῇ ἐνὶ χώρῃ P H : αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ χώρῃ G : αὐτῷ ἐνὶ χώρῃ F al.

350-358 repeat 1. 356-364, with τόξον in place of μῦθος. And in both places the first four lines (here 350-353) are an adaptation, or parody, of Hector's words to Andromache, Il. 6. 490-493. This is shown by the fact that the πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει of Hector's speech is more intelligible and appropriate than the parallel phrase in either passage of the *Odyssey*. Here it is distinctly inappropriate, because the bow was in the charge of Penelope, and the contest was brought about by her. But probably the poet had in view the ironical double meaning of μελήσει. The bow was to be 'the concern of the men, all of them,' in a sense which they did not anticipate.

354. οἰκόνδε, i. e. to the οἶκος or building in which her own ὑπερώϊον was.

The object of the passage is to explain the absence of Penelope from the hall during the scene which followed.

363. The literal meaning of πλαγκτός is 'sent adrift,' hence 'unsettled,' 'crazy.' Cp. the rocks called Πλαγκταί because they moved about (Il. 61., 23. 327). For the metaphor as applied to the mind cp. φρένας ἐκπεπαταγμένος (Od. 18. 327), φρένες ἡερέθονται (Il. 3. 108), φρένες ἐμπεδοί (Od. 18. 215).

366. αὐτῇ ἐνὶ χώρῃ 'on the spot,' 'just where he stood.'

369. τάχα 'presently,' an echo of the τάχα of 363 : cp. also τάχα in 374. The use of τάχα in the sense of 'perhaps' is post-Homeric.

οὐκ εὖ πᾶσι πιθήσεις 'it will not be well for you that you obey them all.'

μή σε καὶ ὀπλότερός περ ἔων ἀγρόνδε δίωμαι, 370  
 βάλλων χερμαδίοισιν· βίηφι δὲ φέρτερός εἰμι.  
 αἶ γὰρ πάντων τόσσον, ὅσοι κατὰ δώματ' ἔασι,  
 μνηστήρων χερσὶν τε βίηφί τε φέρτερος εἶην·  
 τῷ κε τάχα στυγερώς τιν' ἐγὼ πέμψαιμι νέεσθαι  
 ἡμετέρου ἐξ οἴκου, ἐπεὶ κακὰ μηχανόωνται." 375

Ἦς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺ γέλασαν  
 μνηστῆρες, καὶ δὴ μέθιεν χαλεποῖο χόλοιο  
 Τηλεμάχῳ· τὰ δὲ τόξα φέρων ἀνὰ δῶμα συβώτης  
 ἐν χεῖρεσσ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι θῆκε παραστάς.  
 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσάμενος προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν· 380  
 "Τηλέμαχος κέλεται σε, περίφρων Εὐρύκλεια,  
 κληῖσθαι μεγάροιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας,  
 ἣν δέ τις ἢ στοναχῆς ἢ κτύπου ἔνδον ἀκούσῃ  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡμετέροισιν ἐν ἔρκεσι, μή τι θύραζε  
 προβλώσκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀκὴν ἔμεναι παρὰ ἔργῳ." 385

Ἦς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἀπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος,  
 κληῖσεν δὲ θύρας μεγάρων εὐ ναιεταόντων.

Σιγῇ δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο Φιλοίτιος ἄλτο θύραζε,  
 κληῖσεν δ' ἄρ' ἐπειτα θύρας εὐερκέος αὐλῆς.

381 om. F P U Z.

374. The use of *τινα*, 'some one,' 'one or another,' really meaning 'every one,' is a sarcastic *litotes*: cp. 13. 394, 427., 22. 67.

377. *μέθιεν χόλοιο* 'they let go,' 'relaxed the violence of their anger': the gen. is partitive, as in 11. 21. 177 *μεθῆκε βίης*. But the acc. is used in the closely similar 11. 1. 283 *Ἀχιλλῆϊ μεθέμεν χόλον*. The dat. in both places is ethical.

382-385, repetition of 236-239.

382. *μεγάροιο θύρας*. This must mean the door of, *i.e.* leading into, the *μέγαρον* of the women's apartments. The passage has been thought to favour the view that the *μέγαρον* of the women was immediately behind the men's hall, and that the door now intended was one at the upper end of the hall, by which the two rooms communicated. Eumaeus, it is argued, was in the hall: if he 'called forth' Eurycleia, he must

have done so through such a door. But Eumaeus was with Ulysses at the lower end of the hall, near the main entrance, and could hardly have given his order to Eurycleia from that point without exciting the suspicion of the Suitors. It was much easier for him to go out (as Philoetius did), and go to the door by which the women's *μέγαρον* was entered from the αὐλή. On this view there is no argument either for or against the existence of a second door at the upper end of the hall.

388. *ἐξ οἴκοιο* 'from an *οἶκος*,'—probably not the *μέγαρον*, but one of the buildings that opened into the αὐλή: cp. 1. 354. Philoetius went out *σιγῇ*, so that the Suitors should not *hear* him: which would have been useless if they had *seen* him leave the *μέγαρον*. But from his *οἶκος* he could see Ulysses standing in the door-way.

κείτο δ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ δπλον νεδς ἀμφιερίσσης 390  
 βύβλινον, φ ρ' ἐπέδῃσε θύρας, ἐς δ' ἦεν αὐτός·  
 ἔξετ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ δίφρον ἰών, ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη,  
 εἰσορόων Ὀδυσῆα. ὁ δ' ἦδη τόξον ἐνώμα  
 πάντῃ ἀναστρωφών, πειρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
 μὴ κέρα ἵπες ἔδοιεν ἀποιχομένοιο ἀνακτος. 395  
 ᾧδε δέ τις εἶπεςκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·  
 "ἦ τις θηητῆρ καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ἔπλετο τόξων.  
 ἦ ῥά νύ που τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτῷ οἴκοθι κεῖται,  
 ἦ ὁ γ' ἐφορμᾶται ποιησέμεν, ὥς ἐνὶ χερσὶ  
 νωμᾷ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κακῶν ἔμπαιος ἀλήτης" 400  
 Ἄλλος δ' αὐτ' εἶπεςκε νέων ὑπερηγόνων·  
 "αἶ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν,  
 ὥς οὐτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσαι·  
 Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν μνηστῆρες· ἀτὰρ πολὺ μῆτις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ μέγα τόξον ἐβάστασε καὶ ἔκλεπτε, 405  
 ὥς δτ' ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδός  
 ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέφ περὶ κόλλοπι χορδῇν,

392 δίφρου G. 397 θηητῆρ] θηρητῆρ X D al. G X U J: ἐπὶ F H al.

400 νωμᾷτ' F. 407 περὶ

390. αἰθούσῃ, sc. over the door-way of the αὐλή, cp. 15. 146.

391. ἐπέδῃσε 'made fast,' from ἐπι-δέω. The preposition ἐπὶ is used of *shutting*, as in ἐπιθεῖναι (13. 370, II. 5. 751, etc.), ἐπιτεκλιμένas σανίδas (II. 12. 121).

394. ἀναστρωφών, see on 17. 97.

395. ἔδοιεν 'should eat,' i. e. should be found eating (or having eaten).

397. θηητῆρ 'an admirer,' 'fancier'; from θεόμαι in the sense which it has (e.g.) in the recurring line αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐφ' ἠθέσατο θυμῷ.

ἐπὶ κλοπος 'cunning about,' 'knowing the tricks of the thing,' cp. II. 22. 281. The word is used in a good or at least an indulgent sense: cp. κλεπτοσύνη in 19. 396.

The pronoun τις qualifies θηητῆρ καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος, 'a sort of fancier and connoisseur': cp. 18. 382 καὶ πού τις δοκέειas μέγας ἔμμεναι κτλ.

398. 'Either he has such bows at

home' (and therefore is interested in comparing this one) 'or he is bent upon making' (bows). We need not suppose (with Ameis) that the Suitors suspect him of intending to steal the bow.

400. ἔμπαιος seems to mean 'an expert in,' 'having the command of': cp. 20. 379. The whole speech is finely 'ironical': the Suitors are made to express suspicions and apprehensions, but have no idea how much ground there is for these.

402-403. This again is a piece of poetical irony. 'Would that the fellow (οὗτος) may benefit by it in proportion as he is sure of being able to string this bow.' The speaker means 'not at all,' but his wish is fulfilled in the opposite sense to that which is in his mind. Note that οὗτος properly belongs to the former of the two clauses, but is postponed in order to bring οὗτος and τοῦτο together.

ἄψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐϋστρεφὲς ἔντερον οἶός,  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἀτερ σπουδῆς τάνυσεν μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύς:  
 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρα χειρὶ λαβὼν πειρήσατο νευρῆς· 410  
 ἢ δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν αἶεσε, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν.  
 μνηστῆρσιν δ' ἄρ' ἄχος γένετο μέγα, πᾶσι δ' ἄρα χρῶς  
 ἐτράπετο. Ζεὺς δὲ μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, σήματα φαίνων·  
 ἡγήθησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὅττι ρά οἱ τέρας ἦκε Κρόνου πᾶϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω· 415  
 εἴλετο δ' ὠκὺν οἰστόν, ὃ οἱ παρέκειτο τραπέζῃ  
 γυμνός· τοῖ δ' ἄλλοι κολῆς ἔντοσθε φαρέτρης  
 κείατο, τῶν τάχ' ἔμελλον Ἀχαιοὶ πειρήσεσθαι.  
 τὸν β' ἐπὶ πῆχ' ἔλκων ἔλκεν νευρὴν γλυφίδας τε,  
 αὐτόθεν ἐκ δὲ φρούρα καθήμενος, ἦκε δ' οἰστόν 420  
 ἅντα τιτυσκόμενος πελέκεων δ' οὐκ ἡμβροτε πάντων  
 πρώτης στελειῆς, διὰ δ' ἀμπερὲς ἦλθε θύραζε  
 ἰδὲ χαλκοβαρῆς· οὐδ' Τηλέμαχον προσέειπε·  
 “Τηλέμαχ', οὐκ ὁ ξείνος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐλέγχει  
 ἡμενος, οὐδέ τι τοῦ σκοποῦ ἡμβροτον οὐδέ τι τόξον 425  
 δὴν ἔκαμον τανύων· ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν,  
 οὐχ ὥς με μνηστῆρες ἀτιμάζοντες ὄνονται.  
 νῦν δ' ὦρη καὶ δόρπον Ἀχαιοῖσιν τετυκέσθαι  
 ἐν φάει, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλως ἐψιάσθαι

412 ἀρα] ἀνὰ G. 414 δ' ἄρ' G. 415 ἀγκυλόμητις G. 419 ἔλκεν Ar.  
 X: εἴλκεν vulg. The reading of Ar. is supported in Il. 4. 213 by most of his  
 manuscripts (ad πλείους Did., see Sch. A).

411. ὑπὸ 'in answer to his touch':  
 ὡς as in ὑπ-ακούω, ὑποκρίνομαι, &c.

413. ἐτράπετο 'changed colour.'  
 μέγαλα is an adverb with ἔκτυπε, cp.  
 20. 113 μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας.

415. The reading ἀγκυλόμητις was  
 first proposed by Nauck, *Mélanges Gr.-  
 Rom.* IV. 123. Being supported here  
 by G (one of the oldest MSS.), it should  
 now perhaps be adopted.

419. ἐπὶ πῆχ' ἔλκων, taking (and  
 placing) on the πῆχυς or 'elbow,' i.e.  
 on the middle part which joined the  
 two 'horns,' as the elbow joins the two  
 parts of the arm. For the brachylogy

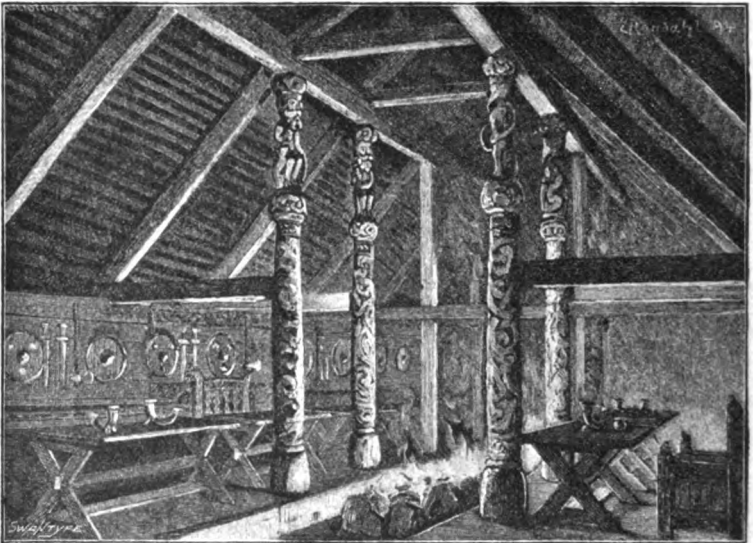
or 'pregnant' use of ἔλκων cp. 15. 206  
 νηὶ δ' ἐνὶ πρόμῃ ἐφαίνοντο κάλλιμα δῶρα,  
 also 13. 274 (note).

422. πρώτης στελειῆς 'the top of the  
 handle': to be construed with ἡμβροτε,  
 'did not miss the στελειῆ of any of the  
 axes.'

θύραζε 'out, forth,' viz. from the axe-  
 heads; the word has no reference to  
 a door, cp. 11. 5. 694 ἐκ μηροῦ θύραζε,  
 16. 408, &c.

429. ἐν φάει, an oxymoron, a supper  
 in daylight being a contradiction. The  
 'supper' really meant is of course the  
 μνηστηροφονία.

μολπῇ καὶ φόρμιγγι· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός.” 430  
 Ἦ καὶ ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσεν· ὁ δ' ἀμφέθετο ξίφος ὀξὺ  
 Τηλέμαχος, φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρα φίλην βάλεν ἔγχεϊ, ἀγχι δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ  
 παρ' θρόνον ἐστήκει κεκορυθμένος αἶθοπι χαλκῷ.



THE GREAT HALL (*Stofa*) OF AN ICELANDIC HOUSE (circa 1000 A.D.).

From *Den islandske Bolig i Fristats-Tiden*, by Dr. Valtýr Guðmundsson  
 (Copenhagen, 1894).

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Χ

## Μνηστηροφονία.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ γυμνώθη βακέων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἄλτο δ' ἐπὶ μέγαν οὐδόν, ἔχων βιδὴν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην  
 ἰῶν ἐμπλείην, ταχέας δ' ἐκχεύατ' οἷστοις  
 αὐτοῦ πρόσθε ποδῶν, μετὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσιν ἔειπεν·  
 “οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἄεθλος ἀάατος ἐκτετέλεσται·  
 νῦν αὖτε σκοπὸν ἄλλον, δν οὐ πῶ τις βάλεν ἀνήρ,  
 εἶσομαι αἶ κε τύχωμι, πόρῃ δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων.”

5

Ἥ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀντινόῳ ἰθύνητο πικρὸν οἷστόν.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ καλὸν ἄλειςον ἀναιρήσεσθαι ἔμελλε,  
 χρύσειον ἄμφωτον, καὶ δὴ μετὰ χερσὶν ἐνώμα,  
 ὄφρα πῶο οἶνοιο· φόνος δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 μέμβλετο· τίς κ' οἶοιτο μετ' ἀνδράσι δαιτυμόνεσσι  
 μῦθον ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι, καὶ εἰ μάλα καρτερὸς εἴη,

10

3 εὐπλείην F.

2. μέγαν οὐδόν, the threshold at the entrance of the *μήγαρον*. The object of Ulysses was to prevent the escape of the Suitors (l. 171 *μνηστῆρας ἀγανούς σχήσομεν ἐντοσθεν μεγάρων*): their only chance was to force him from the doorway, and pass out into the town (l. 76 *εἰ κέ μιν οὐδοῦ ἀπώσομεν ἠδὲ θυράων, ἔλθωμεν δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ*, κτλ.).

5. ἀάατος. Ulysses takes up the phrase of Antinous (21. 91), who had announced that the contest would be 'decisive,' and was now to find it so to his own cost.

6. σκοπόν, with *εἶσομαι αἶ κε τύχωμι* as an *accusatiuus de quo*, 'as to an-

other mark I will know if I shall hit it': cp. 14. 366, also Il. 8. 535 *ἄβριον ἦν ἀρετὴν διαίσειςται εἴ κ' ἐμὸν ἔγχεος μείρη*.

Some take *εἶσομαι* in the sense of a fut. of *εἶμι*, viz. 'I will go at'; cp. *εἴσεται* in 15. 213, *ἐπιείσομαι* (Il. 11. 367., 20. 454), and *εἴσατο* or *εἴσατο* in 8. 295., 22. 89 and often in the Iliad. But this *εἶσομαι* would surely take a gen. of the object aimed at: cp. l. 89.

12. μέμβλετο, plupf. mid. of μέλω, 'was matter of care': cp. μέμβλεται (Il. 19. 343). The word is probably to be regarded as a thematic form of the perfect (Brugmann, *Grundr.* ii. p. 1234).

οἱ τεύξειν θάνατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν;  
 τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ λαιμὸν ἐπισχόμενος βάλεν ἰφ, 15  
 ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή.  
 ἐκλίνθη δ' ἐτέρωσε, δέπας δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χεῖρὸς  
 βλημένου, αὐτίκα δ' αὐλὸς ἀνὰ ῥίνας παχὺς ἦλθεν  
 αἵματος ἀνδρομέοιο· θοῶς δ' ἀπὸ εἶο τράπεζαν  
 ὤσε ποδὶ πλῆξας, ἀπὸ δ' εἶδατα χεῦεν ἔραζε· 20  
 σίτος τε κρέα τ' ὅπτα φορύνετο. τοῖ δ' ὁμάδησαν  
 μνηστῆρες κατὰ δῶμαθ', ὅπως ἴδον ἄνδρα πεσόντα,  
 ἐκ δὲ θρόνων ἀνόρουσαν ὀρινθέντες κατὰ δῶμα,  
 πάντοσε παπταίνοντες εὐδμήτους ποτὶ τοίχους·  
 οὐδέ πη ἀσπὶς ἔην οὐδ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἐλέσθαι. 25  
 νείκειον δ' Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσι·  
 "ξείνε, κακῶς ἀνδρῶν τοξάζεαι· οὐκέτ' ἀέθλων  
 ἄλλων ἀντιάσεις· νῦν τοι σῶς αἰπὺς δλεθρος.  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ νῦν φῶτα κατέκτανες ὃς μέγ' ἄριστος  
 κούρων εἰν Ἰθάκῃ· τῷ σ' ἐνθάδε γυῖπες ἔδονται." 30  
 Ἴσκεν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ, ἐπεὶ ἦ φάσαν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα

22 δῶμα F P.  
 οὐδ' οὐκ P.

24 ποτὶ] ἐπὶ P: κατὰ J.

25 πη Eust.: πω vulg.: πω X.

14. οἱ τεύξειν κτλ. 'would make for himself an evil death and black fate,' i.e. would do what could only mean his own death. All the commentators refer οἱ to the τίς of l. 12: 'who would think that in the midst of a banquet one man amongst so many, even were he very strong, would bring death upon him?' But the pronoun οἱ must have a strictly reflexive sense (= εαυτῷ), referring to the subject of τεύξειν. And this agrees with the general sense required, which is not to ask who would say 'he is going to kill me,' but whether any one would expect him to fight with all the company at once.

15. κατὰ λαιμόν, to be taken with βάλεν ἰφ.

ἐπὶ-σχόμενος 'holding it (the arrow) to or at' (the object aimed at). So ἐπέχω in l. 75 ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἐχωμεν. The aorist participle is *descriptive* of the act of βάλεν ἰφ: cp. 14. 463., 17. 330 (H. G. § 77).

17. ἐτέρωσε 'to one side,' cp. 11. 8.

306-308 μήκων δ' ὡς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν . . . ὡς ἐτέρωσ' ἤμυνε κάρη κτλ. It does not mean 'to the other side' or 'back' (as Ameis, &c.), but only that he did not remain upright. So in οὐδ' ἐτέρωσε (or οὐδετέρωσε) = 'not to either side.'

18. βλημένου, gen. notwithstanding the possible constr. with οἱ: H. G. § 243.3, d.

αὐλός, a 'jet' or 'column,' so called from its likeness in shape to a tube.

21. φορύνετο 'were bedabbled,' the floor being of earth.

24-25. It is probable that these lines (and perhaps also l. 23) are spurious: see on 19. 1-50. The Suitors, as was pointed out by Kirchhoff (*Die homerische Odyssee*, p. 581), do not yet suppose themselves to be in any danger. It is quite premature for them to be looking for shields or spears.

31. Ἴσκεν 'so guessed,' 'so imagined': cp. 19. 203. The indicative of the verb ἴσκω only survives in this idiomatic use of ἴσκεν (with asyndeton) = οὕτως ἴσκεν.

ἄνδρα κατακτείνει· τὸ δὲ νήπιοι οὐκ ἐνόησαν,  
 ὥς δὴ σφιν καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπτο.  
 τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ὦ κύνες, σὺ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπὸτροπον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι 35  
 δήμου ἄπο Τρώων, ὅτι μοι κατεκείρετε οἶκον,  
 δμῳῇσιν δὲ γυναιξὶ παρευνάξεσθε βιαίως,  
 αὐτοῦ τε ζῶντος ὑπεμνάσθε γυναῖκα,  
 οὔτε θεοὺς δέισαντες, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
 οὔτε τιν' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσιν κατόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι· 40  
 νῦν ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπται.”  
 Ὡς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἄρα πάντας ὑπὸ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλε·  
 [πάπτηνεν δὲ ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φύγοι αἰπὺν ὀλεθρον·]  
 Εὐρύμαχος δέ μιν οἶος ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·  
 “εἰ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἰθακήσιος εἰλήλουθας, 45  
 ταῦτα μὲν αἴσιμα εἶπας, ὅσα ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί,  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀτάσθαλα, πολλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀγροῦ.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη κεῖται ὡς αἴτιος ἔπλετο πάντων,  
 Ἀντίνοος· οὗτος γὰρ ἐπὶ ἦλεν τάδε ἔργα,  
 σὺ τι γάμου τόσσον κεχρημένος οὐδὲ χατίζων, 50  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλα φρονέων, τά οἱ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε Κρονίων,  
 ὄφρ' Ἰθάκης κατὰ δῆμον εὐκτιμένης βασιλεύει  
 αὐτός, ἀτὰρ σὸν παῖδα κατακτείνειε λοχῆσας.  
 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐν μοίρῃ πέφαιται, σὺ δὲ φείδεο λαῶν

35 σὺ τί μ' G. 37, 38 transposed in F P H al. (not in G X U Eust.).  
 40 ἔσεσθαι] ἔσεσθε M X J Eust.: ἔπεσθαι L W. 43 om. in most MSS.; cp. Il. 14.  
 507., 16. 283. 49 τάδε πάντα G P.

33. πείρατ' ἐφήπτο, Il. 7. 402., 12. 79. There is a play of language between *πείρα* in the literal sense of the end of a rope and in the metaphorical sense of 'completion,' 'consummation.'

36. ὅτι 'insomuch that,' 'as you show by the fact that,' cp. 14. 367., 18. 392: *H. G.* § 269, 2.

38. ὑπεμνάσθε. The force of *ὑπό* is to imply that the wooing is something that exists along with and thus is *in conflict* with the rights of the husband: as in *ὑπ-αντιάζω*.

40. νέμεσιν is governed by *δέισαντες*. The expegetical inf. *ἔσεσθαι* is an example of the uses out of which the construction of the acc. c. inf. originally grew: *H. G.* § 237.

46. ταῦτα κτλ. 'These things you have said justly about all that the Achaeans have been doing.'

ῥέζεσκον, an impf. of the kind noticed in *H. G.* § 73.

54. ἐν μοίρῃ 'in his due portion,' nearly = *κατὰ μοῖραν*, 'duly.'



σῶν· ἀτὰρ ἄμμες ὄπισθεν ἀρεσσάμενοι κατὰ δῆμον, 55  
 ὅσσα τοι ἐκπέπεται καὶ ἐδήδεται ἐν μεγάροισι,  
 τιμὴν ἀμφὶς ἄγοντες ἑικοσάβοιον ἕκαστος,  
 χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τ' ἀποδώσομεν, εἰς δ' κε σὸν κῆρ  
 ἱανθῇ· πρὶν δ' οὐ τι νεμεσσητὸν κεχολῶσθαι."

Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα' ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "Εὐρύμαχ', οὐδ' εἴ μοι πατρώϊα πάντ' ἀποδοῖτε, 61  
 ὅσσα τε νῦν ὕμμ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλ' ἐπιθεῖτε,  
 οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι χεῖρας ἐμὰς λήξαιμι φόνοιο  
 πρὶν πᾶσαν μνηστήρας ὑπερβασίην ἀποτίσαι.  
 νῦν ὑμῖν παράκειται ἐναντίον ἡ μάχεσθαι 65  
 ἢ φεύγειν, ὅς κεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξῃ·  
 ἀλλὰ τιν' οὐ φεύξεσθαι ὄλομαι αἰπὺν δλεθρον."

ᾧ δὲ φάτο, τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λῦτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος μετεφώνεε δεύτερον αὖτις·  
 "ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ σχῆσει ἀνὴρ ὅδε χεῖρας ἀάπτους, 70  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔλλαβε τόξον ἑὔξοον ἡδὲ φαρέτρην  
 οὐδοῦ ἀπο ξεστοῦ τοξάσσεται, εἰς δ' κε πάντας  
 ἄμμε κατακτείνει· ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα χάρμης·  
 φάσγανά τε σπάσσασθε καὶ ἀντίσχεσθε τραπέζας

56 ἐδήδεται Ar. (καὶ ἄλλοι Herodian II. 299, 15): ἐδήδεται v.l. given by Herodian l.c.: ἐδήδοται vulg. 69 μετεφώνεε G X U: προσεφώνεε vulg. 72 ἀπο] ἐπὶ PH al.

55. ἀρεσσάμενοι 'making it good.' κατὰ δῆμον, i.e. by a contribution levied on the δῆμος or community: cp. 13.14.

56. ἐδήδεται, the reading of Aristarchus, is the regular third person plural of ἐδήδα, which is the only Homeric perfect of ἔδω. The plural is very harsh, however, after the sing. ἐκπέπεται. The form ἐδήδεσμαι, which Herodian gives as the 3rd sing., may be compared with ὀρώρεται (19.377, 524), and with the Attic ἐδήδεσμαι, in which the σ may not be original. ἐδήδοται, the reading of all the MSS., can only be explained in connexion with non-Homeric forms, viz. ἐδήδοκα (Attic) or ἐδήδοφα (on a Laconian inscription, C. I. G. 15). Hence it is probably not Homeric.

57. ἀμφὶς 'apart,' i.e. each severally. ἑικοσάβοιον. We should perhaps read ἑικοσάβοια (with Bekker), as in 1.431, where the word is used as a substantive, 'the value of twenty oxen.' Here it would be in apposition to τιμῇ.

63. λήξαιμι, properly intrans., χεῖρας being an acc. of the 'part affected.'

67. τίνα properly means 'some one' (indefinitely), 'this or that one.' Here it is virtually = 'every one,' by an ironical litotes: so in 13.394, 427, 21.374., 22.323.

70. The clause with γάρ is put first (see on 1.337., 14.402): the principal clause being ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα κτλ.

74. The asyndeton serves to show that φάσγανά τε κτλ. is exepetetic of μνησώμεθα χάρμης.

ἰὼν ὠκυμόρων· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχωμεν 75  
 ἄθροοι, εἴ κέ μιν οὐδοῦ ἀπώσομεν ἠδὲ θυράων,  
 ἔλθωμεν δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ, βοῇ δ' ὀκιστα γένοιτο·  
 τῷ κε τάχ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ νῦν ὕστατα τοξάσσαιτο."

\*Ως ἄρα φωνήσας εἰρύσσατο φάσγανον ὀξύ,  
 χάλκεον, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀκαχμένον, ἄλτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ 80  
 σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· ὁ δ' ἄμαρτῇ διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἰὼν ἀποπροΐει, βάλε δὲ στήθος παρὰ μαζόν,  
 ἐν δέ οἱ ἥπατι πῆξε θοὸν βέλος· ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρὸς  
 φάσγανον ἦκε χαμᾶζε, περιρρηδῆς δὲ τραπέζῃ  
 κάππεσεν ἰδνωθεῖς, ἀπὸ δ' εἶδατα χεῦεν ἔραζε 85  
 καὶ δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον· ὁ δὲ χθόνα τύπτε μετώπῳ  
 θυμῷ ἀνιάζων, ποσὶ δὲ θρόνον ἀμφοτέροισι  
 λακτίζων ἐτίνασσε· κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν δ' ἔχυτ' ἀχλὺς.

Ἀμφίνομος δ' Ὀδυσῆος εἰείσατο κυδαλίμοιο  
 ἀντίος αἶψας, εἵρυτο δὲ φάσγανον ὀξύ, 90  
 εἴ πῶς οἱ εἴξειε θυράων· ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν φθῇ

77 γένοιτο] γένηται F X al. 80 ἐπ' αὐτόν F X. 81 ἄμαρτῇ G X Eust.:  
 -τει F J. 82 ἀποπροΐει M X J: ἀποπροΐεις G F P H al. 85 ἰδνωθεῖς X U:  
 δινωθεῖς U<sup>2</sup> al.: δινηθεῖς G F P H al.

75. ὠκυμόρων. The epithet applies properly to those who are slain by the arrows. The shortness of life which the arrows cause is poetically treated as a quality inherent in them: cp. 21. 12 *στονόντες διστοί*.

77. ἔλθωμεν... γένοιτο. The optative in the last clause indicates that the clause refers to something that is not directly the act of the Suitors, but may be expected to follow on their action: cp. 16. 386.

84. περιρρηδῆς is perhaps to be explained (as Curtius suggested) from a root *rad-* (for *frað-*?), in the strong form *rhē-*, with the sense of 'bending' or 'waving': whence *ραδινός* 'pliable' and *ραδαλός* (v.l. for *ροδανός* in Il. 18. 576 *παρὰ ροδανὸν δονακῆα*). On this view *περιρρηδῆς* might be explained as = 'sprawling over' or 'doubled round' (the table). There is also a root *rad-* (for *ḡ-d*) 'scatter', 'sprinkle' (cp. *ράσσετε, ἐρράδαται*): but this does not yield so good a sense.

85. ἰδνωθεῖς 'curled up,' cp. Il. 2. 266 (of Thersites struck by the sceptre), 13. 618 *ἰδνώθη δὲ πεσών*. A different attitude is expressed by *ιδνωθεῖς ὀπίσω* (Od. 8. 375, Il. 12. 205). The other reading *δινωθεῖς* would mean 'whirling' or 'spinning about': see the note on 16. 63.

89. εἰείσατο. Regarding this form the most plausible suggestion is still that of Wackernagel (*Bezz. Beitr.* iv. 269), viz. that it answers to Sanscr. *ayāsam*, sigmatic aor. from the root *ya* (Indog. *ye*). The corresponding Greek form would be *ἔησα*, but the change from *η* to *ε* may be due to the influence of *εἰμι*, &c. It should, however, be noticed that the meaning is not simply 'went,' but 'went at,' 'took a course towards': cp. 8. 283 *εἰσατ' ἱμεν* 'directed his going to.' On this ground we are tempted to compare the sense of *ἰθὺς* 'aim,' 'direction,' and suppose a root *eiθ-* or *iθ-*. But this would not explain the syllabic augment.

Τηλέμαχος κατόπισθε βαλὼν χαλκήρεϊ δουρὶ  
ὤμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσε·

δοῦπησεν δὲ πεσὼν, χθόνα δ' ἤλασε παντὶ μετώπῳ.

Τηλέμαχος δ' ἀπόρουσε, λιπὼν δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος 95

αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀμφινόμφῳ· περὶ γὰρ δίε μή τις Ἀχαιῶν

ἔγχος ἀνελκόμενον δολιχόσκιον ἢ ἐλάσειε

φασγάνῳ ἀΐξας ἢ ἐπροπρηνέα τύψας.

βῆ δὲ θέειν, μάλα δ' ὤκα φίλον πατέρ' εἰσαφίκανεν,

ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 100

“ὦ πάτερ, ἤδη τοι σάκος οἶσω καὶ δύο δοῦρε

καὶ κυνέην πάγχαλκον, ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν,

αὐτὸς τ' ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι ἰών, δώσω δὲ συβώτῃ

καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα· τετευχῆσθαι γὰρ ἄμεινον.”

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

“οἶσε θέων, ἦός μοι ἀμύνεσθαι πᾶρ' ὄιστοί, 106

μή μ' ἀποκινήσωσι θυράων μῦνον ἔδντα.”

Ἦς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθετο πατρί,

βῆ δ' ἵμεναι θάλαμόνδ', ὅθι οἱ κλυτὰ τεύχεα κείμενα.

ἔνθεν τέσσαρα μὲν σάκε' ἔξελε, δούρατα δ' ὀκτὼ 110

καὶ πίσυρας κυνέας χαλκήρεας ἵπποδασείας·

βῆ δὲ φέρων, μάλα δ' ὤκα φίλον πατέρ' εἰσαφίκανεν,

αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτιστα περὶ χροῖ δύσετο χαλκόν·

ὥς δ' αὐτὼς τὸν δμῶε δυέσθην τεύχεα καλά,

98 προπρηνέα DLW: προπρηνέει vulg. τύψας vulg.: τύψῃ P, Sch. T Il. 24. 11: τύψαι Bekk. 102 εὐχαλκον F. 110 ἔξελε X: εἰλετο vulg.: cp. 144.

97. ἀνελκόμενον 'as he was drawing out.

ἢ ἐλάσειε κτλ. The alternatives are not quite clear. In either case, however, the danger was from the *sword* of one of the Suitors, as they had no other weapons. Hence φασγάνῳ belongs to both the clauses. The meaning probably is that a Suitor might make a dash (ἀΐξας) at Telemachus as he advanced, or reserve his blow for the moment when he had to stoop forward (προπρηνέα τύψας). The reading τύψαι does not make much difference, since there is no contrast of meaning between τύπτω and ἐλαύνω. The reading προπρηνέει can

hardly be defended; the epithet must describe the attitude of a combatant, not of a weapon.

104. τετευχῆσθαι 'to be armed.' The formation is not quite regular, since the stem is τευχσ-: we expect τετευχέσθαι (formed as τετελέσθαι), or τετευχίσθαι (τευχίω like τειχίω).

109. Telemachus now goes round the outside of the μέγαρον, and so to the θάλαμος. He could do this without being seen by the Suitors.

114. δυέσθην. The change to the impf. in this line marks the action as subordinate to that of l. 113: H. G. § 71, 1.

ἔσταν δ' ἄμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην.

115

Αὐτὰρ δ' γ', ὄφρα μὲν αὐτῷ ἀμύνεσθαι ἔσαν ἰοί,

τόφρα μνηστήρων ἓνα γ' αἰεὶ φ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

βάλλε τιτυσκόμενος· τοὶ δ' ἀγχιστίνοι ἐπιπτον.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λίπον ἰοὶ δῖστεύοντα ἀνακτα,

τόξον μὲν πρὸς σταθμὸν ἑϋσταθέος μεγάρου

120

ἐκλιν' ἐστάμεναι, πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα,

αὐτὸς δ' ἄμφ' ὁμοιοὶ σάκος θέτο τετραθέλυμνον,

κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην εὐτυχτὸν ἔθηκεν,

ἵππουριν, δεινὸν δὲ λῶφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν

εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ.

125

Ὀρσοθύρῃ δέ τις ἔσκεν ἑὺδμήτῳ ἐνὶ τοίχῳ,

ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδὸν ἑϋσταθέος μεγάρου

ἦν ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην, σάνιδες δ' ἔχον εὐ ἀραρυῖαι·

119 ἑστέοντα P.

125 ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' X.

128 εὐ ἀραρυῖαι] ἐντὸς ἔσται XU.

118. ἀγχιστίνοι 'close together,' 'in close order': opposed to *προμηστῖνοι* (21. 230). The formation of the words is evidently parallel, and therefore ἀγχι-στίνοι is not to be derived from the superl. ἀγχιστος, but (like ἀγχιστήρ in Soph.) from ἀγχι, through a hypothetical verb ἀγχίζω.

120. σταθμὸν 'the door-post,' near which Ulysses was standing.

121. ἐνώπια, cp. 4. 42 where the chariots of the visitors are set up leaning against them (so II. 8. 435). Hence they are probably the wall-spaces on each side of the entrance of the μέγαρον, facing the αὐλή. As this wall looked to the south the epithet παμφανόωντα is fully justified, especially in contrast to the μέγαρο σκεδέντα within.

122. τετραθέλυμνον 'of four layers of hide.'

126. ὀρσοθύρῃ 'a raised door': the stem ὀρσο- occurs also in παλιν-ορσο- 'starting back.' The etymology would suggest a door that opens by being raised (like a trap-door): but the supposition that it means a door (or window) above the level of the floor is borne out by the phrase δὲ ὀρσοθύρῃ ἀναβαίνειν (I. 132).

127-128. Through the ὀρσοθύρῃ there was a way into a λαύρῃ or passage—doubtless one of the narrow passages

that must be numerous in a house made up of several distinct buildings. So much seems clear: but the words ἀκρότατον παρ' οὐδὸν have not been satisfactorily explained. If the οὐδὸς is the sill of the ὀρσοθύρῃ, it seems needless to say that the way out of the ὀρσοθύρῃ was over or 'past' the top of the sill. We expect rather to be told how the ὁδὸς reached the λαύρῃ. Possibly the meaning is that the way to the λαύρῃ passed along the outside of the ὀρσοθύρῃ at the full height of the sill. This would imply that the level of the passage outside was somewhat higher than the floor of the μέγαρον. It would be worth mentioning in order to show that the ὀρσοθύρῃ was easily approached from the λαύρῃ.

The phrase οὐδὸς μεγάρου may be applied, as Protodicos observes (*Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὁμήρου οἰκίας*, p. 50), to the sill or threshold of any entrance to the μέγαρον: cp. οὐδὸς αὐλῆς (7. 130), οὐδὸς θαλάμου (4. 718), &c.

The σάνιδες seem to be those of the ὀρσοθύρῃ. The mention of them is intelligible as a descriptive touch, though it does not affect the story, since the door must have been open at the time (cp. I. 155). Some take σάνιδες of a door in the λαύρῃ (I. 137): but no such door has as yet been mentioned.

τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς φράζεσθαι ἀνώγει δῖον ὑφορβὸν  
ἔσταβ' ἀγχ' αὐτῆς· μία δ' οἷη γίγνεται ἔφορμή. 130

τοῖς δ' Ἀγέλεως μετέειπεν, ἔπος πάντεσσι πιφαύσκων  
“ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἂν ὀρσοθύρην ἀναβαίῃ  
καὶ εἴποι λαοῖσι, βοῇ δ' ὥκιστα γένοιτο ;  
τῷ κε τάχ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ νῦν ὑστατα τοξάσσεται.”

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν 135

“οὐ πῶς ἔστ', Ἀγέλαε διотреφές· ἀγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς  
αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα καὶ ἀργαλέον στόμα λαύρης·  
καὶ χ' εἰς πάντας ἐρύκοι ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος εἴη.

ἀλλ' ἀγεθ', ὑμῖν τεύχε' ἐνείκω θωρηχθῆναι  
ἐκ θαλάμου· ἔνδον γάρ, ὄτομαι, οὐδέ πη ἄλλῃ 140  
τεύχεα κατεθέσθην Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός.”

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀνέβαινε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν,  
ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο.

131 Ἀγέλαος F al. : Ἀγέλαος G.

140 ἔνδον] ἔνθεν F.

129. τὴν seems to mean the ὀρσοθύρη, not the λαύρη. Eumaeus was to watch the ὀρσοθύρη, and he naturally did so with a view to preventing escape by the λαύρη.

137. αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα must be the same as θύραι αὐλῆς (21. 389) or θύραι αἰλείαι (18. 239, &c.), viz. the gate of the court-yard. It was 'terribly near' Ulysses, i. e. within bow-shot of him. And 'the mouth of the λαύρη was difficult': it was so narrow that one man could bar the passage into the court-yard. The Suitors would emerge from it one by one, and then would have to cross the αὐλή and unfasten the gate within range of the arrows.

Some understand αὐλῆς θύρετρα of a door at the end of the λαύρη, where it debouches into the αὐλή. But στόμα λαύρης would then be a mere description of αὐλῆς θύρετρα, which the form of the sentence seems to forbid.

139 ἀλλ' ἀγεθ' κτλ. It now occurs to Melanthius that the ὀρσοθύρη, though it is not a good means of escape, may be useful in another way. Seeing that Ulysses and his companions are armed, he guesses that the arms have been brought from the store in the θάλαμος

(l. 109): and he remembers that the way to the θάλαμος through the ὀρσοθύρη is still open.

140. ἔνδον, sc. ἐστὶ: 'the arms are in their place: Ulysses and his son have not put them elsewhere.' Commentators generally take ἔνδον with κατεθέσθην: 'Ulysses and his son have put the arms therein and nowhere else' (referring to 19. 1-50). But, as Kirchhoff shows (*Odyssee*, p. 581), ἔνδον would not be put for ἐνταῦθα. It means 'inside' (not outside), 'at home,' 'in their regular place.' Hence there need be no reference to 19. 1-50: indeed the removal of the arms there described (cp. 16. 281-298) is probably an interpolation due to the present passage.

143. ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο. As to the meaning of this phrase nothing can be said to be known. It has been suggested by Protodicos (*Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον οἰκίας*, p. 58) that the word ῥῶγ is the same as the Modern Greek ῥούγα, meaning 'a narrow passage.' But ῥούγα seems to be the Latin *ruga*, which in Low Latin means a 'passage' or 'street' (whence the Modern French *rue*, &c.). The context requires that it should designate a way of mounting to the

ἔνθεν δώδεκα μὲν σάκε' ἔξελε, τόσσα δὲ δοῦρα  
 καὶ τόσσας κυνέας χαλκῆρας ἵπποδασείας· 145  
 βῆ δ' ἱμεναι, μάλα δ' ὄκα φέρων μνηστῆρσιν ἔδωκε.  
 καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσεύς λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ,  
 ὥς περιβαλλομένους ἶδε τεύχεα χερσὶ τε δοῦρα  
 μακρὰ τινάσσοντας· μέγα δ' αὐτῷ φαίνεται ἔργον.  
 αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχος ἔπεα πτερβεντα προσηύδα· 150  
 "Τηλέμαχ', ἦ μάλα δὴ τις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναικῶν  
 νῶϊν ἐποτρύνει πόλεμον κακὸν ἢ Μελανθεύς."  
 Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ᾗδεν·  
 "ὦ πάτερ, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τόδε γ' ἡμβροτον—οὐδέ τις ἄλλος  
 αἴτιος—ὅς θαλάμοιο θύρην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν 155  
 κάλλιπον ἀγκλῖνας· τῶν δὲ σκοπὸς ἦεν ἀμείνων.

144 ἔνθα δώδεκα F al.

θάλαμος, and (we may add) an ordinary and convenient way, by which a man could bring twelve shields, as many spears, and the like number of helmets (Il. 144-145). It is not expressly said that his way lay through the *δροσούρη*, but this appears to be implied. Indeed the *δροσούρη* has no place in the story unless it leads up to and explains the action of Melanthius.

Assuming that *βῆ* is connected with *βήγ-νυμι*, we may perhaps suppose that *βῆγες* was used of a flight of steps, termed 'breaks' in contrast to the unbroken surface of an ordinary path. Cp. *βωχμός* (Il. 23. 420) of broken ground. It is true that on this view we have still to determine the place of these 'steps of the *μέγαρον*,' especially with reference to the *δροσούρη*. It may lessen the difficulty of this problem if we remember that *μέγαρον*, though properly meaning the great hall of a palace, is often used loosely for the palace as a whole.

149. μέγα δ' αὐτῷ φαίνεται ἔργον 'the work,' i. e. the conflict before him, 'seemed to him a great one,' a serious matter: cp. 16. 346., 19. 92 (note).

151. It appears that Ulysses and Telemachus could not see Melanthius go for the arms: they could only see the Suitors putting them on. We may suppose of course that Melanthius did not come back himself to the *μέγαρον*,

but passed in the arms through the *δροσούρη*.

A further difficulty lies in the doubt whether it was Melanthius or one of the women who was bringing arms. How could it be one of the women, who were shut up with Eurycleia (21. 387)? The most obvious answer is that the women were only shut off from the *μέγαρον*, and consequently perhaps from the *αὐλή* and its gate. They may still have been able to go to the buildings behind the *μέγαρον*.

155. *ὅς* is causal, 'in that I &c.'

θαλάμοιο θύρην, the door leading into the *θάλαμος* (from the *λαύρη*).

156. ἀγκλῖνας 'opening it': cp. Il. 8. 395 ἡμῖν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἢ ἐπιθεῖναι.

τῶν is probably masc., 'their sentry was the better man': the gen. being used as in *Τρώων σκοπός* (Il. 2. 792), *σκοπὸν Ἑκτορος* (of Dolon in Il. 10. 526). The words need not be taken literally, so as to imply that the Suitors had actually set any sentry or watch. Some commentators take τῶν as a partitive gen., 'one of them was a better watchman': others as a neut. plur., 'of this there was a better watchman.' Telemachus means 'better' than he himself had proved. As a matter of fact it was Eumaeus who had failed as a *σκοπός*: but Telemachus is now taking the blame to himself.

ἀλλ' ἴθι, δι' Εὐμαίε, θύρην ἐπίθες θαλάμοιο,  
καὶ φράσαι ἢ τις ἄρ' ἐστὶ γυναικῶν ἢ τάδε ῥέξει,  
ἢ υἱὸς Δολίοιο Μελανθεύς, τὸν περ οἶα."

Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον, 160  
βῆ δ' αὐτὶς θάλαμόνδε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν,  
οἷσων τεύχεα καλὰ. νόησε δὲ δῖος ὕφορβος,  
αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα προσεφώνεεν ἑγγυς ἐόντα·  
"διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
κεῖνος δὴ αὐτ' αἰδήλος ἀνὴρ, ὃν διόμειβ' αὐτοί, 165  
ἔρχεται ἐς θάλαμον· σὺ δέ μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες,  
ἢ μιν ἀποκτείνω, αἶ κε κρείσσων γε γένωμαι,  
ἢέ σοι ἐνθάδ' ἄγω, ἵν' ὑπερβασίας ἀποτίσῃ  
πολλὰς, ὅσας οὗτος ἐμήσατο σφ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 171  
"ἦ τοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τηλέμαχος μνηστήρας ἀγανοὺς  
σχήσομεν ἔντοσθεν μεγάρων, μάλα περ μεμαῶτας·  
σφῶϊ δ' ἀποστρέψαντε πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὑπερθεν  
ἐς θάλαμον βαλῆειν, σανίδας δ' ἐκδῆσαι ὕπισθε,  
σειρὴν δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε 175  
κίον' ἀν' ὑψηλὴν ἐρύσαι πελάσαι τε δοκοῖσιν,  
ὥς κεν δηθὰ ζῶδες ἔων χαλέπ' ἄλγεα πάσχη."

Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἦδ' ἐπίθοντο,

157 ἴθι, δι' G P X Eust.: ἴθι δὴ, F H al., cp. 16. 461.

162. Eumaeus, having been put on his guard, is now a 'better watch,' and sees Melanthius going to the *θάλαμος*. Probably the *λαύρη* was so straight that Eumaeus could do this by posting himself at or opposite the *στόμα λαύρης*. In this position he would be only a few paces—half the breadth of the *μέλαθρον*—from Ulysses and Telemachus.

172. *ὑπερθεν* belongs to *χεῖρας*, in contrast with *πόδες*, cp. 8. 135., 12. 248., 22. 406.

174. *σανίδας δ' ἐκδῆσαι ὕπισθε*. The best commentary on these words is that of Döderlein, in his *Homeric Glossary*, § 994. He shows that the punishment intended here was a form of crucifixion.

It is evidently much the same as that which was inflicted as the penalty of sacrilege on Artayctes, Hdt. 9. 120 *πρὸς σανίδα προσπασσαλέουσας ἀνεκρίμασαν* (cp. Hdt. 7. 33). In this case the feet and hands of Melanthius were made fast *behind* him (cp. Il. 21. 30 *ὀπίσσω δ' ὀπίσσω χεῖρας*), and were *bound* to the board (or boards), not nailed. Similarly the *σανίς* of Ar. Thesm. 931, 940 was a board or plank to which offenders were bound. The punishment of Melanthius is referred to (not very accurately) by Aristophanes, Plut. 309-312 *οὐκοῦν σὺ . . . λαβόντες ὑπὸ φιληδίας τὸν Λαρτίου μμούμενοι τῶν ὀρχεσῶν κρεμώμεν*.

175. *ἐξ αὐτοῦ* 'from his body.'

βὰν δ' ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον, λαθέτην δέ μιν ἔνδον ἔδοντα.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν θαλάμῳι μυχὸν κάτα τεύχε' ἑρεύνα, 180  
 τὼ δ' ἔσταν ἐκάτερθε παρὰ σταθμοῖσι μένοντε,  
 εὖθ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβαινε Μελάνθιος, αἰπύλος αἰγῶν,  
 τῇ ἐτέρῃ μὲν χειρὶ φέρων καλὴν τραφάλειαν,  
 τῇ δ' ἐτέρῃ σάκος εὐρὺ γέρον, πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη,  
 Λαέρτεω ἥρωος, ὃ κουρίζων φορέεσκε 185  
 δὴ τότε γ' ἤδη κείτο, ραφαὶ δ' ἐλέλυτο ἱμάντων·  
 τὼ δ' ἄρ' ἐπαῖξανθ' ἐλέτην, ἔρυσάν τέ μιν εἶσω  
 κουρίζ, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χαμαὶ βάλλον ἀχνύμενον κῆρ,  
 σὺν δὲ πόδας χεῖράς τε δέον θυμαλγείῃ δεσμῷ  
 εὖ μάλ' ἀποστρέψαντε διαμπερές, ὥς ἐκέλευσεν 190  
 [ὕδς Λαέρταο, πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·]  
 σειρὴν δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε  
 κλόν' ἀν' ὑψηλὴν ἔρυσαν πέλασάν τε δοκοῖσι.  
 τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφη, Εὖμαιε συβῶτα·  
 “ νῦν μὲν δὴ μάλα πάγχυ, Μελάνθιε, νύκτα φυλάξεις, 195  
 εὐνῇ ἐνι μαλακῇ καταλέγμενος, ὥς σε ἔωκεν  
 οὐδὲ σέ γ' ἡριγένεια παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο βοῶων  
 λήσει ἐπερχομένη χρυσόθρονος, ἥνικ' ἀγινεῖς  
 αἶγας μνηστῆρεςσι δόμον κάτα δαῖτα πένεσθαι.”  
 Ἄνδ' ὁ μὲν αὖθι λείλειπτο, ταβείς δλοφ' ἐνὶ δεσμῷ· 200  
 τὼ δ' ἐς τεύχεα δύντε, θύρην ἐπιθέντε φαιεινήν,  
 βήτην εἰς Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην.

179 ἔδοντε conj. Classen. 184 εὐρὺ γέρον H U al.; εὐρὺ γέλον P: εὐρύτερον  
 G F X al. 191 om. G F P H U. 198 ἀπερχομένη M U. 200 ἐνὶ] ἐπὶ P H al.

181. παρὰ σταθμοῖσι ‘by the door-  
 posts,’ but outside of the chamber (so  
 that he could not see them); cp. 187  
 ἔρυσάν τέ μιν εἶσω.

184. γέρον, here a neut. adj., ‘old,’  
 ‘used up.’ This is the only place where  
 it is applied to a thing.

185. κουρίζων ‘when he was a κοῦρος,’  
 i. e. a young warrior.

186. κείτο apparently means ‘was  
 laid aside.’

188. κουρίζ ‘by the hair.’

197 f. The irony of the speech is con-

tinued: ‘the coming of dawn will not  
 fail to call you (from that soft bed),  
 at the time when you fetch the goats’:  
 an allusion, in the spirit of parody, to  
 Il. 24. 12-13 οὐδέ μιν ἤδ' εἰς φαινομένη  
 λήθσεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἄλλα τ' ἡρώας τε. Possibly  
 we should read ἀγινεῖς, impf. as μέγεσθαι  
 (209). The word φνίξ is not found else-  
 where in Homer (Sittl, *op. cit.* p. 53).

201. ἐς τεύχεα δύντε They had taken  
 off their armour before the affair with  
 Melanthius.

θύρην ἐπιθέντε, cp. l. 157.



ἐνθα μένος πνείοντες ἐφέστασαν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' οὐδοῦ  
 τέσσαρες, οἱ δ' ἐντοσθε δόμων πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί.  
 τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' ἀγχίμολον θυγάτηρ Διὸς ἦλθεν Ἀθήνη, 205  
 Μέντορι εἰδομένη ἡμὲν δέμας ἡδὲ καὶ αὐδήν.  
 τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς γήθησεν ἰδὼν καὶ μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 “ Μέντορ, ἄμυνον ἀρὴν, μνησai δ' ἐτάριοιο φίλοιο,  
 ὃς σ' ἀγαθὰ βέζεσκον· ὁμηλικὴ δέ μοι ἔσσι.”

ᾠς φάτ', οἰόμενος λαοσσόδον ἔμμεν' Ἀθήνην. 210  
 μνηστῆρες δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὁμόκλεον ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 πρῶτος τὴν γ' ἐνέειπε Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος·  
 “ Μέντορ, μή σ' ἐπέεσσι παραιπεπίθῃσιν Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 μνηστήρεσσι μάχεσθαι, ἀμυνόμεναι δέ οἱ αὐτῷ.  
 ὧδε γὰρ ἡμέτερόν γε νόον τελέεσθαι ὄω· 215  
 ὅππότε κεν τούτους κτέωμεν, πατέρ' ἡδὲ καὶ υἱόν,  
 ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσιν ἔπειτα πεφήσῃαι, οἷα μενοινᾷς  
 ἔρδειν ἐν μεγάροισι· σῶ δ' αὐτοῦ κράατι τίσεις.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ὑμέων γε βίας ἀφελώμεθα χαλκῷ,  
 κτήμαθ' ὅπόσσα τοί ἐστι, τὰ τ' ἐνδοθι καὶ τὰ θύρῃφι, 220  
 τοῖσιν Ὀδυσσῆος μεταμίξομεν· οὐδέ τοι υἱας  
 ζῶειν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἑάσομεν οὐδὲ θυγάτρας,  
 οὐδ' ἀλοχον κεδνὴν Ἰθάκης κατὰ ἄστῳ πολεῦειν.”

ᾠς φάτ', Ἀθηναίη δὲ χολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,  
 νείκεσεν δ' Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσιν· 225  
 “ οὐκέτι σοί γ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, μένος ἔμπεδον οὐδέ τις ἀλκή,  
 οἷη ὅτ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένη λευκωλένῃ εὐπατερεῖη

203 ἐπ' οὐδόν G F al. 204 δόμον G.  
 κτέωμεν F P: κτενέωμεν G: κτανέωμεν U.

211 ἐκ μεγάρου G X. 216 κτέωμεν]

208. ἀρὴν 'harm,' cp. 2. 59., 17. 538.  
 209. βέζεσκον 'have been accustomed to do,' impf. as in 1. 46 (supra). The word is regularly used of doing sacrifice, and possibly the double meaning is intentional, Ulysses guessing that it is Athene in the shape of Mentor.

ὁμηλικίη is properly collective, but here = 'one of the body of my comrades,' cp. 3. 49., 6. 23. So δῆμος in Il. 12. 213 δῆμον ἔνθα παρέξ ἀγορεύμεν.

219. ὑμέων, plur., = 'you and your

friends.'

220. τὰ ἐνδοθι are the treasures stored up in the house: τὰ θύρῃφι are such possessions as sheep and cattle.

223. οὐδ' ἀλοχον κτλ. Instead of carrying on the construction of οὐδέ τοι υἱας and οὐδέ θυγάτρας, a new verb, πολεῦειν, is introduced, thus making a sentence of the type of Il. 1. 138., 6. 322, Od. 16. 6., 17. 66., 19. 599, &c., with a slight anacoluthon.

224. κηρόθι μᾶλλον, see on 15. 370.

εἰνάετες Τρώεσσιν ἐμάρναο νωλεμέσ αἰεί,  
 πολλοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἔπεφνες ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι,  
 σῇ δ' ἤλω βῶυλῃ Πριάμου πόλιν εὐρύαγυια. 230  
 πῶς δὴ νῦν, ὅτε σὸν γε δόμον καὶ κτήμαθ' ἰκάνεις,  
 ἄντα μνηστήρων ὀλοφύρεαι ἀλκιμος εἶναι;  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο, πέπον, παρ' ἐμ' ἴστασο καὶ ἴδε ἔργον,  
 ὅφρ' εἰδῆς οἷός τοι ἐν ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι  
 Μέντωρ Ἀλκιμίδης εὐεργεσίας ἀποτίνειν." 235

Ἦ ῥα, καὶ οὐ πῶ πάγχυ δίδου ἑτεραλκέα νίκην,  
 ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἄρα σθένεός τε καὶ ἀλκῆς πειρήτιζεν  
 ἡμὲν Ὀδυσσῆος ἡδ' υἱοῦ κυδαλίμοιο.  
 αὐτῇ δ' αἰθαλδεντος ἀνὰ μεγάραιοι μέλαθρον  
 ἕζετ' ἀναΐξασα, χελιδόνι εἰκέλῃ ἄντην. 240

Μνηστήρας δ' ὥτρυνε Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος  
 Εὐρύνομός τε καὶ Ἀμφιμέδων Δημοπτόλεμός τε  
 Πείσανδρος τε Πολυκτορίδης Πόλυβός τε δαΐφρων·  
 οἱ γὰρ μνηστήρων ἀρετῇ ἔσαν ἕξοχ' ἄριστοι,  
 ὅσσοι ἔτ' ἕζων περὶ τε ψυχέων ἐμάχοντο· 245  
 τοὺς δ' ἤδη ἐδάμασσε βίδς καὶ ταρφέες ἰοί.  
 τοῖς δ' Ἀγέλεως μετέειπεν, ἔπος πάντεσσι πιφαύσκων·  
 "ὦ φίλοι, ἤδη σχῆσει ἀνὴρ ὃδε χεῖρας ἀάπτους·  
 καὶ δὴ οἱ Μέντωρ μὲν ἔβη κενὰ εὐγμᾶτα εἰπών,  
 οἱ δ' οἶοι λείπονται ἐπὶ πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι· 250

233 ἴστασ H. 235 εὐεργεσίης P. 247 Ἀγέλαος H al., cp. 131. 249 κενὰ  
 P: hence perhaps we should restore κεν'.

232. ὀλοφύρεαι ἀλκιμος εἶναι. The inf. is construed as though ὀλοφύρεαι 'you bewail' were a strong equivalent for οὐ μέμνας or οὐ τέτληκας, 'you do not endure.' Thus the meaning is the opposite of that given by a similar construction in Il. 2. 290 ἀλλήλοισιν ὀδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

233. παρ' ἐμ' ἴστασο, an epic phrase, not quite appropriate here (Sittl, p. 43).

235. Ἀλκιμίδης, a name chosen with a view to the context, especially to ἀλκιμος in l. 232.

236. ἑτεραλκέα νίκην, a phrase taken from the Iliad, where it probably means

'victory by other strength,' i.e. by an accession of strength (see Il. 7. 26). This suits the present passage. Athene did not yet give 'other' ἀλκή, i. e. her own help, but still made trial of the ἀλκή of Ulysses and his son.

240. ἄντην, lit. 'facing,' strengthens εἰκέλῃ: she was 'like a swallow if set opposite to one.' This seems to imply that Athene now took the shape of a swallow,—not merely (as some think) that she flew up to the roof like one.

244. οἱ γάρ. The pronoun may be either the article or the relative (οἱ): cp. 24. 255.

τῷ νῦν μὴ ἅμα πάντες ἐφίετε δούρατα μακρά,  
 ἀλλ' ἀγεθ' οἱ ἔξ πρῶτον ἀκοντίσαι, αἱ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς  
 δῶη 'Οδυσσῆα βλῆσθαι καὶ κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.  
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ κῆδος, ἐπεὶ χ' οὐτὶς γε πείσῃσιν."

᾿Ως ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν ὡς ἐκέλευεν,  
 ἰέμενοι· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐτάσια θῆκεν Ἀθήνη. 256

τῶν ἄλλος μὲν σταθμὸν ἔϋσταθέος μεγάρου  
 βεβλήκει, ἄλλος δὲ θύρην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν  
 ἄλλου δ' ἐν τοίχῳ μελήϊ πέσε χαλκοβάρεια.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ δούρατ' ἀλεύαντο μνηστῆρων, 260  
 τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἤρχε πολύτλας δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς·  
 "ὦ φίλοι, ἤδη μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἵποιμι καὶ ἄμμι  
 μνηστῆρων ἐς ὄμιλον ἀκοντίσαι, οἱ μεμάασιν  
 ἡμέας ἐξεναρῖξαι ἐπὶ προτέροισι κακοῖσιν."

᾿Ως ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν ὁξέα δοῦρα 265  
 ἅντα τιτυσκόμενοι· Δημοπτόλεμον μὲν 'Οδυσσεύς,  
 Εὐρύαδην δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος, Ἐλατον δὲ συβώτης,  
 Πείσανδρον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βοῶν ἐπιβουκῆλος ἀνὴρ.  
 οἱ μὲν ἔπειθ' ἅμα πάντες ὁδᾶξ ἔλον ἀσπετον οὐδας,  
 μνηστῆρες δ' ἀνεχώρησαν μεγάροι μυχόνδε· 270  
 τοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἐπήϊξαν, νεκύων δ' ἐξ ἔγχε' ἔλοντο.

Αὐτῖς δὲ μνηστῆρες ἀκόντισαν ὁξέα δοῦρα  
 ἰέμενοι· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ἐτάσια θῆκεν Ἀθήνη.

254 ἐπεὶ χ' F: ἐπὶν vulg. 265 ἔξτε χαλεφ P: ὡς ἐκέλευεν J. 270 μεγάροι] θαλάμοιο U.

252. οἱ ἔξ 'six of the number': H. G. § 260, c.

253. ἀρέσθαι. The change of subject with the infinitive is characteristic of Homer: 'Οδυσσῆα βλῆσθαι καὶ [ἡμέας] ἀρέσθαι. It is a survival from the original infinitive, which was an abstract noun. Cp. 2. 227, II. 9. 230.

254. οὐ κῆδος 'there is no caring about them.' The seeming play of language with κῶδος and κῆδος can hardly be intended: but see 13. 144, 17. 332, 18. 305.

258. θύρην, sing. because of course one only of the folding doors was struck:

so in 275.

270. μέγαροι μυχόνδε 'to the innermost part of the μέγαρον.' Cp. θαλάμοιο μυχός (180). We need not suppose that any distinct part of the room was intended by the word μυχός.

273. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κτλ. 'and they, many as they were, &c.' We must not take τὰ πολλὰ together in the sense of 'most of them,' as in later Greek. Cp. 17. 537 τὰ δὲ πολλὰ σπάρανται. Note however that πάντα is not used here (as it is in l. 256), because two of the spears were not wholly without effect.

τῶν ἄλλος μὲν σταθμὸν ἔϋσταθέος μεγάραιο  
 βεβλήκει, ἄλλος δὲ θύρην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν· 275  
 ἄλλου δ' ἐν τοίχῳ μελή πεσε χαλκοβάρεια.  
 Ἀμφιμέδων δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχον βάλε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ  
 λίγδην, ἄκρον δὲ ρινὸν δηλήσατο χαλκός.  
 Κτήσιππος δ' Εὐμαιον ὑπὲρ σάκος ἔγχει μακρῷ  
 ὦμον ἐπέγραψεν· τὸ δ' ὑπέρπτατο, πῖπτε δ' ἔραζε. 280  
 τοῖ δ' αὐτ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην  
 μνηστήρων ἐς ὄμιλον ἀκόκτισαν ὄξέα δοῦρα.  
 ἐνθ' αὐτ' Εὐρυδάμαντα βάλε πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 Ἀμφιμέδοντα δὲ Τηλέμαχος, Πόλυβον δὲ συβώτης·  
 Κτήσιππον δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα βοῶν ἐπιβουκίλος ἀνὴρ 285  
 βεβλήκει πρὸς στήθος, ἐπευχόμενος δὲ προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ Πολυθερσεΐδη φιλοκέρτομε, μή ποτε πάμπαν  
 εἶκων ἀφραδῆς μέγα εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι  
 μῦθον ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολλὸν φέρτεροί εἰσι.  
 τοῦτό τοι ἀντὶ ποδῶς ξεινήιον, ὃν ποτ' ἔδωκας 290  
 ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῆϊ δόμον κάτ' ἀλητεύοντι.”  
 Ἥ ῥα βοῶν ἐλίκων ἐπιβουκίλος· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 οὐτα Δαμαστορίδην αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχει μακρῷ·  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' Εὐηνορίδην Λειώκριτον αὐτα  
 δουρὶ μέσον κενεῶνα, διαπρὸ δὲ χαλκὸν ἔλασεν· 295  
 ἥριπε δὲ πρηγῆς, χθόνα δ' ἤλασε παντὶ μετώπῳ·  
 δὴ τότε Ἀθηναίη φθισίμβροτον αἰγίδ' ἀνέσχεν

294 Λειώκριτον F U al.

295 χαλκός F.

278. λίγδην 'grazing it.'

289. μῦθον ἐπιτρέψαι 'commit to the gods the μῦθος,' i. e. the thing that you would say. The meaning is not 'leave it to the gods to speak,' but (with a slightly illogical extension of the sense of μῦθος) 'leave it to the gods to deal with the matter (instead of your speaking about it).' Cp. the note on the phrase τῇ δ' ἄντερος ἔπλετο μῦθος (17. 57, &c.).

292. ἐλίκων, see the note on I. 92.

294. Λειώκριτον. The names written in our texts Λειώκριτος (or Λειώκριτος) and Λειώδης are probably derived from

an Old Ionic form λῆος (for λᾶος). They must have been originally written Λιόκριτος and Λιοφάδης (cp. Εὐρυάδης). The form λῆος was preserved in Ionic; Hipponax (88) λῆον ἀθήσας is quoted by the grammarians.

Similarly the stem of θέρος (the later θάρσος) is preserved in the proper names Θεραίτης, Ἀλιθέρης, and Πολυθερσεΐδης (l. 287). It is incorrect to regard these forms as Aeolic. Similar forms are common in proper names of all the dialects.

297. The interference of Athens, fore-

ὑψόθεν ἐξ ὀροφῆς· τῶν δὲ φρένες ἐπτοίηθεν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐφέβοντο κατὰ μέγαρον ββες ὥς ἀγελαῖαι,  
 τὰς μὲν τ' αἰόλος οἴστρος ἐφορμηθεῖς ἐδόννησεν 300  
 ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τ' ἡματα μακρὰ πέλονται·  
 οἱ δ' ὥς τ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι  
 ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες ἐπ' ὀρνίθεσσι θόρωσι·  
 ταὶ μὲν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσιν ἵενται,  
 οἱ δέ τε τὰς ὀλέκουσιν ἐπάλμενοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκή 305  
 γίγνεται οὐδὲ φυγή· χαίρουσι δέ τ' ἄνδρες ἄγρῃ·  
 ὥς ἄρα τοὶ μνηστῆρας ἐπεσσύμενοι κατὰ δῶμα  
 τύπτον ἐπιστροφάδην· τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ' ἀεικῆς  
 κράτων τυπτομένων, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι θύε.  
 Λειώδης δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐπεσσύμενος λάβε γούνων, 310  
 καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “γουνουμαί σ', Ὀδυσεῦ· σὺ δέ μ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον·  
 οὐ γάρ πώ τινά φημι γυναικῶν ἐν μεγάροισιν  
 εἰπεῖν οὐδέ τι ῥέξαι ἀτάσθαλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους 315  
 παύεσκον μνηστῆρας, ὅτις τοιαυτὰ γε ῥέξοι.  
 ἀλλὰ μοι οὐ πείθοντο κακῶν ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι·  
 τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πτότμον ἐπέσπον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῖσι θυοσκῶς οὐδὲν ἐοργῶς  
 κείσομαι, ὥς οὐκ ἔστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων.”  
 Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “εἰ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῖσι θυοσκῶς εὐχεαί εἶναι, 321

298 ἐκ κορυφῆς G X U. φρένας ἐπτοίησεν X East.  
 310 Read perhaps Ὀδυσῆα, cp. l. 342.

302 γαμφώνυχες P.  
 314 οὐδέ F vulg.: οὐτε G P H J.

shadowed in l. 260, and again in this book (l. 236), now begins. She takes her own form, of which the terror-striking αἰόλος was a chief attribute.

300. αἰόλος ‘darting,’ ‘dancing about.’ ἐδόννησεν ‘swept along’: δονέω is especially used of the wind.

302. οἱ δὲ κτλ., taken up again in l. 307 ὥς ἄρα τοι κτλ.

304. νέφεα πτώσσουσιν ‘shrinking from the region of the clouds,’ i.e. flying as low as possible.

ἵενται ‘are urged along,’ the passive

of ἵημι, probably a different word from ἱεμαι ‘I aim at, desire.’

308-309, = Il. 10. 483-484., 21. 20-21. τῶν is masc., as in the Iliad.

κράτων τυπτομένων must be a gen. absolute. It takes the place of the phrase ἄορι θειομένων in the Iliad—perhaps because Ulysses had no sword: see Il. 110-111 (Sittl, p. 48).

319. κείσομαι ‘shall be laid low,’ ‘shall fall’: cp. Soph. El. 244 εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θανὼν γὰρ τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὢν κείσεται τάλας.

πολλάκι που μέλλεις ἀρήμεναι ἐν μεγάροισι  
 τηλοῦ ἐμοὶ νύστοιο τέλος γλυκεροῖο γενέσθαι,  
 σοὶ δ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλην σπένσθαι καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι·  
 τῷ οὐκ ἂν θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέα προφύγοισθα.” 325

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ξίφος εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 κείμενον, ὃ ρ' Ἀγέλαος ἀποπροέηκε χαμᾶζε  
 κτεινόμενος· τῷ τὸν γε κατ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε·  
 φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.

Τερπιάδης δ' ἔτ' αἰοιδὸς ἀλύσκανε κῆρα μέλαιναν, 330

Φήμιος, ὃς ρ' ἦειδε μετὰ μνηστῆρσιν ἀνάγκη.  
 ἔστη δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων φόρμιγγα λίγειαν  
 ἄγχι παρ' ὀρσοθύρην· δίχα δὲ φρεσὶ μερμήριζεν,  
 ἣ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμὸν  
 ἔρκειον ἔζοιτο τετυγμένον, ἐνθ' ἄρα πολλὰ 335

Λαέρτης Ὀδυσσεὺς τε βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκηαν,

ἣ γούνων λίσσοιτο προσαίξας Ὀδυσῆα.

ᾧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,

γούνων ἀψασθαι Λαερτιάδew Ὀδυσῆος.

ἦ τοι ὃ φόρμιγγα γλαφυρὴν κατέθηκε χαμᾶζε 340

μεσσηγὺς κρητῆρος ἰδὲ θρόνου ἀργυροῆλου,

αὐτὸς δ' αὐτ' Ὀδυσῆα προσαίξας λάβε γούνων,

καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“ γουνοῦμαί σ', Ὀδυσσεῦ· σὺ δέ μ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον·

αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, εἴ κεν αἰοιδὸν 345

322 πον F X Z: μον G P H al.  
 φέρεσθαι G. 333 ὀρσοθύρη (sic) P.

323 ἐμοῦ P H K. 327 χαμᾶζε]  
 335 ἔζοιτο G P H al.: ἔζοιτο vulg.

322. μέλλεις ἀρήμεναι ‘you are like to have prayed,’ ‘it must be that you prayed’: μέλλω with the present or aorist inf. has this force: see on 14. 133.

323. τηλοῦ, a litotes, since the real meaning is ‘prayed that I might never return at all.’

333. δίχα δὲ κτλ. The alternatives were (1) to slip out of the μέγαρον by the ὀρσοθύρη, and seat himself as a suppliant at the altar of Zeus in the αὐλή, or (2) at once to throw himself on the mercy of Ulysses.

335. ἔζοιτο. The aor. is the more appropriate tense here, the meaning being ‘should seat himself.’

341. κρητῆρος. The mixing bowl was in the μυχός or innermost part of the μέγαρον, cp. 21. 145 παρὰ κρητῆρα δὲ καλὸν ἵξε μυχοῖτατος αἶέν. Further, it was within reach of the ὀρσοθύρη, near which Phemius was (l. 333). Hence we must place the ὀρσοθύρη as near as possible to the upper end of the μέγαρον,—either in the end wall or (more probably) in the side wall.

πέφνης, ὃς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν αἰεῖδω.  
 αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας  
 παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν· ἔοικα δέ τοι παραεἶδεν  
 ὥς τε θεῶ· τῷ μὴ με λιλαίεο δειροτομῆσαι.  
 καὶ κεν Τηλέμαχος τάδε γ' εἴποι, σὸς φίλος υἱός, 350  
 ὥς ἐγὼ οὐ τι ἐκὼν ἐς σὸν δόμον οὐδὲ χατίζων  
 πωλεύμην μνηστῆρσιν αἰεσόμενος μετὰ δαίτας,  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺν πλέονες καὶ κρείσσονες ἦγον ἀνάγκη·"

“Ὡς φάτο, τοῦ δ' ἤκουσ' ἱερὴ ἱς Τηλεμάχοιο,  
 αἶψα δ' ἐδν πατέρα προσεφώνεεν ἑγγυς ἐόντα· 355  
 “Ἴσχεο μηδέ τι τοῦτον ἀναίτιον οὔταε χαλκῶ·  
 καὶ κήρυκα Μέδοντα σάωσομεν, ὃς τέ μεν αἰεὶ  
 οἴκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ κηδέσκετο παιδὸς ἐόντος,  
 εἰ δὴ μὴ μιν ἔπεφνε Φιλοῦτιος ἢ συβώτης,  
 ἢ σοὶ ἀντεβόλησεν ὀρινομένῳ κατὰ δῶμα.” 360

“Ὡς φάτο, τοῦ δ' ἤκουσε Μέδων πεπνυμένα εἰδώς·  
 πεπτηὼς γὰρ ἔκειτο ὑπὸ θρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα  
 ἔστο βοὸς νεόδαρτον, ἀλύσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν.  
 αἶψα δ' ὑπὸ θρόνου ὤρτο, βοὸς δ' ἀπέδινε βοείην,  
 Τηλέμαχον δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα προσαΐξας λάβε γούνων, 365  
 καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

350 τάδε γ' | τάδε G F U: τά με P: fort. τά γε. 351 σὸν | ἐδν F M<sup>a</sup>.  
 352 δαίτας G H: δαῖτα F P X al. 362 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶ G (Π. 3. 362).

347. αὐτοδίδακτος is a word which implies that the art of the *δοιδῶν* was becoming, or had become, a regular profession, in which teaching might take the place of inspiration.

οἴμας 'lays,' 'poems.' Cp. 8. 74 οἴμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος σφραγὶς ἐνὶ Ἰανῇ, νῆϊκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλεΐδου 'Achilles' 'a song whose fame then rose to heaven, namely the strife of Ulysses and Achilles' (as the Iliad might be called the strife of Agamemnon and Achilles). The word οἴμη may mean 'going, course,' cp. οἶμος and οἶμα, also the fine imitation in Tennyson's *Ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington*, 'and ever-ringing avenues of song.'

348. ἔοικα δέ τοι παραεἶδεν 'I am fit to sing before you,' a personal construction, nearly = 'it is fit that I should sing.' This use of *εἶκα* is not common, except in the participle *εἰκώς*. Some take it to mean 'I seem, in singing to you, to be singing to a god.' But this is harsh, and moreover is not the sense required by the context. It is not the glory of Ulysses, but the especial worthiness of Phemius, that is insisted on.

352. μετὰ δαίτας 'among their feasts,' i. e. in the company at their feasts. The acc. is due to the verb of motion πωλεύμην, with which μετὰ δαίτας is to be construed.

“ὦ φίλ', ἐγὼ μὲν ὅδ' εἰμί, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο· εἰπὲ δὲ πατρὶ  
μή με περισθενέων δηλήσεται ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ,  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων κεχολωμένος, οἳ οἱ ἔκειρον  
κτῆματ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, σὲ δὲ νήπιοι οὐδὲν ἔτιον.” 370

Τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“θάρσει, ἐπεὶ δὴ σ' οὗτος ἐρύσατο καὶ ἐσάωσεν,  
δφρα γνῶς κατὰ θυμὸν, ἀτὰρ εἴησθα καὶ ἄλλῳ,  
ὥς κακοεργίης εὐεργεσίῃ μέγ' ἀμείνων.  
ἀλλ' ἐξελθόντες μεγάρων ἔξεσθε θύραζε 375  
ἐκ φόνου εἰς αὐλήν, σύ τε καὶ πολύφημος αἰοδός,  
δφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ κατὰ δῶμα πονήσομαι στήθεό με χρή.”

Ὡς φάτο, τὸ δ' ἔξω βήτην μεγάροιο κίοντε,  
ἔξέσθην δ' ἄρα τῷ γε Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμόν,  
πάντοσε παπταίνοντε, φόνον ποτιδεγμένῳ αἰεῖ. 380

Πάπτηνεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καθ' ἐδὸν δόμον, εἴ τις ἔτ' ἀνδρῶν  
ζῶδς ὑποκλοπέοιτο, ἀλυσκῶν κῆρα μέλαιναν.  
τοὺς δὲ ἶδεν μάλα πάντας ἐν αἵματι καὶ κοίῃσι  
πεπετώτας πολλούς, ὥς τ' ἰχθύας, οὓς θ' ἀλιῆες  
κοῖλον ἐς αἰγιαλὸν πολιῆς ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης 385  
δικτύῳ ἐξέρυσαν πολυωπῶ· οἱ δέ τε πάντες  
κύμαθ' ἀλὸς ποθέοντες ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι κέχυνται·  
τῶν μὲν τ' ἥελιος φαέθων ἐξεῖλετο θυμὸν·  
ὥς τότε ἄρα μνηστήρες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κέχυντο·  
δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχον προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 390  
“Τηλέμαχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι κάλεσον τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν,  
δφρα ἔπος εἴπωμι τό μοι καταθύμιόν ἐστιν.”

Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθετο πατρί,  
κινήσας δὲ θύρην προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν·

367 ὡδ' G F P Z.

392 εἴπωμι vulg.

382. ὑποκλοπέοιτο 'were concealing himself.'

385. κοῖλον 'curving': the fishermen draw their nets into a bay.

394. κινήσας δὲ θύρην κτλ. Telemachus *shook* the door to call the attention of Eurycleia. Cp. II. 9. 581-

583, where Oeneus stands on the threshold *σεῖαν κολλητὰς σαρῖδας, γονοῦμενος υἱόν*. The door now in question is that leading into the women's apartment, which Eurycleia had shut before the slaughter began (21. 387). The sing. *θύρη* is used because one of the folding



“δεῦρο δὴ ὄρσο, γρηῦ παλαιγενές, ἥ τε γυναικῶν 395  
 δμφάων σκοπὸς ἔσσι κατὰ μέγαρ’ ἡμετεράων·  
 ἔρχεο· κικλήσκει σε πατὴρ ἐμός, ὄφρα τι εἴπῃ.”  
 Ὡς ἄρ’ ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ’ ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος,  
 ὥϊξεν δὲ θύρας μεγάρων εὐ ναιεταβήτων,  
 βῆ δ’ ἵμεν· αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος πρόσθ’ ἡγεμόνεν. 400  
 εὔρεν ἔπειτ’ Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ κταμένοισι νέκυσσι,  
 αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον ὥς τε λέοντα,  
 ὃς ῥά τε βεβρωκὼς βοδὸς ἔρχεται ἀγραυλοιο·  
 πᾶν δ’ ἄρα οἱ στήθος τε παρήϊά τ’ ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
 αἵματδέντα πέλει, δεινὸς δ’ εἰς ὧπα ἰδέσθαι· 405  
 ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς πεπάλακτο πῶδας καὶ χεῖρας ὑπερβεν·  
 ἡ δ’ ὥς οὖν νέκυάς τε καὶ ἄσπετον εἰσίδεν αἶμα,  
 ἴθυσεν ῥ’ ὀλολύξαι, ἐπεὶ μέγα εἰσίδεν ἔργον·  
 ἀλλ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένην περ,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 410  
 “ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦ, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μῆδ’ ὀλόλυξε·  
 οὐχ ὁσὶν κταμένοισιν ἐπ’ ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι,  
 τοὺς δὴ μοῖρ’ ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα·  
 οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο· 415  
 τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πτότμον ἐπέσπον.

413 τοὺς δὴ F: τοὺς δὲ G P: τοὺςδε δὲ vulg.

doors only was actually shaken: cp. 22. 258, 275. For the question as to the position of this door see the Appendix on the Homeric House.

398. For τῇ δ’ ἄπτερος κτλ. see the note on 17. 57.

408. ἴθυσεν ‘set herself to,’ ‘prepared.’

ὀλολύξαι ‘to cry aloud.’ The ὀλολυγή was a joyful cry, uttered by women, especially at the moment of the consummation of a sacrifice: see the note on 3. 450. According to Herodotus (4. 189) the ritual use originated with the women of Libya, and they excelled in the performance of it.

εἰσίδεν is a little awkward after the same word in l. 407: perhaps we should

read εἰσῶτο (*Felsato*), and thus get rid of the hiatus at the same time.

415. οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν. Of the two opposites here denied it is the second which is logically important. There is no point in the assertion—taken by itself—that the Suitors did not honour the unworthy (*κακός*): but the addition of οὐ κακόν leads up to and gives effect to οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν. ‘They honoured neither bad nor good’ is a rhetorical way of saying that they honoured good no more than bad (and therefore not at all). An example of this illogical or at least pleonastic form of expression may be found in Soph. El. 305 τὰς οὐσίας τέ μου καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἐλπίδας διέφθορον.

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι σὺ γυναῖκας ἐνὶ μεγάροις κατάλεξον,  
αἷ τέ μ' ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ αἱ νηλίδες εἰσιν."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια·

"τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθείην καταλέξω. 420

πεντήκοντά τοί εἰσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες  
δμφαί, τὰς μὲν τ' ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι,  
εἵριά τε ξαίνειν καὶ δουλοσύνην ἀνέχεσθαι·

τάων δώδεκα πᾶσαι ἀναιδείης ἐπέβησαν,  
οὗτ' ἐμὲ τίουσαι οὗτ' αὐτὴν Πηνελόπειαν. 425

Τηλέμαχος δὲ νέον μὲν ἀέξετο, οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ  
σημαίνειν εἵασκεν ἐπὶ δμῳῇσι γυναιξίν.

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν ἀναβᾶς ὑπερώϊα σιγαλδεντα  
εἶπω σῇ ἀλόχῳ, τῇ τις θεὸς ὕπνον ἐπῶρσεν."

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

"μή πω τήν γ' ἐπέγειρε· σὺ δ' ἐνθάδε εἶπε γυναῖξιν 431  
ἐλθόμεν, αἱ περ πρόσθεν ἀεικέα μηχανῶντο."

ᾧς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρη῏ς δὲ διέκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει  
ἀγγελέουσα γυναιξὶ καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι.

αὐτὰρ ὁ Τηλέμαχον καὶ βουκόλον ἠδὲ συβώτην 435  
εἰς ἔ καλεσσάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

"ἄρχετε νῦν νέκυας φορέειν καὶ ἀνωχθε γυναῖκας·

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα θρόνους περικαλλέας ἠδὲ τραπέζας

ἱδατι καὶ σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι καθαίρειν.

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ πάντα δόμον κατακοσμήσησθε, 440

δμφὰς ἐξαγαγόντες ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο,

μεσσηγύς τε θόλου καὶ ἀμύμονος ἔρκεος αὐλῆς,

418 νηλίδες, see 19. 498.

M U: -ης G F P H X al.

τὴν δ' G F U: τὴν δ' ἐγειρε P.

διακοσμήσησθε G X U, cp. 457.

419 φίλη τροφὸς] περίφρων G.

429 ἐπῶρσεν] ἔχειεν P H M al.

440 ἐπὴν δὴ] ἐπειδὴ U: ἐπὴν X: (ἐπεὶ κεν?).

423 δουλοσύνην

431 τήν γ' i:

424. δώδεκα πᾶσαι 'twelve in all.'

ἐπέβησαν 'have set foot within.'

The metaphor is not uncommon in Homer: cp. Il. 2. 234 κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν, 8. 285 ἐυκλείης ἐπιβήσαν, Od. 23. 13, 52.

426. νέον ἀέξετο 'was but lately growing to man's estate.'

432. μηχανῶντο 'have been working,' impf. as in 22. 46.

437. φορέαν 'to carry away,' cp. 1. 456. The word is to be supplied again with ἀνωχθε.

442. θόλου, a dome-shaped building, apparently within the αὐλή, the nature and purpose of which are unknown.

θεινέμεναι ξίφεσιν τανυήκεσιν, εἰς δ' κε πασέων  
 ψυχὰς ἐξαφέλησθε, καὶ ἐκλεάθωντ' Ἀφροδίτης,  
 τὴν ἄρ' ὑπὸ μνηστῆρσιν ἔχον μίσγοντό τε λάθρη." 445

ᾧς ἔφαθ', αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀολλέες ἦλθον ἄπασαι,  
 αἶν' ὀλοφυρβόμεναι, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσαι.  
 πρῶτα μὲν οὖν νέκυας φόρεον κατατεθνηῶτας,  
 καὶ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' αἰθοῦσῃ τίθεσαν εὐερκέος αὐλῆς,  
 ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρείδουσαι· σήμαινε δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς 450

αὐτὸς ἐπισπέρχων· ταὶ δ' ἐφόρεον καὶ ἀνάγκη.  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα θρόνους περικαλλέας ἠδὲ τραπέζας  
 ὕδατι καὶ σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι κάβαιρον.  
 αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος καὶ βουκόλος ἠδὲ συβώτης  
 λίστροισιν δάπεδον πύκα ποιητοῖο ὁμοῖο 455

ἔϋον· ταὶ δ' ἐφόρεον δμφαί, τίθεσαν δὲ θύραζε.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πᾶν μέγαρον διεκυσμήσαντο,  
 δμφὰς δ' ἐξαγαγόντες ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο,  
 μεσσηγύς τε θόλου καὶ ἀμύμονος ἔρκεος αὐλῆς,  
 εἴλεον ἐν στείνει, ὅθεν οὐ πῶς ἦεν ἀλύξαι. 460

τοῖσι δὲ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν  
 "μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῶ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην  
 τάων, αἱ δὴ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὀνείδεα χεῖραν  
 μητέρι θ' ἡμετέρῃ παρά τε μνηστῆρσιν ἱανον."

ᾧς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ πείσμα νεὸς κυανοπρόροιο 465  
 κίονος ἐξάψας μεγάλης περίβαλλε θόλοιο,  
 ὕψός' ἐπεντανύσας, μὴ τις πῶσιν οὐδας ἴκοιτο.

444 ἐκλεάθωντ' Hermann: ἐκλεάθωντ' MSS.

λησιν vulg.

451 ἐπισπέρχων H al.: ἐπιστείχων G F M U.

458 δ' P H:

om. vulg.

460 στείνει] originally perhaps στένει, see *H. G.* § 105.

449. ὑπ' αἰθοῦσῃ αὐλῆς 'under the portico of the court-yard.' This was close to the entrance of the αὐλή, as is shown by the description in 23. 49 ἐπ' αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσι ἀρόροι.

450. ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρείδουσαι 'piling them against each other,' i.e. setting them in a row leaning against each other and the wall of the αἶθουσα.

456. ἐφόρεον 'carried away' (the scrapings).

462. μὴ ἐλοίμην, an emphatic negative, putting away the idea of doing a thing: cp. 7. 316: *H. G.* § 299 (e).

464. ἡμετέρῃ, plur. because Telemachus speaks as a member of a family.

466. κίονος, doubtless one of the columns of the αἶθουσα, and accordingly on the line of the ἔρκος αὐλῆς (442).

περίβαλλε 'threw (the loose end) round' the top of the θόλος, and then drew the rope tight.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι ἤε πέλειαι  
 ἔρκει ἐνιπλήξωσι, τό θ' ἔστηκε ἐνὶ θάμνῳ,  
 αὐλιν ἐσιέμεναι, στυγερός δ' ὑπέδεξατο κοῖτος, 470  
 ὥς αἶ γ' ἐξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσαις  
 δειρῆσι βρόχοι ἦσαν, ὅπως οἴκτιστα θάνοιεν.  
 ἥσπαιρον δὲ πόδεσσι μίνυνθά περ, οἷο τι μάλα δὴν.

Ἐκ δὲ Μελάνθιον ἦγον ἀνὰ πρὸθυρόν τε καὶ αὐλήν·  
 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν ρῖνάς τε καὶ οἶατα νηλεῖ χαλκῷ 475  
 τάμνον, μήδεά τ' ἐξέρυσαν, κυσὶν ὦμὰ δάσασθαι,  
 χεῖράς τ' ἠδὲ πόδας κόπτον κεκοτηότι θυμῷ.

Οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀπονισάμενοι χεῖράς τε πόδας τε  
 εἰς Ὀδυσῆα δόμονδε κίον, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ γε προσέειπε φίλην τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν 480  
 “οἶσε θέειον, γρη῏, κακῶν ἄκος, οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ,  
 ὅφρα θειώσω μέγαρον· σὺ δὲ Πηνελόπειαν  
 ἔλθεῖν ἐνθάδ' ἀνωχθὶ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξί·  
 πάσας δ' ὄτρυνον δμῶας κατὰ δῶμα νέεσθαι.”

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια 485  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταυτὰ γε, τέκνον ἐμόν, κατὰ μοῖραν ξειπες.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε τοι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ' ἐνείκω,  
 μηδ' οὕτω ράκεσιν πεπυκασμένος εὐρέας ὥμους  
 ἔσταθ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “πῦρ νῦν μοι πρῶτιστον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γενέσθω,” 491

ᾧ Ως ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια,  
 ἥνικεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θήϊον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς

471 πάσαις J: πασίῃσιν conj. Nauck. (cp. 443). In any case the form *πάσαις* is post-Homeric. 486 ταυτὰ γε πάντα, τέκος G (conj. Düntzer). 492 φίλη τροφὸς G F: περίφρων P H U al. 493 θήϊον] θέϊον (sic) G.

470. στυγερός κοῖτος, an oxymoron, the meaning being that *instead of a κοῖτος* they found something hateful: so 17. 448 μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴκηαι, 11. 10. 496 κακὸν ὕπαρ (of Diomedes killing Rhesus in his sleep).

474. ἀνὰ πρὸθυρόν τε καὶ αὐλήν, i.e. from the θάλαμος and so through the doorway of the μέγαρον.

484. κατὰ δῶμα ‘through the hall (the μέγαρον) inwards’; whereas ἀνὰ δῶμα implies movement *outwards*. For this force of κατὰ cp. 20. 122., 22. 299, 307: for ἀνὰ 21. 234, 378 (J. L. M.).

493. θήϊον is a strange variety for θέϊον. Possibly we should read πῦρ τε θέϊον τ', and in the next line εὐθεώσωσιν.

τεῦ διεθείωσεν μέγαρον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν.

Γρηὺς δ' αὐτ' ἀπέβη διὰ δώματα κάλ' Ὀδυσῆος 495  
ἀγγελέουσα γυναιξὶ καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι.  
αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάρου δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι.  
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀμφεχέοντο καὶ ἡσπάζοντ' Ὀδυσῆα,  
καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὄμους  
χεῖράς τ' αἰνύμεναι· τὸν δὲ γλυκὺς ἥμερος ἦρει 500  
κλαυθμοῦ καὶ στοναχῆς, γέγνωσκε δ' ἄρα φρεσὶ πάσας.

495 ἀνέβη G F.

494. μέγαρον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν is difficult, since δῶμα usually = μέγαρον. Possibly the original reading here was θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν—a conventional phrase for the whole palace (cf.

Il. 6. 316). μέγαρον may have been substituted from recollection of l. 482.

497. ἐκ μεγάρου. Here μέγαρον must mean the women's apartment.



SLAYING OF THE SUITORS.  
From a vase in the Museum of Berlin.

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Ψ

Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπὸ Πηνελόπης ἀναγνωρισμός.

Γρηῦς δ' εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀνεβήσεται καγχαλῶσα,  
 δεσποίνῃ ἐρέουσα φίλον πόσιν ἔνδον ἔντα·  
 γούνατα δ' ἐρρώσαντο, πόδες δ' ὑπερικταίνοντο.  
 στῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ξειπεν·  
 “ἔγρεο, Πηνελόπεια, φίλον τέκος, ὄφρα ἴδῃαι 5  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσι τεοῖσι τά τ' ἔλδαι ἡματα πάντα.  
 ἦλθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ οἶκον ἰκάνεται, ὃψέ περ ἐλθῶν.  
 μνηστῆρας δ' ἔκτεινεν ἀγήνορας, οἳ θ' ἔδν οἶκον  
 κήδεσκον καὶ κτήματ' ἔδον βιδωντό τε παῖδα.”  
 Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια 10  
 “μαῖα φίλη, μάργην σε θεοὶ θέσαν, οἳ τε δύνανται  
 ἄφρονα ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπίφρονά περ μάλ' ἔντα,  
 καὶ τε χαλιφρονέοντα σαιοφροσύνης ἐπέβησαν  
 οἳ σέ περ ἔβλαψαν πρὶν δὲ φρένας αἰσίμῃ ἦσθα.  
 τίπτε με λαβεύεις πολυπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαν 15

3. ἐρρώσαντο ‘sped along’: the word is used of a continuous or rhythmical movement, cp. 20. 107., 24. 69. ὑπερικταίνοντο is surely a compound of ὑπό, as Aristarchus held (τὸ πλῆρες κατὰ Ἀριστάρχον ἐμικταίνοντο Apoll. Lex. s. v.). ὑπό is often used of the lower limbs (γούνατα, γυῖα, &c.). The sense of ἐμικταίνομαι can only be guessed at from this context: it may mean ‘bustled’ or ‘trotted along’—*gradum studio celebrabat anili* (Aen. 4. 641). One ancient grammarian connected the word with ἐρείκω (ἐρικ-εῖν), explaining it by ὑποκατεκλῶντο ‘were broken down under her.’ This is tenable as regards

the form, but the meaning is unsatisfactory.

9. κήδεσκον ‘have been vexing,’ an impf. of the kind noticed in *H. G.* § 73. Cp. 22. 46, 209, 432.

14. of σέ περ ἔβλαψαν is a second relational clause, after οἳ τε δύνανται κτλ. It is not uncommon in Homer to find a general statement introduced by ὅς τε, followed by a particular example introduced by ὅς: see *H. G.* § 272.

σέ περ ‘even thee.’ πρὶν δὲ . . . ἦσθα is logically subordinate: ‘that wast so sound of mind before.’

ταῦτα παρέξ ἐρέουσα, καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου μ' ἀνεγείρεις  
 ἠδέος, ὃς μ' ἐπέδησε φίλα βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψας;  
 οὐ γάρ πω τοιδόνδε κατέδραθον, ἐξ οὗ 'Οδυσσεὺς  
 ὄχχ' ἐποψόμενος Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν κατάρβηθι καὶ ἄψ ἔρχεαι μέγαρόνδε. 20  
 εἰ γάρ τίς μ' ἄλλη γε γυναικῶν, αἱ μοι ἔασι,  
 ταῦτ' ἐλθοῦσ' ἡγγεῖλε καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνεγείρει,  
 τῷ κε τάχα στυγερώς μιν ἐγὼν ἀπέπεμψα νέεσθαι  
 αὐτὶς ἔσω μέγαρον· σὲ δὲ τοῦτό γε γῆρας ὀνήσει."

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια· 25  
 "οὐ τί σε λωβεύω, τέκνον φίλον, ἀλλ' ἔτυμόν τοι  
 ἦλθ' 'Οδυσσεὺς καὶ οἶκον ἰκάνεται, ὥς ἀγορεύω,  
 ὃ ξεῖνος, τὸν πάντες ἀτίμων ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρα μιν πάλαι ᾔδειεν ἔνδον ἔοντα,  
 ἀλλὰ σαοφροσύνησι νοήματα πατρὸς ἔκευθεν, 30  
 ὄφρ' ἀνδρῶν τίσαιτο βίην ὑπερνηορέοντων."

ὣς ἔφαθ', ἣ δ' ἐχάρη καὶ ἀπὸ λέκτροιο θοροῦσα  
 γρη῏ περιπλέχθη, βλεφάρων δ' ἀπὸ δάκρυον ἦκε,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "εἰ δ' ἄγε δῆ μοι, μαῖα φίλη, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες, 35  
 εἰ ἔτεδν δὴ οἶκον ἰκάνεται, ὥς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ὅπως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφῆκε  
 μούνος ἑὼν, οἱ δ' αἰὲν ἀολλέες ἔνδον ἔμμενον."

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια·  
 "οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, ἀλλὰ στόνον οἶον ἄκουσα 40

21 μ'] μοι G P H.  
 μέγαρον vulg.

22 μ' ἀνεγείρει G U Eust.  
 29 ᾔδει πάλαι Bekk.

24 μέγαρον X D Eust. 2

16. ἐρέουσα is a fut. part., hence we must take λωβεύω as equivalent to a verb of motion—"maltreat in order to tell." The clause καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνεγείρεις is an explanation of λωβεύεις: so that the whole sentence means 'why do you do me the hurt of waking me out of sleep only to tell me this false news?' For παρέξ cp. 12. 213.

20. The μέγαρον of the women, cp. 1. 24, also 22. 497.

21. μ', for μοι, see on 1. 60.

22. A prothysteron: ἡγγεῖλε is the main assertion; ἀνεγείρει subordinate, = 'thereby waking me'; cp. 13. 274, with the passages quoted there.

24. τοῦτο, adverbial acc., 'will do you this benefit.'

31. ἀνδρῶν ὑπερνηορέοντων, perhaps an intentional play of language, as often in the Odyssey: see on 13. 24.

37. ὅπως κτλ., is an object clause to ἐνίσπες: 'if he has come, tell me how &c.'

κτεινομένων· ἡμεῖς δὲ μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων  
 ἡμεθ' ἀτυζόμεναι, σανίδες δ' ἔχον ἐδ' ἀραρυῖαι,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ με σὸς υἷος ἀπὸ μεγάροιο κάλεσσε  
 Τηλέμαχος· τὸν γάρ βα πατὴρ προέηκε καλέσσαι.  
 45 εὖρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ κταμένοισι νέκυσσιν  
 ἑσταόθ'· οἱ δέ μιν ἀμφὶ κραταίπεδον οὐδας ἔχοντες  
 κείατ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν· ἰδοῦσά κε θυμὸν ἰάνθηε  
 [αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον ὥς τε λέοντα].  
 νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρησιν  
 ἀθρόοι, αὐτὰρ ὁ δῶμα θεειοῦται περικαλλές,  
 50 πῦρ μέγα κῆάμενος· σὲ δέ με προέηκε καλέσσαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἔπειν, ὄφρα σφῶϊν εὐφροσύνης ἐπιβήτων  
 ἀμφοτέρω φίλον ἦτορ, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε.  
 νῦν δ' ἤδη τόδε μακρὸν ἐέλδωρ ἐκτετέλεσται·  
 ἦλθε μὲν αὐτὸς ζωὸς ἐφέστιος, εὖρε δὲ καὶ σὲ  
 55 καὶ παῖδ' ἐν μεγάροισι· κακῶς δ' οἷ πέρ μιν ἔρεζον  
 μνηστῆρες, τοὺς πάντας ἐτίσατο φ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ."

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 "μαῖα φίλη, μή πω μέγ' ἐπεύχεο καγχαλῶσα.  
 οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς κ' ἀσπαστὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισι φανείη  
 60 πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί τε καὶ νιέϊ, τὸν τεκόμεσθα·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅδε μῦθος ἐτήτυμος, ὥς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων κτεῖνε μνηστῆρας ἀγανούς,  
 ὕβριν ἀγασσάμενος θυμαλγέα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.  
 οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,  
 65 οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·  
 τῷ δὲ ἀτασθαλίας ἔπαθον κακόν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

48 om. G F P H U.

52 ἐπιφροσύνης G.

42. σανίδες, viz. of the door leading to the women's room, cp. 21.382 and 22.399.

45. νέκυσσιν should perhaps be νεκῶσιν: see the note on 20.78.

46. ἔχοντες 'occupying,' 'covering.'

48. This line (22.402) is clearly out of place here. The object to ἰδοῦσα should be left vague.

52. σφῶϊν can hardly be taken as a dat. We must either suppose it to be nom., comparing νῶϊν in Il. 16.99, or read σφῶϊ (or σφῶϊ γ').

53. φίλον ἦτορ, constr. *ad sensum*, since εὐφροσύνης ἐπιβήτων = εὐφραίνεσθον. For ἐπιβαίνω in this use cp. 22.424 and the places there quoted.



ᾠλεσε τηλοῦ νόστον Ἀχαιῖδος, ᾠλετο δ' αὐτός."

Τὴν δ' ἡμέιβει' ἔπειτα φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια·  
 " τέκνον ἐμόν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων,  
 ἥ πόσιν ἔνδον ἐόντα παρ' ἐσχάρῃ οὐ ποτ' ἔφησθα  
 οἴκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι· θυμὸς δέ τοι αἰὲν ἄπιστος.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε τοι καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι εἶπω  
 οὐλήν, τὴν ποτέ μιν σὺς ἤλασε λευκῇ ὀδόντι,  
 τὴν ἀπονίζουσα φρασάμην, ἔθελον δὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ  
 εἰπέμεν· ἀλλὰ με κείνος ἐλὼν ἐπὶ μάστακα χερσὶν  
 οὐκ ἔα εἰπέμεναι πολυκερδείησι νόιοι.

ἀλλ' ἔπειν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμέθεν περιδώσομαι αὐτῆς,  
 αἶ κέν σ' ἐξαπάφω, κτεῖναι μ' οἰκτίστω δλέθρῳ."

Τὴν δ' ἡμέιβει' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 " μαῖα φίλη, χαλεπὸν σε θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν  
 δήνεα εἶρυσθαι, μάλα περ πολυῦδριν ἐοῦσαν  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἴομεν μετὰ παῖδ' ἐμόν, ὅφρα ἴδωμαι  
 ἀνδρας μνηστῆρας τεθνηότας, ἡδ' ὃς ἔπεφνεν."

ᾧς φαμένη κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ  
 ὥρμαιν', ἥ ἀπάνευθε φίλον πόσιν ἐξερεεῖνοι,  
 ἥ παρστώσα κύσειε κάρη καὶ χεῖρε λαβοῦσα.  
 ἥ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδόν,  
 ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐναντίη, ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ,  
 τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου· ὃ δ' ἄρα πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν

87 χεῖρε λαβοῦσα] χεῖρας δάπτους G.

68. Ἀχαιῖδος to be taken either with νόστον or with τηλοῦ. The former is supported by 5. 344 ἐπιμαίεο νόστου γαίης Φαιήκων, and is favoured by the order of the words. For the other constr. Ameis quotes 13. 249 τὴν περ τηλοῦ φασὶν Ἀχαιῖδος ἐμμεναι αἴης. But ᾠλεσε νόστον is too vague without Ἀχαιῖδος following to define it.

76. ἐπὶ μάστακα 'by the throat': the prep. expresses the *direction* of the act of seizing or laying hold, as in the phrases ἐπὶ στόμα, ἐπὶ γούνα, ἐπὶ στήθος.

78. περιδώσομαι 'I will stake': with a gen. of the stake, as Il. 23. 485 τρίποδος περιδώμεθον ἡ δὲ λήβητος.

82. δήνεα εἶρυσθαι 'to be in possession of, comprehend, the thoughts.' The verb has various shades of meaning, derived from the notion of covering, keeping safe. The nearest parallel to this use seems to be Il. 1. 239 (θέμιστας) πρὸς Διὸς εἰρᾶται 'keep in mind,' know and are ready to apply.

88. λάϊνον. For this epithet see on 16. 41., 17. 30.

90. τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου 'by the wall at one side': gen. of *place*, cp. Il. 9. 219., 24. 598.

πρὸς κίονα. This was doubtless one of the pillars which surrounded the fireplace and carried the louver over it.

ἦστο κάτω ὀρώων, ποτιδέγμενος εἴ τί μιν εἴποι  
 ἰφθίμη παράκοιτις, ἐπεὶ ἶδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.  
 ἡ δ' ἄνεω δὴν ἦστο, τάφος δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἴκανεν·  
 ὄψει δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδσκεν,  
 ἄλλοτε δ' ἀγνώσασκε κακὰ χροῖ εἵματ' ἔχοντα. 95  
 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 “μῆτερ ἐμή, δύσμητερ, ἀπηνέα θυμὸν ἔχουσα,  
 τίφθ' οὕτω πατρὸς νοσφίζεαι, οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐξομένη μύθοισιν ἀνείρεαι οὐδὲ μεταλλάς;  
 οὐ μὲν κ' ἄλλη γ' ὧδε γυνὴ τετληότι θυμῷ 100  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀφεσταίῃ, ὅς οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας  
 ἔλθοι ἐεικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν·  
 σοὶ δ' αἰεὶ κραδίη στερεωτέρη ἐστὶ λίθιο.”

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
 “τέκνον ἐμόν, θυμὸς μοι ἐνὶ στήθεσσι τέθιπεν,  
 οὐδέ τι προσφάσθαι δύναμαι ἔπος οὐδ' ἐρέεσθαι 105  
 οὐδ' εἰς ὧπα ιδέσθαι ἐναντίον. εἰ δ' ἔτεδν δὴ  
 ἔστ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ οἶκον ἰκάνεται, ἥ μάλα νῶϊ  
 γνωσόμεθ' ἀλλήλων καὶ λώϊον· ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν  
 σήμαθ', ἃ δὴ καὶ νῶϊ κεκρυμμένα ἴδμεν ἀπ' ἄλλων.” 110

Ὡς φάτο, μέιδησεν δὲ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “Τηλέμαχ', ἥ τοι μητέρ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔασον  
 πειράζειν ἐμέθεν· τάχα δὲ φράσεται καὶ ἄρειον.  
 νῦν δ' ὅττι ρυπῶ, κακὰ δὲ χροῖ εἵματα εἶμαι, 115  
 τοῦνεκ' ἀτιμάζει με καὶ οὐ πῶ φησι τὸν εἶναι.  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ὅχ' ἀριστα γένηται.  
 καὶ γάρ τίς θ' ἕνα φῶτα κατακτείνας ἐνὶ δήμῳ,

101 ἀποσταίη G X U al.

117 ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα P.

118 δήμῳ] οἶκῳ P.

94. ὄψα 'with her eyes' (since she was speechless).

95. ἀγνώσασκε, contr. from ἀγνοήσασκε, a frequentative formed from the aor., = 'she continually failed to recognize,' i.e. showed by some gesture that she did not recognize: cp. 20. 15.

110. The neglect of position in κεκρυμμένα is highly anomalous. We should perhaps read νῶ. Hartmann would omit καὶ: but the emphatic καὶ νῶϊ is appropriate here.

ἀπ' ἄλλων, with κεκρυμμένα.

118. καὶ emphasizes ἕνα.

ὃ μὴ πολλοὶ ἔωσιν ἀοσσητῆρες ὅπισσω,  
φεύγει πηούς τε προλιπὼν καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν 120  
ἡμεῖς δ' ἔρμα' πύλῃος ἀπέκταμεν, οἱ μέγ' ἀριστοὶ  
κούρων εἰν Ἰθάκῃ· τὰ δέ σε φράζεσθαι ἀνωγα."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἠΐδα·  
"αὐτὸς ταυτὰ γε λεύσσει, πάτερ φίλε· σὴν γὰρ ἀρίστην  
μῆτιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους φάσ' ἔμμεναι, οὐδέ κέ τίς τοι 125  
ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἐρίσειε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
[ἡμεῖς δ' ἔμμεμαῶτες ἄμ' ἐψόμεθ', οὐδέ τί φημι  
ἀλκῆς δευήσεσθαι, ὅση δύναμὶς γε πάρεστιν.]"

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
"τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀριστα. 130  
πρῶτα μὲν ἄρ λούσασθε καὶ ἀμφιέσασθε χιτῶνας,  
δμῶα δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀνώγετε εἴμαθ' ἐλέσθαι·  
αὐτὰρ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ἔχων φόρμιγγα λήγειαν  
ἡμῖν ἡγείσθω φιλοπαίγμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο,  
ὥς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων, 135  
ἢ ἀν' ὁδὸν στείχων ἢ οἱ περιναϊετάουσι·  
μὴ πρόσθε κλέος εὐρὺ φόνου κατὰ ἄστν γένηται  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, πρίν γ' ἡμέας ἐλθέμεν ἔξω  
ἄγρὸν ἐς ἡμέτερον πολυδένδρεον. ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα  
φρασσόμεθ' ὅττι κε κέρδος Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξῃ." 140

Ἄς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο.  
πρῶτα μὲν οὖν λούσαντο καὶ ἀμφιέσαντο χιτῶνας,  
δπλισθεν δὲ γυναῖκες· ὁ δ' εἴλετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς  
φόρμιγγα γλαφυρήν, ἐν δὲ σφισιν ἴμερον ὥρσε  
μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο. 145  
τοῖσιν δὲ μέγα δῶμα περιστεναχίζετο ποσσὶν  
ἀνδρῶν παιζόντων καλλιζώνων τε γυναικῶν.

119 ἴασιν G.  
H M X U al.

122 τὰ δὲ U Eust. : τῷ G F P H al.  
134 πολυπαίγμονος P H al.

127-128 om. G F P  
142 οὖν] ἄρ P H U al.

127-128. These two lines are in place in the description of a battle (Il. 13. 785-786), but are unsuitable here.

139. ἄγρὸν, used here in the sense of 'a farm': so *rus* in Latin.

140. κέρδος 'device,' cp. 14. 31.

143. δπλισθεν 'were arrayed': a use which points to the originally wide meaning of the word δπλον.

146. τοῖσιν 'for them,' 'at their will.'

ὥδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἀκούων·

“ ἡ μάλα δὴ τις ἔγημε πολυμνήστην βασιλειαν·

σχετλίη, οὐδ' ἔτλη πῶσιος οὐ κουριδίῳ

150

εἶρυσθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπερές, ἦος ἴκοιτο.”

“Ὡς ἄρα τις εἶπεσκε, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἴσαν ὥς ἐτέτυκτο.

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσῆα μεγαλήτορα φ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

Εὐρυνόμη ταμίη λούσεν καὶ χρίσεν ἐλαίῳ,

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλεν ἡδὲ χιτῶνα·

155

αὐτὰρ καὶ κεφαλῆς χεῦεν πολλὸν κάλλος Ἀθήνη

[μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα· καὶ δὲ κάρητος

οὐλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἀνθει ὁμοίως.]

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνῆρ

ἰδρὺς, δὴν Ἑφαιστος δέδασεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη

160

τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει,

ὥς μὲν τῷ περιχευε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις.

ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοίως,

ἀψ δ' αὐτὺς κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου ἔνθεν ἀνέστη,

ἀντίον ἧς ἀλόχου, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

165

“ δαιμονίη, περὶ σοὶ γε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων

κῆρ ἀτέραμνον ἔθηκαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες·

οὐ μὲν κ' ἄλλη γ' ὥδε γυνὴ τετληῖσι θυμῷ

ἀνδρὸς ἀφισταίῃ, ὅς οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογῆσας

ἔλθοι ἐεικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

170

151 ἦος] ἔως X Eust.: ἔφρ' ἂν vulg.

157 καὶ δὲ κάρητος] θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι G.

162 κεφαλῇν τε καὶ ὤμους M.

169 ἀφισταίῃ U Eust.: ἀποστ- vulg.; cp. 101.

150. *σχετλίη* means ‘unfeeling,’ not moved by sentiment or affection: cp. Od. 13. 293, also Il. 9. 630 *σχέτλιος*, οὐδὲ μετατρέπεται φιλόπτης ἐταίρων.

151. *εἶρυσθαι* ‘to hold to’: see l. 82.

153 ff. The incident of the bath, as Kirchhoff has shown (*Odyssey*, p. 155), makes an awkward break in the scene with Penelope, and is ignored in the sequel. Penelope has failed to recognize Ulysses in his beggar’s rags (l. 95 *κατὰ χροὺ εἶματ' ἔχοντα*, cp. 115 *νῦν δ' ὅττι βυπῶα κτλ.*). He now returns from the bath resplendent in beauty: but the change is quite unnoticed. Yet the same change had profoundly moved Tele-

machus (16. 278 ff.). Observe also the weak repetition, 100–102 = 168–170. For these reasons Kirchhoff is probably right in rejecting 111–176 or 117–170.

157–162, = 6. 230–235. The first two of these lines (= 6. 230–231) must be wrongly inserted here, since *μείζονα* has no construction, and *καὶ δὲ κάρητος* is a very awkward tautology after *καὶ κεφαλῆς* in the preceding line. Ameis would reject also 159–162 (= 6. 232–235). But this does not seem necessary.

159. *χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ*. This describes a process of enamel of which there are fine examples among the objects found at Mycenae.

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι, μαῖα, στόρεσον λέχος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὸς  
λέξομαι· ἡ γὰρ τῇ γε σιδήρεον ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
"δαιμνὶ, οὐτ' ἄρ τι μεγαλίζομαι οὐτ' ἀθερίζω  
οὔτε λῖην ἀγαμαι, μάλα δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅλος ἔησθα 175  
ἐξ Ἰθάκης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰὼν δολιχηρέτμοιο.

ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ στόρεσον πυκινὸν λέχος, Εὐρύκλεια,  
ἐκτὸς εὖσταθέος θαλάμου, τὸν β' αὐτὸς ἐποίει·  
ἐνθα οἱ ἐκθεῖσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ἐμβάλετ' εὐνήν,  
κώεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλθέντα." 180

ᾧς ἄρ' ἔφη πρόσιος πειρωμένη· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ὀχθήσας ἄλοχον προσεφώνεε κεδνὰ ἰδυίαν·  
"ὦ γύναι, ἡ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες.  
τίς δέ μοι ἄλλοσε θῆκε λέχος; χαλεπὸν δέ κεν εἴη  
καὶ μάλ' ἐπισταμένῳ, ὅτε μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν 185  
ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων θεΐῃ ἄλλῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ.

ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐ κέν τις ζῶδς βροτὸς, οὐδὲ μάλ' ἡβῶν,  
ρεῖα μετοχλίσσειεν, ἐπεὶ μέγα σῆμα τέτυκται  
ἐν λέχει ἀσκητῶ· τὸ δ' ἐγὼ κάμον οὐδέ τις ἄλλος.  
θάμνος ἔφν τανύφυλλος ἐλαΐης ἔρκεος ἐντὸς, 190  
ἀκμηνὸς θαλέθων· πάχετος δ' ἦν ἡὔτε κίων.

τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἀμφιβαλὼν θάλαμον δέμον, ὄφρ' ἐτέλεσσα,  
πυκνήσιν λιθάδεσσι, καὶ εὖ καθύπερθεν ἔρεψα,  
κολλητὰς δ' ἐπέθηκα θύρας, πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας.  
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἀπέκοψα κόμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαΐης, 195

174 οὐ γὰρ P X.  
G F M X U.

178 θαλάμου] μεγάρου G P.  
193 λιθάδεσσι G F J: λιθάκεσσι P H U.

187 οὐδὲ γυναικῶν

171. αὐτὸς 'alone.'

174 ff. The connexion of the thought is somewhat obscured by Penelope's desire to try Ulysses. She means to say 'I am not haughty or indifferent or offended, nor have I forgotten: but if you are Ulysses you will see the meaning of the order which I now give,' viz. to put the bedstead outside the chamber that he himself made.

186. ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων, see 16. 198.

188. μέγα σῆμα τέτυκται 'there is a

great token contrived,' i.e. there is in the making of the bedstead a secret that will serve for a token or pass-word.

190. τανύφυλλος. Voss would read τανυφύλλου. The epithet certainly goes better with ἐλαΐης, as in l. 195, also 13. 102.

191. ἀκμηνός is usually derived from ἀκμή, and explained as 'flourishing,' 'in its prime.' Aristarchus distinguished it by accent from ἀκμηνος 'without food.'

κορμὸν δ' ἐκ ρίζης προταμὼν ἀμφέξεσα χαλκῷ  
 εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνα,  
 ἐρμῖν' ἀσκήσας, τέτρηνα δὲ πάντα τερέτρω.  
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχόμενος λέχος ἔξεον, ὄφρ' ἐτέλεσσα,  
 δαιδάλλων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἡδ' ἐλέφαντι· 200  
 ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοδὸς φοίνικι φαεινόν.  
 οὕτω τοι τόδε σῆμα πιφαύσκομαι· οὐδέ τι οἶδα,  
 ἥ μοι ἔτ' ἔμπεδόν ἐστι, γύναι, λέχος, ἥε τις ἤδη  
 ἀνδρῶν ἄλλοσε θῆκε, ταμὼν ὑπο πυθμέν' ἐλαίης."

“Ὡς φάτο, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ,  
 σήματ' ἀναγνούσης τὰ οἱ ἔμπεδα πέφραδ' Ὀδυσσεύς· 206  
 δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτ' ἰθὺς δράμεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρας  
 δειρῇ βάλλ' Ὀδυσῆϊ, κάρη δ' ἔκυσ' ἡδὲ προσηύδα·  
 “μή μοι, Ὀδυσσεῦ, σκύζευ, ἐπεὶ τὰ περ ἄλλα μάλιστα  
 ἀνθρώπων πέπνυσσ' θεοὶ δ' ὥπαζον οἷζύν, 210  
 οἱ νῶϊν ἀγάσαντο παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντε  
 ἥβης ταρπῆναι καὶ γήραος οὐδδὸν ἰκέσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ μὴ νῦν μοι τόδε χῶεο μηδὲ νεμέσσα,  
 οὐνεκά σ' οὐ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, ᾧδ' ἀγάπησα.  
 αἰεὶ γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φέλοισιν 215  
 ἑρρίγει μή τίς με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσιν  
 ἐλθῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ κακὰ κέρδεα βουλευούσιν.

201 ἐν G X U Eust.: ἐκ F P H al. βοδὸς ἰφι σταμένωιο P H M U. 203 ἡ  
 H D: εἰ vulg. 204 ἐπὶ G F X U Eust.: ἀπὸ P H al. 205 τῆς] τῇ P.  
 206 ἀναγνούσης F U: ἀναγνύουσιν vulg. 207 δράμεν F X U: κίω G P H M D:  
 both given by Eust.

206. ἀναγνούσης, gen. as in 24. 345-6  
 τοῦ δ' . . . σήματ' ἀναγνόντος κτλ. Most  
 MSS. have the dat. ἀναγνούσῃ, which  
 is hardly possible after the gen. τῆς.  
 It cannot be justified by the instances  
 of a part. in the gen. following an  
 ἐκείνῃς pronoun in the dat.: see H.G.  
 § 243, 3, d. It is possible, however,  
 that we should read τῇ . . . ἀναγνούσῃ  
 as in 19. 249-250 τῇ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑφ'  
 ἡμερον ἄρσει γόοιο, σήματ' ἀναγνούσῃ,  
 where the dative is necessary for the  
 construction.

211. ἀγάσαντο 'thought it too much,'

'would not hear of it.' μένοντε is acc.  
 because it goes so closely with the inf.  
 as to form a single idea: the sense  
 being 'that we should remain and enjoy  
 our youth' &c.

214. ᾧδ' emphasizes ἐπεὶ ἴδον, 'just  
 when I saw you'; hence it is = 'at  
 once,' 'without more ado.' Similarly  
 17. 544 ἐναντίον ᾧδ' κάλεσσον, 18. 224  
 ἡμενος ᾧδ'ε, 21. 196 ᾧδ'ε μάλ' ἐξαπίνης.  
 Cp. the corresponding use of οὕτως in  
 6. 218., 17. 447 (with the note).

217. κέρδεα 'devices,' see 14. 31.

[οὐδέ κεν Ἀργεΐη Ἑλένη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,  
 ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἄλλοδαπῷ ἐμήγη φιλόττητι καὶ εὐνή,  
 εἰ ᾗδῃ ὃ μιν αὖτις ἀρήϊοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἀξέμεναι οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἐμελλον.  
 τὴν δ' ἦ τοι ρέξαι θεὸς ὄρωρεν ἔργον ἀεικές·  
 τὴν δ' ἄτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἔφ' ἐγκάτθετο θυμῷ  
 λυγρῇν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἵκετο πένθος.]

220

218-224 ἀθεοῦνται οἱ ἐπὶ στίχοι οὗτοι ὡς σπάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νοῦν Vind. 133.

218-224. These seven lines were rejected by Aristarchus, and have been generally condemned, mainly on the ground that they do not fit the context. The case of Helen, it is argued, is not really parallel to that of Penelope, and the excuse which is made for her—that she acted under the compulsion of Aphrodite—is especially out of place, since it makes her incapable of being deterred by the consequences of her acts. Moreover the close connexion of l. 215 αἰεὶ γὰρ μοι θυμὸς . . . ἐρρέγει with l. 225 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ κτλ. ('I was always in fear—but now &c.') is seriously interrupted by so long a parenthesis. Recently, however, an ingenious defence of the passage has been put forward by Mr. Platt (*Class. Rev.* xiii. 383). He pleads the absence of any motive for the interpolation, and insists upon the beauty of the lines themselves, especially l. 224. In his view the aim of the poet was to bring out once more, almost at the end of his story, the noble prudence and faithfulness of Penelope, by contrasting her with the opposite type of character seen in Helen. Such a contrast, Mr. Platt shows, is quite in the manner of the *Odyssey*, and has been already made between Penelope and Clytemnestra (*Od.* ii. 432 ff., cp. 24. 198 ff.). And the finishing touch is added to the picture by the words in which Penelope makes an excuse—the only possible excuse—for the enemy whose 'blind folly' had wrought so much woe.

The explanation is attractive, but somewhat fanciful, as Mr. Platt is ready to admit, and it supposes an obscurity in the thought which is not at all like Homer. It may be doubted whether Penelope's readiness to forgive an enemy would have appealed to hearers in primitive times. The excuse, too, is hardly one that would have been ac-

cepted in an age when almost every human thought and feeling was ascribed to the gods. And what is it that the example of Helen is cited to prove? The points dwelt upon are (1) that she would not have gone with Paris if she had known what would follow: but (2) that she was not a free agent. The lesson taught would seem to be that men do wrongly from their ignorance of the future, and because they are led astray by higher powers. But this is not applicable in any way to Penelope. Probably therefore it belongs originally to a different context.

The argument from style is difficult to estimate, since it depends almost entirely upon individual judgment. But it must be evident that the manner as well as the matter of the verses is didactic rather than epic (in the strict sense). With the possible exception of l. 224, they do not rise above the level of similar passages in Hesiod. They may have been suggested by the passage in *Od.* 3. 265 ff. where it is related that Clytemnestra at first would not listen to the suggestions of Aegisthus—*φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆσι*—till the decree of the gods obliged her to give way. If a conjecture may be ventured, the most obvious source is the post-Homeric epic known as the *Cypria*, the main subject of which is the unfaithfulness of Helen, brought about and directed by the agency of Aphrodite. The poem is one in which the progress of moral reflexion in early post-Homeric times may be very plainly traced. It need hardly be added that the interpolation of didactic passages is not uncommon (see *Od.* 14. 228., 15. 74., 19. 109 ff.).

223. Cp. Simonides, fr. 85. 5 *ὁμοῖοι δαίμονες στέργουσιν ἐγκατέθεντο*.

224. πρῶτα 'as a beginning,' that made the beginning of sorrows for us.

νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἤδη σήματ' ἀριφραδέα κατέλεξας 225  
 εὐνῆς ἡμετέρης, τὴν οὐ βροτὸς ἄλλος ὀπάπει,  
 ἀλλ' οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἀμφίπολος μίᾱ μούνη,  
 Ἀκτορίς, ἣν μοι δῶκε πατὴρ ἔτι δεῦρο κιούση,  
 ἥ νῶϊν εἵρυτο θύρας πυκινοῦ θαλάμοιο,  
 πείθεις δὴ μεν θυμόν, ἀπηνέα περ μάλ' ἐόντα." 230

Ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἔμερον ὥρσε γόοιο·  
 κλαῖε δ' ἔχων ἄλοχον θυμαρέα, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖαν.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπᾶσιος γῆ νηχομένοισι φανήη,  
 ὧν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 ῥαίσῃ, ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῷ· 235  
 παῦροι δ' ἐξέφυγον πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἡπειρόνδε  
 νηχόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ χροῖ τέτροφεν ἄλμῃ,  
 ἀσπᾶσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης, κακότητα φυγόντες·  
 ὥς ἄρα τῇ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσοροόσῃ,  
 δειρῆς δ' οὐ πῶ πάμπαν ἀφίετο πῆχες λευκῶ· 240  
 καὶ νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισι φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.  
 νύκτα μὲν ἐν περάτῃ δολιχὴν σχέθεν, Ἥῳ δ' αὖτε  
 ῥύσαστ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ χρυσόθρονον, οὐδ' ἔα ἵππους  
 ζεύγνυσθ' ὠκύποδας, φάος ἀνθρώποισι φέροντας, 245

226 τὴν G F M U: ἦν al. 231 ἔτι G F X U: ἀρα P H al. 233 ἀσπᾶσιος  
 M G: ἀσπασίας vulg. 237 τέτροφεν] δέδρομεν P Y. 241 ἔδν φάος ἡελίοιο P.  
 245 ζεύσασθ' G M.

229. εἵρυτο 'guarded,' 'was sentry at.'

233. γῆ is much less common in Homer than γαῖα, but need not therefore be condemned. In a formula such as Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος (Il. 3. 104., 19. 259) it is probably ancient. Note that γαῖα and γῆ are distinct formations (not phonetic varieties): cp. Ἀθηναίη and Ἀθήνη.

243. ἐν περάτῃ. This word was supposed by Alexandrian scholars to mean 'the extreme east' (Apoll. Rh. i. 1281, Callim. Del. 169): but there does not seem to be any good ground for this interpretation. Ameis and others connect it with πέρας 'end,' so that it is 'the bounds' of earth and sky, the horizon (cp. πείρατα γαίης). But πέρας

is a later form: in the Homeric word πείρας and its derivatives the first syllable is long. A more defensible etymology is from περάω 'to pass.' As barytone nouns in -τη from verbs usually have (or acquire) a concrete sense—as ἑλά-τη 'an oar,' ἀτή (for ἀά-τη) 'harm done,' δαί-τη, κοί-τη, μέλέ-τη, ἡλακά-τη, &c.—we should expect περάτῃ to denote 'the passage' of night, i. e. the space which the darkness traverses in the course of one night. Cp. λυκάβας as explained in the note on 14. 161.

δολιχὴν σχέθεν, = ὥστε δολιχὴν εἶναι. This prolepsis is idiomatic with words meaning *quick* or *slow*: cp. Il. 19. 276 λῦσεν δ' ἀγορὴν αἰψηρήν.

244. ῥύσαστο 'kept safe': cp. l. 229.



Λάμπον καὶ Φαέθονθ', οἳ τ' Ἡῶ πῶλοι ἀγούσι.  
καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἦν ἄλοχον προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“ὦ γύναι, οὐ γάρ πω πάντων ἐπὶ πείρατ' ἀέθλων  
ἦλθομεν, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ὀπισθεν ἀμέτρητος πόνος ἔσται,  
πολλὸς καὶ χαλεπός, τὸν ἐμὲ χρή πάντα τελέσσαι.” 250

ὥς γάρ μοι ψυχὴ μαντεύσατο Τειρεσίαο  
ἡματι τῷ δτε δὴ κατέβην δόμον Ἀΐδος εἴσω,  
νόστον ἐταίροισιν διζήμενος ἡδ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ.  
ἀλλ' ἔρχευ, λέκτρονδ' ἴομεν, γύναι, ὄφρα καὶ ἥδη  
ὑπνῷ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντε.” 255

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·  
“εὐνὴ μὲν δὴ σοὶ γε τότ' ἔσσεται ὅππότε θυμῷ  
σῶ ἐθέλῃς, ἐπεὶ ἄρ σε θεοὶ πόησαν ἰκέσθαι  
οἶκον ἔϋκτιμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίθα γαίαν·  
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐφράσθης καὶ τοι θεὸς ἔμβαλε θυμῷ, 260  
εἴπ' ἄγε μοι τὸν ἀέθλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀπισθεν, ὅτω,  
· πεύσομαι, αὐτίκα δ' ἐστὶ δαήμεναι οὐ τι χέριον.”

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“δαιμονίη, τί τ' ἄρ' αὖ με μάλ' ὀτρύνουσα κελεύεις  
εἰπέμεν; αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω. 265  
οὐ μὲν τοι θυμὸς κεχαρήσεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς  
χαίρω, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἀστέ' ἀνωγεν  
ἐλθεῖν, ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχοντ' εὐήρες ἑρετμόν,

246 ἀγούσι] ἔασιν P. 249 ἔσται] ἐστὶ F U Eust. 251 μυθήσατο F M X al.  
264 ὀτρύνουσα U: ὀτρυνέουσα vulg. 266 θυμῷ κεχαρήσεται P D K.

248. οὐ γάρ πω κτλ. The apodosis is l. 254 ἀλλ' ἔρχευ κτλ., the argument being that *since* (γάρ) there are many troubles still to come, it will be well to enjoy the present.

258. ἐπεὶ σε θεοὶ πόησαν ἰκέσθαι. This use of *ποιέω* has no exact parallel in Homer: the nearest is Il. 13. 55 σφῶν δ' ἄθε θεῶν τις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ποήσειεν αὐτῷ θ' ἰστάμεναι κτλ.

260. ἐφράσθης 'hast bethought thee of,' 'remembered': viz. the ἀέθλος—the trial that is still to come.

268-284. These lines are repeated from 11. 121-137 (see the note in vol. I),

with a few variations due to the change to *oratio obliqua*. They are designed apparently to give us a glimpse of the fortunes of Ulysses beyond the point at which the narrative of the *Odyssey* ends. He is to kill the Suitors, and forthwith to set out again (*ἐρχέσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα*, 11. 121) to wander 'through the cities of men.' His long and painful wandering (*ἀμέτρητος πόνος* . . . πολλὸς καὶ χαλεπός) is to come to an end with the incident of the oar mistaken for a winnowing-shovel; when he will return to Ithaca, reign happily, and at length die by a 'gentle death.' Such is the prospect

εἰς δ' κε τοὺς ἀφίκωμαι οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν  
 270 ἄνδρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ' ἔδουσιν·  
 οὐδ' ἄρα τοῖ γ' ἴσασι νέας φοινικοπαρῆους,  
 οὐδ' εὐήρ' ἐρετμά, τὰ τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται.  
 σῆμα δέ μοι τόδ' ἔειπεν ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε κεύσω·  
 ὅππότε κεν δὴ μοι ξυμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης  
 φῆῃ ἀθηρηλοιογὸν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαιδίμω ὄμω, 275  
 καὶ τότε μ' ἐν γαίῃ πῆξαν' ἐκέλευσεν ἐρετμόν,  
 ἔρξανθ' ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἀνακτι,

271 <sup>77</sup> *κατασπαρείου* G. 276 μ' ἐν F U: δὴ G P H X al. (as 11.129). The  
 μ' is almost necessary to the sense here. 277 *μέανθ'* X U.

which Ulysses and Penelope have put before them at the moment when their long endurance has been crowned with triumph.

The narrative of the 24th book is quite different. According to it the blood-feud between Ulysses and the kin of the slain men was appeased by agreement, and Ulysses became undisputed master of his kingdom. It seems clear that this was meant to be the closing scene, not merely of the *Odyssey*, but of the adventures of Ulysses. It leaves no room for the perspective disclosed by Tiresias. Unfortunately, however, this circumstance is indecisive, because (as we shall see) the 24th book itself is probably a later addition.

In the Cyclic epic *Telegonia* we have a sequel to the *Odyssey*, which (if we may judge from the brief abstract of Proclus) was at variance with the prophecy of Tiresias, yet showed traces of acquaintance with it. In this version Ulysses goes first to visit Elis. On his return to Ithaca he 'performs the sacrifices directed by Tiresias' (Procl.). Then comes a fresh series of adventures, chiefly in Thesprotia. Once more he comes home to Ithaca, but has hardly landed in the island when it is invaded, in ignorance, by his son Telegonus. Father and son meet, not knowing each other, and Ulysses is slain. In this story it is hard to find a place for the incident of the oar, or for the happy reign and 'gentle death' of the prophecy. Yet the injunctions of Tiresias were expressly recognized; and possibly the death at the hands of an invader from

the sea was meant as a fulfilment of the mysterious *ἐξ ἄλλης* (l. 281).

It is needless to discuss the forms which the story assumed in later times—for example, in the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκαιοβουλῆς* of Sophocles. The fragments show, as we should expect, that Sophocles closely followed the indications which the prophecy of Tiresias furnished.

The evidence now set forth can hardly be thought to prove much for or against the genuineness of the passage before us. It is certainly a piece of very ancient poetry. The chief argument against it is the difficulty of supposing that the poet would bring his hero to a triumphant issue from his troubles only to tell us that next day they must begin afresh.

269. ἴσασι θάλασσαν 'know of the sea,' know that there is such a thing. To 'know the sea' in the ordinary sense would be *γινώσκειν*. So in l. 271 ἴσασι νέας.

270. ἄνδρες, nom. by attraction of of οὐκ ἴσασι, which is nearer than the principal clause.

ἄλεσσι. In Homeric times it appears that the sea was the only source from which salt was obtained.

273. οὐδ' σε κεύσω. These words are appropriate as said by Tiresias to Ulysses, but not in the present context.

275. ἀνὰ φαιδίμω ὄμω. Hence Soph. *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκαιοβουλῆς* fr. 403 ποταπὸν τὸ δῶρον ἀμφὶ φαιδίμοις ἔχων ὄμοις.

277. Ποσειδάωνι. Some have found the meaning of the whole prophecy in the reconciliation with Poseidon. This does not appear in the language of the passage. A sea-faring man in such

ἀρνεῖδν ταυρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον,  
οἴκαδ' ἀποστείχειν, ἔρδειν θ' ἱερὰς ἐκατόμβας  
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι, 280  
πᾶσι μάλ' ἐξείησ' θάνατος δέ μοι ἐξ ἁλὸς αὐτῷ  
ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ με πέφνη  
γῆρα ὑπο λιπαρῷ ἀρημένον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ  
ὀλβιοι ἔσσονται· τὰ δέ μοι φάτο πάντα τελείσθαι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια· 285  
"εἰ μὲν δὴ γῆράς γε θεοὶ τελέουσιν ἄρειον,  
ἐλπωρή τοι ἔπειτα κακῶν ὑπάλυξιν ἔσσεσθαι."

Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·  
τόφρα δ' ἄρ' Εὐρυνόμη τε ἰδὲ τροφὸς ἔντυον εὐνήν  
ἑσθήτος μαλακῆς, δαΐδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων. 290  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ στόρεσαν πυκινὸν λέχος ἐγκονέουσai,  
γρηῦς μὲν κείουσα πάλιν οἰκόνδε βεβήκει,  
τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρυνόμη θαλαμηπόλος ἡγεμόνευεν  
ἐρχομένοισι λέχουσδε, δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα·  
ἑς θάλαμον δ' ἀγαγοῦσα πάλιν κίεν. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα 295  
ἀσπᾶσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἴκοντο.

286 ἄρειον] ὀπίσσω G. 289 ἔντυον] ἔντυον G F X: ἔρτυον (for ἤρτυον?) P.

a case would naturally turn to Poseidon as his especial patron. If the poet had meant to lay stress on such a reconciliation as is supposed, he would have told us that Poseidon was appeased by the sacrifice.

278. The sacrifice here prescribed answers to the Roman *susceaurilia*.

281. ἐξ ἁλός, with ἐλεύσεται, can only mean 'will come from the sea.' Cp. 24. 47 μήτηρ δ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἦλθε. In what shape death was to come from the sea is left undetermined, after the manner of prophecy. The meaning 'away from,' 'at a distance from,' is not found with a verb of motion. It is possible, however, that there was a word ἐφαλος, formed (perhaps as a nonce-word) on the analogy of ἐφαλος, and meaning 'away from the sea.' The point then would be that Ulysses, who had gone through so many dangers by sea, was to die on land.

αὐτῷ is opposed to λαοί (283): 'you yourself will die &c., while your people &c.'

282. ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος 'one quite gentle': meaning doubtless a death by old age or by the ἀγὰρ βέλεα of Apollo. For this use of τοῖος in the Odyssey cp. 15. 451.

283. ἀρημένον 'stricken,' cp. 18. 53.

286. ἄρειον 'better,' i.e. good rather than the reverse, cp. 13. 111. The word is a rare one, and is perhaps used here for the sake of the play of language which it makes with γῆρα ἀρημένον.

292. κείουσα, see on 14. 532.

296. θεσμός is a word which does not occur elsewhere in Homer. It seems here to have the sense of 'place,' 'situation': cp. the later words θήκη and θέσις.

This verse, we are told in the scholia, was pronounced by Aristophanes and Aristarchus 'the end of the Odyssey.'

αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος καὶ βουκόλος ἡδὲ συβάτης  
παῦσαν ἄρ' ὀρχηθμοῖο πῶδας, παῦσαν δὲ γυναικάς,  
αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνάζοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιδέντα.

Τὼ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν φιλότῃτος ἐταρπῆτην ἐρατεινῆς, 300  
τερπέσθην μύθοισι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνέποντε,  
ἡ μὲν δσ' ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀνέσχετο διὰ γυναικῶν,  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων ἐσορῶσ' αἰδηλον ὄμιλον,  
οἱ ἔθεν εἵνεκα πολλά, βῶας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,  
ἔσφαζον, πολλὰς δὲ πίθων ἡφύσσετο οἶνος· 305  
αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς Ὀδυσσεὺς δσα κήδε' ἔθηκεν  
ἀνθρώποις δσα τ' αὐτὸς οἰζύσας ἐμόγησε,  
πάντ' ἔλεγ'. ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐτέρπετ' ἀκούουσ', οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος  
πίπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι πάρος καταλέξαι ἅπαντα.

Ἦρξατο δ' ὡς πρῶτον Κίκονας δάμασ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα 311  
ῥλθ' ἐς Λατοφάγων ἀνδρῶν πείραν ἀρουραν  
ἡδ' δσα Κύκλωψ ἔρξε, καὶ ὡς ἀπετίσατο ποινὴν  
ἰφθίμων ἐτάρων, οὗς ἥσθιεν οὐδ' ἐλάειρεν·

306 δ om. U.

310-343 ath. Ar.

We also know that Aristarchus obelized two passages which come later, viz. 23. 310-343 and 24. 1-204. The question at once arises: how could he reject these parts of a text when he had already rejected the whole of it? Doubtless if we had the commentary of Aristarchus, the difficulty would be explained. The most obvious solution is that he distinguished (1) a continuation of the *Odyssey* by some later poet, extending from 23. 297 to the end of the 24th book and (2) two still later interpolations, viz. the two passages said to be obelized. This view, simple as it is to the modern scholar, was one which the obelus could not express. Accordingly it would seem that the condemnation of the text from 23. 297 onwards did not take the form of *ἀθέτησις*, in the strict sense of the term viz. the affixing of an obelus to the verses condemned. This was reserved for the later interpolations.

The question whether the continuation was needed in order to bring the story of the *Odyssey* to a satisfactory close is

one that can hardly be settled by discussion. The issue depends rather upon the evidence afforded by language and metre: see the notes on 23. 300, 316, 361., 24. 235 ff., 237, 240, 241, 245, 248, 286, 288, 332, 343, 360, 394, 398, 465, 497, 534, 535. Other points are noticed on 307, 368, 469, 472, 526.

300. ἐταρπῆτην. Augmented forms of the dual are rare in Homer, especially in the *Odyssey* (see Mr. Platt in the *Journ. of Phil.* xxiii. 205).

307. οἰζύσας, aor. part. because the action it expresses *coincides* with that of ἐμόγησε: cp. 14. 463., 17. 330.

310-343. This strangely prosaic summary is doubtless interpolated by a later hand,—later than the author of the continuation. It is referred to by Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 16. 8), who gives the number of lines as nearly twice the true number. The discrepancy shows that some at least of the ancient writers quoted from memory, and did not take pains to be correct in unimportant particulars.

312. ἀπετίσατο, sc. Ὀδυσσεύς, 'made him pay.'

ἡδ' ὥς Αἴολον ἴκεθ', ὃ μιν πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο  
 καὶ πέμπ', οὐδέ πω αἶσα φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι 315  
 ἦν, ἀλλὰ μιν αὖτις ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα  
 πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρεν βαρέα στενάχοντα·  
 ἡδ' ὥς Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην ἀφίκανεν,  
 οἱ νῆας τ' ὄλεσαν καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας ἐταίρους  
 [πάντας· Ὀδυσσεὺς δ' οἶος ὑπέκφυγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ]. 320  
 καὶ Κίρκης κατέλεξε δόλον πολυμηχανίην τε,  
 ἡδ' ὥς εἰς Αἶδew δόμον ἤλυθεν εὐρώεντα,  
 ψυχῇ χρησόμενος Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο,  
 νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι, καὶ εἰσίδε πάντας ἐταίρους  
 μητέρα θ', ἥ μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἔοντα· 325  
 ἡδ' ὥς Σειρήνων ἀδινάων φθογγὸν ἄκουσεν,  
 ὥς θ' ἴκετο Πλαγκτὰς πέτρας δεινὴν τε Χάρυβδι  
 Σκύλλην θ', ἣν οὐ πώ ποτ' ἀκήριοι ἄνδρες ἄλυσαν·  
 ἡδ' ὥς Ἑλίοιο βόας κατέπεφνον ἐταῖροι·  
 ἡδ' ὥς νῆα θοὴν ἔβαλε ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ 330  
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ἀπὸ δ' ἔφθιθεν ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι  
 πάντες ὁμῶς, αὐτοὺς δὲ κακὰς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἄλυσεν·  
 ὥς θ' ἴκετ' Ὀγυγίην νῆσον νύμφην τε Καλυψώ,  
 ἥ δὴ μιν κατέρυκε λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι  
 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, καὶ ἔτρεφεν ἡδὲ ἔφασκε 335  
 θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγῆρων ἤματα πάντα·  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν·  
 ἡδ' ὥς ἐς Φαίηκας ἀφίκετο πολλὰ μογήσας,

316 ἦν vulg.: εἴη Y: εἴην F al.: αἴην (for ἦν?) K. 317 βαρέα G F M X  
 al.: μεγάλας P: μεγάλα H U al. 320 is omitted in nearly all MSS. It must  
 have been unknown to Aristarchus, who counts the passage 310-343 as thirty-  
 three verses. 335 Perhaps ἡδέ 'f' ἔφασκε.

316. ἦν. This form occurs four  
 times in our text of Homer, viz. in Il.  
 11. 808 (where we can read ἦεν), Od.  
 19. 283 (read εἴη or ἦεν), and twice in  
 the continuation of the Odyssey, viz.  
 here and in 24. 343. It is clearly not  
 Homeric.

326. ἀδινάων, an epithet to be under-  
 stood in reference to the *voices* of the  
 Sirens, 'thick-coming,' 'with ever re-

sounding song.' So of the bleating of  
 calves, 10. 413 ἀδινὸν μυκάμεναι, the cry  
 of birds, 16. 216 ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' ὀλαοί,  
 &c. But the application of the adj. to  
 the Sirens themselves is not justified by  
 these instances. The author probably  
 had in his mind the passage Il. 2. 469  
 ἥντε μυιάων ἀδινάων κτλ., and may have  
 understood the word there of the cease-  
 less humming of the flies.

οἱ δὴ μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσαντο  
καὶ πέμψαν σὺν νηϊ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, 340  
χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά τε δόντες.  
τοῦτ' ἄρα δεύτατον εἶπεν ἔπος, ὅτε οἱ γλαυκὸς ὕπνος  
λυσιμελὲς ἐπόρουσε, λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ.  
'Ἢ δ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
ὀππότε δὴ ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐέλπετο δν κατὰ θυμὸν 345  
εὐνῆς ἥς ἀλόχου ταρπήμεναι ἡδὲ καὶ ὕπνου,  
αὐτίκ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ χρυσόθρονον ἡριγένειαν  
ᾠρσεν, ἴν' ἀνθρώποισι φῶς φέροι· ᾠρτο δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς  
εὐνῆς ἐκ μαλακῆς, ἀλόχῃ δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν·  
"ὦ γύναι, ἦδη μὲν πολέων κεκορήμεθ' ἀέθλων 350  
ἀμφοτέρω, σὺ μὲν ἐνθάδ' ἐμὸν πολυκηδέα νόστον  
κλαίουσ'· αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς ἄλγεσι καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
ἰέμενον πεδάσσκον ἐμῆς ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης.  
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρω πολυήρατον ἰκόμεθ' εὐνήν,  
κτῆματα μὲν τά μοι ἐστι κομιζόμεν ἐν μεγάροισι, 355  
μῆλα δ' ἃ μοι μνηστήρες ὑπερφίαλοι κατέκειραν,  
πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ληΐσσομαι, ἄλλα δ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
δώσουσ', εἰς δ' κε πάντας ἐνιπλήσωσιν ἐπαύλους.  
ἀλλ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ πολυδένδρεον ἄγρὸν ἔπειμι,  
ὀψόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλόν, ὃ μοι πυκινῶς ἀκάχηται· 360  
σοὶ δέ, γύναι, τάδ' ἐπιτέλλω πινυτῇ περ' εὔσῃ·  
αὐτίκα γὰρ φάτις εἰσιν ἅμ' ἡελίφ' ἀνιόντι  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οὓς ἔκτανον ἐν μεγάροισιν·  
εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν

348 φῶς] φῶς G: φῶς U Z.

354 ἀμφοτέρω U: ἀμφοτέροι vulg.

358 ἐπαύλους G F X U Eust.: ἐναύλους P H al. 359 ἔπειμι U Eust.: ἔπειμι vulg. 361 τάδ' G P H: τόδ' F U al. ἐπιστέλλω G, D superscr.

343. λυσιμελὲς, see on 20. 57.

345. ἐέλπετο 'was satisfied.'

δν 'his,' referring to Ulysses (not Athens, as the place of the clause leads us to expect). Cp. 21. 27 ὅς μιν . . . κατέκτανεν ὃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ. But this ambiguity, and also the awkwardness of δν κατὰ θυμόν and ἥς ἀλόχου in the same clause, indicate a non-Homeric authorship.

347. The use of the epithet ἡριγένεια (without Ἡώς) = Dawn is not found in Homer.

355. κομιζόμεν 'take in charge.'

358. ἐπαύλους 'stalls,' *stabula*.

361. ἐπιτέλλω. This scansion is in-defensible by Homeric rules.

362. φάτις . . . ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων 'story about the Suitors.' Usually the phrase means 'the talk of men.'

ἦσθαι, μηδέ τινα προτιόσσεο μηδ' ἐρέεινε.”

365

Ἦ ρα καὶ ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐδύσετο τεύχεα καλά,  
ᾧρσε δὲ Τηλέμαχον καὶ βουκόλον ἠδὲ συβώτην,  
πάντας δ' ἔντε' ἀνωγεν ἀρήϊα χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι.  
οἱ δέ οἱ οὐκ ἀπίθησαν, ἐθωρήσσοντο δὲ χαλκῷ,  
ᾧξαν δὲ θύρας, ἐκ δ' ἦϊον ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

370

Ἦδη μὲν φάος ἦεν ἐπὶ χθόνα, τοὺς δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνη  
νυκτὶ κατακρύψασα θοῶς ἐξήγε πόλῃος·

371-372. These two lines introduce the passage 24. 1-204, as to which see the note at the beginning of the 24th book. It will be evident that the division

between the books has been made in the middle of a sentence: cp. 13. 440, also 3. 497 (as explained in the note on 15. 296).



ULYSSES WITH THE OAR.

From an engraved gem (Iughirami, *Galleria Omerica*, vol. iii. 55).

# Ο Δ Τ Σ Σ Ε Ι Α Σ Ω

## Σπονδαί.

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλείτο  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· ἔχε δὲ ράβδον μετὰ χερσὶ  
 καλὴν χρυσεῖν, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει  
 ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνῶοντας ἐγείρει·  
 τῇ ρ' ἄγε κινήσας, ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσai ἔποντο.

5

4 Here one or two MSS. insert the line *τῇ μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὶς Ἀργεϊφόντης* (ll. 24. 345).

1-204. This passage, which contains the Second *Némeia* of the *Odyssey*, was rejected by Aristarchus. His objections, together with the replies to them which satisfied later grammarians, are preserved by the scholiasts, in a summary of remarkable brevity (see Sch. M.V.). The replies are often successful in showing that particular arguments are inconclusive: but the cumulative effect of the reasoning can hardly be resisted. Moreover, it is reinforced by other considerations. The most obvious is that in an epic poem such as the *Odyssey* the introduction of a second 'descent into Hades' must be, poetically speaking, a failure. The scholiasts argue that the eleventh book describes a piece of 'soothsaying by means of the dead,' while the present passage is in the full sense a 'visit to the dead' (*καὶ Νεκρομαντεῖαν μὲν ἂν τις εἰκότως τὴν Δ εἴπεν, Νέκυιαν δὲ ταύτην*). But the dialogues in the two books are similar to a degree that renders the second a frigid repetition of *motifs* already exhausted. We may add that the language shows clear traces of a later period. The objections made by Aristarchus are noticed in the notes on ll. 1, 2, 11 ff., 23, 50, 60, 63, 150;

for other traces of spuriousness see ll. 1 (*Ἑρμῆς*), 19, 28 (*πρῶτον*), 30, 52, 57, 79, 88-89, 128, 155, 158, 166, 198.

1. *Ἑρμῆς*. This contraction is doubtless post-Homeric (cp. 14. 435). The Homeric form appears in l. 10, in the phrase *Ἑρμείας ἀπάκητα*. The use of *Ἑρμείας* in that archaic phrase is no reason for attempting to correct the first line (*ψυχὰς δ' Ἑρμείας* Van Leeuwen). The old form subsists as a poetical archaism along with the new one.

*Κυλλήνιος*, as Aristarchus observed, is a post-Homeric epithet of *Hermes*. It is common in the Homeric Hymns (H. Merc. 318, &c., xvii. 1., xviii. 31). The word occurs in ll. 15. 518, not in reference to *Hermes* or Mount *Cyllene*, but as the adj. from *Κυλλήνη*, a town in *Elia*.

2. Aristarchus argues with great force that the function here attributed to *Hermes*—that of conducting souls to *Hades* (*ψυχοπομπός*)—is nowhere else mentioned in *Homer*. The passing away of life is so often described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that this argument is as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be. Compare also the contradiction pointed out in the note on 11-13.



ὥς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῶ ἄντρον θεσπεσίῳ  
 τρίζουσιν ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν  
 ὄρμαθου ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται,  
 ὥς αἱ τετριγυῖαι ἀμ' ἥϊσαν ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν  
 Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα.  
 πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε βοᾶς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,

10

8 ἀνά τ'] ἄμα τ' F M. ἔχονται] ἔπονται M.

7. ποτέονται. This form (found also in Il. 19. 357) is originally the same as the contracted ποτῶνται 'flit about' (Il. 2. 462), from ποτάονται. It does not follow, however, that we should read ποτάονται here. The form ποτέονται is Ionic, like μενοίνεον, δρύκλεον, ἤντεον, τρόπειον. The question as to the relative antiquity of this group of forms depends on the general question of the original dialect of Homer.

8. ὄρμαθου, with ἀποπέσῃσιν, 'drops off the chain, sc. of bats that are clinging together. ἐκ πέτρης 'from the rock,' so as to lose hold on the rock, to which the cluster of bats was attached.

ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται is a paratactic addition to the picture given by ὄρμαθου: '(the cluster), in which they cling to one another.'

9. τετριγυῖαι 'squeaking,' of the peculiar shrill note of the bat. The perfect is used of *sustained* sounds: cp. μεμηκώς, λεληκώς, μεμυκώς, κεκληγώς.

11-13. In this account of the way to Hades Aristarchus noticed that no heed is given to the fact that the slain Suitors were still unburied (cp. l. 187). In Il. 23. 72-73 the shade of Patroclus asks for burial, because 'the souls of the dead will not suffer him to join their company across the river.' So too Elpenor, the companion left unburied in the island of Circe, is met at the entrance of Hades, and entreats Ulysses to grant him funeral rites, without which, as we may gather—though it is not expressly said—he will not be able to pass the gates of Hades. The contradiction is plain, and, considering that the direct agency of Hermes ψυχοπομπός is hardly consistent with stories like that of Elpenor, it clearly shows that the representation in the Second *Nékuia* is inconsistent with the beliefs elsewhere to be traced in Homer.

Moreover, the localities mentioned in ll. 11-12 do not agree with other Homeric accounts, except perhaps in regard to the river Ὀκεανός. The notion that that river had to be passed appears in the former *Nékuia*, Od. 11. 157-159. In these lines—which however were rejected by Aristarchus—the mother of Ulysses says it is hard for living men to see these regions; 'for between are great rivers and fearsome streams, Oceanus first, which no man can pass on foot, but must have a good ship.' In Il. 23. 73 we hear of a river to be passed. In the Iliad generally, however, the souls go down, without delay or incident, beneath the earth. So Elpenor reaches at least the entrance of Hades quickly, Od. 11. 58 ἔφθης πεδὺς ἰὼν ἢ ἐγὼ σὺν ῥηὶ μελαίνῃ. And nothing is said of his having still to pass the Oceanus, or any river. Commentators have attempted to reconcile these passages by supposing two ways to Hades: but they are better left unreconciled. It may be worth noticing, however, that a possible trace of two such ways is to be found in the *Frgs* of Aristophanes, where Dionysos crosses the 'lake' in Charon's boat, while Xanthias goes round by land (πεδὺς).

The White Rock is only mentioned here; unless (as Van Leeuwen suggests) it appears in the *Frgs*, l. 194 παρὰ τὸν Ἀδαῖνον λίθον.

The Gates of the Sun doubtless belong to the conception of Hades which places it in the darkness of the extreme west (ζόφος, ἔρεβος). The gates are those which the sun enters at his setting, whereupon the veil of night hides him from the world.

The Land of Dreams is known from this place only. The notion which the phrase suggests is not inconsistent with the account in Od. 19. 562 ff. of the two gates out of which dreams issue.

ἦδ' ἐπὶ Ἑλίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων  
 ἦσαν· αἴψα δ' ἵκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,  
 ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων.

Εὖρον δὲ ψυχὴν Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος 15  
 καὶ Πατροκλῆος καὶ ἀμύμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο  
 Αἰαντός θ', ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἰδὸς τε δέμας τε  
 τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.  
 ὥς οἱ μὲν περὶ κείνον ὀμίλειον ἀγχιμόλον δὲ 20  
 ἦλυθ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαι  
 ἀχθυμένη· περὶ δ' ἄλλαι ἀγγεράθ', ὅσαι ἄμ' αὐτῷ  
 οἴκῳ ἐν Αἰγίσθοιο θάνον καὶ πότμον ἐπέσπον.  
 τὸν προτέρη ψυχῇ προσεφώνεε Πηλεΐωνος·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδη, περὶ μὲν σ' ἔφαμεν Διὶ τερπικεραυνῷ 25  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων φίλον ἔμμεναι ἤματα πάντα,  
 οὐνεκα πολλοῖσιν τε καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνασσεσ  
 δῆμφ' ἐνὶ Τρώων, ὅθι πάσχομεν ἀλγέ' Ἀχαιοί.

At the same time there is no reason to combine the two pictures.

The land of the Cimmerians, described in *Od.* 11. 14-19, does not re-appear in this *néma*.

It has been already remarked, in the notes on *Od.* 15. 295-298, that lines 11-12 closely resemble two lines in that passage. This is probably the result of imitation. Or there may have been a conventional formula for the land-marks passed on a voyage.

13. κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα. There was a common plant called ἀσφῶδελος (*Hes. Op.* 41 οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφῶδελῳ μέγ' ἐναιαρ), our *King's spear*, and from this name, according to the grammarians, was derived an adj. (generally made an oxytone) ἀσφῶδελός 'full of asphodel.' Hence the 'mead of asphodel' which has become a familiar image in modern poetry. It must be pointed out, however, that the rules for the formation of nouns in Greek do not allow us to make an adj. ἀσφῶδελός = 'full of ἀσφῶδελος.'

It is evidently much more probable that the adjectival use is the original one, and that the plant was so called because it had the quality (or absence of a quality) which the adj. expresses. What that quality was we are left to

conjecture. In the so-called *scholia Diāgmi* we find the note ἀκαρπον φυτόν ὁ ἀσφῶδελος. This may be a mere guess, but it suggests an explanation which has some plausibility. The 'meadow without fruit,' i.e. where there is no sowing or reaping, would not be out of place in the infernal regions. On the other hand the same word might be applied to a plant which was 'without fruit' (or was imagined to be so). We do not know that the asphodel could be so described: but it is worth noting that the root was the part which was eaten (*Theophr. H. P.* 1. 10. 7).

19. ὅς οἱ μὲν κτλ. These words come in strangely after the preceding lines. The reference of κείνον is not sufficiently clear. And the words imply that there has been a ὀμιλία—a conversation or 'consorting together'—in which Achilles was the principal figure.

23 ff. The dialogue that follows is certainly, as Aristarchus said, ἀκαίρος. It has nothing to do with the main story, and the newly arrived souls of the Suitors have to wait till it is done (l. 98). Moreover it is strange that Agamemnon should now hold such a dialogue with Achilles. It would be appropriate only if Agamemnon were himself one of the new-comers.

ἦ τ' ἄρα καὶ σοὶ πρῶϊ παραστήσεσθαι ἔμελλε  
μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὐ τις ἀλεύεται ὅς κε γένηται.  
ὥς ὀφελές τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος, ἧς περ ἄνασσεσ, 30  
δήμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων θάνατον καὶ πύτμον ἐπισπεῖν·  
τῷ κέν τοι τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοί,  
ἠδὲ κε καὶ σφ' παιδὶ μέγα κλέος ἦρ' ὀπίσσω·  
νῦν δ' ἄρα σ' οἰκτίστω θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε ψυχὴν προσεφώνεεν Ἀτρεΐδης 35  
"ὀλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιέλκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
ὅς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκὰς Ἄργεος ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἄλλοι  
κτείνοντο Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νῆες ἀριστοί,  
μαρνάμενοι περὶ σείῳ· σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κόνις 40  
κείσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.  
ἡμεῖς δὲ πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐμαρνάμεθ'· οὐδέ κε πάμπαν  
παυσάμεθα πτολέμου, εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς λαίλαπι παῦσεν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σ' ἐπὶ νῆας ἐνέικαμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο,  
κάτθεμεν ἐν λεχέεσσι, καθήραντες χροὰ καλὸν 45  
ὑδατί τε λιαρῶ καὶ ἀλείφατι· πολλὰ δέ σ' ἀμφὶ  
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέον Δαναοὶ κείραντό τε χαίτας.  
μήτηρ δ' ἐξ ἄλδς ἦλθε σὺν ἀθανάτης ἀλήσιω  
ἀγγελίης αἴουσα· βοή δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ὀρώρει  
θεσπεσίη, ὑπὸ δὲ τρόμος ἔλλαβε πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς· 50  
καὶ νύ κ' ἀναΐξαντες ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,  
εἰ μὴ ἀνὴρ κατέρυκε παλαιὰ τε πολλὰ τε εἰδώς,

28 πρῶϊ] πρῶτα G P H. 30 ἦ G<sup>1</sup>.

46 κείραντο vulg.: κείροντο U Eust.

H al.: ἦλυθε G F M J.

39 δ' ἐν F X U: δὲ G P H M al.

49 ὑπὸ G M F U: ἐπὶ P H al. ἔλλαβε

28. πρῶϊ occurs in the Iliad in the formula πρῶϊ δ' ὑπὸ τοῖσι σὺν τεύχεσι θεωρηθέντες, meaning simply 'early.' Here it is 'too early,' like πρῶς in Attic. The reading πρῶτα has good MS. support, but would not yield this sense.

29. ἀλεύεται is probably aor. subj., used after οὐ as in οὐδὲ γένηται.

30. ἧς περ ἄνασσεσ 'of which you were master.' This use of ἀνάσσω occurs also in Il. 20. 180 ἐλπίεσσι Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξειν ἱπποδάμοισι τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου,

where it seems to imply wrongful 'mastery' of what belongs to another.

39-40, = Il. 16. 775-776; where λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων is said—more appropriately—of the chariot-driver (Sittl).

50. ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας. Aristarchus objected that the Greeks were already at the ships, where they had brought the body of Achilles (l. 43 ἐπὶ νῆας). The answer seems to be that in the panic now described the Greeks rushed to their ships with the view of flight (φάβοι, l. 57): cp. Il. 2. 150 νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο.

Νέστωρ, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή·  
 δ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν  
 'ἴσχεσθ', Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ φεύγετε, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν  
 μήτηρ ἐξ ἀλδς ἦδε σὺν ἀθανάτης ἀλήσιν 55  
 ἔρχεται, οὐ παιδὸς τεθνήδτος ἀντιώσα.  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔσχοντο φόβου μεγάλθυμοι Ἀχαιοί·  
 ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἔστησαν κοῦραι ἄλθοιο γέροντος  
 οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσαν.  
 Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ 60  
 θρήνεον· ἔνθα κεν οὐ τιν' ἀδάκρυτόν γ' ἐνόησας  
 Ἀργείων· τοῖον γὰρ ὑπώρορε Μοῦσα λίγεια.  
 ἐπτά δὲ καὶ δέκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ  
 κλαίμεν ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι·  
 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομεν πυρί, πολλὰ δέ σ' ἀμφὶ 65  
 μῆλα κατεκτάνομεν μάλα πύονα καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς.  
 καίεο δ' ἐν τ' ἐσθῆτι θεῶν καὶ ἀλείφατι πολλῷ  
 καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῷ· πολλοὶ δ' ἥρωες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 τεύχεσιν ἐρρώσαντο πυρὴν πέρι καιομένοιο,  
 περὶ θ' ἱππῆές τε· πολλὸς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει. 70  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλόξ ἤνυσεν Ἑφαιστόιο,

55 σὺν] μετ' F M. 62 ὑπώρορε G H: ἐπώρορε F P M U al. 63 ἐπτακαιδεκα  
 G F. 65 πολλὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ G F P H al. 69 πέρι] πάρα F.

52. οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν κτλ. This formula is hardly appropriate here; Nestor has given no 'former counsel.'

57. It is perhaps not a mere accident that this is the only place in the *Odyssey* in which the word *φόβος* occurs.

60. On this line Aristarchus observed that it is the only Homeric passage in which the number of the Muses is given. It may be the source of the later belief. The words, however, do not necessarily mean that there were nine Muses—only that 'nine in all' now took part in the lament. Nine is a favourite number in Homer.

62. ὑπώρορε 'stirred their hearts': the preposition is especially used of *feeling*, as in the phrase *ὑφ' ἡμερον ἄρσε γόοιο*.

Μοῦσα. The change to the sing. is somewhat abrupt.

63. Aristarchus asked how the body of Achilles was kept for so many days. The scholiast plausibly says that it was by the agency of Thetis, as in the case of Patroclus. But would Homer have left this to be understood?

After ἐπτά καὶ δέκα we expect the plur. *ἡματα*. The sing. is apparently due to the common phrase *ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ*. There is in fact a kind of double use of *ἡμαρ*—'for seventeen days, night and day alike.'

68. The use of honey appears to be a trace of the practice of embalming the dead; see Helbig, *Hom. Epos*, p. 53.

69. ἐρρώσαντο, see on 23. 3. So in honour of Patroclus, *Il.* 23. 13 οἱ δὲ τῆς περὶ νεκρὸν ἐτήριχας ἤλασαν ἱπποὺς μωρομένοι.

ἦῶθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λεύκ' ὅστέ', Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 οἶνφ ἐν ἀκρήτφ καὶ ἀλείφατι· δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ  
 χρύσειον ἀμφιφορῆα· Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον  
 φάσκ' ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο· 75  
 ἐν τῷ τοι κεῖται λεύκ' ὅστέα, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μεινοιτιάδαο θανόντος,  
 χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τίες ἀπάντων  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα.  
 ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον 80  
 χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν  
 ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προύχουσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντφ,  
 ὥς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη  
 τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.  
 μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεοὺς περικαλλέ' ἀεθλα 85  
 θῆκε μέσφ ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἦδη μὲν πολέων τάφφ ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησας  
 ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποφθιμένου βασιλῆος  
 ζώννυνται τε νέοι καὶ ἐπεντύνονται ἀεθλα· 90  
 ἀλλὰ κε κείνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν θηήσας θυμῷ,  
 οἷ' ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' ἀεθλα  
 ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις· μάλα γὰρ φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν.  
 ὥς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανῶν ὄνομ' ὤλεσας, ἀλλὰ τοι αἰεὶ

83 ἄν] δς G.

σάληος] Ἀχιλλῆος P.

ἐτεθήσας Eust.: ἐτίθησα (sic) F<sup>2</sup>.

87 ἀντεβόλησας Ar. F Eust.: ἀντεβόλησα vulg.

90 θηήσας G P H M al.:

ἐτεθήσας U, v. l. ap. Eust.:

88 βα-

74. ἀμφιφορῆα, the urn in which the ashes of Patroclus were placed at his entreaty; Il. 23. 92 χρύσειος ἀμφιφορεῖς, τὸν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ. It is also called a φιάλη, see Il. 23. 243, 253.

77. Cp. the injunctions of Patroclus in Il. 23. 83.

79. The term 'εταῖρος of Achilles' is not strictly applicable to Antilochus.

80. αὐτοῖσι, see on 241, 282. In later times these three heroes had separate mounds on the Hellespont.

81. ἱερὸς στρατός, perhaps a trace of the original sense of ἱερός, viz. 'strong.' The theories as to this word put forward by W. Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 207 ff.) and Mr. Mulvany (*Journ. of Philology*,

xlix. 131) are somewhat too elaborate.

88-89. ὅτε κεν . . . ζώννυνται. In Homer ὅτε κεν usually refers to a particular future event: but there are some exceptions to the rule, see *H. G.* § 289, 2, b. In any case, however, ὅτε κεν must take the subjunctive. The form ζώννυνται has sometimes been explained as a subj. (as by Curtius, *Verb.* ii. 67); but this is against all analogy. The proper subj. would be ζωννύονται, and possibly that form should be read here. The synizesis is violent (cp. the usual scanning of Ἑνναλίφ ἀνδρείφοντες): but the fact that the form ζωννύονται cannot otherwise be brought into the hexameter is a partial excuse.

πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους κλέος ἔσσεται ἐσθλόν, Ἀχιλλεῦ·  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τί τόδ' ἦδος, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσα; 96  
ἐν νόστῳ γάρ μοι Ζεὺς μήσατο λυγρὸν δλεθρον  
Αἰγίσθου ὑπὸ χερσὶ καὶ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο."

Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
ἀγχίμολον δέ σφ' ἦλθε διάκτορος ἀργειφόντης,  
ψυχὰς μνηστήρων κατὰγων Ὀδυσσῇ δαμέντων. 100  
τὼ δ' ἄρα θαμβήσαντ' ἰθὺς κίον, ὥς ἐσιδέσθην.

ἔγνω δὲ ψυχὴ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαι  
παῖδα φίλον Μελανῆος, ἀγακλυτὸν Ἀμφιμέδοντα·  
ξείνος γάρ οἱ ἔην Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων.  
τὸν προτέρη ψυχὴ προσεφώνεεν Ἀτρεΐδαι 105

"Ἀμφιμέδον, τί παθόντες ἐρεμνὴν γαῖαν ἔδυτε  
πάντες κεκριμένοι καὶ ὁμήλικες; οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως  
κρινάμενος λέξαιτο κατὰ πτόλιν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.  
ἢ ὕμ' ἐν νήεσσι Ποσειδάων ἐδάμασσαν,  
ὕρσας ἀργαλέους ἀνέμους καὶ κύματα μακρά; 110

ἢ που ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσου  
βοῦς περιταμνομένους ἢδ' οἴων πάεα καλὰ,  
ἢ ἐπεὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενοι ἢδὲ γυναικῶν;  
εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῳ· ξείνος δέ τοι εὖχομαι εἶναι.  
ἢ οὐ μέμνη δτε κεῖσε κατήλυθον ὑμέτερον δῶ, 115  
ὀτρυνέων Ὀδυσῆα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Μενελάῳ  
Ἴλιον εἰς ἄμ' ἔπεςθαι ἐϋσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν;

95 τόδ'] τότ' G.

112 καὶ δὲ καὶ πίονας αἶγας P.

95. τί τόδ' ἦδος 'how is it now (τόδε) a pleasure?' Cp. Il. 18.80 ἀλλὰ τί μοι τὸν ἦδος; Possibly the original phrase was τί τὸ ἦδος;

97. It is only here and in the eleventh book (410, 453) that Clytemnestra is said to have taken part in the murder. Elsewhere in Homer it is ascribed to Aegisthus alone.

101. τῷ 'the two' who had spoken, viz. Achilles and Agamemnon.

104. Ἰθάκῃ ἐν. Amphimedon was host 'in Ithaca, his home,' and Agamemnon similarly in Mycenae: cp. Il.

6. 224 σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἀργεῖ μέσσω εἰμὶ, σὺ δ' ἐν Λυκίᾳ δτε κεν τῶν δῆμον ἱκώμην.

106. τί παθόντες, to be understood literally, not in the later colloquial use of τί παθὼν κτλ.

108. κρινάμενος, for κρινάμενός τις: see the note on 13. 400.

109-113, = 11. 399-403.

112. περιταμνομένους, i. e. raiding.

113. μαχεούμενοι, to be explained as merely *metri gratia* for the impossible μαχεόμενοι. The change to the nom. is also required by the metre.

μηνὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐλοῦ πάντα περήσαμεν εὐρέα πόντον,  
σπουδῇ παρπεπιθόντες Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον."

Τὸν δ' αὖτε ψυχὴ προσεφώνεεν Ἀμφιμέδοντος 120

"[Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,]  
μέμνημαι τάδε πάντα, διοτρεφέες, ὥς ἀγορεύεις·  
σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ μάλα πάντα καὶ ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω,  
ἡμετέρου θανάτοιο κακὸν τέλος, οἷον ἐτύχθη.

μνώμεθ' Ὀδυσσῆος δὴν οἰχομένοιο δάμαρτα· 125

ἢ δ' οὐτ' ἡρνεῖτο στυγερὸν γάμον οὐτ' ἐτελεύτα,  
ἡμῖν φραζομένη θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν·  
ἀλλὰ δόλον τόνδ' ἄλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμήριξε·

στησαμένη μέγαν ἱστὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὕφαινε,  
λεπτὸν καὶ περίμετρον ἄφαρ δ' ἡμῖν μετέειπε 130

· κοῦροι, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
μῖμνετ' ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰς δ' κε φᾶρος  
ἐκτελέσω, μή μοι μεταμῶνια νήματ' ὀληται,

Δαέρτη ἡρωῖ ταφήϊον, εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν  
μοῖρ' ὅλοῃ καθέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο, 135

μή τίς μοι κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιϊάδων νεμεσῇσῃ,  
αἶ κεν ἄτερ σπείρου κεῖται πολλὰ κτεατίσσας·  
ὥς ἔφαθ', ἡμῖν δ' αὖτ' ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνηρ.

ἔνθα καὶ ἡματίη μὲν ὕφαινεσκεν μέγαν ἱστὸν,  
νύκτας δ' ἀλλύεσκεν, ἐπεὶ δαΐδας παραθεῖτο. 140

ὥς τρίετες μὲν ἔληθε δόλῳ καὶ ἔπειθεν Ἀχαιοὺς·  
ἀλλ' ὅτε τέτρατον ἦλθεν ἔτος καὶ ἐπῆλυθον ὥραι,  
[μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἡματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,]  
καὶ τότε δὴ τις ἔειπε γυναικῶν, ἥ σάφα ᾗδῃ,

118 ἄρ' codd. : ἐν Ἀρ. (cp. Did. on Il. 10. 48).

124 τέλος] μόρον H al.

133 μεταμῶλια F al.

121 om. FM U.

143 om. F P H M.

118. μηνὶ οὐλοῦ 'in a whole month':  
i.e. it took just a good month.

121. This line is doubtless spurious.  
The address contained in the word  
διοτρεφέες is sufficient.

128-146, = 2. 93-110. The passage  
is also put into the mouth of Penelope  
in 19. 139-156.

128. ἄλλον has no clear meaning

here, as no δόλος has been spoken of.  
In 2. 93 it refers to the preceding  
sentence, viz. 2. 91-92 ἐπίσχεται ἀνδρὶ  
ἐκάστῳ ἀγγελίας προΐεσθαι, so that it  
means 'other than false promises'.  
Hence the present passage is shown to  
have been borrowed from the other:  
which again is probably an interpolation  
from the 19th book: see Sittl, p. 86.

καὶ τήν γ' ἀλλύουσαν ἐφεύρομεν ἀγλαὸν ἱστόν. 145  
ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐξετέλεσσε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.  
εὖθ' ἡ φᾶρος ἔδειξεν, ὑφήνασα μέγαν ἱστόν,  
πλύνασ', ἡελίφ ἐναλίγκιον ἢ σελήνῃ,  
καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα κακὸς ποθεν ἤγαγε δαίμων  
ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε συβώτης. 150  
ἔνθ' ἦλθεν φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο,  
ἐκ Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος ἰὼν σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ·  
τὼ δὲ μνηστῆρσιν θάνατον κακὸν ἀρτύναντε  
ἴκοντο προτὶ ἄστν περικλυτόν, ἥ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ὑστερος, αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος πρόσθ' ἡγεμόνευε. 155  
τὸν δὲ συβώτης ἦγε κακὰ χροῖ εἴματ' ἔχοντα,  
πτωχῷ λευγαλέφ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι  
σκηπτόμενον· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο·  
οὐδέ τις ἡμείων δύνατο γινῶναι τὸν ἐόντα  
ἐξαπίνης προφανέντ', οὐδ' οἱ προγενέστεροι ἦσαν, 160  
ἀλλ' ἐπεσὶν τε κακοῖσιν ἐνίσσομεν ἠδὲ βολῆσιν.  
αὐτὰρ ὁ τέως μὲν ἐτόλμα ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐοῖσι  
βαλλόμενος καὶ ἐνισσόμενος τετληῶτι θυμῷ·  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν ἔγειρε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο,  
σὺν μὲν Τηλεμάχῳ περικαλλέα τεύχε' αἶρας 165

147 εἶθ' vulg.: ἐνθ' P.

147-149. The incident referred to in these lines is one for which it is hard to find a place in the preceding story. Penelope, we are told, showed the finished φᾶρος to the Suitors, and we gather from the context that she at the same time confessed that she could no longer delay her marriage with one of them. Thereupon Ulysses came, and she was saved. This is not exactly the course of events in the *Odyssey* as we have it. Was there then a version in which the incident here referred to had a place—perhaps as the opening scene? The conjecture is as plausible as many that have been put forward. But the sounder conclusion surely is that discrepancies of this kind between the 24th book and the rest of the *Odyssey* do not call for special explanation.

150 ff. Aristarchus objected here that Amphimedon could not know about the meeting of Ulysses and Telemachus in the house of Eumaeus. The difficulty is hardly one that the ordinary hearer of the *Odyssey* would feel. The real objection to the passage is that it repeats what the hearer knows already.

155. ἡγεμόνευε should mean 'led the way,' not merely 'went first (in time),' as it must do here.

158. περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο is a repetition, in un-Homeric style, of the latter half of l. 156. λυγρὰ is awkward after λευγαλέφ in l. 157.

161. βολῆσιν, sc. ἐβάλλομεν, to be supplied from ἐνίσσομεν by Zeugma: cp. l. 163 βαλλόμενος καὶ ἐνισσόμενος.

165-166. Regarding this incident see the notes on 19. 1-50.



ἐς θάλαμον κατέθηκε καὶ ἐκλήϊσεν ὀχῆας,  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδείησιν ἄνωγε  
 τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολιὸν τε σιδήρον,  
 ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχήν.  
 οὐδέ τις ἡμέϊων δύνατο κρατεροῖο βιοῖο 170  
 νευρὴν ἐντανύσαι, πολλὸν δ' ἐπιδευέες ἦμεν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε χεῖρας ἴκανεν Ὀδυσσῆος μέγα τόξον,  
 ἔνθ' ἡμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὁμοκλέομεν ἐπέεσσι  
 τόξον μὴ δόμεναι, μῆδ' εἰ μάλα πόλλ' ἀγορεύοι·  
 Τηλέμαχος δέ μιν οἶος ἐποτρύνων ἐκέλευσεν. 175  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ δέξατο χεὶρὶ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ρηϊδίως δ' ἐτάνυσσε βιὸν, διὰ δ' ἦκε σιδήρου,  
 στῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, ταχέας δ' ἐκχεύατ' οἷστους  
 δεινὸν παπταίνων, βάλε δ' Ἀντίνοον βασιλῆα.  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοις ἐφίει βέλεα στονόεντα, 180  
 ἅντα τιτυσκόμενος· τοὶ δ' ἀγχιστῖνοι ἔπιπτον.  
 γνωτὸν δ' ἦν ὃ ρά τίς σφι θεῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦεν·  
 αὐτίκα γὰρ κατὰ δώματ' ἐπισπόμενοι μένεϊ σφῶ  
 κτείνον ἐπιστροφάδην, τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ' ἀεικῆς  
 κράτων τυπτομένων, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι θύεν. 185  
 ὥς ἡμεῖς, Ἀγάμεμνον, ἀπωλόμεθ', ὦν ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 σώματ' ἀκηδέα κείται ἐνὶ μεγάροις Ὀδυσῆος·  
 οὐ γὰρ πω ἴσασι φίλοι κατὰ δώμαθ' ἐκάστου,  
 οἳ κ' ἀπονίψαντες μέλανα βρότον ἐξ ὠτειλέων  
 κατθέμενοι γοάοιεν· ὃ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων." 190  
 Τὸν δ' αὖτε ψυχὴν προσεφώνεεν Ἀτρεΐδαι·

180 ἐφίει] ἀφίει F M J.  
needed for the construction.

182 ὅτι ρά σφι P, perhaps rightly, since τις is not  
183 σφῶ] σφῶν F U al.

166. ἐκλήϊσεν ὀχῆας would naturally mean 'shut the door of the θάλαμος.' But it may be due to imperfect recollection of 19.30 κλήϊσεν δὲ θύρας μεγάρων,—words which refer to the closing of the door on the women servants.

167-169. This is a slightly inaccurate or at least incomplete version. Penelope first proposed the τόξον θέσις (19.572),

and Ulysses urged her to carry it out. The discrepancy has been much insisted upon by modern scholars, as pointing to the existence of a different form of the story: but surely it is not one upon which any conclusion can be founded. Cp. the note on 147-149.

184-185, = 22.308-309.

190. κατθέμενοι 'placing on biers,' 'laying out.'

“ Ὀλβιε Λαέρταο πάϊ, πολυμήχαν’ Ὀδυσσεύ,  
 ἥ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτίσω ἀκοιτίν  
 ὥς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
 κούρῃ Ἰκαρίου, ὥς εὖ μέμνητ’ Ὀδυσῆος, 195  
 ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου. τῷ οἱ κλέος οὐ παρ’ ὀλεῖται  
 ἥς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ’ ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν  
 ἀθάνατοι χαρίεσσιν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,  
 οὐχ ὥς Τυνδαρέου κούρῃ κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,  
 κουριδίον κτείνασα πόσιν, στυγερὴ δέ τ’ ἀοιδὴ 200  
 ἔσσετ’ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει  
 θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ’ εὐεργὸς ἔρσιν.”

“Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
 ἔσταδ’ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοις, ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης  
 οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαν, τάχα δ’ ἀγρὸν ἵκοντο 205  
 καλὸν Λαέρταο τετυγμένον, ὃν ῥά ποτ’ αὐτὸς  
 Λαέρτης κτεάτισσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πῶλλ’ ἐμόγησεν.  
 ἔνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔην, περὶ δὲ κλίσιον θέε πάντη,  
 ἐν τῷ σιτέσκοντο καὶ ἱζανον ἡδὲ ἱανον  
 δμῶες ἀναγκαῖοι, τοῖ οἱ φίλα ἐργάζοντο. 210

194 ἀμύμονι] ἐχέφρονι F U.

201 δέ τε F U : δ’ ἐν P H M al.

193. σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ‘with a dower of noble gifts.’ The ἀρετῇ of Penelope includes all her qualities of character and person: cp. l. 197, also such phrases as 2. 206 εἴνεκα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐριδαινόμεν. Here the especial meaning of the word appears in the next clause ὅτι ἀγαθαὶ φρένες κτλ. (ὡς being = ὅτι οὕτως). Note that σὺν is especially used of an accompaniment or attendant circumstance: σὺν ἔντεσι, σὺν ἱπποῖσιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν, σὺν θυέσσαι (Il. 6. 270), Ζεφύρος σὺν λαίλαπι (Od. 12. 408), &c.

198. Πηνελοπείῃ, with τεύξουσι, ‘will make for, in honour of, Penelope.’ Both proposed to read ἐχέφρονα Πηνελόπειαν, so that ἀοιδὴν would be = ‘matter of song,’ as ἀοιδὴ in l. 200, and in 8. 580 ἵνα ᾗσι καὶ ἰσοσόμενοι ἀοιδῇ. But the succession of accusatives—χαρίεσσιν ἐχέφρονα Πηνελόπειαν—would be very harsh.

χαρίεσσιν ‘pleasing,’ the opposite

of στυγερὴ ἀοιδὴ (l. 200). The place of the word in the sentence is not quite Homeric. If an epithet is added in the following line it regularly begins the line.

205. οἱ δέ, viz. Ulysses, &c. The story is continued from 23. 370.

τάχα δ’, apodosis.

207. μάλα πῶλλ’ ἐμόγησεν ‘had toiled much,’ viz. in making the farm, —bringing the land into cultivation, building, &c. So in l. 388 Dolius and his sons return ἐξ ἔργων μογέοντες. The land, having thus been won from the waste (the γῆ ἀκλήρως τε καὶ ἀκίττος of H. Ven. 123), was a τέμενος or separate possession of Laertes: hence κτεάτισσας (see a paper by Mr. Ridgeway, J. H. S. vi. 319 ff.).

208. οἶκος, the chief room, answering to the μέγαρον of a palace: while the κλίσιον, ‘a shed’ or ‘cottage,’ took the place of the series of θάλαμοι.

ἐν δὲ γυνή Σικελὴ γρη῏ς πέλεν, ἥ βα γέροντα  
 ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ, νόσφι πόδης.  
 ξυθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δμῶεσσι καὶ νιέϊ μῦθον ξειπεν·  
 “ὅμεις μὲν νῦν ἔλθετ' ἐυκτίμενον δόμον εἴσω,  
 δειπνον δ' αἶψα συῶν ἱερεύσατε ὅς τις ἀριστος·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πατρὸς πειρήσομαι ἡμετέριοι,  
 αἶ κέ μ' ἐπιγνώῃ καὶ φράσσεται ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
 ἥε κεν ἀγνοῖῃσι πολλὸν χρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐντα.”

215

ἌΩς εἰπὼν δμῶεσσιν ἀρήϊα τεύχε' ἔδωκεν.  
 οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα δόμονδε θοῶς κίον, αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἄσπον ἱεν πολυκάρπου ἀλῶης πειρητίζων.  
 οὐδ' εὔρεν Δολίον, μέγαν ὄρχατον ἐσκαταβαίνων,  
 οὐδέ τινα δμῶων οὐδ' υἱέων· ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε  
 αἵμασιδὰς λέξοντες ἀλῶης ἔμμεναι ἔρκος  
 ᾗχοντ', αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι γέρων ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευε.  
 τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὔρεν ἐυκτιμένη ἐν ἀλῶῃ,  
 λιστρεύοντα φυτὸν· ῥυπύωντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα  
 ῥαπτὸν ἀεικέλιον, περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας  
 κνημίδας ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτὺς ἀλεείνων,  
 χειρῖδ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ βάτων ἕνεκ'· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν  
 αἰγείην κυνέην κεφαλῇ ἔχε, πένθος ἀέξων.  
 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 γήραϊ τειρόμενον, μέγα δὲ φρεσὶ πένθος ἔχοντα,  
 στὰς ἄρ' ὑπὸ βλωθρὴν ὄγχνην κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβε.

220

225

230

217 ἐπιγνοῖη vulg., corrected by Hermann: ἐτι γνοῖη Z, conj. Voss.

223 υἱέων MSS.: υἱῶν Wolf, Bekk. 227 ῥυπύωντα F. 231 ἀργεῖον P Y.

211. Σικελή. We have already heard of the Σικελοί as buyers of slaves (20. 383).

215. δειπνον, predicative, 'for our dinner.'

219. τεύχε' ἔδωκεν 'gave the arms,' which he had put on (23. 366). The servants were to take them into the house.

221. πειρητίζων 'in his inquiries,' cp. l. 216 πατρὸς πειρήσομαι.

224. αἵμασιδὰς λέξοντες, see on 18. 359.

225. γέρων, sc. Dolius.

227. λιστρεύοντα 'digging about,' from λίστρον (22. 455): cp. also l. 242 δμυελάχαινα.

229. κνημίδας 'greaves' or 'gaiters.' The greaves worn as armour were not materially different, and served chiefly to protect the shins against the edge of the great shield.

γραφτὺς, acc. plur. of γραπτὺς 'scratch.' 230. χειρῖδ' from χεῖρ, apparently on the analogy of κνημίδες.

231. πένθος ἀέξων 'cherishing his sorrow': said to explain the rudeness of his attire.

μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν 235  
 κύσσαι καὶ περιφῶναι ἔδν πατέρ', ἥδ' ἑκάστα  
 εἰπεῖν, ὥς ἔλθοι καὶ ἴκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 ἥ πρῶτ' ἐξερέοιτο ἑκάστα τε πειρήσαιο.  
 ὦδ' οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,  
 πρῶτον κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι. 240  
 τὰ φρονέων ἰθὺς κίεν αὐτοῦ διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν κατέχων κεφαλὴν φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινε·  
 τὸν δὲ παριστάμενος προσεφώνεε φαίδιμος υἱός·  
 "ὦ γέρον, οὐκ ἀδαημονίῃ σ' ἔχει ἀμφιπολεύειν  
 ὄρχατον, ἀλλ' εὖ τοι κομιδὴ ἔχει, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν, 245  
 οὐ φυτὸν, οὐ συκὴν, οὐκ ἄμπελος, οὐ μὲν ἐλαίη,  
 οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή τοι ἀνευ κομιδῆς κατὰ κῆπον.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ μὴ χόλον ἔνθεο θυμῷ·  
 αὐτόν σ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἅμα γῆρας  
 λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμεῖς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι. 250  
 οὐ μὲν ἀεργίης γε ἀναξ' ἔνεκ' οὐ σε κομίζει,  
 οὐδέ τί τοι δούλειον ἐπιπρέπει εἰσοράσθαι  
 εἶδος καὶ μέγεθος· βασιλῆϊ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.  
 τοιοῦτ' οὖν δὲ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,

235-240. This passage is evidently modelled on *IO.* 151-154. Note (1) the conventional lines 235 = *IO.* 151 and 239 = *IO.* 153, (2) the constr. of *μερμήριζω* with the inf. in place of the usual *ἦ*—*ἦ* and an opt., and (3) *πρῶτον* in l. 240 answering to *πρῶτα* in *IO.* 154. There is the difference that in this place a second alternative is inserted, introduced by *ἦ* and the opt., thus giving the extremely harsh form *μερμήριξε . . . κύσσαι καὶ περιφῶναι . . . ἦ ἐξερέοιτο* for 'debated whether he should kiss and embrace, or should ask.'

237. *ὥς ἔλθοι κτλ.* The opt. in *oratio obliqua* is a post-Homeric construction.

240. *ἐπέεσσιν.* This is the only instance in the *Odyssey* of *ν* ἐφ. forming position in the fourth thesis of the hexameter. It is also the only real exception to the rule that a short vowel

cannot be lengthened by position in that part of the line. See the discussion in the *Class. Rev.* xi. 28, 29, 151-154.

241. *αὐτοῦ.* The use of the oblique cases of *αὐτός* where no emphasis is intended seems to be post-Homeric: cp. l. 80 and l. 282.

245. *εὖ ἔχει.* The only instance in Homer of this phrase, afterwards so common.

247. The synzesis is hardly to be paralleled in Homer.

248. An adaptation—almost a parody—of the conventional *ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν.*

252. *δούλειον*, evidently an adjective, used as a predicate with *ἐπιπρέπει*—'shows like a slave.' Thus the whole sentence means that the form and stature of Laertes did not strike the beholder as at all answering to his slave-like dress and employment.

εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς· ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων. 255  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,  
 τεῦ δμῶς εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τεῦ δ' ὄρχατον ἀμφιπολεύεις;  
 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ,  
 εἰ ἐτεόν γ' Ἰθάκην τήνδ' ἰκόμεθ', ὥς μοι ξειπεν 260  
 οὔτος ἀνὴρ νῦν δὴ ξυμβλήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰόντι,  
 οὗ τι μάλ' ἀρτίφρων, ἐπεὶ οὐ τόλμησεν ἕκαστα  
 εἰπεῖν ἢδ' ἐπακουσαι ἐμὸν ἔπος, ὥς ἐρέεινον  
 ἀμφὶ ξείνῳ ἐμῷ, ἥ που ζῶει τε καὶ ἔστιν,  
 ἥ ἤδη τέθνηκε καὶ εἰν Ἀῖδαο δόμοισιν.  
 ἐκ γάρ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μευ ἄκουσον 265  
 ἀνδρα ποτ' ἐξείνισσα φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ  
 ἡμέτερόνδ' ἐλθόντα, καὶ οὐ πῶ τις βροτὸς ἄλλος  
 ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα·  
 εὐχετο δ' ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος ἔμμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἔφασκε 270  
 Λαέρτην Ἀρκεισιδάδην πατέρ' ἔμμεναι αὐτῷ.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς δώματ' ἄγων ἐὺ ἐξείνισσα,  
 ἐνδυκέως φιλέων, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον ἐόντων,  
 καὶ οἱ δῶρα πόρον ξεινήϊα, οἷα ἐφκει.  
 χρυσοῦ μὲν οἱ δῶκ' εὐεργέος ἐπὶ τὰ τάλαντα,  
 δῶκα δέ οἱ κρητῆρα πανάργυρον ἀνθεμύεντα, 275  
 δώδεκα δ' ἀπλοῖδας χλαίνας, τόσσους δὲ τάπητας,  
 τόσσα δὲ φάρεα καλά, τόσσους δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι χιτῶνας,  
 χωρὶς δ' αὐτε γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας  
 τέσσαρας εἰδαλίμας, ἃς ἤθελεν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι."  
 Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυον εἵβων 280  
 "ξείν', ἥ τοι μὲν γαίαν ἰκάνεις ἣν ἐρεείνεις,

263 ἡ του] εἰ που MSS.  
F D U al.

266 ἐν F D U: ἐνὶ P M al.

278 ἀμύμονας

255. εὐδέμεναι, inf. after τοιοῦτος  
'one qualified to &c.'

ἡ may be either the article or the  
relative pronoun (ἥ): cp. l. 190 δ γὰρ  
γέρας ἐστὶ θανάτων.

δίκη combines the notions of custom  
and right—notions not distinguished in  
primitive law and morals.

260. οὔτος is deictic: it denotes an  
imaginary man of whom he affects to  
have made inquiry.

261. τόλμησεν, 'took heart of grace':  
cp. ll. 1. 543 τέτληκας εἰπεῖν ἔπος.

268. See the note on l. 351.

271-272 = 19. 194-195.

274-275 = 9. 202-203.

ὕβρισταὶ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσι.  
 δῶρα δ' ἐτώσια ταῦτα χαρίζεο, μυρὶ' ὑπάζων·  
 εἰ γάρ μιν ζῶν γ' ἐκίχεις Ἰθάκης ἐνὶ δῆμῳ,  
 τῷ κέν σ' εὖ δώροισιν ἀμειψάμενος ἀπέπεμψε 285  
 καὶ ξενίῃ ἀγαθῇ· ἡ γὰρ θέμις, ὅς τις ὑπάρξῃ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως καταλέξον,  
 πόστον δὴ ἔτος ἐστίν, ὅτε ξείνισσας ἐκείνων  
 σὸν ξείνον δύστηνον, ἐμὸν παῖδ', εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε,  
 δύσμορον; ὃν που τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης 290  
 ἡέ που ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες, ἡ ἐπὶ χέρσου  
 θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ γένητ'. οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ  
 κλαῦσε περιστείλασα πατὴρ θ', οἳ μιν τεκόμεσθα,  
 οὐδ' ἄλοχος πολύδωρος, ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 κῶκυς' ἐν λεχέεσσιν ἐδὼν πόσιν, ὥς ἐπέφκει, 295  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς καθελούσα· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.  
 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ·  
 τίς πρόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πρόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;  
 ποῦ δαὶ νηὺς ἔστηκε βοή, ἡ σ' ἤγαγε δεῦρο  
 ἀντιθέους θ' ἐτάρους; ἡ ἔμπορος εἰλήλουθας 300  
 νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, οἳ δ' ἐκβήσαντες ἔβησαν;"

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.  
 εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀλύβαντος, ὅθι κλυτὰ δώματα ναίω,  
 υἱὸς Ἀφείδαντος Πολυπημονίδαο ἀνακτος· 305

284 εἰ F M al.: οὐ P H U al. 287 κατάλεξον] ἀγόρευσον H al. 295 ἐδὼν]  
 φίλον F. 299 δαὶ D L W: δαὶ οἳ P: δὲ F H M Eust.: δὴ U M<sup>a</sup>.

282. αὐτὴν, see on l. 241.

286. ξενίῃ used as a substantive is only found in this book, here and in l. 314. For the quantity of the first syllable see on l. 389 (crit. note).

ἡ γὰρ κτλ., see on l. 255.

ὕπάρξῃ 'takes the first step,' is first in the exchange of hospitality. This use of ὑπάρχω is distinctively Attic. In Homer the simple ἀρχω sometimes has this sense: as Il. 2. 378 ἐγὼ δ' ἤρχον χαλεπαίνων.

288. ἐκείνος is rare in Homer, but common in this book (cp. 312, 437).

289. εἰ ποτ' ἔην γε, see on l. 5. 268.

293. περιστυ(λα)σα 'dressing up' (in the funeral robes).

299. δαί. On this particle see the critical note on l. 225.

304-306. Of these fictitious names Πολυπημονίδης may refer to Laertes and Ulysses as 'much-suffering' heroes. Or it may be suggested by their ancestral riches (from πολυπᾶμων, with hyper-Ionic η for α): cp. Ἀφείδας = 'unsparing.' Ἐπήριτος, from ἐρίς, is perhaps an allusion to the meaning of the name Ὀδυσσεύς (see 19. 407 ff.).

αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ' ὄνομ' ἐστὶν Ἐπήριτος· ἀλλὰ με δαίμων  
 πλάγξ' ἀπὸ Σικανίης δεῦρ' ἐλθέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα·  
 νηὺς δέ μοι ἦδ' ἔστηκεν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πύλλης.  
 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσῆϊ τόδε δὴ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐστίν,  
 ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβη καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθε πάτρης,  
 δῦσμορος· ἥ τέ οἱ ἐσθλοὶ ἔσαν δρυνίθες ἰόντι,  
 δεξιόι, οἷς χαίρων μὲν ἐγὼν ἀπέπεμπον ἐκείνων,  
 χαῖρε δὲ κείνος ἰών· θυμὸς δ' ἔτι νῶϊν ἐώλπει  
 μίξεσθαι ξενίῃ ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν."

310

Ἦς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα·

315

ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν  
 χεύατο κακ' κεφαλῆς πολιῆς, ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων.

τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμός, ἀνὰ ῥίνας δέ οἱ ἦδη  
 δριμύ μένος προὔτυψε φίλον πατέρ' εἰσορόωντι.

κύσσε δέ μιν περιφῶς ἐπιάλμενος ἠδὲ προσηύδα·

320

"κείνος μὲν τοι ὁδ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, πάτερ, ὃν σὺ μεταλλάξας  
 ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν."

ἀλλ' ἴσχεο κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε δακρυβέντος.

ἐκ γάρ τοι ἐρέω μάλα δὲ χρή σπενδόμεν ἔμψης·

μνηστῆρας κατέπεφνον ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι,

325

λάβῃην τινύμενος θυμαλγέα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Λαέρτης ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε·

"εἰ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεύς γε ἐμὸς παῖς ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις,

σῆμά τί μοι νῦν εἰπὲ ἀριφραδές, ὄφρα πεποῖθαι."

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

"οὐλήν μὲν πρῶτον τήνδε φράσαι ὀφθαλμοῖσι,

331

τὴν ἐν Παρνησῷ μ' ἔλασεν σὺς λευκῷ ὀδόντι

οἰχόμενον, σὺ δέ με προΐεις καὶ πότνια μήτηρ

322 ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ U: ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ vulg., see on 16. 206.

307. Σικανίη is nowhere else mentioned in Homer.

314. μίξεσθαι κτλ. 'that we would meet again as host and guest, and give (each other) splendid gifts.' According to ancient manners the host in each case would be the giver.

319. μένος 'passion,' in this case strong affection and pity.

προὔτυψε 'dashed forward,' cp. the similar metaphor, Il. 1. 291 προθέουσιν ὀρεῖδρα μυθήσασθαι.

332. μ' is misplaced: so μοι in l. 336, σε in l. 337, τοι in l. 247.

ἐς πατέρ' Αὐτόλυκον μητρὸς φίλον, ὅφρ' ἀνελοίμην  
 δῶρα, τὰ δεῦρο μολῶν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν. 335  
 εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ δένδρε' εὐκτιμένην κατ' ἄλωην  
 εἶπω, ἃ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν σε ἕκαστα  
 παιδὸν ἐών, κατὰ κήπον ἐπισπόμενος· διὰ δ' αὐτῶν  
 ἰκνεύμεσθα, σὺ δ' ὀνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες ἕκαστα.  
 ὕγχνας μοι δῶκας τρισκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας, 340  
 συκέας τεσσαράκοντ'· ὄρχους δέ μοι ᾧδ' ὀνόμηνας  
 δώσειν πεντήκοντα, διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος  
 ἦην· ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,  
 ὀππότε δὴ Διὸς ὦραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθεν."

Ὡς φάτο, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λῦτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ,  
 σήματ' ἀναγνόντος τά οἱ ἔμπεδα πέφραδ' Ὀδυσσεύς 346  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ βάλε πῆχες· τὸν δὲ ποτὶ οἷ  
 εἶλεν ἀποψύχοντα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ρ' ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη,  
 ἔξαυτις μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε· 350  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ρα ἔτ' ἐστὲ θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
 εἰ ἐτεὸν μνηστῆρες ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔτισαν.  
 νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δειδοῖκα κατὰ φρένα μὴ τάχα πάντες  
 ἐνθάδ' ἐπέλθωσιν Ἰθακήσιοι, ἀγγελίας δὲ  
 πάντῃ ἐποτρύνωσι Κεφαλλήνων πολέεσσι." 355

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς  
 "θάρσει, μὴ τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῆσι μελόντων.  
 ἀλλ' ἴομεν προτὶ οἶκον, ὃς ὀρχάτου ἐγγύθι κεῖται·

334 ὅφρ' ἀνελοίμην P al.: ὅφρ' ἂν ἐλοίμην vulg.  
 117 ἀέθλια κάλ' ἀνελέσθαι, Il. 23. 823.  
 358 ὃς F U: ἱν' P H M al.

349 ἔμπνυτο Ar. (5.458):  
 353 τάχα F U: ἄμα P H M al.

334. ἀνελοίμην. The verb is used of carrying off anything as a prize: 21. 117 ἀέθλια κάλ' ἀνελέσθαι, Il. 23. 823.

341. ἔδω· 'just,' 'as I tell you,' see on 17. 447. 544.

ὀνόμηνας 'didst promise.'

343. ἦην, see the note on 23. 316.

344. ἐπιβρίσειαν. The opt. cannot be explained, unless we can look upon it as connecting the clause with the past tenses

of the narrative, δῶκας, ὀνόμηνας, &c. If so, the words ἐνθα . . . ἔασιν are parenthetical. On this view, however, the arrangement of the clauses is very unsatisfactory.

348. εἶλεν. Hartmann's conjecture εἶλεν (or ἔλκεν) is not improbable: cp. Il. 11. 239 ἔλκε' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμῶς.

355. Κεφαλλήνων, see on 20. 210.



ἐνθα δὲ Τηλέμαχον καὶ βουκόλον ἡδὲ συβώτην  
προὔπεμψ', ὥς ἂν δεῖπνον ἐφοπλίσσωσι τάχιστα." 360

ᾧ δ' αὖ φωνήσαντε βάτην πρὸς δώματα καλά.  
οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκοντο δόμους εὐ ναιετάοντας,  
εὖρον Τηλέμαχον καὶ βουκόλον ἡδὲ συβώτην  
ταμνομένους κρέα πολλὰ κερώντας τ' αἶθροπα οἶνον.

Τόφρα δὲ Λαέρτην μεγαλήτορα φ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ 365  
ἀμφίπολος Σικελὴ λούσεν καὶ χρίσεν ἐλαίῳ,  
ἀμφὶ δ' αὖρα χλαῖναν καλὴν βάλεν αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη  
ἄγχι παρισταμένη μέλ' ἤλδανε ποιμένι λαῶν,  
μείζονα δ' ἢ πάρος καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ιδέσθαι.  
ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ· θαύμαζε δέ μιν φίλος νῆος, 370  
ὥς ἴδεν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐναλγέκιον ἄντην·  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
"ὦ πάτερ, ἦ μάλα τίς σε θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων  
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε ἀμείνονα θῆκεν ιδέσθαι."

Τὸν δ' αὖ Λαέρτης πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦνδ' αὖ 375  
"αἱ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλόνι,  
οἷος Νήρικον εἶλον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
ἀκτὴν ἡπείροιο, Κεφαλλήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων,  
τοῖος ἐὼν τοι χθιζὸς ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι,  
τεύχε' ἔχων ὅμοισιν, ἐφειστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν 380  
ἄνδρας μνηστήρας· τῷ κε σφέων γούνατ' ἔλυσα  
πολλῶν ἐν μεγάροισι, σὺ δὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἐγῆθεις."

ᾧ δ' οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον.  
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,  
ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε. 385

370 ἐκ δ'] ἐκ ρ' vulg.

382 ἐγῆθεις] ἰάνθη Eust.

360. προὔπεμψα, the only Homeric instance of a compound of πρὸ in which we cannot write the uncontracted form προ-.

368. This transfiguration of Laertes is an awkward imitation of the similar changes wrought on Ulysses in the course of the story: cp. 18. 70.

378. Κεφαλλήνεσσιν, cp. l. 355. So in the Catalogue (II. 2. 631) Ulysses is the leader of the Κεφαλλῆνες.

380. ἐφειστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν. The infinitive of *νίκη* is found here and in 7. 311. It is allied to the use of the inf. as an imperative.

ἔνθ' οἱ μὲν δείπνῳ ἐπεχείρεον· ἀγχιμόλον δὲ  
 ἦλθ' ὁ γέρον Δολίος, σὺν δ' υἱεῖς τοῖο γέροντος,  
 ἐξ ἔργων μογέοντες, ἐπεὶ προμολούσα κάλεσσε  
 μήτηρ, γρηῦς Σικελή, ἣ σφεας τρέφε καὶ βα γέροντα  
 ἐνδυκῶς κομέεσκεν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γῆρας ἔμαρψεν. 390  
 οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν Ὀδυσῆα ἴδον φράσσαντό τε θυμῷ,  
 ἔσταν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι τεθηπότες· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 μελιχίοις ἐπέεσσι καθαπτόμενος προσέειπεν·

“ὦ γέρον, ἴξ' ἐπὶ δείπνον, ἀπεκλεάθεσθε δὲ θάμβευς·  
 δηρὸν γὰρ σίτῳ ἐπιχειρήσειν μεμαῶτες 395  
 μίμνομεν ἐν μεγάροις, ὕμέας ποτιδέγμενοι αἰεῖ.”

Ἦς ἄρ' ἔφη, Δολίος δ' ἰθὺς κίε χεῖρε πετάσσας  
 ἀμφοτέρας, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ λαβὼν κύσε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ νόστησάς ἐλδομένοισι μάλ' ἡμῖν 400  
 οὐδ' ἔτ' οἰομένοισι, θεοὶ δέ σε ἡγαγον αὐτοί,  
 οὐδέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὀλβια δοῖεν.  
 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ,  
 ἣ ἤδη σάφα οἶδε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια  
 νοστήσαντά σε δεῦρ', ἣ ἄγγελον ὀτρύνωμεν.” 405

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “ὦ γέρον, ἤδη οἶδε· τί σε χρὴ ταῦτα πένεσθαι;”

Ἦς φάθ', ὁ δ' αὖτις ἄρ' ἕξετ' ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου.  
 ὧς δ' αὐτως παῖδες Δολίου κλυτὸν ἄμφ' Ὀδυσῆα  
 δεικανόωντ' ἐπέεσσι καὶ ἐν χεῖρεσσι φύοντο, 410

402 μάλα F U al., cp. μάλα χαῖρε in Od. 8. 413, Hom. H. Cer. 225: μέγα P H M, cp. H. Apoll. 466 οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε. The two forms are evidently both very ancient.

386. ἐπεχείρεον 'set hands to,' cp. 1. 395: the word does not occur elsewhere in Homer.

389. γέροντα, apparently Laertes: cp. 1. 211 ἐν δὲ γρηῖ Σικελῇ γρηῖς πέλει, ἣ βα γέροντα ἐνδυκῶς κομέεσκεν. The editors generally take the word of Dolius, as in 1. 387. But the poet seems to be repeating here his description of the γρηῖς Σικελῇ, given in 211-212.

394. θάμβευς. This contraction is

not Homeric: see *H. G.* § 105, 3.

398. Ὀδυσσεύς, for Ὀδυσῆος, is certainly not a Homeric form.

χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ is a phrase that is hardly in place here.

402. οὐδέ is probably imper. of a verb οὐλώ, of which a trace remains in Strabo, p. 635 τὸ γὰρ οὐλεῖν ὑγιαίνειν.

410. φύοντο, used in imitation of the Homeric formula ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ φύ χεῖρσι κτλ.

ἐξείης δ' ἔζοντο παραὶ Δολίον, πατέρα σφόν.

ᾧς οἱ μὲν περὶ δεῖπνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πένοντο·  
 Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πτόλιν ᾗχετο πάντη,  
 μνηστήρων στυγερὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἐνέπουσα.  
 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὁμῶς αἰόντες ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος 415  
 μυχμῶ τε στοναχῇ τε δόμων προπάροιθ' Ὀδυσῆος,  
 ἐκ δὲ νέκυς οἴκων φόρεον καὶ θάπτον ἕκαστοι,  
 τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἀλλάνων πολίων οἰκόνδε ἕκαστον  
 πέμπον ἄγειν ἀλιεύσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ τιθέντες·  
 αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς ἀγορὴν κίον ἀθρόοι, ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ. 420  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο,  
 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐπείθης ἀνά θ' ἴστατο καὶ μετέειπε·  
 παιδὸς γάρ οἱ ἄλαστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πένθος ἔκειτο,  
 Ἀντινόου, τὸν πρῶτον ἐνήρατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 τοῦ δ' γε δάκρυ χέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν· 425  
 “ὦ φίλοι, ἧ μέγα ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὕδρ' ἐμήσατ' Ἀχαιοῦς·  
 τοὺς μὲν σὺν νήεσσιν ἄγων πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς  
 ὤλεσε μὲν νῆας γλαφυράς, ἀπὸ δ' ὤλεσε λαοὺς,  
 τοὺς δ' ἐλθὼν ἔκτεινε Κεφαλλήνων δ' ἄριστους.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, πρὶν τοῦτον ἢ ἐς Πύλον ὦκα ἰκέσθαι 430  
 ἢ καὶ ἐς Ἥλιδα διάν, ὅθι κρατεύουσιν Ἐπειοί,  
 ἴομεν· ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα κατηφέες ἐσσόμεθ' αἰεὶ·  
 λάβη γὰρ τάδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι,  
 εἰ δὴ μὴ παίδων τε κασιγνήτων τε φονῆας·  
 τισόμεθ'. οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἡδὺ γένοιτο 435  
 ζῶμεν, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θανὼν φθιμένοισι μετείην.  
 ἀλλ' ἴομεν, μὴ φθέωσι περαιωθέντες ἐκεῖνοι.”

411 σφόν H: σφῶν F P M U al.

P U: ἕκαστον L W U<sup>2</sup>.

ἐμήσατ' H. Ἀχαιοῖς L W Eust.

417 οἴκου Vind. 5. ἕκαστοι vulg.: ἕκαστος

418 ἕκαστον U<sup>2</sup> L W: ἕκαστος F P H M.

426 δ γ'

429 δ' ἄριστους] ἐνὶ δῆμῳ P Y.

415. ὁμῶς, with ἐφοίτων: 'they when they heard with one consent took their way &c.'

419. ἀλιεύσι 'with seamen,' the comitative use of the dat. plur.: cp. Il. 16. 671 πέμπε δέ μιν πομπόισιν ἄμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι.

426. ὅδε. Some editors write δ γε,

on the ground that Ulysses is not present. But ἀνὴρ δ γε for 'this man' is not found in Homer: Od. 1. 403 μὴ γὰρ δ γ' ἐλθοὶ ἀνὴρ δς τις κτλ. is not a real parallel.

Ἀχαιοῦς. The double acc. is Homeric: cp. Il. 10. 52 κατὰ μήσατ' Ἀχαιοῖς, also Il. 22. 395., 23. 24.

Ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, οἶκτος δ' ἔλε πάντας Ἀχαιούς.  
 ἀγχιμόλον δέ σφ' ἦλθε Μέδων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς  
 ἐκ μεγάρων Ὀδυσῆος, ἐπεὶ σφεας ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν, 440  
 ἔσταν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι· τάφος δ' ἔλεν ἄνδρα ἑκαστον.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Μέδων πεπνυμένα εἰδώς·  
 “κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μευ, Ἴθακήσιοι· οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἀθανάτων ἀέκητι θεῶν τάδε μῆσατο ἔργα·  
 αὐτὸς ἐγὼν εἶδον θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς ῥ' Ὀδυσῆος 445  
 ἐγγύθεν ἐστήκει καὶ Μέντορι πάντα ἐφίκει.  
 ἀθάνατος δὲ θεὸς τοτὲ μὲν προπάροιθ' Ὀδυσῆος  
 φαίνεται θαρσύνων, τοτὲ δὲ μνηστῆρας ὀρίων  
 θῦνε κατὰ μέγαρον· τοὶ δ' ἀγχιστῖνοι ἐπιπτον.”

Ὡς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἄρα πάντας ὑπὸ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε γέρων ἥρως Ἀλιθέρης 451  
 Μαστορίδης· ὁ γὰρ οἶος δρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω·  
 ὃ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε·  
 “κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μευ, Ἴθακήσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·  
 ὑμετέρῃ κακότητι, φίλοι, τάδε ἔργα γέγοντο· 455  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθ', οὐ Μέντορι ποιμένι λαῶν,  
 ὑμετέρους παῖδας καταπαυέμεν ἀφροσυνάων,  
 οἱ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξαν ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσι,  
 κτήματα κείροντες καὶ ἀτιμάζοντες ἄκοιτιν  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος· τὸν δ' οὐκέτι φάντο νέεσθαι. 460  
 καὶ νῦν ὧδε γένοιτο· πίθεσθέ μοι ὥς ἀγορεύω·  
 μὴ ἴομεν, μὴ πού τις ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν εὕρη.”

Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀνήϊξαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ  
 ἡμίσεων πλείους· τοὶ δ' ἀθρόοι αὐτόθι μείναν·  
 οὐ γὰρ σφιν ἄδε μῦθος ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλ' Εὐπείθει 465

445 Ὀδυσῆος F P H al.: Ὀδυσῆι L W.  
 464 μένων F P H M U: μίμων L W Eust.

450 ἦρει] εἰλε L W Eust.

440. ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν. Medon and Phemius were last heard of as taking refuge at the altar in the αὐλή. But a night has passed since then.

449. ἀγχιστῖνοι, see on 22. 118.

461. ἴδε 'thus,' viz. 'as I shall say.'

462. ἐπίσπαστον, see on 18. 73.

465. σφιν refers to ἡμῶν πλείους, the clause τοὶ δ' ἀθρόοι κτλ. being subordinate in sense (parataxis).

Εὐπείθει πείθοντο, a play of language. The contraction in the dat. Εὐπείθει is not Homeric.

πείθοντ'· αἶψα δ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τεύχεα ἑσσεύοντο.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔσαντο περὶ χροῖ νόροπα χαλκόν,  
 ἀθρόοι ἡγέρεθοντο πρὸ ἄστεος εὐρυχόροιο.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐπείθης ἡγήσατο νηπιέησι·  
 φῆ δ' ὃ γε τίσεσθαι παιδὸς φόνον, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν 470  
 ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ πότμον ἐφέψειν.  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη Ζῆνα Κρονίωνα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε, Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρειόντων,  
 εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῃ, τί νύ τοι νόος ἔνδοθι κεύθει;  
 ἢ προτέρω πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν 475  
 τεύξεις, ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι τίθησθα;”  
 Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 “τέκνον ἐμόν, τί με ταῦτα διεῖρεαι ἡδὲ μεταλλάξ;  
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον μὲν ἐβούλευσας νόον αὐτή,  
 ὥς ἢ τοι κείνους Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών; 480  
 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις· ἐρέω δέ τοι ὥς ἐπέοικεν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὴ μνηστήρας ἐτίσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες ὃ μὲν βασιλευέτω αἰεὶ,  
 ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ παίδων τε κασιγνήτων τε φόνοιο  
 ἔκκλησιν θέωμεν· τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλους φιλεόντων 485  
 ὥς τὸ πάρος, πλοῦτος δὲ καὶ εἰρήνη ἄλις ἔστω.”  
 ὣς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε πάρος μεμαυῖαν Ἀθήνην,  
 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρήνων ἀΐξασα.  
 Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν σίτοιο μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἤρχε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς· 490  
 “ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι μὴ δὴ σχεδὸν ὥσι κιόντες.”

469. The poet omits to tell us how they knew where to find Ulysses and his friends.

472. The scene here changes to Olympus, with an abruptness which would hardly be possible with Homer.

478 ff. Zeus replies in effect: ‘you brought about the slaying of the Suitors, and it is for you to meet the danger from the consequent blood-feud. But I propose that you make a treaty of peace between Ulysses and his subjects, with an amnesty for the blood that has

been shed.’

479-480 = 5. 23-24, where the sense is simpler: ‘you made the plan, and it is for you to carry it out.’

483. After ὃ μὲν we expect of δέ or some other nom. denoting the Ἰθακήσιοι. The form of the sentence is changed: cp. 12. 73 ff.

485. ἔκκλησιν ‘a forgetting,’ i. e. ‘an amnesty.’

491. μὴ . . . ὥσι ‘whether they are not’: cp. 11. 10. 100 οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν μὴ πως . . . μενούρησσι.

ὡς ἔφατ'· ἐκ δ' υἷδς Δολίου κίεν, ὡς ἐκέλευε,  
 στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, τοὺς δὲ σχεδὸν εἶσιδε πάντας.  
 αἴψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “οἶδε δὴ ἐγγὺς ἔασ'· ἀλλ' ὀπλιζώμεθα θάσσον.” 495

ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ὄρνυντο καὶ ἐν τεύχεσσι δύνοντο,  
 τέσσαρες ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆ', ἕξ δ' υἱεῖς οἱ Δολίοιο·  
 ἐν δ' ἄρα Λαέρτης Δολίος τ' ἐς τεύχε' ἔδυνον,  
 καὶ πολιοὶ περ ἔδντες, ἀναγκαῖοι πολεμισταί.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔσσαντο περὶ χροῖ νώροπα χαλκόν, 500  
 δῶξάν ῥα θύρας, ἐκ δ' ἦϊον, ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

Τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' ἀγχίμολον θυγάτηρ Διὸς ἦλθεν Ἀθήνη,  
 Μέντορι εἰδομένη ἡμὲν δέμας ἠδὲ καὶ αὐδὴν.  
 τὴν μὲν ἰδὼν γήθησε πολύτλας διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 αἴψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον προσεφώνεεν δν φίλον υἷον 505  
 “Τηλέμαχ', ἦδη μὲν τό γε εἴσεται αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν,  
 ἀνδρῶν μαρναμένων ἵνα τε κρίνονται ἀριστοί,  
 μή τι καταισχύνειν πατέρων γένος, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ  
 ἀλκῇ τ' ἡγορέη τε κεκάσμεθα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.”

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδδα· 510  
 “ὄψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθελῆσθα, πάτερ φίλε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ  
 οὗ τι καταισχύνοντα τεδν γένος, ὡς ἀγορεύεις.”

ᾧς φάτο, Λαέρτης δ' ἐχάρη καὶ μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 “τίς νύ μοι ἡμέρη ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι; ἥ μάλα χαίρω  
 υἷδς θ' υἱόνός τ' ἀρετῆς πέρι δῆριν ἔχουσι.” 515

Τὸν δὲ παρισταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 “ὦ Ἀρκεισιάδη, πάντων πολὺ φίλταθ' ἐταίρων,  
 εὐξάμενος κούρη γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὶ πατρί,

505 δν φίλον υἷον] ἐγγὺς ἔοντα L W. 506 τό γε] τό γ' M L W: τόδε Vind.  
 50: τόδε γ' vulg. 511 ἐπ'] ἐν MSS., cp. 16. 99. 512 ὡς] οἷ' L W Z Eust.

495. ὀπλιζώμεθα 'let us array ourselves.' We need not understand the word in the later sense, in which it is confined to arms: cp. l. 360 δειπνον ἐφοπλίσσωσι, also 23. 143.

497. οἱ Δολίοιο. This is a post-Homeric use of the article: see however Il. 20. 181., 23. 348, 376 (H. G.

§ 260, g).

508. καταισχύωναι, with εἶσαι, 'you will know how not to disgrace.' The exhortation seems out of place after the battle with the Suitors.

512. ὡς ἀγορεύεις 'as you thus speak,' i.e. after such an exhortation as this of yours: ὡς = ὅτι οὕτως.

αἶψα μάλ' ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος."

ᾠς φάτο, καί ρ' ἐμπνευσε μένος μέγα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.  
 εὐξάμενος δ' ἄρ' ἐπειτα Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο, 521  
 αἶψα μάλ' ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
 καὶ βάλεν Εὐπείθεα κόρυθος διὰ χαλκοπαρήου.  
 ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔγχος ἔρυτο, διαπρὸ δὲ εἷσατο χαλκός·  
 δούπησεν δὲ πεσὼν, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 525  
 ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοις Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός,  
 τύπτον δὲ ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι.  
 καὶ νύ κε δὴ πάντα ὄλεσαν καὶ ἔθηκαν ἀνδρότους,  
 εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιδόχοιο,  
 ἧῦσεν φωνῇ, κατὰ δ' ἔσχεθε λαὸν ἅπαντα· 530  
 "ἴσχεσθε πτολέμου, Ἴθακήσιοι, ἀργαλείοι,  
 ὧς κεν ἀναιμωτὶ γε διακρινθῆτε τάχιστα."

ᾠς φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, τοὺς δὲ χλῶρὸν δέος εἶλε·  
 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπτατο τεύχεα,  
 πάντα δ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ πίπτε, θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης· 535  
 πρὸς δὲ πόλιν τρωπῶντο λιλαιόμενοι βίβτοιο·  
 σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβύησε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλείς ὧς τ' αἰετὸς ὑψιπετής.  
 καὶ τότε δὴ Κρονίδης ἀφίει ψολδέντα κεραυνόν,  
 κὰδ' δ' ἔπεσε πρόσθε γλαυκῶπιδος ὀβριμοπάτρης. 540  
 δὴ τότε Ὀδυσσῆα προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 "διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ,  
 ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο,

520-522 om. F H.  
 ἔπτατο χειρῶν J.

526 φαίδιμος υἱός] δῖος ὑφορβός U. 534 ἐκ τεύχεα  
 543 πτολέμοιο P H al.: πολέμοιο vulg., cp. 18. 264.

526 ff. This easy victory is full of improbabilities, which the poet does not attempt to soften or disguise, as Homer would assuredly have done.

534. The line is taken from 12. 203 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπτατ' ἔρεμν. It is open to the objection that the use of a form like τεύχεα as the final spondee is not Homeric. One MS. avoids this (see the critical notes): but

the change which it makes in the order of the words seems the emendation of a scribe.

535. ὅπα must here be construed as a cognate acc. with φωνησάσης. It is not so in the formal lines on which this one is modelled, such as Il. 2. 182 δ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης (so Il. 10. 512., 20. 380).

μή πώς τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.”

ὣς φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, ὃ δ' ἐπέθετο, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ. 545

ὄρκια δ' αὖ κατόπισθε μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκε

Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγίόχοιο, -

Μέντορι εἶδομένη ἡμὲν δέμας ἥδὲ καὶ αὐδήν.

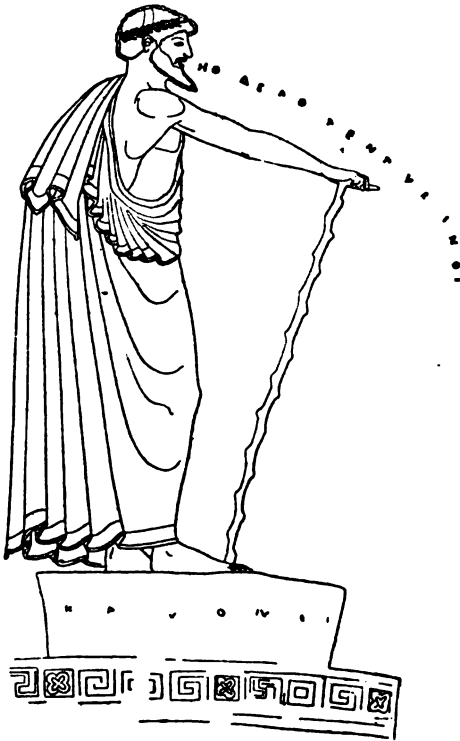


FIGURE OF A RHAPSODIST RECITING

ἔδὲ ποτ' ἐν Τίρυνθι . . .

From a vase (*Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1849).



### ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

13. 15. *ᾠροῦός*. The adverbial use of the gen. *ᾠροῦός* is found in Attic inscriptions: also the dat. *ᾠροσί* = 'for a free gift,' i. e. 'as dowry' (Meisterhans, p. 210).

13.75. The accentuation of *πρῶτη* is a matter of difficulty. There is an adj. *πρῶτος*, found chiefly in poetry, and a substantive *πρῶτα*, common in Attic prose. But we also find *πρῶτη*, sc. *ραῦς*; that is to say, *πρῶτη* is used as a substantive because the substantive *ραῦς* is understood. In this case the word should properly be oxytone.

13. 104. The strangeness of Ithaca as Ulysses sees it after his long absence may be only the exaggeration of a natural effect. There is a parallel (as a friend has pointed out to me) in Wordsworth's poem *The Brothers*:

But, as he gazed, there grew  
Such a confusion in his memory  
That he began to doubt.  
. . . . He had lost his path,  
As up the vale, that afternoon, he walked  
Through fields which once had been well known to him.  
. . . . He lifted up his eyes  
And, looking round, imagined that he saw  
Strange alteration wrought on every side  
Among the woods and fields, and that the rocks  
And everlasting hills themselves were changed.

13. 386. ὁπῶς ἀποτίσσομαι αὐτοῖς. The pronoun is perhaps emphatic, 'Now I shall take vengeance on the men in their turn (who sought to kill me).'

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14. 368-371, = I. 238-241. Here a double interpolation has taken place. The two lines—

*τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοί,  
ἦδέ κε καὶ ᾧ παυδὶ μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὀπίσσω*

are wanting here in most good MSS., and therefore probably come from 1. 239-240. On the other hand the line *ἦ δὲ φίλων ἐν χερσίν κ.τ.λ.* cannot stand with those lines, since they refer to death before Troy: hence it is an interpolation in 1. 238, from 14. 368. Thus the only repetition is 14. 371 = 1. 241—probably an epic commonplace.

14. 371 (= 20. 77). For the form *ἀφίστα* see also the vase-painting figured on p. 108.

14. 425. ἦν λίπεν κελόν. It has been happily suggested by Mr. Tyrrell (*Hermathena* xxvi. 103) that κελόν here has the usual sense of 'going to bed': as to which see the note on 14. 532. The chief difficulty is that the participle

*κείων* is only used with a verb of *motion*: but perhaps *λίπε* sufficiently implies motion.

14. 464. *ὅς τ' ἐφίηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' αἰεταί.* From *Il.* 18. 108 *καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφίηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπήναι*, which gives a better sense—since singing at a feast is hardly a sign of madness. Note also the otiose *μάλα*.

14. 468. *εἴθ' ὅς ἡβώοιμι κ.τ.λ.* This formula is less appropriate here, where the story turns upon cunning rather than prowess.

15. 161. See the Appendix, p. 327.

15. 295. This line is not wanting in all MSS., as stated in the crit. note: it is given in the Cod. Mori.

16. 23. *γλυκερὸν φῶς*. Mr. T. L. Agar has recently pointed out (*Journal of Philology*, xxvii. 194) that *φῶς* here is not a vocative, as the commentators have assumed (comparing such phrases as Latin *mea lux*). The word when used metaphorically in Homer always means 'success,' 'salvation,' or the like. Mr. Agar takes it as an 'accusative of apposition.' This is a well-known Homeric idiom (cp. *Il.* 3. 50–51., 24. 735, &c.). But the nearest parallels that he quotes are *Il.* 17. 615 *καὶ τῷ μὲν φῶς ἦλθε* 'he came as a rescue,' *Il.* 8. 282 *αἶ κέν τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένηται* (= 11. 797), 18. 102 *Πατρόκλῳ γενέμην φῶς*. In these passages it is evidently a nominative, and so probably in the present case.

16. 114. In this note for 'your enemy' read 'my enemy.'

16. 232. The form *κίονται* is properly a subjunctive, and may have been used as a future (like *ἔδονται*, &c., *H. G.* § 80). It may be so taken in *Il.* 22. 510 *ἀνὰ τοι εἶματ' ἐλὶ μεγάροισι κίονται*: cp. *ἔδονται* in the preceding line. In the *Odyssey* *θεῶν λότῃσι κίονται* is a formula (= 11. 341), which may have continued to be used after the original future meaning had been forgotten.

16. 306. For *ὅπου τις* we should perhaps read *ὅτις πον*.

16. 441 = *Il.* 1. 303. In this place the want of a protasis makes the sense rather less clear.

17. 212. Add in the app. crit. *ἐείχανεν* Hdn. GP: *ἐείχαν* H DU: *ἐείχεν* FM.

17. 218. The interpretation here given of the particles *ὥς . . . ὥς* was proposed by Nitzsch, *Sagenpoesie der Griechen*, p. 176.

17. 499 ff. See the Appendix on the Homeric House.

18. 359. *αἰμασιδὰς λέγων* means 'building walls of (unhewn) stone'; probably, however, it is incorrect to say that *λέγων* here means 'laying.' Literally it is 'choosing,' and is used because the stones were picked to fit each other; hence the brachylogy 'to pick walls' = 'to pick stones for building of walls,' and so simply 'to build.' Cp. the later *λιθολόγος* = 'builder.'

18. 418. For the use of *ἀλλ' ἔγε* as a kind of indeclinable word or interjection, where the context requires a verb in the plural, cp. 13. 13., 16. 348., 18. 55., 20. 296, 314., 21. 111, 263, 281, 336.

19. 172. Cp. the imitation in Aesch. *Πηλεόδη* fr. 173 *ἐγὼ γένος μὲν εἰμι Κρήσι ἀρχέστατον*.

19. 200. *οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ εἰα ἵστασθαι*. Perhaps imitated in Aesch. *Φίλοκτ.* fr. 230 *ἐνθ' οὐτε μῦμναι ἀνεμος οὐτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐῖ*.

19. 219. For *αὐτὸς θ'* La Roche conj. *αὐτόν θ'*, which is almost necessitated by *ἐταίρους*.

19. 576. *δεθλον τοῦτον ἐφήσω* violates the rule against a naturally short syllable lengthened by position in the second half of the fourth foot: hence Wernicke, who pointed out the rule (*Tryphiod.* p. 174), conj. *ἐφήσω τοῦτον δεθλον* (cp. l. 584). See the note on 24. 240.

20. 49. *λόχοι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*. An echo of *Il.* 9. 340 *δλοχοι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*: the archaic epithet *μερόπων* is peculiarly meaningless here.

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**That he began to doubt.**

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Through fields which once had been well known to him.

. . . . He lifted up his eyes

And, looking round, imagined that he saw

## Strange alteration wrought on every side

Among the woods and fields, and that the rocks

**And everlasting hills themselves were changed.**

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14. 368. Thus the only repetition is 14. 371 = 1. 241-place.

14. 371 (= 20. 77). For the form *doēma* see

11 144

14. 423. *Sp. Aine* scion. It has

(*ibid.* xxvi, 103) that refer

As to which see the note on

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18. 418. For the word *ἄντα* is an indeclinable word or interjection, where the context is 'all things,' cp. *Il.* 13. 13., 16. 348., 18. 55-56.

20. 296, 314. *ἄρ' ἔστιν* fr. 173 *ἔργα γένος μὲν αἶμα ἔστιν*

ἀρχέστατο perhaps imitated in Aesch. *Θουρ.*

19. 20. fr. 230 *ἔστιν* which is almost necessitated by

the simile against a naturally short syllable of the fourth foot: hence *ἔστιν* with conj. *ἔστιν* τῶνδε αἰῶνι (cp. 1. 214).

an echo of *Il.* 4. 340 *ἔστιν* especially noticeable

20. 149. For ἀγρεῖθ' there are the curious variants ἀγρεῖθ' Ioann. Alex. 36, 31, An. Ox. i. 71. 29, (where it is said that Antimachus read ἀργεῖτε), and ἀγρεῖ P. Possibly ἀγρεῖ was used without reference to number, like ἀλλ' ἔγε (see on 18. 418 *supra*).

21. 100. ἤμενος may have the force of 'staying,' 'keeping on,' as in Il. 2. 255 ἦσαι ἐνειδίξαν, 24. 542 ἤμαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, Od. 14. 40 ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων ἤμαι.

21. 113. Telemachus wishes the Suitors to understand that his success in stringing the bow will not affect the issue as regards them. Similarly in 21. 314 ff. Penelope soothes the alarm of the Suitors by explaining that the supposed beggar is not a claimant for her hand. If he succeeds he shall be dismissed with a fitting gift. In all this there is a vein of poetical 'irony.'

21. 153-155. These despairing words of Leiodes may be illustrated by a story told in Pausanias (6. 8. 4) of the athlete Timanthes of Cleonae, who after he retired from public contests used every day to test his strength by stringing a great bow that he had; until once, having been absent for a short time, he found on returning that he could not perform the feat: upon which he lighted a pyre and threw himself alive into the flames.

21. 234. ἀνὰ δώματα. See the Appendix on the Homeric House.

21. 407. ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνασσε νέψ' περὶ κόλλοσι χορδῇ. For νέψ' Mr. Tyrrell (*ibid.*) plausibly suggests reading ἐψ'.

22. 140. ἐνδον is derived by Brugmann (*Gr. Gr.* p. 229) from the Indo-germanic root-noun *dom* or *dem* 'house,' of which we have the original Nom. *dōm* in Homeric δῶ, the Gen. *dems* in δεσπότης (for *dems-potis*), the Locative (without suffix) in *dom*, whence Greek ἐν-δον: also the short form *dm̥* in δά-πεδον. The association of ἐνδον with the adverbs in -δον would aid the retention of the form as an adverb.

22. 302. ἀγκυλοχείλαι. Cp. 19. 538.

22. 408. A curious piece of ritual has been observed in Galicia, which may be a trace of the ancient heathen δολογῆ. It is described in a book of travel entitled *Across the Carpathians* (Macmillan, 1862), which was the work of two ladies, Miss Muir Mackenzie and Miss Irby. Writing of the church in the town of Zakopane, in Austrian Poland, they say (p. 199): 'A practice said to be peculiar to this part of the world is the shouting of the women when the wafer is lifted up. Like other Roman Catholics, they fall down at the sound of the bell, but, besides this, they hail the host with loud cries and wild gestures of affection and worship.'

22. 412. Cp. Archil. 64 οὐ γὰρ ἐσθλὰ κατθανοῦσι κερτομεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν.

23. 198. For ἐρμῖν Schol. V gives the v. l. Ἑρμῆν, explaining that the bed-post was sometimes wrought into a figure of Hermes, as the god who was ὄνειροπομπός, a sender of good dreams.

## APPENDIX

### I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE ODYSSEY.

#### § 1. *Sources of the Homeric narrative.*

THE student who seeks to analyse the complex narrative of the *Odyssey*, and to disengage the various threads that enter into its texture, will do well to begin, not by looking for discrepancies or marks of imperfection in detail, but by endeavouring to form some estimate of the general character of the stories and incidents with which he has to deal. In doing so he cannot fail to be struck by the difference, from this point of view, between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. The *Iliad*, as he must soon recognize, is based on a mass of tradition or legend—*Saga*, if we may borrow the Norse word—that is historical in form. It may or may not be trustworthy as a record of fact. We may be unable to say whether the events related in the *Iliad*, or any of them, actually took place—whether the chief *dramatis personae* were real persons or imaginary. But in any case they are events and persons of high and serious interest, such as worthily make up the history of a national life. And the whole narrative of the *Iliad* is marked by a verisimilitude, a truth to nature and natural laws, that must be taken to prove the advanced stage of intelligence—we may almost say, of education—attained at the time, if not by the Greek people, at least by the class for whom the poem was intended<sup>1</sup>. In the *Odyssey*, on the contrary, most of

<sup>1</sup> The *Iliad* contains one almost perfect example of a *märchen*, viz. the story of Bellerophon (Il. 6. 152–211). But it is told of a hero who belongs to a former generation and has no direct connexion with the Trojan story. It is therefore eminently an exception that proves the rule. The war of the Pygmies and the Cranes is a piece of folklore which still more decidedly lies outside the narrative of the poem. The only real instance of the type is the incident of the horses of Achilles speaking with human voice and prophesying his death (Il. 19. 404–418). The account of Poseidon and Apollo turning the rivers of the Troad on to the Greek fortification, so as to sweep away all traces of it (Il. 12. 10–34), is certainly *märchenhaft*: but it is probably an interpolation. The word

the narrative belongs to the realm of pure fancy. It is obviously akin to the class of stories denoted in German by the word *Märchen*, which we (rather inadequately) translate 'fairy tale' or 'popular tale.' That is to say, it is full of marvellous incidents, the work of supernatural or imaginary beings, and it is generally devoid of local or national interest. As Wilhelm Grimm quaintly expressed it, 'the *Märchen* stands apart from the world, in a place fenced round and untroubled, beyond which it looks out no farther on the world, and therefore knows neither names and places nor a fixed home<sup>2</sup>.' It is, in short, neither historical nor quasi-historical.

It is true that this description does not apply in the strict sense to Ulysses, who is not nameless, like the heroes of the *Märchen* proper, but has a great place in the national tradition of the Trojan war. And of that tradition the return of the several 'kings' or leaders to their homes in Greece formed an integral part. Hence the main subject of the *Odyssey*, the return of Ulysses to Ithaca, belongs essentially to the same cycle of historical legend as the *Iliad*. Hence, too, along with Ulysses himself we have pictures of other actors in the heroic story—of Nestor and his sons, of Menelaus and Helen, even of Agamemnon and Ajax. It could not be otherwise, while the *Iliad* still held its place in the ears of men. But a large part—and the most characteristic part—of the *Odyssey* is of a very different stamp, and has been derived, directly or ultimately, from different sources. It is made up of adventures and incidents that are unmistakably *märchenhaft*—akin to those of which Grimm's *Household Stories* and the French tales of Perrault are among the best known examples. The difference, moreover, is not merely seen in the incidents related. It is almost as strikingly shown by a marked falling-off in the character of the chief actor. It has often been remarked that the Ulysses of Attic tragedy does not answer to the representation of him that we find in Homer. His wisdom tends towards mere cunning or deceit, and he becomes cruel as well as unscrupulous. This change—which we may regard as due for the most part to the exigencies of the stage—finds a certain analogy in the partial degeneracy to be observed in the same character when we compare the *Iliad* with some passages of the *Odyssey*. The Ulysses of the

*Odyssey*, which is there applied to the warriors who fought before Troy, belongs to a later order of ideas.

<sup>2</sup> Das Märchen aber steht abseits der Welt in einem umfriedeten ungestörten Platz, über welchen es hinaus in jene nicht weiter schaut. Darum kennt es weder Namen und Orte, noch eine bestimmte Heimath (*Ueber das Wesen der Märchen*, in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, i. p. 333).

Trojan story, the leader in war and in counsel, meets us again as the Ulysses of the cave of Polyphemos and the palace of Circe: but *quantum mutatus ab illo*. The leader who thrusts himself, against the advice of his wiser companions, into the monster's cave, who tricks and then provokes him by useless and foolhardy threats,—who gets the better of Circe by a magical herb,—who escapes the spell of the Sirens,—this Ulysses has counterparts in Grimm and the *contes bleus*, as well as in the folklore tales of numberless tribes all over the world. But with the Ulysses of the *Iliad* he has little in common but the name<sup>1</sup>. What, then, is the meaning of this strange alteration? The answer is not far to seek. In the *Iliad* Ulysses is a leading actor in the Trojan war, and one of the greatest figures in the historical (or quasi-historical) tradition of Greece. In the *Odyssey* most of the stories told of him are *märchenhaft*. That is to say, they are folklore stories, told in the first instance without names of persons or places,—of kings and magicians *au temps jadis*, of countries with 'neither history nor geography,'—which gathered by a sort of attraction round the name of Ulysses. This process, by which a great national hero became the central figure in a series of more or less childish fables, is one for which it is not difficult to find parallels. One of the most conspicuous instances is that of Charlemagne, whose historic greatness was almost eclipsed by the place which he came to hold in the Carolingian cycle of legend. A somewhat different but not less instructive example is the mediaeval representation of Virgil as a mighty sorcerer. In the case of Ulysses we have not the advantage of knowing the basis of fact—if such there were—on which the mythical superstructure was erected. It may be taken for granted, however, that the marvellous tales of the *Odyssey* were not told originally of Ulysses, and that they were first told of him when he was already famous as a warrior and tribal chief.

It may be asked why tales of adventure, such as fill so much of the *Odyssey*, should have gathered round the figure of Ulysses, to the exclusion of the other Greek chiefs. The reason doubtless is that the political qualities of Ulysses, the wisdom and eloquence by which he is distinguished in the *Iliad*, passed by an easy transition into the cleverness of a hero of adventure: and then that such an ideal appealed more than any other to the imagination of the Greeks. The process may be seen, not only in the *Odyssey*, but also to some extent in the *Doloneia*, which is undoubtedly later than the rest of the *Iliad*. The *Doloneia* is not *märchenhaft* or marvellous, like the

<sup>1</sup> See W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 19.



αἶψα μάλ' ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος."

ᾧ φάτο, καὶ ῥ' ἔμπνευσε μένος μέγα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

εὐξάμενος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο, 521

αἶψα μάλ' ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,

καὶ βάλεν Εὐπείθεα κόρυθος διὰ χαλκοπαρήν.

ἢ δ' οὐκ ἔγχος ἔρυτο, διαπρὸ δὲ εἶσατο χαλκός·

δοῦπήσεν δὲ πεσὼν, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 525

ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοις Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός,

τύπτον δὲ ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι.

καὶ νύ κε δὴ πάντας ὄλεσαν καὶ ἔθηκαν ἀνδρότους,

εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,

ἦϋσεν φωνῇ, κατὰ δ' ἔσχεθε λαὸν ἅπαντα· 530

“ἴσχεσθε πτολέμου, Ἰθακήσιοι, ἀργαλέοιο,

ὥς κεν ἀναιμωτὶ γε διακρινθῆτε τάχιστα.”

ᾧ φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, τοὺς δὲ χλῶρον δέος εἶλε·

τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπτατο τεύχεα,

πάντα δ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ πίπτε, θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης· 535

πρὸς δὲ πόλιν τρωπῶντο λιλαιόμενοι βιότοιο·

σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβόησε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,

οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλεῖς ὥς τ' αἰετὸς ὑψιπετής.

καὶ τότε δὴ Κρονίδης ἀφίει ψολβεντα κεραυνόν,

καδ' δ' ἔπεσε πρόσθε γλαυκῶπιδος ὀβριμοπάτρης. 540

δὴ τότε Ὀδυσσῆα προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

“διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,

ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο,

520-522 om. F H.  
ἔπτατο χειρῶν J.

526 φαίδιμος υἱός] δῖος ὑφορβός U.  
543 πτολέμοιο P H al.: πολέμοιο vulg., cp. 18. 264.

534 ἐκ τεύχεα

526 ff. This easy victory is full of improbabilities, which the poet does not attempt to soften or disguise, as Homer would assuredly have done.

534. The line is taken from 12. 203 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπτατ' ἐρετμά. It is open to the objection that the use of a form like τεύχεα as the final spondee is not Homeric. One MS. avoids this (see the critical notes): but

the change which it makes in the order of the words seems the emendation of a scribe.

535. ὅπα must here be construed as a cognate acc. with φωνησάσης. It is not so in the formal lines on which this one is modelled, such as Il. 2. 182 ὃ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης (so Il. 10. 512., 20. 380).

μή πῶς τοι Κρονίδης κεχολάσεται εὐρύσπα Ζεύς."

ἌΩς φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, ὃ δ' ἐπείθετο, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ. 545  
 ὄρκια δ' αὖ κατόπισθε μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκε  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, -  
 Μέντορι εἰδομένη ἡμὲν δέμας ἠδὲ καὶ αὐδὴν.

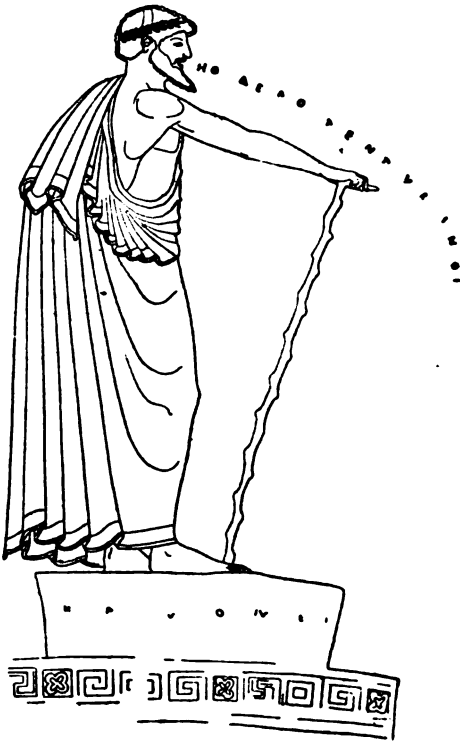


FIGURE OF A RHAPSODIST RECITING

ἄδῃ ποτ' ἐν Τίρυνθι . . .

From a vase (*Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1849).

### ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

13. 15. *ᾠραιός*. The adverbial use of the gen. *ᾠραιός* is found in Attic inscriptions: also the dat. *ᾠραιῇ* = 'for a free gift,' *i.e.* 'as dowry' (Meisterhans, p. 210).

13.75. The accentuation of *πρῶμῃ* is a matter of difficulty. There is an adj. *πρῶμῶς*, found chiefly in poetry, and a substantive *πρῶμα*, common in Attic prose. But we also find *πρῶμῃ*, sc. *ναῦς*; that is to say, *πρῶμῃ* is used as a substantive because the substantive *ναῦς* is understood. In this case the word should properly be oxytone.

13. 194. The strangeness of Ithaca as Ulysses sees it after his long absence may be only the exaggeration of a natural effect. There is a parallel (as a friend has pointed out to me) in Wordsworth's poem *The Brothers*:

But, as he gazed, there grew

Such a confusion in his memory

That he began to doubt.

**He had lost his path,**

As up the vale, that afternoon, he walked

Through fields which once had been well known to him.

**He lifted up his eyes**

And, looking round, imagined that he saw

## Strange alteration wrought on every side

Among the woods and fields, and that the rocks

**And everlasting hills themselves were changed.**

13. 386. ὁὖτος ἀποτίσσομαι αὐτοῖς. The pronoun is perhaps emphatic, 'Now I shall take vengeance on the men in their turn (who sought to kill me).'

14.12. τὸ μέλαν δρυός. Cp. the adj. μέλανδρος 'with dark wood,' as in Aesch. fr. 235 πίτυος ἐκ μελανδρίου.

14. 69. *πρόχυν*. Brugmann thinks that *πρόχυν* here and in Il. 21. 460 is from the root of *χναίνω* 'gnaw,' 'rub away,' so that the meaning was originally 'rubbed away,' and so 'utterly.' The use in the phrase *πρόχυν καθέμενοι*, in which it seems to mean 'on the knees,' may have arisen, he thinks, by confusion with a form *πρόγυν* 'kneeling forward.' On this view *πρό-χυν* is an adverb of similar formation to *πάγχν*, 'all-pouringly,' *δασυν* in *δασύνετοι*, &c. (Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* ed. 2. p. 571).

14. 368-371, = I. 238-241. Here a double interpolation has taken place. The two lines—

τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοί,

ἡδὲ κε καὶ ὃ παιδὶ μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὀπίσσω

are wanting here in most good MSS., and therefore probably come from 1. 239-240. On the other hand the line  $\eta\epsilon\ \phi\lambda\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\nu\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$  cannot stand with those lines, since they refer to death before Troy: hence it is an interpolation in 1. 238, from 14. 368. Thus the only repetition is 14. 371 = 1. 241—probably an epic commonplace.

14. 371 (= 20. 77). For the form  $\delta\phi\tau\omega\alpha$  see also the vase-painting figured on p. 108.

14. 425. ἦν λίπε κελών. It has been happily suggested by Mr. Tyrrell (*Hermathena* xxvi. 103) that κελών here has the usual sense of 'going to bed': as to which see the note on 14. 532. The chief difficulty is that the participle

*κείων* is only used with a verb of *motion*: but perhaps *λίπε* sufficiently implies motion.

14. 464. *ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' αἰεταί.* From Il. 18. 108 *καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι*, which gives a better sense—since singing at a feast is hardly a sign of madness. Note also the otiose *μάλα*.

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16. 306. For *ἔπον τις* we should perhaps read *ἔστις σου*.

16. 441 = Il. 1. 303. In this place the want of a protasis makes the sense rather less clear.

17. 212. Add in the app. crit. *εἰχάνεν* Hdn. GP: *εἰχάν* H DU: *εἰχεν* FM.

17. 218. The interpretation here given of the particles *ὥς . . . ὥς* was proposed by Nitzsch, *Sagenpoesie der Griechen*, p. 176.

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18. 359. *αἰμασιδὲ λέγων* means 'building walls of (unhewn) stone'; probably, however, it is incorrect to say that *λέγων* here means 'laying.' Literally it is = 'choosing,' and is used because the stones were picked to fit each other; hence the brachylogy 'to pick walls' = 'to pick stones for building of walls,' and so simply 'to build.' Cp. the later *λιθολόγος* = 'builder.'

18. 418. For the use of *ἄλλ' ἄγε* as a kind of indeclinable word or interjection, where the context requires a verb in the plural, cp. 13. 13., 16. 348., 18. 55., 20. 296, 314., 21. 111, 263, 281, 336.

19. 172. Cp. the imitation in Aesch. *Πηνελόπη* fr. 173 *ἐγὼ γένος μὲν εἰμι Κρής ἀρχέστατον*.

19. 200. *οἶδ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ εἰα ἴστασθαι*. Perhaps imitated in Aesch. *Φιλοκτ.* fr. 230 *ἐνθ' οὐτε μύμνειν ἀνεμος οὐτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐξ*.

19. 219. For *αὐτὸς θ'* La Roche conj. *αὐτόν θ'*, which is almost necessitated by *ἐταίρους*.

19. 576. *δεθλον τοῦτον ἐφήσω* violates the rule against a naturally short syllable lengthened by position in the second half of the fourth foot: hence Wernicke, who pointed out the rule (Tryphiod. p. 174), conj. *ἐφήσω τοῦτον δεθλον* (cp. l. 584). See the note on 24. 240.

20. 49. *λόχοι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*. An echo of Il. 9. 340 *ἄλοχοι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*: the archaic epithet *μερόπων* is peculiarly meaningless here.

the narrative belongs to the realm of pure fancy. It is obviously akin to the class of stories denoted in German by the word *Märchen*, which we (rather inadequately) translate 'fairy tale' or 'popular tale.' That is to say, it is full of marvellous incidents, the work of supernatural or imaginary beings, and it is generally devoid of local or national interest. As Wilhelm Grimm quaintly expressed it, 'the *Märchen* stands apart from the world, in a place fenced round and untroubled, beyond which it looks out no farther on the world, and therefore knows neither names and places nor a fixed home'.<sup>2</sup> It is, in short, neither historical nor quasi-historical.

It is true that this description does not apply in the strict sense to Ulysses, who is not nameless, like the heroes of the *Märchen* proper, but has a great place in the national tradition of the Trojan war. And of that tradition the return of the several 'kings' or leaders to their homes in Greece formed an integral part. Hence the main subject of the *Odyssey*, the return of Ulysses to Ithaca, belongs essentially to the same cycle of historical legend as the *Iliad*. Hence, too, along with Ulysses himself we have pictures of other actors in the heroic story—of Nestor and his sons, of Menelaus and Helen, even of Agamemnon and Ajax. It could not be otherwise, while the *Iliad* still held its place in the ears of men. But a large part—and the most characteristic part—of the *Odyssey* is of a very different stamp, and has been derived, directly or ultimately, from different sources. It is made up of adventures and incidents that are unmistakably *märchenhaft*—akin to those of which Grimm's *Household Stories* and the French tales of Perrault are among the best known examples. The difference, moreover, is not merely seen in the incidents related. It is almost as strikingly shown by a marked falling-off in the character of the chief actor. It has often been remarked that the Ulysses of Attic tragedy does not answer to the representation of him that we find in Homer. His wisdom tends towards mere cunning or deceit, and he becomes cruel as well as unscrupulous. This change—which we may regard as due for the most part to the exigencies of the stage—finds a certain analogy in the partial degeneracy to be observed in the same character when we compare the *Iliad* with some passages of the *Odyssey*. The Ulysses of the

*ἡμῶν*, which is there applied to the warriors who fought before Troy, belongs to a later order of ideas.

<sup>2</sup> Das Märchen aber steht abseits der Welt in einem umfriedeten ungestörten Platz, über welchen es hinaus in jene nicht weiter schaut. Darum kennt es weder Namen und Orte, noch eine bestimmte Heimath (*Ueber das Wesen der Märchen*, in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, i. p. 333).

Trojan story, the leader in war and in counsel, meets us again as the Ulysses of the cave of Polyphemus and the palace of Circe: but *quantum mutatus ab illo*. The leader who thrusts himself, against the advice of his wiser companions, into the monster's cave, who tricks and then provokes him by useless and foolhardy threats,—who gets the better of Circe by a magical herb,—who escapes the spell of the Sirens,—this Ulysses has counterparts in Grimm and the *contes bleus*, as well as in the folklore tales of numberless tribes all over the world. But with the Ulysses of the *Iliad* he has little in common but the name<sup>2</sup>. What, then, is the meaning of this strange alteration? The answer is not far to seek. In the *Iliad* Ulysses is a leading actor in the Trojan war, and one of the greatest figures in the historical (or quasi-historical) tradition of Greece. In the *Odyssey* most of the stories told of him are *märchenhaft*. That is to say, they are folklore stories, told in the first instance without names of persons or places,—of kings and magicians *au temps jadis*, of countries with 'neither history nor geography,'—which gathered by a sort of attraction round the name of Ulysses. This process, by which a great national hero became the central figure in a series of more or less childish fables, is one for which it is not difficult to find parallels. One of the most conspicuous instances is that of Charlemagne, whose historic greatness was almost eclipsed by the place which he came to hold in the Carolingian cycle of legend. A somewhat different but not less instructive example is the mediaeval representation of Virgil as a mighty sorcerer. In the case of Ulysses we have not the advantage of knowing the basis of fact—if such there were—on which the mythical superstructure was erected. It may be taken for granted, however, that the marvellous tales of the *Odyssey* were not told originally of Ulysses, and that they were first told of him when he was already famous as a warrior and tribal chief.

It may be asked why tales of adventure, such as fill so much of the *Odyssey*, should have gathered round the figure of Ulysses, to the exclusion of the other Greek chiefs. The reason doubtless is that the political qualities of Ulysses, the wisdom and eloquence by which he is distinguished in the *Iliad*, passed by an easy transition into the cleverness of a hero of adventure: and then that such an ideal appealed more than any other to the imagination of the Greeks. The process may be seen, not only in the *Odyssey*, but also to some extent in the *Doloneia*, which is undoubtedly later than the rest of the *Iliad*. The *Doloneia* is not *märchenhaft* or marvellous, like the

<sup>2</sup> See W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 19.

*Odyssey*: but it falls in with the *Odyssey* as an indication of the advance of Ulysses in popular favour, and of the disposition to see in him the type of adventurous boldness and resource.

### § 2. Folklore Tales (*Märchen*) in the *Odyssey*.

If it is admitted that the narrative of the *Odyssey* has been formed by the admixture of folklore tales with a portion of the Greek heroic tradition, the next step is to attempt to determine the extent to which each of these elements is to be recognized. How much of the *Odyssey* has its source in the common stock of local or national story, from which the subject of the *Iliad* and doubtless many other epics was derived? How much comes from tales that belong, as far as we can judge, to the childhood of the human race? Where, in short, does *Saga* end and *Märchen* begin?

Of the latter class—that of *Märchen*—the story of the Cyclops is the most striking instance. It has been found in many versions all over the world, sometimes in countries too remote or too primitive to admit of any theory of borrowing<sup>4</sup>. But much the same may be said of the other adventures related by Ulysses in the *Ἀλκίονος ἀπώλογος* of the ninth, tenth and twelfth books. The witchcraft of Circe, who changes men into animals for her pleasure, but yields to the more potent magic of Ulysses and then aids him in his enterprise, has parallels in Grimm, and in the Indian fables<sup>5</sup>. So too the enchanted

<sup>4</sup> See the dissertation of Wilhelm Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, a summary of which is given in the first volume of this edition of the *Odyssey*, Appendix II.

<sup>5</sup> In Somadeva's collection there is a story of a young merchant who travels about the world in quest of a Vidyādhari, or fairy, who has appeared to him. On the way he meets with four pilgrims. They continue their journey together, and one evening they all come to a wood where, as they are warned, there is a Yakshini or demon, who changes the travellers whom she finds into animals, and then devours them. Accordingly at midnight the Yakshini is heard approaching, blowing a flute made of a human bone. She recites a spell, whereupon a horn grows on to the head of one of the pilgrims: he throws himself, maddened, into the fire, and the Yakshini roasts and devours him. The same happens to the second and third pilgrim. But when it is the turn of the fourth she accidentally lays her flute on the ground: the merchant seizes it, blows it, and recites the magic spell which he has heard her use. She loses all power, falls at his feet, and offers to fulfil his wishes and guide him to the dwelling of the Vidyādhari (G. Gerland, *Allgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee*, Magdeburg, 1869).

There is a somewhat similar incident (as Gerland points out) in Grimm's story of the 'Two Brothers' (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 60). One of the brothers and the animals that follow him are lost in a wood, where an old witch with her magical twig turns them into stones. The other brother afterwards comes to the same place, but is on his guard against the old woman's spells, and forces her to turn his brother back into his proper form, 'as well as many merchants, work-people, and shepherds, who, delighted with their freedom, returned home.'

isle of Calypso, in which the hero is hidden away, like Tannhäuser in the Venusberg—the *Πλαγκταί* or Moving Rocks<sup>6</sup>—the bag of Aeolus—the Laestrygonian giants—all these marvels, which the poet of the *Odyssey* places in unexplored corners of the Mediterranean, belong evidently to an imaginary place and time. The Phaeacian episode, too, is distinctly *märchenhaft*, as was shown long ago by Gerland<sup>7</sup>, though the genius of the poet has given it a human interest which rises far above that level.

### § 3. Heroic Saga—treatment of it by the Singers.

In the latter half of the *Odyssey* the separation of the different sources is much more difficult. From the thirteenth book onwards the character of the narrative perceptibly changes. The folklore element, as we shall be able to show, is still present: but it is held in solution, so to speak, in the mass of heroic mythology. Like Ulysses after his landing in Ithaca, when Athene removed the mist from his eyes, we find ourselves in a familiar world—the world of the Trojan story. Some part of that story the poet of the *Odyssey* had desired to take as his theme, even as other singers have done before him. So

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Tylor in his book on *Primitive Culture* (vol. i. pp. 313-315, ed. 1871) mentions three forms of this myth, all based upon the notion of a passage from the upper to the under world. (1) The Karens of Birma say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset. (2) Among the Algonquins there is a tale of a chasm to be passed on the way to the land of the Sun and Moon, where the sky comes down with violence on the earth, and rises again slowly and gradually. (3) In the funeral ritual of the Aztecs the dead man receives a passport by which he is to pass 'between the two mountains that smite one against the other.'

Another curious parallel in the Polynesian mythology is given by Mr. Gill in his *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific* (p. 52). The hero of the story is Mani, the Prometheus who discovers the secret of fire and brings it up from the lower world. He descends for that purpose in the body of a red pigeon, passing through a rock that opened in obedience to certain magical words. The rock however closed again so quickly that the pigeon's tail was cut off. We may compare Od. 12. 62 *τῇ μὲν τ' οὐδὲ ποτηρὰ παρήχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι κτλ.*

<sup>7</sup> In the dissertation quoted above (p. 292, note 5) Gerland draws out the parallel between this part of the *Odyssey* and an Indian tale in the collection of Somadeva. The hero of the tale, a Brahman named Saktideva, is saved from a great whirlpool, like Ulysses, by climbing into the branches of a fig-tree which overhangs it. He is then carried through the air to the Golden City and is there entertained by the Vidyādhari (or fairy) queen who is destined to have a mortal for her husband. 'Many as are the noble Vidyādhari that my father has proposed to me, I have refused them all, and am still a maiden' (like Nausicaa, *ἥ γὰρ τοῖσδε γ' ἀτιμάζει κατὰ δῆμον Φαίηκας, τοί μιν μῶνται πολλὰς τε καὶ ἑσθλοὶ*, Od. 6. 284). But before a marriage can be arranged Saktideva is suddenly conveyed back to his father's house, and marries his original love, the princess Kanakarekhā. I may refer to a review of Gerland's dissertation in the *Academy* of 22 Oct. 1870.



much he has told us at the outset<sup>8</sup>. It is under this aspect, viz. as a portion of the heroic tradition, that we have now to consider the poem.

Regarding the poems that dealt with the different quasi-historical or heroic myths we may learn a good deal from the *Odyssey* itself. The 'singers' or 'minstrels' (δοῖδοι) of whom it gives a vivid and evidently sympathetic picture—Phemius in the palace of Ulysses, Demodocus at the Phaeacian court—are represented as taking all their subjects, by choice or by compulsion, from the Trojan cycle of legend. The song of Demodocus about Ares and Aphrodite (Od. 8. 266–369) is an apparent exception, but one that proves the rule: for it is shown by the evidence of language to be an interpolation of post-Homeric times. In the *Iliad* it is otherwise: the few digressions, such as the stories told of Bellerophon (Il. 6. 152–211), of Meleager (Il. 9. 527–599), of Tydeus (Il. 4. 372–400), belong to non-Trojan cycles of legend. Moreover, the various *false* stories told by Ulysses all turn upon events and characters in the Trojan war<sup>9</sup>. Even the song of the Sirens is chiefly occupied with the same inexhaustible theme: cp. Od. 12. 189–191:

ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐν Τροίῃ εὐρεῖη  
 Ἀργεῖοι Τρῶές τε θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν,  
 ἴδμεν δ' ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.

In one or two instances we are allowed to see how the singers set to work to transform portions of the traditional narrative into 'lays' or songs of the right shape and compass. Demodocus, we are told (Od. 8. 73–82), was inspired by the music to sing a lay, then of wide-reaching fame, the Quarrel of Achilles and Ulysses,—how it had been predicted by Apollo, and how Agamemnon secretly rejoiced, because it foreshadowed the issue of the war. Another time he sang of the taking of Troy by the stratagem of the Wooden Horse (Od. 8. 499 ff.), the subject afterwards treated by the cyclic poets, Arctinus of Miletus and the author of the *Little Iliad*. The singer, it is related, took up the story from the point where (ἔνθεν ἔλων ὡς κτλ.) the Greeks made their feigned retreat: and he brought it down to the recovery of Helen from the house of Deiphobus. Similarly in the opening scene of the *Odyssey* in the palace of Ulysses the minstrel Phemius is represented as singing of the Return of the Greeks—'the song which latest

<sup>8</sup> Od. 1. 10 τῶν ἀμύθεν γε, θεὰ θύγατερ Διός, εἰπέ καὶ ἡμῖν.

<sup>9</sup> See Od. 13. 256 ff., 14. 235 ff., 14. 468 ff., 19. 172 ff.: and B. Niese, *Die Entwicklung der homerischen Poesie*.

sounded in the ears of the listeners' (Od. i. 352), even as the events themselves were the most recent. This subject also, as we know, had a place in the epic cycle.

It has been maintained by no less an authority than Welcker<sup>10</sup> that these passages refer to actual poems, known to the poet of the *Odyssey* and his hearers. Welcker has even discussed the question whether the two songs of Demodocus, the *Quarrel* and the *Wooden Horse*, are meant to be represented as distinct poems or merely as two parts, 'fyttes' or *βαφιδίαι*, taken from a single great poem on the capture of Troy. Adopting the latter view, he finds in the *Odyssey* a record of two pre-Homeric epics—the *Ἰλίου πέρις* of Demodocus and the *Νόστοι* of Phemius.

The hypothesis of a poem which included the two songs of Demodocus does not find any support in the language of the passages in question. The words in 8. 500 *ἔθεν ἐλὼν* (sc. *αἰοδῆν*) *ὥς οἱ μὲν κτλ.* naturally mean 'taking the subject of his song from the point in the story at which' &c. They do not suggest beginning somewhere in the middle of a poem. So it is in the formula at the beginning of the *Odyssey* itself (1. 10 *τῶν ἀμόθεν γε . . . εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν*), and so we must understand the opening lines of the *Iliad* (*μῆνιν δαίειδε . . . ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην κτλ.*). The epic singer begins by announcing his subject: and in doing this he has only to tell his hearers what point he has chosen in the story which they all already know<sup>11</sup>. It seems probable, therefore, that the song of the *Wooden Horse* was complete in itself, and began at the point indicated by the words *ἔθεν ἐλὼν κτλ.* If so, the *Quarrel* and the *Return* were doubtless also distinct poems.

Had these poems, then, a real existence, or were they imaginary? The latter is surely much more probable, and much more in harmony with all that we know of the artistic and poetical method of the *Odyssey*. It cannot be supposed that Demodocus was a real person, any more than the rest of the characters in the Phaeacian episode. And if the singer was a creature of the imagination, it follows that his songs were imaginary also. It is most unlikely that the poet of the *Odyssey*—a poet in whose heart 'the Muse had implanted all manner of songs'—would be at a loss for typical subjects of his art.

<sup>10</sup> F. W. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, I<sup>2</sup>. pp. 268 ff. (*Drey früh untergegangene Homerische Gedichte*).

<sup>11</sup> In Od. 8. 74 *ὁμῆς τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν Ἴκαρε, νεῖκος κτλ.* it is not quite clear whether *ὁμῆς* is partitive (*ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμῆς ἐκείνης* Schol. H), or attracted into the genitive by the relational clause. But in either case the *Quarrel* is the *ὁμῆς* which Demodocus sang. It is not merely the part of that *ὁμῆς* with which he began his song.

This conclusion is strengthened when we observe the difficulty that later poets and critics evidently experienced in finding a place for a quarrel such as Demodocus could be supposed to have sung. In the *Cypria* there is a quarrel at a feast in Tenedos, but it is one between Achilles and Agamemnon, brought on by the omission of Agamemnon to invite Achilles<sup>13</sup>. It is true that in the *Ἀχαιοῶν Σύλλογος* of Sophocles,—a play which was apparently founded on this incident,—Ulysses takes a part in the affair, and makes a violent attack upon Achilles, attributing his conduct to sheer cowardice in the face of the enemy. But this is a quarrel between Achilles and the Greeks: it is not the sort of quarrel between two subordinate chiefs that the passage in the *Odyssey* suggests<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, the grammarians explain the passage of a dispute which arose between the two leaders after the death of Hector, on the question whether Troy could be most surely taken by courage or by guile<sup>15</sup>. As may be supposed, no ancient poet is quoted for this academic debate. Indeed, the limits of time between which it is placed, the death of Hector and the death of Achilles, do not offer any space in which it could be inserted. It may serve, however, to show that the dispute which is described as furnishing a subject for Demodocus had no existence in the heroic tradition. It is a trait in the picture that the poet of the *Odyssey* draws of an imaginary singer. The type to which it belongs is familiar enough, being represented by the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, of Ulysses and Ajax in the *Aethiopis*, of Agamemnon and Menelaus in the *Nosti*.

We may go a step further, and conjecture that the author of the *Odyssey* intended a direct allusion to his great predecessor. Such an allusion would certainly not be alien to the spirit of imitation or even parody which we can trace in his poem<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς ὕστερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα Procl. (after the incident of Philoctetes and before the landing in the Troad). This agrees with the reference in Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 26 διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι δ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἐμήρισε τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ ἐν Τενέδοις.

<sup>14</sup> It may be that the part given to Ulysses in the *Ἀχαιοῶν Σύλλογος* was suggested by the song of Demodocus. The language put into his mouth (see fragm. 152) is hardly less violent than that of Thersites in the *Iliad*. Perhaps this is accounted for by the licence of the satyric drama, in which Homeric subjects, treated in a spirit of caricature, were not infrequent. The *Σύνδειπνοι*, generally identified with the *Ἀχαιοῶν Σύλλογος*, contained at least one obvious parody of the *Odyssey*, viz. in the lines preserved by Athenaeus (p. 17 d), who quotes similar passages from the *Ὀστολόγοι* of Aeschylus (p. 17 c, p. 667 c). Among the plays founded on the story of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* many are satyric—the *Cyclops* of Euripides, *Κίρκη*, *Πρωτεύς*, *Ὀστολόγοι* of Aeschylus.

<sup>15</sup> The story goes back to Aristarchus: see Schol. A on Il. 9, 347.

<sup>16</sup> As Niese has pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 49), the words Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλᾶς in the account of the song of Demodocus (Od. 8. 82) remind us of the Διὸς βουλῆ

#### § 4. *Unity of action in the early epics—the Iliad.*

Our study of the minstrelsy of Demodocus leads us to two conclusions that are of interest in themselves, and are borne out by the extant Homeric poems. The first is that the epic singer in Homeric and pre-Homeric times ordinarily took his subject from a common stock of traditional narrative—including (it might be) events within his own memory. In working out the details we may be sure that his powers of invention—the powers in which he himself recognized the inspiration of the Muse—had free play: but in the main lines he had to conform to the national memory or belief. In the second place, the subject chosen was some single incident, or at most a group of connected incidents lying within narrow limits of time. The artistic sense of the Greeks, which afterwards showed itself in the strict unities of the Attic drama, seems at one time to have been almost as exacting in regard to the plan of an epic poem.

It will be seen at once that these observations apply in the fullest sense to the *Iliad*. As Aristotle pointed out in his *Poetics*<sup>18</sup>, in a criticism which no modern advance of knowledge can improve upon, the divine excellence of the *Iliad* as an epic poem is that the main action or story is short and simple. It has the organic unity of a work of plastic art (ὡς ὥστερ ζῶον ἐν ὅλῳ ποιῇ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡδονήν), and it is neither too much to be embraced in a single mental picture (οὐκ εὐσύνωπτος) nor too rich in detail (καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποιικιλίᾳ). Along with this unity, which is remarkable and indeed unique in a poem so long as the *Iliad*, and which it owes to this characteristic singleness of the main subject, we have to admire the skill with which the subordinate events, and even the great battles that go on during the 'wrath of Achilles,' are compressed within the space of a few days. This triumph of poetical construction must be due, like other masterpieces

in the opening of the *Iliad*. Similarly the combat over the body of Achilles (Od. 5. 308) was doubtless suggested by the combat over Patroclus (Il. 17. 735 ff.): and the πρῶχλεια or adventure of Ulysses entering Troy in disguise (Od. 4. 240 ff.) may be an imitation of the *Doloneia*. See also the examples of parody, &c. quoted in the notes on 14. 13 ff. These instances are the more convincing when we observe that the poet of the *Odyssey* never repeats what has been told in the *Iliad*. He consciously aims at novelty in the substance as well as the form of his narrative.

<sup>18</sup> Arist. *Poet.* c. 23 (p. 1459 a 30) διὸ ὥστερ εἴπομεν ἤδη καὶ ταύτῃ θεσπίσις ἀν φανείη Ὅμηρος παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τῷ μὴδὲ τὸν πόλεμον καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπιχειρήσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον· λίαν γὰρ ἀν μέγας καὶ οὐκ εὐσύνωπτος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετρίζοντα καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποιικιλίᾳ. νῦν δ' ἐν μέρος ἀπολαβὼν ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, ὅσον νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποιήσιν.

of Hellenic art, not merely to individual genius, but also to the guiding and restraining force of an artistic tradition.

§ 5. *The plan of the Odyssey—admixture of Märchen.*

The canons that govern the epic songs of ideal singers in the *Odyssey* are also observed, but in a somewhat different way, in the structure of that poem itself. We have seen how large is the admixture in it of an element foreign to Greek historical or quasi-historical tradition,—foreign also to the *Iliad* and perhaps to the earlier epic poetry in general. The presence of this element did not merely alter the tone and quality of the narrative by making it fanciful and unreal. It also increased considerably the difficulty of maintaining the unity of the action, and keeping the various incidents within the conventional limits of time. The series of unconnected adventures that had gathered round the name of Ulysses did not offer material fitted for the true Greek epic. Probably these adventures were not at first told of his return from the Trojan war, or indeed of any part of his history as a national hero. As soon as it was felt to be necessary to find room for them in that history, the return from Troy was the obvious vacant place. There remained however the difficulty of constructing a poem which should satisfy the rules of the epic art, and at the same time be an adequate picture of ten years of wandering on every border of the known world.

How the poet solved this problem is familiar to every reader of Homer. The device of putting part of the narrative into the mouth of one of the actors is not unknown in the *Iliad*. It was natural to a poet who always sought to make his heroes tell their story rather than to speak in his own person<sup>17</sup>. Thus the story told by Achilles to Thetis (Il. 1. 366 ff.) helps to give a clear notion of the events that immediately preceded the *Iliad*. The same end is attained for other parts of the previous story by the speech of Ulysses in the second book (Il. 2. 301–330), and by the *τειχοσκοπία*, especially the speech of Antenor (Il. 3. 205–224). Such instances, however, are hardly enough even to have suggested the *Ἀλκίον ἀπόλογος*. The story there told is not a mere prologue or *mise-en-scène*: it is an integral part of the

<sup>17</sup> Arist. *Poet.* c. 24, p. 1460 a 5 "Ὁμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄριστος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ δὲ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κατὰ ταῦτα μμητῆρ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐβλου ἀγνοῖσονται, μιμνῶνται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ ὀλιγάκις· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα φρονησάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα κτλ.

subject, which is the return of Ulysses from Troy. The change of form is the poet's heroic but on the whole eminently happy way of dealing with the task which he had set himself, viz. that of bringing the longest and most eventful of all the 'returns' within the legitimate compass of a single epic poem.

While it may be assumed that the immediate aim of the poet in adopting this form of narrative was to shorten the time of the action, it cannot be doubted that the work gained in other ways. The use of the first person creates a kind of dramatic interest in the figure of Ulysses,—the hero whose character appealed most directly to average Greek sentiment. Further, it permits some freedom in the order of the story. In particular, it makes possible the stroke of art by which Ulysses begins with the last stage of his wanderings, viz. the voyage from Calypso's island to Phaeacia (Od. 7. 240–297), which he relates in such a way that it serves as a prologue to the full story<sup>18</sup>. But perhaps the chief advantage, poetically speaking, of making Ulysses tell his own tale lay in the character of the tale itself. The incidents, as has been already said, are not such as originally or properly belonged to epic poetry. A poet would naturally have shrunk from treating them as so much heroic story. But in the mouth of Ulysses, and amid the *ἀναθήματα* *δαιτός* of the Phaeacian fairy-land, this dissonance is much softened. We do not of course put the wonders of these four books in the same category with the deliberately false stories afterwards told in Ithaca. Yet the interposition of a narrator, and that narrator the master of fair-seeming falsehood, gives a certain sense of remoteness which is in harmony with the substance of the tale<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The contrivance by which this is managed has been happily explained by G. Schmidt in his dissertation *Ueber Kirchhoff's Odyssee-Studien* (Kempten 1879). He points out that in answer to the formula *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*, if it had stood alone, Ulysses could not have avoided giving his name and country. But Arete, who asks the question, has noticed the garments which Ulysses had received from Nausicaa, and which he is now wearing: they were in fact the work of her own hands (*ἔγνω γὰρ φῶρός τε κτλ.*). Hence she adds the more directly interesting enquiry, *τίς τοι τάδε εἴματ' ἔδωκεν*; In answer Ulysses has first to tell the story of his shipwreck and landing in Phaeacia. When he has done so (ending *καὶ μοι τάδε εἴματ' ἔδωκε*), the other question is forgotten. The poet is able to reserve it for the moment when the revelation can be made with the fullest effect (9. 19 *εἰμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κτλ.*).

<sup>19</sup> A similar remark applies to the story told by Menelaus in Od. 4. 351–592, especially in regard to the essentially *märchenhaft* incidents of the prophecy of Proteus.

§ 6. *The transformations of Ulysses.*

In the latter half of the *Odyssey*, the scene of which is laid in the island of Ithaca, the story is by no means in the fanciful vein which characterizes most of the earlier books. The natural inference is that it no longer comes in the main from the same source, viz. the fairy tales of primitive Greece, but either from the 'national' quasi-historical tradition, or from the invention of the poet himself. In drawing this distinction, however, we must not omit to notice, in the first place, that there are features in the story which cannot well be either traditional or invented, and, in the second place, that the original improbabilities may have been softened or removed by the poet. No one, we may be sure, would know better how much his narrative gained by being true to life and human experience.

Among the incidents which may be thought to be of the fairy-tale order we must place the repeated changes of form that Ulysses undergoes at the hands of Athene. The first of these belongs to the Phaeacian episode (6. 229 ff.). Ulysses presents himself to Nausicaa, fresh from the bath and arrayed in the garments that she has given him: Athene at the same moment makes him taller and more beautiful, even as a skilful artificer adorns silver by inlaying it with gold. Again, on his landing in Ithaca she turns him into a withered old beggar, so that he may not be recognized (13. 429 ff.). When he reveals himself to Telemachus she restores him for the time to his proper form (16. 172 ff., 454 ff.). Finally, before the recognition by Penelope, she endows him once more with youthful beauty (23. 153-163). The question arises in regard to each of these occasions whether the exercise of divine power goes beyond that general interference of the gods in human affairs which every epic poet, and indeed every pious Greek, would freely admit. In the first of these instances this cannot be said. The poet attributes to divine agency a passing enhancement of the beauty of Achilles, or rather of its effect on the mind of the spectator. Athene does much the same for Telemachus whenever he goes to the agora (Od. 2. 10., 17. 63). Such a phenomenon need not be supernatural, any more than the sleep of Penelope (1. 363, &c.), or the favourable winds granted to Telemachus (2. 420., 15. 292). The like may be said of the transformation in 23. 156 ff., which indeed is a mere repetition of the account in 6. 229 ff. The case of the landing in Ithaca (13. 429-438) is somewhat different. There, as Kirchhoff has rightly insisted, the change wrought is a *magical* one,—not a mere

illusion, or the exaggeration of a natural effect<sup>20</sup>. Similarly when Ulysses is revealed to his son (16. 172 ff.), he is really himself again. In these two passages, therefore, we have an incident that is marvellous, not merely because we see the hand of deity in it, but essentially and in its own nature.

### § 7. *The wooing of Penelope and the return of Ulysses.*

Let us now go on to the further question indicated above, and ask whether in the other incidents or features of the narrative—those which have no distinctly marked supernatural character—we can find traces of derivation from ‘popular tales’ or *Märchen*.

A little reflexion can hardly fail to suggest the answer that the whole story of the wooing of Penelope and the return of Ulysses in time to prevent her marriage is originally of this class. As told in the *Odyssey* it is comparatively free from supernatural admixture. The

<sup>20</sup> Kirchhoff, *Die homerische Odyssee*, p. 538. It is impossible here to do more than indicate in the briefest words the nature of the theory which this observation has suggested to Kirchhoff. In his view there is a profound difference between the two halves of the *Odyssey* in the representation which they give of the hero. The Ulysses of the wanderings—of Calypso’s isle and the Phaeacian court—is still in the prime of life: the Ulysses of Ithaca is a man who bears the marks of his many years of war and hardship. The two pictures, he holds, belong to originally distinct poems, and the magical transformation of 13. 429 ff. was inserted to smooth over the passage from the one to the other. In later recognition scenes, in particular the recognition by Eurycleia (19. 467), and by Eumaeus and Philoetius (21. 188), perhaps even in the scene with Penelope (see the note on 23. 153), he is not transformed, but only disguised by his beggar’s rags (cp. 23. 95, 115).

The difference that Kirchhoff finds between the Ulysses of the Phaeacian episode and the Ulysses of Ithaca is not borne out by the language of the poem. When a Phaeacian observes that he is not like one skilled in athletic contests (8. 159–160), Ulysses replies that he was so once, but now has suffered too much toil and hardship (8. 182 *νῦν δ’ ἔχομαι κακότητι*, cp. 8. 231 *λίην γὰρ δεικελίας ἰδαιμάσθην κόμασιν ἐν πολλοῖς*). At the same time we cannot suppose him to be so altered by age and wandering that he was under no risk of being recognized in Ithaca. But if there was that risk, then the transformation, or some equivalent means of concealment, becomes a poetical necessity. Similarly in the *Philoctetes* of Euripides the opening speech of Ulysses related how Athene had promised to change him so that he should not be recognized by Philoctetes. The real difficulty pointed out by Kirchhoff lies in the passages which imply only such a disguise as the beggar’s rags would provide, instead of the complete transformation described in 13. 429 ff. But this inconsistency surely admits of an easy explanation. It is in fact an example of the practical difficulty of dealing with supernatural machinery in a logical and consistent way. The poet has made a somewhat excessive use of the marvellous, and afterwards returns unconsciously to a more natural point of view.

It need hardly be said that the recognition of Ulysses by means of the scar on his thigh does not show that he was unchanged. He even retains a measure of likeness to his former self, which does not escape the observation of the old nurse (Od. 19. 380). Penelope is represented as struck by his aged appearance, even for a companion of Ulysses: note the remark in 19. 360 *αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγρηράσκουσι*.



aid of Athene, even in the final battle, is given less freely than in corresponding situations in the *Iliad*, and only 'after full trial of the valour of Ulysses and his son<sup>21</sup>.' But in its main outlines the story is fanciful and improbable. It may have been in accordance with the manners of the time that various claimants should appear for the hand of Penelope<sup>22</sup>. But we cannot imagine a suit carried on for upwards

<sup>21</sup> Od. 22. 236-238.

<sup>22</sup> On this point some important suggestions have been made by Mr. W. Crooke in his article on 'the Wooing of Penelope' in *Folklore* (June 1898). 'I venture to think' (he says) 'that what we are told about the Suitors is not inconsistent with the theory that in the more primitive version of the tale they may have been regarded as the family or tribal council, like the Hindu Panchâyat, and that their presence in Ithaca, after the assumed death of Odysseus, may have been based on the generally recognised right inherent in the kinsfolk of arranging and enforcing the marriage of Penelope with one or other of their number according to the current tribal law of the age.' Hence he would explain the continued feasting of the Suitors, the subordinate chiefs having a right 'to entertainment when they assembled for tribal business,' and this right being occasionally used as a mode of pressure. So in India (he adds), 'when a family refuse to accept the decree of the Panchâyat, the meeting is adjourned time after time. The parties concerned have on each occasion to provide a dinner for the councillors, and the pressure of this tax sooner or later forces them to accept the verdict or arrange the matter by compromise' (p. 118). This right of entertainment—to take the last point first—may have existed, if not in the Homeric age, at least in the earlier times when the story of Penelope first took shape. What we find in Homer is that the council or *βουλή γερόντων* (not to be confused with the *ἀγορή* of Ithaca) was regularly feasted by the king when it met for business. When Nestor proposes to Agamemnon the holding of a council he says, 'give a feast to the councillors: you will then follow him who advises best' (Il. 9. 70-75 *δαίνυ δαίτῃα γέρονσι . . . πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομέων τῷ πέισσαι ὅς κεν ἀρίστην βουλήν βουλεύσῃ*). This is not the same thing as a right to be entertained by the family whose business is concerned: but the latter right probably existed where (as in the most typical Indian communities) there was no king or general assembly, and the council or Panchâyat was therefore the only source of authority (see Maine, *Village Communities*, pp. 122-125).

The question, then, is whether it is probable that the Suitors were originally, or in an earlier version of the story, the body to whom it belonged by tribal law to dispose of the hand of Penelope. 'The kinsmen (Mr. Crooke thinks) for the purpose of dramatic effect are turned into a body of audacious ruffians, and the right of entertainment at the table of the prince and the habitual licence during an interregnum converted into those scenes of insolent revelry' (p. 119). The chief difficulty in the way of this theory seems to me to lie in the position of Telemachus. It is surely clear that in the view of the *Odyssey* the right of giving Penelope in marriage rested entirely with him. The Levirate is not in question, because, as the poet is careful to tell us, neither Ulysses himself nor his father Laertes had any brother (Od. 16. 117-119). Telemachus may refuse to exercise the right, but he claims it (cp. Od. 2. 223 *καὶ ἀνέρι μητέρα δάσω*, also 20. 343-344), and the Suitors admit it (cp. Od. 2. 113 *μητέρα σὴν ἀπόπεμψον, ἀνωχθὶ δέ μιν γαμέεσθαι*). On the other hand a version of the tale without a Telemachus is improbable, not only because Telemachus occurs in the *Iliad* (see p. 309), but also because, as Wilamowitz pointed out (*Hom. Unters.* p. 56), without Telemachus as the rightful heir Penelope would have no legal footing in the palace of Ulysses. The *ἀγχιστεῖς* would step in and divide the property of the dead. On the whole it seems doubtful whether much can be made of the suggestion that the Suitors were in fact these *ἀγχιστεῖς*. If the Suitors are not unjust and insolent, they are no longer dangerous to Ulysses, or proper objects of his vengeance. Where then is the story of the *Odyssey*?

A parallel instance in Greek history may be seen in the wooing of Agariste,

of three years by more than a hundred of the young nobles of Ithaca and the adjoining islands. Hence we are not surprised to find that this is one of a group of stories with the same 'root' idea or *motif*—the king who is brought back to his home in a sudden and marvellous fashion, and who arrives at the last moment at which he can prevent the loss of his queen or bride. These 'return stories' (*Heimkehrsagen*) appear to be especially common in the Norse and Teutonic cycles of legend<sup>23</sup>.

Moreover it is not to be supposed that the arrogant and unscrupulous Suitors represented by such men as Antinous and Eurymachus would allow themselves to be put off so long by Penelope's plea of the unfinished web. That famous device, it need hardly be said, is akin to the tricks by which giants and trolls are outwitted in all the fairy tales. Looking to the imperious temper of the Suitors and the craft shown in their speeches, we may feel sure that the web is a survival from a more fabulous world, in which it was

daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (Hdt. 6. 126-130), on which occasion the Suitors, fourteen in number, were entertained by Cleisthenes for a year. This account points to the survival of some ancient rule by which Suitors as such were entitled to hospitality.

<sup>23</sup> Many examples are given in Dr. Schnorf's dissertation, *Der mythische Hintergrund im Gudrunlied und in der Odyssee* (Zurich 1879). It is usual (he observes) for the heroes to be suddenly carried through the air from a distant country, by the miraculous help of a god, an angel, or it may be the devil, and so brought to their house, 'where their presence is urgently needed—a marriage being imminent which threatens to deprive them of bride or wife.' A good example is the story of the return of Charles the Great from Hungary, as given in Wilhelm Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften* (i. 577). In leaving home he had said to his queen that if he stayed away more than ten years, she might surely count him as dead. Now when nine years had passed there arose much plundering and devastation at Aix and throughout the empire. Then the great men went to the queen and said, 'We suffer much because we have no lord [cp. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ἀνὴρ, οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσται, ἀπὸν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμύναι]: therefore we pray you, noble lady, to take as husband a prince that can protect the country. Our lord is surely dead.' The queen would not listen to them, but they pressed their suit, and at length she consented to do their will. A great wedding was ordained, and a mighty king chosen for her. After the third day she was to be married: but God would not permit it to be, and therefore sent his angel to warn King Charles, who was then in Hungary. The king asked how he was to get back to his kingdom in three days, and the angel gave him directions, how he was to find a horse that would take him in one day to Rab, and on the next day to Passau on the Danube, where he was to buy a foal that would carry him back to Aix in time to hinder the wedding. All this duly came to pass, and the story ends with a recognition scene in the cathedral church of Aix.

Some other features of the *Odyssey* are to be seen in the German 'return story' of Count Udalrich (Schnorf, p. 31). He returns from a long imprisonment in Hungary, and presents himself in beggar's rags among those to whom his wife Wendilgard was in the habit of giving alms. He seizes her hand, calls to the warriors present that he is their lord, and is recognized by them. But Wendilgard felt herself outraged: 'now indeed do I feel that my Udalrich is dead when I have to suffer such violence.' Thereupon he shows her the scar of an old wound on his hand, and is at once recognized.

employed against beings of a less human type than the young Achaeans of the *Odyssey*<sup>24</sup>.

The account of the insults offered to Ulysses may gain some light from this point of view. On three successive occasions one of the Suitors throws something at him, with no effect beyond proving his strength and patience. First Antinous throws his foot-stool (*θηήνυς*, *Od.* 17. 462 ff.); then Eurymachus also throws a foot-stool (*σφέλας*, 18. 394 ff.): finally Ctesippus throws an ox's foot (20. 299). The repetition has been felt to be a weakness in the story, and theories have been formed to account for it, based in general on the assumption that originally there was only one incident of the kind. But nothing is more familiar in popular tales than the occurrence of an incident three times, each time with some more or less trivial change of form. An example may be seen in the *Iliad* itself, in the story of Bellerophon (*Il.* 6. 179-186). The hero there has three tasks set him, (1) to kill the Chimaera, (2) to fight against the Solymi, and (3) to slay the Amazons. In the three insults described in the *Odyssey* a difficulty has been felt in the circumstance that there is no *climax*—they do not increase in violence. But it may be that throwing an ox-foot was regarded as the supreme indignity of a feast<sup>25</sup>.

### § 8. *The Slaying of the Suitors.*

It remains to consider the scene which forms the *dénouement* of the *Odyssey*—the slaying of the Suitors by Ulysses, with the aid of Telemachus and the two faithful servants.

In this famous combat we distinguish two successive stages.

<sup>24</sup> Regarding the web Mr. Crooke (p. 122 ff.) puts forward a theory suggested to him by Mr. Sidney Hartland. The chief difficulty which Mr. Crooke feels is that there is no direct evidence within the Greek area that it would be the duty of the nearest female relative of an old man to prepare his winding-sheet in anticipation of his decease. The solution which he gives as the suggestion of Mr. Hartland is that in its original form the weaving was not that of the shroud of Laertes, but the wedding dress of Penelope. He cites many examples to show the importance attached to the wedding dress, and the obligation which lay upon the bride to make it, or at least to assist in its making.

This is not the place for a discussion of these interesting questions of folklore: but two remarks may be made. In the first place, the *Odyssey* is itself good evidence both of the need of a shroud for Laertes, and of the duty imposed upon Penelope in regard to it. We can hardly expect to find more decisive references in early Greek literature. In the second place, the distinctive circumstance calling for an explanation is the nightly unravelling of the web. No parallel or illustration of this singular feature in the story seems to have been observed.

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Crooke quotes an instance from the Highland tales. A man is flung under the table, 'and there was not one of the company but cast bone upon him as he lay' (Campbell, *Popular Tales of the Highlands*, vol. ii. p. 490).

Ulysses leaps on to the threshold of the hall, and from that post of vantage, with the bow in his hands and the arrows on the ground before him, he shoots one after another of the Suitors. These have only their swords, and when one of them makes a rush at Ulysses, he is stopped by an arrow, or is slain by the spear of Telemachus. But the arrows, as Ulysses soon finds, are not sufficient for the work. Before they are exhausted Telemachus goes to the *θάλαμος* where the arms are, and brings shields, spears, and helmets enough for the four men. Meanwhile Melanthius, who is with the Suitors at the end of the hall, bethinks him of the arms, and is able to reach them without being observed by Ulysses, and so to arm twelve of the Suitors. The bow is then laid aside, and the rest of the fighting is carried on with spear and shield.

The representation of Ulysses as a great archer is confined to the *Odyssey*, and almost to the scene that we are now concerned with. In the *Iliad* the heroes of the highest rank are not archers. Their weapons are the spear, the shield, and the sword, and they look upon the bow with some degree of contempt (Il. 11. 385 *τοξότα, λαβητήρ* κτλ.). In the Catalogue (Il. 2. 718) Philoctetes is said to have been 'well skilled in the bow,' and the same praise is given to the men that he commanded. In the rest of the *Iliad* we only hear of two individual marksmen—Teucer on the Greek side, and Pandarus among the Trojans. We do not hear of *bodies* of archers,—of arrows darkening the air, as in the descriptions of oriental warfare. On the other hand, the bow has a great place in Greek tradition. It was the distinctive weapon of Heracles, whose shade was seen by Ulysses *γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῆφι διστόν* (Od. 11. 607). It is only in later art that the club takes its place. Ulysses himself, speaking of his own prowess as an archer (in language that is perhaps intended to prepare the hearer for the *μνηστοροφονία*), claims to be second to Philoctetes alone among living men: but he will not contend with the great archers of past generations, such as were Heracles and Eurytus of Oechalia (Od. 8. 215 ff.). From all this it may be gathered that archery had formerly been a much more important thing than it was in the battles of Homeric times. This earlier importance, however, survived in the field of tradition and romance: and thus the Ulysses of the *Odyssey* gained a character as an archer which the Ulysses of the *Iliad* never had. The process is the same in principle as that by which (as we have already seen) he became the Ulysses of the Polyphemus tale. In both instances the purer tradition of the *Iliad* was contaminated by admixture from another body of mythology.

These considerations make it probable that the first stage of the *μνησθηροφονία*—the slaying of the Suitors by the bow of Ulysses—did not assume the form in which we know it till after the time of the *Iliad*. No doubt it was already told, at least in germ, of some (perhaps nameless) hero, but not yet of Ulysses. In the *Odyssey* it became an essential part of the story, and indeed has all the appearance of being the nucleus round which the story was constructed. The whole incident of the *τόξου θέσις* is evidently a device for the purpose of letting Ulysses gain possession of his weapon. And the *τόξου θέσις* again is foreshadowed in the conversation between Ulysses and Penelope which occupies the nineteenth book. Thus everything in the last books of the *Odyssey* leads up to the combat with the bow. But in the second part of the *μνησθηροφονία* this is not the case. The fight has begun, and the stock of arrows is like to fall short of the need, when Telemachus offers to go and fetch arms from the chamber. After he has done so, a like thought occurs to Melanthius. In this unexpected fashion both sides are armed with spear and shield, and the combat is thenceforth carried on in the manner familiar to us from the battles of the *Iliad*.

It is hardly possible to read the twenty-second book of the *Odyssey* without being convinced that this second phase of the great combat was not founded on either heroic legend or popular tales, but was designed by the poet as a sequel to the first part. We see the work of a poet in the constructive ingenuity with which the two parts are welded together, and in the dramatic effect obtained by an unlooked-for danger: while the incidents which follow are mere epic commonplace. We conclude (1) that the material which the poet found to his hand was a tale in which Ulysses (or the great archer who was confused with him) regained his bow by a stratagem, and with it slew a whole band of enemies, and (2) that he developed this tale in his own fashion, and in accordance with the manners of his time\*.

The motives which may have led the poet to add a combat with spear and shield to the combat with the bow are not far to seek. In the earlier story the hero, armed only with bow and arrows, slays

\* A combat with spear and shield is anticipated in the words of Athene, 1. 255-256:

εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἐλθὼν δόμου ἐν πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι  
σταίῃ, ἔχων πῆληκα καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δύο δοῦρε.

In fact Ulysses appeared at his door armed only with bow and arrows. But here Athene (speaking in the shape of Mentor) is not uttering a prophecy, but putting a hypothetical case. In doing this she naturally mentions the weapons that were in use at the time.

a hundred or more Suitors, each of whom, according to the custom of the time, has his sword by his side. An exploit of this kind does not surprise us in a fairy tale. But so glaring an improbability must have offended the artistic sense of the Greeks, even in Homeric times. Any poet who took it for his theme would be almost obliged to give it a more rational colour. He would at the same time be tempted to add fresh incidents, to relieve the monotony of the original tale: and any such incidents would reflect the circumstances of his own day, or (in such matters as the arms and mode of fighting) would be influenced by the battle scenes of the *Iliad*.

### § 9. *Summary of the original tale.*

It is perhaps worth while here to put together what, according to these suggestions, the *Odyssey* may be supposed to have derived from ancient popular mythology. The tale will have run in some such fashion as this:

The king of one of the many islands of Greece—we do not know when he was first thought to be Ulysses of Ithaca—went with the warriors of his people to a distant war. On his way home he was driven out of his course into strange lands, where he met with wonderful adventures of all kinds—adventures in the cave of the monster Polyphemos, with the Laestrygonian giants, in the palace of the enchantress Circe, and many more—till at length, after losing his ship and all his companions, he was thrown ashore on the magical island of Calypso. There he remained, lost to friends and country, for seven long years: after which he was allowed by the gods to return to the world. The first land that he reached was the mysterious country of the Phaeacians, who entertained him splendidly, and sent him home to his own island in one of their magical ships. Meanwhile his palace was occupied by a horde of men (or perhaps of trolls or giants), the suitors of his faithful wife. She put them off for three years by pleading that a certain web which she was then weaving must first be finished: but they discovered that every night she undid the work of the day. Thus she had to finish her web, and to fix the time when she must consent to choose one of them as a husband. The king could not make himself known, since he would have been at once killed by the violent men who hoped to supplant him. He was accordingly changed by his protecting goddess Athene (or possibly by some magical means) into a withered old man, and in this form

and under the disguise of a beggar found his way into the palace. There he was the object of three successive insults from the chief of the Suitors. Thus the fatal day approached. But among the treasures of the palace was a bow of marvellous strength, which only the king himself could bend. This bow the queen, at the suggestion of the disguised king (or perhaps by the direct inspiration of the goddess), resolved to use for the trial of the Suitors, offering to accept the one who should string it and send an arrow through twelve axe-heads placed in a row. After all had failed, the supposed old beggar had the bow put in his hands, and at once performed the task. Thereupon, planting himself at the door, so that none could escape him, he shot down the whole number. He then recovered his own form, and was recognized by his queen.

#### § 10. *The supposed Telemachia.*

Some such outline as this may have been anterior to the growth of the heroic tradition into which it was eventually absorbed, and may have passed through various stages before reaching the perfect form that lies before us in Homer. What these stages were, and at what point in the process each of the subordinate characters was introduced into the story, it would be vain to inquire. In some of them—such as Nausicaa, Eumaeus, Eurycleia—there is no reason to see anything but the invention of a great poet. There is one leading character, however, of whom this cannot be said, and whose place in the structure of the *Odyssey* has been the subject of much discussion, viz. Telemachus.

Many scholars have maintained that the part of the *Odyssey* that is taken up with the adventures and deeds of Telemachus originally formed a distinct poem, a *Telemachia*. The common opinion now seems to be that the 'Telemachia' is the work of a different author, who, however, composed it, not as an independent poem, but with a view to the place which it holds in the complete *Odyssey*. There are further questions regarding the amount of matter to be assigned to the *Telemachia*. It has usually been taken to include—roughly speaking—the first four books with the earlier part of the fifteenth. Kirchhoff and those who follow him regard the first book as a still later addition. Others (as Wilamowitz) extend it so as to take in much that passes in the palace of Ulysses. Let us begin by considering the probable origin of the episode in question.

By a fortunate accident the name of Telemachus occurs more than once in the *Iliad* (2. 260., 4. 354), and in the mouth of Ulysses himself. 'May I be no longer called the father of Telemachus if &c.' is the form of adjuration with which he threatens Thersites. 'You will see the father of Telemachus in the front of the battle' is his boast, addressed to Agamemnon. It is therefore an integral part of the Trojan legend that Ulysses had a son so named, too young to go with his father to the war. It follows that Telemachus must have played a part in any possible version of the return of Ulysses. Twenty years having passed before the return, he could no longer be a child. He must be old enough to stand by his father's side in the combat with the Suitors. On the other hand, if he had come to man's estate, what was his position? Two pressing tasks lay before him—to drive away the Suitors, and to seek for his father. How long had these remained unfulfilled? Such was the problem presented to any storyteller or singer who took the fortunes of Ulysses for the subject of his art. The only possible solution, as it seems, is that which we find in the *Odyssey*. Telemachus must have reached manhood, and begun to think and act for himself, just before Ulysses set foot in Ithaca. This is a point which the poet of the *Odyssey* constantly keeps in view, and brings before his hearers in every form—in the exhortation of Athene (1. 296 οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ νηπιάας ὀχέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλίκος ἐσσί), the surprise of Penelope (1. 361., 18. 217., 21. 354), the confession of Telemachus himself (2. 313 ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα, cp. 18. 229., 20. 310., 21. 132). Moreover, if this was so, Telemachus was bound to give some proof of his manhood by taking the action required by the circumstances. Hence the Agora of the second book and the journeys to Pylos and Sparta are really indispensable to the plan of the poem. If they were left out, it would be necessary to put some equivalent action of Telemachus in their place. He is by tradition an actor in the drama, and must have a rôle assigned to him.

If a *Telemachia* of some kind was a necessary episode in any *Odyssey*, it can hardly be said that the *Telemachia* which we have—the Ithacan assembly and the journey to Pylos and Sparta—is disproportionate in length or irrelevant to the main theme. There is hardly a line in it which does not bear upon the fortunes and character of Ulysses himself. On the other hand there is nothing in these books that raises Telemachus to the place of hero of an epic poem. The interest with which we follow his movements and listen to the speeches for which he gives occasion, is an interest reflected from the figure of the real hero. Telemachus is on the stage for the purpose of giving



more effect to the entrance of Ulysses. The so-called *Telemachia* does for the *Odyssey* what the earlier battles of the *Iliad* do for the '*Achilleis*.' It secures that gradual heightening of interest which is the chief secret of dramatic art. At the same time it fulfils the subsidiary purpose of giving us a wide outlook over the Greek world as it was after the great war<sup>27</sup>. We may almost adopt the phrase which Grote has made familiar by his theory of the *Iliad*, and say that by the story of Telemachus the '*Odyssey*' was enlarged into a comprehensive *Νόστοι* that included the 'Returns' of all the Greek heroes.

The case for the later date of the *Telemachia*—meaning by that word the first four books of the existing *Odyssey*—has been stated with much force by Sittl (p. 74). He relies in the first place on the argument furnished by the old difficulty of the two Olympian assemblies (1. 26-95 and 5. 1-42), and then on the allegation that all the subsequent references to the '*Telemachia*' can be cut out without injuring the context. This last point will be dealt with a little later (see § 12). As to the two assemblies or councils of the gods, there is not much to be said that is not already familiar. In the first of these councils it is proposed by Athene that Hermes be sent to convey to Calypso the will of the gods that Ulysses shall now return, while she herself goes to Ithaca and urges Telemachus to hold an assembly of the people and 'speak out' to the Suitors. She sets out on this mission; but nothing more is said about Hermes or the message to Calypso. In the second Olympian assembly, held when Telemachus is on his journey (5. 18-20), Athene repeats her complaint of the neglect of Ulysses by the gods. Zeus affects to be surprised (*ποιόν σε ἔπος φῦγεν;*) and forthwith sends Hermes on his way. Comparing these accounts we must admit that there is some inconsistency. If the gods agreed in the first assembly to the sending of Hermes, no second debate was needed. In any case the speech of Athene in the fifth book is partly a repetition of what she had said before (cp. 5. 13-17 with 1. 48-59). It is to be observed, however, that there is no actual contradiction between the passages. Indeed, the dialogue in the fifth book presupposes the earlier one. When Athene again sets forth the griefs of her favourite, Zeus reminds her of what had passed. 'Did you not yourself counsel this?' he asks—meaning apparently that everything she wished had been already resolved upon. So, too, the mention of Poseidon returning from the Aethiopians (5. 282) refers to the passage

<sup>27</sup> This was remarked by the ancients: τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἐξελθεῖν ποιεῖ ὅπως ἂν τῶν Ἰτακῶν ἐν παρεμβάσει πολλὰ λεχθεῖη (Schol. on Od. i. 284, cp. 4. 187, 245). I take this reference from Sittl, *Die Wiederholungen in der Odyssee*, p. 166.

in the first book (1. 22) which tells us that he had gone there. The real difficulty is that the first book gives us the proposal of Athene to send Hermes to Ogygia, but without telling us what became of it. This, however, is a difficulty of that passage—not a discrepancy<sup>28</sup>. It is not explained by any theory of authorship. The true explanation surely is that the poet first stated the two proposals made by Athene, and then proceeded to say how they were carried out; that he naturally began with the second—the visit of Athene to Ithaca, with the consequent meeting of the Ithacan people and the journey of Telemachus: that all this occupied four books; and that then he had to return to the other thread of the story, and relate the deliverance of Ulysses from Calypso. A prose writer would find this transition easy enough. He would only have to say 'we now return to the other proposal agreed to by the Olympian council, in accordance with which Hermes was to be sent by Zeus' &c. But a Greek poet could not put back the clock in this fashion. The epic narrative is a single continuous one. The poet could shift the scene of his story back to the halls of Zeus, but not to a point of time in the irrevocable past<sup>29</sup>. He met the difficulty, therefore, by the device of a second Olympian debate, held like the other in the absence of Poseidon, and finally setting in motion the course of events in the poem.

Some stress has also been laid on the chronology of the 'Telemachia.' The visit of Telemachus to Pylos and Sparta is always represented as a hurried one. He certainly takes leave of Menelaus in language that implies this (Od. 4. 594 ff.). Yet when we compare the account of his journey with the simultaneous movements of Ulysses, we find that he must have spent twenty days in Sparta, viz. the time which his father took between leaving Ogygia and reaching Ithaca (Od. 5. 278., 6. 48., 8. 1., 13. 18). The answer surely is that the epic poet does not aim at accuracy of this kind. If an error is one that can only be detected by a calculation which his hearer is not able to make, or which nothing in the story leads him to make, he takes no pains to avoid it. A similar instance of chronological licence or error may be found in 17. 515 (see the note).

But the chief argument (or series of arguments) that Sittl urges in favour of the later date of the *Telemachia* is found in a comparison of parallel passages. He maintains that in the numerous instances in

<sup>28</sup> A similar case has been pointed out by Kirchhoff in the Phaeacian episode. The queen Arete asks Ulysses in the usual form *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*; In answer he tells some of his story, but keeps back his name: see p. 299, n. 18.

<sup>29</sup> For other examples of this rule, see p. 316.

which one or more lines occur in the *Telemachia*, and also in an undoubtedly genuine part of the *Odyssey*, it is generally possible to show that the author of the *Telemachia* has borrowed from an older poem. This is a method which Sittl has applied with success in other cases, especially in determining the relation in time between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* (see p. 325), and in proving the comparative lateness of the present end of the *Odyssey* (as to which see on 24. 1). In regard to the *Telemachia* his demonstration—for such it professes to be—is much less convincing. When we have made due allowance for the parallels that can be otherwise explained—either (1) as epic commonplace, or (2) by interpolation (the cases for which Aristarchus used the obelos with an asterisk), or (3) by borrowing from a common source in some lost poem—it will surely be found that the residuum is not sufficient for any large conclusion<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> The following are the chief instances which Sittl regards as proving that the author of the 'Telemachia' has borrowed from the original *Odyssey*:

1. 152 *μολπή τ' ὀρχηστὺς τε* τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτὺς, cp. 21. 430 *μολπή καὶ φόρμυγγ'* τὰ κτλ. This seems rather a case of interpolation: ὀρχηστὺς is irrelevant, since the Suitors wished for the song of Phemius. In l. 151 *ἄλλα* is to be compared with *ἄλλος ἐψάσθαι* in 21. 429. Possibly ll. 151-152 are both interpolated.

1. 154 (= 22. 331) *Φημῖν, ὅς ῥ' εἶδε παρὰ μνηστῆρσιν ἀνάγκη*. This no doubt is especially to the point in the later place, where it excuses Phemius: but, as Sittl himself admits, the poet may have wished to prepare us here for the incident in the *μνηστηροφονία*.

1. 157 (= 4. 70., 17. 592) *ἄγχι σῶν κεφαλῇν, κτλ.*, is not superfluous: though Telemachus was apart from the Suitors, he may well have been within hearing of them.

1. 171-173 (= 14. 188-190., 16. 59, 224) are probably interpolated here: *οἰκείτερον ταῦτα ὑπὸ Εὐμαίου ἀν λέγοντο, διὸ ἐν τισιν οὐκ ἐφείροντο* Schol. H. Q. This cannot mean, as Sittl supposes, that the lines were wanting in certain copies *because* they were condemned by Alexandrian critics. Rather *διό* = 'which accounts for the fact that' (they were wanting).

1. 238-241 = 14. 368-371. Here 1. 238 is interpolated from 14. 368 (since τῷ κέν κτλ. can only refer to 1. 237). Conversely 14. 369-370 come from 1. 239-240: they are wanting in some MSS. Thus the only repetition is 1. 241 = 14. 371.

1. 356-359 and 21. 350-353 come (as Sittl might have observed) from a common source, viz. ll. 6. 490-493, and therefore neither need have been borrowed from the other.

1. 370-371 = 9. 3-4 *ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἐστὶν δοῖδου κτλ.*

1. 425 *οἳ δὲ οἱ θάλαμος περικαλλέος αὐλῆς ὑψηλὸς δέδμητο περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ*, cp. 14. 5-6 *ἐνθα οἱ αὐλὴ ὑψηλὴ κτλ.*

2. 122 (= 7. 299) *ἀτὰρ μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐνάλσιμον οὐκ ἐνόησεν*.

In these three instances no definite reason can be given for regarding the passage in the 'Telemachia' as later than the other.

3. 123 *σίβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα* is epic commonplace: and the same may be said of 3. 233 *οἰκαδὲ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι*. In such cases it is only a flagrantly inapposite use that can furnish any argument.

3. 288 (= 14. 235) *στυγερὴν ὁδὸν εὐρόσσα Ζεὺς ἐφράσατο* applies rather better to the Trojan war than to the voyage of Menelaus. But it applies so well to both that there is no valid argument.

3. 471 (= 14. 104) *ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἑσθλοὶ δρῶνται* is epic commonplace, as the archaic word *δρῶνται* shows.

§ 11. *The first book.*

In dealing with the question whether the first book is or is not an integral part of the *Telemachia*, Sittl has gone back to suggestions which were first made by Hermann, and which seem to meet the requirements of the case. Kirchhoff had maintained, with the assent of many scholars, that the first book belongs to the latest 'stratum' of the *Odyssey*, being the work of the 'arranger' or 'worker-up' (*Ordner* or *Bearbeiter*), who is so important a personage in this field of criticism. The proof of this was found in the extensive but maladroitness which the supposed author seemed to make of the second book. In the assembly of Ithacan citizens described in that book Antinous and Eurymachus, speaking for the Suitors, bids Telemachus send his mother back to her father, who will then give her in marriage in the usual way (2. 113-114, 195-197). Telemachus entirely refuses (2. 130 ff.), but eventually proposes to wait for a year, and meanwhile to go in search of his father (2. 214 ff.). But in the first book Athene advises Telemachus to use nearly the language afterwards put into the mouth of Eurymachus (1. 275-278):

4. 354 (=9. 116) νῆσος ἔπειτα κτλ. If ἔπειτα is properly used, as Sittl says, of the goat island as following on the preceding description of the land of the Cyclops, the adverb is equally correct when applied in 4. 354 to Pharos, after the mention of Egypt.

4. 636-637 δώδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί, ἀδμήτες, τῶν κέν τιν' ἱλασσάμενος δαμασαίμην (4. 636=21. 23). If the foals were fit for work, Sittl argues that they could no longer be 'under' their mothers, hence that ὑπὸ in 4. 636 can only mean 'accompanying.' It is not likely that ὑπὸ as applied to mares and their foals ever bore more than one meaning. If 4. 636 is wrong, the mistake is one of practical knowledge, and would not prove a different authorship from 21. 23. But perhaps ἀδμήτες refers to the mares.

4. 796 δέμας δ' ἦντο γυναικί. Sittl has not noticed that this half-line occurs in a passage (4. 787-841) which he treats as an interpolation: see p. 101 of his book.

15. 181 (=8. 467) τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κείθι θεῷ ὅς εὐχετοφύμην. It may be that, as Sittl contends, Ulysses owed more to Nausicaa than Telemachus owed to Helen: but an expression of devotion such as this is not to be taken too literally.

16. 437 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται, cp. 6. 201 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ διεπὸς βροτὸς κτλ. Sittl holds that οὐδ' ἔσσεται was put in place of διεπὸς βροτὸς at a time when that phrase was no longer understood. But probably, like many other archaisms, it was not understood at all in Homeric times. However this may be, οὐκ ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται is not a tautology: cp. the prose equivalent, e.g. Plat. Rep. 492 E οὐτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὐτε γίγσκειν οὐδὲ οὐκ μὴ γένηται κτλ. We should add that 16. 437 is in a passage (16. 342-451) which Sittl afterwards treats as an interpolation (p. 103). Similarly his next instance 17. 101-103 is in the supposed interpolation 17. 31-166.

μητέρα δ', εἴ οἱ θυμὸς ἐφορμᾶται γαμέεσθαι,  
 ἄψ ἴτω εἰς μέγαρον πατρὸς μέγα δυναμένωιο,  
 οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσιν καὶ ἀρτυνίουσιν ἕδνα  
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα ἔουκε φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἔπεςθαι.

These lines, however, can be struck out without disturbing the context, and this circumstance, taken with the harsh anacoluthon *μητέρα . . . ἄψ ἴτω*, and the ambiguity of *οἱ δέ*, justifies Sittl in regarding them as an interpolation. If this is so, they do not prove anything as to the relation of the first book to the second. Again, a few lines further on Athene urges Telemachus to take action against the Suitors (1. 293 ff.). But she has just told him that if he hears of his father's death he is to give his mother in marriage (1. 292 *ἀνέρι μητέρα δοῦναι*)—a step which would at once get rid of the Suitors. It is very probable, however, that 1. 292 is interpolated from the parallel 2. 223, and, if so, Kirchhoff's argument fails. Again, in the speech of Telemachus to the Suitors we find seven lines (1. 374–380), which he again addresses to them in the assembly (2. 139–145). The repetition is evidently weak, and the effective line *ἔξιτέ μοι μεγάρων ἄλλας δ' ἀλεγύνετε δαίτας* (2. 139) is quite spoiled in the form *ἐξίεναι μεγάρων κτλ.*, which it assumes in order to fit the earlier context. Here also interpolation is highly probable.

It is possible that we should go further in striking out lines in the first book which recur in the second, or are otherwise superfluous: but the excisions proposed by Sittl are sufficient to save the book from the suspicion of being a piece of comparatively modern patchwork. In this way he not only repels the attack on the first book, but does much to defend the unity of the *Odyssey* as a whole. Kirchhoff, and other scholars who hold that it was formed by a combination of several shorter poems, cannot dispense with an 'arranger.' And since the first book has the character of an introduction to the completed *Odyssey*, it is to the arranger of the poem that that book is naturally assigned. But if with Sittl we reject the hypothesis of an 'arranger,' it becomes necessary to look elsewhere for the source of that unity of structure for which the *Odyssey* has been so long admired.

## § 12. *Later references to a Telemachia.*

Before we leave the subject of the *Telemachia* it will be well to follow Sittl in examining the passages in the second half of the *Odyssey* which refer to, or at least presuppose, the expedition of

Telemachus. Such are—the return of Telemachus and his companions to Ithaca (15. 1–300), the landing of Telemachus (15. 495–557), his message to Penelope (16. 129 ff.), the return of his companions, and the proceedings of the Suitors on the failure of their ambush (16. 322–451), his meeting with Penelope (17. 31–166). These passages carry on the story of the ‘Telemachia’ and interweave it with the subsequent course of events. If the ‘Telemachia’ is an addition to the original *Odyssey*, they must have been inserted either by the author of that addition or by a still later hand. The second alternative—that which treats them as *interpolations*—is adopted by Sittl: but he admits that the evidence furnished by his method of comparing parallel verses does not go far to settle the question<sup>31</sup>. Let us apply a different test.

It has been already remarked (p. 311) that in the Homeric poems the narrative is always approximately *consecutive*. The poet does not allow himself the licence of the modern historian or novelist, who often relates in successive chapters events that are supposed to have taken place at the same time. Moreover, it is a general rule in Homer that the narrative is also *continuous*. The incidents follow each without an appreciable interval. They fill the *time* of the poem, just as in a good picture the figures and other objects fill the *space* of the canvas. If there is an unavoidable pause in the main action, our attention is called away from it by a digression or subordinate episode. These rules, it will be seen, are especially significant, because especially difficult to observe, when the poet is really carrying on more than one thread of narrative. In the earlier part of the *Odyssey*, for example, there are in fact three parallel stories. From the second to the

<sup>31</sup> The following are instances put forward by Sittl of repetition of the ‘*Telemachia*’ in the ‘Telemachian interpolations’:

Od. 15. 11–13 = 3. 314–316. It is urged that the journey of Telemachus cannot be *ρηυσιή*, if that word means ‘vain,’ after the account which he has had from Menelaus. But Menelaus has only given him *hopes* of the return of Ulysses.

16. 130–131 = 15. 41–42: see the remarks in the text, p. 316.

17. 44 *ὅρας ἤνρησας ὀπώρας*. These words, it is objected, are used here to include hearsay. But this is so also in the parallels, 3. 97., 4. 327: see the notes on these places.

17. 62–64 = 2. 11–13. The only defect here is that we are not told that Telemachus was going to the agora. Possibly a line has fallen out. If for 17. 62 we substitute the two lines 2. 10–11 the difficulty disappears.

17. 124–141, 143–146 = 4. 333–350, 557–560.

It is surely an objection, at least from Sittl’s point of view, that these interpolations are scarcely possible unless we suppose an *Ordner* or *Bearbeiter*. The task of continuing the *Telemachia* and fitting the continuation into a series of places in the later story is surely one that could not be left to fortuitous concurrence.

sixteenth book we follow the several fortunes of Ulysses on his return from Calypso's island, of Telemachus on his way to Pylos and Sparta, and of Penelope in Ithaca. Is the narrative in these books consecutive and continuous? And if so, how is that result affected by the supposed 'Telemachian' interpolations?

Od. 15. 1-300. The fourteenth book ends at nightfall, with the long dialogue between Ulysses and the faithful Eumaeus. The passage in question begins before dawn (15. 56), and relates the return of Telemachus. It ends as Telemachus is approaching Ithaca, and then we are taken back to the house of Eumaeus, where it is now supper-time. Thus between 15. 1 and 15. 301 there is a gap of one or more days in the story of Ulysses, which is filled up by the story of Telemachus. With the passage which describes the return of Telemachus the narrative is smooth and connected: without it there is a sensible hiatus in the course of events.

Od. 15. 495-557. The landing of Telemachus takes place next morning at dawn, and he reaches the house of Eumaeus immediately after breakfast. Here it cannot be said that the passage fills a perceptible blank. At the same time it is so managed as not to interrupt the main action. And if (as Sittl holds) the original *Odyssey* made Telemachus come from the city on a visit to his faithful servant, we must suppose that a passage, or series of passages, describing the occasion and circumstances of that visit has been skilfully excised.

Od. 16. 129ff. According to Sittl (p. 102) the message addressed to Eumaeus comes in abruptly at the end of Telemachus' speech. It is difficult to assent to this criticism: the line *ἀλλ' ἢ τοι μὲν ταῦτα κτλ.* surely forms a sufficient transition. On the other hand the message cannot be struck out unless we also omit several passages that refer to it, viz. 16. 138 (*ἦ καὶ Λαίρτη αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄγγελος ἔλθω;*), 16. 150 (*ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἄγγεῖλας ὀπίσω κτλ.*), 16. 467 (*ἄγγελὸν εἰπόντα κτλ.*). Moreover, the recognition scene which immediately follows between Ulysses and his son implies the absence of Eumaeus: cp. 16. 155 *οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνην λῆθεν ἀπὸ σταθμοῖο κίων Εὐμαιος ὑφορβός.* With these difficulties it is not surprising that Sittl has not made it clear where he would place the inferior limit of the interpolation.

Od. 16. 321-451. The events related in these lines serve to fill up the time between the departure of Eumaeus in the morning (16. 155) and his return in the evening to his house (16. 452). If they are left out there is nothing to occupy the day except the recognition of Ulysses by his son, which takes place immediately after Eumaeus leaves them.

Od. 17. 31-166. The earlier part of the next day is occupied by the return of Telemachus to the palace and his meeting with Penelope. The omission of the meeting would certainly tend to break the continuity of the story.

The result of our examination seems to be to show that these five passages, which form the natural sequel to the expedition of Telemachus, cannot be treated as interpolations without impairing and indeed destroying the structure of the narrative in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth books. But if these passages must stand, it follows *a fortiori* that the earlier books which relate that expedition are part of the original *Odyssey*. Moreover, besides the incidents which directly presuppose the 'Telemachia,' there are references and allusions that are not less conclusive. Thus Eumaeus receives Telemachus *ὡς ἐκ θαλάσσης φηγόντα* (16. 21), and speaks of his going to Pylos (16. 24). His absence is implied in the questions which he asks about his mother (16. 33-35). The ambush of the Suitors is mentioned in the short dialogue between Telemachus and Eumaeus (16. 460-477). Again, the recent danger of Telemachus is not only referred to in his meeting with Penelope, but is indicated earlier in the seventeenth book by her excessive anxiety about him: cp. 17. 7-9 *οὐ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν παύσεσθαι δῖω . . . πρὶν γ' αὐτόν με ἴδῃται*<sup>32</sup>. Indeed the only important passage in this part of the *Odyssey* which is not more or less 'Telemachian' is the recognition scene between Ulysses and Telemachus. It will be difficult to reconstruct a 'primitive *Odyssey*' with that scene better placed than in the existing context.

### § 13. Books V-XII.

The eight books which follow the 'Telemachia' are taken up with the wanderings of Ulysses over the seas and shores of the Outer Geography. The chief heresy—if we may venture so to call it—about the composition of this part of the poem is that of Kirchhoff, who sees in it the work of two different periods. In his view the books from the fifth to the ninth (inclusive) form an older stratum, the older *Nέστος* or Return of Ulysses; while the tenth and twelfth represent a later *Nέστος*, in which some of the *motifs* of earlier stories are repeated. Thus Circe is a double of Calypso, and some features

<sup>32</sup> To this list should be added the speech put into the mouth of Theoclymenus, with the reply of the Suitors (20. 345-394). He is a figure in the *Telemachia*.



belong originally to the tale of the Argonautic expedition. The fountain Ἀρτακίη, which is common to the *Odyssey* (10. 108) and the *Argonautica*, belongs historically to the latter, being in fact a spring in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus. The Πλαγκταί of Homer are the same as the Symplegades, the Laestrygones are the Doliones, and Medea is another Circe. It is not difficult to show the weakness of reasoning based on coincidences of this kind. The word Ἀρτακίη, which is the only name common to the two cycles of legend, may have had a meaning that made it applicable to any fountain. The other resemblances are only such as may be traced in any two sets of popular stories. Kirchhoff finds support for his theory in certain indications which seem to him to prove that the story of the tenth and twelfth books was originally told of Ulysses (in the third person), whereas the ninth book was composed originally as a story told by him. These indications he sees in passages which relate things that Ulysses could not be supposed to know, e.g. the doings of his crew while he was asleep (10. 1-76., 12. 339-365), or in his absence (10. 210-243). It is unlikely, however, that an ancient poet would feel the necessity of this kind of verisimilitude—especially if autobiographical narrative was a new form of epic art<sup>23</sup>.

#### § 14. *Interpolations in the Phaeacian Story.*

We can have little hesitation in recognizing one or two short interpolations in the Phaeacian episode. Chief of these is the song of Demodocus (8. 266-369), the so-called 'comedy of the gods.' The whole tone and style of this piece is unworthy of Homer, and indeed is below the level of serious epic poetry. Moreover the language is clearly post-Homeric: in particular the later forms ἥλιος (for ἡέλιος, 8. 271), ἄρε (at the end of line 8. 276), Ἑρμῆν (for Ἑρμείαν, 8. 334): also some words and forms borrowed from the *Iliad*, as ἐκατηβόλος, ἀλαοσκοπή, τό = *for which reason*.

In the description of the palace and gardens of Alcinoüs in the seventh book a considerable interpolation was first pointed out by L. Friedländer<sup>24</sup>. That description, it will be noticed, is introduced into the story at the point where Ulysses is about to enter the palace, and is given as an account of what he then saw. It is therefore in

<sup>23</sup> For an excellent criticism of Kirchhoff's theory see Georg Schmidt, *Ueber Kirchhoffs Odysseestudien*, Kempten 1879.

<sup>24</sup> *Philologus*, 1851, pp. 669 ff.

the past tense, the verbs being imperfects or pluperfects; as *ὡς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πῆλεν* (l. 84), and so down to l. 102. But from l. 103 the verbs are in the 'principal' tenses: *ἀλετρεύουσι* (l. 104), *ὀφθαίωσι*, *στρωφῶσιν* (l. 105), *ἐλήλαται* (l. 113), *πεφύκασι* (l. 114), &c., and this form is kept up till l. 131, where the parenthetical *ὄθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται* somewhat abruptly returns to the imperfect. The main thread of the narrative is then taken up in the same tense: *τοῖς ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα*. There can be no doubt that the use of the present in ll. 103-131 is contrary to Homeric usage, and is especially inadmissible after the past tenses of ll. 84-102. Moreover, the reference of the pronoun *οἱ* in 103 (*πεντήκοντα δέ οἱ κτλ.*) and 122 (*ἔνθα δέ οἱ κτλ.*) is not sufficiently clear. And the account of the garden, with orchard and vineyard, placed at the gate of the αἰλή, in the middle of the town, does not agree very well with the words of Nausicaa, 6. 293-294 *ἔνθα δὲ πατὴρ ἐμοῦ τέμενος τεθαλυῖα τ' ἀλωή, τόσσον ἀπὸ πόλιος ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας*.

The chief remaining difficulty in regard to the Phaeacian episode is caused by the repetition of an incident in the story. After the feast given by Alcinoüs in honour of the arrival of Ulysses the minstrel Demodocus is introduced, and sings of a famous quarrel between Ulysses and Achilles. Thereat Ulysses covers his head with his robe, and weeps silently: Alcinoüs alone observes him, and brings the singing to an end (8. 93-103). After supper the same thing happens. Demodocus, at the request of Ulysses himself, sings of the Wooden Horse. Ulysses again weeps; Alcinoüs again notices it and interferes—this time inviting Ulysses to tell them who he is (8. 521 ff.). Is there any repetition here which an ancient epic poet would seek to avoid? The object of the passage evidently is to lead up to the story of the wanderings. Alcinoüs is to be convinced that the unknown stranger is one of the heroes of the war, and so to be led to ask for his name. For that purpose the repetition is proper and natural. The first time that Alcinoüs notices his guest's emotion he says nothing about it to the others. The second time he feels that he may ask for an explanation. Nitzsch, who sees no difficulty in the fact of a repetition, is struck by the number of events compressed into a single day. After the *agora* of the morning comes the *δείπνον* given to the chiefs, then the song of Demodocus, then the games of various kinds (in some of which Ulysses takes a part); after these the *δάρπνον*, the second song of Demodocus, and finally the story which fills the next four books. In this there is no doubt a degree of improbability. But it is not the kind of improbability that would

be readily felt in oral recitation<sup>35</sup>. The Greek listener was doubtless quick to perceive a want of smoothness or continuity in a tale or poem. It does not follow that he would be able or inclined to measure the time that a given series of events would occupy. Nevertheless, the poet does make a sort of apology for the length of the story<sup>36</sup>.

### § 15. *The νέκυια.*

The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* relates the νέκυια or (more strictly) νεκυομαρτεία, in which Ulysses called to him the spirits of the dead, and had converse with them. The book stands very much apart from the other adventures, and scholars have been disposed to regard it as a later addition. In any case it has suffered considerable interpolation, by which indeed the character of the episode has been materially affected. The voyage to the region of the dead is undertaken at the bidding of Circe, in order that an oracle may be obtained from the spirit of the soothsayer Tiresias. Ulysses is to go to a place on the shore of the river Oceanus, and there perform sacrifices and incantations which will draw the multitudes of the dead to him. This he does, and as each ghost is allowed to drink of the blood of the sacrifice, it is enabled to speak to him. In this way he consults Tiresias, then speaks with his own mother, and many other famous women of past generations, finally with Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ajax. Ajax refuses to speak, and returns, like the rest, to the darkness (l. 564). At this point there is a break: Ulysses desires to see more of the heroes of the past. He does so, but in a different way. The ghosts no longer come at his bidding: he sees them in their places, carrying on, in a shadowy way, the occupations of life—Minos judging, Orion hunting, Heracles shooting with the bow. Others, again, are expiating the crimes of their life-time: such are Tantalus, Sisyphus, &c. This part (ll. 565-627) must be an interpolation, belonging to the age when the notion of future retribution had gained a place in Greek theology<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> The improbability is at least as great in Virgil's imitation of this scene. The story told by Aeneas in the second and third books of the *Aeneid* is supposed to begin after midnight, when 'night is past the meridian, and the sinking stars invite to sleep' (Aen. 2. 8-9). See the remarks of Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* p. 117 (note).

<sup>36</sup> See Od. 11. 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρη εὐθεὶν κτλ., and the reply of Alcinoüs in 11. 373 νῦν ἦδε μάλα μακρὴ δόισφατος, οὐδέ ποῦ ὥρη εὐθεὶν ἐν μεγάροι.

<sup>37</sup> See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* pp. 142 ff., also pp. 199-226.

§ 16. *The Continuation* (Od. 23. 297 ff.).

According to Aristarchus and other ancient critics the *Odyssey* originally ended with the line 23. 296—

ἀσπᾶσιος λῆκτροιο παλαιῶ θεσμὸν ἔκοντο.

The remainder of the existing text, in their view, was a later addition, designed to satisfy the Greek hearer or reader, who naturally desired to know how the blood-feud created by the slaying of the Suitors was appeased, and how Ulysses was finally established in his kingdom. It is evident that that object is satisfactorily attained by the narrative of Od. 23. 197 ff., in which also a place is found for one more 'recognition'—the meeting of Ulysses with his father Laertes.

In this narrative, again,—which we may call the 'continuation'—there are two passages which, in the opinion of Aristarchus, were still later interpolations, viz.—(1) a brief summary, hardly more than a versified table of contents, of the adventures of Ulysses (23. 310–343); and (2) the Second *Nékuia* (24. 1–204), or account of the descent into Hades of the ghosts of the Suitors.

The reasons for accepting the judgment of the ancient critics as to the 'continuation' of the *Odyssey* are to be found partly in the general character of the story, and partly in the many traces of post-Homeric language and ideas. The battle in which Ulysses with the aid of Telemachus and a few servants meets and vanquishes the united forces of Ithaca, is ill-conceived and improbable in the highest degree. After the great combat of the twenty-second book, which forms the real *dénouement* of the poem, a further scene of the same character could not be anything but an anti-climax. It has been urged that the relatives of the Suitors were under the obligation, which no ancient poet could ignore, of avenging the death of their kinsmen. It may surely be replied that the author of the *Odyssey*, if he had felt the necessity of saving his hero from this difficulty, would have found a better way of doing so.

In the *μηστορηφονία*, as we have seen, nothing is more worthy of notice than the efforts which the poet makes to bring the incidents within the bounds of probability. He represents his hero as facing fearful odds, but he takes care at the same time to lay stress on the various circumstances that lessen or at least disguise the strangeness of the result. The Suitors are taken by surprise, they are unarmed,

they are crowded together in a disadvantageous position, &c. But in the 'continuation' no such attempt is made to give the story an air of credibility. The consequence is that the concluding incidents are unnatural in themselves, and that they caricature the most important part of the poem. We pass from the crowning moment in the fortunes of Ulysses to the state of mind described by Horace in the words *quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi*.

Most of the other traces of post-Homeric workmanship in the passage now in question have been noticed in the commentary: but it may be useful to add a brief summary of them here. They fall under the following heads:—

(1) Non-Homeric or doubtful forms: *ἦν* (23. 316., 24. 343), *ἐκείνος* (24. 288, 312, 437); the contractions *προπεμψα* (24. 360), *θάμβεις* (24. 394), *Ὀδυσσεὺς* (24. 398), *εὐπείθει* (24. 465), *τεύχεα* (24. 534).

(2) Grammar: the Optative in *oratio obliqua* (24. 237), the unemphatic use of *αὐτός* (24. 241, 282), enclitics misplaced (24. 247, 332, 335, 337), the later use of the article (24. 497).

(3) Metre: *ἐπὶνᾶλλω* (23. 361): the synzesis in *οὐκ ὀγγυηοῦ πρασίη* (24. 247), the lengthening by position in *ἐπίεσσιν* (24. 240).

(4) Vocabulary: *Ἡριγένεια* (= *Ἥως*, 23. 347): *εἰ ἔχει* (24. 245), *ἐνὶν* (24. 286), *ὑπάρχω* (*ibid.*), *ἐπιχειρέω* (24. 386).

(5) Geography: the mention of *Σικανίη* (24. 307).

(6) Imitation of Homer: see the notes on 24. 235–240, 248, 368, 534, 535.

In the 'continuation,' again, is inserted the passage known as the Second *Néκυια*. The *junctura* is shown by the lines which form the transition to the *Néκυια* (23. 371–372), and back to the 'continuation' (24. 203–204). The words in 24. 205 *οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαν* refer back to 23. 370. The internal evidence for a post-Homeric date is not less strong than in the case of the 'continuation,' but it is of a somewhat different kind, turning not so much upon the forms of the language as upon traces of later ideas and beliefs. Thus the form *Ἑρμῆς* is probably later; but the same may be said still more decidedly of the epithet *Κυλλήγιος* and the attribute *ψυχοπομπός*, as well as of the admission to Hades of the souls of men who were unburied (24. 187), and indeed of the whole conception of the way to the under-world (see the note on 24. 11–12). The traces of borrowing or imitation of Homeric passages are frequent. The dialogue between Achilles and Agamemnon (24. 23–100) can hardly be uninfluenced by the scenes of the eleventh book, and (as Aristarchus observed) is not in place here. The speech of Amphimedon repeats

the passage about Penelope's web, which has already occurred twice (24. 128-146: see the note on 24. 128), as well as other incidents already familiar to the hearer (24. 150 ff.). Imitation of the *Iliad* may be seen in the use of *πρῶτῃ* (24. 28), *ἀνάσσω* (24. 30), *φύβος* (24. 57), *ἡγεμονεύω* (24. 155), and the phrases *λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων* (24. 40) and *οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή* (24. 52). The mention of Clytemnestra as taking part in the murder of Agamemnon indicates a post-Homeric version of the event: but it is found also in the former *νέκυια* (11. 410, 453). The 'nine Muses' (24. 60) are not elsewhere heard of in Homer, who uses either the singular, as in the invocations at the beginning of the two great poems, or a vague plural. In this passage there is an abrupt change to the singular (24. 62 *Μοῦσα Λίγεια*).

It will be seen that the arguments for the later date of these passages are overwhelming. The same may be said of the Song of Demodocus (8. 266-369), and of the incident of the gifts extorted from the Suitors by Penelope (see the notes on Od. 18. 158 ff.). These examples may serve to show the difficulty of making an interpolation or continuation of one of the Homeric poems without betraying the difference of date and authorship.

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The general conclusion in these matters has never been better expressed than by Wolf himself, in the Preface to his *Homer* (Halis 1794), p. xxii:

'Quoties abducto ab historicis argumentis animo redeo ad continentem Homeri lectionem et interpretationem, . . . atque ita penitus immergor in illum veluti prono et liquido alveo decurrentem tenorem actionum et narrationum: quoties animadverto ac reputo mecum, quam in universum aestimanti unus his Carminibus insit color, aut certe quam egregie Carmini utrique suus color constet, quam apta ubique tempora rebus, res temporibus, aliquot loci adeo sibi alludentes congruant et constant, quam denique aequabiliter in primariis personis eadem lineamenta servantur et ingeniorum et animorum: vix mihi quisquam irasci et succensere gravius poterit quam ipse facio mihi, &c.'

And a little further on—

'Odyssea, ut dixi, longe admirabilior est virtutibus illis compositionis, atque numeris huius artis omnibus absolutior. Imprimis operis illius integritas tanta est, quantam vix ullum aliud epos habet.'

## II. RELATION OF THE ODYSSEY TO THE ILIAD.

§ 1. *Influence of the Iliad on the narrative of the Odyssey.*

A brief sentence in the *Poetics* of Aristotle contains the germ of much of the thought that has been directed in ancient and modern times to the comparison of the two Homeric poems. 'The *Iliad*,' says Aristotle, 'is simple and pathetic, the *Odyssey* is complex, dealing throughout in recognitions, and ethical<sup>1</sup>.' That is to say, the *Iliad* is a straightforward story, the essentials of which are the wrong done to the hero, and the grief suffered by him through the loss of his friend: the *Odyssey* is a story with a developed plot, in which the interest turns upon the play of character and the final triumph of right over wrong. Yet notwithstanding the difference in artistic aim and method implied by this pregnant criticism, it does not appear that Aristotle felt the least doubt of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* being the work of the same great poet. The first trace of any such doubt among Greek scholars belongs (so far as is known) to the Alexandrian age.

In later times, when the heresy of the χωρίζοντες, or 'separators' of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, had been confuted by Aristarchus<sup>2</sup>, and no longer troubled the republic of letters, the critics and rhetoricians must have felt the need of a theory of some kind to account for the common authorship of the two poems. A specimen of such a theory may be seen in a celebrated passage of Longinus<sup>3</sup>, in which it is maintained that Homer wrote the *Iliad* in the prime of his life, the *Odyssey* in his declining years—when, like the setting sun, he had lost the intensity

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 1459 b 13 καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐκάτερον συνίστηκεν ἡ μὲν Ἰλιάς ἀπλοῦν καὶ παθητικόν, ἡ δὲ Ὀδύσσεια πεπλεγμένον (ἀναγνώρισις γὰρ διόλου) καὶ ἠθική.

<sup>2</sup> In the treatise πρὸς τὸ ἑνάντιον παράδοξον.

<sup>3</sup> Longinus, *De Subl.* c. 9 δεικνύσι δ' ὅμως διὰ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύας (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πολλῶν ἕνεκα προσπειθεωρητέον), ὅτι μεγάλης φύσεως ὑποφερομένης ἤδη ἰδὼν ἔστιν ἐν γῆρᾳ τὸ φιλόμυθον. δῆλος γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τε ἄλλων συντεθεικὸς ταύτην δευτέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦ λείψανου τῶν Ἰλιακῶν παθημάτων διὰ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύας, ὡς ἐπεισὸδιὰ τινα τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου, προσπεισφέρειν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐπίλογός ἐστιν ἡ Ὀδύσσεια.

ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κείται ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφρων μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος,  
ἔνθα δ' ἑμὸς φίλος υἱός.

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, οἶμαι, τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος γραφομένης ἐν ἀκμῇ πνεύματος, ὅλον τὸ σωματικὸν δραματικὸν ὑπεστήσατο καὶ ἐναγάνιον τῆς δὲ Ὀδυσσεύας τὸ πλέον διηγηματικόν, ὅπερ ἰδὼν γῆρας. ὅθεν ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεύᾳ παρεικάσαι τις ἂν καταδυομένην τὸν Ὀμηρον ἤλψῃ, οὐ δίχα τῆς σφοδρότητος παραμένει τὸ μέγεθος.

of his power, but not his greatness. We may be unable to accept this as a full explanation of the distinctive qualities of each of the two poems; but it is worthy of notice as a recognition of the critical problem which they present. And some at least of the considerations urged by Longinus are still valid as arguments for the later date of the *Odyssey*. There is much truth in the remark that the *Odyssey* serves up the broken fragments of the feast that was spread before us in the Trojan story. For most of the great figures of that war—Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax, Hector, Agamemnon—have passed away; and others, like Nestor and Menelaus, are ending their days in peace. In the *Odyssey*, along with the fortunes of the last Trojan hero, we have much gathering up of incidents or episodes, now only memories of past deeds; and generally a spirit of retrospect, such as befits the epilogue (as Longinus calls it) of the whole drama. Such a poem, it is evident, could not come into existence until the Trojan war had been celebrated, and that in song as well as in story.

The view of the *Odyssey* set forth in this passage will show that the ancients, who were guided by a poetical instinct rather than by definite reasons, were led some way in the direction of a 'separatist' theory of the two Homeric poems. It will also give an idea of the more or less fanciful speculation which enabled them to acquiesce in the traditional belief.

Among the modern scholars who have pursued a similar vein of inquiry, with the object of framing a theory of the relation of the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*, one of the most suggestive is the German writer already quoted<sup>4</sup>. He has been especially successful in pointing out the peculiar *tacit* recognition of the *Iliad* which may be traced in the later poem. The *Odyssey*, he shows, is full of references to the story of the Trojan war—indeed it virtually ignores all the other cycles of legend—yet it never repeats or refers to any incident related in the *Iliad*. The incidents to which it does refer are in the style of the *Iliad*: they turn upon the same characters and *motifs*, but these characters and *motifs* are presented in new combinations. Thus, to take those in which Ulysses is an actor—

The πρῶξις, or visit of Ulysses in disguise, related by Helen in Od. 4. 240–264, is an adventure much in the manner of the Doloneia.

The story of the Wooden Horse, as told by Menelaus (Od. 4. 265 ff.), is meant to bring out another side of the character of Ulysses, viz. his firmness.

<sup>4</sup> B. Niese, *Die Entwicklung der homerischen Poesie*, pp. 43–45.



The wrestling match in Lesbos (Od. 4. 342 ff., 17. 133 ff.) is or may be suggested by the mention of Lesbos in Il. 9. 129, 271.

The combat over the body of Achilles, referred to in Od. 5. 309-310, is evidently parallel to the combat over Patroclus in Il. 17. 717 ff. (see p. 358).

The quarrels that occupy so much space as *motifs* in the story—of Ulysses and Achilles (Od. 8. 75), of Ulysses and Ajax (Od. 11. 543 ff.), of Agamemnon and Menelaus (Od. 3. 136)—are apparently reflexions of the great quarrel of Achilles with Agamemnon<sup>8</sup>.

In other instances we recognize the desire to carry on the story beyond the point at which the *Iliad* left it, and in doing so to make use of any hint that the *Iliad* supplies. To this class of incident we may assign the story of the death of Achilles, of which the *Iliad* offers vague prophecies (Il. 21. 277-, 22. 359): the coming of Thetis to lament her son: the contest for the arms of Achilles: the part played by Neoptolemus, who is only once mentioned in the *Iliad* (19. 327): the death of Antilochus: the murder of Agamemnon, and all the misfortunes of the return from Troy. Finally the actual capture of Troy forms a necessary complement to the siege described in the *Iliad*; though the story of the Wooden Horse is hardly one that we can suppose the author of the *Iliad* to have known or accepted in an epic narrative.

These examples seem to show that the influence of the *Iliad* upon the story and incidents of the *Odyssey* was of much the same kind as that which was exercised by the two Homeric poems upon the early post-Homeric epics. The remark applies especially to the earliest of the 'cyclic poets,' viz. Arctinus. In the works of that successor and 'disciple' of Homer, as will be pointed out<sup>9</sup>, there is not much direct borrowing from the master. His aim was rather to imitate and carry further the epic story which he found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: even as the poet of the *Odyssey* seems himself to have dealt with the *Iliad*, and doubtless also with the other early epic poets of whom he has given us pictures in his Phemius and Demodocus.

Among the arguments which go to show the comparative lateness of the *Odyssey* these pictures certainly deserve a place. The *Iliad*, indeed, mentions *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, 'stories of heroes' sung to the lyre (Il. 9. 189); and the adjective *δοιδιμος*, 'matter of song,' is used in a way that implies narrative poetry (Il. 6. 358). But it is in the

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the first-mentioned quarrel see the remarks on p. 296.

<sup>9</sup> See the remarks on pp. 355, 377.

*Odyssey* that we first meet with the professional epic 'singer' (*αἰκδοῦς*)<sup>7</sup>, occupying a clearly recognized place in the social system. This is a difference that can hardly be accounted for except as the result of a movement partly literary and partly social, which must have taken a considerable time. It was in fact the growth of a new calling.

§ 2. *Passages of the Iliad borrowed or imitated in the Odyssey.*

Among the characteristic features of Greek epic poetry nothing is more marked than the freedom with which it allows the repetition of language already used. Favourite epithets or phrases, lines or half-lines, and even long descriptive passages, recur as often as the poet has occasion for them. Sometimes we almost feel that the Homeric singer is not using a language of his own, but is ringing the changes on a stock of traditional verbiage, some of which has even ceased to convey a clear meaning<sup>8</sup>. If this were so it would be impossible, generally speaking, to draw conclusions regarding the comparative originality, and hence the earlier or later date, of identical passages. All would be equally derived from a conventional storehouse, accumulated in pre-Homeric times.

An examination of the numerous repetitions in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* soon shows that they are not all of the same nature<sup>9</sup>. In many instances, no doubt, they arise from the epic use of conventional words and phrases, or conventional bits of description—a sacrifice, the arming of a warrior, his fall in battle, the landing from a ship, the setting forth of a god or goddess on a journey<sup>10</sup>. A few cases are due to the rule that a message is first given to the messenger, and is then repeated word for word to the person for whom it is intended.

<sup>7</sup> The nearest approach to such a character in the *Iliad* is the singer Thamyris, who, however, is only mentioned in the Catalogue (Il. 2. 595). The *δαῖδοι* of the twenty-fourth book (Il. 24. 720) are not poets or reciters, but mourners employed to perform the lamentations (*θρήνοι*) that are in vogue in oriental countries. The *δαῖδοι* who appears in modern texts of Il. 18. 604 has been foisted in against all the MSS.

It may be noticed that the calling of the *λαρὸς* seems to have undergone a similar development in the time between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: see Od. 4. 231.

<sup>8</sup> This feeling is expressed in an epigram of Pollianus, *Anthol.* xi. 130:

τοὺς κυκλίους τοῦτους τοὺς αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα λέγοντας  
μοῦω, λαμποδύτας ἀλλαστρίαν ἐπίω.

They even go the length (the epigrammatist goes on to say) of 'conveying' *μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά*.

<sup>9</sup> The chief monograph on the subject has been already referred to (p. 310), viz. the excellent work of Karl Sittl, *Die Wiederholungen in der Odyssee* (München 1882).

<sup>10</sup> Od. 5. 44-49, Il. 24. 340-345 (of Hermes), Od. 1. 96-102 (of Athene).

Others, again, are spurious instances, arising from the interpolation of lines that belong to a different context. But many passages remain in which we have to recognize borrowing, or at least close imitation—passages, that is to say, in which the poet imitates a predecessor—even as Virgil imitates Homer and Lucretius, or as Persius imitates Horace. If, after rejecting repetitions that fall under other categories, we are able to point to a sufficient number of passages tending to show that the author of the *Odyssey* imitates the *Iliad*, and if no considerable instances can be produced of the converse, we obtain strong confirmation of the view taken above regarding the relative age of the poems.

In choosing examples from the long list in Sittl's book (pp. 10–61) it will be convenient to take no notice for the present of those parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which are generally regarded as later than the rest of the poem. Such are—in the *Iliad*, the Catalogue, the 'Doloneia,' the story of Nestor in 11. 670–762, the last book: in the *Odyssey*, the song of Demodocus (8. 266–369), the *Nékyia*, the 'continuation' (23. 297 ff.).

(1) Od. 1. 358–359 *μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει | πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ*. Also in Od. 21. 352–353, with *τόξον* in place of *μῦθος*.

The original of both passages is evidently Il. 6. 492–493 *πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοὶ Ἰλίου ἔγγεγάασιν*. These clear and impressive words doubtless passed into a sort of proverb: the substitution of *μῦθος* or *τόξον* for *πόλεμος* is just such an adaptation as proverbial words are apt to suffer. See the note on Od. 21. 352.

(2) Od. 1. 398 *καὶ δμῶων οὓς μοι λήισσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*.

Cp. Il. 18. 28 *δμῶαι δ' ἄς Ἀχιλεὺς λήισσατο*, where the phrase implies that capture in war was the chief or only mode of obtaining slaves. This may be true for the *Iliad*, but is certainly not true for the *Odyssey* (1. 430., 14. 450).

(3) Od. 3. 245 *τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ μὲν φασιν ἀνάσσειν γένε' ἀνδρῶν*.

This seems to come from Il. 1. 250–252, where it is said that Nestor *lived* for three generations, and was a king in the third—a not very improbable statement, of which the line in the *Odyssey* is an obvious exaggeration.

(4) Od. 3. 291 *ἔνθα διατμήξας τὰς μὲν Κρήτην ἐπέλασσαν* (of ships).

In Il. 21. 3 *ἔνθα διατμήξας τοὺς μὲν κτλ.*, applied to the *cutting off* of troops in the field, is more natural than when used of the scattering of ships in a storm. And, as Sittl observes, the reference of *τὰς* to *νηυσί*, four lines back, is somewhat harsh.

(5) Od. 4. 527 μῆσαιτο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

This is almost a fixed formula in the *Iliad*, imitated or borrowed in the *Odyssey*.

(6) Od. 4. 829 ἢ νῦν με προήκε τεῖν τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

The use of τάδε where we expect ταῦτα is suspicious: in the parallel Il. 11. 201 τάδε refers to what follows.

(7) Od. 7. 197 πείσεται δσσα οἱ αἶσα κατὰ Κλωθῆς τε (v. l. Κατακλωθῆς τε) βαρεῖαι | γενομένην νῆσαντο λίνφ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

Cp. Il. 20. 127 τὰ πείσεται δσσα οἱ αἶσα γενομένην ἐπένησε κτλ.

The addition of the Κλωθῆς (or Κατακλωθῆς) to the simple αἶσα of the *Iliad* is surely later. It brings us within sight of Κλωθώ and her sister Fates in Hesiod<sup>11</sup>.

(8) Od. 8. 258 ἐννέα πάντες ἀνίσταν (= Il. 7. 161).

That there were nine champions of the Greeks is part of the story in the *Iliad* (7. 161., 8. 266): but for the Phaeacian judges the number is arbitrary.

(9) Od. 9. 350 σὺ δὲ μαλιναι οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς.

In Il. 8. 355 ὁ δὲ μαλιναι οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς is said of the furious career of a warrior in the field. It does not apply to the Cyclops.

(10) Od. 10. 162 τὸ δ' ἀντικρὺ δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξεπύρηνσε.

In Il. 16. 346 these words describe a spear passing through the neck of an antagonist. Sending a spear through the back of a stag would be an improbable feat.

(11) Od. 13. 5 τῷ σ' οὐ τι παλιμπλαγχθέντα γ' οἶω | ἀψ' ἀποροστήσειν.

These words are hardly intelligible except as an imitation of Il. 1. 59 νῦν ἄμμε παλιμπλαγχθέντας οἶω κτλ.

(12) Od. 14. 156 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀἶδαιο πύλῃσι | γίγνεται.

In Il. 9. 312 the verb is left unexpressed—to the advantage of the sense. In the *Odyssey* γίγνεται is a weak addition.

(13) Od. 14. 419 οἱ δ' ἐν εἰσῆγον μάλα πῖονα πενταέτηρον.

From Il. 2. 402 αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσε . . . πῖονα πενταέτηρον. 'Five years old' is right for an ox, but does not apply in the case of a pig, which at that age is too old for use<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> In regard to the two readings in Od. 7. 197 it may be observed that (1) the tmesis involved in taking κατὰ with νῆσαντο in the next line is extremely harsh; (2) the root-nouns of the form κλωθ- are rare, but are not infrequent in composition, especially with prepositions: e.g. ἀπορρώς, παραπλῆγ-ες, ἐπιβλής, σύζυξ, καταί-τυξ (?), also the adverbial ἐνδόρα, ἐπικάρ, ἐπιμίξ, &c.: (3) the name Κλωθῆς, being in form a shortened name (*Kose-name*), is more likely to be derived from a compound such as Κατα-κλωθῆς than from the simple Κλωθ-ες.

<sup>12</sup> 'Le bœuf immolé par Agamemnon a cinq ans: rien de mieux: mais un porc de cinq ans a depuis longtemps acquis toute sa taille, et n'a plus qu'une chair dure et coriace. On mange les porcs même dès avant la fin de la première année; et ils ne sont guère bons que jusqu'à trois ans' (Pierro, a. l.).

(14) Od. 15. 161 αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων δνύχεσαι πέλωρον.

This is an abbreviated imitation of Il. 12. 201–202 αἰετὸς . . . φουήεντα δράκοντα φέρων δνύχεσαι πέλωρον. The adjective πέλωρος is appropriate to a serpent, but the application of it to a goose gives a certain mock-heroic effect.

(15) Od. 15. 479 ἀντλῶ δ' ἐνδοῦπῃσε πεσοῦσ' ὥς κτλ.

This seems an adaptation of the conventional δούπησεν δὲ πεσών.

(16) Od. 17. 541 μέγ' ἔπταρεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα | σμερδαλέον κοινάβησε.

The phrase is used in the *Iliad* of the shout of an army (Il. 2. 334., 16. 277), of its tread (Il. 2. 466), of the rattle of armour (Il. 13. 498., 15. 648., 21. 255, 593). Applied, as here, to the sound of a sneeze it has the effect of a parody.

(17) Od. 21. 125 τρὶς μὲν μιν πελέμιξεν ἐρύσσεσθαι μεναινών.

These words are used here of the effort to string a bow, but in Il. 21. 176 of tugging at a spear to pull it out of the ground. It can hardly be doubted that this latter use gives a better sense to πελέμιξεν 'shook' and ἐρύσσεσθαι 'to pull to himself.'

(18) Od. 21. 335 πατρός δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γένος εὔχεται ἔμμεναι νιός.

The origin of this pleonastic sentence is to be found in Il. 14. 113 πατρός δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι. The words καὶ ἐγὼ had to be omitted, and νιός was put in to fill the place in the verse.

(19) Od. 22. 73 ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα χάρμης.

The phrase occurs in Il. 15. 477., 19. 148. The word χάρμη is quite common in the *Iliad*, but does not occur in any other place in the *Odyssey*. It is evidently a reminiscence of the *Iliad*.

(20) Od. 22. 233 παρ' ἑμ' ἵστασο.

This phrase, which is almost conventional in the *Iliad* (11. 314., 17. 179), would imply that Ulysses was to leave his place and go to Athene: whereas the reverse is the case.

(21) Od. 22. 296 ἤριπε δὲ πρηνής.

This is also taken from a battle in the *Iliad* (5. 58), and is incorrect. Leiocritus, being struck in front, would not fall forwards. In the *Iliad*, as Sittl shows<sup>13</sup>, the rule is that those who are wounded in front fall *backwards*, and *vice versa*: except in Il. 12. 396 ff., where Sarpedon draws the spear from the wound, and the man falls with it.

(22) Od. 22. 308–309 τύπτον ἐπιστροφάδην τῶν δὲ στόνος ἄρνυτ' αἰεκίης | κρᾶτων τυπτομένων, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι θύν.

This couplet occurs in Il. 21. 20–21, with the difference that in place of κρᾶτων τυπτομένων we find δορι θεωμένων—doubtless the original formula, altered because in the slaughter of the Suitors Ulysses was

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22, quoting Naber's *Quaestiones Homericae*, p. 48.

not armed with a sword. The substitution is not quite successful: *κράτων τυπτομένων* has not a clear construction; and *ἐπιστροφάδην* does not suit a battle fought with the spear only.

(23) Od. 22. 494 *μέγαρον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν*.

In Il. 6. 316 *θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν* expresses the three parts of a complete dwelling. Probably *μέγαρον* was substituted here, because that part especially needed purification: but the phrase thus became tautologous, since *δῶμα* is properly = *μέγαρον*.

(24) Od. 17. 57 (= 19. 29., 21. 386., 22. 398) *τῇ δ' ἄσπερος ἔπλετο μῦθος*.

This half-line must have been formed as an allusion to the *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* of the *Iliad*. It is not intelligible on any other supposition.

In some other cases the spirit of parody is shown by the use of a lofty epic formula where the subject is unworthy of it. Thus the sties in the farm-yard of Eumaeus (14. 13-15) imitate the palace of Priam (Il. 6. 244 ff.: note *πεντήκοντα* and *πλησίον ἀλλήλων*). The epithet of the dogs, *ἑλακόμωροι* (14. 29), is a parody of the epic *ἐγγεσίμωροι*. Again, in the story of Irus, the language of the *Iliad* is borrowed or parodied: e.g. in 18. 5 *πότνια μήτηρ* (of the mother of Irus); 18. 46 *ὀπότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κτλ.* (from the duel of Paris and Menelaus, = Il. 3. 92): 18. 65 *Ἀντίνοός τε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος πεπνυμένω ἄμφω* (from the *τειχοσκοπία*, = Il. 3. 148): 18. 105 *ἐνταυθαὶ νῦν ἦσο* (from Il. 21. 122 *ἐνταυθαὶ νῦν κείσο*).

### § 3. Comparison of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in respect of grammar.

If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the work of different authors, separated from each other by a considerable interval of time, they will in all probability be found to present a corresponding divergence in respect of *dialect*—that is to say, in grammatical forms, in syntax, and in vocabulary. Hence, if such a divergence can be pointed out between the two poems, it will serve to strengthen the conclusions as to authorship and date which have been arrived at on other grounds.

Those who are acquainted with the thorny questions relating to the Homeric dialect will interpose here with one or two prior questions. The original language of Homer, they will say, is not the same as that of the traditional text. It has certainly undergone a process of modernising, the extent of which cannot now be exactly measured. In any case the loss of the *f* or labial spirant is only one change out of many. A long series of scholars, beginning with Bentley, have used their best endeavours to restore the primitive forms, and have

arrived at various results. Even on the question whether the language was Ionic or Aeolic they are not at one. How then can we compare the language of one Homeric poem with another, both being unknown quantities? These are questions to which we shall have to return when we come to deal with the history of the Homeric text. Meanwhile it may be answered that while the main features of the dialect are the same, so far as our limited knowledge extends, in the two poems—and indeed in all Greek epic poetry—there are many minute differences of syntax that can be traced back with certainty to the Homeric period. These are all the more valuable as evidence of authorship, inasmuch as they are not matters in which one poet would be likely to imitate another. Moreover, the argument to be derived from differences of vocabulary is not affected by the degree of uncertainty which attaches to the sounds and inflexions of the dialect.

The chief points in which the grammar of the *Odyssey* differs from that of the *Iliad* seem to fall under the following heads. In general it will be seen that the *Odyssey* makes some approach to the later Greek usage.

#### 1. *Uses of Prepositions.*

*ἀμφί* with the Dative is common in Homer to express the object *over* which there is a contest or debate. In the *Odyssey* it is also found with verbs meaning to speak, think, ask, &c., *about* something. The construction of *περί* with the Genitive undergoes a like extension; *i. e.* it is used in the *Iliad* when a contest is implied, in the *Odyssey* (as in later Greek) without that restriction.

*ἐπί* with the Accusative is used of *motion over*, and in the *Odyssey* of *extent* (without a verb of motion)<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand the sense of motion *towards* a person is almost confined to the *Iliad*.

*ἐξ* in the derivative sense *in consequence of* is found in the *Odyssey* (and in Il. 9. 566).

#### 2. *Uses of Pronouns and Relative Adverbs.*

The defining Article is much more frequent in the *Odyssey*—*ὁ ξείνος, τὸ τόξον, ἡ νῆσος*, &c. On the other hand the use to express a contrast (Il. 2. 217 *τὸ δὲ οἱ ἔμω κτλ.*) is commoner in the *Iliad*.

The use of *τό* = *for which reason* belongs to the *Iliad*: in Od. 8. 332 *τὸ καὶ μοιχάργι' ἀφέλλει* (in the song of Demodocus), it is doubtless an imitation.

The full correlative *τὸ—ὅ*— (whence, by omission of *τό*, the

<sup>14</sup> Also in the 'Doloneia,' Il. 10. 213 *κλέος εἴη πάντας ἐν' ἀνθρώποις*, and the last book, Il. 24. 202, 535.

adverbial use of *ὅ*) survives in a few places of the *Iliad* only. The development by which *ὅ*, *ὅτι*, *ὥς*, *οὕτως* came to mean *in respect that*, *because*, and then simply *that*, may be traced in the two Homeric poems. Of the last stage of that development, viz. the use of these words = *that* after verbs of *saying*, there are two instances in the *Iliad*, fourteen in the *Odyssey*. The use of *οὕτως* after verbs of *saying*, *knowing* and the like appears first in the *Odyssey*.

The attraction seen, e.g. in Od. 10. 113 *τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα εἶπον δσσην τε κορυφήν* (= *δση ἐστὶ κορυφή*) belongs to the *Odyssey*: cp. 9. 322, 325., 10. 167, 517., 11. 25., 19. 233.

The reflexive use of *ἐο*, *οἶ*, *ἐ* is much less common in the *Odyssey*, and is chiefly found in fixed combinations, such as *ἀπὸ ἐο*, *πρὸς οἶ*.

The form *τύνη* is only found in the *Iliad*.

### 3. Uses of the Moods.

The Homeric use of the Optative with *κεν* of an *unfulfilled condition* (where in Attic we find the past indicative with *ἄν*) is chiefly found in the *Iliad*.

The *concessive* use of the First Person of the Optative with *κεν* or *ἄν* is found in the *Odyssey*, in such instances as Od. 15. 506 *ἥωθεν δὲ κεν ἔμμεν ὀδοιπόριον παραβείμην* (*I may furnish*, = *I am willing to furnish*), Od. 2. 219 *ἢ τ' ἄν τρυχόμενός περ ἔτι τλαίην ἐνιαυτόν*.

The use of *εἰ* and the Optative after verbs of *telling*, *thinking*, &c. (as Od. 1. 115 *ὀσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἰ ποθεν . . . θείη*) is characteristic of the *Odyssey*. It is evidently an extension of the use of *εἰ*-clauses as final and object clauses (*H. G.* § 314).

### 4. Particles.

The forms *μάν* and *μήν* are found in the *Iliad* (*μάν* twenty-two times, *μήν* ten times), but are very rare in the *Odyssey*. The form *μὲν οὖν* belongs to the *Odyssey*.

### 5. Metre.

The neglect of lengthening by Position is perceptibly commoner in the *Odyssey*. In this respect the versification of the *Odyssey* is nearer to that of Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and the fragments of the Cyclic poets (*H. G.* § 370).

Hiatus is somewhat commoner in the *Odyssey*, especially the 'legitimate hiatus' in the so-called bucolic diaeresis. This may seem to be an exception to the general tendency to get rid of hiatus by elision or crasis. Possibly it may be due to the incipient loss of the *f*. The examples of hiatus produced by that loss would re-act on the metrical sense of the poets, and lead them to admit combinations which would have otherwise seemed intolerable.



§ 4. *Vocabulary.*

The vocabulary of a poem depends so much upon its subject-matter, the nature of the story, the scenery, &c., that we cannot be surprised to find many differences in this respect between the two Homeric poems<sup>15</sup>. The *Iliad*, it is evident, could not do without such words as ἀγός, φάλαγξ, ἐπικούρος, ἵππεύς, ἵπποσύνη, ἡνίοχος, ἀντυξ, πρυλείες, στίχες, φάλος, αἰχμή, ξύστον, κημῖς, ζωστήρ. It was sure to be rich in terms for fighting and its various incidents: such as ὑσμίνη, φύλοπις, χάρμη, δαῖς, μόθος, μῶλος, κυδοιμός, κλόνος, λοιγός, φόβος (always meaning flight), γέφυρα (in the phrase πολέμοιο γ.), with the verbs φέβομαι, χρίζομαι, χωρίω, συλάω, μαιμάω, μαρμαίρω, παμφαίνω (of arms), ἐρείπω (of a falling warrior), ῥήγνυμι (of breaking ranks). The same words are naturally rare or wanting in the *Odyssey*. In like manner the special vocabulary of the *Odyssey* is largely made up of (1) words for sea, ships, islands, &c., and (2) words for objects of use or luxury under the conditions of peaceful life. Such are ἄλμη, ἄλμυρον (ὑδωρ): ἀμφιάλος, ἀμφίφυτος, εὐδείελος (of islands): ἀκραῆς (of wind): πηγάδιον, κέλλω and ἐπικέλλω: ὑφορβός, συβόσια: and again ἐσχάρη, ἰστίη, κοῖτος, δέμνια, κῶας, ῥήγος, ἐσθής, ῥάκος, ἄρτος, βρώμη, ἀσάμυνθος, χέριψ<sup>16</sup>. These and similar words, though not without significance, are insufficient to prove difference of date or authorship.

But among the remaining instances of words peculiar to one or other of the poems there are two noteworthy groups:

(1) The language of the Homeric poems contains, as is well known, a large number of old poetical words, mostly preserved in certain fixed or traditional phrases, and often (as far as we can judge) only half understood by the poet himself. Of these words much the greater part are confined to the *Iliad*. Such are the epithets of Zeus, ἀστεροπητής, ἀργικέραυνος, ὑψίζυγος, Δωδωναῖος, Πελασγικός: of Apollo, ἐκπηδολος, ἑκατος, ἐκάεργος, Σμινθεύς: of Ares, θούρος, ἐνύαλιος, ἀνδρειφόντης, μαιφόνος, ταλαύριμος: of Here, βοῶπις: of Aphrodite, Κύπρις: of horses, μώνυχες, ἑρμαύχες, ὑψηχέες: also the epithets δῆϊος, ἀγχέμαχος, ἀγχιμαχτής, ζάθεος, ἐρεβεννός, ὤμησθής, ἐανός, λαίψηρός, μέρμερος, λοίγιος, ἐλικώπες (Ἀχαιοί), ἐλικώπιδα (κούρη), πευκάλιμος, πευκεδανός, ἐχεπευκής, νηπίαχος, νηπίτιος, κυδιάνευρα, ταχύπωλος, φιλοπτόλεμος, μενεδήϊος, μενεχάρμης, ποδώκης,

<sup>15</sup> On this subject see the dissertation of L. Friedländer, *De vocabulis Homericis quae in alterutro carmine non inveniuntur* (Regimonti, 1858-59).

<sup>16</sup> Of these δέμνια, ῥήγος, κῶας, ἀσάμυνθος are found in the *Iliad*, but only in books ix, x, xxiv.

ἐλκεσίπτεπλος, ἀλίαςτος: the verb χραϊσμεῖν: the adverbs εἶδαρ, ὑπαθα, ἀνδιχα, διαπρύσιον.

Besides these there are words which are common in the *Iliad*, but so rare in the *Odyssey* that they are probably only reminiscences: e.g. μέρορες, αἰγίς, ἐφετμή, ἦς and εὔς, ἀρητίφίλος, ἀγέρωχος, βροτολογός, ἐκατηβόλος, ἀγκυλομήτης. So δηῖός and δηϊότης (which bears a new sense in Od. 12. 257 χεῖρας ἐμοὶ δρέγοντας ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊότητι), and δαΐφρων, which in the *Iliad* seems to be from δαῖς *strife*, in the *Odyssey* means *wise* or *skilful*. Note also ἐριδονπος, which is commoner in the *Odyssey*, while the older ἐρίγδονπος is commoner in the *Iliad*: the two forms ἀλεγίζω (*Il.*) and ἀλεγύνω (*Od.*): and the adverb ἀντικρύ, which is only found in the *Odyssey* in lines adopted from the *Iliad*.

(2) On the other hand the *Odyssey* shows a marked increase in the words which express what we may call the ideas of civilisation. We may notice especially, as new:—

(a) Words denoting condition or occupation, βασίλεια (*queen*), δέσποινα, δημοεργός, αἰδός, ὑφορβός, θῆτες (*θητεύω*), πτωχός (*πτωχεύω*), κερημένος, ἄλγ, ἀλήμων, ἀλήτης (*ἀλητεύω*), γέτωρ, ἀλλόθροος.

(b) Words expressing moral and intellectual qualities, θεοδότης, ἀγνός, ὁσίη, εὐνομίη, ἀνάρσιος, πωυτός, περίφρων, ἀποφάλιος: with some words that denote states of mind, δύνη, ἐλπῖς, ἐλπωρή. Note also the greatly increased use of δίκαιος, ὅπις, ὕβρις (*ὑβρίζω*, *ὑβριστής*), ἀθέμιστος and ἀθεμίστιος.

(c) Social progress is indicated by the new words χρήματα (partly replacing the older κτήματα), πρῆξις *business* (in *Il.* 24. 524 it means *accomplishment*, *effect*), ἐσθής (of *dress* in general): οἴμη and ὕμνος: the increased use of δλβος (*δλβιος*), τέχνη (*τεχνάομαι*, *τεχνήεις*).

(d) Note also φήμη, φῆμις, φάτις, κληδών—terms expressing the mystery of ‘word’ or rumour: κάλλιμος (= καλός), πολυήρατος, νόστιμος (*νόστιμον ἦμαρ*), ἐπηετανός, ἀδευκής, νήπιονος: and the form ἐξῆς (in the *Iliad* always ἐξείης).

### § 5. *Mythology.*

The picture of Olympus and its inhabitants which is presented to us in the *Odyssey* differs from that of the *Iliad* chiefly in the peaceful character of the assemblies now held there. Apparently the fall of Troy has put an end to the strife which divided immortals as well as mortals into two opposite camps. There is now an Olympian concert that carries on something like a moral government of the world. It is very different in the *Iliad*, where the gods are moved only by caprice, and neither gods nor men show any real sense of the moral

weakness of Agamemnon and Achilles, or of the moral superiority of Hector. In the *Odyssey*, on the contrary, the plot of the poem is a contest between right and wrong. The triumph of right in Ulysses, of virtue and patience in Penelope, makes the interest of the story.

Olympus in the *Iliad* (as Aristarchus observed) is a mountain in Thessaly. In the *Odyssey* it is a supra-mundane abode of the gods, described in the well-known passage (Od. 6. 42-45) as never shaken by winds or wetted by rain or covered with snow. We hear no more of Iris as the messenger of Zeus: the agent of his will is now Hermes, as also in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*. Another difference is that in the *Iliad* the wife of Hephaestus is one of the *Χάριτες*: in the *Odyssey* she is Aphrodite. The trident is the weapon of Poseidon in the *Odyssey* and in Il. 12. 27 (a spurious passage).

It may be accidental that the worship of Apollo in the *Iliad* is mainly local, confined to the Troad and adjoining island of Tenedos. In the ninth book we are told of his sanctuary at Πυθώ, i.e. Delphi. In the *Odyssey* he appears in his sacred island of Delos (Od. 6. 162), and we hear for the first time of the Delphian oracle (Od. 8. 80). Indeed the resort to local *oracles* is distinctive of the *Odyssey*: other examples are the oracle of Zeus at Dodona (Od. 14. 327., 19. 296), and the *νεκρομαντεία* of Tiresias (Od. 10. 492, &c.). Hence the use of the word *θίμωτες*, in the sense of 'oracles,' is found in the *Odyssey* (16. 403), as in the Hymn to Apollo<sup>17</sup>.

#### § 6. *History, Geography, &c.*

In turning from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* we leave a great and far-reaching war for a condition of profound peace. The change, doubtless, has some foundation in the political history of early Greece. Whoever the people may have been whose greatness is recorded or (perhaps we should say) reflected in the poetical shape of the empire of Agamemnon, we can well believe that their triumph would mean the establishment of a *pax Mycenaea* in the Mediterranean lands, for at least one or two generations. In such a period of peace the favouring conditions would be found for the material prosperity of which there are plain traces in the Homeric poems, and especially in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, indeed, we hear of the gold of Mycenae, of golden vessels such as the cup of Nestor, and (if the ninth book is Homeric) of the riches of Orchomenus and Egyptian Thebes.

<sup>17</sup> Hom. H. Apoll. 394 *θίμωτας Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσάβρον, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ.*

But it is when we turn to the *Odyssey* that we are struck by the signs of an active Phoenician commerce, and can admire the splendour shown in the palaces of Alcinous and Menelaus, and even (in its way) in the homestead of Eumaeus. The account of these things there given—confirmed as it is by remains of buildings and objects of art discovered in recent years—testifies to the existence of a 'golden age' of pre-historic Greece<sup>18</sup>, to which the term 'Mycenean' may fitly be applied.

The geographical knowledge shown in the *Odyssey* goes beyond that of the *Iliad* in more than one direction, but especially in regard to Egypt and Sicily. In the ninth book of the *Iliad* there is a mention of Egyptian Thebes, but hardly anything to show that the poet knew more than the name. In the *Odyssey* the voyage to Egypt is described more than once<sup>19</sup>, and with a fair approach to correctness. Sicily, again, is quite unknown to the *Iliad*: in the *Odyssey*, if we cannot say that the island is referred to<sup>20</sup>, we at least hear of the Siculi as a people to whom men might be sold into slavery (Od. 20. 383). In the twenty-fourth book we again find the Siculi, and along with them the name Sicania, which is brought into the fictitious story told by Ulysses (24. 307). The name Thesprotia is also met with for the first time in the *Odyssey*. That country is important as lying on the westward route from Greece.

On the other hand there is no extension of knowledge eastward, towards the Propontis and the Euxine, such as we should expect to find in the age of Ionian colonisation. The acquaintance that the *Iliad* shows with the Troad, and with the peoples of Asia Minor—Phrygians, Maeonians, Mysians, Carians—is no longer to be traced. On the contrary, the geography of these lands has fallen back into the mythical stage. As the island of Circe is the abode of the Dawn, and the place of the sun's rising<sup>21</sup>, it must lie to the east; consequently the Πλαγικαὶ or 'meeting rocks,' which the poet of the *Odyssey* places somewhere beyond that island, are to be sought in the same quarter. They are evidently the same as the Symplegades, which in the Argonautic story form the entrance to the Euxine.

<sup>18</sup> See Mr. Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. v. His main view is that 'the art familiar to the authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is in many respects like the art revealed at Mycenae, but distinctly later, and showing clear evidence of comparative poverty and degradation' (p. 118). So far as the *language* of Homer is concerned, I cannot think that there is much evidence of decline in art.

<sup>19</sup> Od. 3. 300., 4. 351., 14. 257., 17. 426.

<sup>20</sup> There does not seem to be any reason for connecting Θρινακίη with the name Trinacria, or for localising the Cyclops, or Scylla and Charybdis, in Sicily.

<sup>21</sup> Od. 12. 3 ὅθι τ' Ἡὸς ἡριγενεὶς οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ ἡελίου.

A geographical indication of date may perhaps be found in the use of the name Hellas. In Homer, as Thucydides observed, it is regularly applied to a part of Thessaly. In the ninth book of the *Iliad* this is still the case, though there is some discrepancy as to the boundaries of the district so called: see the notes on Il. 2. 683., 9. 447. But the phrase that is a commonplace of the *Odyssey*, καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 1. 344., 4. 726, 816., 15. 80), seems to imply a less restricted use of the name.

An examination of the *land system* of Homeric times has been made to yield some further evidence of difference in date between the two poems. In the *Iliad*, as has been shown by Mr. Ridgeway<sup>22</sup>, there are clear references to the so-called Common Field system: and there is no trace of the existence of individual *wealth* in land. All words implying riches, possession, and the like<sup>23</sup> apply to chattels, not to landed property. But in the *Odyssey* the case is somewhat altered. The word κλῆρος *lot*, which in the *Iliad*<sup>24</sup> means only the right to an 'allotment' in the common fields, has come to mean a portion of land bestowed by a master on a deserving slave: cp. Od. 14. 63-64:

οἶά τε δὲ οἰκῇ ἀναξ εὐθυμος ἔδωκεν,  
οἶκόν τε κληρὸν τε πολυμήστην τε γυναῖκα.

Such a portion must have been cut out of a demesne or 'garth' belonging to the master: for he cannot have been able to give away rights in the common land. Moreover the word πολύκληρος, which occurs in Od. 14. 211, implies an inequality in the matter of land that can only have arisen when it was often held in severalty. Finally, in the twenty-fourth book (Od. 24. 207) the use of the verb κτεατίζω, in reference to the farm of Laertes, shows that the notion of property in land had then become familiar.

The plants and animals of Homer afford some little confirmation of the view now taken as to the later date of the *Odyssey*. Among the plants that are mentioned there, and not in the *Iliad*, are the fig (σῦκον, συκή), which was indigenous in Palestine and Syria<sup>25</sup>; the laurel (δάφνη), which appears to have entered Greece by way of Thessaly—coming, as Hehn conjectured, from Asia Minor<sup>26</sup>—and the date-palm (φοίνιξ), which was quite an exotic on the northern

<sup>22</sup> See his article on the Homeric land system, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vi. 319 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Viz. κτήματα, κτήσεις, κτήρας, κτάομαι.

<sup>24</sup> e.g. in Il. 15. 498, where it goes with οἶκος as the possession of each warrior.

<sup>25</sup> See Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Haustiere*<sup>2</sup>, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup> Hehn, *op. cit.* pp. 195, 197.

shores of the Mediterranean<sup>27</sup>. The introduction of the fig is perhaps not as early as the *Odyssey*, since the word only occurs in the description of the gardens of Alcinous (Od. 7. 116, 121), in the latter part of the *νίκυια* (Od. 11. 590), and in the 'continuation' (Od. 24. 341). On the other hand the wild fig-tree (*έρυειός*) is found in both poems. The cypress (*κνπάρισσος*, the Semitic *gopher*) appears in the *Odyssey* (5. 64., 17. 340), and in two names of places in the Catalogue (*Κνπάρισσος* in Il. 2. 519, *Κνπαρισσήεις* in Il. 2. 593): the cedar (*κέδρος*) in the *Odyssey* (5. 60) and in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*.

The wild beasts of prey known to Homer are the lion (*λέων*, *λῆς*), the wolf (*λύκος*), the panther (*πάρδαλις*), and the jackal (*θάς*); and all these occur repeatedly in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* the lion and the wolf are much less common, the panther occurs once (Od. 4. 457), the jackal not at all. In the interval between the two poems the progress of cultivation had doubtless made these animals much less familiar in Greek life.

It is probable that in the same period some progress was made in the use of the metals. In Homer, as is well known, *iron* (*σιδηρος*) is rarely mentioned in comparison with bronze (*χαλκός*): but the proportion is greater in the *Odyssey* (25: 80) than in the *Iliad* (23: 279)<sup>28</sup>. The difference is still more marked if we leave out the two last books of the *Iliad*, in which iron is mentioned seven times. Moreover, some of the passages in the *Iliad* may be interpolations: e.g. Il. 4. 123., 6. 48., 8. 15., 9. 366., 11. 133., 18. 34—all of them lines that can be omitted without detriment to the sense. It is worth notice, too, as evidence of longer familiarity with iron objects, that the metaphorical use of the adjective *σιδηρεός* in the sense of 'hard, cruel' is nearly confined to the *Odyssey* and books xxiii–xxiv of the *Iliad*. It is found in Il. 22. 357., 23. 177., 24. 205, 521., Od. 4. 293., 5. 191., 12. 280., 23. 172. A similar latitude of use is observable in the phrases *σιδήρεα δέσματα* (Od. 1. 204), *σιδήρεος οὐρανός* (Od. 15. 329., 17. 565). If we could argue from the proverb *ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος* (Od. 16. 294., 19. 13), it would be necessary to assign the *Odyssey* definitely to the Iron age. It seems probable, however, for the reasons stated in the note on 19. 1, that that passage is of later date.

It may be a mere accident that *lin* (*κασσίτερος*) is only mentioned in the *Iliad*. It comes into descriptions of armour, such as do not occur in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>27</sup> Hehn, *op. cit.* p. 231.

<sup>28</sup> Beloch, *Rivista di Filologia*, vol. ii (1874).

## III. HOMER AND THE CYCLIC POETS.

§ 1. *The Epic Cycle.*

In the various discussions of Homeric subjects that have appeared of late years, it may have been observed that the 'Epic Cycle' has fallen rather into the background. It is not difficult, perhaps, to understand why this should be so. The recent study of Homer has been influenced by remarkable discoveries of Hellenic and pre-Hellenic monuments, and by the no less remarkable progress of linguistic science. Hence an investigation such as that of Welcker, which reaches Homer through the scanty remains of later and less illustrious poets, has lost much of its interest, even for scholars. Yet it may fairly be maintained that some of the most considerable steps towards a right understanding of the 'Homeric question' have been gained through this study. The difficulty of the question is certainly due in great measure to the obscurity which has been the lot of the 'cyclic' poets. It is an effect of the surpassing splendour of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that they are followed by a long period of darkness—a period which seems to throw them back into an inaccessible foretime, out of relation to the subsequent course of Greek literature. To fill up this blank—to restore the lost outlines of post-Homeric poetry, to trace in it the development of poetical form, the growth of legend, the widening of knowledge, the movement of thought and sentiment, the invasion and spread of foreign superstitions—such was the aim that Welcker set before himself in his great book<sup>1</sup>. It will be worth while to dwell for a few pages on the subject of the Epic Cycle, were it only for the purpose of directing attention afresh to a work which,

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus oder die Homerischen Dichter*, Bonn: vol. i, 1835: vol. ii, 1849: vol. i, second edition, 1865.

The questions connected with the Epic Cycle were discussed by Cassaubon on Athenæus, vii. 4 (p. 277), and by Heyne in an excursus on the second book of the *Aeneid*: also in separate treatises by F. Wüllner, *De cyclo epico poetisque cyclicis* (Monasterii 1825), and C. W. Müller, *De cyclo Græcorum epico et poetis cyclicis* (Lipsiæ 1829). But the chief writer before Welcker was G. W. Nitzsch, who made it the main subject of successive works: *De historia Homeri* (Hannoveræ 1830–37. Kiliae 1837–39), *Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen* (Braunschweig 1852), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der epischen Poesie der Griechen* (Leipzig 1862).

in its combination of learning and artistic feeling, is one of the most signal achievements of philology.

## § 2. Sources.

Our knowledge of the 'Epic Cycle' comes almost exclusively through a certain *χρηστομάνθεια γραμματική*, the work of a grammarian of the name of Proclus (in Latin Proculus), probably to be identified with Eutychius Proclus of Sicca, instructor of the emperor Marcus Antoninus. This 'chrestomathy'—a kind of primer or *tableau* of Greek literature—is known partly from a notice in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, partly from considerable fragments preserved in the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad* and some other manuscripts. From Photius<sup>2</sup> we learn that the 'Epic Cycle' was there described by Proclus as a sort of *corpus poeticum*—a collection or 'cycle' of poems (τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα)—drawn from various authors (ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος), and so far consecutive in its subject-matter (διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραγμάτων) as to furnish a complete versified 'history' of the world. It began with the primeval embrace of Heaven and Earth (whence sprang three hundred-handed Giants and three Cyclopes), and was brought down to the death of Ulysses. The extant Venetian fragments of Proclus answer to this description. Besides a short life of Homer—one of a group of biographies mentioned by Photius—they contain an account of the latter or Trojan part of the Epic Cycle, specifying the poems that composed it, with the names of the authors and the number of books in each, and giving an abstract or argument—except in the case of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which are simply mentioned where they come in the series. The poems thus enumerated and described are as follows:—

<sup>2</sup> Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 239 (p. 319 Bekk.) γεγόνασι δὲ τοῦ ἔπους ποιηταὶ κράτιστοι μὲν Ὀμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πείσανδρος, Πανόας, Ἀντίμαχος· διέρχεται δὲ τούτων ὅτι οἶόν τε καὶ γένος καὶ πατρίδας καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ μέρους πράξεις· διαλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἀρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μυθολογουμένης μίξεως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτοὶ καὶ τρεῖς παῖδες ἑκατοντάχειρας καὶ τρεῖς γεννῶσι Κύκλωπας· διαπορεύεται δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλως περὶ θεῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μυθολογούμενα, καὶ εἰ ποῦ τι πρὸς ἱστορίαν ἐξαληθίζεται· καὶ περατοῦνται ὁ ἐπικός κύκλος ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰς Ἰθάκην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Τηλεγόνου ἀγροῦντος κτείνεται. λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραγμάτων.

The only other express mention of the ἐπικός κύκλος is in a passage of Athenæus (p. 277 c) to the effect that Sophocles took the subjects of his plays from it (κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μυθοποιίᾳ). The remark is made with reference to a word in the *Titanomachia*, an epic likely on other grounds to have been one of the poems of the Epic Cycle.



The *Cypria*; the authorship of which is reserved by Proclus for separate discussion.

The *Iliad* of Homer.

The *Aethiopis*, by Arctinus of Miletus.

The *Little Iliad*, by Lesches of Mitylene.

The Sack of Ilium (Ἰλίου πέρσις), by Arctinus.

The *Nosti* or 'Returns,' by Agias of Troezen.

The *Odyssey* of Homer.

The *Telegonia*, by Eugammon of Cyrene.

### § 3. *The poems of the Epic Cycle.*

The statement (quoted from Proclus) that these poems were chosen with a view to the mythical history contained in them (διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων) brings us to a much-debated question. Were these poems taken into the Epic Cycle in their original form? In other words, was the 'sequence of events' of which Photius speaks attained by simply arranging the ancient epics in a certain order, or was there any process of removing parallel versions, smoothing away inconsistencies, filling up *lacunae*, and the like?

If we could argue from the silence of Proclus, we should be led to assume that 'the poems of the Epic Cycle' were the works of the ancient epic poets, retained in their primitive integrity. He nowhere gives any hint of omission or curtailment. The inference, however, would not be a safe one. Proclus may have dealt with the topic in a part of the chrestomathy now lost, or not sufficiently represented in the scanty notice of Photius<sup>3</sup>. Or it may be that Proclus only knew the poems in the Epic Cycle, not in their independent shape. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the continuity on which Proclus seems to have laid so much stress could have been brought about spontaneously, or by happy accident.

It is needless, however, to dwell upon arguments of this order if

<sup>3</sup> The natural place for Proclus to notice any changes made in the poems in order to fit them for a place in the Epic Cycle would be the passage in which he explained that they were 'preserved and valued not for their merit so much as διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.' It seems very possible that he there discussed the rejection of books or parts of poems, not merely of entire poems. Note that the sequence of events, according to Photius, was in the Epic Cycle (ἐν αὐτῷ), not in the poems which were chosen to form it.

It may be worth while noticing also that the form used by Proclus in introducing the several poems does not always expressly assert that the whole poem was before him, e. g. μεθ' ἣν ἐστὶν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία εἴ' Ἀρκτίνου Μιλήσιου περιέχοντα τάδε: and so of the *Little Iliad* and *Iliupersis*—the books, not the poem, are said to comprise so much matter.

there is enough independent testimony as to the contents of the several poems to furnish a basis for comparison with the abstract of Proclus. In one instance the evidence of this kind is abundant. The *Little Iliad* is discussed by Aristotle in the *Poetics*: several incidents in it are referred to by Pausanias in his account of a picture by Polygnotus: and a considerable number of fragments has been preserved. From all these sources it is easy to show that the poem which Proclus found under that title in the Epic Cycle had been very much shortened from the *Little Iliad* known to Aristotle and Pausanias. The proof is as follows:

In speaking of the unity which should characterize an epic poem, and of the great superiority of Homer in this respect, Aristotle<sup>4</sup> notices that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* supply far the fewest subjects for the stage. The reason is, according to him, that in poems of less perfect structure the successive parts of the action can be turned into so many tragedies: whereas in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is a single main action, the parts of which have no independent interest, and are consequently not suitable for dramatic treatment. To illustrate this criticism he points to the number of tragic subjects taken from the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*. The latter, he says, furnished more than eight tragedies: and he enumerates ten, viz. (1) the *Judgment of the Arms*, (2) the *Philoctetes*, (3) the *Neoptolemus*, (4) the *Eurypylos*, (5) the *Begging* (Ulysses entering Troy in beggar's disguise), (6) the *Laconian women* (probably turning on the theft of the Palladium): (7) the *Sack of Ilium*, (8) the *Departure* (of the Greek army), (9) the *Sinon*, (10) the *Troades*. Now the first six of these subjects follow closely the abstract in Proclus, but there the agreement ends. The subsequent history, to which the last four subjects belong, is not given by Proclus under the *Little Iliad*, but under the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. It follows with something like mathematical certainty that in the Epic Cycle the conclusion of the *Little Iliad*—including the sack of the city and the departure of the Greeks—had been left out; the compilers preferring the version which Arctinus gave of this part of the story in his *Iliupersis*.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 1459 a 30 καὶ ταύτη θεσπέσιος ἂν φανείη Ὅμηρος παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ μὴδὲ τὸν πόλεμον, καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον· ἴαν γὰρ ἂν μέγας καὶ οὐκ εὐσυννοητός ἔμελλεν εἶσεσθαι· ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπελεγμένον τῇ ποιικιλίᾳ . . . οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ ἓνα ποιοῦσι καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ, οἷον ὃ δὲ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλάι, καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλεόν ὀκτώ, οἷον Ὅπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, Πτώχεια, Λάκαινα, Ἰλίου πέρις, καὶ Ἀπόλλους, καὶ Σῖνων καὶ Τρῳάδες.

This inference is confirmed by the description which Pausanias gives (10. 25-27) of a picture by Polygnotus, representing the taking of Troy. The details of this picture, as Pausanias shows from a large number of instances, were taken from the narrative of Lesches. It is true that he does not mention the *Little Iliad*; the only reference to a particular work of Lesches being in the words καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λέσχος ὁ Διοχυλίου Πυρραῖος ἐν Ἰλίου πέποιδι ἐποίησε (Paus. 10. 25. 5). From this passage it has been supposed that there was an *Iliupersis* by Lesches distinct from the *Little Iliad*. But this is not at all probable. The phrase ἐν Ἰλίου πέποιδι may equally well refer to *part* of a work, meaning simply 'in his account of the sack of Ilium'; as Herodotus says ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ (2. 116), Thucydides ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου τῇ παραδόσει (1. 9). Now we know from Aristotle (*l. c.*) that the *Little Iliad* included the sack of Ilium, and it is therefore most unlikely that Lesches wrote a distinct epic on the subject.

Two quotations may be mentioned which support the same conclusion. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Lys.* 155), says that the story of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen was told by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*. And Tzetzes (*ad Lycophr.* 1263) quotes from the *Little Iliad* five lines which describe Neoptolemus taking away Andromache as his captive, and throwing the child Astyanax from a tower. These events, being subsequent to the capture of Troy, prove that the original *Little Iliad* contained an Ἰλίου πέποις.

Again, a passage of Pausanias (10. 28. 7), mentions, as the poems which contain descriptions of the infernal regions, the *Odyssey*, the *Minyas*, and the *Nosti*. As the abstract of the *Nosti* in Proclus says nothing of a descent into the infernal regions, the probability is that this episode was left out in the Epic Cycle—doubtless as superfluous, after the *ῥέκνα* in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*.

Again, it is argued by Herodotus that the *Cypria* cannot be the work of Homer (as appears to have been commonly supposed in his time), because it contradicts the *Iliad* in an important particular. The *Iliad*, according to Herodotus, represented Paris as returning from Sparta by way of Sidon, whence he brought the Sidonian women mentioned in the sixth book (1. 290); whereas in the *Cypria* he returned in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. But according to the abstract of the *Cypria* in Proclus, a storm is sent by Here, Paris is driven out of his course, lands at Sidon, and takes the city—in perfect agreement with the construction put by Herodotus on the passage of the *Iliad*. Nothing can be plainer than that the

*Cypria* of the Epic Cycle had been altered. The voyage to Sidon was inserted, in consequence of the criticism of Herodotus, to harmonise the story with the account implied (or supposed to be implied) in the *Iliad*.

These conclusions, it is right to add, are opposed to the view of the Epic Cycle held by the scholar to whom this subject owes most of its interest. According to Welcker, the poems of the Epic Cycle were preserved in their original form ; it is the information of Proclus that is defective. The object of Proclus, he maintains, was not to describe the poems which he found in the Epic Cycle, but to give a summary of the mythical history which they furnished : accordingly it is Proclus, and not the compiler of the Epic Cycle, who is responsible for the omissions on which we have been insisting. It seems difficult to uphold this view in face of the language of Proclus himself. His formula is that a poem succeeds or ' joins on ' (*ἐπιβάλλει, συνάπτεται*) to the preceding one, and that there are so many books, comprising such and such matter. This manner of speaking can hardly be reconciled with the theory that he passed over large portions of the contents—that, for instance, he omitted from the *Little Iliad* of Lesches an amount of narrative equal to the whole *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, and sufficient to furnish four tragedies. Moreover, the abstract of Proclus is not merely silent about parts of the original poems : in one case at least it introduces new matter, viz. the voyage of Paris to Sidon in the *Cypria*. Apt as the framer of an abstract may be to leave out incidents, we can hardly suppose that he would give this story as an episode of the *Cypria* if he had not found it in the Epic Cycle.

The settlement of this point, however, does not very much affect the value of Proclus as the chief source of knowledge regarding the post-Homeric poets. In any case we have to reckon with the possibility that the abstracts or ' arguments ' as given by Proclus are incomplete, if not erroneous—that they have been tampered with in the interest of historical teaching. Still less is it necessary for our present purpose to determine the questions relating to the date of the Epic Cycle, and the different meanings of the word *κύκλος* and its derivatives—*κύκλιος, ἐγκύκλιος, κυκλικός*. These questions have an important place in the history of Greek learning and education. From that point of view we should be glad to know whether the idea of a selection of epic poems, forming a continuous chronicle of the early age of the world, originated in the Athens of the Sophists, or in the Alexandria of Zenodotus, as Welcker maintained, or among the grammarians of the Roman empire, as seems much more probable.—It would also be interesting to ascertain when the word *κύκλος* was

first applied to any such compilation, and who or what exactly is intended by Callimachus when he declares his hatred of 'the cyclic poem' (ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν), and by Horace when he contrasts the *scriptor cyclicus* with Homer<sup>5</sup>. But with the view of gaining light on the Homeric question our aim must be to study the individual poets that were most nearly contemporaneous with Homer. To these accordingly we now proceed.

<sup>5</sup> On these points it may be permitted to refer the reader to an article which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1883), on 'the fragments of Proclus' abstract of the Epic Cycle contained in the *Codex Venetus* of the Iliad.' The evidence seems to justify the following conclusions:

1. The opinion of Welcker that the Epic Cycle was the work of Zenodotus rests on no good ground. The scholium of Tzetzes on which Welcker relied ascribes to Zenodotus the arrangement and recension (διόρθωσις) of Homer and the other epic poets. It has been made clear by Ritschl (*Opuscula*, i. p. 138) that this refers simply to what Zenodotus did as an editor of Homer, and as the first head of the Alexandrian Library.

2. The use of κύκλος in the Alexandrian age is indicated by the κύκλος ἱστορικὸς of Dionysius of Samos, which was a body of mythical history, written in prose, but founded largely upon the poets. It appears also from the κύκλος of Phayllus, given by Aristotle (*Rhet.* p. 1417 a 15) as an example of a rapid summary of events.

In the same period the adj. κυκλικός meant 'returning in a circle,' 'common-place.' It was applied to the recurring formulas of epic poetry, and perhaps generally to anything trite and conventional. In a celebrated epigram it was employed by Callimachus as a literary catch-word, and was aimed at a rival school—that which sought to keep up the traditions of epic poetry—and in particular at Apollonius Rhodius. The same sense appears in the *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace (*Ep. ad Pis.* 136), probably also in his *visis patulusque orbis* (*Ibid.* 132). It goes far to show that the use of the word for an epic 'cycle' or collection of early 'cyclical' poets had not then arisen. See Couat, *La Poésie Alexandrine* (p. 502).

3. In the two places in the Organon of Aristotle, *Post. Anal.* p. 77 b 32, *Soph. El.* p. 171 a 10, where κύκλος is given as an example of ambiguous Middle Term, I still think that the words τὰ ἐπη and ἡ Ὀμήρου ποίησις must mean a particular poem ascribed to Homer, and probably mean the famous epitaph χαλεπή παρθένος εἰμὶ κτλ. That in the lifetime of Aristotle there was a collection of poems like those of the Epic Cycle, and all passing under the name of Homer, seems quite incredible.

4. The phrase ἐπικός κύκλος does not occur before the (probable) time of Proclus. It is used by Athenaeus (p. 277 c), apparently as a collective term for the early epic poets. The word κύκλος seems to be used in certain scholia as = ἐπικός κύκλος: so in Schol. H on Od. 2. 120., 4. 248, 285., 11. 547, and the Schol. on Ar. Eq. 1051 and Eur. Or. 1392, also in a scholium on Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 30. But there is no trace of this in the scholia which come from Aristarchus and other Alexandrian scholars. And so in all writers of that period, and indeed down to the second century A.D.—including (e.g.) Strabo and Pausanias—the *Cypria*, *Little Iliad*, &c., are not quoted as parts of a cycle, but as separate poems.

5. The tendencies which led to the formation of an Epic Cycle—chief of which was the desire to make the study of poetry the basis of a comprehensive scheme of knowledge (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία)—were shown also in the class of monuments of which the *Tabula Iliaca* of the Capitol is the best example. That work of art represents scenes from the Trojan war, with references to the poems from which they were taken. They were evidently intended as instruments of education, and belong to the early years of the Roman empire. See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* (p. 332).

§ 4. *The Cypria.*

The first of the poems which composed the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle was the *Cypria*. It was in eleven books, and was generally attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, sometimes to Hegesias, or Hegesinus, of Salamis in Cyprus. The argument as given by Proclus is as follows:—

Zeus having consulted with Themis as to the lightening of the earth from the burden of its increasing multitudes, and being advised to bring about a great war, sends Discord to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and by means of the golden apple causes a quarrel between the three goddesses, Here, Athene, and Aphrodite. The quarrel is settled on Mount Ida by the 'Judgment of Paris.' Thereupon Aphrodite instigates Paris to build ships, and to set forth on the voyage to Sparta; in which he is accompanied by Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. The voyage is undertaken in spite of prophetic warnings from Helenus and Cassandra. Paris is hospitably received on landing by the Dioscuri (*Τυρδαπιδαι*), and again in Sparta by Menelaus. He takes advantage of the absence of Menelaus in Crete, and returns to Troy, carrying off Helen and much treasure. On the return journey, according to Proclus' abstract, a storm was sent by Here, and Paris was driven out of his course as far as Sidon, which he took; but in the original poem, as we know from Herodotus (2. 117), he reached Troy in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. The story then returned to Sparta, and related the war of the Dioscuri with the Messenian twins, Idas and Lynceus, the death of Castor, and the alternate immortality granted by Zeus to Castor and Pollux. Then come the preparations for the war—Iris having been sent to tell Menelaus of the wrong done to his house. Menelaus goes for advice to Agamemnon, and then to Nestor, who relates the stories of Epopeus and the daughter of Lycus, of Oedipus, of the madness of Hercules, and of Theseus and Ariadne. They then make a circuit of Greece, and assemble the chiefs for the expedition against Troy. Ulysses, feigning madness to avoid serving, is detected by Palamedes. The fleet is mustered at Aulis in Boeotia, where the incident of the sparrows takes place, with the prophecy of Calchas founded upon it (Il. 2. 300 ff.). The Greeks then set sail, but land by mistake in Teuthrania, where they encounter the Mysians under Telephus. In this combat Telephus kills a certain Thersander, and is himself wounded by Achilles. On leaving Teuthrania the fleet is scattered by a storm, and Achilles is cast on the island of Scyros, where he

marries the daughter of Lycomedes. Telephus, on the advice of an oracle, comes to Argos, is cured of his wound by Achilles, and undertakes to serve as guide to the Greeks. The fleet is again assembled at Aulis, and this time we have the story of Iphigenia—ending, however, not with her death, but as in the version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. On the way to Troy Philoctetes is wounded by the serpent, and left behind on the island of Lemnos. Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon on a question of precedence at the banquet. On the Greeks landing in the Troad there is a battle in which Protesilaus is killed by Hector: then Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and slays Cycnus, son of Poseidon. Then follows the embassy mentioned in Il. 3. 205 ff.: then an attack on the walls of Troy (*τειχομαχία*): after which the Greeks ravage the Troad and take the smaller towns. Achilles desires to see Helen, and the meeting is brought about by Aphrodite and Thetis. He restrains the Greeks from returning home, and performs various exploits mentioned or implied in the *Iliad*—the raid on the cattle of Aeneas, the sack of Lyrnessus and Pedasus, the slaying of Troilus, the capture of Lycaon—ending with the division of spoil in which he obtains Briseis as his prize. Next comes the death of Palamedes, and the resolve of Zeus to aid the Trojans by withdrawing Achilles from the Greek side. Finally there is a catalogue of the Trojan allies.

The number of fragments given in Kinkel's edition is twenty-two (besides three doubtful references). About half of them are quotations, amounting in all to more than forty lines. The fragments add something to our knowledge of the details of the poem, and they serve (with the important exception of the passage of Herodotus mentioned above) to confirm the outline given by Proclus. Thus the opening lines (fr. 1 Kinkel) describe the 'counsel of Zeus' for the relief of the too populous earth: several fragments (5, 7, 9, 14) belong to the episode of the Dioscuri: from one of them we learn that Lynceus was endowed with superhuman powers of sight, so that he could see from Mount Taygetus over the whole Peloponnesus, and through the trunk of the oak in which the Dioscuri were hiding. Fr. 11 refers to the son born to Achilles in Scyros, and tells us that the name 'Pyrrhus,' which does not occur in Homer, was given by Lycomedes, the name 'Neoptolemus' by Phoenix. In fr. 16 we have the account given by the *Cypria* to explain how it happened that Chryseis, being a native of Chryse, was taken by Achilles in the sack of Thebe (Il. 1. 369). Regarding the death of Palamedes fr. 18 related that he was drowned, while fishing, by Diomedes and Ulysses.

There are also references in the fragments to the spear given by the gods to Peleus (fr. 2), the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon (fr. 13)<sup>6</sup>, the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14). There is also a notice (fr. 17) of a curious piece of mythology which does not appear at all in the argument of Proclus, viz. the story of Anius of Delos and his three daughters, called Οἰνώ, Σπερμώ, and Ἐλαΐς. These names were given to them on account of their magical power of producing an infinite quantity of wine, seed (*i.e.* corn), and oil; so that once when the Greek army was threatened with famine, Agamemnon (on the advice of Palamedes) sent for them, and they came accordingly to Rhoeteum and fed the Greek army. Two fragments (3 and 4) in Athenaeus probably describe Aphrodite arraying herself for the Judgment of Paris. Another in the same author (fr. 6) relates how Nemesis, the mother of Helen, was pursued by Zeus, and changed herself into many and various shapes to avoid him.

Of the plan and structure of the *Cypria* we learn something from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, where it is given as an example of the poems that have 'one hero, one time, and one action, consisting of many parts' (*περὶ ἑνα καὶ περὶ ἑνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερή*)<sup>7</sup>. The hero is evidently Paris; the main action is the carrying away of Helen (*Ἐλένης ἀρπαγή*). The 'one time' is more difficult to understand, in a poem which begins with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and comes down to a late period in the Trojan war. Probably it means no more than that the action was *continuous* in respect of time. A further element of unity, however, is furnished by the agency of Aphrodite, which has very much the same prevailing influence over the course of events in the *Cypria* that the agency of Athene has in the *Odyssey*. This may be seen even in minor incidents, such as the visit of Achilles to Helen, and in the prominence given to Aeneas by associating him with Paris in the fateful expedition. The hero, accordingly, is the favourite of Aphrodite, just as Ulysses in the *Odyssey* is the favourite of Athene. We may gather, therefore, that the poem was characterized by a distinct *ethos*, or vein of moral feeling. On the other hand, it is proved by the testimony of Aristotle that the *Cypria* had much less unity of plan than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was not indeed one of the poems in which all the adventures of a hero are strung together, as in the later *Theseids* and *Heracleids* of which Aristotle speaks in another place (*Poet.*

<sup>6</sup> Cp. also Arist. *Rhet.* p. 1401 b 16 διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ.

<sup>7</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 1459 b 1: see p. 343, note 4.



1451 a 20). But the several parts of the action had an independent interest and artistic value, such as we do not find in the Homeric poems: they were not so completely subordinated to the main action as to be lost in it. In support of this criticism Aristotle points to the fact (noticed above, p. 343) that the story of the *Cypria* yielded a great many subjects for tragedies, whereas the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not lend themselves to this mode of treatment. Other reasons may have contributed to this result; it may be urged, for instance, that the battles and debates of Homer were beyond the resources of Greek stage machinery, and that most of the adventures of Ulysses are without interest of a tragic kind. But this need not affect the conclusion which Aristotle wishes to enforce, viz. the difference, in respect of unity of structure, between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems. On such a matter his judgment can hardly be disputed. Moreover, it is confirmed by the argument of Proclus, and the fragments. The events which we there find in outline cover a space of several years, and are enacted in many places—the scene changing from Thessaly to Mt. Ida and Troy, then to Sparta, and back (with Paris and Helen) to Troy; then to Messenia, then over Greece with the chiefs who collected the Greek forces, and so to the meeting-place at Aulis; then to Mysia, Scyros, Argos, Aulis again, and so once more to the Troad. As regards the external unities of space and time, it is clear that the *Cypria* was formed on a different model from either of the Homeric poems.

Turning from the plan and structure of the *Cypria* to consider the details, we find, in the first place, that there is clear evidence, in the fragments as well as in the abstract given by Proclus, that the poem was composed with direct reference to the *Iliad*, to which it was to serve as an introduction. Thus the account of the βουλή Διός at the outset (fr. 1), as has been observed, is evidently founded upon the Homeric Διός δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (Il. 1. 5), to which it gives a meaning which was certainly not intended by the poet of the *Iliad*. The story that when Thebe was taken by the Greeks Chryseis had come thither for a sacrifice to Artemis (fr. 16) is clearly a device to explain why she was not in her own city, Chryse, and so to reconcile an apparent contradiction in the first book of the *Iliad*. So the raid on the cattle of Aeneas and the taking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus (fr. 15) is suggested by Il. 2. 690., 20. 92; the giving of a spear to Peleus at his marriage (fr. 2) by Il. 16. 140; the presence of the gods at that marriage by Il. 24. 62; the ship-building of Paris, and the warnings of Helenus and Cassandra, by Il. 5. 62–64; the embassy to Troy by Il. 3. 205;

the portents seen at Aulis by Il. 2. 301 ff.; and the *τειχομαχία* by Il. 6. 435. We might add the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14), the landing of Achilles in Scyros, and birth of Neoptolemus (fr. 11), and the incident of Philoctetes; but in these cases it is possible that the poet took his story directly from a legend which survived independently of Homer. The catalogue of the Trojan allies, however, must have been intended to supplement the list given in Il. 2. 816 ff., which is so much briefer than the catalogue of the Greek army. Such an enlarged roll would be the natural fruit of increased acquaintance with the non-Hellenic races of Asia Minor.

Besides these direct references there are some instances in which the author of the *Cypria* imitates the *Iliad*, or borrows *motifs* from it. Such are, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon (cp. also the quarrel of Ulysses and Achilles in Od. 8. 75), the stories told by Nestor, the association of Ulysses and Diomedes (also in the *Little Iliad*), the incident of Achilles restraining the Greeks from returning home, and the parts played by Aphrodite and Thetis.

On the other hand, it is no less apparent that a large proportion of the incidents of the *Cypria* belong to groups of legend unknown to Homer.

1. The train of events with which the poem opens—the purpose of depopulating the earth, the Apple of Discord, &c.—seems to be a post-Homeric creation. The only incident in the series to which there is an allusion in Homer is the Judgment of Paris, of whom it is said in Il. 24. 29, 30—

ὅς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,  
τὴν δ' ἤησ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγυμένην.

Aristarchus obelized the passage on the ground (among others) that *νείκεσσε* is inappropriate, since it does not mean 'decided against,' but 'scolded,' 'flouted.' This, however, would rather show that the lines refer to a different version of the incident; and the same thing is suggested by *ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο*, and *πόρε μαχλοσύνην*. These phrases lead us to imagine a story of Paris visited in his shepherd's hut by the three goddesses, spurning the two first and welcoming Aphrodite. This, we may reasonably conjecture, was the local form of the legend. It is parallel in some respects to the legend of Anchises (given in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite), and to other stories, told especially in Asia Minor, of 'gods coming down in the likeness of men.' It is evident that the ordinary version of the Judgment of Paris is less simple, and might be created by the wish to fit it

into the main narrative of the Trojan war. In any case there is no hint in Homer that the action of Paris towards the goddesses had any connexion with his expedition to Sparta. Everything, in short, tends to show that the story was recast in post-Homeric times, with the view of enhancing the importance of Aphrodite in the Trojan story.

2. The episode of the Dioscuri appears to be a piece of local Spartan or perhaps Messenian legend. The Messenian Twin Brethren, Idas and Lynceus, are unknown to Homer. The apotheosis of the Dioscuri is inconsistent with the language of the *Iliad* (3. 243 τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φησὶζοὺς αἶα), and belongs to a distinctly post-Homeric order of ideas<sup>1</sup>.

3. The landing in Mysia, with the story of Telephus, has all the appearance of a graft upon the original story, probably derived from local Mysian tradition. The awkward expedient of a second muster of the fleet at Aulis was evidently made necessary by this interpolation. The miraculous healing of Telephus by Achilles is not in the manner of Homer, and the account that makes him the guide of the Greeks on their way to the Troad is at variance with the *Iliad*, which assigns this service to Calchas.

4. The story of Iphigenia is non-Homeric. The daughters of Agamemnon, according to Homer (Il. 9. 145), are—

Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα.

Some later authorities supposed Iphigenia to be another name for Iphianassa, but the author of the *Cypria*, as we learn from the scholiast on Sophocles (*El.* 157), distinguished them, thus making four in all<sup>2</sup>. This may be regarded as an attempt to reconcile the account of Homer with the legend of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

The version given in the *Cypria* (if we may trust the argument of Proclus) was that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, according to which Iphigenia was not put to death, but was carried off by Artemis to be the priestess of her Taurian altar, and as such to be immortal. This form of the story is necessarily later than the Greek settlements on the northern coasts of the Euxine,

5. Cynus, the 'Swan-hero,' son of Poseidon, is a non-Homeric figure. In later accounts he is invulnerable, and can only be

<sup>1</sup> The lines about the Dioscuri in the *Némea* (Od. 11. 298-304) must be interpolated.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the meaning of the words of the scholiast § ὅς δ' τὰ Κόρυμνος τρεῖς τρεῖς φησὶν, Ἰφιδέειαν καὶ Ἰφίανασσαν, i.e. 'counting Iphigenia and Iphianassa.' With this punctuation it is unnecessary to emend as Elmsley proposed (reading δ' as διαφόρους, instead of the numeral τρεῖσιν).

dispatched by being forced to leap into the sea. According to another version he is changed into a swan, like the *Schwanritter* of German legend. As the argument of Proclus merely says that he was killed by Achilles, we cannot tell how much of this marvellous character belongs to him in the *Cypria*. In any case he is a being of a fantastic kind, such as we might meet with in the adventures of Ulysses, but certainly not among the warriors who fought in the battles of the *Iliad*.

6. Palamedes is an important addition to the Homeric group of *dramatis personae*. In the *Cypria* he detects the feigned madness of Ulysses, and so forces him to join the Trojan expedition (Procl.). He is drowned while fishing by Ulysses and Diomedes (fr. 18). In later writers he appears as a hero of a new type, one of those who have benefited mankind by their inventions; and his fate thus acquires something of the interest of a martyrdom. As the enemy of Ulysses he represents the higher kind of intelligence, in contrast to mere selfish cunning; he is *sollertior isto, sed sibi inutilior*, in the words which Ovid puts into the mouth of Ajax (*Metam.* 13. 37). It is impossible to say how far this view of the character of Palamedes was brought out in the ancient epic poem. The story of his death certainly assumed a much more highly wrought and pathetic form, familiar to us from the reference to him in Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 81 ff.)—

quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi  
Insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,  
Demisere neci; nunc cassum lumine lugent.

But the germ of all this, the contrast between the wisdom of Palamedes and the wisdom of Ulysses, with the consequent lowering of the character of Ulysses, is fairly to be traced to the *Cypria*. We must feel that the murder of Palamedes by Ulysses and Diomedes would be as impossible in Homer as it is in harmony with some later representations.

7. The prophecies in the *Cypria* deserve some notice. When Paris builds ships for his expedition, the consequences are foretold by Helenus. Again, before he sails he is warned by Cassandra, whose gift of prophecy is unknown to Homer. Telephus comes to Argos to be cured *κατὰ πᾶντ' ἔλατ'.* Finally, as Welcker pointed out, the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Od.* 1. 15) probably comes from the *Cypria*. The words—

Ingrato celeres obruit otio  
Ventos

agree with the 'fair wind and smooth sea' of the quotation in Herodotus (2. 117). The passage from which this quotation came is omitted (as we have seen) in the argument of Proclus; hence we need not be surprised if the prophecy of Nereus is also unmentioned there.

8. The statement that Helen was the daughter of Nemesis is peculiar to the *Cypria*. It may be connected, as Welcker thought, with the local worship of Nemesis in Attica. It is to be observed, however, that the author of the *Cypria* is fond of treating personifications of this kind as agents: compare the consultation of Themis, and the sending of Discord with the apple. Such figures occur in Homer, but are much more shadowy and impalpable. The notion of a 'purpose of Zeus' as the ground-work of the whole action shows the same tendency to put moral abstractions in the place of the simpler Homeric agencies.

The Protean changes of Nemesis when pursued by Zeus belong to a category already noticed as characteristic of the *Cypria*. Other examples are, the Apple of Discord, the healing of Telephus, the marvellous sight of Lynceus, the supernatural powers of the daughters of Anius. The notion of *magical* efficacy residing in certain persons or objects is one which in Homer is confined to the 'outer geography' of the *Odyssey*.

The attempt which has now been made to ascertain the relation between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems has turned almost entirely upon points of agreement and difference between the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. This, however, is only what was to be expected, since the *Cypria* and the *Odyssey* lie too far apart in respect of matter to furnish many points of comparison. Subject to this reservation the result seems to be to show, with cumulative and irresistible force, that between the time of Homer and the time of the *Cypria* great additions had been made to the body of legends and traditions available for the purposes of epic poetry; that that increase was due, in a large measure at least, to the opening up of new local sources of legend; that concurrently with it a marked change had come over the tone and spirit of the stories; and finally, that all this change and development had taken place in spite of the fact that the author of the *Cypria* wrote under the direct influence of Homer, and with the view of furnishing an introduction to the events of the *Iliad*.

§ 5. *The Aethiopis of Arctinus.*

As the *Iliad* was introduced by the *Cypria*, so it was continued in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus, a poem in five books, of which Proclus gives the following argument:—

The Amazon queen Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, comes as an ally of Troy. After performing great deeds she is killed by Achilles, and duly buried by the Trojans. There was a rumour that Achilles in the moment of victory had been seized by a passion for the fallen Amazon, and on this ground he is assailed in the Greek assembly by Thersites. He kills Thersites, and the deed provokes a quarrel in the army; thereupon Achilles sails to Lesbos, and having duly sacrificed to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, is purified from the homicide by Ulysses. Then Memnon, son of Eos, arrives to aid the Trojans, with a panoply made by Hephaestus, and Thetis reveals to her son what the fortune of this new ally will be. Memnon slays Antilochus, and is slain by Achilles; thereupon Eos obtains for him the gift of immortality. In the rout of the Trojans which ensues, Achilles enters the city after them, and is killed in the Scaean gate by Paris and Apollo. His body is brought back after a stubborn fight by Ajax, who carries it to the ships, whilst Ulysses keeps off the Trojans. Then follows the burial of Antilochus, and Thetis, with the Muses and the Nereids, performs a lamentation for her son. When he has been placed on the funeral pyre she carries him off to the island Leuce. The Greeks having raised the sepulchral mound hold funeral games, and a quarrel arises between Ajax and Ulysses for the succession to the arms of Achilles.

The tablet known as the *Tabula Veronensis*<sup>10</sup> (now in the Louvre) gives the following brief summary of the *Aethiopis*:—Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζὼν παραγίνεται. Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίληαν ἀποκτείνει. Μένων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει. Ἀχιλλεὺς Μένωνα ἀποκτείνει. ἐν ταῖς Σκαίαις πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ Παρίδος ἀναιρείται. It seems very probable that these five sentences answer to the five books into which we know that the poem was divided. If so, the argument may be distributed somewhat as follows:—

I. Arrival of Penthesilea—her ἀριστεία.

II. Slaying of Penthesilea—interval of truce, occupied on the Trojan side by her burial, on the Greek side by the Thersites-scene and the withdrawal of Achilles.

III. Arrival and ἀριστεία of Memnon—he slays Antilochus.

<sup>10</sup> Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* ii. p. 524; Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, Tab. iii. D'.

IV. Achilles returns to the field, slays Memnon, and puts the Trojans to flight.

V. Death of Achilles in the gate—battle for the recovery of his body—*θρήνος* and apotheosis of Achilles—funeral games and contest for his arms.

From the statement of the scholiast on Pindar (*Isth.* 3. 53), that according to the *Aethiopsis* Ajax killed himself about dawn, it would appear that the story was brought down a little further than Proclus gives it. The reason for the omission would be that the contest for the arms and the death of Ajax fell within the story of the *Little Iliad*<sup>11</sup>.

The Townley scholia on the *Iliad* contain the statement that in the place of the line which ends the poem in all MSS.,

ὅς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμιοι

some copies had the two lines,

ὅς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζῶν  
Ἄρμος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνου.

These lines are evidently meant to introduce the story of the *Aethiopsis*, and were believed by Welcker to be the opening words of the poem itself (*Ep. Cycl.* 1<sup>2</sup>. p. 199). Others, as Bernhardt, have thought that they were framed for the purpose of connecting the two poems in a collection or compilation, such as the Epic Cycle. The latter view is probably nearer the truth. There is a very similar passage of four lines at the end of the *Theogony* of Hesiod :—

αὐται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι  
ἀθάνατοι γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιέκλεα τέκνα·  
νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον αἰεῖσατε, ἡδυνέπειαι  
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

These lines are in the form of a transition from the *Θεογονία* to the Hesiodic *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, and accordingly have been thought by some commentators to be in fact the first four lines of that poem. Two MSS., however, omit them altogether, and several others omit the last two of the four, thus leaving the clause *αὐται μὲν κτλ.* without an apodosis. Comparing these facts with the case of the two lines at the end of the *Iliad*, we see that the circumstances are almost exactly parallel. The single line which stands in our copies is incomplete. Like all the sentences in Homer that begin with *ὅς οἱ γε*, and the like, it is the first half of a formula of transition. The Townley scholia

<sup>11</sup> The quotation of eight lines assigned by Kinkel to the *Aethiopsis* (fr. 3 in his edition), seems to me to belong to the *Ίλιον πέποις*; see p. 372.

have preserved the original form of the couplet. What then was the source of these lines? What is their date? We may be sure at least that they cannot have been the opening of the ancient 'Cyclic' *Aethiopis*. Apart from the silence of the scholia, and the difficulty of understanding why the lines should ever have appeared in manuscripts of the *Iliad*, it is impossible to suppose that the *Aethiopis* began with words which would be meaningless unless the hearer remembered the end of the *Iliad*. This would be something quite different from the general knowledge of and subordination to Homer which we trace in the 'Cyclic' poets. Both in the *Iliad* and in the *Theogony* the lines in dispute have the appearance of a sort of *catchword* added to prepare the reader for the next poem, as in printed books the heading of a chapter used to be placed at the foot of the preceding page. Such catchwords imply of course that the poems were read in a recognized order. The habit of inserting them may have begun in the Alexandrine age, when the chief works in each branch of literature were collected and arranged in a 'canon' or accepted list. After the formula had been confused with the text of the author, it was an easy further step to leave out the latter part of it, as being wholly irrelevant to the subject of the poem.

In passing from the *Cypria* to the *Aethiopis* we are struck at once with the greater simplicity and unity of the poem. The action falls within nearly the same limits of space and time as that of the *Iliad*. There are two days of battle, separated by an interval which need not be supposed to be a long one. The second battle is quickly followed by the funeral games, with which the concluding events are immediately connected. The hero of the poem is Achilles; the main event is his death, and to this the rest of the action, as far as we can judge, is kept in due subordination.

The proportion of incidents that can be regarded as directly founded upon passages in Homer is comparatively small. The death of Achilles takes place as foreshadowed in the prophecy of Hector (Il. 22. 359-360):—

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κύν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
ἑσθλὸν εἶναι ὀλέσσωσιν ἐν Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι.

This, however, is a circumstance which may well have been part of the ancient *saga*, anterior to the *Iliad* itself. The *Odyssey* refers to the beauty of Memnon (11. 522), and to the death of Antilochus at his hands (4. 187); but there is nothing in Homer to connect Memnon with the Aethiopians. The Amazons, again, are mentioned in the



*Iliad*, but (like the Aethiopians of the *Odyssey*) they belong to a distant and fanciful region. The funeral games held in honour of Achilles, and the lament for him performed by Thetis and the attendant Muses and Nereids, are described in the last book of the *Odyssey* (24. 36-97). The burning of the body, mentioned in the same passage of the *Odyssey* (24. 71-79), was replaced in the *Aethiopis* by a species of apotheosis in harmony with later religious and national feeling<sup>12</sup>.

The representation in the *Aethiopis*—and also, as we shall see, in the *Little Iliad*—of Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles, while Ulysses protected the retreat, is clearly taken from Il. 17. 715 ff., where, however, it is Ajax with his Locrian namesake who keeps the Trojans at bay. Aristarchus, who pointed out the imitation (see Schol. A on Il. 17. 719), added the remark that if Homer had related the death of Achilles he would not have made Ajax carry the body, as the later poets did. Another account actually exchanged the parts played by the two heroes: for on Od. 5. 310, where Ulysses speaks of this exploit—

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλείστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα  
Τρῶες ἐπέρριψαν περὶ Πηλεΐωνι θανόντι,

the scholiasts add the comment that Ulysses and Ajax fought for the body of Achilles, and that 'the one (Ulysses) carried it, and Ajax protected it with his shield, as also in the case of Patroclus.' This variant, however, was evidently unknown to Aristarchus<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> It will be remembered here that the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey* is later than the bulk of the poem. But the discrepancy noticed in the text seems to show that it is at least older than the *Aethiopis*.

<sup>13</sup> ('Η διπλή) ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς νεωτέροις δ βασταζόμενος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπ' Αἴαντος, ὑπερασπίζων δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς παρήκται. εἰ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἔγραφε τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς θάνατον, οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησε τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπ' Αἴαντος βασταζόμενον, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι (Schol. A on Il. 17. 719).

ὅτι ὑπερμάχησαν τοῦ σώματος Ἀχιλλεὺς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Αἴας, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐβάστασεν, ὁ δ' Αἴας ὑπερήσπισεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ (Schol. B P Q on Od. 5. 310). Cp. the speech of Ulysses in Ovid, *Melam.* xiii. 282:

nec me lacrimae luctusve timore  
tardarunt quin corpus humo sublime referrem.

In this latter version Ajax remains true to his Homeric character as the chief hero of defence, wielding 'a shield like a tower,' and it is easy to suspect that it was the original account of Arctinus, although in the argument of Proclus the *Aethiopis* is made to agree with the current story of the *Little Iliad*. It is clear, however, that Aristarchus knew nothing of any such variant. Either therefore we must suppose that Aristarchus was unacquainted with the poems of Arctinus—and it is curious that we have no trace showing that he did know them—or we must explain the statement of the scholia on Od. 5. 310 as a mere mistake. The remark of Aristarchus that Homer would have told the story in a certain way may have been twisted into a statement that that was the true account.

Regarding the 'judgment of the arms,' which perhaps fell within the range of the *Aethiopis* (p. 356), two stories were told. According to the *Little Iliad*, as we shall see, the issue was made to depend upon the part taken by each hero in rescuing the body of Achilles. The Greeks sent spies to listen under the walls of Troy, and when these reported that in the opinion of the Trojan maidens Ulysses, who repelled the Trojan attack, did a greater service than Ajax, who carried the body of Achilles back to the camp, they awarded the arms to Ulysses. But the scholia on the *Odyssey* (11. 543 ff.) tell us that in the line in the *Nekyia*—

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη

the reference is to the Trojan prisoners, who served at the trial as a jury. The question put to them being whether Ajax or Ulysses had done them most harm, they gave their verdict for Ulysses. Apparently Athene herself acted as a dicast—as she did in the equally famous trial-scene of the *Eumenides*. This form of the story does not connect the 'judgment of the arms' in any especial manner with the combat over the body of Achilles, and so far it is simpler and more reasonable than the other. Also, it gives a better meaning to the passage of the *Nekyia*, especially to the word *δίκασαν*. Regarding its source we are only told that it comes from the 'cyclic' history (ἡ ἱστορία ἐκ τῶν κυκλικῶν Schol. H). The most obvious conjecture is that it was the version of Arctinus. It should be noticed that the line *παῖδες δὲ Τρώων κτλ.* was rejected by Aristarchus, who apparently regarded both the current versions of the trial-scene as post-Homeric<sup>14</sup>.

These are perhaps the only cases in which Arctinus can be thought to have directly borrowed the matter of the *Aethiopis* from Homer. Nevertheless the whole course of the events on which the poem is founded is closely parallel to the story of the *Iliad*. The hero is the same, and he again quarrels with the Greeks and leaves them for a time. Thetis has the same part as in the *Iliad*—that of consoling her son and warning him of the future<sup>15</sup>. Antiochus apparently takes the place of Patroclus as the friend of Achilles. Like Patroclus, he is the warrior whose fate comes next to that of Achilles in tragic interest, whose death at the hands of the Trojan champion is immediately

<sup>14</sup> The scene is especially suggested by Il. 2. 220 *ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ μάλιστ' ἦν ἢ δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ, τὸν γὰρ ναυκείεσκε*. As the *Iliad* shows Thersites in relation to Agamemnon and Ulysses, it was left to the *Aethiopis* to bring him on the stage with Achilles.

<sup>15</sup> The prophecy about Memnon seems suggested by Il. 11. 795 (= 16. 37, 51) *καὶ τινὰς αἱ παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ*.

avenged by Achilles himself. Achilles, again, when he has pursued the Trojans into the city, is killed by Apollo and Paris; as Patroclus, drawn too far in a like victorious course, was killed by Apollo and Hector. The contest which follows for the recovery of the body of Achilles is a repetition of the contest in the seventeenth book over Patroclus. There is also a scene with Thersites, as in the *Iliad*, but it has a more tragic issue. The armour of Achilles has its counterpart in the armour of Memnon, which is equally the work of Hephaestus. Achilles gives up the body of Penthesilea, as he gave up Hector to Priam. The battles of the poem are wound up by a *θρήνος*, a funeral, and funeral games.

In these points, as in the plan of the poem, we have to recognize not so much borrowing as *imitation*, that is to say, a close adherence to the *motifs* and artistic forms of the *Iliad*. The ancient tradition that Arctinus was a disciple of Homer (*Ὁμήρου μαθητής* Suid.) is fully borne out by what we know thus far of his work.

It may be objected here that the correspondences now insisted upon between the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliad* go to show that the two works belong to the same age or school, but do not prove that the *Iliad* is the original, of which the other is an imitation. This proof may be supplied by an examination of the various post-Homeric elements in the *Aethiopis*:—

1. The part which the Amazons take in the defence of Troy is evidently unknown to Homer<sup>16</sup>.

2. The Aethiopians of the *Odyssey* are far too remote from the known world of Homer to have taken part in the Trojan war. Both the Amazons and the Aethiopians are nations of a fabulous type that we do not meet with in the *Iliad* at all. Their appearance in the *Aethiopis* is evidently due to an inclination towards the romantic and marvellous, of which several examples have been already noticed in the *Cypria*.

3. The carrying away of Achilles to the island of Leuce is an incident which reminds us of the death of Sarpedon in the *Iliad* (16. 450, 667), but it is at variance with the account given in the last book of the *Odyssey* (24. 71-79), according to which his body was burned and the ashes placed in an urn, along with those of Patroclus. It is connected with the custom of hero-worship, the absence of which is so distinctive a mark of the Homeric age. For the choice of Leuce

<sup>16</sup> Strabo (xii. 24, p. 552) speaks as if it were an established fact that the Amazons took no part in the Trojan war. He was probably unacquainted with the poems of Arctinus: see the remarks on p. 378.

as the abode of Achilles is significant. It was an island in the Euxine opposite the mouth of the Danube, and in historical times we find the worship of Achilles widely spread on the neighbouring coasts. Thus Alcaeus addresses him as presiding hero of Scythia<sup>17</sup>, and Herodotus (4. 55) describes the strip of land called 'Αχαιῆτος δρόμος near the mouth of the Borysthenes. This diffusion of Greek traditions and Greek religious ideas must have been mainly brought about by the numerous colonies of Miletus, which occupied the coasts of the Euxine in the early prosperous times of Ionia; it is therefore no accidental coincidence that a poet of Miletus should be the earliest witness of the fact. It has been doubted, indeed, whether the Leuce of the poet is the real island afterwards so called. According to the received chronology the period of Milesian colonisation is rather later than Arctinus. The original Leuce may have been purely mythical, the 'island of Light,' like the Elysian plain in the *Odyssey*. The name would naturally be attached in course of time to a real place, especially a place in the centre of a region over which the worship of the new hero extended. If we accept this view, which however is only necessary on the assumption that Arctinus is anterior to the Milesian settlements, the evidence of the *Aethiopis* is still good for Miletus itself. It will then serve at least to connect the *Aethiopis* with the time when the Ionian trading cities, of which Miletus was chief, had begun to adopt the new religious practices that grew up, after the Homeric age, in honour of the national heroes.

4. The immortality granted to Memnon is a further exemplification of the new ideas. It is true that two similar instances are found in our text of the *Odyssey*, viz. the immortality of Menelaus in the Elysian plain (Od. 4. 563), and the apotheosis of Heracles (Od. 11. 601). The latter, however, is almost certainly spurious, since it is inconsistent with all that is said of Heracles elsewhere in Homer. The passage about Menelaus may also be an interpolation; in any case it stands alone, and the *Iliad* (as we see especially from the case of Sarpedon) shows no trace of the notion<sup>18</sup>.

5. Another incident of a post-Homeric kind is the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide, after sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. There are references in Homer to compensation paid to the relatives of the slain man, but never to any purification by means

<sup>17</sup> 'Αχιλλεῦ δ τὰς Σκυθικὰς νέμεις (Alc. fr. 49).

<sup>18</sup> Hesiod (*Op.* 156 ff.) speaks as though many of the heroes of Troy had obtained this immortality:

τοῖς δὲ δὴχ' ἀνθρώπων βίωτον καὶ ἦθε' ὀπίσσωσιν κτλ.

Another instance is Phaethon son of Eos (Hes. *Theog.* 987 ff.).

of ritual, nor is Apollo ever represented as deliverer from guilt (*καθάριστος*), which afterwards became one of his most prominent characters. The whole idea of *pollution* as a consequence of wrongdoing is foreign to Homer<sup>19</sup>.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, like the *Cypria*, was a work of considerably later date than the *Iliad*. Probably also it was later than any part of the *Odyssey* (see the note on p. 358): but as to this the evidence, in the nature of the case, is less conclusive. And while it is apparent that the *Aethiopis* was materially different from the *Cypria* in point of artistic structure, and probably in style and spirit, we cannot but see on the one hand that it was influenced in the same degree by the example and authority of Homer, on the other hand that it showed equally decisive traces of change and progress, both in external circumstances and in moral and religious ideas.

#### § 6. *The Little Iliad.*

The abstract of the *Little Iliad* given by Proclus represents it as a poem in four books, which related the events of the Trojan war from the award of the arms of Achilles to the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. The original poem, as has been shown (p. 343), brought the story down to the departure of the Greeks, and thus came into competition with the *Ἰλίου πέρσης* (*Sack of Troy*) of Arctinus. Proclus accordingly passes over the latter part of the *Little Iliad*—either because it was not taken into the Epic Cycle, or (on Welcker's view) because his object was to give the series of events rather than the contents of the different poems. The want is supplied in great measure by the statement of Aristotle (quoted above, p. 343) about the tragedies taken from the *Little Iliad*, and still more by the passage in Pausanias (10. 25–27) describing the celebrated paintings by Polygnotus in the *lesche* at Delphi. These paintings represented scenes from the capture of Troy, and we are expressly told by Pausanias that in them Polygnotus followed the account of the *Little Iliad*. From this source we learn more of the details of the poem than is known of any other part of the Epic Cycle.

The *Little Iliad* was generally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene (or Pyrrha), but by some to Thestorides of Phocaea, by others (among

<sup>19</sup> This was observed by the ancients: cp. Schol. T on Il. 11. 690 *παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὐκ οἶδμεν ποῦτα καθαιρόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀντιτίθεται ἢ φυγαδεύμενον*. The most famous example is in the story of Adrastus and Croesus (Hdt. 1. 35), from which Grote infers that the rites came to Greece from Lydia.

whom was the historian Hellanicus of Lesbos) to Cinaethon of Sparta, by others to Diodorus of Erythrae<sup>20</sup>. There was also a story (like the one told of Stasinus and the *Cypria*) that Homer was himself the author, and gave it to Thestorides of Phocaea in return for lodging and maintenance (Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.*, § 15 ff.).

Of the ten tragedies said by Aristotle to be founded upon episodes of the *Little Iliad*, the first six cover the same ground as Proclus' abstract of the poem. The account of Proclus, therefore, is verified by the high authority of Aristotle, down to the point at which Proclus—or the compiler of the Epic Cycle—deserted the *Little Iliad* for the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. The agreement is so close that the titles in the Aristotelian list will serve very well as headings under which the argument of Proclus may be arranged. The incidents, then, were as follows:—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* (κρίσις ὅπλων). The arms of Achilles, by the influence of Athene, were adjudged to Ulysses; the madness and suicide of Ajax follow.

(2) The *Philoctetes*. Ulysses having taken Helenus prisoner, and obtained from him an oracle about the capture of Troy, Philoctetes is brought from Lemnos by Diomedes, is healed by Machaon, and kills Paris in single combat. The dead body of Paris is treated with indignity by Menelaus, then given up to the Trojans and buried. Deiphobus becomes the husband of Helen.

(3) The *Neoptolemus*. Ulysses brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him the arms of Achilles. The shade of Achilles appears to him.

(4) The *Eurypylos*. Eurypylos, the son of Telephus, now comes as a fresh ally of the Trojans. After doing great deeds he is slain by Neoptolemus.

The Trojans are now closely besieged, and the Wooden Horse is made by Epeius, under the guidance of Athene.

(5) The *πρωχία*. Ulysses maltreats himself, and enters Troy in beggar's disguise. He is recognised by Helen, with whom he confers regarding the capture of the city, and fights his way back to the camp.

(6) The *Λάκαινα*. The Palladium of Troy is carried off by Ulysses and Diomedes<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> C. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 226) points out that the authority of Hellanicus tells strongly against Lesches. Had there been an old tradition of the Lesbian origin of the *Little Iliad*, Hellanicus as a Lesbian would probably have given it his support. It is worth notice that the poem is ascribed to authors belonging to all the great divisions of the Hellenic race.

<sup>21</sup> We have no express statement as to the subject of the *Λάκαινα*, but there

(7) The *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου πέρσις).

The Greeks then man the Wooden Horse with the chief warriors and make their feigned retreat; the Wooden Horse is taken into the city, and great rejoicings are held by the Trojans over their fancied deliverance.

At this point the argument in Proclus breaks off.

The remaining plays mentioned by Aristotle are :—

(8) The *Departure of the Greeks* (ἀπόπλους), which is also the last incident in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus.

(9) The *Sinon*—doubtless founded on the same story as is given in the argument of the *Iliupersis*, and with full detail in the *Aeneid*.

(10) The *Troades*, in all probability the extant play of the name, which turns upon events that immediately followed the capture.

It is worthy of notice that the two last plays are out of their chronological order, since they turn upon subordinate incidents belonging to the subject of the seventh, the *Sack of Troy*. This is not the only indication that they stand on a different footing from the rest—that they are of the nature of an after-thought. Aristotle begins by saying that there were 'more than eight' plays taken from the *Little Iliad*. We may gather that he had eight in his mind that were clearly taken from the poem, besides others that had been more or less altered in the process of fitting them for the stage.

About twenty lines of the *Little Iliad* survive, besides numerous references. The opening lines were—

Ἰλιον αἰῖδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον,  
ἧς πέρι πολλά πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄργεος.

It was therefore an *Iliad* in the proper sense of the term. The subject was the fall of Troy, and the various episodes were necessary steps towards that end.

The next in the series of quotations (fr. 2) has the interest of being referred to by the poet Aristophanes, in a passage of the *Knights* (1056). It comes from the first part of the poem, the *Judgment of the Arms*. According to the *Little Iliad* the Greeks, on the advice of Nestor, sent spies to listen under the walls of Troy for some saying that would enable them to decide the quarrel. The spies heard the Trojan maidens disputing on the question at issue. One said that Ajax was by far the bravest—

is no room for doubt. The play is evidently named from the chorus, which consisted of the Spartan maidens in the service of Helen.

Ἄλ᾽ αὖ μὲν γὰρ δαῖρε καὶ ἔκφερε θεῖος ἦτορ  
 ἦρω Πηλεΐδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

To which another answered, by the inspiration of Athene—

πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἔειπες;  
 καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιθείη.

These words were reported to the Greek assembly, and the decision given accordingly in favour of Ulysses. The last line is actually quoted in the text of Aristophanes; the rest comes from the scholiast. It is interesting to compare this form of the story with the version given above (p. 359) as probably that of the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus. The two versions agree in finding a meaning for the *παῖδες Τρώων* of Od. 11. 547. The notion of a jury of Trojan prisoners deciding on the merits of Greek heroes is not without dramatic effect, though it fails in dignity and verisimilitude. But the substitution of Trojan maidens overheard disputing about the question turns the whole into an absurdity. We can only suppose that it originated as a deliberate parody of the older and simpler story.

The *Little Iliad* is also quoted (fr. 3) for the statement that owing to the anger of Agamemnon the body of Ajax was placed in the coffin without being duly burned.

Two lines (fr. 4) relate how Achilles was driven by a storm to the island of Scyros. This is evidently to introduce the bringing of Neoptolemus<sup>22</sup>. The words describing the spear of Achilles (fr. 5) may belong to the same part of the story.

Four lines (fr. 6) are quoted from the history of a famous golden vine, which the author of the *Little Iliad*—differing somewhat from Homer—represented as having been given by Zeus to Laomedon by way of compensation for the loss of his son Ganymede:

ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορην οἱ παῖδες ἄποινα,  
 χρυσεῖν φύλλοισιν ἀγαοῖσιν κομώσαν  
 βότρυσί θ' οὐδ' Ἡφαιστος ἐπασκῆσας Διὶ πατρὶ  
 δῶχ', ὃ δὲ Λαομέδοντι πόρην Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.

These four lines probably come from the episode of Eurypylus. The vine appears to be referred to in the *Odyssey* (11. 521 ff.), where Ulysses relates how Eurypylus son of Telephus fell, 'and many Ceteians were slain around him, all because of a woman's gift' (*γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δόρων*).

<sup>22</sup> The bringing of Neoptolemus was probably directed by the oracle of Helenus (Milani, *Mito di Filottete*, p. 22). As to this, however, there may have been more than one account: see Philostr. *Imag.* p. 865 *λογίου δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐμπεσόντος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλω τῇ ἀλατῇ ἔσταιτο ἢ Τροίᾳ πλὴν τοῖς Ἀλακίδαῖς*.



The scholiasts on this passage tell us, on the authority of the ancient historian Acusilaus, that Priam sent a golden vine to Astyoche the mother of Eurypylus, and thus persuaded her to send her son to the aid of the Trojans. This explanation is borne out by Od. 15. 247, where the same thing is said of Amphiaraus—

ἀλλ' ἔλετ' ἐν Θήβησι γυναίων εἵνεκα δόρων,

that is to say, he was forced to take part in the war of Thebes, in which he fell, because of the necklace given to his wife Eriphyle. If then the golden vine given to Astyoche was the same as that which Laomedon received from Zeus, it becomes easy to understand how the four lines in question came into the episode of Eurypylus. The poet of the *Little Iliad* had to relate the story of Priam sending the ornament as a bribe to Astyoche, and was naturally led to give its history in a short digression (after the manner of the σκήπτρου παράδοσις of Il. 2. 101-108). On this view we can almost complete the fragment. The next line would be something like—

αὐτὰρ Λαομέδων Πριάμῳ λίπε . . ,

and the apodosis (which is required by the grammatical form of the passage) must have said, 'this vine, then, Priam now gave to Astyoche, mother of Eurypylus.' The poetical value of a parenthesis of this kind is evident. It must have heightened the pathetic effect of the story to represent Priam, in the extremity of his need, giving away one of the great heirlooms of the royal house to buy the alliance of the Mysian king.

Among the deeds of Eurypylus not noticed in the argument was the slaying of Machaon (fr. 7). Other details to be added to this part of the narrative are, the wounding of Ulysses by Thoas (fr. 8), the name Anticlus in the list of the warriors who were in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10), and the full moon (fr. 11)—

νύξ μὲν ἦν μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέελλε σελήνη.

The line comes from the description of Sinon giving the preconcerted signal to the Greek army. It was of great use to the scholars who sought to determine the exact date of the capture.

The remaining fragments (12-19) relate to the final battle and the division of the spoil. The picturesque incident of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, referred to by Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 155), came from this part of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 16). A quotation of five lines (fr. 18) relates that Neoptolemus obtained Andromache as his prize, and killed the young Astyanax by throwing him from the wall of Troy. Pausanias adds that Aeneas also was

given to Neoptolemus, and that the death of Astyanax was the act of Neoptolemus alone, not authorised by the decree of the army. Other incidents of more or less interest are derived from the chapters of Pausanias already mentioned (10. 25-27). From this source we learn that according to the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15), King Priam was not killed by Neoptolemus as he clung to the altar of his palace (as the story is told in Virgil), but at the door. Helicaon, son of Antenor, when wounded in the night battle was recognised by Ulysses, and his life was saved (fr. 13). Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was one of the attendants of Helen, made her way to the Greek camp, and was recognised by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; into whose hands Agamemnon, having first obtained the consent of Helen, delivered her free from her long bondage (fr. 17). Ajax, son of Oileus, was represented as taking an oath to purge himself of the sacrilege which he had committed in tearing Cassandra from the altar of Athene so that the image of the goddess was dragged after her (Paus. 10. 26. 1). Besides these there are various details, such as form the staple of the minor Homeric battles. Meges is wounded by Admetus, Lycomedes by Agenor (fr. 12); Admetus is slain by Philoctetes, Coroebus by Diomedes, Axion by Eurypylus (fr. 15); Astynous is struck down by Neoptolemus (fr. 14), and Eioneus and Agenor also fall to him (fr. 15). In the *Little Iliad* the wife of Aeneas is named Eurydice (as also in the *Cypria*)—not Creusa.

Such, then, were the multifarious events and personages of which the story of the *Little Iliad* was composed. For the plan of the poem and the degree of artistic unity which it possessed we must recur to the piece of Aristotelian criticism already quoted in reference to the *Cypria*. The *Little Iliad*, like the *Cypria*, is said by Aristotle to be about one person (*περὶ ἑνός*), one time, and one action consisting of many parts (*περὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ*). The 'one action' is evidently the taking of Troy. The 'parts' of which it consists are the subordinate events, such as the arrival of Neoptolemus, the healing and return of Philoctetes, the theft of the Palladium. Each of these parts is necessary to the main action, but is also a story with an interest of its own, capable of furnishing the subject of an independent work; whereas in Homer the different episodes have not this independent character; their interest lies in their relation to the whole, and is lost when they are detached from it<sup>22</sup>. The 'one hero' of the *Little Iliad*

<sup>22</sup> The Doloneia is an exception, but one that proves the rule, since it is undoubtedly an interpolation. In it Ulysses is a hero of the adventurous type that we find in the *Odyssey*.

is somewhat less obvious; but a review of the chief incidents leaves no doubt that Ulysses holds that place. The poem begins with his victory over Ajax, which meant that he was then acknowledged by the Greeks as their greatest warrior; and he is the chief actor, or at least the chief adviser, in most of the other affairs. His character (as in Homer) is that of the champion of stratagem and adventure; and as such he is contrasted with warriors of the type of Achilles and Ajax. With a hero of this stamp we should naturally assume that the poem was of a comparatively light and cheerful cast; and this impression is amply confirmed by the details, so far as they are known. Such scenes as the debate of the Trojan maidens on the wall (in the *ὑπὸ τῷ κλισίῳ*), or Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, have an unmistakeable air of comedy. This will be brought out still further when we come to compare the *Little Iliad* with the treatment of the same narrative by Arctinus.

The *Little Iliad* is distinguished among the Cyclic poems by the large proportion of matter which may be regarded as derived from Homer, either directly or through earlier poems of the Homeric school. Thus, to take the episodes in Aristotle's list—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* is described in Od. 11. 543-562. It has been noticed above (in speaking of the *Aethiopis*) that the representation of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, while Ulysses covered the retreat, is apparently taken from the battle over Patroclus in the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*: compare especially vv. 717-719, where Ajax says, addressing Menelaus—

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ Μηριόνης ὑποδύντε μάλ' ἄκα  
νεκρὸν αἶραντες φέρετ' ἐκ πόνου· αὐτὰρ θπισθεν  
πῶϊ μαχυσόμεθα Τρωσὶν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι δίφ.

The rescue of Achilles and the part which Ulysses played in it is referred to in the *Odyssey* (5. 309-310):—

ἤματι τῇ ὅτε μοι πλείστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα  
Τρῶες ἐπέριψαν περὶ Πηλεΐωνι θανόντι.

The fanciful story of the spies overhearing the words of the Trojan maidens seems to be contrived to give a meaning to Od. 11. 547—

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

a line of which other explanations were current (see p. 359).

(2) The bringing of *Philoctetes* from Lemnos is alluded to in Il. 2. 718, and his presence with the army is implied in Od. 8. 219.

(3) *Neoptolemus* is mentioned in Il. 19. 326, as being then in

Scyros: his coming to Troy under the charge of Ulysses in Od. 11. 506 ff.

(4) His victory over *Eurypylus* in Od. 11. 518 ff.

(5) The *πρωχία*, with the meeting between Ulysses and Helen, is sketched in Od. 4. 240-264.

(6) The theft of the Palladium is unknown to Homer. The adventure is in the manner of the tenth book of the *Iliad*, and may even be an imitation of it.

(7) The capture of Troy by means of the Wooden Horse was told in the song of Demodocus, Od. 8. 492 ff. Anticlus as the name of one of the heroes in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10) occurs in the story told in Od. 4. 285. That Deiphobus became the husband of Helen, and that he was killed by Menelaus, seems to be implied in Od. 4. 276., 8. 517 (cp. 4. 276). The recognition of Helicaon son of Antenor by Ulysses (fr. 13) is suggested by Il. 3. 207 ff., where Antenor is said to have entertained Ulysses and Menelaus. It is an example of *ξενία*, like the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus. Coroebus coming as a suitor for the hand of Cassandra (fr. 16) seems to be a repetition of Othryoneus (Il. 13. 364)—

ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλούθει,  
ῥῆτε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην  
Κασσάνδρην.

(8) The death of Astyanax, as it is related in fr. 18—

παῖδα δ' ἐλὼν ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης  
ῥίψει ποδὸς τεταγῶν ἀπὸ πύργου,

is suggested by the words of Andromache in Il. 24. 734—

ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν  
ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν δλεθρον.

The sacrilege of Ajax son of Oileus may have been suggested by Od. 4. 502, where his death is connected with the hatred of Athene: cp. the reference to the anger of Athene as the cause of the disasters of the return, Od. 3. 135.

Of the additions made by the *Little Iliad* to the Homeric narrative the following are of interest:—

(1) The Palladium of Troy is unknown to Homer, but was mentioned by Arctinus. It has been already observed more than once that objects endowed with magical virtue are not Homeric.

(2) So of the arrows of Philoctetes: it would be unlike Homer to make the fate of a city depend upon anything of the kind.

(3) Sinon is not one of the Homeric *dramatis personae*, if we may argue from the silence of the *Odyssey*. He was a character in the *Iliupersis*.

(4) Aethra, the mother of Theseus, was said to have been carried off by the Dioscuri in their invasion of Attica. Accordingly in the *Little Iliad* she is in bondage to Helen, and is set free by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas, as is related in the passage of Pausanias quoted above (fr. 17). The only apparent trace of this in Homer is in Il. 3. 144, where the two attendants of Helen are—

Αἰθήρη Πειθήνης θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

It is impossible, however, to suppose that the poet of the *Iliad* knew the story of Aethra. There is no trace in Homer of acquaintance with the group of legend to which the story belongs. The two sons of Theseus are not among the warriors of the *Iliad*, and the few references to Theseus himself are probably interpolations. Even supposing Theseus to be known to Homer, he belongs to an earlier generation than the heroes of the *Iliad*, and the chronological difficulty of bringing his mother into the story of Troy is manifest. Hence, as Aristarchus pointed out, we have to choose between two suppositions. Either the line is an interpolation, inserted to suit the story of Aethra; or it is genuine, and the coincidence of name is accidental. Considering the freedom with which Homer introduces unimportant proper names into his descriptions, the latter seems the more probable alternative. It might seem, indeed, that the whole story of Aethra was based on the line of Homer: but Aethra, as the name of the mother of Theseus, more probably belongs to the local tradition. Naturally the later poets who found the name in Homer took advantage of it in order to find a place for the Attic heroes in the main body of epic narrative. Thus the story, as told in the *Little Iliad* (and also, as we shall see, in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus), is an attempt to connect the Trojan war with the local Attic mythology—a mythology which was singularly late in finding its way into literature<sup>24</sup>.

Besides these we find only a few such matters as the slaying of Machaon by Eurypylus (fr. 7), the slaying of Priam (fr. 15), the division of the spoil, in which Andromache and Aeneas fall to Neoptolemus (fr. 18), the name Eurydice for the wife of Aeneas (fr. 19), the meeting of Menelaus and Helen (fr. 16), with the minor incidents of the night-battle.

<sup>24</sup> In the bronze figure of the Trojan Horse on the Acropolis of Athens, the heroes represented as peeping out of it were Menestheus, Teucer (who expresses the Athenian claim to Salamis), and the two sons of Theseus (Paus. 1. 23. 10).

In style and character the *Little Iliad* followed the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad*. The spirit of adventure which runs through it, especially in the earlier part, is clearly inspired by the picture of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, indeed (with the marked exception of the Doloneia), this side of his character is not brought out. He is wise and eloquent, but hardly adventurous. On the other hand it is the most prominent feature in the Doloneia (which is certainly later than the rest of the *Iliad*): and so doubtless in the *πρωχία*, the theft of the Palladium, and other parts of the *Little Iliad*. On the whole it would seem that if we imagine the *Little Iliad* as a poem of no great length—there were only four books according to Proclus—consisting of episodes in the manner of the Doloneia, we shall not be far from the truth.

### § 7. *The Iliupersis of Arctinus.*

According to Proclus the *Iliupersis* or 'Sack of Ilium' in the Epic Cycle was a poem in two books, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. The contents were as follows:—

The Trojans surround the Wooden Horse, and hold anxious debate. Some are for throwing it from the height of the city-wall, or burning it up: others say that it must be consecrated as an offering to Athene, and this opinion at length prevails. They then give themselves up to rejoicing over their deliverance. At this point two serpents appear, and kill Laocoon and one of his two sons. Alarmed by this portent, Aeneas and his followers withdraw to Mount Ida. Then Sinon lights the signal-fires, as agreed with the Greeks. They return from Tenedos, the warriors sally from the Wooden Horse, and the city is taken. Neoptolemus kills Priam in his house, on the altar of *Zeus ἐρκεῖος*. Menelaus takes Helen to the camp, killing her husband Deiphobus. Ajax son of Oileus, in attempting to drag Cassandra from the altar of Athene, drags away the image of the goddess; upon which the Greeks are ready to stone him, and he escapes by taking refuge himself at the altar. By this act of sacrilege Athene is incensed against the Greeks, and prepares disaster for them on their return. Before they sail Ulysses kills Astyanax; Neoptolemus obtains Andromache as his prize; Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. Finally the Greeks burn the city, and Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles.

This argument represents the *Iliupersis* as taking up the story of the siege nearly at the point where the argument of the *Little Iliad* left

it, viz. the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. But as the *Little Iliad* is known to have included the later events, down to the departure of the Greeks, so it is possible that the poem of Arctinus began at an earlier point than the account of Proclus would lead us to suppose. Unfortunately the references to the *Iliupersis* are extremely few; but they go far to show that it gave some account of the events between the death of Ajax and the making of the Wooden Horse.

The scholia on the *Iliad* (11. 515) tell us that according to some critics the two Homeric *iatroi*, Machaon and Podaleirius, followed the two branches of the healing art—Machaon dealing with wounds, Podaleirius with disease. In support of this they quote a remarkable fragment from Arctinus' *Sack of Ilium* (*ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει*), which runs as follows:—

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατὴρ . . Ἐννοσίγαιος  
 ἀμφοτέροισ, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέρου κυδίον' ἔθηκε·  
 τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρην, ἕκ τε βέλεμα  
 σαρκὸς ελεῖν, τμηξαί τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντα' ἀκέσασθαι.  
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἔθηκεν  
 ἄσκοπά τε γρῶναι καὶ ἀναλθία ἰήσασθαι·  
 ὃς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωομένειο  
 ὁματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

It has been generally supposed, from the reference to Ajax, that these lines come from the *Aethiopsis*, the scholiast having confused the two poems of Arctinus. This, however, is not in itself probable, and does not suit the wording of the passage. The two lines about Ajax are in form a parenthesis. The poet has been describing the surgery of Machaon and the medical skill of Podaleirius, and adds, by way of illustration, that Podaleirius was 'also' the first to perceive the symptoms of madness in Ajax (*ὃς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε κτλ.*). Hence the main subject of the passage was not the case of Ajax, but some later part of the history in which the Asclepiadae were concerned. This later occasion must surely have been the healing of Philoctetes—which therefore must have been told in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus<sup>25</sup>.

It is worth noticing that the style of the lines is that of a speech rather than of a story told by the poet in his own person. The speaker seems to be arguing or explaining. He may be giving the reasons

<sup>25</sup> On this subject see the exhaustive monograph of L. A. Milani, *Il mito di Filottete* (Firenze, 1879), and Sir Richard Jebb's introduction to his edition of the *Philoctetes*.

why Podaleirius was charged with the healing of Philoctetes, either alone or in addition to Machaon.

Regarding the form which the episode of Philoctetes assumed in the *Iliupersis* there is no direct evidence. The circumstance that Podaleirius had to do with the healing would be a point of difference from the *Little Iliad*, where Machaon only is heard of. It agrees with the account in the *Posthomerica* of Quintus Smyrnaeus, who gives the work to Podaleirius<sup>26</sup>. Again, according to Quintus the oracle which leads the Greeks to send for Philoctetes is not given by Helenus, but by Calchas<sup>27</sup>. It seems not unlikely that the incident of Ulysses taking Helenus prisoner, &c., was an addition to the original story, due to the desire to exalt the importance of Ulysses. If so, the older and simpler form of the story probably came from the *Iliupersis*. It may be also that in the *Iliupersis*, as in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles and most later sources, the return of Philoctetes was placed after the coming of Neoptolemus from Scyros. But it is at least equally probable that Sophocles himself made the change in the order of events, and that he did so merely because he wished to make use of Neoptolemus as one of the characters in his play<sup>28</sup>.

It seems not unlikely, especially if the *Iliupersis* represented the recovery of Philoctetes as one of the exploits of Neoptolemus, that the poem began with the coming of Neoptolemus himself from Scyros. This would explain the mention of the *Scyria pubes* in Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 477). On this view the poem would embrace the whole career of Neoptolemus *πρωτόκοπος*—the real captor of Troy.

<sup>26</sup> Sophocles speaks of the Asclepiadae (*Phil.* 1333), and even of Asclepius himself being sent to perform the cure (*Phil.* 1437).

<sup>27</sup> Quintus Smyrn. ix. 325 ff.

<sup>28</sup> The story was taken as the subject of a tragedy by all the three great dramatists of Athens, and something is known of the mode of treatment adopted in each case. In the *Little Iliad*, as we have seen, the return of Philoctetes was effected by Diomedes, at the instigation of Ulysses. In the *Philoctetes* of Aeschylus Ulysses himself took the chief part in the exploit. Euripides, whose play comes next in the order of time, brought back Diomedes, but as a *tritagonistes*, in subordination to Ulysses. He made other changes, especially the introduction of a Trojan embassy. It would be an error to look for the source of these variations in the ancient epic poems. The story in which Diomedes was the actor was evidently a simple narrative, with no *dénouement* giving room for force or fraud. Aeschylus must have felt the want of dramatic interest, and supplied it by the conflict which he created between the obstinate resentment of Philoctetes and the craft and eloquence of Ulysses. Such a part as that of Ulysses was now a necessity. It was skilfully developed by Euripides, in whose hands the *Philoctetes* became a fine example of the drama of intrigue and adventure. In the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles the introduction of the character of Neoptolemus was used to give an entirely new turn to the play. The interest was shifted from the contrivances of Ulysses—which were therefore doomed to failure—to the conflict of feelings and motives in the mind of the hero.



Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that according to Arctinus the Palladium carried off by the Greeks was only a copy. The true Palladium was in Troy to the time of the capture, kept in a secret place, while the copy was exposed to view. Hence it appears that the theft of the Palladium was related, or at least mentioned, in the *Iliupersis* (as well as in the *Little Iliad*). We also learn from Dionysius that Virgil followed Arctinus in the description of the Sack of Troy in the second book of the *Aeneid*. Thus the slaying of Priam at the altar of Zeus 'Ερκειος recurs in the *Aeneid* (2. 663)—

Natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras,  
whereas in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15) Priam is killed at the door of his palace. Hence it may be assumed that the *Iliupersis* is the source of Virgil's account of the fate of Creusa, in *Aen.* 2. 785-788 :

Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas  
Aspiciam, aut Graias servitum matribus ibo  
Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus :  
Sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.

This is confirmed by a statement of Pausanias (10. 26. 1), to the effect that Creusa was delivered from slavery by Aphrodite and the Mother of the gods. As Pausanias adds that according to the *Little Iliad* and the *Cypria* the wife of Aeneas was named Eurydice, we can hardly be wrong in assigning the story of Creusa to the *Iliupersis*<sup>20</sup>.

Pausanias also tells us (10. 25. 9) that according to the *Little Iliad* Astyanax was thrown from a tower by Neoptolemus, 'but not in pursuance of a decision of the Greeks' (οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων). This seems to imply that in another account—presumably that of the *Iliupersis*—there was such a decision, carried out by Ulysses and doubtless also advised by him, on the ground that *νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει*.

It appears, then, that the story of the *Iliupersis* is to be reconstructed somewhat as follows. Neoptolemus, who is the destined conqueror in the Trojan war, is brought from Scyros to the Greek camp before Troy. He succeeds to the arms of Achilles, and kills the new Trojan champion, Eurypylus. Thus the important steps towards the capture

<sup>20</sup> Pausanias never mentions Arctinus, and seems not to have known of either the *Aethiopis* or the *Iliupersis*. He refers to Arctinus' version of the death of Priam, and of Astyanax (10. 25. 9), simply as the account from which Lesches differed. Similarly, when Pausanias (10. 27. 1) says that Coroebus was killed *ὡς ὁ πλείων λόγος* by Neoptolemus, but according to Lesches by Diomedes, the 'common account' doubtless is that of the *Iliupersis*, of which Neoptolemus was the hero.

of Troy are due to him—the Palladium having been a deception. He takes the leading part in the Wooden Horse, and again in the Sack; which ends with the slaying of Priam in the central and most sacred spot of the city. In the division of the spoil he receives the chief γέρας, the possession of Andromache. He is evidently, therefore, the hero of the poem. His character, as we should expect from the poet of the *Aethiopis*, is in many points a repetition of the character of Achilles. He is a triumphant Achilles—παρὸς εὐτυχίστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοίος. As in the Theban story the older 'Seven against Thebes' fail and the 'Epigoni,' though less glorious, succeed, so Neoptolemus is an Achilles who succeeds. The *Iliupersis* stands to the *Aethiopis*, poetically speaking, as the *Epigoni* to the *Thebaid*.

With the fortunes of Neoptolemus for the main interest of the *Iliupersis*, we find, as a kind of underplot, the story of the flight of Aeneas. The death of Laocoon is not, as in Virgil, a warning to those who would destroy the Wooden Horse, but a sign of the approaching fall of Troy. The escape of one of the two sons—a trait peculiar to this version—was doubtless meant to signify that one branch of the Trojan royal house—that represented by Aeneas—might still survive the fall of the city and the extinction of the family of Priam<sup>30</sup>. Thus the prophecy of Poseidon was to be fulfilled (Il. 20. 307-308),

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει,  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται,

—a prophecy which has long been recognised as a piece of local or family legend, connecting the later inhabitants of the Troad with Aeneas. The divine agents in these events were probably Aphrodite (who is also associated with Aeneas in the *Cypria*), and Cybele, the Idaean Mother, to whose sacred mountain the fugitives betook themselves. A trace of this remains in the story of Creusa, who evidently serves as a link of connexion between the Aeneas-legend and the local worship of Cybele. In that worship Creusa was doubtless a subordinate figure—taken into the service of the goddess as Ganymede by Zeus, or Iphigenia by Artemis. Another indication of local influence may be seen in the assertion of Arctinus that the Palladium taken by Ulysses and Diomedes was a copy<sup>31</sup>. The real Palladium was

<sup>30</sup> C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 193.

<sup>31</sup> Arctinus certainly mentioned the true Palladium, probably in connexion with the flight of Aeneas; but the rest of the notice may possibly be due, as in some instances given by C. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 231), not to the poet himself, but to commentators who sought to harmonise his account with the *Little Iliad*.

doubtless believed to have been carried off by Aeneas, and to have remained in the possession of the royal house that claimed descent from him.

Among the subordinate characters the chief place was probably given to Ulysses. As in the *Iliad*, he is the wise counsellor of the Greek host. His advice leads to the return of Philoctetes, and prevails in the question of Astyanax. He evidently served as a contrast, bringing into relief the heroic figure of Neoptolemus.

Although the *Iliupersis* ended with the victory of the hero and the success of his cause, it had a distinctly tragic character. The Nemesis of good fortune made itself felt. When the Greeks set sail Athene had withdrawn her favour, and had resolved to send disaster upon them in the course of their voyage (*φθορὰν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ πέρατος μηχανᾶται*, Procl.). The misfortunes of the return were therefore indicated at the close of the poem. The thought that 'satiety breeds insolence' evidently coloured the representation of Arctinus, and gave the key-note to the treatment of the subject in later Greek literature.

As to the plan and structure of the *Iliupersis* it is difficult to form a satisfactory judgment. If we are right in the conjecture that it began with the arrival of Neoptolemus, the poet can hardly have given it the almost Homeric unity which he attained in the *Aethiopis*. Possibly he imitated the plan of the *Odyssey*, and put the story of the earlier adventures into the mouth of one of the *dramatis personae*. This is suggested by the fact pointed out above (p. 372) that the fragment about Machaon and Podaleirius has the appearance of belonging to some such *ἀπόλογος*. The shortness of the *Iliupersis* is a circumstance pointing in the same direction. A speaker in Homer—and therefore presumably in an epic of the school of Homer—can omit or abridge with a freedom that is not allowable in the poet's own narrative.

The incidents of the *Iliupersis* which appear to be taken from Homer—the Wooden Horse, the death of Deiphobus, the sacrilege of Ajax, the death of Astyanax, the disasters of the return to Greece—have been already noticed in speaking of the *Little Iliad* (see p. 369). Of the new or post-Homeric matter some portions are common to the two poems, viz. the treachery of Sinon, the slaying of Priam by Neoptolemus, and the story of Aethra. On the other hand the most important addition to the Homeric account, the story of the flight of Aeneas and his followers—of which the story of Laocoon is an integral part—is peculiar to Arctinus. According to

the *Little Iliad* Aeneas fell to the share of Neoptolemus, and was carried into slavery by him. The sacrifice of Polyxena, if we may argue from the silence of our authorities, was related in the *Iliupersis* only. It is one of the indications of the hero-worship of Achilles.

The points now enumerated will furnish data for comparing the *Iliupersis*, not only with Homer, but also with the *Aethiopis*, as a work of the same poet, and with the *Little Iliad*, as a different and (as is generally supposed) later treatment of the same subject.

In the *Iliupersis*, as in the *Aethiopis*, we have recognized the addition to the Trojan story of a considerable amount of legendary matter. Two main sources of new legend may be discerned. It was doubtless in the native traditions of Asia Minor that Arctinus found the figures of Penthesilea and Memnon, as well as the legend of Aeneas and the Trojan settlement on Mount Ida. In these matters we trace the influence upon the Greek colonists of the races with which they were brought into contact. And though this influence is perceptible in other 'cyclic' poems—e.g. in the story of Telephus in the *Cypria*, of Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*, and (as we shall see) of Calchas in the *Nosti*—the most striking examples seem to be those which we find in the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis*. Other post-Homeric elements in Arctinus receive light from the circumstances of the Ionian colonies, and from their religious ideas and practices, especially the practice of hero-worship. Under this head fall such things as the immortality of Memnon, of Achilles, of Creusa—the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide—his removal after death to Leuce, in the region of the Milesian settlements—and the sacrifice of Polyxena at his tomb. In the hands of Arctinus, in short, epic poetry has become more Asiatic. The centre of interest is no longer Mycenae or Thessaly or Boeotia. It has been carried eastward with the stream of Aegean colonisation.

In the *Little Iliad*, on the other hand, there is less of the spirit and method of the *Iliad*, but more dependence on Homer as an authority. The circle of legends which supplied material for epic poetry has become more restricted and more Hellenic. The later date given in our sources for the poet of the *Little Iliad* is borne out, therefore, by the probabilities of the case. It apparently belongs to an age when the Homeric poems had gained the position in the Greek world which is reflected in such writers as Xenophanes, Heraclitus, and Simonides.

It appears, then, as the result of our examination that the poems of Arctinus were composed in the tragic style of the *Iliad*, combined

with a vein of romance which belonged to the soil of Asia Minor: while the *Little Iliad* treated the same series of events in the lighter epic style, largely tempered by the romantic and adventurous element which is represented by the *Odyssey*, and within the *Iliad* by the 'Doloneia.' Thus the *Little Iliad* carried the Ulysses of the *Odyssey*, so to speak, back into the Trojan war: the *Aethiopis* and *Iliupersis* gave the chief place to Achilles and the heroes who were akin to him, Ajax and Neoptolemus. Finally, while Arctinus admitted much new matter, the growth of Ionian history, the author of the *Little Iliad* confined himself in general to the Homeric circle of myths, and sought rather for novelty in his manner of treatment and in the details of his narrative.

The *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis* are almost the only epics never attributed to Homer, and Miletus is almost the only important city which never claimed him. Perhaps the reason is simply that Arctinus was not sufficiently popular to give rise to a legend of the kind. His poems are not mentioned by any writer earlier than Dionysius of Halicarnassus; apparently they were unknown to Strabo (p. 360), to Pausanias (p. 374), perhaps even to the great Alexandrian critics (p. 358). Probably the name of Arctinus would not have survived at all if he had not been the earliest poet who related the escape of Aeneas from the destruction of Troy. Thus he became a witness to the Roman national legend, and the *Iliupersis* gained a species of immortality in the second book of the *Aeneid*.

### § 8. *The Nosti*.

The poem called the *Nóstoi*, or 'Returns' of the heroes from Troy, was in five books, and was generally ascribed to Agias of Troezen<sup>22</sup>. The contents as given by Proclus were these:—

Athene having stirred up a quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus on the subject of the voyage home, Agamemnon delays his departure in order to propitiate the goddess, Diomedes and Nestor are the first to start, and return safely: Menelaus follows them, but

<sup>22</sup> Eustathius (p. 1796, 53) quotes 'the author of the *νόστοι*, a Colophonian,' for the statement that in the end Telemachus married Circe, and Telegonus Penelope. It has been thought that this refers to another poem on the subject of the 'Returns,' by a Colophonian poet. There is so much about Colophon, however, in the cyclic *Nosti* that it seems more natural to suppose that the author was thought by some authorities to be a Colophonian. It is in the style of Eustathius to give the city of an author without his name: cp. δὲ τῷ Τηλεγόνειαν γράφας Κυρηναῖος.

encounters a storm which drives him to Egypt with five only of his ships. Calchas with Leonteus and Polypoetes goes by land to Colophon, where he dies and is buried. As Agamemnon is preparing to start with his followers, the shade of Achilles appears and warns him of the future. The fate of the Locrian Ajax is then described. Neoptolemus, on the advice of Thetis, goes home by land through Thrace, meeting Ulysses in Maroneia; Phoenix dies on the way and is buried: Neoptolemus reaches the Molossian country, and is recognised by Peleus. Finally, the death of Agamemnon at the hands of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is avenged by Orestes and Pylades, and Menelaus returns to Sparta.

According to Pausanias (10. 28. 7) the *Nosti* contained a *véκεια*, or descent into Hades, of which Proclus says nothing<sup>33</sup>. Several of the references to the *Nosti* seem to belong to this part of the poem, especially a version of the story of Tantalus, quoted by Athenaeus (fr. 10), and three lines about Medea restoring Aeson (fr. 6); perhaps also the genealogical notices about Clymene (fr. 4), and Maera (fr. 6). Eustathius (p. 1796, 53), says that the author of the *Nosti* made Telemachus eventually marry Circe, and Telegonus, son of Circe, marry Penelope. This piece of eschatology lies beyond the period covered by the story of the poem, and probably Eustathius made a confusion between the *Nosti* and the *Telegonia*, see p. 382.

The death of Calchas at Colophon was the subject of a story told by Hesiod, and also by the logographer Pherecydes (Strabo xiv. p. 643). It had been foretold that he would die when he should meet with a mightier seer than himself, and such a seer was found in Mopsus, grandson of Tiresias, who presided over the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It may be gathered that some form of this legend was adopted by the author of the *Nosti*<sup>34</sup>.

The subject of the *Nosti*, according to the reference in Athenaeus (vii. p. 281 δ), is the 'return of the Atridae' (ὁ γοῦν τὴν τῶν Ἀτρεΐδων ποιήσας κάθοδον), and this phrase is evidently a correct description of the main argument. The poem opened with the separation of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and ended with the return of Menelaus, just as his brother's murder had been avenged by Orestes. Thus the plan of the poem seems to have resembled that of the *Odyssey*,

<sup>33</sup> On the *véκεια* of the *Nosti* see Kirchhoff, *Die hom. Odyssee*, p. 338 f.

<sup>34</sup> The MS. gives *Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτονσι*, where *Τειρεσίαν* must be a false reading for *Κάλχαντα*. The mistake may be accounted for if we suppose that the name *Τειρεσίας* occurred in the poem, and was wrongly put for Calchas in this place—perhaps by the grammarian who made the summary in Proclus. The Calchas story was known to Herodotus (7. 91).

in which the adventures of Ulysses and of Telemachus are carried on independently until they meet in Ithaca. The *Nosti*, however, must have been more complicated. It contained two chief threads of narrative—the diverse fortunes of the two Atridae—which are brought together at the close. In subordination to these there are two land journeys in opposite directions: Calchas going to Colophon, and Neoptolemus to Thrace and so to Epirus. Room is found also for the fate of Ajax the Locrian, who accompanies Agamemnon, and the uneventful return of Nestor and Diomedes. The arrangement of these episodes is worth notice; it follows the Homeric rule of filling up pauses or intervals of time by a subordinate piece of narrative, so as to avoid any sensible break in the action of the poem. Thus the pause made by the quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus is taken advantage of to introduce the return of Nestor and Diomedes. Again, the sailing of Menelaus to Egypt is immediately followed by the journey of Calchas, and the sailing of Agamemnon by the journey of Neoptolemus, because without such a change of scene a long voyage would have the effect of a blank space in the picture. So (e.g.) in the third book of the *Iliad*, when heralds are sent from the armies into Troy (l. 116), the scene changes to the walls, and the time during which they are on the way is filled by the *reschousoria* (ll. 121–244). By these contrivances the narrative of the *Nosti* doubtless attained a degree of continuity not inferior to that of the Homeric poems. The crisis is evidently the murder of Agamemnon, which is speedily followed by the vengeance of Orestes.

The moving force in the poem seems to have been the anger of Athene; as her favour and the anger of Poseidon are the moving forces in the action of the *Odyssey*. This is indicated, as we have seen, in the closing scenes of the *Iliupersis*; the general tone and character of the *Nosti* was evidently in keeping with this *motif*. The main events were essentially disastrous, and the playful and fanciful elements associated with the figure of Ulysses were wanting. Thus we may regard the *Nosti* as a tragic *Odyssey*—an *Odyssey* which marks the transition from Homer to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

Of the incidents of the *Nosti* a large proportion appear to be taken directly from Homer. Such are:—The quarrel caused by the anger of Athene between Agamemnon and Menelaus (Od. 3. 135 ff.); the return of Diomedes and Nestor (Od. 3. 166, 182); the voyage of Menelaus and his arrival in Egypt with *five* ships (Od. 3. 299 ἀπὸ πέντε νῆας . . . Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶλασσε); the fate of the Locrian Ajax (Od. 4. 499 ff.); the story of Agamemnon and Orestes. In one or two

cases we can trace the growth of new detail from Homeric suggestions:—

(1) Megapenthes is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 12) to be the son of Menelaus by a slave (δε δούλης); in the *Nosti* (fr. 2) the name of the slave was given.

(2) The meeting of Neoptolemus with Ulysses in Maroneia is suggested by Od. 9. 39, 197 ff., where Ulysses is said to have been in that part of Thrace.

The chief additions to the Homeric account are the journeys of Calchas and Neoptolemus; the former of these is essentially post-Homeric in its character. The city of Colophon, like all the cities founded or occupied by the Ionian colonists, is quite unknown to Homer. The oracle of the Clarian Apollo belongs to the time when the Greek settlers in Asia Minor had adopted to some extent the religious ideas and practices of the native tribes: as a local oracle too, it is an institution of a post-Homeric kind. Its seer, Mopsus, claimed descent from Teiresias—just as the kings of the Ionian cities are found to claim descent from Homeric heroes, such as Agamemnon and Nestor. In this part of the *Nosti*, therefore, we trace the same relation to the history of Colophon which we found to subsist between the *Aethiopsis* and the history of Miletus, and again between the *Iliupersis* and the later settlements in the Troad.

In the story of Neoptolemus we may recognise a post-Homeric element in the ethnical name of the Μολοσσοί, which implies some extension of geographical knowledge. It is the first indication of the claim of the kings of Epirus to the honour of descent from Achilles.

It does not appear that the *Nosti* added materially to the story of Orestes as told in the *Odyssey*. There is nothing to show for example that Clytemnestra was prominent in it (as later in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus), or that Electra was introduced<sup>35</sup>.

Of the remaining names the most important is that of Medea, whose magical powers were set forth (fr. 6). The notices in Pausanias (fr. 4, 5) and Apollodorus (fr. 1) refer to genealogical details which it is not easy to connect with the story of the poem. The mention of

<sup>35</sup> It has been shown by C. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, 163 ff.) that the later version comes mainly from the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus, which again was said to be taken from Xanthus (Athen. xiii. 513). According to Aelian (*V. H.* iv. 2-6) it was Xanthus who first mentioned Electra in the story. Thus the dream of Clytemnestra in the *Choephora* comes from Stesichorus (fr. 42 τῷ δὲ δράκοντι ἰδὼκασι μολεῖν κτλ.); also the recognition scene, which must be older than Aeschylus, since it is found on an archaic relief of Melos, and the golden bow given to Orestes by Apollo (Eur. *Or.* 268), from which we may gather that the whole story of Apollo instigating Orestes to avenge his father comes from the same source.



the mother of Megapenthes (fr. 2) is a fact of the same kind. It may be inferred that the author of the *Nosti* was one of the poets who made it their business to furnish the genealogies connecting the Homeric heroes with each other, and with the leading families of later times.

The prophetic warning given by the shade of Achilles is an incident of a post-Homeric type; we may compare the appearance of Achilles to Neoptolemus in the *Little Iliad*. The immortality of Telemachus and Telegonus follows the precedent of Achilles and Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, the Dioscuri and Iphigenia in the *Cypria*.

### § 9. *The Telegonia of Eugeamon.*

The *Telegonia* was a poem in two books only, by Eugeamon of Cyrene, the last of the 'cyclic' poets. It was evidently composed as a sequel to the *Odyssey*, and conclusion of the heroic story. The argument in Proclus is as follows:—

After the burial of the suitors Ulysses sacrifices to the nymphs and then goes to visit his herds in Elis, where he is entertained by Polyxenus. The stories of Trophonius, Agamede and Augeas are related. After returning to Ithaca to perform the sacrifices prescribed by Tiresias, Ulysses goes to the country of the Thesprotians, marries their queen Callidice, and leads them in a war against the Brygi, in which Ares takes part on behalf of the Brygi, and Athene for Ulysses, while Apollo intervenes as a mediator. On the death of Callidice, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, becomes king, and Ulysses returns to Ithaca; then Telegonus son of Ulysses by Circe, who has been seeking for his father, makes a descent upon Ithaca. Ulysses comes to repel the attack and is killed by his own son. Telegonus finds too late what he has done, and takes his father's body, with Telemachus and Penelope, to his mother Circe, who makes them immortal. Finally, Telemachus marries Circe, and Telegonus Penelope.

It is evident that this story was framed partly to satisfy curiosity as to the fate of the chief characters of the *Odyssey*, and partly to find a place for the genealogies of various families that claimed descent from Ulysses. The Thesprotian episode is clearly due to the latter of these motives.

The story of the cave of Trophonius is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nub.* 500). It is a variant of the Rhampsinitus story. The incident of the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son is equally

familiar from the story of Sohrab and Rustum. In these stories we have fresh instances of the kind of attraction by which a dominant group of legend, such as the *Troica*, draws in materials from other circles of popular mythology.

The burial of the Suitors, with which the argument of Proclus begins, has already been mentioned in the *Odyssey* (24. 417): but we cannot infer (as Kirchhoff seems to do, *op. cit.*, p. 340) that the 'continuation' of the *Odyssey* was unknown to the author of the *Telegonia*. The sacrifice to the nymphs may have been suggested by Od. 13. 358, where Ulysses promises to make them gifts. But the chief Homeric passage that bears on the closing scenes of the epic story is the prophecy of Tiresias (Od. 11. 119-137, 23. 267-284). The sacrifice to be offered to Poseidon is there expressly mentioned. The death of Ulysses at the hands of Telegonus, who has come 'from the sea' to make a descent upon Ithaca, is probably intended to satisfy the words of the prophecy θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἄλλος αὐτῷ κτλ.

#### § 10. Other cyclic poems.

Of the other ancient epics little is known that can throw light upon Homer. It will be enough to notice those which were sufficiently Homeric in character to be ascribed at one time or another to the poet himself. These were: the *Thebaid*,—also known as the 'expedition of Amphiaraus'—the *Epigoni*, the *Taking of Oechalia*, and the *Phocais*.

The *Thebaid* related the enterprise of the 'Seven against Thebes,' and seems to have been the poem that, next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, had the best claim to be the work of Homer<sup>30</sup>. The story was continued in the *Epigoni*, which accordingly began with the words *ἔνν' αὖθ' ἐπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι*. It is referred to by Herodotus (4. 32), who indicates doubt as to the Homeric authorship. There was also an *Oedipodeia*, attributed to Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, which was never attributed to Homer, and perhaps was a poem of the Hesiodic school.

It is impossible with the scanty materials at our disposal to reconstruct the plan of either of these poems, or to compare them in detail with Homer. In the *Thebaid* the leading figure was Amphiaraus, who stood to the Argive king Adrastus somewhat as Achilles to Agamemnon. Like Achilles, he fought in a cause

<sup>30</sup> Pausanias, 9. 9. 3.

not his own, and with full consciousness of impending fate. In other respects he is a hero of a new and very different type, one in which valour was united with prophetic wisdom<sup>27</sup>. He occurs in the *Odyssey* (15. 244, 253), but not in the *Iliad*. His death is connected with the foundation of an oracle—one of those local oracles that are unknown in the *Iliad*, and rare in the *Odyssey*, but were rapidly multiplied in post-Homeric times. Similarly in the *Epigoni* it was related that after Thebes had fallen Manto, daughter of Tiresias, was sent as part of the spoil to Delphi, from which place she passed over to Colophon, and there founded the oracle of the Clarian Apollo<sup>28</sup>. We may compare the story told of that oracle in the *Nosti* (p. 381). Another post-Homeric incident that is perhaps to be traced to the *Thebaid* is the institution of the Nemean games. In Homer we hear of funeral games, but not of periodical athletic contests forming part of a great religious festival. The mention of Hyperboreans in the *Epigoni* (Hdt. 1. c.) may also be regarded as an indication of lateness. Possibly they are akin to the Abii and Hippemolgi of Homer (*Il.* 13. 5); but the name is new.

The 'Taking of Oechalia' (Οἰχαλίας Διωσις) was a poem of the Heracles cycle, relating the expedition of Heracles against Eurytus king of Oechalia. It was generally ascribed to Creophylus; but there was a legend according to which it was given to him by Homer. It was the story of a single expedition, and doubtless was distinguished by a certain epic unity of treatment from such poems as the *Heraclea* of Pisander,—which related all the Labours of Heracles,—or the later Heracleids of which Aristotle speaks in the *Poetics* (c. 8).

The *Phocais* was a poem attributed to Thestorides of Phocaea, with the usual suspicion that Homer himself was somehow the real author. Regarding the subject of the poem we are left to conjecture. According to Welcker it was the same with the *Minyas*, and dealt with the conquest of Orchomenos by Heracles. Of the *Minyas* we know that it contained a *nékua*, in which Charon—who is a post-Homeric figure—had a place.

<sup>27</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 6. 15 ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρασθαι. These words of Adrastus in praise of Amphiaras are said by the schol. to have come from the *Thebaid*.

<sup>28</sup> Schol. Laur. ad Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308.

## IV. HISTORY OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

§ 1. *Sources.*

The literary history of the poems which we are accustomed to associate with the name of 'Homer' is necessarily based, partly on *data* furnished by the testimony of ancient writers, partly on the internal evidence of the poems themselves. Under the latter head are to be included, not only the dialect in which the poems are composed, and the poetical structure that they exhibit, but also the whole historical setting in which we find them—the heroes and peoples that they celebrate, the literature that they can be shown to have influenced, the ideas and sentiments that they express, the civilisation of which they are the product, and therefore the mirror. Some of these matters we have already touched upon; others remain to be noticed. But before entering on this wider field it will be proper to attempt to ascertain how much is to be learned from the notices of 'Homer' scattered through the writings of ancient scholars and historians. As might be expected in the case of so commanding a personality, the number of these notices is very great, while their critical value is often extremely doubtful. They may be roughly classified somewhat as follows:

(1) Statements and allusions bearing upon the life of Homer—his date and birthplace, and the places where his poems were first produced.

(2) Statements regarding the agency by which his poems were brought from the place of origin—usually supposed to be in Ionia—and were made known in the mother country of Greece.

(3) Statements as to the recitation of the poems, and the contests of reciters (*παρρηδοί*).

(4) Notices of the Homeridae of Chios.

(5) Stories of the confusion introduced into the poems, and of the collection and arrangement of them by Pisistratus.

(6) Notices of recensions or corrected texts, and generally of the work of ancient critics, down to the time of the Alexandrian grammarians.

§ 2. *Life of Homer.*

The earliest notices of Homeric poetry undoubtedly point to the cities of Ionia. The elegiac poet Callinus of Ephesus, who cannot be

later than the first half of the seventh century B.C., mentioned the *Thebaid*, and ascribed it to Homer<sup>1</sup>. In the next century Xenophanes of Colophon condemned the mythological teaching of Homer and Hesiod, and especially deplored the use of Homer in education<sup>2</sup>. Pythagoras of Samos and Heraclitus of Ephesus joined in this censure, though they quoted Homer (*i.e.* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) in a way that shows the ascendancy which his poetry then held in the Greek world<sup>3</sup>. Indeed the adoption of the hexameter by Xenophanes and other philosophers was simply carrying on the literary tradition established by the Homeric epic and continued in the didactic school of Hesiod.

It remains, however, to consider what weight can be attached to this testimony, if such it is, in favour of an Ionian origin of Homer. We may begin with a simple observation. It is highly significant that so many of the notices now in question are in a hostile vein. Here, as Heraclitus might have said, Strife has been a saving force. But for the 'ancient quarrel' of poetry and philosophy—that is to say, between the traditional fables of Homeric and Hesiodic poets and the higher morality which was the fruit of advancing reflexion,—but for this old and growing discord we should have been almost without evidence of the importance of Homer in pre-historic Greece. The strife was a consequence of progress, and therefore a sign of life. Even as a measure of time the observation is of value. How long was it, we may fairly ask, from the age that produced the Homeric poems to the age of their condemnation by all the foremost thinkers? Long enough, surely, for great movements, such as those which mark the beginning of Greek history—the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, the Ionian colonisation:—long enough, in any case, to make it very hazardous to argue from the state of things in the time of Xenophanes

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 9. 5 ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τούτου καὶ ἔπη Θηβαίς. τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλίνος, ἀφικύμενος αὐτῶν εἰς μῆμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. Καλλίνου δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀφείλοισιν λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ποιῶντων ταῦτα μετὰ γε Ἰλίου καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophanes ap. Sext. Empir. ix. 193—

πάντα θεοὺς ἀνέθηκεν Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσιόδός τε  
βόσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.

And ap. Herodian. ii. 16, 20 (Lentz)—

ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Pythagoras, in connexion with the belief in the transmigration of souls, claimed to be Euphorbus, who was killed by Menelaus (Il. 17. 51 ff.). He also quoted Od. 10. 239—

οἱ δὲ σὺν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε  
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἐμπεδος, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.

Again, in Il. 1. 46 ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοί κτλ. he identified the sound of the arrows of Apollo with the sound made by the sun in its course.

back to the conditions under which Homeric poetry was first heard in Greek lands.

If we are forbidden to place Homer in the Ionia of the early philosophers, it is still more incumbent on us to be on our guard in dealing with the series of definite statements made by writers of the fifth and succeeding centuries B.C. regarding the birthplace of Homer and the circumstances of his life.

Seven cities, according to the epigram<sup>4</sup>, contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The actual number of claimants mentioned by our authorities is somewhat greater. When we add that no one city gained the general assent of ancient scholars, or produced evidence of a kind that we should regard as convincing, it may be thought that enough has been said—that the conflict was one, not of evidence, but of patriotic assertion. Nevertheless it will be well to glance at the claims made. So many of the contending cities are Ionian colonies that the list has been held to favour the cause of Asiatic Ionia as a whole, if not of any one city. Aeolis, too, is represented in it, and the issue between these two divisions of the Hellenic nation still has its place among Homeric controversies. Moreover, some of the claims, if they do not prove anything about the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, are not without bearing on the history of other poems once connected with the name of 'Homer.'

The claim of Chios has perhaps the greatest number of voices in its support. Simonides of Ceos, in the earliest known *quotation* from Homer, calls him *Χίος ἀνὴρ*<sup>5</sup>. Pindar divided his testimony between Chios and Smyrna. Anaximenes the philosopher said that Homer was a Chian. Of the logographers Acusilaus and Hellanicus connected him with a Chian family or *gens* (γένος) of Homeridae: Damastes also made him a Chian. Finally, in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo<sup>6</sup>, which is quoted by Thucydides as the work of Homer, the author describes himself as 'the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle' (*τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐν πειραιόεσσι*).

Next to Chios we cannot be wrong in ranking SMYRNA. Pindar, as has been said, made Homer both a Smyrnaean and a Chian—perhaps distinguishing between his place of birth and his dwelling. The

<sup>4</sup> Anthol. Planud. 4. 297:

ἐπὶ δ' ἐριδμαίνουσι πόλεις διὰ μέγαν Ὀμήρου,  
Κύμη, Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήναι.

*Ibid.* 298:

ἐπὶ δ' πόλεις μάραντο σοφὴν διὰ μέγαν Ὀμήρου,  
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήναι.

<sup>5</sup> Simonides fr. 85 Bergk.

<sup>6</sup> Hom. H. Apoll. 172.

logographer Eugaeon of Samos said that Homer's true father was the Meles, the river of Smyrna. And one of the earliest professed students of Homer, Stesimbrotus of Thasos (a contemporary of Cimon and Pericles), made him a native of Smyrna, where he had a shrine, and was worshipped as a demigod.

The strength of the popular belief about Smyrna appears also in the so-called *Epigrams*, which are brief poems, of a folklore type, such as are found in most countries as 'popular rhymes.' The fourth epigram contains the complaint of a blind poet, in whose person the Muses desired to glorify that city—

Αἰολίδα Σμύρνην ἀλεγείονα ποικτοῖνακτον,  
ἦν τε δὲ ἀγλαὸν εἶσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῖο Μέλῃτος.

But the citizens rejected the sacred voice, and the poet became a wanderer. He does not however name himself, and there is nothing to show when he was first identified with 'Homer.' Verses of this kind may have been current in Ionia and Aeolis long before they were drawn within the orbit of the Smyrnaean Homer legend.

The poet Bacchylides witnessed to the claim of Ios, and in the lost work of Aristotle *περὶ ποιητῶν*<sup>7</sup> a story was related of the death of Homer in that island. Apparently his tomb was shown there.

A claim on behalf of Colophon was made by the scholar-poet Antimachus (pupil of Stesimbrotus and contemporary of Socrates); also by a certain Nicander of Colophon, who wrote *περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ποιητῶν*. The mock-epic *Margites*, which even Aristotle regarded as the work of Homer<sup>8</sup>, had a Colophonian poet as hero. The first line was—

ἦλθέ τις εἰς Κολοφῶνα γέρων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδός.

The historian Ephorus of Cyme (in the end of the fifth century) maintained that Homer was a Cymaeon. The same opinion was held by the Homeric scholar Hippias of Thasos. This claim, like that of Smyrna, doubtless found support in the *Epigrams*. The first addresses Neonteichos as 'daughter of Cyme,' and begs for hospitality: the second announces the return of the poet: the fourth implies at least some stay in Cyme. In this case also Homer may have taken the place of an originally nameless bard.

A certain Callicles is said to have maintained that Homer was

<sup>7</sup> Ps. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* c. 3. Cp. Gell. *Noct. Att.* 3. 11 Aristoteles tradit ex insula Io natum: *Vit. Hom.* (ed. Iriarte) Τιμόμαχος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐξ Ἴου τῆς νήσου.

<sup>8</sup> Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 7 ὥσπερ Ὅμηρός φησιν ἐν τῇ Μαργίτῃ.

a native of SALAMIS in Cyprus. The ground for his contention may be found in the *Hymns*, three of which are addressed to Aphrodite in her character as Κύπρις (cp. H. Ven. 292 Κύπριον εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα, H. vi. 2 ἡ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λείλογχευ, and especially H. x. 4 χαίρε θεά, Σαλαμίνος εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα). It may perhaps rest also on the poem called the *Cypria* (Κύπρια ἔπη), sometimes ascribed to Homer, which (as we have seen in ch. iii) chiefly turned upon the baleful influence of Aphrodite on the fortunes of Troy.

In the third century B.C. the historian Philochorus<sup>9</sup> maintained that Homer was of ARGOS. Perhaps, like Cleisthenes of Sicyon, he was moved by the circumstance that Homer 'is for the most part about Argos and the Argives' (Hdt. 5. 67). It may well be that he took account of the *Thebaid* and *Epigoni* as Homeric, although these poems cannot have retained much vogue in his time.

Omitting one or two less well attested matters—such as the connexion with Phocaea, of which there are traces in a Thestorides, who shares with Homer the attribution of the *Little Iliad* and the *Phocais*<sup>10</sup>, or such as the Roman or the Egyptian Homer of some late authorities<sup>11</sup>—we come to the name of ATHENS. The advocate in this case is no less than Aristarchus, and his opinion is based on the most scientific of tests, viz. that of language. It is unfortunately impossible to guess how he would have met the obvious objection that Athens and the Attic heroes are hardly mentioned in Homer except in doubtful or more than doubtful passages. If Homer had been an Athenian who, like the Smyrnaean poet of the *Epigrams*, had shaken off the dust of his native city, he could not have been more silent.

The preceding review seems to point to the conclusion that most of the places in Greece or its colonies that boasted of Homer's presence could appeal to the internal evidence of poems then generally accounted Homeric. The mythical biographies, when rationalised, assume the guise of a bibliography. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are so impersonal that they furnish no *data* for this purpose. Perhaps it was so also with the *Thebaid* and the *Epigoni*. But the *Hymn to Apollo* contained a clear announcement that Chios was the home of its author. An ancient objector could at most raise a doubt whether Homer was born in Chios, or only dwelt there. Again, the *Hymns* went far to connect Homer with Cyprus, especially with Salamis, and probably the *Cypria*

<sup>9</sup> Philochorus fr. 54 c (Müller).

<sup>10</sup> Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> *Vit. Hom.* 6 'Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ Νυσαεὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐκ τινων ἡθῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, ἄλλοι δ' Αἰγύπτιον.



strengthened the case. Again, the *Margites* seemed to be the work of a native of Colophon, and therefore to connect Homer with that place. The *Nosti* was also a poem of Colophonian authorship, and was ascribed at one time to Homer. The short hymn to Artemis (ix), which connects her with the Clarian Apollo, doubtless contributed. Similarly the *Little Iliad* and the *Phocais* were made the ground of a visit of Homer to Phocaea<sup>12</sup>. Finally the *Epigrams* brought a nameless poet, identified in time with Homer, to Smyrna, to Cyme, to Neonteichos: and these cities—none of them known to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*—gained a place in the Homer legend.

There is one remarkable exception, or *instantia negativa*, which does much to confirm the rule that the other instances suggest. Miletus never claimed to be the birthplace of Homer: it does not occur in any version of his life. And no work of a Milesian was ever ascribed to Homer. Yet Miletus has a great epic poet, Arctinus, and was a chief centre of civilisation in Ionia. This instance makes it probable that it was not simply the diffusion of epic poetry that led to stories of the birthplace of Homer. It was the diffusion (so to speak) of the *name* of Homer—the tendency to attribute all epic poems or fragments of poetry to him. At Miletus this tendency was met by a well-established local tradition, through which the name of Arctinus retained sole possession of the ground.

It is worth while to notice here that the *Aeolian* Smyrna is the city mentioned in the *Epigrams*. This helps to fix, roughly at least, the date of the verses in question. Smyrna was Aeolian, according to the account of Herodotus, down to the year 688 B.C., when certain Colophonian exiles who had been admitted into the city took possession of it by treachery. From that time it belonged to the Ionian confederacy, but was taken and destroyed by Alyattes about 627 B.C.<sup>13</sup>. It seems unlikely therefore that it was known as 'Aeolian Smyrna' after the seventh century B.C.

Besides disputing about Homer's birthplace, the early logographers concerned themselves with his date and genealogy. Pherecydes, Hellanicus and Damastes agreed in making him a descendant of Orpheus. According to Damastes he was also tenth in descent from Musaeus. A similar genealogy was framed for Hesiod, who (as Hellanicus asserted) was a cousin of Homer<sup>14</sup>. In these matters the

<sup>12</sup> Ps. Herod. *Vit. Hom.* 15, 16. It is conjectured by Usener (*De Iliadis carminibus Phocaico*) that the eleventh book of the *Iliad* came from Phocaea. But his argument is hardly convincing.

<sup>13</sup> Hdt. 1. 16, 150: Paus. 7. 5. 1., 9. 29. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Hellanicus (*Vit. Hom.* 8).

most interesting thing is the attitude of Herodotus. He does not condescend to notice the mythical figures of Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus and the like, beyond expressing his belief that the poets who are said to have been earlier than Homer and Hesiod were really later. At the same time he thinks that these two poets were not more than 400 years older than himself. Apparently it was the fashion to ascribe to them a considerably higher antiquity. It is strange to find even Herodotus speaking of 400 years as a short time (*πρῆν τε καὶ χθές* is his phrase). But Herodotus looked back upon a period which did not record or measure time. He had no means of forming a conception of the *rate* at which events take place. His testimony in this case is almost purely negative; but it has the great value of proving that there was then no other evidence bearing on the points at issue.

### § 3. *The poems brought from Ionia.*

If, then, the ancients imagined Homer as a wandering minstrel who went about among the Ionian cities, how and when could they suppose that his poems became known on the western side of the Aegean? They had to explain (*e.g.*) the favour which Homer enjoyed with the partly Dorian and partly Achæan population of Sicyon in the time of the elder Cleisthenes, and to understand how it came to pass that the Spartan envoy to Hiero of Syracuse expressed his indignation in words borrowed from the *Iliad*—in words, too, which implied that Sparta had succeeded to all the rights of the empire of Agamemnon<sup>15</sup>.

The first answer, so far as we know, was given about the end of the fifth century by Ephorus, who related that the Spartan legislator Lycurgus, in the course of his travels, met with Homer in the island of Chios, and obtained from him a copy of his poems<sup>16</sup>. In a version of this story preserved by Dio Chrysostom (ii. p. 87) the poems were brought by Lycurgus 'from Crete or Ionia.' According to another version, which goes back to Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century B. C.), Lycurgus found the poems in the possession of the descendants of

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 7. 159 ἥ κε μέγ' οἰμώζειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυνθόμενος κτλ. On the same occasion the Athenian appealed to the passage about Menestheus (II. 2. 553). As to Sicyon see p. 397.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo x. p. 482 (quoting from Ephorus) ἐντυχόντα δ' ὡς φασὶ τινες καὶ Ὀμήρου διατρίβοντι ἐν Χίῳ. A trace of this story, or at least of the anachronism which it involves, is to be found in Cicero, *Tusc.* 5. 3. § 7 Lycurgum cuius temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse ante hanc urbem conditam traditur.

Creophylus in one of the islands—variously given as Samos, Chios or Ios—and brought them back to Sparta<sup>17</sup>. The historian Timaeus thought that there were two statesmen of the name of Lycurgus, the elder of whom was contemporary with Homer<sup>18</sup>. The name of Creophylus was familiar at that time, as we see from the *Republic* of Plato, where he is mentioned as a sort of companion poet<sup>19</sup>. The explanation of all this is not far to seek. The oldest version told of a meeting between the two greatest men of early Greece. In it we have exactly the type of literary *anecdote* in which ancient historians delighted. Then came the reflexion that Homer was not later than the Dorian invasion, and therefore long anterior to the Spartan reformer. The difficulty was met by bringing in the Creophylus legend, which (like the Lycurgus story) was current in the fourth century B.C. The discrepancy as to the place where the poems were obtained arose in the most natural way. Chios appears in the original story, because it was known to have been the abode of Homer. Samos came in as the home of Creophylus. And if Homer's death took place in Ios, it was there that men would expect to find his treasures.

One late writer, Aelian (*V. H.* xiii. 14), relates that the poems of Homer were dispersed (*διηρημένα*), and that it was Lycurgus who first brought them in a collected form to Greece (*ἄθροον πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσει τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν*). This is of course the story that afterwards gained so much vogue when told of Pisistratus. At first sight we are tempted to suppose that it originally belongs to Lycurgus, and was transferred to Pisistratus at a later time. On this view, however, it would be hard to see why this part of the Lycurgus anecdotes should have been unknown to writers such as Ephorus and Heraclides Ponticus, and yet have come to the knowledge of Aelian. More probably, therefore, it is an example of contamination. The comparatively late Pisistratus story was drawn into the group of anecdotes that had clustered round the greater name of the Spartan lawgiver.

<sup>17</sup> Heraclid. Pont. *Pol.* 2 Λυκούργος ἐν Σάμῳ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεοφύλου λαβὼν πρῶτος διεκόμισε εἰς Πελοπόννησον. So Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4), who adds an echo of the Pisistratus story, to the effect that in the time of Lycurgus the poems were already known in Greece, but only in parts and *σποράδην* to not many persons. For Chios and Ios see n. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* 1 (Timaeus thinks that there were two Spartans of the name of Lycurgus) καὶ τὸν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὀμήρου γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἔτι οἱ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἑστὶν ἐντυχεῖν Ὀμήρῳ.

<sup>19</sup> Plato *Rep.* p. 600: cp. Strab. xiv. p. 638 Σάμιος δ' ἦν καὶ Κρεοφύλος, ὃν φασὶ δεξιόμενον ξενίᾳ ποτὲ Ὀμηρον κτλ. In the scholia on the *Republic* (*l. c.*) he is called a Chian; while according to Proclus (*Vit. Hom.*) it was in Ios that Homer was hospitably entertained by him.

In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus*, which is usually supposed to be not later than the second century B.C., it is said that Hipparchus son of Pisistratus first brought the poems of Homer to Attica, and that he obliged the rhapsodists at the Panathenaic festival to recite consecutively, so that the people might hear entire poems, and not merely passages chosen at the will of the reciter<sup>20</sup>. This regulation, as we shall see (§ 4), is also attributed to Solon. It undoubtedly existed, but we cannot tell to whom it was due. This is one of the points on which late writers make positive statements, while those whose testimony would have real weight are silent. But the assertion that there were no copies of the Homeric poems at Athens before the time of Hipparchus is a strange one. The Lycurgus story, though evidently unhistorical, was at least in harmony with other conditions. The explanation is doubtless to be sought in the character and aim of the *Hipparchus*, as a not very successful imitation of Plato. The author evidently desired to illustrate his theme by a myth in the Platonic manner. He adopted the historical type of myth seen in the *Politicus* and *Timaeus*, and chose for his period the government of the Pisistratidae. In this he was strongly influenced by the disposition among the literary men of the time to take a favourable view of 'tyrants,' and to see in them collectors of books and patrons of learning, like the Ptolemies and the Attalid princes. Accordingly he fixed upon Hipparchus, and gave an idealised description of him which perhaps had the effect of a paradox. He transferred to Hipparchus and Attica the story that Ephorus and others had told of Lycurgus and the Peloponnesus. It is worth noting that the *Hipparchus* falls into all the errors regarding the Pisistratidae that are pointed out by Thucydides<sup>21</sup>. The writer either blindly accepted floating tradition, or deliberately preferred an unhistorical version, in a case where he doubtless assumed that the literal truth was not called for. Our attitude towards his testimony must be based upon this appreciation. We cannot say, as Wolf said of the Pisistratus story, *historia loquitur*. But he shows us by example the sort of stories that were in the air.

<sup>20</sup> Ps. Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228 B τὰ 'Ομήρου ἐπη πρῶτος ἐκόμμεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ραψωδοῦς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐτι οἶδε ποιοῦσιν.

And so of Solon, Diog. Laert. 1. 57 τὰ τε 'Ομήρου ἐπη ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ραψωδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. See n. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. 6. 54-59.

not his own, and with full consciousness of impending fate. In other respects he is a hero of a new and very different type, one in which valour was united with prophetic wisdom<sup>27</sup>. He occurs in the *Odyssey* (15. 244, 253), but not in the *Iliad*. His death is connected with the foundation of an oracle—one of those local oracles that are unknown in the *Iliad*, and rare in the *Odyssey*, but were rapidly multiplied in post-Homeric times. Similarly in the *Epigoni* it was related that after Thebes had fallen Manto, daughter of Tiresias, was sent as part of the spoil to Delphi, from which place she passed over to Colophon, and there founded the oracle of the Clarian Apollo<sup>28</sup>. We may compare the story told of that oracle in the *Nosti* (p. 381). Another post-Homeric incident that is perhaps to be traced to the *Thebaid* is the institution of the Nemean games. In Homer we hear of funeral games, but not of periodical athletic contests forming part of a great religious festival. The mention of Hyperboreans in the *Epigoni* (Hdt. 1. c.) may also be regarded as an indication of lateness. Possibly they are akin to the Abii and Hippemolgi of Homer (*Il.* 13. 5); but the name is new.

The 'Taking of Oechalia' (οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις) was a poem of the Heracles cycle, relating the expedition of Heracles against Eurystus king of Oechalia. It was generally ascribed to Creophylus; but there was a legend according to which it was given to him by Homer. It was the story of a single expedition, and doubtless was distinguished by a certain epic unity of treatment from such poems as the *Heraclea* of Pisander,—which related all the Labours of Heracles,—or the later Heracleids of which Aristotle speaks in the *Poetics* (c. 8).

The *Phocais* was a poem attributed to Thestorides of Phocaea, with the usual suspicion that Homer himself was somehow the real author. Regarding the subject of the poem we are left to conjecture. According to Welcker it was the same with the *Minyas*, and dealt with the conquest of Orchomenos by Heracles. Of the *Minyas* we know that it contained a *νέκυια*, in which Charon—who is a post-Homeric figure—had a place.

<sup>27</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 6. 15 ποθὶν στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμῶς, ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρεσθαι. These words of Adrastus in praise of Amphiaraus are said by the schol. to have come from the *Thebaid*.

<sup>28</sup> Schol. Laur. ad Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308.

## IV. HISTORY OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

§ 1. *Sources.*

The literary history of the poems which we are accustomed to associate with the name of 'Homer' is necessarily based, partly on *data* furnished by the testimony of ancient writers, partly on the internal evidence of the poems themselves. Under the latter head are to be included, not only the dialect in which the poems are composed, and the poetical structure that they exhibit, but also the whole historical setting in which we find them—the heroes and peoples that they celebrate, the literature that they can be shown to have influenced, the ideas and sentiments that they express, the civilisation of which they are the product, and therefore the mirror. Some of these matters we have already touched upon; others remain to be noticed. But before entering on this wider field it will be proper to attempt to ascertain how much is to be learned from the notices of 'Homer' scattered through the writings of ancient scholars and historians. As might be expected in the case of so commanding a personality, the number of these notices is very great, while their critical value is often extremely doubtful. They may be roughly classified somewhat as follows:

(1) Statements and allusions bearing upon the life of Homer—his date and birthplace, and the places where his poems were first produced.

(2) Statements regarding the agency by which his poems were brought from the place of origin—usually supposed to be in Ionia—and were made known in the mother country of Greece.

(3) Statements as to the recitation of the poems, and the contests of reciters (ῥαψῳδοί).

(4) Notices of the Homeridae of Chios.

(5) Stories of the confusion introduced into the poems, and of the collection and arrangement of them by Pisistratus.

(6) Notices of recensions or corrected texts, and generally of the work of ancient critics, down to the time of the Alexandrian grammarians.

§ 2. *Life of Homer.*

The earliest notices of Homeric poetry undoubtedly point to the cities of Ionia. The elegiac poet Callinus of Ephesus, who cannot be

later than the first half of the seventh century B.C., mentioned the *Thebaid*, and ascribed it to Homer<sup>1</sup>. In the next century Xenophanes of Colophon condemned the mythological teaching of Homer and Hesiod, and especially deplored the use of Homer in education<sup>2</sup>. Pythagoras of Samos and Heraclitus of Ephesus joined in this censure, though they quoted Homer (*i.e.* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) in a way that shows the ascendancy which his poetry then held in the Greek world<sup>3</sup>. Indeed the adoption of the hexameter by Xenophanes and other philosophers was simply carrying on the literary tradition established by the Homeric epic and continued in the didactic school of Hesiod.

It remains, however, to consider what weight can be attached to this testimony, if such it is, in favour of an Ionian origin of Homer. We may begin with a simple observation. It is highly significant that so many of the notices now in question are in a hostile vein. Here, as Heraclitus might have said, Strife has been a saving force. But for the 'ancient quarrel' of poetry and philosophy—that is to say, between the traditional fables of Homeric and Hesiodic poets and the higher morality which was the fruit of advancing reflexion,—but for this old and growing discord we should have been almost without evidence of the importance of Homer in pre-historic Greece. The strife was a consequence of progress, and therefore a sign of life. Even as a measure of time the observation is of value. How long was it, we may fairly ask, from the age that produced the Homeric poems to the age of their condemnation by all the foremost thinkers? Long enough, surely, for great movements, such as those which mark the beginning of Greek history—the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, the Ionian colonisation:—long enough, in any case, to make it very hazardous to argue from the state of things in the time of Xenophanes

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 9. 5 *ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐκ τῶν πόλεμον τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ Θηβαίς. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτα Καλλίνος, ἀφικύμενος αὐτῶν εἰς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. Καλλίνος δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὄντι λόγον κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ποιῶντων πρῶτον μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκ Ὀδυσσεύς ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.*

<sup>2</sup> Xenophanes ap. Sext. Empir. ix. 193—

*πάντα θεοὺς ἀνέθηκεν Ὅμηρος θ' Ἡσιόδός τε  
δοῦσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνειδέα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.*

And ap. Herodian. ii. 16, 20 (Lentz)—

*ἐκ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ἐπεὶ μαθήσασιν πάντες.*

<sup>3</sup> Thus Pythagoras, in connexion with the belief in the transmigration of souls, claimed to be Euphorbus, who was killed by Menelaus (Il. 17. 51 ff.). He also quoted Od. 10. 239—

*οἱ δὲ σὺν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνὴν τε τρίχας τε  
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἑμπεδός, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.*

Again, in Il. 1. 46 *ἐκλαγάν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοί κτλ.* he identified the sound of the arrows of Apollo with the sound made by the sun in its course.

back to the conditions under which Homeric poetry was first heard in Greek lands.

If we are forbidden to place Homer in the Ionia of the early philosophers, it is still more incumbent on us to be on our guard in dealing with the series of definite statements made by writers of the fifth and succeeding centuries B.C. regarding the birthplace of Homer and the circumstances of his life.

Seven cities, according to the epigram<sup>4</sup>, contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The actual number of claimants mentioned by our authorities is somewhat greater. When we add that no one city gained the general assent of ancient scholars, or produced evidence of a kind that we should regard as convincing, it may be thought that enough has been said—that the conflict was one, not of evidence, but of patriotic assertion. Nevertheless it will be well to glance at the claims made. So many of the contending cities are Ionian colonies that the list has been held to favour the cause of Asiatic Ionia as a whole, if not of any one city. Aeolis, too, is represented in it, and the issue between these two divisions of the Hellenic nation still has its place among Homeric controversies. Moreover, some of the claims, if they do not prove anything about the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, are not without bearing on the history of other poems once connected with the name of 'Homer.'

The claim of Chios has perhaps the greatest number of voices in its support. Simonides of Ceos, in the earliest known *quotation* from Homer, calls him *Χίος ἀνὴρ*<sup>5</sup>. Pindar divided his testimony between Chios and Smyrna. Anaximenes the philosopher said that Homer was a Chian. Of the logographers Acusilaus and Hellanicus connected him with a Chian family or *gens* (γένος) of Homeridae: Damastes also made him a Chian. Finally, in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo<sup>6</sup>, which is quoted by Thucydides as the work of Homer, the author describes himself as 'the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle' (τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνι παλαιόεσση).

Next to Chios we cannot be wrong in ranking SMYRNA. Pindar, as has been said, made Homer both a Smyrnaean and a Chian—perhaps distinguishing between his place of birth and his dwelling. The

<sup>4</sup> Anthol. Planud. 4. 297:

ἐπὶδ' ἐριθμαίνουσι πόλεις διὰ Μίξαν Ὀμήρου,  
Κύμη, Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήναι.

*Ibid.* 298:

ἐπὶδ' πόλεις μάραντο σοφὴν διὰ Μίξαν Ὀμήρου,  
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήναι.

<sup>5</sup> Simonides fr. 85 Bergk.

<sup>6</sup> Hom. H. Apoll. 172.



logographer Eugaeon of Samos said that Homer's true father was the Meles, the river of Smyrna. And one of the earliest professed students of Homer, Stesimbrotus of Thasos (a contemporary of Cimon and Pericles), made him a native of Smyrna, where he had a shrine, and was worshipped as a demigod.

The strength of the popular belief about Smyrna appears also in the so-called *Epigrams*, which are brief poems, of a folklore type, such as are found in most countries as 'popular rhymes.' The fourth epigram contains the complaint of a blind poet, in whose person the Muses desired to glorify that city—

Αἰολίδα Σμύρνην ἀλεγείονα παντοίνακτον,  
ἦν τε δὲ ἀγλαὸν εἶσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῖο Μέλῃτος.

But the citizens rejected the sacred voice, and the poet became a wanderer. He does not however name himself, and there is nothing to show when he was first identified with 'Homer.' Verses of this kind may have been current in Ionia and Aeolis long before they were drawn within the orbit of the Smyrnaean Homer legend.

The poet Bacchylides witnessed to the claim of Ios, and in the lost work of Aristotle *περὶ ποιητῶν*<sup>7</sup> a story was related of the death of Homer in that island. Apparently his tomb was shown there.

A claim on behalf of COLOPHON was made by the scholar-poet Antimachus (pupil of Stesimbrotus and contemporary of Socrates); also by a certain Nicander of Colophon, who wrote *περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ποιητῶν*. The mock-epic *Margiles*, which even Aristotle regarded as the work of Homer<sup>8</sup>, had a Colophonian poet as hero. The first line was—

ἦλθέ τις εἰς Κολοφῶνα γέρων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδός.

The historian Ephorus of CΥΜΕ (in the end of the fifth century) maintained that Homer was a Cymaean. The same opinion was held by the Homeric scholar Hippias of Thasos. This claim, like that of Smyrna, doubtless found support in the *Epigrams*. The first addresses Neonteichos as 'daughter of Cyme,' and begs for hospitality: the second announces the return of the poet: the fourth implies at least some stay in Cyme. In this case also Homer may have taken the place of an originally nameless bard.

A certain Callicles is said to have maintained that Homer was

<sup>7</sup> Ps. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* c. 3. Cp. Gell. *Noct. Att.* 3. 11 Aristoteles tradit ex insula Io natum: *Vit. Hom.* (ed. Iriarte) Τιμόμαχος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐξ Ἰου τῆς νήσου.

<sup>8</sup> Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 7 ὥσπερ Ὅμηρός φησιν ἐν τῇ *Μαργίτῃ*.

a native of SALAMIS in Cyprus. The ground for his contention may be found in the *Hymns*, three of which are addressed to Aphrodite in her character as Κύπρις (cp. H. Ven. 292 Κύπριον εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα, H. vi. 2 ἡ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λελογχεν, and especially H. x. 4 χαίρει θεά, Σαλαμίνος εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα). It may perhaps rest also on the poem called the *Cypria* (Κύπρια ἔπη), sometimes ascribed to Homer, which (as we have seen in ch. iii) chiefly turned upon the baleful influence of Aphrodite on the fortunes of Troy.

In the third century B.C. the historian Philochorus<sup>9</sup> maintained that Homer was of ARGOS. Perhaps, like Cleisthenes of Sicyon, he was moved by the circumstance that Homer 'is for the most part about Argos and the Argives' (Hdt. 5. 67). It may well be that he took account of the *Thebaid* and *Epigoni* as Homeric, although these poems cannot have retained much vogue in his time.

Omitting one or two less well attested matters—such as the connexion with Phocaea, of which there are traces in a Thestorides, who shares with Homer the attribution of the *Little Iliad* and the *Phocais*<sup>10</sup>, or such as the Roman or the Egyptian Homer of some late authorities<sup>11</sup>—we come to the name of ATHENS. The advocate in this case is no less than Aristarchus, and his opinion is based on the most scientific of tests, viz. that of language. It is unfortunately impossible to guess how he would have met the obvious objection that Athens and the Attic heroes are hardly mentioned in Homer except in doubtful or more than doubtful passages. If Homer had been an Athenian who, like the Smyrnaean poet of the *Epigrams*, had shaken off the dust of his native city, he could not have been more silent.

The preceding review seems to point to the conclusion that most of the places in Greece or its colonies that boasted of Homer's presence could appeal to the internal evidence of poems then generally accounted Homeric. The mythical biographies, when rationalised, assume the guise of a bibliography. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are so impersonal that they furnish no *data* for this purpose. Perhaps it was so also with the *Thebaid* and the *Epigoni*. But the *Hymn to Apollo* contained a clear announcement that Chios was the home of its author. An ancient objector could at most raise a doubt whether Homer was born in Chios, or only dwelt there. Again, the *Hymns* went far to connect Homer with Cyprus, especially with Salamis, and probably the *Cypria*

<sup>9</sup> Philochorus fr. 54 c (Müller).

<sup>10</sup> Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> *Vit. Hom.* 6 Ἀριστοδῆμος δ' ὁ Νυσαεὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐκ τινων ἡθῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, ἄλλοι δ' Αἰγύπτιον.

strengthened the case. Again, the *Margites* seemed to be the work of a native of Colophon, and therefore to connect Homer with that place. The *Nosti* was also a poem of Colophonian authorship, and was ascribed at one time to Homer. The short hymn to Artemis (ix), which connects her with the Clarian Apollo, doubtless contributed. Similarly the *Little Iliad* and the *Phocais* were made the ground of a visit of Homer to Phocaea<sup>13</sup>. Finally the *Epigrams* brought a nameless poet, identified in time with Homer, to Smyrna, to Cyme, to Neonteichos: and these cities—none of them known to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*—gained a place in the Homer legend.

There is one remarkable exception, or *instantia negativa*, which does much to confirm the rule that the other instances suggest. Miletus never claimed to be the birthplace of Homer: it does not occur in any version of his life. And no work of a Milesian was ever ascribed to Homer. Yet Miletus has a great epic poet, Arctinus, and was a chief centre of civilisation in Ionia. This instance makes it probable that it was not simply the diffusion of epic poetry that led to stories of the birthplace of Homer. It was the diffusion (so to speak) of the *name* of Homer—the tendency to attribute all epic poems or fragments of poetry to him. At Miletus this tendency was met by a well-established local tradition, through which the name of Arctinus retained sole possession of the ground.

It is worth while to notice here that the *Aeolian* Smyrna is the city mentioned in the *Epigrams*. This helps to fix, roughly at least, the date of the verses in question. Smyrna was Aeolian, according to the account of Herodotus, down to the year 688 B.C., when certain Colophonian exiles who had been admitted into the city took possession of it by treachery. From that time it belonged to the Ionian confederacy, but was taken and destroyed by Alyattes about 627 B.C.<sup>14</sup>. It seems unlikely therefore that it was known as 'Aeolian Smyrna' after the seventh century B.C.

Besides disputing about Homer's birthplace, the early logographers concerned themselves with his date and genealogy. Pherecydes, Hellanicus and Damastes agreed in making him a descendant of Orpheus. According to Damastes he was also tenth in descent from Musaeus. A similar genealogy was framed for Hesiod, who (as Hellanicus asserted) was a cousin of Homer<sup>15</sup>. In these matters the

<sup>13</sup> Ps. Herod. *Vit. Hom.* 15, 16. It is conjectured by Usener (*De Iliadis carmine Phocaico*) that the eleventh book of the *Iliad* came from Phocaea. But his argument is hardly convincing.

<sup>14</sup> Hdt. i. 16, 150: Paus. 7. 5. 1., 9. 29. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Hellanicus (*Vit. Hom.* 8).

most interesting thing is the attitude of Herodotus. He does not condescend to notice the mythical figures of Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus and the like, beyond expressing his belief that the poets who are said to have been earlier than Homer and Hesiod were really later. At the same time he thinks that these two poets were not more than 400 years older than himself. Apparently it was the fashion to ascribe to them a considerably higher antiquity. It is strange to find even Herodotus speaking of 400 years as a short time (*πρῶν τε καὶ χθές* is his phrase). But Herodotus looked back upon a period which did not record or measure time. He had no means of forming a conception of the *rate* at which events take place. His testimony in this case is almost purely negative; but it has the great value of proving that there was then no other evidence bearing on the points at issue.

### § 3. *The poems brought from Ionia.*

If, then, the ancients imagined Homer as a wandering minstrel who went about among the Ionian cities, how and when could they suppose that his poems became known on the western side of the Aegean? They had to explain (*e.g.*) the favour which Homer enjoyed with the partly Dorian and partly Achaean population of Sicyon in the time of the elder Cleisthenes, and to understand how it came to pass that the Spartan envoy to Hiero of Syracuse expressed his indignation in words borrowed from the *Iliad*—in words, too, which implied that Sparta had succeeded to all the rights of the empire of Agamemnon<sup>15</sup>.

The first answer, so far as we know, was given about the end of the fifth century by Ephorus, who related that the Spartan legislator Lycurgus, in the course of his travels, met with Homer in the island of Chios, and obtained from him a copy of his poems<sup>16</sup>. In a version of this story preserved by Dio Chrysostom (ii. p. 87) the poems were brought by Lycurgus 'from Crete or Ionia.' According to another version, which goes back to Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century B.C.), Lycurgus found the poems in the possession of the descendants of

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 7. 159 ἥ περ μέγ' οἰμώζειεν δὲ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος κτλ. On the same occasion the Athenian appealed to the passage about Menestheus (II. 2. 553). As to Sicyon see p. 397.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo x. p. 482 (quoting from Ephorus) ἐντυχόντα δ' ὡς φασὶ τινες καὶ Ὀμήρου διατρίβοντι ἐν Χίῳ. A trace of this story, or at least of the anachronism which it involves, is to be found in Cicero, *Tusc.* 5. 3. § 7 Lycurgum cuius temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse ante hanc urbem conditam traditur.

Creophylus in one of the islands—variously given as Samos, Chios or Ios—and brought them back to Sparta<sup>17</sup>. The historian Timaeus thought that there were two statesmen of the name of Lycurgus, the elder of whom was contemporary with Homer<sup>18</sup>. The name of Creophylus was familiar at that time, as we see from the *Republic* of Plato, where he is mentioned as a sort of companion poet<sup>19</sup>. The explanation of all this is not far to seek. The oldest version told of a meeting between the two greatest men of early Greece. In it we have exactly the type of literary *anecdote* in which ancient historians delighted. Then came the reflexion that Homer was not later than the Dorian invasion, and therefore long anterior to the Spartan reformer. The difficulty was met by bringing in the Creophylus legend, which (like the Lycurgus story) was current in the fourth century B.C. The discrepancy as to the place where the poems were obtained arose in the most natural way. Chios appears in the original story, because it was known to have been the abode of Homer. Samos came in as the home of Creophylus. And if Homer's death took place in Ios, it was there that men would expect to find his treasures.

One late writer, Aelian (*V. H.* xiii. 14), relates that the poems of Homer were dispersed (*διηρημένα*), and that it was Lycurgus who first brought them in a collected form to Greece (*ἀθρόαν πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν*). This is of course the story that afterwards gained so much vogue when told of Pisistratus. At first sight we are tempted to suppose that it originally belongs to Lycurgus, and was transferred to Pisistratus at a later time. On this view, however, it would be hard to see why this part of the Lycurgus anecdotes should have been unknown to writers such as Ephorus and Heraclides Ponticus, and yet have come to the knowledge of Aelian. More probably, therefore, it is an example of contamination. The comparatively late Pisistratus story was drawn into the group of anecdotes that had clustered round the greater name of the Spartan lawgiver.

<sup>17</sup> Heraclid. Pont. *Pol.* 2 Λυκούργος ἐν Σάμῳ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεοφύλου λαβὼν πρῶτος διεκόμισε εἰς Πελοπόννησον. So Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4), who adds an echo of the Pisistratus story, to the effect that in the time of Lycurgus the poems were already known in Greece, but only in parts and sporadically to not many persons. For Chios and Ios see n. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* 1 (Timaeus thinks that there were two Spartans of the name of Lycurgus) καὶ τὸν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὀμηρον γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἐνίοι δὲ καὶ κατ' ὄψιν ἐντυχεῖν Ὀμήρῳ.

<sup>19</sup> Plato *Rep.* p. 600: cp. Strab. xiv. p. 638 Σάμος δ' ἦν καὶ Κρεοφύλος, ἐν φασὶ δεξιόμενον ξενίᾳ ποτὲ Ὀμηρον κτλ. In the scholia on the *Republic* (*f.c.*) he is called a Chian; while according to Proclus (*Vit. Hom.*) it was in Ios that Homer was hospitably entertained by him.

In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus*, which is usually supposed to be not later than the second century B.C., it is said that Hipparchus son of Pisistratus first brought the poems of Homer to Attica, and that he obliged the rhapsodists at the Panathenaic festival to recite consecutively, so that the people might hear entire poems, and not merely passages chosen at the will of the reciter<sup>20</sup>. This regulation, as we shall see (§ 4), is also attributed to Solon. It undoubtedly existed, but we cannot tell to whom it was due. This is one of the points on which late writers make positive statements, while those whose testimony would have real weight are silent. But the assertion that there were no copies of the Homeric poems at Athens before the time of Hipparchus is a strange one. The Lycurgus story, though evidently unhistorical, was at least in harmony with other conditions. The explanation is doubtless to be sought in the character and aim of the *Hipparchus*, as a not very successful imitation of Plato. The author evidently desired to illustrate his theme by a myth in the Platonic manner. He adopted the historical type of myth seen in the *Politicus* and *Timaeus*, and chose for his period the government of the Pisistratidae. In this he was strongly influenced by the disposition among the literary men of the time to take a favourable view of 'tyrants,' and to see in them collectors of books and patrons of learning, like the Ptolemies and the Attalid princes. Accordingly he fixed upon Hipparchus, and gave an idealised description of him which perhaps had the effect of a paradox. He transferred to Hipparchus and Attica the story that Ephorus and others had told of Lycurgus and the Peloponnesus. It is worth noting that the *Hipparchus* falls into all the errors regarding the Pisistratidae that are pointed out by Thucydides<sup>21</sup>. The writer either blindly accepted floating tradition, or deliberately preferred an unhistorical version, in a case where he doubtless assumed that the literal truth was not called for. Our attitude towards his testimony must be based upon this appreciation. We cannot say, as Wolf said of the Pisistratus story, *historia loquitur*. But he shows us by example the sort of stories that were in the air.

<sup>20</sup> Ps. Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228 B τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ραψωδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐτι οἶδε ποιοῦσιν.

And so of Solon, Diog. Laert. i. 57 τὰ τε Ὅμηρου ἔπη ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ραψωδεῖσθαι, ὅσον δ' πρῶτος ἐληξεν ἀρχεῖσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. See p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. 6. 54-59.

§ 4. *Recitation of Homer.*

In a striking passage of Wolf's *Prolegomena*<sup>22</sup>, it is pointed out that there must always be some relation or correspondence between the form of a literary work and the methods or channels by means of which it is brought before the public—the hearers, or readers, or spectators—to whom it is addressed. Thus in an age of oral literature, he goes on to argue, an epic poem like the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* would be as much out of place as a great ship built on ground from which it could not be launched. The notices that we have of the recitation or rhapsodising (ῥαψωδία) of Homer, if they do not prove that the poems were impossible under such conditions, at least show that his contention is one of which it is very necessary to take account.

The term ῥαψωδός was applied in classical times to men who made it their business to recite epic poetry, especially that of Homer. Why they were called ῥαψωδοί, 'stitchers of song,' is a question that need not delay us here<sup>23</sup>. They are described as going about to the great religious festivals of Greece, and contending for the prizes offered for this species of performance. At Athens there was a law that Homer should be recited at every quinquennial celebration of the Panathenaea. As has been mentioned, the rhapsodists were there obliged to follow the order of the text, so that the poems should be produced in their

<sup>22</sup> Wolf, *Proleg.* xxvi. Quid? quod si forte . . . unus in saeculo suo Iliada et Odysseam hoc tenore pertexuisset, in ceterarum opportunitatum penuria similes illae fuissent ingenti navigio, quod quis in prima ruditate navigationis fabricatus in loco mediterraneo, machinis et phalangis ad protrudendum, atque adeo mari careret, in quo experimentum suae artis caperet. . . . Eodem pacto si Homero lectores deerant, plane non assequor quid tandem cum impellere potuisset in consilium et cogitationem tam longorum et continuo partium nexu consertorum Carminum.

<sup>23</sup> The derivation of the word ῥαψωδός which makes it = 'stitcher of song' (from ῥάπτω), is clearly more correct than the other that Pindar throws out (ῥαψωδός for ῥαβδωδός, from the wand that they carried). But what did the expression 'stitcher of song' originally mean? Attempts have been made to explain it, in accordance with modern theories, of some process of arranging or 'stringing together' short 'lays' so as to form connected poems. But it is surely more probable that 'stitching' was simply a colloquial variation for composing or making, as in the lines quoted by the scholiast on Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1 as from Hesiod (fr. 221 Goettling):

ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ θεῖος Ὅμηρος  
μέλλομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάπαντες δοῦσθαι.

If so, ῥαψωδός meant 'poet,' and only acquired the sense of 'reciter' when recitation took the place of original poetry in the poetical contests of Greece. Naturally, when the wand became the symbol of the competing rhapsodist the accidental likeness of ῥάβδος and ῥαψωδός led to a popular etymology by which they were associated. Of this Heraclitus took advantage when he said that Homer deserved to be cast out from the contests and beaten (ῥαψίζεσθαι instead of ῥαψωδοῖσθαι).

entirety<sup>24</sup>. Elsewhere it would seem that they were more free, each one being allowed to choose a passage suited to the display of his powers. As 'rhapsody' was only one of several kinds of entertainment, the time allotted to each rhapsodist can hardly ever have been enough for the due appreciation of a poem of moderate length. Even the regulation said to have been enforced at the Panathenaea cannot have entirely remedied this evil. Moreover, the unfortunate conditions of the rhapsodic art reacted on the artists. We find a highly contemptuous estimate of them in the *Symposium* of Xenophon<sup>25</sup>. The picture of a typical rhapsodist drawn for us in the *Ion* of Plato is hardly more flattering. The feature most dwelt upon is the highly theatrical style of the recitation, and the strong feeling that overmastered the performer as well as his audience<sup>26</sup>. As Plato doubtless recognized, this effect was alien to the true character of Homeric narrative. Even the text of Homer suffered at their hands. If we are to believe the scholiast on Pindar (*Nem.* 2. 1) they mangled the poems sadly, and inserted many verses of their own.

Here an obvious question arises. If recitation by professional rhapsodists was so imperfect and unsuitable as a means of knowing and enjoying the poetry of Homer, how was it tolerated at all? Does it not bring out precisely that want of harmony between the work of art and its production upon which Wolf insisted? Does it not show that the original poems must have been, not epics like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but 'lays' such as the rhapsodists would have found within the compass of their art?

The answer to this question is found in the profound difference—one that implies a very considerable interval of time—between the manner and circumstances of recitation in historical times and those

<sup>24</sup> The expression ἐξ ὑποβολῆς (*βαφδεῖσθαι*) has given rise to much controversy. At first it seems to answer to ἐξ ὑπολήψεως, the phrase used in the *Hipparchus*, which clearly means 'taking up,' i. e. going on where the last man left off, or (in the words of Diogenes Laertius) *ἔπον δ' πρῶτος ἔλκειν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον*. But this is inconsistent with the use of ὑποβάλλω and its derivatives, which have the sense of 'suggesting,' 'supplying' (with ideas or words), 'prompting' or 'dictating.' Hence the meaning in the passage in question is that each rhapsodist was 'given his cue,' and that this was done (presumably by the agonothetae) so that the recitations should follow the order of the text. The words *οἷον ἔπον δ' πρῶτος κτλ.* are not expository of ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, but express the practical result of the ὑποβολή, i. e. of the *direction* to which the rhapsodists at the Panathenaea were subject.

<sup>25</sup> Xen. *Symp.* 3. 6 οἷα τὰ τι οὖν ἔθνος, ἔφη, ἡλιθιώτερον βαφδεῶν; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη ὁ Νικηράτος, οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

<sup>26</sup> Plato *Ion* p. 535 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅταν ἐλεεινὸν τι λέγω, δακρύων ἐμπύκναι μὲν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. ὅταν τε φοβερόν ἢ δεινόν, ὄρθαι αἱ τρίχες ἴστανται ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ. And of the hearers, *ibid.* καθορῶ γὰρ ἐκαστοτε αὐτοὺς ἀναθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κλαίοντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν ἐμβλέποντας καὶ συνθαμβοῦντας τοῖς λεγομένοις.



which obtained in the Homeric age. To understand the full extent of this difference we have only to turn again to the 'singer' of the *Odyssey*. We find him attached to a great house, the palace of one of the 'kings' or *seigneurs* of the quasi-feudal period of Greece. He sings at the feast in the hall, day after day, to amuse the leisure of the 'king' and his guests and retainers. His song is accompanied by the *φόρμυγξ*—the Homeric instrument answering to the lyre of later times. The rhapsodists, on the other hand, went about to the various festivals, and competed for prizes, reciting passages in turn before the assembled crowd. Their performance was not musical, but was highly dramatic and sensational. Instead of the lyre they bore a wand (*βάβδος*); as in Homer a speaker in the assembly holds a *σκήπτρον*. Their recital did not produce the sense of charm (*κηληθμός*) that followed a well-told tale in Homeric days. Rather it roused the feelings of the vast audience to a species of madness.

This difference in the outward conditions of epic poetry is only part of the social and political changes that were brought about in the period now in question. The Greece of Homer, with its hereditary chiefs living in fortified palaces like those of Tiryns or Mycenae, had become more or less democratic. The occupation of a post like the rock of Tiryns was now tantamount to an attempt to overthrow the law and establish a 'tyranny.' The palaces were deserted: the acropolis was reserved for the temples of the gods. The amusements of the people underwent a corresponding change. New kinds of music and poetry—the Aeolian choric music, the Dorian tragedy, the Attic drama, shared in succession the vogue once confined to the epic. Great festivals arose, such as the *παγήγυρις* of Delos, and drew crowds from many cities. The minstrel's song, which was chief among the *ἀναθήματα δαιρός* in the olden time, no longer met the need. It is surely a proof of the vitality of the Homeric poems, and the hold they had gained over the people of Greece, that they still continued, though under different conditions, to form a large part of the entertainment at such gatherings.

It is worth while to compare the failure of 'rhapsody' as a vehicle for Homeric poetry with the objections taken to the poems themselves by the early Ionian philosophers. In both cases the poems suffered from a gradual change in their environment. As the quarrel of poetry and philosophy was due to the advance of moral and religious thought, so the inadequacy of the rhapsodists was due to the passing away of the society for which the poems were originally composed. In both cases we obtain something like a time-

measure—a process of development for which we have to find room in our chronology.

It would be interesting, in view of the considerations now put forward, if we could trace the rise of professional rhapsodising, or determine the time at which it first became popular in Greece. According to Aristotle it was comparatively late<sup>27</sup>. It was, however, an established institution early in the sixth century B.C., if it is true that Cleisthenes of Sicyon (unlike the enlightened tyrants of learned imagining) put down the contests of rhapsodists in Sicyon 'on account of the poetry of Homer, because it is all about Argos and the Argives<sup>28</sup>.' At Athens in the same century (if we may trust our information), a law was made prescribing and regulating the recitation of Homer as part of the Panathenaic festival. It is attributed by Diogenes Laertius to Solon, and by the writer of the pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus* to Hipparchus son of Pisistratus. It is also referred to by the orators Lysurgus and Isocrates, but without mention of the statesman to whom it was due<sup>29</sup>. As the laws of Solon are generally quoted with his name, it may be suspected that the author of this regulation was unknown. It was however a thing of long standing in the time of Isocrates; and the contests which it was designed to regulate were doubtless still older. Another probably ancient seat of Homeric 'rhapsody' was the *Brauronia*<sup>30</sup>, a festival held at Brauron in Attica, where we are told that the *Iliad* was recited. There is also a notice of rhapsodic contests at the Dionysia: but we are not told which festival of that name is intended<sup>31</sup>.

Rhapsodists are referred to in two passages of Pindar, viz. in *Nem.* 2. 1–3 'Ομηρίδαι ραπτῶν ἐπέων αἰδοί', and in *Isthm.* 3. 56 κατὰ ράβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσιῶν ἐπέων (said of Homer celebrating the prowess

<sup>27</sup> Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 1. 3 (p. 1403 b) τρίτον δὲ τούτων, ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, οὕτω δ' ἐπιχειρῆται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ραψωδίαν ὁψὲ παρήλθεν. Cp. Max. Tyr. 23. 5 ὁψὲ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Σπάρτη ραψωδεῖ, ὁψὲ δὲ ἡ Κρήτη.

<sup>28</sup> Hdt. 5. 67 ραψωδοὺς ἔπαισε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν 'Ομηρείων ἐπέων εἰνέκα, ὅτι 'Αργεῖοί τε καὶ 'Αργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται.

<sup>29</sup> Diog. Laert. i. 57 (see note 20).

Lysurg. *Leocr.* p. 209 βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν 'Ομηρον παρασχέσθαι ἐπαιῶν· οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο κατ' ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ραψωδεύσθαι τὰ ἔπη.

Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 74 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Ομήρου ποιήσιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκαμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων.

<sup>30</sup> Hesych. Βραυρωνίους· τὴν 'Ιλιάδα ᾗδον ραψωδοὶ ἐν Βραυρωνί τῆς 'Αττικῆς.

<sup>31</sup> Athen. vii. p. 275 b (from the account of a certain ἐορτὴ given by Clearchus, scholar of Aristotle) ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὕτη, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ραψωδῶν, ἣν ᾗγον κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων· ἐν ᾗ παριόντες ἕκαστοι τῷ θεῷ ὅλον τιμὴν ἀπετέλουν τὴν ραψωδίαν.

of Ajax). The allusion to the word *ῥαψῳδός* is marked, and all the more so since the poet seems to shrink from using it himself. Perhaps it was a new expression, or too colloquial, and not sanctioned by poetical usage. According to the scholiast on the former of these two passages one of the earliest of the rhapsodists was Cynaethus of Chios, who recited Homer for the first time at Syracuse in the sixty-ninth Olympiad. The evidence for poetical contests goes back somewhat farther. They are clearly implied in the boast of Thamyris 'that he can conquer even the Muses in song' (Il. 2. 597). That passage is, however, in the *Catalogue*, and therefore of doubtful antiquity. The author of the *Hymn to Apollo* describes himself as taking part in the great Ionic *παγήγυρις* in the island of Delos, and as begging the Delian maidens to declare his songs to be the best<sup>22</sup>. Another Homeric hymn ends with the formula *ὁδὲ δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμῶν δ' ἔντυνον αἰοδῆν*<sup>23</sup>. In some at least of these cases the contest was apparently not one of rhapsody in the technical sense, but the competitors were poets who recited their own verses. It may be that contests of this kind formed the transition between the Homeric minstrel 'in whose heart the Muse had put many songs,' and the unintelligent rhapsodist of the age of Plato.

### § 5. *The Homeridae.*

It has often been supposed that the preservation of the Homeric poems before the time when writing was in general use and written copies began to be multiplied may be accounted for by the services of a family or *gens* (*γένος*) settled in Chios and calling themselves *Ὀμηρίδαι*. Such a family, if it existed, might well have carried on the recitation of Homer as a hereditary craft, even as the Asclepiadae carried on the profession of medicine, or as the Daedalidae seem to have kept up the art of making certain mechanical contrivances. It is therefore necessary to examine the evidence that there is for the existence of the Homeridae, and for their connexion with the recitation of Homer in early times.

The earliest mention of Homeridae is in Pindar, who applies the word to the rhapsodists, in *Nem.* 2. 1-3 :

ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι  
ῥαπτῶν ἐπίων τὰ πολλὰ αἰοδοὶ  
ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προομίου κτλ.,

<sup>22</sup> Hom. H. Apoll. 165-172 : Thuc. 3. 104.

<sup>23</sup> Hom. H. v. 20 : cp. x. 5., xxiii. 5.

'whence the sons of Homer, the singers of stitched song, mostly take their prelude, from Zeus.' This, however, need not mean that the rhapsodists of Pindar's time belonged in a literal sense to a family of Homeridae. On the contrary, the real subject of the sentence is the word which the poet wraps up in a periphrasis, viz. *ῥαψῳδοί*, and 'Ὀμηρίδαι' is a descriptive epithet, to be understood metaphorically. Such a manner of speaking is most natural in Greek. Homer himself speaks of 'the race of singers' (*φύλον ἀοιδῶν*), and of physicians as 'the brood of the god of healing' (*ἥ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης*, Od. 4.232). Hereditary occupation was so familiar that the family or *gens* became a form under which any group of the kind could be imagined and spoken of. We may compare the modern use of the term 'school,' which is extended to a group that *might have been* formed by common teaching. There is no difficulty in supposing that Pindar applied the phrase 'kindred of Homer' to the rhapsodists of his day in this indefinite sense.

This interpretation of Pindar's 'Ὀμηρίδαι' is borne out by the Attic use of the same word. It is found in three passages of Plato and one of Isocrates, in all of which it can have nothing to do with recitation, but must mean 'students of Homer,' 'Homer worshippers,' or the like<sup>34</sup>. In these writers it is still somewhat esoteric or poetical, answering to the more prosaic 'Ὀμηρικοί' of Aristotle<sup>35</sup>. This use, it is hardly necessary to remark, is inconsistent with the survival of a family of Homeridae known as rhapsodists. Indeed if the term Homeridae had ever been generally used as an equivalent for 'rhapsodists,' it is unlikely that it would have acquired so different a meaning. In the time of Plato and Isocrates the true 'children of Homer' were not the reciters but the students of the poet.

Further, this view is supported by an ancient commentary on the passage of Pindar. The following are the scholia in question:

(1) 'Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ομήρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοί, οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς 'Ομηρον ἀνάγοντες· ἐπιφανείς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν 'Ομήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ

<sup>34</sup> Isocr. *Hel.* § 65 λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν 'Ομηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστάσα νυκτὸς 'Ομήρῳ προστάξαι ποιῆν περὶ τῶν στρατευσασμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν.

Plato, *Rep.* p. 599 E (Homer is not known as a legislator) οὐκ οὐκον λέγεται γε οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν 'Ομηριδῶν.

Isocr. p. 530 D καὶ μὴν ἀξίον γε ἀκούσαι, ὦ Σάμιαρες, ὡς εὖ πεκύσθηκα τὸν 'Ομηρον· ὥστε οἶμαι ὑπὸ 'Ομηριδῶν ἀξίος εἶναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι.

Phaedr. p. 252 B λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαι τινες 'Ομηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα.

<sup>35</sup> Arist. *Metaph.* xiv. 6 (p. 1093 a 27).

Κύναιθος Χίος, δε καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκῆναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψέδησε τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἱπποστράτης φησιν.

(2) Then follows a scholium on the etymology of ῥαψῳδός: then—

(3) ἄλλως Ὀμηρίδαι πρότερον μὲν οἱ Ὀμήρου παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον ῥαβδῳδοί· οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἐμνημόνευον καὶ ἐπήγγελλον· ἐλυμήναντο δὲ αὐτὴν πάνυ.

‘Originally,’ the scholiast says, ‘the name Homeridae denoted the actual descendants of Homer, who sang his poems in hereditary succession: but afterwards the rhapsodists who were not descended from him. Chief among these were Cynaethus and his followers (οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον), who, they say, foisted many verses of their own making into the poetry of Homer. Now Cynaethus was a Chian, who is said to have been the author of the hymn to Apollo that is ascribed to Homer. This Cynaethus was the first who recited the poems of Homer at Syracuse, in the 69th Olympiad, as Hippostratus says\*.’ As Cynaethus was older than Pindar, this statement implies that the rhapsodists of Pindar’s time were no longer of the family of Homer,—so that they could only be Homeridae in a poetical sense.

It may be urged here that the scholiast does not confine himself to the negative statement that the rhapsodist Cynaethus and his like were not of the Homerid *gens*. He says that anciently—in the times before Cynaethus—the descendants of the poet sang his verses. On this point, however, it is difficult to believe that he had any evidence going back so far. He gives us no information about the supposed *gens*. He does not even seem to know that they were of Chios,—which is the more remarkable since he says that Cynaethus was a Chian. It seems much more likely that his assertion is merely an inference from the patronymic form of the word. He had some information about the career of Cynaethus which probably did not justify his saying more than that the word Homeridae, if it once implied descent from Homer, had ceased to do so in the time of Cynaethus, and *a fortiori* in the time of Pindar.

So far we have had to do with Pindar and his scholiasts, and with statements as to the claim of rhapsodists to the name Homeridae.

\* Hippostratus is quoted by the scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth.* 6. 4) ὡς ὁ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας γενεαλογῶν. Hence his notice of the rhapsodising of Cynaethus at Syracuse probably comes from a local source. On the other hand it is unlikely that Cynaethus, if he recited Homer so late as the 69th Olympiad, was the real author of the *Hymn to Apollo*. Cp. also the scholia on Pind. *Ol.* 2. 8. 16 and Theocr. 6. 40.

We have now to turn to notices about a family that certainly bore the name of Homeridae, and to ask what right they had to claim kindred with the poet.

The *locus classicus* is the article 'Ομηρίδαι in the *Lexicon* of Harpocration, which is as follows :

'Ομηρίδαι· Ἰσοκράτης 'Ελένη· Ὀμηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ, ὅπερ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν γ', Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντιάδι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησὶν ὠνομάσθαι· Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν β' περὶ βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράττητα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεροποιαῖς Ὀμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ· ὠνομάσθησαν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν δμήρων, ἐπεὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ποτε τῶν Χίων ἐν Διονυσίοις παραφρονήσασαι εἰς μάχην ἦλθον τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλοις δμῆρα νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας ἐπαύσαντο, ὡν τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ὀμηρίδας λέγουσιν. (So, but with abridgments, Photius *Lex.*, Timaeus *Lex. Plat.*, Suidas.)

From this article, then, it appears that there was a family called 'Ομηρίδαι in the island of Chios, and that two conflicting accounts were current regarding their origin. One, which was given by the logographers, Acusilaus and Hellanicus, derived them from the poet. This view was also adopted by Crates in a work on sacrifices (ἐν ταῖς ἱεροποιαῖς is clearly a reference to the title of a book)<sup>27</sup>. The other, which was maintained against Crates by Seleucus (probably the Homeric critic of the first century B.C.), derived them from the hostages (δμῆρα) exchanged after a war which once took place between the men and women of Chios. It was told that on the occasion of a Dionysiac festival the women were seized with madness, and fought with the men: then that, when they made peace, they gave each other as hostages certain bridegrooms and brides, whose descendants thenceforth were called Homeridae. This singular legend, it may be conjectured, was devised to explain some ritual usages of the local Dionysia, in which the Homeridae had a traditional part to play. However this may be, the existence of the legend shows that the connexion of the Homeridae with Homer was not accepted as a matter of course. If there had been any evidence of it—if the Homeridae had been reciters of Homer, or had performed sacred rites to him as their ancestor—the claim would hardly have been doubted. As it is, all that we can be said to know is that there was a family bearing that name in Chios. The derivation from Homer is only one of many possible sources of the word.

The sceptical view is borne out by indications showing that the

<sup>27</sup> This may be the grammarian Crates of Mallos, the celebrated rival of Aristarchus. But there was another Crates who wrote περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι θυσίων, which may be the same as the work on ἱεροποιαῖς now in question.

Homeridae of Chios were unknown to various writers who might be presumed to be well informed on such a matter. It has already been noticed that the scholiast on Pindar, who tells us a good deal about Cynaethus of Chios and the rhapsodists, evidently did not know that there were Homeridae in Chios. Moreover, the existence of descendants of Homer is ignored in the stories about Creophylus—stories that are alluded to as matter of common knowledge in the *Republic* of Plato. According to the usual account, which comes from the fourth century B.C.<sup>38</sup>, Lycurgus got the Homeric poems from the descendants of Creophylus in Samos. This obviously implies that Homer had no descendants of his own.

On the whole it appears that the series of notices that has been thought to prove the existence of a family of Homeridae, claiming Homer as their eponymous ancestor and reciting his poems, is really a combination or 'conflation' from two sources, neither of which bears out any such hypothesis. These sources are:

(1) The scholiast on Pindar, who gives us some information, derived from Hippostratus, about Cynaethus of Chios, but knows nothing of the Homeridae. What he says of them is arrived at by taking Pindar's poetical use of the word in a literal sense.

(2) The lexicon of Harpocration, which brings together notices of the Chian Homeridae, but tells us nothing of their recitation of Homer. In this case also the claim to Homeric descent seems to be a mere inference from the patronymic form of the name.

Our conclusion then must be that the only use of the word *Ὅμηριδες* known to Attic usage is as a half-poetical term meaning 'students of Homer.'

#### § 6. *The rhapsodists and the text—Pisistratus.*

The rhapsodists, as we have just learned, are charged with having done much to corrupt the text of Homer. One scholium on Pindar *Nem.* 2. 1 speaks of Cynaethus and his followers (*οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον*) as eminent rhapsodists, 'who, they say, made many of the verses and put them into the poetry of Homer.' Another says of the same rhapsodists, 'they kept in memory and made known the poetry of Homer when dispersed: but they greatly mangled it'. It appears, then, that they did mischief in two ways. They broke up the text into

<sup>38</sup> Plato *Rep.* p. 600: cp. note 17.

<sup>39</sup> Cp. also Bekker, *Anecd.* ii. p. 766 *οἱ γὰρ μετ' Ὅμηρον . . . περιερχόμενοι καὶ φθοντες τὰ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔφετῆς, ὥς νῦν κείνται οἱ στίχοι, οὕτως ἔλεγον ἀκολούθως ἐντείνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐντεῖθεν κἀκείθεν.*

fragments (presumably *ῥαψῳδίαι*, or portions suited for recitation at festivals); and they introduced many interpolations.

The known conditions under which the art of the rhapsodists was exercised render these accusations intrinsically probable. Moreover, they are borne out by the law that regulated the public recitations at Athens, and also, as will be seen, by the later history of the text. It is not necessary to suppose that Homer at one time only survived in a fragmentary state, or in much interpolated copies. The continuous recitation insisted upon at Athens implies the possession of a complete text. Whether the Athenian authorities were equally on the watch against spurious additions (except such as tended to the glory of the city) does not now appear. In any case the regulation of the rhapsodists by public officials shows that there was risk of abuse, and also that steps were taken to guard the purity of the Homeric tradition.

So much may be regarded as resting on the ground of historical fact, namely the law for which we have the testimony, not merely of late compilers like Diogenes Laertius, but of the Attic orators, Lycurgus and Isocrates, besides the more shadowy author of the *Hipparchus*. But besides these we have to deal with a series of statements, of a circumstantial and occasionally marvellous character, describing much more considerable services as having been rendered to Homer by the Athenian 'tyrant' Pisistratus.

The earliest of these meets us in an unexpected author, namely Cicero, who (in a passage of his treatise *De oratore*, iii. 34. § 137) dilates on the learning of Pisistratus, 'qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus.' The earliest Greek writer who refers to this story is Pausanias (7. 26. 6)<sup>40</sup>, who says that when Pisistratus collected the poems of Homer, then known only in fragments scattered about in various places, he (Pisistratus) or one of his companions in ignorance changed the name *Δουδέσσων* in Il. 2. 573 into *Γουδέσσων*. Who these 'companions' were is a question to be considered presently. The story is told in an epigram said (contrary to all historical probability) to have been inscribed on the base of a statue of Pisistratus at Athens. In it he is made to speak of himself as—

τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον  
ἤθροισα, σποράδην τὸ πρὶν αἰεδόμενον.

<sup>40</sup> PAUS. 7. 26. 6 Πεισίστρατον δὲ ἦν ἵκα ἐπὶ τὰ Ὅμηρον διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονεύμενα ἤθροισε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ ἀγνοίας.



It is a probable conjecture, though unsupported by external evidence, that this epigram is the source, directly or indirectly, of all the other versions <sup>41</sup>.

So far the authorities only speak of Pisistratus and certain 'companions.' In Byzantine times we are surprised to find credence given to the story that the work of restoring the integrity of Homer was carried out under the direction of Pisistratus by a body of seventy-two grammarians, the chief of whom were Aristarchus and Zenodotus. This account is quoted from Heliodorus the grammarian by Tzetzes, who had himself formerly accepted it as true (*Prolegomena Περὶ Κωμῆδίας*), also from Diomedes <sup>42</sup>, and is given by Eustathius, except that he does not specify the number of the grammarians employed. Speaking of the division of the *Iliad* into *ῥαψῳδίαι* or books, Eustathius says—

οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι ταύτην κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ὥς φασὶ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τυράννου γραμματικοὶ καὶ διορθωσάμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνους ἀρέσκων, ἔκ κορυφαῖος Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Ζηνόδοτος κτλ. (Eust. p. 5. 31).

An interesting notice—apparently the earliest reference to this version of the story—is to be found in the poet Ausonius (*Epist.* 18. 27), who said in praise of a certain grammarian of his time that he was one—

Quem sibi conferret Varro, priorque Crates,  
Quique sacri lacerum collegit corpus Homeri,  
Quique notas spurii versibus apposuit.

The two unnamed grammarians are Zenodotus and Aristarchus <sup>43</sup>: and it is Zenodotus who is said to have 'collected the torn body of sacred Homer.' The words are obviously inapplicable to the real work of Zenodotus, but answer exactly to the language of the Pisistratus story <sup>44</sup>. Hence, although Ausonius does not name Pisistratus, he must be regarded as one of the witnesses to the Homeric services of which Pisistratus had the credit, and to the association with him of the two great Alexandrian scholars.

A curious variant of the story as regards the assistants or 'companions' of Pisistratus rests upon the single authority of Tzetzes, and

<sup>41</sup> Nutzhorn, *Die Entstehungsweise der homerischen Gedichte*, p. 40.

<sup>42</sup> Villoison, *Anecd. Gr.* ii. 182: Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* ii. p. 767.

<sup>43</sup> Cp. Ausonius, *Sept. sap. praeef.* 11 Censor Aristarchus, normaue Zenodoti: also *Prof.* 13. 3 esset Aristarchi tibi gloria Zenodotique, Graiorum antiquus si sequeretur honos.

<sup>44</sup> It is needless to discuss Welcker's opinion that Zenodotus was here proclaimed as the compiler of the Epic Cycle. It is impossible to admit that Ausonius meant by 'Homer' anything but the poems that we have now.

has met with an amount of attention on the part of scholars to which that grammarian was hardly entitled. It was first discovered in Latin, in the document well known as the *Scholium Plautinum*<sup>45</sup>, and is to the effect that Pisistratus was aided by four persons, Onomacritus, Zopyrus of Heraclea, Orpheus of Croton, and a fourth, whose name was written as Concylius. Then similar comments were found in Greek manuscripts, and at length the original treatise of Tzetzes was found and published<sup>46</sup>. It will be enough to quote a few words in which he explains his error and the correction :

εἶπον συνθεῖναι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτῳ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο σοφούς, ὧν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀριστάρχον· καίτοι τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτῳ συνθέντων τὸν Ὅμηρον, οἵτινές εἰσιν οὗτοι· ἐπικύκλιος (sic), Ὀνομάκριτος Ἀθηναῖος, Ζώπυρος Ἡρακλεώτης καὶ Ὀρφεὺς Κροτωνιάτης.

He goes on to reproach Heliodorus with having led him into the gross anachronism of making Zenodotus and Aristarchus contemporaries of Pisistratus. Regarding the corrupt ἐπικύκλιος, which conceals one of the four names given by Tzetzes, the most probable suggestion is that of Comparetti<sup>47</sup>, who has restored the name of the Pythagorean philosopher Ocellus Lucanus. Apparently the corruption extended to all existing manuscripts of Tzetzes, for it is found in the few subsequent notices that refer to him. Thus one grammarian<sup>48</sup>, after saying that Zenodotus and Aristarchus arranged and corrected (διορθώσαντο) the poetical books of the Alexandrian library, goes on to say :

καίτοι τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γραμματικοὶ ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτῳ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τυράννου διέθηκαν οὕτως· σποράδην οὖσας τὸ πρῖν ἐπεκρίθησαν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου, ἄλλων ὄντων τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου διορθωσάντων. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρσιν ἑκαστῶν ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτῳ διορθώσιν ἀναφέρουσιν, Ὀρφεὶ Κροτωνιάτῃ, Ζωπύρῳ Ἡρακλεώτῃ, Ὀνομακρίτῃ Ἀθηναίῳ, καὶ κατὰ ἐπὶ κογκυλῶ (sic).

This scholium puts the history of the matter into a nutshell. First there is a statement of the real service that the great Alexandrian librarians and scholars did for Homer—Zenodotus the first and Aristarchus the greatest διορθωτής. Then their work is distorted, exaggerated, and thrown back into the half-mythical times of Pisis-

<sup>45</sup> Ritschl, *Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken* (*Opuscula Philologica* I. 4).

<sup>46</sup> By Keil, in the *Rhein. Mus.* VI. n. F. pp. 108 ff., 243 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Comparetti, *La commissione omerica di Pisistrato ed il ciclo epico* (Torino, 1881).

<sup>48</sup> Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* I. 6. According to Kaibel (*Die Prolegomena* Περὶ Κωμωδίας, Berlin 1898) this comes from an earlier work by Tzetzes himself.

tratus. Then a reconciliation is attempted: Pisistratus was assisted, not by the Alexandrian Zenodotus and Aristarchus, but by two scholars bearing the same names. Finally it is added that 'some' (viz. Tzetzes) refer the earlier recension to a commission formed of four Pythagorean philosophers.

The last statement surely has very little claim on our belief. It is entirely unheard of before Tzetzes, that is to say, for fifteen centuries: and it seems to have been forgotten again in the time of Eustathius. Tzetzes does not give his authority, and it can scarcely be imagined that he had access to sources unknown to the generality of Byzantine scholars. Everything points to the conclusion that the statement is a mere fabrication. The materials were doubtless at hand in the literature of Pythagoreanism—a school in which legend and tradition always had a large place.

Apart from fabulous details and rationalised versions, is the story of Pisistratus in its main outlines worthy of belief? This question still divides scholars, and affects their judgment, not perhaps of the Wolfian theory, of which it was once the mainstay, but in regard to the history and fortunes of the Homeric text.

It is admitted that there is no hint of the story in any of the tolerably full accounts that we have of Pisistratus. It is unknown to Herodotus, to Thucydides, and to Aristotle (including the author of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*). It is excluded by the account adopted in the pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus*, which does not leave room for any collection of Homeric verses. It is never referred to in the scholia of the *codex Venetus*, and may be shown to be unknown to the Alexandrian grammarians. For example, take the line about Ajax, *Il.* 2. 558:

στῆσε δ' ἄγων ὦν 'Αθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1. 15) simply says that the Athenians quoted it to prove their title to Salamis. Aristarchus condemned the line because he observed that in the narrative of the *Iliad* (3. 230., 4. 251) Ajax is placed with Idomeneus, not with the Athenians: but he says nothing of a supposed author of the interpolation. In Strabo (ix. p. 394) it is said that some ascribed it to Pisistratus, some to Solon (so Diog. Laert. i. 48). Again, the three lines describing Menestheus (*Il.* 2. 553–555), which were appealed to by the Athenians on the question of the supreme command against Persia (Hdt. 7. 159), were rejected by Zenodotus. They are discussed by Aristarchus without any hint of the possible agency of Pisistratus. Again, the line *Od.* 11. 631 (*Θησεία Πειριβοόη τε θιῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα*) was said by Hereas of Megara to have

been interpolated by Pisistratus: and the same historian accused Pisistratus of having left out the verse in Hesiod (fr. 123 Goettl.)—

δεῦρος γάρ μιν ἔπειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηίδος Αἴγλης,

as being a reproach to Theseus. But this information comes from Plutarch, not from the scholia. Once more, the Harleian scholium on Od. 11. 604 says that that verse was interpolated by Onomacritus. It comes from Hes. *Theog.* 952, and has no specially Athenian interest. In these places, if anywhere, we expect the scholia that represent the teaching of Aristarchus to make some reference to so important a matter as the collection of the poems by Pisistratus. In fact they do not even go so far as to hint at the probability that interpolations relating to heroes like Theseus and Menestheus may have been due to Athenian influence.

One important piece of evidence still remains to be considered, viz. the well known passage of Diogenes Laertius (i. 57), who says of Solon:

τά τε Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψωδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθῆνας εἶχον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

In this passage there is evidently a lacuna. The sentence ἦν δὲ μάλιστα κτλ. clearly implies that something has just been said about verses of Homer. And considering the subject of the lines referred to (Il. 2. 546 ff.), and the mention of a Megarian writer, we cannot doubt that the missing words contained something to the effect that according to Dieuchidas of Megara certain verses tending to the glory of Athens were foisted into Homer by an Athenian statesman. We may compare the similar charge made by Hereas of Megara in regard to Od. 11. 631; also the notices in Strabo about Il. 2. 558, and in Pausanias about Il. 2. 573 (cp. p. 403). So far, be it observed, we have only to do with one of the charges of interpolation that were freely made against rhapsodists as well as statesmen. There is no necessary reference to a collection of the Homeric poems by Pisistratus, or even to a recension made by his order. But Diogenes Laertius doubtless knew the Pisistratus story, and if so he must have referred to it in this context. On these grounds, then, Ritschl<sup>40</sup> filled up the lacuna as follows:

μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, (ὅσπερ συλλέξας τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐνεποίησέ τινα εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν), ὥς φησι Διευχίδας κτλ.

<sup>40</sup> Ritschl, *op. cit.* i. 54.

But can we rest satisfied with a restoration yielding a sense such as this: 'By the continuous recitation instituted at the Panathenaea Solon did more to spread abroad the fame of Homer than Pisistratus did by inserting verses to the glory of Athens'? Notwithstanding the opinion of Lehrs<sup>50</sup> we can hardly think that Diogenes Laertius (or the author from whom he borrowed) had no better argument to found on the law of Solon. His reasoning, surely, was directed against the claim made on behalf of Pisistratus to the credit of collecting and arranging 'Homer.' The strongest point must have been that Solon's law implied the existence of complete copies of the Homeric poems, and therefore cut the ground from under any such claim. This said, he apparently went on to notice a charge of interpolating the text of Homer, and quoted the historian Dieuchidas of Megara in reference to it. This was to the point, since interpolation is a process that postulates a text in which the additional verses can be inserted. It is not a means of diffusing knowledge of Homer, but of turning to use the fame and authority that Homer already enjoyed.

Owing to the lacuna, however, it is not quite certain that the charge was made against Pisistratus. Elsewhere Solon is made the object of similar suspicions. It will be evident that if Solon made interpolations—taking advantage of his control over the rhapsodists—the Pisistratus story becomes *a fortiori* impossible.

If these suggestions are accepted, the question of the date of Dieuchidas, which has been argued with his usual acuteness by Wilamowitz<sup>51</sup>, is comparatively unimportant. The chief interest will lie in determining whether the lines in the *Catalogue of the Ships* that bear upon Athens are interpolated there, or are not rather part of the proof that the whole *Catalogue* is post-Homeric. In the former case they are probably due to the unbidden action of Attic rhapsodists rather than to any stroke of state-craft.

The preceding lines were in type before the writer had the advantage of seeing Mr. Leaf's discussion of the matter in the *Prolegomena* to his new edition of Il. i-xii. It is a satisfaction to find that he agrees in rejecting the supplement proposed by Ritschl. He himself proposes to complete the passage somewhat as follows:

μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος (ἐκείνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τὰ ἔπη εἰς τὸν Κατάλογον ἐμπούσας, καὶ οὐ Πεισίστρατος) ὥς φησι Διευχίδας κτλ.

This restoration appears to supply at least the most important part of the words which have fallen out, and also to furnish a probable

<sup>50</sup> Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*, p. 446.

<sup>51</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 240.

cause of the lacuna, viz. the repetition of the word *Πρωτοπατος*. But does the passage as so restored prove that Dieuchidas had any knowledge of the *collection* of scattered Homeric poems said to have been made by Pisistratus? His testimony refers to the *interpolation* that has just been mentioned, and need not extend further back. On the contrary, the natural sense of the completed words is something like this: 'It was this law of Solon that made Homer known, rather than any (alleged) collection of his poems by Pisistratus: and so too it was Solon who interpolated the lines in the Catalogue supporting the Athenian claims against Megara,—not Pisistratus, as the Megarian Dieuchidas pretends.'

To sum up: the evidence in this and similar cases seems to belong to three tolerably well marked periods:

(1) Alexandrian; in which verses are questioned as spurious, and are discussed by critics on the ground of internal consistency, &c., but without reference to political or other motives.

(2) Early post-Alexandrian; when allegations begin to be made about Solon, Pisistratus, Onomacritus, and the like.

(3) Roman and Byzantine; when the full-blown Pisistratus myth makes its appearance,—*οὐρανὸν ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει*.

If the result of the foregoing inquiry is to show that there is no good evidence for the story told of Pisistratus, it only remains to consider whether there is a reasonable *αἴτιον τοῦ ψεύδους*—whether, that is to say, there was anything to suggest such a story, and to give it currency among the learned of Roman and Byzantine times.

The elements and *motifs* of the story lie open to our view. They seem to be these:

(1) The great critical work of the Alexandrians, especially of Zenodotus and Aristarchus, to which later scholars looked back with veneration, but not always with much knowledge.

(2) The existence of much textual corruption, especially interpolation. The evidence for this has always been considerable, and has been augmented in quite recent years. The services of the great Alexandrians in dealing with it were magnified, or rather were distorted and turned into senseless marvels, by ignorant *γραμματικοί*.

(3) The influence of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries as a literary centre; including, in particular, such institutions as the regular and complete recitation of Homer. This no doubt helped to attract to Attica the stories about the preservation and diffusion of Homer which were originally told of other parts of Greece.

(4) The desire to think well of 'tyrants' and monarchs generally, as friends of letters. This led to the prominence of Pisistratus, where an earlier age would have rather looked to Solon.

Such were the causes and conditions through which the age of the Ptolemies came to be reflected in the myth—for so we must call it—of Pisistratus and his grammarians, 'of whom Zenodotus and Aristarchus were the chief.' Let us understand it as a myth, and not think, by leaving out the anachronisms and the marvels, to turn it into history.

### § 7. *Ancient criticism—the fifth century B.C.*

The systematic study of Homer can be traced back to the beginning of prose writing in Greece. The 'ancient quarrel' with philosophy—that is to say, with the advancing reason and morality of the nation—came to a height in the attacks of Xenophanes and Pythagoras. Following closely on these—towards the end of the sixth century B.C.—attempts at reconciliation began to be made. The first of these, so far as we know, was the allegorical explanation put forward by Theagenes of Rhegium, who lived in the time of Cambyses, king of Persia—which was also (roughly speaking) the time of the earliest logographers. Theagenes, it is said, was the first who 'wrote about Homer.' With him began ἡ νεωτέρα γραμματική, the New Grammar, that which studied the language and narrative of Homer, and did not confine itself to reading and writing. Whether he rendered any service to the purity of the text does not appear. He is quoted on one place, viz. Il. i. 381 ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν, where he is said to have read ἐπεὶ ῥά νύ οἱ (with the Cyprian and Cretan editions). The statement, however, seems doubtful<sup>81</sup>. The chief passage quoted from him is the explanation of the θεομαχία in the *Iliad*, given by Schol. B on Il. 20. 67. It is to the effect that the different gods stand for elements or powers of nature or man: Apollo is the *sun*<sup>82</sup>, Hephaestus *fire*, Poseidon and Scamander *water*, Artemis the *moon*, Here *air*, Athene *wisdom*, Ares *folly*, Aphrodite *desire*, Hermes *logos*.

<sup>81</sup> It does not seem likely that a writer of the period of Theagenes would be quoted for the difference between ἐπεὶ μάλα and ἐπεὶ ῥά νύ. Perhaps the name was that of some much later grammarian. If so, *προφέρεται* may have the meaning *προφέρεται ὡς* 'Αριστάρχειον, as sometimes in the scholia.

<sup>82</sup> At this point I have ventured to make a correction. According to the MS. 'Ἀπόλλων, 'Ἡλιος, and 'Ἡφαιστος stand for fire. But 'Ἡλιος is not one of the actors in the story. And if Artemis is the moon, Apollo is naturally the sun. Hence for τὸ μὲν πῦρ 'Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ 'Ἡλιον καὶ 'Ἡφαιστον read τὸ βλὲν πῦρ 'Ἡφαιστον τὸν δὲ ἥλιον 'Ἀπόλλωνα.

The philosopher Democritus of Abdera (unlike his rival Heraclitus) was on the side of Homer in the great conflict. Among other treatises on poetry and music he wrote *περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοσπείης καὶ γλωσσίων*, and seems to have dealt especially with the Homeric meanings of words—perhaps anticipating Aristarchus in that field—and the various senses that the same word may have (*τὴν δμωνυμίαν τῶν πολυσήμων λέξεων*). These few indications point to the beginning of a really scientific treatment of Homeric language.

The allegorical system of interpretation was carried farther by the philosophers of the age of Pericles. Anaxagoras is said to have been the first to explain Homer as *moral* allegory; while his friend and follower Metrodorus of Lampsacus sought rather for *physical* explanations<sup>54</sup>. But a more important name in this period is that of Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who lived about the time of Cimon and Pericles. He is mentioned by Xenophon (*Symp.* 3. 6) as one of those who could explain the hidden meanings (*τὰς ὑπονοίας*) of Homer; also in the *Ion* of Plato (p. 530) as an author of interpretations (*διάνοιαι*). He is associated in the latter passage with Metrodorus, whence it has been inferred that he was one of the allegorising school. This, however, is not borne out by the specimens of his method that have been preserved in the scholia. He is quoted (with Crates) about the division of the universe between the three sons of Κρόνος, especially about the line *γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος*: but the scholium is corrupt. Il. 11. 637 *Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ δειρεν*, he pointed out, was put in simply to account for Nestor's long life. On Il. 21. 76 *πάρ γάρ σοι πρῶτῃ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν* he accounted for *πρῶτῃ* on the ground that barbarians only ate *barley*, so that Lycaon had really eaten *wheat* for the first time with Achilles. Stesimbrotus also wrote *περὶ τελετῶν*, probably on the Mysteries of the neighbouring Samothrace. References are quoted from it to the Idaean *Δάκτυλοι*, the Cabiri and the Corybantes, the name *Διώνυξος*, &c. A third work was historical, viz. 'on Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles.'

The island of Thasos boasts of two other Homeric students of the fifth century, viz. Hippias, two of whose emendations are mentioned in the *Poetics* of Aristotle (c. 25), and Hegemon, who first ventured to parody Homer. Other *Ὀμηρικοί* of the same brilliant period are

<sup>54</sup> Diog. Laert. ii. 11 (of Anaxagoras) *δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος (καθὰ φησι Φαβαρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ Ἱστορίᾳ) τὴν Ὁμήρου ποιήσιν ἀποφῆναι εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλείον δὲ προστῆναι τοῦ λόγου Μητροδώρον τὸν Λαμψακηνόν, γνώριμον ὄντα αὐτοῦ, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον σπουδᾶσαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν.*



Anaximander (coupled with Stesimbrotus in Xen. *Symp.* 3, 6), Glaucon (similarly mentioned among Homeric scholars by Plato, *Ion*, p. 530, and probably the same as the Glaucon of Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 1. 3, *Poet.* 25), and Hippias of Elis, the celebrated sophist, introduced in the Platonic dialogue *Hippias minor*. It is needless to add the names of those who dealt indirectly with Homer: such, for instance, as Gorgias of Leontini and other rhetoricians (many of them his pupils), who took Homeric subjects as themes for declamation. These rhetorical exercises—of which we have a good specimen in the *encomium Helenae* of Isocrates—do not belong to the history of serious Homeric studies; but (like the imitations and allusions in the poets) they serve to complete the picture of the supremacy of Homer in Greek literature and thought.

Among the philosophers who drew their inspiration from Socrates the chief writer on Homeric subjects appears to have been Antisthenes the Cynic. In the list of his works we find many names taken from the *Odyssey*: *περὶ Ὀδυσσεύας*, *Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου*, *περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης*, *περὶ Πρωτίως*, *περὶ μέθης ἢ περὶ τοῦ Κύκλωπος*, *περὶ Κίρκης*, and the like. The *Iliad* is represented by a treatise *περὶ Κάλχαντος*, and perhaps a few others. These titles, however, do not lead us to infer that Antisthenes was an authority on the criticism or interpretation of the poet. They point rather to treatises in which Homeric personages were taken as types of character, or used as pegs on which to hang the discussion of moral and political questions. Thus the Cyclops evidently served as an example of the vice of drunkenness: and the treatise on Helen and Penelope must have dwelt on the striking moral contrast suggested by these two names. This is a mode of treatment which does not imply minute study of the text of Homer, and indeed is not very different from the use of Homeric subjects in the *encomia* and other rhetorical exercises of the early sophists. It would seem, however, that Antisthenes was one of the earliest writers who made it their business to account for the apparent contradictions to be found in the Homeric poems, and that his key was the familiar antithesis of 'truth' and 'seeming' (*ὅτι τὰ μὲν δόξα τὰ δὲ ἀληθεία εἰρηται τῷ ποιητῇ*). According to Dio Chrysostom this distinction was largely employed afterwards by Zeno to explain contradictions, but he adds that it was first put forward by Antisthenes. In this point, then, as in others, the Stoics carried on the ideas and methods of the earlier Cynic school.

Hitherto the authors with whom we have had to do have been either philosophers, concerned with the speculative truth or falsehood

that they discovered in Homer, or else historians, who dealt with the scanty records of his life. A new type appears about the end of the fifth century in Antimachus of Colophon, a pupil of Stesimbrotus, and nearly contemporary with Socrates. Antimachus was an 'editor' or διορθωτής of Homer, and also himself an epic poet of the first rank<sup>55</sup>. He was thus the prototype of the learned poets so numerous in Alexandria under the Ptolemies, and formed a link between them and the great poets of earlier times. His chief work was a *Thebaid*, said to be referred to by Horace in the line<sup>56</sup>—

Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri.

A poem beginning with the death of Meleager and consequent flight of Tydeus to Argos, and coming down to the return of Diomedes from the war of the Epigoni, was certainly not Homeric in structure, however valuable as a storehouse of mythical history. It was to poems of this learned character that the epithet *κυκλικός* came to be applied in Alexandrian times, and indeed Antimachus (if we may believe the scholiast already quoted) was himself known as *ὁ κυκλικός par excellence*. It was apparently also of this *Thebaid* that Callimachus uttered the celebrated saying μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν<sup>57</sup>.

The edition of Antimachus is referred to about twelve times in the *Iliad*, and once in the *Odyssey* (I. 85, where he read Ὠγυλίην for Ὠγυγίην). Several of his readings represent a good tradition: such as μαχίσσομαι (II. I. 298), κατὰ δαίτα (II. I. 424, so Aristarchus), οἰνοχόει (II. I. 598), κεκοπών (II. 13. 60), Τρῳάς (II. 5. 461). It also appears from the fragments of his own poems that he read ἦδυμος (for νήδυμος), ἐπίηρα (not ἐπὶ ἥρα), φή (II. 2. 144., 14. 499), διὰ σπιδέος (II. 11. 754), ἀδόροισι (Od. 2. 354, for δοροῖσι). On the other hand he seems to have made or adopted some arbitrary emendations: II. 21. 607 πύλαι δ' ἔμπληντο ἀλέντων (for πόλεις δ' ἔμπληντο): 22. 336 ἐλκήσουσι κακῶς (for αἰκῶς): 24. 71 κλέψαι μὲν ἀμήχανον (for εἰάσομεν—not seeing that εἰάω means omit, give up).

There was a tradition, which has reached us in very late sources, that a recension of Homer was made by Euripides—not the tragic poet, but perhaps a contemporary (Suid. s.v. Εὐριπίδης, Eust. on II. 2. 865). If such an edition existed, it had no place, so far as we know, in the critical apparatus of the Alexandrian scholars.

Before leaving the fifth century we may notice some writers who

<sup>55</sup> The 'canon' of epic poetry consisted of the five names, Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, Antimachus.

<sup>56</sup> See the scholia on Hor. *Ep. ad Pis.* 146.

<sup>57</sup> Athen. iii. p. 72 a.

were not professedly Homeric students, but whose references to Homer are none the less worthy of attention.

Herodotus and Thucydides are almost alone among historians in expressing no opinion about Homer's birthplace or genealogy. Even as regards his date Herodotus merely protests against the excessive antiquity which some claimed for him (Hdt. 2. 53). The most interesting notices are those which show that the early epic poems, in particular the *Cypria* (Hdt. 2. 116) and *Epigoni* (4. 32), were still commonly assigned to 'Homer.' Thucydides refers several times to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and quotes the *Hymn to Apollo* as Homeric, but does not allude to any 'cyclic' poem. It is probable, therefore, that in his time the Homeric canon was nearly what it ultimately became. He makes the important remark that in Homer Greece was not called Ἑλλάς, and similarly that non-Greeks were not yet brought under the general designation βάρβαροι. He also observed that piracy was regarded as honourable (referring to Od. 3. 71, &c.). Generally his tone in regard to Homer is sceptical. Thus he gives the size of the Greek armament before Troy ὡς Ὁμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἰ τῶ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι. Sicily, he says, was originally inhabited by Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες, about whom he declines to say anything himself (6. 2). The notice of Corinth as ἀφνειὸς, ὡς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδῆλωται, refers to Il. 2. 570 ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον. Thus his attitude was one of protest against the undue authority which Homer exerted, and which the limitation to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* doubtless made more sensible.

Direct references to Homer in the later poets must necessarily be rare. Difference of literary form and treatment forbids imitation such as we find (e.g.) in Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil. Nevertheless Homer is mentioned by name in three or four passages of the Epinician Odes of Pindar. In *Pyth.* 4. 277 ἄγγελον ἑσλὸν ἔφα τιμὰν μεγίσταν πράγματι παντὶ φέρειν we must surely recognise a poetical quotation of Il. 15. 207 ἑσλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται δὲ ἄγγελος αἶσιμα εἰδῆ. So in *Isthm.* 4. 37 there is a clear reference to the speech of Ajax in Il. 7. 198-199<sup>60</sup>. In *Nem.* 7. 20 Pindar speaks of the Homeric stories of Ulysses and his exploits in language that is almost in the sceptical vein of Thucydides.

In tragedy, for obvious reasons, direct references to Homer cannot occur. Yet ancient scholars were impressed with the profound

<sup>60</sup> The speech of Ajax is in fact addressed to the Greeks, not to Hector, as Pindar's language would imply. This, however, is due to a mere lapse of memory, and proves nothing about Pindar's knowledge of the Homeric text. See Mr. Bury's note *ad loc.*, also the *Classical Review*, vol. vi. p. 3.

influence exercised by Homer on the great tragic poets. Aeschylus was believed to have spoken of his plays as 'slices (τεμάχη) from the great repasts of Homer' (Athen. viii. c. 39). Sophocles was called *φλόμπος* (Eust. 440. 38), *μαθητὴς Ὀμήρου* (*Vit. Soph.* i. 97), and was said to have taken the subjects of many dramas from Homer, especially from the *Odyssey*<sup>89</sup>. There may be some exaggeration in this: Aristotle, as we have seen (p. 339), was struck rather with the fewness of the plays that it had been possible to take from the two great poems. It should be noticed, however, that the subjects of Satyric dramas are not uncommonly Homeric. We know of the *Κίρκη* and *Πρωτεύς* of Aeschylus, the *Κρίσις* and *Ἑλένης γάμος* of Sophocles, the *Cyclops* of Euripides. Evidently the attraction of these plays lay in the familiarity of the audience with the poems of which they were virtually parodies.

The element of *parody* or burlesque held a large place in Greek comedy, especially in its earlier periods<sup>90</sup>. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that many of the subjects are connected with the story of the Trojan war; and of these a considerable proportion must have been taken from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Thus we find—

Epicharmus: *Σειρήνες*, *Ὀδυσσεὺς ναυαγός*, *Τρῶες*, *Χείρων*, *Φιλοκλήτας*.

Cratinus: *Ὀδυσσῆς*.

Theopompus: *Ὀδυσσεύς*, *Πηνελόπη*, *Σειρήνες*.

Phyllilus: *Πλύντριοι ἢ Ναυσικάα*.

Callias and Diocles: *Κύκλωπες*.

Plato: *Μενέλαος*.

These examples belong to the period of the Old Comedy, and in nearly every case the subjects come from the *Odyssey*—the poem which lent itself more readily to treatment in a playful vein. In the Middle Comedy freer use seems to be made of the *Iliad*: we meet with the titles *Ἑλένη*, *Ἀχιλλεύς*, *Πάνδαρος*, *Δόλων*, *Μελέαγρος*, *Βελλεροφόντης*, *Ἄρτεια*, *Ἀγχίσις*, as well as *Ὀδυσσεύς*, *Κύκλωψ*, *Ναυσικάα*, *Κίρκη*, *Καλυψώ*. With the introduction of the New Comedy came a change of fashion, and Homeric subjects thenceforth were very rare.

The influence of Homer may be traced, not merely in the choice of subjects, but also in allusions and reminiscences of all kinds. Here also there is a curious difference of usage or fashion between the different periods in question. In the Old Comedy these Homeric

<sup>89</sup> *Vit. Soph.* i. 90 τοὺς μύθους φέρει κατ' ἔχνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν δ' ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν ἀπογράφεται.

<sup>90</sup> Parody of Homer is said to have begun with Hipponax, in the sixth century B.C.: see Athenaeus (p. 698 b).

reminiscences are frequent: in the Middle Comedy they become comparatively few: in the New Comedy they practically disappear. Cratinus, for example, who is perhaps the most representative poet of the Old Comedy, was the author of a play, the *Ὀδυσσοῦς*, which was simply a burlesque of the *Odyssey* (διασυρμὸς τῆς Ὀμήρου Ὀδυσσεύσεως Platonius p. xxv). It contained such adaptations as—

ἐπ' ἀριστερῷ δαί τῇν Ἄρκτον ἔχων λάμπουσιν ἔως ἂν ἐφεύρῃς,

from Od. 5. 276–277 τῇν (sc. Ἄρκτον) . . . ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα.

τῇ νῦν τότε πῖθι λαβὼν ἤδη, καὶ τοῖνομά μ' εὐθὺς ἐρώτα,

from Od. 9. 347 Κύκλωψ, τῇ πῖε οἶνον, and l. 355 καὶ μοι τεὸν οἶνομα εἰπέ. So in the *Λάκωνες* of Cratinus—

φοβερόν ἀνθρώποις τόδ' αὖ

κατένοις ἐπ' αἰζοῖσι καυχᾶσθαι μέγα (Od. 22. 412):

and in the *Πυλαία* fr. 2 αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσεν ἔθρεψέ τε δημοσίοις χρήμασιν εἰς ἤβην ἵνα οἱ ποτε λογιὼν ἀμύναυτο, from Il. 9. 495 (παῖδα) ποιεύμεν ἵνα μοί ποτ' ἀεικέα λογίων ἀμύνης. Cp. also the imitation in the *Χείρων* of Pherecrates, fr. 8—

δώσει δέ σοι γυναῖκας ἐπὶ Λεσβίδας (Il. 9. 270):

and in the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis, fr. 15. 6—

οἷς ὥσπερ εἰ θεοῖσιν ἡνέχμεσθα (Il. 22. 394, &c.).

Pure parody is seen in Metagenes (incert. 2)—

εἰς οἶκόνδ' ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ δέλπουν

as in Ar. *Lys.* 538 πῶλεμος δὲ γυναίξῃ μελήσει. When however we turn to the fragments of the Middle Comedy, allusions of this kind are no longer to be found<sup>61</sup>. The change is one which it is not easy to account for. The knowledge of Homer possessed by an average Attic audience in the period of Middle Comedy cannot have been less than it was in the time of Cratinus. Possibly the cause is to be seen in a general advance of refinement. The popular taste may have turned against parodies of the almost sacred poetry of Homer, just as it discarded the coarseness and personalities of the Aristophanic stage.

#### § 8. Fourth century B.C.

The progress of Homeric studies in the fourth century shows itself in several different directions. The students and admirers of Homer now form a recognised class or sect, the *Ὀμηρίδαι* or 'clan of Homer'

<sup>61</sup> W. Scherrans, *De poetarum comicorum Atticorum studiis Homericis* (Regimonti, 1893), pp. 46–50.

spoken of in the passages of Plato and Isocrates already quoted (p. 399). They are doubtless the same with the Ὀμηρικοί of whom Aristotle says that they see the small differences and fail to see (παροῶσι) the great ones<sup>62</sup>. But apart from this inner circle of devotees, it is evident that the poems of Homer—not the mass of epics once connected with his name, but definitely the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—had become one of the chief factors in the intellectual life of Greece. They had been familiar for some time as the staple of education: they now shared in the general awakening of the scientific spirit. Theories and opinions on the interpretation of Homer, on the condition of the text—of which there were many new recensions<sup>63</sup>—, on the historical authority of the poems, and similar topics, now found their way into the common stock of knowledge.

Plato is not one of the writers on Homer: but he is full of Homeric quotations and allusions, and he contributes in several ways to our knowledge of the Homeric movement of his time. In the *Ion* he draws a picture of the manner in which Homer was listened to and enjoyed by his countrymen. In the *Cratylus* he gives us specimens of the grammatical and linguistic speculation that was growing out of the Homeric studies of the philosophers. The *Republic* furnishes a measure of the importance of Homer as a moral influence in Greece. And the same dialogue, in the curious reference to Homer's friend or *alter ego* Creophylus, witnesses to the fresh crop of mythical anecdotes that had then sprung up. As we have already seen (p. 391), the notices that come from historians of the fourth century—such as Ephorus, Timaeus, Heraclides Ponticus—tell us much of Lycurgus and Creophylus: even as the logographers told of Smyrna and the Meles, and as later informants tell of Pisistratus and Zenodotus.

From Plato it seems an easy step to Aristotle: yet the difference is hardly to be measured. For the scientific treatment of poetry it means the transition from infancy to mature knowledge. The moral difficulties that stood in the way of a just estimate of Homer, the allegorising fancies that obscured his meaning, are now brushed aside. They are phantasms that have no place in the dry light of Aristotelian thought. In the few pages given to Homer in the *Poetics* the study of epic poetry as a form of literature stands on the highest level

<sup>62</sup> Arist. *Met.* 1093 a 27. Cp. also the passage from the Comic poet Strato (quoted in Athenaeus), describing the cook who was Ὀμηρεὺς and constantly used Homeric γλῶσσαι (Meineke, *Fragm. Com.* iv. 545).

<sup>63</sup> Cp. the saying attributed to Timon: φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν ἀσφαλῶς κτήσασατο· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφους ἐντυγχάνοι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διαρθωμένοις (Diog. Laert. ix. 113).

ever attained. On such matters as the structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (*Poet.* c. 8, c. 23), or the essential characteristics that distinguish the two poems (c. 24), we feel that a final verdict has been pronounced. Great scholars have sometimes failed to understand the teaching of Aristotle: none have surpassed his critical insight. Moreover, Aristotle was in a position from which he could survey not only the Homeric poems but the whole of Greek epic literature. He could compare Homer with the early Ionian poetry that had once been regarded as all more or less Homeric, and again with the comparatively recent writers, such as Antimachus and Choerilus. With these advantages a modern scholar could do infinitely more for linguistic and historical science. But in the field of pure literary criticism Aristotle was doubtless able to make the fullest use of his materials, and his results may be accepted by us as ascertained truth.

There is a story in Plutarch<sup>66</sup> of a recension of Homer made by Aristotle for the use of Alexander the Great. The volume, he says, was kept in a certain casket, from which it was called *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ κρύβαντος*. In Strabo<sup>67</sup>, however, the story is told of a copy revised by Alexander himself. In any case it can hardly be true of the great philosopher. Such a work must have been quite unsuited to his powers. His own quotations from Homer, as we shall see (p. 429), are exceptionally inaccurate. It is certain that Alexander was strongly influenced by the poetry of Homer, and that he looked upon the heroic career of Achilles—not without reason—as in some sense a forecast of his own genius and fortunes. But the '*Iliad* of the Casket' may safely be dismissed as a picturesque legend.

### § 9. *Antiquity of the vulgate.*

In an inquiry into the history of the Homeric text the first great fact that meets the student is the existence of the 'vulgate.' The conditions that favour the creation of a vulgate or *textus receptus* of an author are perhaps never wholly absent: but they vary with the popularity of the author and the importance of the market for his works. In the case of Homer these causes operated with peculiar force. If we compare the editions of the *Iliad* before that of Wolf (1794), from the Florentine *editio princeps* to the great work of Heyne, we find hardly any difference. And similarly in the numerous manuscripts of Homer the most striking feature is their uniformity. As

<sup>66</sup> Plutarch *Vit. Alexandri* 8: Strabo xiii. 594.

Mr. Leaf has said<sup>45</sup>, 'almost any extant manuscript is nearly good enough: at any rate a collation of almost any two will give us a readable text.' The tendencies that lead to error and consequent divergence are balanced and kept in check by those which make for agreement.

Several questions are suggested by this phenomenon. How far back can the existence of this vulgate be traced? Is it lineally descended from a text, or group of texts, current in antiquity? Was such a text formed, or in the way of being formed, in the fourth century B. C., when Athens was the centre of the Greek book-trade? Does our vulgate represent the 'old copies' spoken of in the saying of Timon of Athens (p. 417), or the 'corrected editions' that he regarded with distrust? In what relation does it stand to the manuscripts collected in the Alexandrian library, and to the texts formed by the great Alexandrian scholars?

The answers to these and similar questions are to be sought in more than one direction. We turn, in the first place, to the work of the ancient critics. The scholia, especially those of the *Codex Venetus*, have preserved a large number of the readings of Aristarchus, and they not infrequently allow us to know something of the materials on which his conclusions were based. In the next place, through the discoveries of recent years we are in possession of fragments of text, some of which go back to the earliest days of Alexandrian Hellenism. And, lastly, there are the numerous quotations from Homer in the prose writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. From these three quite independent sources it is possible to form some estimate of the condition in which the Alexandrian grammarians found the text of Homer, and also of the influence exerted by them on its later fortunes.

#### § 10. *Early forms of textual corruption.*

It will be readily granted that some forms of textual corruption must have been commoner in antiquity than in the period from which our manuscripts generally date. The mistakes to which copyists are liable are not the mistakes of oral transmission: and mistakes of the latter kind would be apt to creep even into written copies so long as it was by hearing rather than by reading that poetry was known and enjoyed. While the Greek of Homer, notwithstanding the archaic grammar and vocabulary, was still felt by the people as a living

<sup>45</sup> *Journal of Philology*, vol. xviii. p. 181.



language, and continued to be the conventional dialect of poetry, there were possibilities of divergence that ceased when it was confined to a professional class. Many examples may be given of the type of 'various reading' produced under the older conditions. One of the first and most obvious is in Il. 1. 91, where our MSS. have *ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ εὖχεται εἶναι*, but Aristarchus (following the editions of Zenodotus, Sosigenes, and Aristophanes) reads *ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν*. It is plain that no scribe could mistake *Ἀχαιῶν* for *ἐνὶ στρατῷ*, or vice versa: the originator of the false reading either took it from some other passage, or is responsible for the authorship of it himself. The same observation applies to Il. 1. 97, where we have to choose between *Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσσει* (Ar. following the Massiliensis and Rhianus) and *λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει* (Zen. and the MSS.): and to the reading in Il. 2. 15 *διδομεν δὲ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι*, quoted by Aristotle (*Poet.* 25), instead of *Τρώεσσι δὲ κῆδε' ἐφήπται*. So generally it may be assumed that it is the reciter rather than the copyist to whom we have to attribute the numberless cases of 'contamination,' that is to say, of the process by which words or phrases are transferred from one context to another. This is especially frequent with epic commonplace: e.g. in Il. 1. 73 *ὃς μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπει πτερύοντα προσηύδα* was read by Zen. for the vulgate *ὃ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετίειπεν*: in Il. 2. 484 *Ὀλυμπιάδες βαθύκολποι* (Zen. for *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι*): and so *ἄνακτος* for *γέροντος* in Il. 2. 793 *τύμβῳ ἐπ' ἀερότατ' Αἰσινήτας γέροντος*.

### § 11. *Interpolation in early texts.*

Of the various forms of textual corruption that belong especially to the pre-Alexandrian age the most important, from every point of view, is interpolation. On this part of the subject it will be worth while to go into some detail, so as to distinguish the several branches of evidence, and to show the cumulative nature of the reasoning upon which our final conclusions are based.

1. It appears from the ancient commentators, in particular from some passages in the scholia on Pindar (quoted above, p. 402), that the rhapsodists were accused of spoiling the poetry of Homer by inserting verses of their own. The accusation may be just or not; the fact that it was made serves to prove that in some at least of the current texts of Homer there was a considerable admixture of verses generally regarded as spurious.

2. Several instances were mentioned above (p. 406) of verses said

to have been interpolated for political ends by Athenian statesmen. It is true that charges of this kind cannot be traced far back. They are ignored in the Venetian scholia, and apparently were made in the first instance by certain Megarian historians, from jealousy of Athens. But they would probably not have been made if the idea of interpolation in Homer had not been already more or less familiar to the learned world.

3. In the Homeric criticism of the Alexandrians nothing is more characteristic than the prominence given to the detection of spurious verses. The obelus seems to have been the earliest of the critical marks, as in form it is the simplest. It was apparently used by Zenodotus, perhaps was devised by him<sup>66</sup>. In antiquity it was generally regarded as especially the weapon of Aristarchus<sup>67</sup>. In the first three books of the *Iliad*, for example, the number of verses obelized by Aristarchus (if we may trust the *Codex Venetus*) is 120, or about six per cent. How many more he absolutely rejected we cannot tell, since there is no corresponding record of them. The scholia, however, furnish some significant instances of lines rejected by Aristarchus notwithstanding that they appeared in some of the texts that he had before him. Thus on Il. 9. 159 Aristarchus noted that some added the line—

οὔνεκ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι πέλωρ ἔχει οὐδ' ἀνίησι.

And on Il. 8. 168 he seems to have noted that 'they subjoin' (ὑποτάσσουσι) the line—

ἢ μήτε στρέψαι μήτ' ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.

Similar additions are mentioned by the Venetian scholia on Il. 9. 140., 12. 328., 22. 158., 23. 538., 24. 205. In the Townley scholia the notices of such verses are still more numerous<sup>68</sup>. Thus after Il. 2. 848 it is said that some added the line—

Πηλεγόνοσ θ' υἱὸς περιδέξιος Ἀστεροπαῖος,

ὃν καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἰλιάδων φέρεσθαι, i.e. which was to be found in many of the texts habitually quoted by Aristarchus. So on Il. 8. 131 the Townley scholia give two lines as found ἐν τισι τῶν παλαιῶν, i.e. in certain Alexandrian texts. So after Il. 8. 131, according to the

<sup>66</sup> According to the grammatical fragment in the *Codex Venetus* (fol. 8) Aristarchus took it from Zenodotus (τὸν δὲ ὀβελὸν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς Ζηνοδότου διορθώσεως).

<sup>67</sup> So in Ausonius (*Epist.* 18. 29) Aristarchus is indicated in a list of eminent grammarians by the description *quique notas spuris versibus apposuit*. Cp. the dictum of Cicero (*Fam.* 3. 11) *Aristarchus Homeri versum negat quem non probat*.

<sup>68</sup> A list of about thirty is given by Ludwich, *Homervulgata*, p. 25.

Townley scholia, there were two lines found *ἐν τισὶ τῶν παλαιῶν*, which completed the sentence as follows:

καὶ νῦν κε σήκασθεν κατὰ Ἴλιον ἥντε ἄρνες 131  
 Τρῶες ὑπ' Ἀργείων, ἔλιπον δέ κεν Ἑκτορα δίον  
 χαλκῷ δηϊώοντα, δάμασσε δέ μιν Διομήδης,  
 εἰ μὴ κτλ. 132

Again, Il. 5. 808, which was read by Zenodotus and is in almost all the manuscripts, was omitted by Aristarchus. And Il. 16. 613, which is in all the manuscripts, was omitted in the earlier recension of Aristarchus: but in the second he allowed it to stand with the obelus.

It appears also that the edition of Zenodotus gave several lines that are not in our texts, and probably were wanting in that of Aristarchus. Such are the lines mentioned in the scholia as coming after Il. 3. 338., 13. 808., 14. 136., 17. 456<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand there are about thirty lines not read by Zenodotus (*ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος οὐδὲ ἔγραφε*), but admitted, usually with the obelus, into the text of Aristarchus. Besides these instances, which have found their way into the scholia because they were the subject of controversy between Zenodotus and Aristarchus, there were doubtless many more that the two great scholars agreed in condemning—of which consequently there is no record.

The large use that Aristarchus made of the obelus is in itself a ground for believing that interpolation was frequent. Why should he have been so ready to suspect the genuineness of lines, and to resort to *athetesis* whenever he was met by a difficulty? Evidently he had some good reason for regarding interpolation as a *vera causa*, that is to say, as a cause which was known *aliunde* to be operative in the Homeric text, and could therefore be supposed in any particular case without antecedent improbability. But such an attitude on the part of the great critic is hardly defensible unless the evidence of interpolation was stronger than appears in the scholia.

### § 12. *Interpolation in papyrus fragments.*

The foregoing arguments, if somewhat indirect, are at least sufficient to raise a presumption in favour of the view that besides the many verses that Aristarchus was content to 'obelize' there were many more that he simply rejected and left to oblivion. But independent

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig *op. cit.* pp. 11–13.

testimony to the same effect is furnished from the sources of evidence with which we have still to deal.

One of the earliest and most surprising results of the work of Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt was the discovery, at Gurob in 1890, of a fragment of papyrus roll containing parts of thirty-nine verses, viz. the last few letters of twenty verses, and the first few letters of nineteen more<sup>70</sup>. These were soon identified by Mr. Bury as Il. 11. 502-537, but with some remarkable differences from the existing text. One line is wanting (there being only room for one in place of 529-530): and there are no less than four additional lines, viz. one after l. 504, about which we only know that it ended with -νον περ: one after l. 509, the two lines, with the supplement proposed by Robert<sup>71</sup>, probably being—

μή πώς μιν πολέμοιο μετακλινθέντες (sic) ἔλοιεν 509  
[Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχη]η ἔλουντο

and one after each of the two lines 513 and 514. When these last are restored in the most probable way (as by Robert and Menrad) they complete the passage somewhat as follows:

ἄγρει, σὼν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσῃ, παρ δὲ Μαχάων 512  
βαινέτω, εἰς νῆας δὲ τάχιστ' ἄγε μώνυχας ἵππους, 513  
[νόσφιν ἀπὸ Τρῶων τε καὶ Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόν]οιο  
λητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων 514  
[ . . . . . ἐσάσσε καὶ ] ἄλλους  
λοῦς τ' ἐκτάμων ἐπὶ τ' ἦπια φάρμακα πάσσω. 515

It is hardly necessary to point out that these additional lines cannot be genuine. The form *ἔλουντο* (for *ἐλοῖατο*) is not Homeric, and the juxtaposition of *ἔλοιεν* and *ἔλουντο* is intolerable. The same may be said of the two lines ending with *ἄλλων* and *ἄλλους*. On the whole it is plain that the additional lines only weaken the passage.

The fragment was found in the wrappings of a mummy along with documents belonging to the reigns of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) and Ptolemy Euergetes (247-221 B.C.). In all probability therefore it is not later than the third century B.C., and it may be earlier. That is to say, it is at least a century before the time of Aristarchus, but may be contemporary with the earliest Alexandrians, Zenodotus and Rhianus.

Mr. Flinders Petrie's discovery was followed not long afterwards

<sup>70</sup> Published by the Royal Irish Academy, 'Cunningham Memoirs,' No. viii. (July, 1891): *On the Flinders Petrie papyri*, by Rev. John P. Mahaffy, D.D.

<sup>71</sup> See Ed. Meyer, *Der älteste Homertext*, in *Hermes* xxvii. 363-379.

by another of the same kind. Among the papyrus fragments in the library of Geneva, published by M. Nicole<sup>71</sup>, there is one which contains ll. 11. 788–12. 9, with at least nine additional verses. The fragment is important from its length (seventy lines), and also from the fact that in part of the passage (11. 810–834) complete or nearly complete verses are preserved. Line 11. 827 and the three additional verses that follow it ran thus :

χερσὶν ὑπο Τρώων τοῦ δὲ σθένος ἀνὲν ὄρωρε (sic) 827  
 "Εκτορος ὃς τύχα νῆας ἐνιπλήσει πυρὶ κηλέφ  
 δηώσας Δαναοὺς παρὰ θιν' ἀλός· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς  
 ἐσθλὸς ἔων Δαναῶν οὐ κήδετα σὺδ' ἰλεαίρει.

With 11. 795 and two additional verses (restored by Nicole from 1. 538., 16. 239 and similar places) we have—

καὶ τινὰ οἱ παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ, 795  
 [ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο] γέροντος,  
 [αὐτὸς μὲν μενέτω νηῶν ἐν ἀγ]ῶνι θαῶων.

Again, for 804–808 (with the supplements of Nicole and Diels) we read the eight lines—

ὃς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρωρε, 804  
 [τεῖρε γὰρ αἰὼν ἀχος κραδίην ἀ]κάχησε δὲ θυμόν  
 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ νῆας ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλλῆα 805  
 [ἀγγελίην ἐρέων, αὖτις δ'] ἔνδυσε φάλαγγας·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσεύς θείοιο 806  
 ἔξε θέων Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε 807  
 [. . . προπάρουθε νεῶν ὄρθ]οκραϊάων  
 ἦην, τῇ δὴ καὶ σφί θεῶν ἐτετεύχато βωμοί. 808

There was also a line added after 11. 838, and perhaps four more between 11. 834 and 11. 837 : but these have entirely perished.

The general character of the additional verses is evidently the same as in the Flinders Petrie fragment already described. Most of them occur elsewhere in the *Iliad*, in passages where they fit the context better. In the two fragments, as Ludwig well points out, the proportion of additional matter is nearly the same; the various readings and inaccuracies of spelling &c. are similar; and both are independent of the Alexandrian recensions. The date of the second is not fixed by external evidence : but the best judges assign it to the second century B. C.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Jules Nicole, *Fragments d'Homère sur papyrus d'Égypte*, in the *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xviii. pp. 101–111 (Jan. 1894).

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Kenyon thinks it clear that it belongs to the second century B. C. (*Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 68).

The next great contribution to our knowledge of early Egyptian texts of Homer was made by Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt, who in 1897 published a considerable number of newly discovered papyrus fragments<sup>74</sup>, including eighty verses of the *Iliad*. A few of these verses are from book viii, the remainder from books xxi–xxiii. They are assigned by the editors to the third century B. C.

As regards the insertion of verses the Oxford fragments tend generally to confirm what we gather from the Dublin and Geneva publications. With the eight verses 8. 217–219, 249–253 we find three added. After 8. 216 comes the formula *ἔνθα κε λαιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γέγοντο*: after 8. 252 (with Van Leeuwen's supplements)—

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ ὤτρυνε φ[όβον Τρώεσσιν ἐνόσας]  
εἶξαν δὲ Τρῶες τυτθὸν Δα[ναῶν ἀπὸ τάφρου']

Other new readings in these lines are: in 8. 217 *νῆας Ἀχαιῶν* for *νῆας εἵσας*: in 8. 219 *ἐταίρους* for *Ἀχαιοὺς*: in 8. 251 *εἶδοντο Διὸς τέρας αἰγυόχοιο* for *εἶδονθ' ὄτ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἤλυθεν ὄρνις*. The nature of these variants is tolerably plain: they are failures of memory rather than of transcription.

The passages from books xxi and xxii do not contain any quite certain instances of interpolation. On the other hand the three fragments 23. 159–166, 195–200, 223–229 contain six added verses. The first of them, with some suggested restorations, is as follows:

ὀπλῆσθαι· τὰδε δ' ἀμφιπονησόμεθ' οἷσι μάλιστα	159
[κῆδεὺς ἐσ]τι νέκυς· π[αυρὰ δ' ἡμῖν αὖθι μερόντων] (?)	160
[νεκροῦ κηδ]εμόνες· σκεδ[άσαι δ' ἀπὸ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν].	
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,	161
αὐτίκα λαὸν μὲν σκέδασεν κατὰ νῆας εἵσας,	162
[κἀπνισσ]άν τε κατὰ κλισίας κ[αὶ δεῖπνον ἔλονται·]	
κηδεμόνες δὲ κατ' αὖθι μένον καὶ νῆσον ὕλην,	163
ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·	164
ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ,	165
[καὶ κονίην κ]ατὰ χερσὶν ἀμήσα[ντο σφετέρῃσιν] (?)	

In the second fragment there is one addition, viz. after 23. 195 a line ending NE KATAPHN, of which no very plausible restoration has been proposed. In the third there are two lines before 23. 224, taken from 17. 36–37, viz.—

χῆρῳσεν δ[ὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέοιο]  
ἀρη[τὸν] δὲ τ[οκεῦσι γόνον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε].

<sup>74</sup> *New classical fragments and other Greek and Latin papyri*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1897.

The second of these lines is quoted by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 30) after 23. 222–223 (omitting therefore *χῆρυσεν κτλ.*).

The addition after 23. 160 is evidently made on the principle that what was done in obedience to Achilles must all have been expressly asked for by him. Hence *κηδεμόνες* from l. 163 (in spite of the equivalent *οἱσι μάλιστα κηδεός ἐστι νέκυς*), and *σκεδάσαι* (or *σκεδάσων*) from l. 162, although it is tautologous after *σκεδάσων* in l. 158. It seems very probable, as Grenfell and Hunt observe, that in l. 160 *οἱ τ' ἀγοῖ* (or *οἱ ταγοῖ*) is not the original reading.

The chief further variants in these passages are: 21. 396 *Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ ἄνωγας* (for *Τυδεΐδην Διομήδε' ἀνήκας*): 21. 397 *ὑπονόσφιον* (as a correction of *πανόψιον*): 21. 398 *ἐμέ* (for *διὰ*): 21. 609 *ὅς κε* (for *ὅς τε*): 22. 154 *τύθι* (for *ὄθι*): 23. 163 *κατ' αὐθι* (for *παρ' αὐθι*): 23. 198 *ὠκα δὲ Ἴρις* (for *ὠκέα δ' Ἴρις*). The last is especially interesting, since it is a better reading than the vulgate.

The Oxford fragments, it will be seen, tend on the whole to confirm the conclusions already indicated. It is true that the added lines are not so uniformly distributed as in the other passages. Indeed no certain example of interpolation is found in the fragments from the twenty-first and twenty-second book. This however may be accidental. Grenfell and Hunt quote the acute remark of Ed. Meyer<sup>75</sup> that new lines are much more frequent in passages where the texture of the narrative is loose. This is what we should expect in the case of interpolation—a process to which some parts of the Homeric poems lend themselves much more than others.

### § 13. Quotations from Homer.

It remains for us to test these conclusions by the passages quoted from Homer by writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The materials for doing so have been brought together by Ludwich with a completeness that makes it needless to do much more than record the results arrived at by him.

According to Ludwich's computation the quotations made by pre-Alexandrian authors comprise about 480 verses. The passages in which additional verses occur are the following:

(1) Il. 23. 77–92, quoted by the orator Aeschines, with two new verses, one verse transposed, and some minor differences. Thus for lines 81–84 we find—

<sup>75</sup> *Hermes* xvii. p. 368.

τείχει ὑπο Τρώων εὐγενέων ἀπολέσθαι,	81
μαρνόμενον δῖοις Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο.	
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἔρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλαιο σῆσιν·	82
μὴ ἐμὰ σὼν ἀπάνευθε τιθήμεναι ὄστέ, Ἀχλλεῦ,	83
ἀλλ' ἵνα πέρ σε καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίη γαῖα κεκεύθῃ,	
χρυσέφ' ἐν ἀμφιφορεῖ, τὸν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ,	92
ὣς ὁμοῦ ἐγράφεμέν περ ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισιν.	94

It is to be noticed however that, as Volkmann has pointed out<sup>76</sup>, the lines were not recited by the orator himself, but were read at his bidding by the γραμματεῖς of the court, as was done with laws, decrees, depositions, &c. Such documents were not usually set out in the original copies of speeches; consequently we have no security that these Homeric quotations come from Aeschines himself.

There is a well-known passage in which Aeschines (§ 141) says that the words φήμῃ δ' ἐς στρατὸν ἦλθε are often used in the *Iliad* when something is going to happen. In fact the word φήμῃ does not occur in the *Iliad* at all, and in the *Odyssey* only in the sense of an utterance which serves as an omen. It has sometimes been assumed that the half-line comes from some 'cyclic' poem, or that the 'Iliad' intended is the *Little Iliad*. It is much more likely that it was suggested to Aeschines by the picturesque story of the report that came to the Greeks before the battle of Mycale (Hdt. 9. 100 *ἰοῦσι δέ σφίς φήμῃ τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κτλ.*), which in his memory was confused with Homeric phrases like Ὅσσα δεδήει (Il. 2. 93, cp. Od. 24. 413 Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὤκα κατὰ πτόλιν κτλ.).

(2) Il. 2. 391-393, quoted by Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 14) with the addition of the half-line πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος. Possibly however these words were meant as a fresh quotation.

(3) Il. 9. 539 *ᾠρσεν ἔπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα*, amplified by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 28) into two lines—

θρέψεν ἔπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον, οὐδὲ ἐφίκει  
θηρί γε σιτοφάγῃ, ἀλλὰ βίφ' ὕληντι,

the second line being, as Ludwich points out, the result of contamination with Od. 9. 190-191, where the phrase (only with ἀνδρὶ for θηρί) is applied to the Cyclops.

(4) Il. 11. 542, quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 9) with the addition—

Ζεὺς γὰρ οἱ νεμέσασχ' ὅτ' ἀμείνουνι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.

This can only mean 'Zeus used to be angry with him whenever

<sup>76</sup> R. Volkmann, *Ueber Homer als Dichter des epischen Cyclas* (Jauer, 1884), p. 8.



language, and continued to be the conventional dialect of poetry, there were possibilities of divergence that ceased when it was confined to a professional class. Many examples may be given of the type of 'various reading' produced under the older conditions. One of the first and most obvious is in Il. 1. 91, where our MSS. have *ἀριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ εὐχεται εἶναι*, but Aristarchus (following the editions of Zenodotus, Sosigenes, and Aristophanes) reads *ἀριστος Ἀχαιῶν*. It is plain that no scribe could mistake *Ἀχαιῶν* for *ἐνὶ στρατῷ*, or vice versa: the originator of the false reading either took it from some other passage, or is responsible for the authorship of it himself. The same observation applies to Il. 1. 97, where we have to choose between *Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσσει* (Ar. following the Massiliensis and Rhianus) and *λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφίξει* (Zen. and the MSS.): and to the reading in Il. 2. 15 *δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι*, quoted by Aristotle (*Poet.* 25), instead of *Τρώεσσι δὲ κῆδ' ἐφήπται*. So generally it may be assumed that it is the reciter rather than the copyist to whom we have to attribute the numberless cases of 'contamination,' that is to say, of the process by which words or phrases are transferred from one context to another. This is especially frequent with epic common-place: e.g. in Il. 1. 73 *ὃς μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπει πτερόεντα προσηύδα* was read by Zen. for the vulgate *ὃ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν*: in Il. 2. 484 *Ὀλυμπιάδες βαθύκολποι* (Zen. for *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν*): and so *ἀνακτος* for *γέροντος* in Il. 2. 793 *τύμβφ' ἐπ' ἀερωτάφῃ Λισσῆτα γέροντος*.

### § 11. *Interpolation in early texts.*

Of the various forms of textual corruption that belong especially to the pre-Alexandrian age the most important, from every point of view, is interpolation. On this part of the subject it will be worth while to go into some detail, so as to distinguish the several branches of evidence, and to show the cumulative nature of the reasoning upon which our final conclusions are based.

1. It appears from the ancient commentators, in particular from some passages in the scholia on Pindar (quoted above, p. 402), that the rhapsodists were accused of spoiling the poetry of Homer by inserting verses of their own. The accusation may be just or not; the fact that it was made serves to prove that in some at least of the current texts of Homer there was a considerable admixture of verses generally regarded as spurious.

2. Several instances were mentioned above (p. 406) of verses said

to have been interpolated for political ends by Athenian statesmen. It is true that charges of this kind cannot be traced far back. They are ignored in the Venetian scholia, and apparently were made in the first instance by certain Megarian historians, from jealousy of Athens. But they would probably not have been made if the idea of interpolation in Homer had not been already more or less familiar to the learned world.

3. In the Homeric criticism of the Alexandrians nothing is more characteristic than the prominence given to the detection of spurious verses. The obelus seems to have been the earliest of the critical marks, as in form it is the simplest. It was apparently used by Zenodotus, perhaps was devised by him<sup>66</sup>. In antiquity it was generally regarded as especially the weapon of Aristarchus<sup>67</sup>. In the first three books of the *Iliad*, for example, the number of verses obelized by Aristarchus (if we may trust the *Codex Venetus*) is 120, or about six per cent. How many more he absolutely rejected we cannot tell, since there is no corresponding record of them. The scholia, however, furnish some significant instances of lines rejected by Aristarchus notwithstanding that they appeared in some of the texts that he had before him. Thus on Il. 9. 159 Aristarchus noted that some added the line—

οὐνεκ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι πέλωρ ἔχει οὐδ' ἀνίησι.

And on Il. 8. 168 he seems to have noted that 'they subjoin' (ὑποτάσσουσι) the line—

ἢ μήτε στρέψαι μήτ' ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.

Similar additions are mentioned by the Venetian scholia on Il. 9. 140., 12. 328., 22. 158., 23. 538., 24. 205. In the Townley scholia the notices of such verses are still more numerous<sup>68</sup>. Thus after Il. 2. 848 it is said that some added the line—

Πηλεγόνοσ θ' υἱὸς περιδείξιωσ Ἀσπεροπαῖος,

ὃν καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἰλιάδων φέρεσθαι, *i.e.* which was to be found in many of the texts habitually quoted by Aristarchus. So on Il. 8. 131 the Townley scholia give two lines as found ἐν τισι τῶν παλαιῶν, *i.e.* in certain Alexandrian texts. So after Il. 8. 131, according to the

<sup>66</sup> According to the grammatical fragment in the *Codex Venetus* (fol. 8) Aristarchus took it from Zenodotus (τὸν δὲ ὀβελὸν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς Ζηνοδότου διορθώσεως).

<sup>67</sup> So in Ausonius (*Epist.* 18. 29) Aristarchus is indicated in a list of eminent grammarians by the description *quique notas spuris versibus apposuit*. Cp. the dictum of Cicero (*Fam.* 3. 11) *Aristarchus Homeri versum negat quem non probat*.

<sup>68</sup> A list of about thirty is given by Ludwig, *Homervulgata*, p. 25.

Townley scholia, there were two lines found *ἐν τισι τῶν παλαιῶν*, which completed the sentence as follows :

καὶ νῦ κε σήκασθεν κατὰ Ἴλιον ἥντε ἄρνες	131
Τρῶες ὑπ' Ἀργείων, ἔλιπον δέ κεν Ἑκτορα δῖον	
χαλκῷ θηϊδῶντα, δάμασσε δέ μιν Διομήδης,	
εἰ μὴ κτλ.	132

Again, Il. 5. 808, which was read by Zenodotus and is in almost all the manuscripts, was omitted by Aristarchus. And Il. 16. 613, which is in all the manuscripts, was omitted in the earlier recension of Aristarchus : but in the second he allowed it to stand with the obelus.

It appears also that the edition of Zenodotus gave several lines that are not in our texts, and probably were wanting in that of Aristarchus. Such are the lines mentioned in the scholia as coming after Il. 3. 338., 13. 808., 14. 136., 17. 456<sup>99</sup>. On the other hand there are about thirty lines not read by Zenodotus (*ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος οἰδὲ ἔγραφε*), but admitted, usually with the obelus, into the text of Aristarchus. Besides these instances, which have found their way into the scholia because they were the subject of controversy between Zenodotus and Aristarchus, there were doubtless many more that the two great scholars agreed in condemning—of which consequently there is no record.

The large use that Aristarchus made of the obelus is in itself a ground for believing that interpolation was frequent. Why should he have been so ready to suspect the genuineness of lines, and to resort to *atheksis* whenever he was met by a difficulty? Evidently he had some good reason for regarding interpolation as a *vera causa*, that is to say, as a cause which was known *aliunde* to be operative in the Homeric text, and could therefore be supposed in any particular case without antecedent improbability. But such an attitude on the part of the great critic is hardly defensible unless the evidence of interpolation was stronger than appears in the scholia.

#### § 12. *Interpolation in papyrus fragments.*

The foregoing arguments, if somewhat indirect, are at least sufficient to raise a presumption in favour of the view that besides the many verses that Aristarchus was content to 'obelize' there were many more that he simply rejected and left to oblivion. But independent

<sup>99</sup> Ludwich *op. cit.* pp. 11-13.

testimony to the same effect is furnished from the sources of evidence with which we have still to deal.

One of the earliest and most surprising results of the work of Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt was the discovery, at Gurob in 1890, of a fragment of papyrus roll containing parts of thirty-nine verses, viz. the last few letters of twenty verses, and the first few letters of nineteen more<sup>70</sup>. These were soon identified by Mr. Bury as Il. 11. 502-537, but with some remarkable differences from the existing text. One line is wanting (there being only room for one in place of 529-530): and there are no less than four additional lines, viz. one after l. 504, about which we only know that it ended with -νον περ: one after l. 509, the two lines, with the supplement proposed by Robert<sup>71</sup>, probably being—

μή πώς μιν πολέμοιο μετακλινθέντες (sic) ἔλοιεν 509  
[Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχη]η ἔλουντο

and one after each of the two lines 513 and 514. When these last are restored in the most probable way (as by Robert and Menrad) they complete the passage somewhat as follows:

ἄγρει, σὼν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσῃ, παρ δὲ Μαχάων 512  
βαινέτω, εἰς νῆας δὲ τάχιστ' ἄγε μώνυχας ἵππους, 513  
[νόσφιν ἀπὸ Τρώων τε καὶ Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφύ]νοιο  
λητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πυλλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων 514  
[ . . . . . ἐσάσῃ καὶ ] ἄλλους  
λοῦς τ' ἐκτάμων ἐπὶ τ' ἦπια φάρμακα πάσσων. 515

It is hardly necessary to point out that these additional lines cannot be genuine. The form ἔλουντο (for ἐλοίαντο) is not Homeric, and the juxtaposition of ἔλοιεν and ἔλουντο is intolerable. The same may be said of the two lines ending with ἄλλων and ἄλλους. On the whole it is plain that the additional lines only weaken the passage.

The fragment was found in the wrappings of a mummy along with documents belonging to the reigns of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) and Ptolemy Euergetes (247-221 B.C.). In all probability therefore it is not later than the third century B.C., and it may be earlier. That is to say, it is at least a century before the time of Aristarchus, but may be contemporary with the earliest Alexandrians, Zenodotus and Rhianus.

Mr. Flinders Petrie's discovery was followed not long afterwards

<sup>70</sup> Published by the Royal Irish Academy, 'Cunningham Memoirs,' No. viii. (July, 1891): *On the Flinders Petrie papyri*, by Rev. John P. Mahaffy, D.D.

<sup>71</sup> See Ed. Meyer, *Der älteste Homerlexikon*, in *Hermes* xxvii. 363-379.

by another of the same kind. Among the papyrus fragments in the library of Geneva, published by M. Nicole<sup>71</sup>, there is one which contains ll. 11. 788–12. 9, with at least nine additional verses. The fragment is important from its length (seventy lines), and also from the fact that in part of the passage (11. 810–834) complete or nearly complete verses are preserved. Line 11. 827 and the three additional verses that follow it ran thus :

χερσιν ὑπο Τρώων τοῦ δὲ σθένος ἀνὲν ὄρωρε (sic) 827  
 "Εκτορος δὲ τύχα νῆας ἐνιπλήσει πυρὶ κηλέφ  
 δηώσας Δαναοὺς παρὰ θιν' ἀλός· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς  
 ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν Δαναῶν οὐ κήδετα σὺδ' ἰλεαίρει.

With 11. 795 and two additional verses (restored by Nicole from 1. 538., 16. 239 and similar places) we have—

καί τινά οἱ παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ, 795  
 [ἀργυρόπεζα θεῖς θυγάτηρ ἀλίοιο] γέροντος,  
 [αὐτὸς μὲν μενέτω νηῶν ἐν ἀγ]ῶνι θαλάσῃ.

Again, for 804–808 (with the supplements of Nicole and Diels) we read the eight lines—

ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρωρε, 804  
 [τείρε γὰρ αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην ἀ]κάχησε δὲ θυμὸν  
 βῆ δὲ θεῖον παρὰ νῆας ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλλῆα 805  
 [ἀγγελίην ἐρέων, αὐτὶς δ'] ἔνδυσε φάλαγγας·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσεύς θεῖοιο 806  
 ἔξε θέων Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε 807  
 [. . . προπάραιθε νεῶν ὄρθ]οκραϊράων  
 ἦην, τῇ δὴ καὶ σφί θεῶν ἐτετεύχαστο βωμοί. 808

There was also a line added after 11. 838, and perhaps four more between 11. 834 and 11. 837 : but these have entirely perished.

The general character of the additional verses is evidently the same as in the Flinders Petrie fragment already described. Most of them occur elsewhere in the *Iliad*, in passages where they fit the context better. In the two fragments, as Ludwig well points out, the proportion of additional matter is nearly the same; the various readings and inaccuracies of spelling &c. are similar; and both are independent of the Alexandrian recensions. The date of the second is not fixed by external evidence : but the best judges assign it to the second century B. C.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Jules Nicole, *Fragments d'Homère sur papyrus d'Égypte*, in the *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xviii. pp. 101–111 (Jan. 1894).

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Kenyon thinks it clear that it belongs to the second century B. C. (*Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 68).

The next great contribution to our knowledge of early Egyptian texts of Homer was made by Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt, who in 1897 published a considerable number of newly discovered papyrus fragments<sup>74</sup>, including eighty verses of the *Iliad*. A few of these verses are from book viii, the remainder from books xxi–xxiii. They are assigned by the editors to the third century B. C.

As regards the insertion of verses the Oxford fragments tend generally to confirm what we gather from the Dublin and Geneva publications. With the eight verses 8. 217–219, 249–253 we find three added. After 8. 216 comes the formula *ἔνθα κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γέγονοντο*: after 8. 252 (with Van Leeuwen's supplements)—

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ ᾤτρυνε φ[όβον Τρώεσσιν ἐνόρσας]

εἶξαν δὲ Τρῶες τυτθὸν Δα[υῶν ἀπὸ τάφρου]

Other new readings in these lines are: in 8. 217 *νῆας Ἀχαιῶν* for *νῆας εἵσας*: in 8. 219 *ἐταίρους* for *Ἀχαιοὺς*: in 8. 251 *εἶδοντο Διὸς τέρας αἰγύχοιο* for *εἶδονθ' ὄτ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις*. The nature of these variants is tolerably plain: they are failures of memory rather than of transcription.

The passages from books xxi and xxii do not contain any quite certain instances of interpolation. On the other hand the three fragments 23. 159–166, 195–200, 223–229 contain six added verses. The first of them, with some suggested restorations, is as follows:

ὀπλεσθαι· τάδε δ' ἀμφιπονησόμεθ' οἷσι μάλιστα 159

[κῆδεὸς ἐσ]τι νέκυς· π[αρὰ δ' ἡμῖν αὖθι μενόντων] (?) 160

[νεκροῦ κη]δεμόνες· σκεδ[άσαι δ' ἀπὸ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν].

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, 161

αὐτίκα λαὸν μὲν σκέδασεν κατὰ νῆας εἵσας, 162

[κῆπνισσ]άν τε κατὰ κλισίας κ[αὶ δεῖπνον ἔλοντο·]

κηδεμόνες δὲ κατ' αὖθι μένον καὶ νῆσον ὕλην, 163

ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα· 164

ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ, 165

[καὶ κοινήν κ]ατὰ χερσὶν ἀμήσα[ντο σφετέρῃσιν] (?)

In the second fragment there is one addition, viz. after 23. 195 a line ending NE KATAPHN, of which no very plausible restoration has been proposed. In the third there are two lines before 23. 224, taken from 17. 36–37, viz.—

χῆρῳσεν δ[ὲ γυναῖκα μυχῶ θαλάμοιο νέοιο]

ἀρη[τὸν] δὲ τ[οκεῦσι γόνον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε].

<sup>74</sup> *New classical fragments and other Greek and Latin papyri*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1897.

The second of these lines is quoted by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 30) after 23. 222-223 (omitting therefore *χῆρυσεν* κτλ.).

The addition after 23. 160 is evidently made on the principle that what was done in obedience to Achilles must all have been expressly asked for by him. Hence *κηδεμόνες* from l. 163 (in spite of the equivalent *οἷσι μάλιστα κηδεός ἐστι νέκυς*), and *σκεδάσαι* (or *σκέδασον*) from l. 162, although it is tautologous after *σκέδασον* in l. 158. It seems very probable, as Grenfell and Hunt observe, that in l. 160 *οἱ τ' ἀγοῖ* (or *οἱ ταγοῖ*) is not the original reading.

The chief further variants in these passages are: 21. 396 *Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδει ἀνωγας* (for *Τυδεΐδην Διομήδε' ἀνήκας*): 21. 397 *ἵπποσύφιον* (as a correction of *πανόσφιον*): 21. 398 *ἐμὲ* (for *διὰ*): 21. 609 *ὅς κε* (for *ὅς τε*): 22. 154 *τύθι* (for *δοθι*): 23. 163 *κατ' αὐθι* (for *παρ' αὐθι*): 23. 198 *ῶκα δὲ Ἴρις* (for *ὠκέα δ' Ἴρις*). The last is especially interesting, since it is a better reading than the vulgate.

The Oxford fragments, it will be seen, tend on the whole to confirm the conclusions already indicated. It is true that the added lines are not so uniformly distributed as in the other passages. Indeed no certain example of interpolation is found in the fragments from the twenty-first and twenty-second book. This however may be accidental. Grenfell and Hunt quote the acute remark of Ed. Meyer<sup>75</sup> that new lines are much more frequent in passages where the texture of the narrative is loose. This is what we should expect in the case of interpolation—a process to which some parts of the Homeric poems lend themselves much more than others.

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It remains for us to test these conclusions by the passages quoted from Homer by writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. The materials for doing so have been brought together by Ludwig with a completeness that makes it needless to do much more than record the results arrived at by him.

According to Ludwig's computation the quotations made by pre-Alexandrian authors comprise about 480 verses. The passages in which additional verses occur are the following:

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<sup>75</sup> *Hermes* xvii. p. 368.

τείχει ὑπο Τρώων εὐηγενέων ἀπολέσθαι,	81
μαρνάμενον θείοις Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἡυκόμοιο.	
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν·	82
μὴ ἐμὰ σὼν ἀπάνευθε τιθήμεναι ὅστέ', Ἀχιλλεῦ,	83
ἀλλ' ἵνα πέρ σε καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίῃ γαῖα κεκεύθῃ,	
χρυσέφ' ἐν ἀμφιφορεῖ, τὸν τοι πόρε πτόννα μήτηρ,	84
ὥς ὁμοῦ ἐτράφεμέν περ ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισιν.	84

It is to be noticed however that, as Volkmann has pointed out<sup>76</sup>, the lines were not recited by the orator himself, but were read at his bidding by the γραμματεῖς of the court, as was done with laws, decrees, depositions, &c. Such documents were not usually set out in the original copies of speeches; consequently we have no security that these Homeric quotations come from Aeschines himself.

There is a well-known passage in which Aeschines (§ 141) says that the words *φήμη δ' ἐς στρατὸν ἦλθε* are often used in the *Iliad* when something is going to happen. In fact the word *φήμη* does not occur in the *Iliad* at all, and in the *Odyssey* only in the sense of an utterance which serves as an omen. It has sometimes been assumed that the half-line comes from some 'cyclic' poem, or that the 'Iliad' intended is the *Little Iliad*. It is much more likely that it was suggested to Aeschines by the picturesque story of the report that came to the Greeks before the battle of Mycale (Hdt. 9. 100 *ἰοῦσι δὲ σφί φήμη τε ἐσίπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κτλ.*), which in his memory was confused with Homeric phrases like *Ὅσσα δεδήει* (Il. 2. 93, cp. Od. 24. 413 *Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἀγγελος ἄκα κατὰ πτόλιν κτλ.*).

(2) Il. 2. 391-393, quoted by Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 14) with the addition of the half-line *πὰρ γὰρ ἐμὸι θάνατος*. Possibly however these words were meant as a fresh quotation.

(3) Il. 9. 539 *ἄρσεν ἔπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα*, amplified by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 28) into two lines—

θρέψεν ἔπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον, οὐδὲ ἐφέκει  
θηρὶ γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλὰ ρίψ' ὑλήεντι,

the second line being, as Ludwig points out, the result of contamination with Od. 9. 190-191, where the phrase (only with *ἄνδρ'ι* for *θηρ'ι*) is applied to the Cyclops.

(4) Il. 11. 542, quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 9) with the addition—

Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασχ' ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωνὴ μάχοιτο.

This can only mean 'Zeus used to be angry with him whenever

<sup>76</sup> R. Volkmann, *Ueber Homer als Dichter des epischen Cyclus* (Jauer, 1884), p. 8.



he fought with a better man,' which does not suit the context. The line is printed in modern editions with the variant *νμεσᾶθ*, found in a later quotation (Plut. *De aud. poet.* 24 c, 36 a, also Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. Hom.*). It will be evident that if *νμεσᾶτο* refers to the *particular* occasion the use of *ἔτε* (or *ὁ τε*) *μάχοιτο* is indefensible.

(5) Od. 17. 382–385, referred to by Aristotle (*Pol.* viii. 3), who quotes the line—

ἀλλ' οἶον μὲν ἔστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλεῖην.

Apparently however it is meant to take the place of l. 383. In any case it is probably a mere misquotation.

(6) Il. 8. 548–552, quoted in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Alcibiades II*:

ἔρδον δ' ἀθανάτοισι τελέεσσας ἑκατόμβας,  
κνίστην δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴτω  
ἡδεῖαν τῆς δ' οὐ τι θεοὶ μάκαρες διτέοντο,  
οὐδ' ἔθελον μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή,  
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

Of these five lines the second is the only one found in the manuscripts of Homer. The last three are clearly spurious. They do not fit the story of the *Iliad*, in which there is no sign of any such agreement among the Olympian gods. Nevertheless they have been accepted by modern editors and placed in the text.

(7) Il. 10. 387 (=343), quoted by Diogenes of Sinope with a new half-line prefixed:

τίπτε σὺ ᾧδε, φέριστε;  
ἢ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνήτων;

The half-line in *sense* reproduces the two lines 385–386 *πῇ δὲ οὕτως κτλ.*, but in *form* it is modelled on such lines as Il. 6. 123 *τίς δὲ σὺ ἔσσι, φέριστε κτλ.* Thus it is a contamination—if it is not rather to be reckoned among the parodies for which Diogenes was famous.

(8) Il. 9. 119 *ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέσσι πιθήσας*, said to have been quoted by Dioscurides, a pupil of Isocrates, with the addition—

ἢ οἶνε μεθύων ἢ μ' ἔβλαψαν θεοὶ αὐτοί.

This line can hardly have been intended as a serious quotation.

The result of this examination is to show that the number of additional lines in the texts of the pre-Alexandrian age was relatively small. Out of a total of 480 verses not more than twelve can be traced, and several of these are more than doubtful. If the proportion had been as high as in the papyrus fragments we should have had

about sixty. It is especially significant that Plato, the author who quotes Homer most frequently and most correctly, is free from them. Of the 209 verses enumerated by Ludwich the only exceptions are in a spurious dialogue. This fact serves to prove that, whatever interpolated texts of Homer were then current, the copy from which Plato quoted was not one of them. And hence we are led to the further inference that in the case of Aristotle, whose poetical quotations are especially incorrect, some of the additional lines are likely to be due to mere failure of memory<sup>77</sup>. The same arguments may be applied to the passages, relatively few in number, quoted by Herodotus (twelve lines), by Xenophon (fourteen lines), by Heraclides Ponticus (twenty-one lines), and the rest. The quotations, in short, prove that there was a pre-Alexandrian vulgate agreeing much more closely with the modern vulgate than with any text of which the papyrus fragments can be specimens.

It must be admitted that interpolation of the kind now in question is also found in post-Alexandrian writers, and even in our manuscripts. Thus the new line—

ἀρητὸν δὲ τοκεῦσι γόνυ καὶ πένθος ἔθηκεν,

which is found in the Oxford fragment after Il. 23. 223, is quoted by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 30), who subjoins the line *μῦθος τηλύγετος πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν* (Il. 9. 482). Plutarch also, as we have seen (p. 427), follows Aristotle in quoting the line now usually printed as Il. 11. 543; and he is the source of the four lines Il. 9. 458–461 (*De aud. poet.* 8). Longinus (*De Subl.* 9. 8) quotes Il. 13. 18 and adds the line *καὶ κορυφαὶ Τρώων τε πόλις καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν*, from Il. 20. 60. Strabo has preserved several geographical additions: after Il. 2. 855 the lines—

Καύκωπες δ' αὖτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέος υἱὸς ἀμύμων,  
οἱ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον,

<sup>77</sup> The subject of the Homeric quotations in Aristotle has been fully treated by Ad. Roemer in his dissertation *Die Homercitate und die Homerischen Fragen des Aristoteles* (in the transactions of the Munich Academy, 1884), and he has shown that the numerous differences between Aristotle and the vulgate are much more due to Aristotle himself than to any defects in his copy of Homer.

In Plato the only important divergence from the vulgate is in a quotation in the *Republic* (p. 379 d), where for Il. 24. 528 *δύραν ὅλα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐδάων* we find—

*κηρῶν ἐμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν.*

This is evidently not an *addition* to the vulgate, but a corruption due to such passages as Il. 9. 411 *διχαθρίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτω τέλοσθε*. It is to be observed that in Homer there are no *κῆρες ἐσθλαί*: also that *δειλῶν* in the Platonic quotation suits neither metre nor sense.

and so after Il. 2. 692, 783, 866. From Strabo also comes Od. 15. 295 βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοῦς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον (as to which see the note *a. l.*).

Many more such additions might be collected from the scholia and the manuscripts (see the instances given on p. 421): but these will suffice to show that interpolation did not entirely cease with the rise of the Alexandrian school of criticism. On the other hand it is clear that it did not seriously affect the purity of the current or vulgate text. How that result was attained it will be for us to consider hereafter.

#### § 14. *The apparatus criticus of Aristarchus.*

The course of the argument has brought us to two conclusions, viz. (1) that the text of Homer, in the period before the rise of the Alexandrian school, had suffered much from interpolation, but (2) that in the same period there were in existence copies of Homer which did not greatly differ from the present vulgate. These conclusions, it is obvious, can only be reconciled by the hypothesis that there were manuscripts of different classes—some much interpolated, some tolerably free from interpolation. And in the process of verifying this hypothesis we are led at once to the question of the *apparatus criticus* at the disposal of the Alexandrian scholars, and the place in it of the texts revealed to us by the papyrus fragments.

The view generally taken in regard to these fragments by the first editors and critics was that they might be regarded as fair specimens of the condition into which the text of Homer had been brought—chiefly, it was assumed, by the action of the rhapsodists: that the work of removing interpolations, and generally of restoring it to the original purity, was taken in hand by the Alexandrian grammarians: and that the existing vulgate is in the main the result of their labours, and is especially due to Aristarchus himself. In opposition to this view it is maintained by Ludwig that the vulgate of the manuscripts is substantially pre-Alexandrian: that is to say, that there is a standard text or 'vulgate' of Homer which has subsisted with little change from the earliest times known to us—for this purpose we may say from the fifth century—down to the present day, and that the pre-Alexandrian copies which departed from that standard were driven out not so much by the agency of the Alexandrian grammarians as by their inability to compete with the more correct and recognised texts. The main proof of this thesis is found by Ludwig in the quotations: and on that ground, as we have seen, his case is an exceedingly strong

one. It will be interesting however to see how far it is confirmed by the glimpses which the scholia allow us of the manuscript materials that Aristarchus and the other grammarians had at their command.

Aristarchus, as we learn from this source, had before him the 'editions' (ἐκδόσεις) or 'recensions' (διορθώσεις)<sup>78</sup> made by certain of his predecessors in Homeric criticism, and also a number of texts of which we only know that they were mostly called after various cities or parts of the Greek world. Of the former class (αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα) were the editions of Antimachus (see p. 413), and of Zenodotus and his successors—Rhianus, Philemon, Sosigenes, and Aristophanes. The latter (αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὡς κατὰ τὴς πόλεις ὡς πολιτικάι) included those of Massilia, Chios, Argolis, Cyprus, Sinope and (perhaps) Crete and Aeolis<sup>79</sup>. The scholia also quote readings of Philetas of Cos, who lived in the fourth century B.C., and of Callistratus (a pupil of Aristophanes), but it is not certain that these scholars made complete editions. Much the same may be said of Crates, the great rival of Aristarchus, whose διόρθωσις Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς was a work in nine books, not an edition or running commentary. The scholia also mention texts or editions called ἡ πολύστιχος, ἡ κυκλική, and ἡ ἐκ μουσείου<sup>80</sup>. From other sources we hear of editions by Euripides (not the great tragic poet), and by Aristotle (see p. 418), also of an edition of the *Odyssey* ascribed to the poet Aratus: but there is nothing to show that Aristarchus made use of them. On the other hand the list may be far from complete. Some of these names occur very seldom. In fact the whole number of references to earlier texts of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, other than those of Zenodotus and Aristophanes, is barely a hundred.

The editions or manuscripts mentioned by name in the scholia are all earlier than Aristarchus, and are always cited with a reference,

<sup>78</sup> The full expression seems to be ἐκδοσις τῆς διορθώσεως 'edition of the recension' or corrected text.

<sup>79</sup> The Aeolic edition, ἡ Αἰολίς or Αἰολική, is only mentioned in the scholia on the *Odyssey* (14. 280, 331., 18. 98).

It has sometimes been imagined that the 'city editions' were public or official copies of Homer belonging to the different places, and serving to control the recitation at festivals, &c. More probably, as Wolf thought (*Prol.* p. clxxviii), they were simply manuscripts so called from the place where they had been purchased by the Egyptian king or his agent.

<sup>80</sup> It has been suggested that the text ἡ πολύστιχος contained the additional interpolated lines, and that ἡ κυκλική was connected with the Epic Cycle: but there is no foundation for these conjectures. The word κυκλικός meant 'common, ordinary.' If a number of manuscripts in the Alexandrian museum had to be distinguished, it was natural to give them names, and to choose these names from such circumstances as chance offered. This method was in some ways better than the modern one of giving mere numbers.

express or clearly implied, to his readings. Hence it may be regarded as certain that the notices of them come directly or mediately from him. The form of reference may be seen in one or two specimens :

II. 1. 91 Ἀχαιῶν, οὐκ ἐνὶ στρατῷ, αἱ Ἀριστάρχου· ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Σωσιγένοῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ ἡ Ζηροδότου.

II. 1. 298 μαχήσομαι] οὕτω διὰ τοῦ η, οὐ διὰ τοῦ εσ, καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ ἡ Σινωπικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀντιμάχου καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους.

When later critics are quoted in the scholia, they come in by way of an addition to the notices of manuscripts: *e.g.*—

II. 1. 423 λέξις Ἀριστάρχου ἐκ τοῦ α' τῆς Ἰλιάδος ὑπομήματος. . . . οὕτως δὲ εὗρομεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῃ καὶ Ἀριστοφανεῖ. Καλλίστρατος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις ὁμοίως, καὶ ὁ Σιδώνιος καὶ ὁ Ἰζίων ἐν τῷ ζ' πρὸς τὰς ἐξηγήσεις.

Here the words down to Ἀριστοφανεῖ are taken verbatim from the commentary (ὑπόμνημα) of Aristarchus himself. Then the scholiast (*i.e.* Didymus) quotes Callistratus, a contemporary of Aristarchus, and (like him) a pupil of Aristophanes: then follow two grammarians of the next generation, viz. Dionysius of Sidon, a pupil of Aristarchus, and Demetrius Ixion, who was a follower of his great rival Crates of Pergamus. So on II. 2. 192 καὶ αἱ πλείους δὲ τῶν χαριεστάτων οὕτως εἶχον, καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνειος· καὶ ὁ Σιδώνιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰζίων οὕτως γράφουσιν (so also on 3. 18).

§ 15. *πᾶσαι, αἱ πλείους, &c. in the scholia.*

The critical annotations which refer by name to these earlier texts of Homer are few in number, but suffice to give us the key to many scholia in which they are cited under summary phrases, such as 'all editions,' 'the majority,' 'some' and the like: *e.g.*—

II. 13. 485 οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου διὰ τοῦ π ἐπὶ θυμῷ, καὶ πᾶσαι οὕτως εἶχον.

II. 11. 439 αἱ Ἀριστάρχου οὕτως τέλος, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπασαι.

II. 4. 213 Ἀρίσταρχος ἰακῶς ἔλκεν, καὶ αἱ πλείους.

II. 19. 124 κατ' ἐνίας τῶν ἐκδόσεων ἀνθρώποισιν.

Regarding the expression *πᾶσαι* two views have recently been maintained. La Roche, observing that it does not seem to include the text (or texts) formed by Aristarchus—or at least not as part of the list of sources—and yet that it regularly occurs in connexion with his readings, took it to mean 'all the copies of the edition of Aristarchus.' But it is impossible to interpret it differently from the similar phrases *αἱ πλείους, &c.*, and the rest, which La Roche himself

understands of the earlier editions. On the other hand Ludwig<sup>81</sup> explains *πᾶσαι* to mean 'the editions of Aristarchus and all those with which he agreed in the given case,' 'the majority of the old editions, those of Aristarchus himself included.' But this account of the matter must also be pronounced unsatisfactory. The word *πᾶσαι* surely means 'all' the manuscripts to which it refers, not merely a majority, or a part determined by agreement with Aristarchus. It must mean something more than *αἱ πλείους* or *αἱ πλείους*. Moreover, as La Roche saw, the formula most commonly used (*Ἀριστάρχος καὶ πᾶσαι*) points to a distinction between *πᾶσαι* and the Aristarchean text.

The true explanation becomes apparent when we consider that all these notices, which reach us through the work of Didymus, come ultimately from Aristarchus himself. In his mouth they naturally refer, not to his own text, but to the critical apparatus on which it rested. That is to say, the word *πᾶσαι* (or *πλείους* or *ἔναι* &c.) denotes all (or most or some &c.) of the editions adduced by Aristarchus on a given passage. Briefly, *Ἀριστάρχος καὶ πᾶσαι* means 'Aristarchus and all his manuscripts.'

It is to be observed that 'all the editions' from the point of view of Aristarchus is by no means equivalent to the *codices omnes* or *MSS.* of a modern critical commentary. It does not include all the existing manuscripts.

Besides the texts that are mentioned in the scholia, and that must have been regularly quoted by name in the commentary of Aristarchus, it appears that he was acquainted with others of obviously inferior value. These are spoken of as the 'common' texts (*αἱ κοιναὶ* or *αἱ κοινότεραι*), the 'popular' (*δημώδεις*), the 'less careful' (*αἱ εἰκαυότεραι*), the 'inferior copies' (*τὰ φαῦλα* or *φαιλότερα τῶν ἀντιγράφων*). In contrast to them the better texts—the editions *κατ' ἄνδρα* and *κατὰ πόλεις*—are usually described as *αἱ χαριέσταται* or *χαριέστεραι*: cp. Schol. A on Il. 3. 51 *οὕτως κατηφείην σὺν τῷ ν' ὁμολογούν αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ ἡ Σωσιγέους καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς χαριεστάταις οὕτως εἶχεν ἡ δὲ Ζηροδότου χωρὶς τοῦ ν' κατηφείη*. And the summary phrases *πᾶσαι*, *αἱ πλείους*, &c. refer to these specified texts. That they cannot refer to the whole mass of known manuscripts is evident when we consider that if that were so *Ἀριστάρχος καὶ πᾶσαι* would express an absolute

<sup>81</sup> *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, p. 119. According to him the term includes 'sowohl Aristarch's Ausgaben als auch alle diejenigen mit denen er in dem gegebenen Falle übereinstimmte.' The epitomators, he adds, 'wollten damit nichts weiter sagen als dass die Mehrzahl der alten Ausgaben, einbegriffen die Aristarchischen, an der betreffenden Stelle keine andere als die genannte Lesart anerkannte.'

unanimity, and there would be nothing to comment upon. It is also shown in some cases by the form of the annotation : *c. g.*—

Il. 12. 382 οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ αἱ πλείους χεῖρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρησιν ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοινοτέραις χειρὶ γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ (Schol. A).

Il. 13. 499 αἱ πᾶσαι ἔξοχον· οἱ δὲ ἔξοχοι (Schol. T).

Il. 19. 95 οὕτως ἐν ἀπάσαις Ζεὺς ἄσατο· καὶ ἔστι ποιητικώτερον· ἐν δὲ τισὶ τῶν εἰκαιστέρων Ζῆν' ἄσατο.

Il. 2. 53 αἱ πλείους καὶ χαριέσταται δίχα τοῦ ν βουλή· καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνειος· ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς καὶ τῇ Ζηνοδοτείῳ βουλήν.

A phrase of this kind, in short, is an abbreviation or *siglum* by which Didymus or a later epitomator replaced the list of sources originally quoted by Aristarchus. We sometimes see the abbreviating process going on : *c. g.*—

Il. 1. 598 οὕτως οἰνοχόει Ἀρίσταρχος ἰακῶς· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ καὶ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδότου καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους (Schol. A). οἰνοχόει ἰακῶς πᾶσαι (Schol. T).

Il. 2. 196 οὕτως ἐγκῶς αἱ Ἀριστάρχου . . . εἶχον δὲ καὶ αἱ χαριέσταται οὕτως ἄνευ τῆς Ζηνοδότου (Schol. A).

οὕτως αἱ πᾶσαι πλὴν τῆς Ζηνοδότου (Schol. T).

It is true that in two places in the scholia the word *πᾶσαι* is so used as apparently to exclude the most important previous texts, those of Zenodotus and Aristophanes :

Il. 14. 259 οὕτως ἐν πάσαις δμήτειρα· Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ζηνόδοτος μήτειρα.

Il. 15. 307 βιβῶν πᾶσαι εἶχον, Ζηνόδοτος βοῶν.

But both these places are suspicious : the first on account of the strange word *μήτειρα*, the second because elsewhere Aristarchus is said to have read *βιβῆς* (see the note on Od. 15. 555). And in any case it is necessary to allow for the chance of error, especially in scholia which are the result of successive abridgment. Thus on Il. 1. 522, where Schol. A gives οὐχὶ μὴ σε ἀλλὰ μὴ τι αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν πᾶσαι διορθώσεις, this becomes in Schol. T the brief αἱ πᾶσαι μὴ τι. Similarly in the two passages now in question *πᾶσαι* may have been put carelessly for αἱ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι or σχεδὸν πᾶσαι.

It appears, then, that there were certain approved manuscripts which Aristarchus was in the habit of using as his *apparatus criticus*; while the others—the 'common' or 'inferior copies'—were little regarded by him. On what grounds the choice was made cannot now be ascertained. Practically, we may conjecture, his list was that of

the copies of Hómer in the Alexandrian library, and consisted of purchases made on the authority of a succession of famous librarians. But in forming his own estimate of the comparative value of manuscripts Aristarchus was doubtless guided in some measure by their age. Indications of this are pointed out by Ludwich (*op. cit.* p. 46) in the scholia on Il. 9. 657 (*ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων*) and Il. 6. 4 (*ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐγγράφητο κτλ.*). In several places, again, Aristarchus noted that certain readings were found in the 'city editions,' or in some of them (*αἱ κατὰ πόλεις, ἔναι οἱ τινὲς τῶν κατὰ πόλεις, &c.*). These must have been ancient variants which were unknown to, or did not find favour with, the authors of the earlier recensions. Aristarchus is not known to have adopted any of these readings—a fact which makes his careful record of them all the more characteristic. In about half of the instances the variant is given as that of 'some' only of the copies in question, and in no case is it said to be the reading of all. The circumstance that notices of this kind are preserved only in books xix–xxiv is doubtless accidental, and we may assume that they were to be met with everywhere in the Aristarchean commentaries. The few that we have—thirteen in the scholia of the *Venetus*, and three in the *Townleianus*—do not add much to our knowledge, but they help to show that Aristarchus took account, not merely of the number, but still more of the quality and *provenance* of his manuscripts.

It is worth observing, further, that the proportion of instances in which Aristarchus cites 'all' or 'nearly all' his manuscripts is significantly large. Considering the number of these manuscripts, and the variety and independence of the sources from which they appear to have been derived, their agreement, even in a few crucial passages, would be very notable. In fact the number of instances in which a reading is supported by the *πᾶσαι* or *σχεδὸν πᾶσαι* of the scholia is about forty: while the places in which the testimony of the same source is more divided (*αἱ πλείους, ἔναι, τινὲς, &c.*) do not exceed fifty or sixty. These figures point decisively to the existence of a *textus receptus* or vulgate, of which the manuscripts of Aristarchus must have been generally good examples.



§ 16. *Zenodotus.*

Zenodotus of Ephesus was contemporary with the two kings, Ptolemaeus Soter, founder of the Alexandrian library, and Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, who employed him to correct and arrange the works of Homer and the other poets. Hence he is sometimes called *ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ὀμήρου διορθωτῆς* (Suid.). The title belongs properly, as we have seen, to Antimachus: but in Roman and Byzantine times the name of Zenodotus was associated with the very beginnings of criticism<sup>62</sup>.

The references in the scholia to the readings of Zenodotus are numerous: in the first book of the *Iliad* alone there are about fifty. Yet nothing is more difficult than to judge of the character and value of his critical work. Our knowledge of it comes mainly, if not entirely, through Aristarchus, who seems to have had a copy of the recension made by Zenodotus, with the critical marks which he employed, but with no apparatus of various readings or commentary. Hence we know nothing of the manuscripts or earlier recensions used by Zenodotus, and have no external evidence to show whether his peculiar readings are due to tradition or to conjecture. A single example will illustrate this. On *Il.* 1. 63 *ἡ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον κτλ.* Aristarchus noted that the line was condemned by Zenodotus, 'perhaps' because he took *ὄνειροπόλος* to mean an interpreter of dreams<sup>63</sup>. Aristarchus therefore appears to have found the line marked with the obelus: but he could only guess at the reason which had led Zenodotus to affix it.

Under such conditions as these it is evident that isolated statements about readings of Zenodotus will not tell us much of his critical methods. The chief case in which we find a general view or principle involved is that of the Pronoun *ἐός* or *ος*. In Homer, according to Aristarchus, *ἐός* was always a Possessive of the Third Person Singular (*his, her*): whereas in the text of Zenodotus it was not infrequently used as a Reflexive of the First and Second Persons: e.g. in *Il.* 1. 393 *ἀλλὰ σύ, εἰ δύνασαι γε, περίσχεο παιδὸς ἐοῖο* (Ar. *ἑῷος*): or *Il.* 11. 142 *τῶν μὲν δὲ οὐ πατρὸς ἀεικία τείσεται λάβην* (Ar. *τοῦ*). Some modern scholars have taken the side of Zenodotus in this question. They find evidence

<sup>62</sup> Cp. p. 404, note 43: also Lucian's judgment (*Ver. Hist.* 2. 20) of the critics who dealt in athetesis: *κατεγίνωσκον οὖν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀριστάρχον γραμματικῶν πολλὰν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ᾔθελτηκεν αὐτόν· μήποτε δὲ ὄνειροκρίτην ἐπέληφεν, οὕς ἐρῶν.* Cp. Sch. A on *Il.* 2. 553 *ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ᾔθελτηκε, μήποτε διότι κτλ.:* also *Il.* 2. 641., 11. 104, 548., 17. 134., 20. 114., 21. 335.

which they regard as showing that the stem *sue* (Sanscr. *sua*, Greek *σφε*) originally had what may be termed a 'general reflexive' sense, *i.e.* that it referred to the subject of the sentence, which might be of any Number or Person. This use, they hold, was preserved by Zenodotus in the passages in question; while Aristarchus sought to banish it from Homer by a series of more or less violent alterations of the traditional text<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> The Homeric use of the Possessive *δε*, *ίδς* has been examined afresh by Mr. Leaf in an Appendix to the new edition of his *Iliad* (Vol. I. Appendix A). He agrees with Brugmann and other scholars in accepting, as relics of the oldest Homeric text, the readings attributed to Zenodotus, such as—

*έοιο*, Ar. *έηος*, in Il. 1. 393., 15. 138., 19. 342., 24. 422, 550.

*οδ*, Ar. *του*, in Il. 11. 142., 19. 322., Od. 2. 134., 11. 492., 16. 149.

*φρεσιν ησιν* (= *εμηςιν*) in Od. 13. 320 (athetized by Ar.).

But he takes a different view of the process by which these readings disappeared from the great majority of the manuscripts. Hitherto it has generally been assumed that the issue lay between the authority of Zenodotus (or *οι αμφι Ζηνοδοτον*) and the more powerful<sup>4</sup> authority of Aristarchus. Mr. Leaf does not think it possible that Aristarchus should have exercised any such influence over the manuscript tradition. Agreeing with him as to this, I cannot but think that the case for Brugmann's theory is materially weakened by the admission.

Comparing the readings of Aristarchus with those of Zenodotus in the passages now in question, we find a series of changes which are apparently animated by a common principle. They are such changes as are made by a modern scholar who has discovered a rule generally observed by his author, and sets to work to correct the instances which do not conform to it. It is very different when changes are made fortuitously, or by an unconscious process. The result is not then to create (or restore) uniformity of usage, but the contrary. Can we suppose, for example, that the frequent substitution of *έηος* for *έοιο* was fortuitous? Brugmann holds that Aristarchus found certain uses of *έοιο* which he wrongly thought illegitimate, and got rid of them by importing the obscure word *έηος*. Aristarchus himself considered *έοιο* as a corruption of *έηος*. Either of these views is *prima facie* tenable. But is it likely that *έηος* was re-discovered and replaced in the text by a series of undesigned coincidences?

If, then, the influence of Aristarchus was not equal to so great a change in the ancient vulgate, we are driven to suppose that the readings favoured by him were already those of the best sources, or at least of those from which the later text was mainly derived.

It may be objected that we have still to explain the genesis of the readings attributed to Zenodotus. But the steps which have to be supposed—the corruption of *έηος* into *έοιο*, of *του* into *οδ*, of *φρεσιν ησιν* into *φρεσιν ησιν*, and a few others of the kind—are not very difficult; the reading *παιδς έοιο* in Il. 1. 393 may well be due to *παιδς έοιο* in Il. 14. 266., 18. 71—aided by *παρδς έοιο* in Il. 2. 662., 14. 11., 19. 399., 23. 360, 402: the reading *οδ παρδς* in Il. 11. 142 to *οδ παρδς* in Il. 1. 404, Od. 7. 3, aided by *οδ παιδς* in Il. 6. 466., 9. 633., 16. 522, Od. 15. 358., 16. 411., 24. 56.

Mr. Leaf points to the general reflexive use of *δε* (*ίδς*) found in Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, and argues that 'if *δε* never meant anything but *his* in Homer (as *ε* never means anything but *him*), it would be an amazing step for an imitator, against all the usage of his own day, to make it = *my*.' The answer is two-fold. In the first place, there was no living usage of *δε* in the Alexandrian age. The misuse of it therefore was nothing more than a false archaism—a thing to which imitative poets are always liable. In the second place, the supposed misuse is exactly parallel to the late Attic and Hellenistic use of *εαυτδς* with reference to the First and Second Persons: *s.g.* in Matth. xxv. 9 *αγοράσατε εαυτδς* *buy for yourselves*, 1 Cor. xi. 31 *εαυτδς διεκρίνομεν* *if we discerned ourselves* (see

Another difference between the two great critics turned upon the use of the Dual Number. While Aristarchus held that the Dual was used in Homer (as in Attic) only when two persons or things were spoken of, the text of Zenodotus exhibited several Dual forms indistinguishable in sense from Plurals. Such are Il. 1. 567 *ἰόντε* (sc. *οἱ θεοί*), 3. 459 *ἀπορίετον* (of the Trojans), 6. 112 *ἀμύνετον δαστεῖ λάβην*, 8. 503., 13. 627., 15. 347., 18. 287., 23. 753 (cp. 2. 297., 3. 279)<sup>85</sup>.

There can be no doubt that these readings are wrong. No one would now maintain, as even Buttmann did, that they are relics of a primitive usage of the Dual. It is equally evident that the source of the error lies in the fact that the Dual Number, which had survived in Attic much longer than in any other literary dialect of Greece, disappeared from the Hellenistic or *κοινή* *διάλεκτος*. Consequently the Dual forms in Homer came to be regarded, even by grammarians like Zenodotus and Crates, as mere poetical or old-fashioned varieties of the Plural. As such, moreover, they were imitated by post-Homeric poets, e.g. the author of the Hymn to Apollo (ll. 456, 487, 501); also Aratus (968, 1023), Oppian, &c. Under these circumstances the wonder is, not that false Dual forms should have been allowed to stand in the Alexandrian copies of Homer, but that none of them found their way into the existing manuscripts<sup>86</sup>. If, as we have been led to conclude (p. 430), there was an ancient vulgate, dating as far back as the fifth century, from which the modern vulgate is descended,

the examples from Xenophon, Plato, &c. in Kühner-Blass, § 455, 7, b). This use, which had evidently grown up in the colloquial Attic of the fourth century, would smooth the way for a similar extension of the Homeric reflexive pronoun.

The argument from a supposed primitive use of the stem *sue* cannot be pressed. It turns upon questions that are 'glottogonic,' and beyond the reach of science. We know that in many languages there is a Reflexive of the kind in question. But we do not know how these Reflexives came to be so used. Several of the uses are as obviously late as the Hellenistic use of *ἑαυτοῦ*. Brugmann himself notices the Scandinavian formation of the Middle in *-sk*, which was at first restricted to the Third Person: also the misuse of *sich* in German dialects. There is no proof, therefore, that the use of *sue* for all three Persons is 'primitive,' if by that is meant Indo-germanic. The restriction to the Third Person in Latin *sui* is more likely to be original.

<sup>85</sup> Besides Zenodotus we hear of Eratosthenes and Crates as *οἱ θέλοντες συγχινῆσαι τὰ διὰ τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ* (Sch. A on Il. 24. 282). Hence it seems to have been one of the points at issue between Aristarchus and the school of Crates.

<sup>86</sup> So far as I know there is only one place where a Dual form ascribed to Zenodotus can be traced in any other source, viz. in Il. 23. 753—

*δρυσὶν οἱ καὶ τούτου δέθλου περιήσεσθε.*

In this formula, which occurs three times in the account of the Funeral Games (Il. 707, 753, 831), *περιήσεσθον* is given by most manuscripts in one place, viz. in l. 707, and is there right, since the invitation is to a wrestling-match. In l. 753 *περιήσεσθον* is found in an Oxyrhynchus fragment (l. p. 46), and in one of Mr. Leaf's manuscripts (Paris grec. 2682)—readings which are evidently due to contamination with l. 707.

it follows that that ancient vulgate must be represented in the matter of the Dual, not by Zenodotus, but by Aristarchus. And this argument, it will be evident, is independent of any view which may be taken of Aristarchus as a critic, or of the share that he had in determining the subsequent history of the text.

The remaining notices of Zenodotus, numerous as they are, do not throw much light on his methods. On the whole they tend to confirm the conclusion just stated. They prove that his text was much more influenced by the *συνήθεια*, i.e. by the language, whether literary or colloquial, of his own age, than his great successor. He shows an evident readiness to make Homer easier—to remove small difficulties by prosaic changes, and to replace archaic and poetical forms by words taken from the vocabulary of the time. A few examples will serve to make this clear<sup>77</sup>:

Il. i. 299 *ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφείλεσθέ γε δόντες*. Zen. read *ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐθέλεις ἀφείεσθαι*, doubtless because it was only Agammenon who took away Briseis—not the Greeks, who had given her to him.

Il. 6. 511 *ρίμψα εἰ γούνα φέρει*. Zen. got rid of the bold anacoluthon by reading *ρίμψ' ἐὰ γούνα φέρει*.

Il. 10. 10 *τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἐντός*. Zen. read *φοβέοντο*, contrary to the invariable Homeric use of *φόβος* = 'flight' (not 'fear'). Cp. Il. 18. 247 *πάντας γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος* (Zen. *φόβος*); also 19. 14.

Il. 11. 123 *νέας Ἀντιμάχῳ δαΐφρονος*. Zen. read *κακόφρονος*, doubtless because *δαΐφρων* is elsewhere an epithet of praise, and therefore inappropriate to Antimachus.

Il. 11. 439 *ὁ οἱ οὐ τι τέλος κατακαίριον ἦλθεν*. For the difficult but clearly Homeric *τέλος* Zen. read *βέλος*.

Il. 15. 207 *ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἶσιμα εἶδῃ* (Zen. *εἴπη*). Here a distinctively Homeric idiom is lost by the change.

Il. 18. 34 *μὴ λαμδὼν ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρῳ* (Zen. *ἀποσμήξειε*). Here again the reading of Zen. is simply the translation of the Homeric word into prose.

Od. 5. 132 (= 7. 250) *Ζεὺς ἔλσας ἐκέασσε*. For *ἔλσας* Zen. substituted the familiar form *ἐλάσας*.

### § 17. Aristarchus.—The sources.

The place of Aristarchus in philological criticism can only be compared with that which Aristotle holds in the general history of

<sup>77</sup> See Ad. Römer, *Ueber die Homerrecension des Zenodot* (München, 1885).

science. In both men we recognise the transition from mere beginnings to a sudden maturity. Both were distinguished by their many-sided grasp of scientific problems, by their encyclopedic attainments, and by their freedom from all that is fanciful or superstitious. The work of Aristarchus, like that of Aristotle, gathered into itself the most valuable fruits of earlier study, and formed the basis of nearly all subsequent advance.

A minor point of resemblance may be found in the difficulty of determining exactly what came from the master himself and what from disciples and followers. In the case of Aristarchus the difficulty is aggravated by the nature of the subject-matter. The writings of grammarians have not the literary form or interest which secures their preservation. In ancient times, as now, they were excerpted, abridged, incorporated with new matter, till the original was lost altogether. But though only a few lines are left of the actual words of Aristarchus, a good deal is known of the substance of his criticism. The *Codex Venetus* gives us the critical marks affixed by him: and the Scholia of the same manuscript have preserved numerous extracts from two sources of capital importance, dating from the first century B.C., viz. the work of Aristonicus on the critical marks, and that of Didymus on the Aristarchean recension. These two grammarians seem to have had access to the writings of Aristarchus, and doubtless also to most of the traditions of his school. Their information is supplemented by notices derived from Herodian and Nicanor—scholars of a somewhat later date, but still within reach of the stores of Alexandrian learning.

The Homeric learning of Aristarchus was embodied in works of three kinds, viz. 'editions' of his correction of the text (*ἐκδόσεις τῆς διορθώσεως*, or simply *αἱ ἐκδόσεις*), 'commentaries' (*ὑπομνήματα*) on the text, and certain 'treatises' (*συγγράμματα*) which dealt with particular questions.

1. It would appear from the language of the scholia that Aristarchus published two editions of his recension, which is therefore usually referred to in the plural (*αἱ ἐκδόσεις* or *αἱ Ἀριστάρχου*, whereas we only find *ἡ Ζηροδότου*, *ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους*). Hence such expressions as *διήλλαττον αἱ Ἀριστάρχου* (14. 427), *ἡ ἐτέρα* 'one of the two recensions,' and frequently *διχῶς Ἀρίσταρχος*. So on Il. 6. 4 Didymus tells us that the old reading, which the 'commentaries' show to have been that of Aristarchus, was—

μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλῖμης,

but afterwards he found and adopted the reading—

μεσσηγὺς Σιμόντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθου ρόαν.

And on Il. 16. 613 we are told that the line was wanting in one of the two editions, and was obelized in the second (ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου οὐκ ἐφέρετο καθάπαξ· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὑβελὸς αὐτῷ παρέκειτο). There is one piece of evidence, however, which throws some doubt on these two editions.

This is the statement, made by Didymus on Il. 10. 397–399, to the effect that Ammonius, one of the pupils of Aristarchus, and his immediate successor in the school, was the author of a treatise περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγόναι πλείονας ἐκδόσεις τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως. The same treatise is probably meant in another passage (Il. 19. 365), where Ammonius is said to have written περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως<sup>88</sup>. But what is intended by the contention that there were not ‘more editions’ of the recension of Aristarchus? Villoison and Wolf took it to mean that there was only one such edition<sup>89</sup>. Aristarchus, they thought, may have left materials, in one form or another, from which a revised text, or a series of corrections of the text, was drawn up; and this may have led to the belief in a second edition published by him. Recent scholars have generally followed Lehrs in taking πλείονας here as = πλείονας τῶν δύο<sup>90</sup>. Such an interpretation, in the absence of any context to suggest it, is certainly strained. And if we are right in looking upon the words περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως as an alternative description, the work so described must surely have discussed the question whether something which passed for a second recension was so in reality or not. The discussion which Lehrs supposes περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγόναι κτλ. would not be ‘about the second recension,’ but would take that recension for granted.

<sup>88</sup> It has been supposed that these two descriptions refer to different works of Ammonius, viz. one ‘on the second edition of the recension’ (quoted on Il. 19. 365), and one ‘on the question whether there were more editions than these two’ (on Il. 10. 398). This is improbable in view of the fact that the point for which Ammonius is referred to is of the same nature in both places. The lines Il. 10. 397–399 were first marked by Aristarchus as doubtful, and afterwards left out altogether. Il. 19. 365–368 were obelized, and afterwards the obeli were removed. Thus the point lay in the change of mind shown in the treatment of a passage. This agreement in respect of subject points to a single treatise.

<sup>89</sup> Villoison *Proleg.* p. xxvii: Wolf *Proleg.* p. ccxxvii.

<sup>90</sup> *De Arist. Stud. Hom.* p. 23. It will be seen that Lehrs rests his case mainly on the other notice about the treatise of Ammonius. ‘Quidni opponam eundem Ammonium scripsisse περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως (sc. Ἀριστάρχου), de qua non poterat scribere si nulla erat.’ But we do not know that this title was given to the work by Ammonius himself. More probably it is the description of it by Didymus, who undoubtedly regarded Aristarchus as the author of a ‘second recension.’

However this may be, it is highly significant that the number of editions of the Aristarchean text was a matter of dispute among his immediate successors at Alexandria.

2. The scholia, especially those that come from Didymus, frequently refer to certain *ὑπομνήματα*, 'memoranda' or 'commentaries' (in the Latin sense), which they quote as sources for the readings and opinions of Aristarchus. Thus on Il. 10. 398 it is noted that the reason why certain verses were obelized is not to be found 'in the Aristarchean commentaries' (*διὰ τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων ὑπομνημάτων*): cp. the scholia on Il. 1. 423., 2. 125., 20. 471., 23. 870. It is not quite clear, however, in what sense or to what extent they are to be regarded as his. Apparently they were numerous (schol. Il. 23. 169 τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων), and differed considerably in value and authority. Thus on Il. 2. 111 Didymus introduces a quotation of the actual words of Aristarchus in the following terms:—

κάν ταῖς Διταῖς ἐξηγούμενος αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἅλως τε μέγας (Il. 9. 169) ἐν τινι τῶν ἡκριβωμένων ὑπομνημάτων γράφει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν.

The 'commentaries' generally support the 'recensions': as on Il. 2. 192 καὶ ἐν ταῖς διορθώσεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως ἐγγράπητο, 2. 355 οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, 11. 40, &c. But occasionally we hear that some at least gave different readings; as on Il. 4. 3 κατ' ἓνα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐνψυχόει φέρεται· οἱ δὲ φασὶ Ζηνοδότειον εἶναι τὴν γραφήν· ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἐκδόσεσι χωρὶς τοῦ ν εὗραμεν (so on 7. 452., 14. 382). In such cases it would seem that the writer of the *ὑπόμνημα* cannot have had the recension of Aristarchus before him. On the other hand there is evidence that the *ὑπομνήματα* gave, not only the readings of Aristarchus, but also the grounds on which they were adopted by him. Two examples from Didymus will show this:

Il. 3. 57 ἔσσο διὰ τῶν δύο σσ εἶχον αἱ Ἀριστάρχου· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις λόγος ὑπέκειται, ὅτι κτλ.

Il. 2. 397 ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων λόγος ὑπόκειται ἔχων τῆδε, κτλ.

Thus the *ὑπομνήματα* must be the original source of much that has reached us through works like those of Didymus and Aristonicus. The Aristarchean marks gave little information themselves. The *diplê* hardly ever indicated more than that Aristarchus had something to say on a verse. And it is not uncommon to find that the meaning of a *diplê* was unknown to the immediate pupils of Aristarchus, or at least that it was disputed among them. Thus—

Il. 8. 221 πρὸς τὸ ἔχων ἐν χειρί, τί ποτε σημαίνει, *i. e.* the *diplê* was to call attention to the interpretation. The rival opinions of Apollodorus and Dionysius—both pupils of Aristarchus—are then given.

Il. 17. 24 τὸ σημείον Διονύσιος διὰ τὸν Ὑπερίφορα φησιν.

Il. 17. 125 ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τὸ σημείον φησιν ὅτι ἡλλακται πτώσις, *i. e.* Dionysius understood the *diplê* to refer, not to an apparent contradiction, but to a point of grammar (*Lehrs de Arist. stud. Hom.* p. 15 note).

Thus the critical marks, in conjunction with the *ὑπομνήματα* and other writings of the Aristarcheans, formed the nearest Alexandrian equivalent to the text and commentary of a modern editor. The marks served as sign-posts directing the reader to search in the traditional stores of learning—oral or written, accessible or not.

3. The important scholium of Didymus on Il. 2. 111 refers to another group of Aristarchean works, the *συγγράμματα* or 'treatises.' According to Didymus these were more authoritative than the *ὑπομνήματα*, doubtless because they were known to be in the fullest sense the work of the great critic himself. They are much less frequently quoted: probably they were less numerous, and were concerned with particular subjects, which did not often involve questions of reading. We hear of a treatise *πρὸς τὸ Χένωνος παράδοξον*, *i. e.* against the Chorzontes or 'Separators' of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: of τὰ περὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου, on the arrangement of the different nationalities in the Greek camp, with a plan (τὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διάγραμμα): also of controversial writings (τὰ πρὸς Φιλητῶν, τὰ πρὸς Κωμανόν).

Notwithstanding these different sources of knowledge it is clear that the information which ancient scholars had about the criticism of Aristarchus, and in particular about the readings that he adopted in his recension of Homer, was much less exact than we should have expected to find it. As a crucial instance it may be worth while to quote the scholium on Il. 2. 111, which line is usually written—

Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδωκε βαρεῖη.

Here Didymus tells us that the reading *μέγα*, by what he calls a *σχολικὸν ἀγνόημα*, a piece of ignorance belonging to the school<sup>1</sup>, was attributed to Aristarchus, while Zenodotus was supposed to have read *μέγας*. The mistake, he says, was due to Dionysius Thrax, a pupil of Aristarchus. Against him Didymus cites Ammonius and Dionsiodorus, both pupils of Aristarchus, and Callistratus, who was a contemporary and wrote *περὶ Ἰλιάδος*. The reading *μέγα*, he admits, is found in some of the *ὑπομνήματα*, but on the other side he argues that *μέγας* is given as Aristarchean in the much more

<sup>1</sup> The word *σχολικός* here may have a contemptuous sense: cp. Longin. § 10 οὐδὲν φλοιῶδες ἢ ἀσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες.



decisive σύγγραμμα πρὸς Φιλητάν, and also in 'one of the carefully written commentaries' (ἐν τινι τῶν ἡκριβομένων ὑπομνημάτων). Finally he says that Ptolemaeus Epithetes—so called as the especial 'assailant' of Aristarchus—in setting out the readings of Zenodotus did not reckon μέγας in this place as one of them. Notwithstanding this array of authorities we find that Aristonicus assigns μέγας to Zenodotus: and on the whole it seems probable that he was right.

Other references to pupils of Aristarchus as witnesses to his readings are—

Il. 6. 76 Ἀμμώνιος, ὡς Ἀριστάρχειον προφέρειται καὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφήν.

Il. 8. 513 Παρμενίσκος ἐν τῷ α' πρὸς Κράτητα ὡς Ἀριστάρχειον γραφήν προφέρειται κείνων.

And, what is still more significant, the word προφέρειται by itself is used = προφέρειται ὡς Ἀριστάρχειον γραφήν: e.g. on Il. 7. 7 Ἀμμώνιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηνοκλείᾳ τοῖ προφέρειται πληθυντικῶς: on Il. 9. 197 Παρμενίσκος δὲ προφέρειται ἡμέτερόνδε. In these and many more instances we see that the question anciently debated was, not whether Aristarchus was right or wrong in regard to a reading, but what the reading was which he preferred.

Sometimes the doubt is whether a reading was only mentioned in passing by Aristarchus, or was discussed and adopted. Instances of this are—

Il. 13. 2 παρὰ τῆσι] Ζηνόδοτος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ τῆσι· μήποι· οὐν διχῶς. Here Aristarchus gave the reading of Zenodotus and Aristophanes, and *perhaps* therefore left the issue undecided between it and some other.

Il. 21. 130 μήποτε μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος συγκατέθετο τῇ ἀδοτήσει, μηδὲν ἀντειπὼν τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει. Here Aristarchus had mentioned that six verses were obelized by Aristophanes: but he did not make any reply to the objection taken. Hence the question, what is to be inferred from his silence?

### § 18. *Aristarchus as a textual critic.*

We know something of the resources that Aristarchus had at his disposal—manuscripts of Homer brought from far and near, and copies of all the most famous recensions, from that of Antimachus down to his own immediate predecessors in the Museum (p. 431). What do we know of his use of them? Can we assume that his

text was the best that they were fitted to yield? On this question there has been some controversy in quite recent times. Scholars have been found to maintain that Aristarchus altered the text of Homer by numerous arbitrary conjectures, designed to bring it into accordance with certain rules that he imagined himself to have discovered<sup>92</sup>. It must be admitted that the scholia, even those which come from Aristarchus, often give some colour to this idea. The criticism which they contain is generally much more 'subjective' than modern methods would allow. The reasoning appears to be based too much upon internal evidence—upon such matters as the poetical effect of a reading, or its agreement with other passages, or the lesson which it teaches—to the comparative neglect of manuscript sources. This impression, however, is in great measure removed by further study. We have to consider that the interest taken by ancient grammarians in purely textual problems was a constantly diminishing quantity. Such critical data as we possess are almost confined to the Venetian scholia: while the later collections (the Townley scholia, Eustathius, &c.) are mainly exegetical. But the process had gone on from the first. In the Venetian scholia themselves the proportion of critical apparatus must be very much less than in the original Alexandrian commentaries. We cannot therefore lay much stress on the silence of the scholia.

On the other hand there are many indications that Aristarchus was noted in antiquity for his faithfulness to the manuscript tradition. The scholia have preserved a striking instance of this in the comment of Aristarchus on Il. 9. 222—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

He observed that the envoys, of whom this is said, had already supped, and therefore that the poet would have done better to write αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἀψ' ἐπάσαντο, or αἰψ' ἐπάσαντο<sup>93</sup>; but he

<sup>92</sup> Thus in reference to the reading δαῖτα for ψᾶσι in Il. 1. 5 Nauck writes as follows (*Mélanges Gr.-Rom.* iv. 463): 'ich meine, dass wie an dieser so an zahllosen anderen Stellen durch willkürliche und verfehlte Conjecturen des Aristarch die ursprünglichen Lesarten verdrängt worden sind: ich meine, dass das Schwören auf die Worte des Aristarch, wie es in Alexandria herrschend war, dem Homerischen Text den empfindlichsten, niemals wieder gut zu machenden Schaden gebracht hat.' Cp. Ludwig, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 78 ff.

<sup>93</sup> The *Cod. Ven.* has ἡ ἐψ' ἐπάσαντο, which (as Cobet noticed) points to αἰψ' ἐπάσαντο. Ludwig rejects the words as a mere dittography. But the context seems to require αἰψα. 'It would have been better,' according to Aristarchus, 'if the poet had described the envoys as only *tasting*, out of courtesy to Achilles, and not eating and drinking to satiety' (ἵν' ὅσον χαρίσασθαι τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ γεύσασθαι μόνον καὶ μὴ εἰς κόρον ἐσθλεῖν καὶ πίνειν λέγωνται). This, he seems to have thought, might be expressed by αἰψ' ἐπάσαντο 'ate hastily.'

was too cautious to make any change against the weight of the manuscripts (ὑπὸ περιττῆς εὐλαβείας οὐδὲν μετέθηκεν, ἐν πολλαῖς οὕτως εὐρὺν φερομένην τὴν γραφὴν). It is characteristic of the later scholia (Townley, &c.) that in the face of this notice they say Ἀρίσταρχος γράφει ἀψ' ἐπάσαντο. Again, in Il. 2. 665 Aristarchus retained (οὐ μετέθηκε) the reading βῆ φεύγων, although he observed that Homeric usage was in favour of βῆ φεύγειν. In Il. 3. 262 he preferred (προκρίνει) the form βήσεται, but kept βήσατο. On Il. 7. 114 he noted the harshness of the words ὁ περ σίο πολλὸν ἀμείνων as said to Menelaus, and observed that it would have been less reproachful (ἤττον ὀνειδιστικόν) if the poet had said ὁ περ μέγα φέρτατός ἐστι: but he did not alter the text. Similar examples will be found on Il. 16. 636., 22. 468., 23. 857; and doubtless there were many more. Indeed it seems very possible that some of the readings now ascribed to Aristarchus come from remarks of this kind, and were never intended to appear in his text of Homer.

A further argument in favour of Aristarchus may be based upon his citations of the earlier manuscripts πᾶσαι, αἱ πλείους, &c. His reading in no instance differs from the reading of 'all' or even of 'nearly all' his manuscripts, and very seldom differs from that of the majority.

### § 19. *Aristarchus and the modern vulgate.*

When the discovery of the Venetian scholia first revealed the stores of Alexandrian criticism, it was natural to imagine that the ancient recensions, and especially the recension of Aristarchus, had at once exercised a determining influence on the Homeric text. Thus Wolf, whose *Prolegomena* appeared a few years after the publication of Villoison (1788), assumes that the 'reading of Aristarchus' became thenceforth the 'tradition' or 'vulgate,' and the basis of all subsequent changes:

Etenim ex quo Aristarchea ἀνάγνωσις facta est παρὰδοσις (*vulgata lectio, vulgatus textus* dici solet, et satis commode), id quod maturo factum videtur, ad illam potissimum novae emendationes et notationes annexae et compositae sunt (p. ccxli).

This view had been already expressed by Giphanius:

Si de universa facie et habitu Carminum quaerimus, non est dubium quin recte divinarit Giphanius, vulgatam nostram recensionem esse ipsam Aristarcheam (p. cclvii).

The scholars who have accepted this estimate of the supremacy of Aristarchus do not take sufficient account of the difference between ancient and modern conditions. They suppose that a new text of Homer, produced by the critic of highest authority in the most important centre of learning, would at once become known throughout Greece, and would drive out all previous texts. A revolution of that kind is possible only with the aid of printing. Without some such means an 'edition,' in the modern sense of the word, can hardly be said to exist. So far was the recension of Aristarchus from taking the Greek world by storm, that his readings, as we have seen, were very imperfectly known in the following century, and even in the circle of his immediate disciples. And, apart from general considerations of this kind, the facts are irreconcilable with any such view. For—

(1) Many readings in the modern vulgate cannot be explained by derivation from the text of Aristarchus. Such a theory might explain many variants: *e.g.* ἐπὶν κε for ἐπεὶ κε (Il. i. 168) or φνοχόει for οἰνοχόει (Il. i. 598). But it evidently fails with ἐνὶ στρατῷ for Ἀχαιῶν (Il. i. 91), λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει for Δαναοῖσιν δεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσσει (Il. i. 97), &c. And it would not account for the existence in the manuscripts of verses which Aristarchus left out altogether.

(2) The variety of reading in our manuscripts is often to be traced back to the texts that Aristarchus himself made use of. Thus on Il. i. 91 Aristarchus quoted Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Sosigenes for Ἀχαιῶν. It follows that ἐνὶ στρατῷ, the reading of nearly all our manuscripts, was derived from other pre-Aristarchean sources. In this case, then, and in the many similar cases, the authority of Aristarchus did not prevent the reading which he and other leading grammarians condemned from gaining a place in the vulgate.

(3) It has been shown from the Homeric quotations of the fifth and fourth centuries that the text was then well established, and did not very greatly differ from that of the modern manuscripts (p. 426). This being so, the hypothesis of a great Homeric restoration carried out at Alexandria has no *raison d'être*. If there were interpolated and otherwise 'eccentric' copies, such as are being found in the papyrus rolls of Egypt, these were not got rid of by the obelus of the critics, but by the superiority which better and 'nicer' copies (χαριέστεραι) had in the struggle for existence.

(4) There are many instances in which the recension of Aristarchus preserved the earlier and more correct form of a word, while the present vulgate shows the form which he rejected. Thus he read θῆης (Il. 6. 432), δαμήης (Il. 3. 436), σπηῆη (Il. 19. 27), φανῆη (Il. 22. 73), not

θείης, δαμείης, σαπείη, φανείη—the epic grammar in these places requiring the Subjunctive. So he read *τεθηώς* (*passim*), *περιστήωσι* (Il. 17. 95), *καθήατο* (Il. 24. 473), not *τεθνηώς*, *περιστείωσι*, *καθείατο* : *νεμεσσηθίωμεν* (Il. 24. 53), not *-ώμεν* : *οίνοχόει* (Il. 1. 598), not *φύροχόει* : *ἔλαε* (Il. 4. 213), not *ἔλλαε* : *ἐβήσετο*, *ἐδύσετο* (in most places, cp. however Didymus on Il. 3. 262) : *ἐθέλωμι* and other Subjunctives in *-ωμι*, not the corresponding Optatives in *-οιμι* : the Second Person Dual in *-τον*, not in *-την* : *καὶ κείνος* &c., not *κακείνος* : the plural verb with a neuter plural ; the compounds with *νο*, *πανσυδή*, *ἀνστήσω*, &c., not *πασσυνδή*, *ἀσστήσω*, &c. In these and similar cases it appears from the independent evidence of linguistics that Aristarchus was nearly always right in his choice. We may infer—since he had no other source of knowledge in this field—that these more correct forms were to be found in the better manuscripts which he used. Yet the other readings prevailed, and found their way into the vulgate.

(5) This inferiority of the existing vulgate in the details of spelling and inflexion is in effect the inferiority of a multitude of copyists to a single great critic. The work of Aristarchus was based upon the use of many sources, and his strength lay first and foremost in the *classification* of these sources. The scribes had not access to the treasures of the Alexandrian Museum ; and they were more liable to be influenced by the grammar and phonetics of their own age. Hence the text that they have transmitted to us, although in the main it is the ancient vulgate, is a less exact reproduction of that vulgate than we should have had if Aristarchus had wielded the despotic powers often attributed to him.

The manuscripts of Homer, then, are descended, not from the critical recensions of the Alexandrian school, but from the ancient pre-Alexandrian vulgate—a vulgate which goes back, not indeed to ‘Homer,’ but at least to the great period of Greek literature. Their comparative freedom from the disfigurements of the papyrus fragments is accordingly due rather to the collective agency that we speak of as the Homeric *παράδοσις* or tradition than to individual scholars. The texts to which these fragments belong, so far as they came under the notice of the great grammarians, were doubtless included in the class of *κοιναί*<sup>84</sup>. The interpolations which form the most charac-

<sup>84</sup> The words *κοιναί* and *δημόδαι* should not lead us to imagine that the texts so described were in any sense a ‘vulgate.’ The word ‘common’ does not mean that certain readings were common to, or commonly found in, the copies in question, but that these copies were in use among common people. There is nothing to show that they generally agreed among themselves. Such references as *ἐν τισὶ τῶν κοινῶν*, or *ἐν τισὶ τῶν εὐκαιοτέρων*, which are not infrequent, imply the

teristic feature of them explain a good deal in the aims and methods of the Alexandrians (pp. 420 ff.). But if they had really made good their footing in the Homeric *textus receptus*, they would hardly have been dispossessed, as they seem to have been, in the course of the next century.

It follows from what has now been said that the task of the modern Homeric critic is in the first place to restore the pre-Alexandrian vulgate: and that the way to that restoration lies through the *apparatus criticus* of Aristarchus. When the testimony of the Aristarchean or pre-Aristarchean sources is divided we can sometimes fall back on the evidence of linguistic. But that evidence must be used with caution. We may know that one sound or one grammatical form is later in the development of language than another: but we may not be able to tell when the change took place. It is certain (e.g.) that *ὀλορχόει* is older than *φῶρχόει*, because it is nearer the original *φωορχόει*. But this does not suffice to tell us whether *ὀλορχόει* or *φῶρχόει* was the reading of the ancient vulgate. That can only be determined by positive evidence, such as Aristarchus furnishes. What in such cases the primitive Homeric form was is another and usually a more difficult question.

### § 20. Aristarchus as an interpreter of Homer.

The greatness of Aristarchus as a textual critic, and especially his success in dealing with interpolations, has perhaps somewhat obscured his services in other departments. A complete account of these services does not fall within the plan of this book: but it may be well to notice a few of the many points in which we can test for ourselves the soundness of his judgment. In many more, owing to the imperfection of the record, we only know the conclusions at which he arrived, not the facts and observations on which they were based.

1. In the great work of Lehrs on the Homeric studies of Aristarchus the largest space is given to the chapter on the Aristarchean interpretation of Homeric words<sup>95</sup>. It will generally be agreed that this is the field in which Aristarchus did most to advance the boundaries of

reverse. It is true that their readings are usually mentioned when they differ from those of Aristarchus. But all these references come through Aristarchus, and he would seldom quote the 'common' manuscripts except when they presented a different reading from that of his own.

<sup>95</sup> K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*: Diss. II. *De Aristarchea vocabulorum Homericorum interpretatione* (pp. 35-162).

philological science. It is certainly in this field that his pre-eminence in scientific method and insight is most evident and demonstrable. He was the first scholar who saw that the language of Homer was an organic whole, to be understood and interpreted from itself. The earlier Homeric students—from the fifth to the third century B.C.—had busied themselves with explanations of the obsolete words or γλῶσσαι<sup>66</sup>, which naturally were the chief difficulty of the ordinary reader. Their aim was in each of the passages concerned to replace unfamiliar words by equivalent familiar ones. Lists of such words, with the accepted explanations, were soon drawn up; the authors of them were known as the ‘glossographers’ (οἱ γλωσσογράφοι). Even Aristotle treats the diction of Homer in the main from this point of view<sup>67</sup>. Aristarchus did much to correct the errors which seem to have become more or less traditional with the glossographers. Thus he noted on Il. 3. 44 that πρόμος does not mean a ‘king,’ but is = πρόμαχος: on Il. 4. 315 that ὁμοίος (in phrases like γῆρας ὁμοίων) does not mean κακός: on Il. 9. 324 that μάσταξ does not mean ‘a locust’: on 9. 540 that ἔθων is wrongly glossed by βλάπτων: on 16. 822 that the glossographers took δουπῆσαι as simply equivalent to ἀποθανεῖν, whereas it implied falling in battle. In these and similar cases (cp. 10. 56., 17. 151., 18. 378, 540., 23. 16, 661., 24. 164, 367) we learn that his diplê was πρὸς τοὺς γλωσσογράφους. But he also observed, what was not so obvious, that a large proportion of the commonest words had changed their meaning in the interval between Homer and the Attic age. He discovered, for example, that in Homer φόβος meant ‘flight,’ not ‘fear’: that τρεῖν meant ‘to run away,’ ‘bolt,’ not ‘to tremble’: that πόνος meant ‘labour,’ not ‘sorrow’: that ἔδε never meant ‘here’ (as in Hellenistic Greek): that πάλιν did not mean ‘a second time,’ but only ‘backwards’: that σχεδόν did not mean ‘nearly,’ but only ‘near, at hand’: that τάχα did not mean ‘perhaps’: that βάλλω and βέλος were used of missiles, οὐτάχῃ of weapons held in the hand: that μέλλω with an infinitive meant ‘to be likely to,’ not ‘to be about to’: that φράζω meant to ‘show,’ not to ‘say’: that ἦρος was applied to warriors generally, not only to the ‘kings.’ In short,

<sup>66</sup> The word goes back to Aristophanes Δευταλῆς fr. 1:

πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον Ὀμηρεῖους γλῶσσας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβας;

and again τί καλοῦσ’ ἀμυνῆν καρήνα; There were also γλῶσσαι in the laws of Solon, e. g. τί καλοῦσιν ἰδυῖναι;

<sup>67</sup> E. g. in the *Poetics*, c. 25 τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν ὁρῶντα δεῖ διαλέγειν, ὡς γλῶττι οὐράς μὲν πρῶτον· ἴσας γὰρ οὐ τοὺς ἡμῖνοις λέγει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φύλακας καὶ τὸν Δόλωνα· οὗ δὲ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἦν κακός, οὐ τὸ σῶμα ἀσύμμετρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον αἰσχρόν· τὸ γὰρ εὐεῖδές οἱ Κρήτες εὐπρόσωπον καλοῦνται. Cp. the remarks in c. 22 on the effect of changing poetical into ordinary language.

it was Aristarchus who realised for the first time that the language of Homer was not a mere literary Greek, in which distinction of style was gained by the use of an archaic or conventional vocabulary, but that it was in its whole texture the genuine speech of a different period.

2. The number of scholia that refer to the inflexions of the Homeric dialect is comparatively small; probably because that part of grammar did not leave much room for controversy. We may mention the notes on the pronouns *σφωε* (Il. i. 8), *σφῶϊ* (Il. i. 336), *σφῶϊτερος* (Il. i. 216): on the aorists *οἴσσετε*, *ἄξεισθε*, and the reduplicated aorists (Il. i. 100): on the omission of the augment (*ιακῶς*): on the forms of the subjunctive with short vowel (as in Il. i. 141 *ἰρύσσομεν*, &c.).

3. On the other hand there are hundreds of annotations bearing on the meaning and usage of the grammatical forms. Every use of a Case that does not conform to Attic practice is duly noted. The force of the aorist is observed in the infinitive and participle: e.g. on Il. 9. 578 *δτι συντελικῶς τὸ εἰλίσθαι*, 3. 295 *ἀφυσσόμενος διὰ τοῦ ο παρατατικῶς*, 6. 87 (*ξυνάγουσα*) *δτι ὁ χρόνος ἡλλακται ἀντὶ τοῦ ξυναγαγούσα*. So of such uses of the Moods as are peculiar to Homer—the subjunctive with *οἷ* = *οἷ μή*, and generally the use of the subjunctive as a kind of future (*τὸ εἴπησι ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴποι ἄν*, &c.): the future indicative with *ἄν* and *κεν*: the optative with *ἄν* or *κεν* of an unfulfilled condition: the infinitive for the imperative. So too we find references to the uses of the prepositions, the adverbial use of neuter adjectives and pronouns, the construction of the neuter plural with a plural verb. And all this fine observation of usage was accomplished before the days of systematic grammar. It is true that the first steps had been taken by the Stoics. The Cases had been enumerated, and perhaps also the Tenses (as may be inferred from the technical terms *παρατατικῶς* and *συντελικῶς*). But no theory of the Moods had been attempted: their names (*δριστική*, &c.) do not occur in the Aristarchean scholia. It was in the next generation, among the pupils of Aristarchus, that these rich stores were made to yield the material for the first complete *τέχνη γραμματική*.

4. The subject of accentuation, which occupies fifty-five pages in Lehrs<sup>22</sup>, is one that cannot be said to have yielded many results of value to the Homeric scholar. The materials are abundant, and for the Greek language as it was in the Alexandrian period they

<sup>22</sup> K. Lehrs, *op. cit.* pp. 250–304.



are almost complete. But when the ancient grammarians had to deal with Homeric and other obsolete words and forms it is evident that they were generally much at a loss. It is true that they had the tradition (παράδοσις) of the rhapsodists, and of readers of Homer generally. But that tradition could not have the force or persistence of living usage. Accordingly it failed to prevent such departures from legitimate accent as *αὐτως* (adverb from *αἰώς*), *θάλεια* (fem. of \**θαλῆς*), *ἔγρεσθαι*, *ἀγίρεσθαι*, *πέφνων* (participle of *ἔπεφνον*), *ἀκαχήμενος*, *ἀλαλήμενος*<sup>19</sup>.

5. Turning now from the language of Homer to the story of the poems and the historical environment in which they are placed, we still derive our best guidance from the learning of Aristarchus, and even more from his supremely rational spirit.

In dealing with the Cyclic poems we often had occasion to notice the growth of the heroic mythology by the introduction of new characters and incidents. This process of development is constantly recognized by Aristarchus, who notes every indication of change, and never omits to tell us how much was known to Homer, how much added by post-Homeric poets (*οἱ νεώτεροι*). His observations refer not only to large episodes—the Judgment of Paris (see on Il. 24. 25), the sacrifice of Iphigenia (9. 145), the landing in Mysia (1. 59), the story of Troilus (24. 257), &c., but also to such things as the name *Σθενέβουα* for *Ἄντεια* (6. 160), the name *Ἰοβέτης* (6. 170), the localisation of Oechalia (2. 596), the confusion of Troy and Phrygia (2. 862), of Argos and Mycenae (11. 46), the island in which Philoctetes was landed (2. 722); and mythological points like the immortality of Heracles (18. 117), the divinity of Dionysus (6. 131), the identification of Apollo and *Παῖών* (5. 898), of Ares and *Ἐνυαλιος* (17. 211), the function of Hermes as *ψυχοπομπός* (Od. 24. 1). In his handling of these and many similar matters Aristarchus did not treat Homer as an ultimate omniscient authority, nor did he regard the heroic mythology as a body of doctrine, a kind of *ἑπικός κύκλος*, to be filled up from the various poets (*συμπληρούμενος ἐκ θαφάρων*

<sup>19</sup> The uncertainty of Homeric accent may be further seen in two small groups of words:

(1) The Nominatives in *-ᾱ* (derived from Vocatives) are regularly accented like the forms in *-ης*: so *ἱππότα*, *αἰχμητά*, *θυέστα*, *κυανοχαῖτα*. But the three isolated forms *εὐρύσσω*, *μητίετα*, *δάκτυλα* are proparoxytone. The reason is that in the absence of analogy they readily fell under the general 'regressive' accent.

(2) The names of the towns *Γλίσας* (Il. 2. 504), *Λύκαστος* (Il. 2. 647) and *Ἴτρω*, and of the river *Κάρησος* (Il. 12. 20) were so accented by Aristarchus, who followed the literary tradition. But the local forms, as we are told, were *Γλίσας* (r), *Λυκαστός*, *Ἴτρών*, *Καρησός*. It can hardly be doubted that the local mode of pronunciation was generally right.

ποιητῶν), as a theology is constructed from texts. On the contrary it is evident that his point of view is that of the most critical of modern historians. He studied the forms and conceptions of literature, and especially of the epic, in the same spirit of scientific detachment with which Aristotle analysed the morals and politics of Greece. It need hardly be added here that he gave no countenance to the allegorical methods of interpretation.

6. Of the numerous observations and discoveries of Aristarchus which do not fall under any of the preceding heads the most considerable are those which relate to the history, geography, and antiquities of the Homeric age.

Aristarchus wrote a separate treatise (σύγγραμμα) on the Greek camp before Troy (περὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου), in which he discussed the topography and the arrangement of the different contingents: in particular the assertion in the doubtful line Il. 2. 558 of the Athenian claim to Salamis. In other writings we find him noticing the wide sense of the Homeric Ἄργος, in contrast to the limited use of Ἕλληνες and the absence of such important names as 'Peloponnesus' and 'Thessaly': besides sundry local names mentioned in the Catalogue and elsewhere. In this connexion we may place the recurring scholium ὅτι ἄρος δ' Ὀλυμπος, i.e. that 'Olympus' in the *Iliad* has all the characteristics of a mountain, being in fact the real mountain of that name which rises from the plain of Thessaly into the upper aether, the abode of the heavenly gods. Regarding the *Odyssey*, however, the rational view was first attained, doubtless from the scientific rather than the literary side of the question, by Eratosthenes, who pointed out that Homer's knowledge of geography was really very limited—that he was ignorant of the rivers and nations of the Euxine, the mouths of the Nile, &c.—consequently that the wanderings of Ulysses must be imaginary. In this view he was followed, as we might expect, by Aristarchus: while the opposite opinion was maintained by Crates and his school. The question is so far of interest that the supposed Homeric localities show the direction that Greek trade and colonisation were taking when the identifications were made.

7. It remains to notice the service rendered by Aristarchus in pointing out the manifold difference between Homeric and later Greece in all the arts and observances of life. The list of topics as given by Lehrs is a long one: but perhaps he is right in thinking that they are only a small part of the observations made. It will be enough to mention a few of the points referred to in the scholia:

Homer's ignorance of writing—*σημαῖα* are 'signs,' not 'letters,' and *γράφω* means only to 'scratch,' not yet to 'write' (see the Schol. on Il. 6. 169, 176., 7. 175, 187).

The use of two-horse (not four-horse) chariots in war (8. 185); the non-use of cavalry—riding being only heard of as a show performance (*καληγίζειν*, 15. 679).

The restriction of athletic contests to *funeral* games (the only *ἀγῶνες* then known): also the character of the prizes, and the fact that they were given to *all* the competitors (22. 164., 23. 659, 707).

The use of the sceptre in all public speaking (18. 505).

The rare occurrence of wind instruments—the *αὐλός* only in the Doloneia and the Shield of Achilles (10. 13., 18. 495), the *σύριγξ* only in 10. 13, the *σάλπιγξ* not used in war (18. 219).

The armour—the size of the shield (6. 117), the use of the *τελαμών*, the order of putting on arms (3. 324., 11. 32., 19. 380): the question of the *θώρηξ* (4. 133, 135, 187).

Meals and cooking—the Homeric *δείπνον* a midday meal (the later *ἄριστον*), while 'supper' in Homer was *δάρπρον* (18. 560): the exclusive use of roasted meat, though boiling was known (21. 362 describes boiling *water*): the eating of fish, which according to the Chorizontes distinguished the *Odyssey* from the *Iliad* (16. 747).

The casting (not *drawing*) of lots (7. 182).

The use of barter in default of coined money (7. 473).

Marriage customs: the *ἔθνα* not a dowry, but the price of the bride (9. 146, &c.).

The ritual of sacrifice: the cutting of 'raw meat' from each part (1. 461): the burning of the thighs (1. 464): the dragging *backwards* of the victim (2. 422): the mixing of wine in making a treaty (3. 270).

The non-use of crowns (13. 736).

## V. THE TIME AND PLACE OF HOMER.

§ 1. *Antiquity of the Homeric Dialect—archaism.*

It appears from the preceding chapters that there is a considerable body of testimony carrying back our knowledge of the text of Homer almost to the time of the earliest Greek prose writers, or (roughly speaking) to the fifth century B.C. On the one hand we have the *apparatus criticus* of Aristarchus, which included the oldest recensions : on the other hand we have the quotations, from Herodotus onwards. There is therefore, as has been said, an ancient vulgate, which can be reached by external and on the whole trustworthy evidence. But somewhere about the fifth century the stream of direct evidence runs dry. The poems of Homer, we know, are much more ancient. They are anterior to the long series of Cyclic poems ; and these begin with the poetry that flourished at Miletus in the eighth century. They are anterior to Hesiod and his school—a school which followed Homer as prose elsewhere comes after verse. They are older than the great festivals, at some of which they came to be recited. And they are doubtless much older than the schools of Ionian philosophy, which saw in them a danger to public morals. There is therefore a long period during which the history of the Homeric text can no longer be followed in manuscripts, or even in quotations. During that period two processes must have gone on, not quite independently. In the first place, the language was changing, as every language does, and the result was an ever-widening difference between the dialect of the poems and the spoken dialects of Greece. In the second place, the spoken dialects re-acted on the poems. Sounds which had been modified or lost in the living speech were not preserved by the rhapsodists or in the written copies. And both grammatical forms and syntax were more or less consistently modernised.

The argument for the antiquity of the Homeric dialect cannot be stated briefly, since it depends on the cumulative effect of a number of minute differences of form or usage. It will be enough here to mention a few of the most convincing :

(1) The second aorists show a remarkable diminution. Those of the common thematic form (such as ἱβάλων) number about eighty in

Homer, reduced to thirty in Attic prose. Two smaller groups, viz. the non-thematic middle forms (*ἔβλητο, ἔφθιτο, χύτο, λέκτο, ἄλτο, &c.*), and the reduplicated aorists (*δίδανεν, λαλαβέσθαι, &c.*) disappear altogether.

The forms of the present tense in *-νῆμι* and *-νυμι* are almost confined to Homer.

(2) The variation between 'strong' and 'weak' grades of roots, of which Attic retains only a few survivals (*φαμέν, ἴσμεν, &c.*), is still almost regular in the Homeric perfect (*ἐπέπιθμεν, ἔϊκτον, πέπασθε, γέγαμεν, μέματε, ἀραρυῖα, μεμακυῖα, &c.*).

(3) The subjunctive of all non-thematic Tenses is still formed regularly with a short vowel, as *ἴ-ομεν, φθί-εται, εἶδ-ομεν, ἐλάσσο-ομεν, &c.*

(4) The free use of prepositions as adverbs, or separated from the verbs to which they belong (Tmesis), is common in Homer, and practically unknown afterwards.

Among the Homeric constructions with prepositions may be noted the dative with *σύν, μετά, ἀνά, περί, ἀμφί*.

(5) The use of the article is essentially post-Homeric.

(6) The uses of the Moods, as was observed by Aristarchus (see p. 451), are in several respects quite distinct.

(7) The Particles show many differences: cp. Homeric *κεν* (for *ᾧ*), *αὐτάρ* and *ἀνάρ, ῥα, νυ, περ, θη, &c.*: and post-Homeric *καίτοι, τοῖον, ἦτοι (either), καίπερ*.

(8) Inflexional forms are somewhat less decisive, since they may be imitated or borrowed. But no such account can be given of the numberless forms which we find in Homer: e.g. the third plural in *-ν* for *-σαν*, and in *-αται, -ατο* (Attic *-νται, -ντο*), the aorists in *-σσα*, the thematic aorists (*ἐβήσσετο, &c.*), the forms without augment, the subjunctive in *-ωμι, -ησι*, the infinitives in *-μεναι* and *-μεν*, the masc. nouns in *-ῥά*, the dative plural in *-εσσι*, the instrumental in *φι(ν)*, the genitives in *-οιο, -ᾶο, -ᾶων, &c.* Cp. also the post-Homeric *τιθείασι, διδῶσι, τιθεῖναι, διδῶναι, ἐστάναι, &c.*

These facts are enough to show that we have to do with two forms of Greek that are not merely different dialects, but belong to stages or periods of the language separated by a long development. The length of the interval cannot be exactly determined, because the rate of change is as uncertain in the field of linguistic as in that of geology; but it must be measured by centuries.

Moreover, the force of the argument is not seriously impaired by the circumstance,—of which however we are bound to take account,—that the language of Homer was a poetical dialect, differing more or less from the spoken language of the time. It is evident in many

ways that this was so. Much of the vocabulary is made up of epithets appropriated as titles of honour to particular deities or heroes. Thus Zeus is *εὐρύπτα, αἰγλόχος, ἀργικέραυνος*: Athene is *γλαυκῶπις, τριτογένεια*: Apollo is *ἑκάτος, ἰήιος, παῖων, σμυνθεύς*: Hephaestus is *ἀμφιγυῖεις, κυλλοποδίων*: Eos is *ἡριγένεια*: Ares is *ἐννάλιος*: Persephone is *ἐπαινή*: a hero is *ἀμύμων, δαδάρων, εὐμμελῆς*—all of these being unfamiliar words, and hardly understood, as far as we can judge, by the poet himself. The same may be said of the epithets *ἡδυμος* (which is in reality a *vox nihili*), *ἱκετος οὔρος, δολιχόσκιον* (*ἔγχος*), and of sundry fixed phrases—*πτολίμοιο γέφυραι, μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, νυκτὸς ἀμολγῆ, ὁμοίου πτολίμοιο, ἀνδρότητα καὶ ἥβην*, also the sacrificial terms *μῆρα, ἀένυσαν, ὁμοθέτησαν*. Again, it may be shown that some of the characteristic inflexions of the Homeric dialect are in fact pre-Homeric. A good instance of this may be seen in the genitives in *-οιο, -οο* (for *-οιο*), *-ου*. These three forms are successive phonetic stages, which cannot have co-existed in a genuine spoken dialect. When the stage *-ου* had been reached, therefore, the others could only survive as archaisms. The facts are entirely in agreement with this inference. The regular form is *-ου*, for which the poet frequently uses the poetical *-οιο*: while the intermediate *-οο* was confined to a few phrases. Accordingly *-οιο* is especially used in the words upon which the poetical effect depends: *e.g.* in the first hundred lines of the *Iliad*, *στέμμα θεοῖο, πολυφλοίσβοιο, χαομένοιο, ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο, ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο*. On the other hand the form in *-οιο* is comparatively rare in the declension of pronouns. Thus we have *τούτου* ten times, *τούδε* sixteen times, *οὗ* (relative) twelve times, *δο* (rel.) twice; but never the corresponding forms in *-οιο*. Probably also the genitives in *-ᾱο* and in *-ᾱων* were archaic. Those in *-αο* are mostly proper names; which are peculiarly apt to retain old-fashioned forms. Similarly it is probable that instrumental forms in *-φι(ν)* were no longer used in living speech. They are chiefly found in conventional phrases. The same considerations should perhaps be applied whenever a contracted and an uncontracted form of the same word subsist together: *e.g.* *φιλέει* and *φιλεῖ*<sup>1</sup>. They certainly hold of the

<sup>1</sup> Two cases have to be distinguished:

(1) When a contraction is established it becomes the ordinary or prose form of the word: *e.g.* the form *προσηύδα* is so constantly used at the end of the line, and in fixed phrases (like *ἔπειτα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*), that the *προσηύδαε* introduced by some modern editors is a mere falsification.

(2) Vowels which have not coalesced so as to form a diphthong may occasionally be so pronounced together as to form one syllable for the metre. So in Homer *ᾱᾱ, ᾱῶ, ῶῶ*, and so in the Attic scansion of *θεός, πόλεως, &c.* This however is evidently of the nature of a metrical licence, and does not represent the ordinary pronunciation. It seems probable that in Homeric Greek *ᾱ, ῶ, ῷ* were never contracted. So in Latin *deinde* is poetically a trochee, but is not one in prose.

often discussed group of verbs in -αι, since *ῥῶε*, *ῥῶε*, &c. are quite as frequent as the resolved or 'distracted' forms *ῥῶε*, *ῥῶε*, &c. Of the latter indeed it may be said, not only that they are peculiar to the poetical dialect, but that they arose in that dialect, and never existed in any other<sup>2</sup>.

It will be seen that, when all due allowance has been made for archaic or pre-Homeric elements, the relation in which the Homeric language stands to later Greek is not materially affected. The distinctive features of a poetical or literary dialect lie very much on the surface. They consist in the use of a number of borrowed or imitated words, with a few survivals of the most familiar inflexions. The differences between Homeric and later Greek are not confined to vocabulary or inflexions, but affect the whole structure of the language.

### § 2. *Restoration of the original form of Homer.*

It appears then that between the earliest date to which we can assign the existing text of Homer and the age in which the poems themselves were composed there is an interval for which we have no external evidence. Can this want be supplied in any measure by the internal evidence of the poems themselves? Briefly, can we argue back from the ancient vulgate to the original Homer?

1. The first attempts in this direction were suggested by the discovery of the digamma. Much progress has been made in 'restoring the digamma,' *i.e.* in emending the passages in which it cannot be at once replaced. Even now, however, it is not quite certain that the sound in question (*v* or *μ*) was still heard in the period of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Some scholars hold that it was treated like the French *h aspirée*, which is no longer pronounced, but in certain words has the force of a real consonant. However this may be—whether there was loss of a sound, or only neglect of a traditional hiatus—there is no doubt that a number of small changes were made in the text in consequence.

2. Another important change affecting the sounds of the Homeric dialect was first pointed out by P. Kretschmer<sup>3</sup>. He observed that the Ionic change of *ā* to *η* necessarily took place, not only in Greek

<sup>2</sup> For Wackernagel's theory of these forms see his discussion in *Bess. Beitr.* iv. 259 ff. (*H. G.* § 55).

<sup>3</sup> In *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxxi. 285 ff.

words, but also in foreign words adopted by the Ionians. The reason why it is not made in such words as *Δαρείος* or *Μιθριδάτης* is that they did not become known to the Ionians till the period of change from *ā* to *η* had passed. Now the Medes were originally *Māδοι*, as they are on the monument of Idalium: consequently the change of *ā* to *η* must have taken place after they became known to the Ionian Greeks. It follows *a fortiori* that in Homeric times the *ā* was still heard. The same argument applies to *Μίλητος*, the Carian *Μίλατος*<sup>4</sup>: the *η* in that name must be later than the first acquaintance of the Ionians with the coast of Asia Minor.

3. If the original Homeric *ā* became *η*, it would follow that the changes which produced *ā* in certain Ionic words are also later than Homer. As is well known, the reason that *ā* in *τάς*, *πάσα*, &c. did not become *η* is that when that phonetic process took place the words were still *ράνς*, *πάνσα*, &c. These then are to be regarded as the true Homeric forms. And if *ἄνσ* had not then passed into *ᾗσ*, we must suppose that *ονσ* and *ενσ* were still heard in *ρόνς*, *τιθίνς*, and similar words, especially as these forms are found in some dialects (Argolic, Cretan, Cyprian).

4. The Homeric forms of the subjunctive show a want of symmetry which cannot be regarded as the original state of the text. The non-thematic tenses (including the perfect and first aorist) form the subjunctive with a short vowel, *ε* or *ο*, in all cases in which the quantity of the vowel is secured by the metre; but with a long vowel, *η* or *ω*, whenever the metre is not affected. Thus we find *στήμεν*, *στήετε*, but *στήης*, *στήωσι*: and so *στήσομαι* and *στήσεται*, but *στήσησθε*, *στήσωνται*. It is evident that originally the inflexions were regular, *στήω*, *στήεις*, &c.: then the analogy of the thematic conjugation (*λέγω*, *λέγης*, &c.) brought in the long vowel whenever it was metrically possible.

5. The forms of the dative plural in *-οις* and *-ης* or *-αις* appear to be post-Homeric, since in the great majority of instances the metre allows elision (*-οιοῖ*, *-ησοῖ*). Where this is not so it is generally possible to correct the text so as to restore the original *-οισι*, *-ησι*.

6. The forms *ἦν* (from *εἰ ᾗν*) and *ἐπῆν* (from *ἐπεῖ ᾗν*) are in all probability post-Homeric. With *εἰ* and *ἐπεῖ* Homeric usage sometimes requires *ᾗν* or *κεν*, sometimes not: hence, as has been pointed out elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, it is highly significant to find that in cases of the former kind *ἐπῆν* is followed by a vowel, so that we can read *ἐπεῖ κ*,

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the Cretan *Μιλάπιος* (Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum* 121).

<sup>5</sup> Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 362 (ed. 2).



while in those of the latter kind the next word begins with a consonant and *ἐνεί* can stand.

7. The adverbs *ἔως* and *τέως* appear in Homer with a trochaic scansion, which is explained by the fact that they were originally *ἔφος*, *ράφος*. In this case the remarkable point is that the Attic form held possession of the text although it involved a glaring violation of metre.

These examples—which could easily be multiplied—will show the nature of the reasoning by which it is possible to recover some of the characteristic features of the older Homeric language. The process, as will be seen, is one of analysis and induction, chiefly from the facts of Homeric metre. Accordingly it is essentially imperfect. It may succeed if there are metrical phenomena from which to argue: it generally fails where these phenomena are wanting. This being so, it follows that no re-construction of the primitive Homeric text can be adequate or scientific. It must consist of a mixture, in unknown proportions, of forms which have been restored with more or less probability by the methods now in question, and forms to which these methods cannot be applied.

### § 3. *Relation of epic to other dialects.*

The ancient grammarians, who studied the several dialects employed in literature, but who probably had little acquaintance with local varieties of speech, described the language of Homer as 'epic' and 'Ionic,'—epic as being the vehicle of epic poetry, Ionic because it most nearly resembled the dialect of the Ionian historians, medical writers and philosophers. For such Homeric forms as were not Ionic they had recourse to other dialects, from which they supposed Homer to have borrowed. Thus the genitives in *-οιο* were said to be Thesalian (Schol. A on Il. 11. 35) or Boeotian (Eust. p. 140, 41); those in *-ῶο* were accounted Boeotian (Schol. A on Il. 11. 306), those in *-ῶων* Aeolic or Boeotian (Schol. T on Il. 19. 1), the datives in *-εσσι* Aeolic (Schol. T on Il. 1. 4). Of the pronouns, the forms *ἄμμες*, *ἄμμι(ν)*, *ἄμμε*, *ὑμμες*, *ὑμμι(ν)*, *ὑμμε* were recognised as Aeolic, and therefore had the Aeolic accent and breathing. The same account was given of the accent of *ἄλλυdis* and *ἄμυdis*, also of *ἀκάρησθαι*, *ἀκαχήμενος*, *ἀλάησθαι*, *ἀαλήμενος*, *ἐγρήγορθαι*, and sundry other words. These words, the grammarians held, were taken by Homer from Aeolic and other

dialects in order to give elevation and poetical colour to his verse. In this way it was thought that the epic dialect was formed—a dialect based upon that of Ionia, with a considerable admixture from the neighbouring Aeolis, and a few words from more distant parts of Greece. It need hardly be said that no poetical dialect has ever been created in such a fashion as this.

The first attempt to treat this subject in a scientific manner was made a few years ago by Aug. Fick, in his work on the *Odyssey*. His view, briefly stated, is that the original home of Homeric poetry was Smyrna, which was an Aeolian settlement down to about 700 B.C. When it became Ionian, the poems, he believes, were brought to Chios, and there—probably as late as 540 B.C.—were translated into Ionic, so far as the vocabulary and metre of the two dialects allowed this to be done. The proof of this theory he finds partly in the digamma, which was lost in Ionic Greek at a comparatively early time, and partly in the circumstance that the Aeolisms of Homer are mostly words which have no exact metrical equivalents in Ionic: *e.g.* Ἀτρεΐδᾱς, Ion. Ἀτρεΐδεω: λαός, Ion. λαός: κόνεσσι, Ion. κνσί: νύμφᾱ, Ion. νύμφη: δόμεναι and δόμεν, Ion. δοῦναι: Ἑρμείᾱς, Ion. Ἑρμῆς: δμμι(ν), Ion. ἡμί: κε(ν), Ion. ᾄν. In such cases, translation being impossible, the original Aeolic was retained.

Fick's views are professedly determined in great part by quasi-historical *data*,—the stories of Homer's birth at Smyrna, with the notices about the Homeridae in Chios, and the recitation of the poems by Cynaethus. We have seen how worthless all the evidence of this kind is (pp. 398–402). On the other side must be set the inherent improbability of such a translation or *rifacimento* as Fick imagines. Nothing is more marked in Greek literature than the intimate association between literary form and dialect, and the fidelity with which a dialect once employed is adhered to by subsequent authors in the same *genre*. It may be admitted that a poetical dialect does not remain quite unchanged—that it is liable to be gradually modified by the influence of the ever-changing colloquial speech. And in the early times, when writing was little used, this influence would be especially operative. But that a great body of Aeolic poetry, famous as such down to the sixth century B.C., should then have been deliberately re-cast in an Ionic dress is most unlikely. If Homer was so dealt with, why not Sappho and Alcaeus?

Nor is the linguistic evidence really decisive. Fick's conclusion depends upon the premisses (1) that New Ionic forms are adopted whenever the metre admits them, and (2) that the older forms pre-

served by the metre are Aeolic. Neither contention is quite borne out by the facts. The text has *ὄρώ*, &c., not Ionic *ὄρέω*: *ἔργα*, not Ionic *ἔγηγ*: *πῶς*, *πότε*, &c., not *κῶς*, *κότε*, &c.: *ἄμμιν*, *ἔμμιν*, as well as Ionic *ἡμιν*, *ὑμιν*: Aeolic *ἐννοσίγαιος*, but Ionic *εἰνοσίφυλλος*. Again, if the metre preserved Aeolic *Ἀτρεΐδᾱο*, *μουνάων*, *λαός* and the like, it also preserved the Old Ionic *νηός*, *ἡώς*, *ἥλιος*, *δῆϊος*, *κληίς*, *ρήϊδιος*, *παιήων*, instead of the equivalent Aeolic *νᾱός* (or *νᾱος*), *αῶς*, &c. And if it preserved *πεινάων* and *διψάων*, why did it not preserve *μυῶμενοι*, *ἡβᾶσσοτες*, *δράσσοι*, *μαμᾶδουσι*?

If however the supposed change of dialect is not placed in the sixth century B. C. or in the Ionian colonies, the problem becomes a very different one. Mr. Leaf assumes as a probable hypothesis that a body of Epic poetry, originally composed in an Aeolic dialect, was carried to Asia and there passed through 'an Ionian development,' which lasted perhaps from the ninth to the seventh century B. C. This is a view which is free from the most obvious improbability of Fick's theory, viz. the sudden change of dialect. But it sweeps away most of the linguistic evidence upon which Fick relied. Instead of comparing an Aeolic supposed to be akin to that of Alcaeus and Sappho with the Ionic of the sixth century, we have now to compare what we know or can guess of an Aeolic and an Ionic anterior to the Aeolian and Ionian colonisation. For the problem is this: having reconstructed the primitive dialect of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, to determine the group of dialects to which it is most akin, and the part of Greece in which it was spoken.

A few examples will show how much the linguistic argument suffers by this way of stating the question. Fick's main point was that the digamma is wanting in the earliest known Ionic: but this proves nothing for the Ionic of the age of Homer<sup>6</sup>. He contended that the Homeric dialect must have been an *ā*-dialect, i. e. one in which *ā* did not change to *η*: but the Ionic of Homeric times, as we have seen, was an *ā*-dialect. He showed that the endings *-ᾱο*, *-ᾱων*, which the metre protected from alteration, were in fact Boeotian and Thessalian: but the Ionic *-εω*, *-εων* presuppose *-ᾱο*, *-ᾱων*, or some metrical equivalent. Again, the pronouns *ἄμμε* and *ἔμμε* are Lesbian, the Ionic forms being *ἡμέας*, *ὑμέας*: but we may substitute *ἄμέ*, *ὑμέ*, which are justified by the Homeric *ἀμός*, *ὑμός*, and moreover are Doric and Boeotian. When-

<sup>6</sup> Kretschmer has shown (*K. Z.* xxxi. p. 295) that in Attic the loss of *f*, even in the combination of *pf*, was later than the change of *α* to *η*. For the *η* of *κόρη*, *δέρη* points to *κόρφη*, *δέρφη*: cp. *κόρη* from *κόρη*. So *κενότερος*, *στενότερος* (instead of *-ερερος*) point to *κενf-*, *στενf-*.

ever, in short, the Homeric forms are found to belong to the original stock of the language, it is at least possible that they survived in Ionic, without such a change as would affect the metre, down to the time of Homer. Consequently there is no good ground for assigning them to Aeolic.

There are however one or two of Fick's arguments to which the foregoing remarks do not apply.

1. The forms of the dative plural in *-εσσι* (*κύν-εσσι*, *ἀνδρεσσι*, &c.) were apparently formed on the analogy of *ἡγεσσι*, *βέλεισσι*, &c. They are obviously due to the desire or tendency to keep the same stem in all case-forms: *e.g.* *πάντ-εσσι* is preferred to *πάσι* because it is more like *πάντ-ες*, *πάντ-ων*, &c. In Homer they are nearly as numerous as those in *-σι*, and accordingly there are very many doublets like *κυσί* and *κύεσσι*, *ἀνδράσι* and *ἀνδρεσσι*, both evidently belonging to the colloquial speech of the time. Thus Homer holds a middle place between Ionic, which does not admit *-εσσι* except under Homeric influence, and the Aeolic dialects—Lesbian and Boeotian—which rarely use the older forms in *-σι*. On the other hand the Arcado-Cyprian or 'South Achaean' dialect has *-σι*, which is also the regular ending in Doric. These facts evidently do not determine the affinities of the Homeric dialect. At most they suggest that in the matter of the use of *-εσσι* the Homeric dialect tends in the direction of Aeolic, or at least *not* in that of Ionic.

2. A similar indication may be drawn from the forms of the perfect participle with the endings *-ων*, *-οντος*, of which there are one or two examples in Homer (*viz.* *κεκλήγοντες*, *κεκόπων*). The change from *-ός*, *-ότος* was universal in Lesbian and Boeotian, also in Syracusan Doric. Fick would extend it in Homer to all the forms now written with *-όντες*: thus he would write *γεγάοντες*, *μεμάοντες*. But this cannot be carried far in Homer. It can only produce a few anomalies; and these merely illustrate the general tendency to substitute thematic for non-thematic inflexion.

3. The apocope of prepositions, *i.e.* the use of the forms *ἀν*, *κατ*, *παρ*, *ἀπ*, &c. is a feature of Homeric Greek in which it agrees with all the dialects except Ionic. It is not carried so far in Homer as (*e.g.*) in Lesbian, where the full form *κατά* is not found in use. Similarly *πρὸς* and *πρὶ* are non-Ionic.

4. The Homeric infinitive endings *-μεναι*, *-μεν*, *-εσαι* (for *-φασαι*), *-εειν*, *-ειν* are all apparently primitive, and are variously distributed among the later Greek dialects. Thus we find Lesbian *-μεναι* in non-thematic tenses, and *-ην* (=Ion. *-ειν*) in thematic tenses: Boeotian

and Thessalian *-μεν*: Arcado-Cyprian and Homeric *-ferai* (non-thematic); Arcadian and Doric *-εν*. New developments are seen in Ionic *-vai* (*διδόναι*, &c.), Lesbian *-ην* (for *-vai* in *μεθύσθην*, *τεχνίσκην*, &c.). Among these should be reckoned Homeric *-εμεναι*, i.e. the extension of *-μεναι* to thematic forms; also Homeric, Thessalian and Boeotian *-εμεν*. This extension—not found in Lesbian or Doric—departs from the original type of noun formation. In such forms as *φενγέ-μεν-αι* or *φερé-μεν* the thematic vowel does not come from an actual or possible noun-stem (with suffix *-men*), but from the analogy of the verb. Thus the evidence of these infinitive forms goes to show that in this point Lesbian is more primitive than Homer. The development of *-εμεναι* in the Homeric dialect and *-εμεν* in Thessalian and Boeotian were probably independent.

5. The Homeric language possesses two particles, *ἄν* and *κε(ν)*, which, as has been shown elsewhere<sup>7</sup>, differ slightly in meaning. They are both employed with the freedom and accuracy characteristic of the use of such words in living speech. In the later dialects they are separated: *ἄν* only is found in Attic and Ionic, *κε(ν)* only in the three north Aeolic dialects. Fick indeed contends that *ἄν* is not originally Homeric, and proposes a series of excisions and corrections to get rid of it. But, apart from the probability that it is identical with the *an* of Latin and Gothic, and therefore in any case proto-Hellenic<sup>8</sup>, there is a strong argument for it in the fact that it is the usual conditional particle in the Arcadian dialect, where there are also traces of the use of *κε(ν)*. This suggests that both *ἄν* and *κε(ν)* are proto-Hellenic, and that while *ἄν* was lost in the Aeolic of northern Greece (as also in Doric), *κε(ν)* died out in the Peloponnesus, as well as in Attica and Ionia. However this may be, *ἄν* and *κε(ν)* cannot serve as a shibboleth to distinguish Ionic from non-Ionic Greek. The appearance of both in Homer points not to later intermixture, but to the antiquity and independence of the dialect.

6. The primitive *ἦς* (3 Sing. Impf. of *εἶμι*) is found in Arcado-Cyprian and Boeotian, as well as in Doric: but the original Homeric forms are *ἦεν* and *ἔεν*<sup>9</sup>. As these are later than *ἦς* we may count this as an instance in which Homer does not present the oldest Greek. The metre excludes the possibility of exchange of forms.

A similar case may be seen in the Thessalian and Arcadian *τός* for

<sup>7</sup> Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 361.

<sup>8</sup> See Leo Meyer, *AN im Griechischen, Lateinischen und Gothischen*, Berlin 1880: Monro, *H. G.* § 364.

<sup>9</sup> Leo Meyer in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* ix. 386: Nauck, *Mélanges gréco-rom.* iii. 250.

ρός, which was doubtless originally a sentence-doublet, ρός standing before vowels and ρς before consonants. So too the infinitive in -εν is Arcadian as well as Doric.

7. Examples of agreement between Homeric and Ionic may perhaps be found in the iterative tenses in -σκον, the adverbs in -δον (περισσάδον, διακρύδον, ἡβηδόν, &c. in Hdt.), the particle μέν = the Attic μήν. In all these cases the form is guaranteed by the metre.

These facts do not carry us far in the endeavour to localise the ancient epic language. They indicate, indeed, that it was closely akin to several members of the group called Aeolic by Strabo (viii. 513), which included not only the three dialects universally recognized as such, but also Arcadian. But they do not identify it with any one dialect of the group.

Moreover, it cannot be said that the Attic-Ionic dialects are separated by any sound linguistic criterion from the group in question. Their most salient points are the loss of *f* and the change of *ā* to *η*: but both these changes have been shown to be post-Homeric. The same may be said *a fortiori* of such Aeolic peculiarities as the loss of the dual (supposed by Fick to have taken place between the ninth and the seventh century), the extension of the verbs in -μι (φίλημι, δοκίμωμι, &c.), the barytone accentuation (which is attributed only to Lesbian), the loss of the rough breathing and of *ν* ἐφελκυστικόν. In the last two points the innovation is common to Lesbian and New Ionic—just as ττ for σσ is common to Boeotian and Attic. On the other hand the retention of the dative plural in -σι and of the particle ἄν are points which do much to connect Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian.

#### § 4. *The language of the Homeric age.*

The linguistic phenomena seem to point, by faint but definite indications, to a chain of kindred dialects extending from Thessaly—or (after the Aeolian colonisation) from Lesbos—to the Peloponnesus, if not to Crete and Cyprus, and probably including the Ionic of Attica and Euboea. How does this agree with such *data* as we can glean from Homer on the one hand, and the monuments of pre-historic Greece on the other?

The testimony of Homer is clear on one great issue. He describes an expedition in which every town and district of Greece bore a part, from the Argos which was afterwards Thessaly to the Argos which

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became Peloponnesus, from Ithaca in the west to Euboea in the east. To the army so formed was opposed an army of Trojans and their allies. And the chief difference between them is described in the *Iliad* with the vividness as of one who was there, and heard if he did not see the meeting of the hosts. It lay in this, that the Greeks, who spoke a single language, advanced in silence, while on the Trojan side was a babel of many tongues (Il. 4. 437-438):

οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμῶς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,  
ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμίμκτο, πολὺκλήτοι δ' ἴσαν ἄνδρες.

So in the *Odyssey*, in the well-known passage about the five peoples of the island of Crete, the 'Achaean' (Ἀχαιοί) are contrasted on the ground of difference of language with the other four (Od. 19. 175 ff.):

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμυμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες κτλ.

What then was the language of these Homeric 'Achaean'? Of what civilisation, of what literature, was it the organ?

These are questions that have acquired a new significance from the discoveries of the last twenty-five years. It may be regarded as certain that, whatever amount of historical truth there is in the story of the Trojan war, the Homeric poems are a mirror of the age to which they belong, and reflect, not only the arts and industries, the institutions and beliefs of that age, but also the political condition of the then Greek world. The picture drawn in the *Iliad* of an array of contingents from all parts of Greece united under the military command of an 'emperor' or *Bretwalda*, to whom the many tribal 'kings' are in a species of feudal vassalage, must have answered to a real state of things<sup>10</sup>. This inference is amply confirmed by the wonderful series of monuments unearthed by Schliemann and those who are carrying on his work. The Homeric empire of Agamemnon—a king of Mycene 'ruling over many isles and all Argos'—has

<sup>10</sup> 'The *Iliad* speaks of A great king of Mykéné as warring on the coast of Asia. To one who knew Greece only from Herodotus and Thucydides the story would seem absurd. In their pages Mykéné appears utterly insignificant. . . . But go to the place itself, look at the wonderful remains of early magnificence which are still there, and the difficulty at once vanishes. Legend and archaeology between them have kept alive a truth which history has lost. We may fairly set down the Pelopid dynasty as a real dynasty' (Freeman, *Historical Essays*, II. p. 61). These words were written long before Schliemann's discoveries, but fully apply to them. They may be extended to other places celebrated in Homer, especially Orchomenos (Il. 9. 381):

'The King of Mykéné who reigned over many islands and all Argos was as it were the *Bretwalda* of Hellas, *Basileus* in the later as well as in the earlier sense' (Freeman, *Comparative Politics*, p. 204).

found its historical antitype in the 'Mycenaean' civilisation. In the period occupied by that civilisation it is easy to place a drama like that of the *Iliad*, of which the often-renewed strife of East and West furnishes the back-ground. In the *Odyssey*, too, as has been already noticed (p. 336), there are all the signs of a condition of tranquillity which implies the presence of some central power controlling the chivalrous and restless tribes of Greece. That this Homeric polity is essentially 'Mycenaean'—that is to say, that it is not separated by any long interval or serious breach of continuity from the period of the Mycenaean remains—appears now to be the general opinion of archaeologists and historians<sup>11</sup>. It cannot be accidental that hitherto these remains have been chiefly found in the countries most prominent in Homer—Argolis, Laconia, Attica, Boeotia, Thessaly, Crete. It is also clear that the Mycenaean civilisation is contrasted at every point with that of Dorian Greece: and accordingly we find that in the period depicted by Homer the Dorians had not entered or even seriously threatened the Peloponnesus<sup>12</sup>. Eventually this pre-Dorian Homeric empire was overmastered and destroyed by the descent of the northern tribes, the

<sup>11</sup> The chief facts on which this judgement is based are given by Mr. Percy Gardner (see p. 337, n. 18), and by Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* I<sup>2</sup>. pp. 53-126. Busolt regards the Homeric civilisation as later than the Mycenaean,—as simpler, at a lower stage of technical development, but also less under oriental influence. In some matters—funeral customs, dress, armour—he notes marked differences, but along with these he finds manifold links and transitional features connecting the two periods (*op. cit.* p. 113). Both writers recognize that the Mycenaean culture was Hellenic, and that it was that of the pre-Dorian inhabitants, the ancestors of the Aeolians and Ionians.

More recently the question has been discussed by Paul Cauer, in his book *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*. He notices, as evidence of post-Mycenaean or late Mycenaean date, (1) the sitting image of Athene mentioned in *Il.* 6. 273, (2) the *σῆματα λυγρὰ* in the story of Bellerophon, which imply some form of writing, (3) the use of iron, (4) the custom of burning the dead, and (5) the more restricted use of chariots in war (we do not hear of *squadrons* of chariots). In his view, however, the Homeric culture is not to be treated as that of a single uniform period. He seeks rather to show how far observations of such things may serve to distinguish earlier from later *strata* in the composition of the poems, applying the method to (1) the use of iron, (2) *ἔδρα*—as to which he proves in an interesting discussion that the Homeric period was one of transition: and (3) the temples mentioned in Homer, of which the chief instances are in *Il.* v-vii.

Since this was written the whole subject has been fully treated by Mr. Ridgeway in his new book on *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. I: see p. 484 (*infra*).

<sup>12</sup> The flight of Tydeus from Aetolia to Argos may be interpreted as a symptom that in the time of Homer the Aetolian invaders were pressing upon north-western Greece, occupying places like Calydon and Pleuron, which were associated with famous events in heroic Greece. Another trace may be seen in the name of the Eleans (*Il.* 11. 671), which occurs only once in Homer, in a long and probably spurious speech of Nestor. The Dorians, if we may argue from the mention in the *Odyssey* (19. 177), reached Crete before they were able to enter the Peloponnesus. They are described as non-Achaean in respect of language.



Dorians and Aetolians, who drove out the inhabitants—the Homeric 'Ἀχαιοὶ or 'Αργεῖοι—from the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

If the Homeric poems, and the early Greek culture which they bring before us so fully and vividly, are to be identified as Mycenaean (in the archaeological sense), it becomes more than probable that the language of Homer was the dominant language of the same great period. That there was a language of government may be taken for granted: and if so it is not likely that the language of poetry was materially different. The Dorian conquest, like the barbarian invasions of the Roman empire, had the effect of breaking down the ascendancy of the official and literary language, and giving independent importance to a number of local varieties, such as grow up when a single language is spoken over a wide area. Thus instead of the one Homeric or (as we may call it) 'Old Achæan' tongue, we find several dialects, of which some were brought by the invaders, and some were the forms assumed by the 'Old Achæan' in the different provinces. It is surely a confirmation of this view of the epic language that the area covered by these pre-Dorian dialects is almost exactly the same as the area over which the traces of Mycenaean civilisation have now been discovered. In the Mycenaean period the parent Achæan was doubtless spoken over a continuous territory, extending from Thessaly to the Peloponnesus,—not as in historical times dislocated and interrupted by the invaders from the north and the west.

If these conclusions are accepted, the main division of the Greek dialects is into Dorian and non-Dorian. The Ionians in early times occupied much of the Peloponnesus, and their affinity with the Peloponnesian Achæans is expressed in the ancient genealogy which made Ion and Achæus the sons of Xuthus, while Xuthus, Aeolus, and Dorus were the sons of Hellen<sup>13</sup>. But the Aeolic of Achæa

<sup>13</sup> This genealogy goes back to the Hesiodic *Κατάλογος* (fr. 25 Kinkel):

Ἕλληνας δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλεος βασιλῆες  
Δωρὸς τε Φοῦβός τε καὶ Αἰόλος Ἰπποχέρμης.

The name of 'Ἀχαιὸς, son of Xuthus and brother of Ion, refers doubtless to the Achæans of north Peloponnesus, where they were mythically associated with the Ionians. It is all the more significant since in later times the Achæan dialect seems to have been a northern Dorian—one of those which became important for a time through the influence of the Achæan and Aetolian leagues. The name, however, may fairly be extended to denote the dialects of pre-Dorian Peloponnesus, as well as those of which the Achæans of Phthiotis are the remnant. Hence the classification made by Hoffmann into North Achæan—sc. the three Aeolic dialects,—and South Achæan, sc. Arcadian and Cyprian: the latter being colonists, not presumably of the Arcadians, but of some kindred population on the coast of the Peloponnesus (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I<sup>2</sup>. p. 114, n. 3). It is worth notice that various

Phthiotis was of the same linguistic group, only diverging from the rest with time and distance. To this group, then, the Homeric language must have originally belonged, emerging from it as the great languages of the world have emerged from local dialects,—as the Italian language, for example, was formed from the popular speech of Tuscany. On the other hand, the Dorians and the ancestors of other northern tribes—Aetolians, Eleans, Thessalians, perhaps Boeotians—lay outside the limits of the 'Mycenaean' empire, or at least on its more distant confines. They may have been to Homeric Greece what Macedonia and Illyria were to the Hellenism of later times, or what the descendants of Esau were to the children of Israel,—half acknowledged as kindred, yet despised as semi-barbarian. The parallel with Macedonia may be carried a good deal further. The northern and western tribes descended upon Mycenaean Greece, and broke up the earlier political system: but at the same time they suffered themselves to be conquered by the art and literature which they found in their new seats. They listened to the recitation of Homer, and they adopted the Homeric chiefs—notably the 'Pelopid' Agamemnon and his son Orestes—as their own national heroes<sup>14</sup>. They even looked upon their leaders as heroes returning to a land of which they had long been wrongfully dispossessed. And the claim to Hellenic ancestry made by such princes as Philip of Macedon and Pyrrhus of Epirus is evidently the counterpart of the Spartan king's boast that he was not a Dorian but an Achaeon<sup>15</sup>.

Homeric words re-appear in this Cyprian descendant of the ancient speech: *e.g.* *αἰτάρ* 'but,' *ἰδέ* 'and,' *αἶσα* 'share,' *βάλομαι* (*βοόλομαι*), *ὅλος* 'alone,' *ἀγαμαι* 'am astonished,' *δαός* 'blind,' *ἀνώγω* 'command,' *ἀρά* 'prayer,' *ἀρουρα* 'field,' *γοῶναι* 'bewail,' *ἔλος* 'meadow,' *ἐυχωλά* 'vow,' *φάραξ* 'prince,' *ἀπόφερσα* 'swept forth,' *φέρφα* 'did,' *φῶρος* 'watcher,' *φρήν* 'ram,' *ἡβαιόν* 'little,' *ἱατήρ* 'healer,' *ἵζε* 'seated,' *κασίγνητος* 'brother,' *κέραμος* 'prison,' *λοῖσθος* 'last,' *ἐμαρψεν* 'seized,' *πάσσειν* 'to embroider,' *πόσις* 'husband,' *πρύλλις* 'war-dance,' *σπέος* 'cave,' *ταγός* 'leader,' *φάσγανον* 'sword' (Hoffmann, *Die griech. Dialecte*, I. § 240). An interesting trace of this South Achaean dialect has been pointed out in the Laconian *Ποσειδῶν* (Poseidon), since this cannot be the Doric *Ποσειδάων*, but must be the Laconian pronunciation of *Ποσειδῶν*, the Arcado-Cyprian form.

When we turn to the Dorian dialects, we find many evidences of their alien character. The most striking perhaps is the ancient *-μεν* of the First Person Plural, which in all Ionic-Aeolic dialects has been replaced by *-μεν*. No equally significant difference is found in the case of any other group of dialects. In the formation of the tenses the Doric is pointedly distinguished by the Future in *-σῶ* (*-σω*), and the Futures and Aorists in *-ξῶ* and *-ξα*. It is also the only dialect that always retains the forms *τοῖ*, *ταῖ* in the declension of the Article. Phonetically it is peculiar in contracting *αι* into *η*. And it is the most primitive in respect of accentuation—as the Lesbian Aeolic is the most degenerate.

<sup>14</sup> Hdt. 7. 159 ἥ κε μέγ' οὐμῶφιεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων ποτόμενος κ.τ.λ. Cp. the story about the bones of Orestes (Hdt. 1. 68).

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 5. 72 ὃ γέναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι, ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός.

The ascendancy of the epic or Homeric dialect was such that it was the language of all poetry—that is, of all literature—from Homer to the lyric poets of the seventh century B.C. After that time it continued to be exclusively used in epos and elegy, as well as in the hexameter verse of the early philosophers, and even in the answers of the Delphian-oracle. The nationality of the poet made no sensible difference. Hesiod was by birth an Aeolian of Cyme, and lived at Ascra in Boeotia. His poetry was so un-Homeric that he might well have adhered to his native dialect. Yet we find him boasting of a prize won at the funeral games of a prince of the Ionian Chalcis<sup>16</sup>. Tyrtæus was said to have been an Athenian, and his verses were addressed to the Spartans. Theognis was a Megarian. Among the reputed authors of cyclic poems there are several that are not Ionic: Stasinus of Cyprus, Lesches of Mytilene, Agias of Troezen, Eugammon of Cyrene: and so among the Hesiodic or genealogical poets, Eumelus of Corinth, Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, &c. It is true that the dialect was not retained in its original purity. When the supremacy in literature, as in art and commerce, passed to Ionia, the language of poetry was insensibly modified under the influence of the colloquial Ionic. The digamma after a time was no longer heard: the long ā became η: *rórs*, *rárs*, &c. became *roús*, *rás*, &c. But apart from these phonetic changes, and others to which we shall have to return, the distinctive character of the dialect was maintained. We do not know how long it remained in use as the language of government, or as the *lingua franca* of commerce. The law codes, which seem to have been among the earliest prose writings, were in the vulgar tongue, if we may argue from the Dorian instance of Gortyn. But in the realm of poetry it held undisputed sway, until the popular songs of Lesbos took artistic form in the hands of Alcaeus and Sappho.

The nature of this supremacy of epic Greek may fitly be illustrated by the account which Dante has given of the Italian of his own time<sup>17</sup>. There were then, as always in Italy, very many local dialects, differing from each other (if we may judge from the specimens) as widely as any Greek dialects known to us. Along with these there was one form of speech which was universally understood, and was independent of local influences. This he calls the 'illustrious vulgar tongue' (*vulgare illustre*). It was the dialect of every city, and yet belonged to none. It was the standard by

<sup>16</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Herakles*, I. p. 66 (ed. 1889).

<sup>17</sup> Dante, *De vulgari eloquio*, I. cc. 16-19.

which the other spoken dialects (*inferiora* or *municipalia vulgaria*) were judged<sup>18</sup>, the hinge on which they turned: hence it was properly called *cardinale*. Further, it was the dialect of palaces and courts, hence *aulicum* and *curiale*,—though Italy had then no visible *aula* or *curia*. Finally, it was the common dialect of the poets who had written in the vulgar tongue, from Sicily to Lombardy<sup>19</sup>. It need hardly be added that this 'illustrious' tongue was not so unconnected with local varieties of speech as Dante imagined. It was simply one of the popular dialects of Tuscany, raised to an exceptional position by the ascendancy, literary and political, of those who spoke it.

### § 5. *Theory of an Aeolian epos.*

In what part then of the Mycenaean or Old Achaeae (pre-Dorian) realm is the origin of the epic language to be sought? This is a question that has occupied much of the attention of scholars in late years, indeed ever since Fick put forward his theory and supported it by striking arguments, derived partly from his unsurpassed knowledge of the Greek dialects, and partly from historical and geographical considerations. That theory, of which an outline has already been given (p. 461), has not been generally accepted in its entirety: but it has gone far to do away with the old notion of an Ionian Homer; *i.e.* of a Homer whose language was simply an early form of Ionic Greek, with occasional words or inflexions borrowed from the neighbouring Aeolis. 'The epos,' Wilamowitz has observed<sup>20</sup>, 'is more than anything else the living expression of Ionian supremacy, and yet it bears plain marks, in form and content, of having sprung from an Aeolian root: but the Ionian genius gave it a new birth.' More recently Busolt<sup>21</sup> has expressed the opinion that Fick goes too far in maintaining that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were actually translated from the Aeolic dialect into Ionic: but he considers him to have proved that the Aeolic element in Homer is much more important than was formerly assumed,—that it can only be explained

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* c. 16 inter quae nunc potest discerni vulgare quod superius venabamur, quod in qualibet redolet civitate, nec cubat in ulla . . . quo municipalia vulgaria omnia Latinorum mensurantur, ponderantur et comparantur.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* c. 19 hoc enim usi sunt doctores illustres qui lingua vulgari poetati sunt in Italia, ut Siculi, Apuli, Tusci, Romandioli, Lombardi et utriusque Marchiae viri.

<sup>20</sup> *Herakles*, I. p. 66 (ed. 1889).

<sup>21</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I<sup>2</sup>. p. 134.

on the supposition that the Aeolians cultivated epic poetry before the Ionians, and that when the practice of the art passed to the latter they took over with it a store of conventional words and turns of phrase. And in addition to the argument from the Aeolisms thus accounted for, it is pointed out that the hero of the *Iliad* is a prince of Thessaly, the mother country of Aeolis—that his father is a hero connected with the Thessalian mountain Pelion—that the Trojan expedition sailed from Aulis, not from Nauplia (the natural port for Mycene)—that the religious associations of Homer are with mount Olympus, the Zeus of Dodona, the Muses of Pieria—that the folklore figures are mostly Thessalian, viz. the Lapithae and Centaurs (with their Aeolic name Φῆρες), and the Aloeidae, who sought to pile Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion on Ossa—that the scene of the *Iliad* is laid in Aeolis, and the poet shows acquaintance with Aeolic localities, Tenedos and Cilla.

The theory according to which the epic dialect was the *vulgare illustre* or national language of pre-Dorian Greece is not inconsistent, logically speaking, with an Aeolic (i.e. Lesbian or Thessalian) origin. It may be that in respect of language Thessaly was the Tuscany of early Greece. If that was so, the 'illustrious' dialect was doubtless carried by Thessalian settlers to their new seats in Asiatic Aeolis: where epic song may have arisen and flourished; and whence it may have been passed on in time to Ionia. But this chain of hypotheses is open to some objections which have hardly been sufficiently considered.

1. The supposed Aeolian stage in the history of the Greek epos is not at all necessary. What is the problem? It is to explain how a national epic such as the *Iliad*, interesting to all parts of Greece, and composed in a common national language, came to be regarded as in a special sense Ionian, and to be recited in the Ionic dialect. But if the Ionians or their ancestors formed part of the early Achaean nation—if they were included in the Παναχαιοί—they had by birthright a share in Homer. Why should the poems have come round to them by way of Thessaly and Aeolis?

2. It is true that Thessaly is in some ways what may be called a 'cradle-land' of early Greece. It is perhaps the part of Greece which was the first to be occupied by a Hellenic population; accordingly it is the seat of some of the oldest traditions, and in particular of the most venerable religious memories. But these traditions and memories are much older than Homer. The question for us turns upon the period of the *Iliad*,—a period in which Argolis

and Lacedaemon were at least as much in the minds of men as Boeotia and Thessaly.

3. The scene of the Trojan war is laid in Asiatic Aeolis. But can the story be a reflexion of the conquest of Aeolis? Is it such a tale as would be told by Aeolian colonists about their mythical ancestors? This is surely more than doubtful. The poet of the *Iliad* knows something of the Trojan topography. He mentions the coast towns and rivers (*all* the rivers, if we admit the testimony of Il. 12. 19 ff.), and he refers to such local features as the mounds that marked the burial places of the Greek heroes, and the distant peaks of Ida and Samothrace. But, as Ed. Meyer has pointed out, he does not seem to know the interior—Gergis, Cebren, Scepsis<sup>23</sup>. And he betrays no acquaintance with the subsequent history of the Troad. He drops no hint that it was destined to be occupied by his countrymen. On the contrary, he introduces a prophecy (Il. 20. 307) that the Trojans would thereafter be ruled by a line of native princes descended from Aeneas. This prophecy, which is put into the mouth of Poseidon, proves that at the time of the *Iliad* the country of Troy, if not the city itself, was still in the possession of a people that called themselves Trojans<sup>24</sup>. If, as seems likely, the passage is a later insertion, the argument from it is so much the stronger. Again, if the *Iliad* was inspired by the Aeolian conquest, why is it not a tale of conquest? There is nothing in the poem to make it certain that Troy was eventually taken. It was not to be taken by the hero of the poem,—so much the *Iliad* tells us. The *Odyssey* supplies the want, in its own *märchenhaft* fashion: but that is only the natural development of the story. And in the *Odyssey* the chief theme is not the victory of the Greeks, but their lamentable return (*νόστος Ἀχαιῶν λυγρός*). Much has been made of the foundation legends which connect the Aeolian and Ionian colonies with the heroes of the Trojan war<sup>25</sup>. But such legends only prove that these heroes had become or were becoming the national heroes of Greece. It might as well be argued that because the Dorian invasion was supposed to be the Return of the Heraclidae it is the real source and explanation of the mythical adventures of Heracles.

4. The notion of early epic songs, arising in Aeolis and afterwards spreading to Ionia, does not fall in very well with what is otherwise known, on the one hand of Ionian poetry—epic, elegiac and iambic—and on the other hand of the Aeolian choric songs. In the seventh

<sup>23</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte von Troas*, pp. 106, 109.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> See especially Duncker, *History of Greece*, Bk. II. c. xii.

century B.C., when the outlines of a history of Greek literature begin to be discernible, the ancient supremacy of the epic style, with its consecrated language and metre, was challenged, apparently for the first time, by the rise of a new species of poetry, one that employed a vernacular dialect and various new forms of verse, and was distinguished especially by the fresh and passionate expression which it gave to individual feeling. This form of literature made its appearance in the island of Lesbos, then colonised chiefly by settlers from Thessaly. It was of the nature of a reaction or revolt from the epic—an escape from the traditional classicism of Homer and his successors to colloquial speech and natural sentiment. The lyrical type may have been much more ancient. It was doubtless created and handed down in local and popular songs (such as the *rispetti* and *stornelli* of Tuscany), long before it was made 'illustrious' by the genius of Alcaeus and Sappho. Thenceforth the Aeolic dialect—the local speech of Lesbos and the adjacent Asiatic coast—became one of the leading dialects of Hellenic literature. For all subsequent lyric poets it was what the epic dialect had been for poetry in general.

Now in all this course of development it is not easy to find a place for an early Aeolian (pre-Ionian) school of epic song. Can it be that there was such a school in Aeolis, capable of giving the first impulse to the Ionian epos, and yet so obscure that no record of it remains? And was the profound and characteristic distinction—we may almost say, the antagonism—between 'epic' and 'lyric' merely a distinction between one form of Aeolic popular poetry and another? It is surely much more likely that the two styles are the products of two different branches of the Hellenic race, speaking kindred dialects, but singularly opposite in temperament, and in the specific quality of their genius.

5. Though the origin of the ethnical name Αἰολῆς is not known, it is at least worth mention that the word is post-Homeric. It is first met with in Hesiod, himself an Aeolian<sup>25</sup>.

#### § 6. *Theory of an Ionian epos.*

Are we then to return to the prevailing belief of antiquity, and look for Homer among the Ionian colonies—in Smyrna or Chios or Colophon? Was he a son of the Meles? Or was he, as Aristarchus thought, an Athenian who took part in the new settlement on that river?

<sup>25</sup> Hes. *Op.* 636 Κῆμην Αἰολίδα προλιπών : cp. Hom. *Epigr.* iv. 6.

1. If the local knowledge shown in the *Iliad* is not enough to convince us that it was produced in Asiatic Aeolis, still less can we find grounds for connecting it with any of the Ionian settlements. In respect of them the Homeric map, from Lesbos southwards, is practically a blank. Chios occurs in the *Odyssey*, but merely as a landmark. Delos in the same poem is only a name. Miletus, the home of the earliest cyclic poems, those of Arctinus, occurs in the Catalogue, but is still Carian. Of the twelve cities that celebrated the Panionia at Mycale, of the isles of Greece from which (as we learn from the *Hymn to Apollo*) the Ionians gathered to the Delian festival,—of Samos, Naxos, Ios, Paros, and many more,—Homer to all appearance knows nothing.

2. The name 'Ιάωρες or 'Ιάωres is in all probability non-Homeric. It does not appear in the Catalogue, but occurs once (Il. 13. 685) apparently = 'Αθηναίος, in a passage which bears marks of being an interpolation. As Herodotus observed<sup>26</sup>, it was a name which was not generally used except in Asiatic Ionia. In that country it must have come into vogue at an early time, since it was the term universally applied to the Greeks, without distinction of race, by their oriental neighbours—just as at the present day the term 'Frank' is applied in the Levant to all Europeans. The forms which it assumes in eastern languages (Hebrew *Jáván*, Indian *Yavanas*) go back to the time when the digamma was still sounded and the long ā had not passed into η in Ionic (cp. p. 458). It could hardly be unknown to an early Ionian poet.

3. While Homer's local knowledge of Aeolis and Ionia is defective, on the other hand he displays an acquaintance with European Greece which would hardly be possible to an Ionian. At several points, as has been pointed out elsewhere<sup>27</sup>, the *Iliad* shows traces of a distinction between the leaders in the Trojan war, with the Pelopid dynasty at their head, and the ancient local chiefs and heroes. Thus the kingdom of Agamemnon included Sicyon, 'where Adrastus used to be the king' (Il. 2. 572), and Ephyre, where Proetus ruled over the Argives (Il. 6. 159). In Sparta, if Helen is the sister of the native heroes, the Dioscuri, Menelaus must be an intruder. In Argos Diomedes is confessedly a stranger: the native legends go back to

<sup>26</sup> Hdt. 1. 143. The meaning of Herodotus, as Ed. Meyer has shown, is not that the Athenians were ashamed of being Ionians, but that they used the name as little as if they were ashamed of it. The commentators have generally missed the point of this half-playful expression.

<sup>27</sup> This argument is stated more fully in an article in the *English Historical Review*, vol. I. pp. 43-52.



Perseus. Even in Attica we find Menestheus taking the place due to the sons of Theseus, who accordingly figure in the cyclic poems (p. 370). And in Ithaca there is at least a trace of local heroes older than the house of Laertes (see the note on Od. 17. 207). These things prove familiarity, not merely with the outward aspects of the country, but with its cherished legends and memories. Moreover, they are widely diffused, especially in the Peloponnesus, where the rule of the Pelopidae would be most felt. That these various pieces of tradition should have survived the fall of the Mycenaean empire and the migration to Ionia seems hardly credible.

The truth is, surely, that Homer is Ionian in the earliest centuries of which we have any historical knowledge, mainly because during these centuries Ionia was the centre of Greek civilisation—the most educated and most enterprising part of Greece. Homer is Ionian—that is to say, was taught, recited, imitated in Ionia—for the reasons that made Ionic Greek the language of the first philosophers and the first historians.

#### § 7. *Influence of dialects on the Homeric text.*

The dialect which we find in the vulgate text of Homer is a mixed or artificial one. It cannot have existed as a living variety of speech, or even as a genuine poetical dialect (such as the Italian of Dante). No poet, we may be sure, would make the free use that is made in it of such phonetically inconsistent forms as Aeolic *ἄμμε*, Doric *ἀμῶς*, Ionic and Attic *ἡμέτερος*, or Aeolic and Old Attic *λᾶός*, Ionic *νηός*, Attic *ἔως*. Even Fick's theory is open to objection on this score: for it is impossible to imagine an Ionian singer or rhapsodist adopting a series of Aeolisms solely on the ground that they had no exact metrical equivalents in Ionic. The most that can be attributed to the action of a poet is the use, under appropriate conditions, of *archaic* words and inflexions, and perhaps of an occasional *borrowed* word (like *Φῆρες* for the Centaurs). Anything further must be the result of gradual and unconscious change in the text of the poems. The mixture of dialects, in short, was not in the original Homeric poems, but supervened as a corruption, brought about by the circumstances under which they were transmitted. It is simply an example, on a peculiarly large scale, of the modernising process which no literary masterpiece can quite escape if it is to retain its hold on a people.

## INFLUENCE OF DIALECTS ON THE HOMERIC TEXT 477

Three dialects at least have left their mark in different ways upon the Homeric text, viz. Ionic, Aeolic, and Attic.

### a. *Ionic.*

The influence of the Ionic dialect on the form of the Homeric text is too obvious to call for much comment. The characteristic change from  $\bar{a}$  to  $\eta$  must have taken place, like all such changes, gradually and unconsciously. An Ionian rhapsodist would use the sound  $\eta$ , just as an English actor of Shakespeare uses the modern and not the Elizabethan pronunciation of the vowels. Similarly the digamma was forgotten, and Ionic poets ceased to recognize its former existence—except in the case of the forms  $\xi\omicron$  or  $\xi$ , which continued to be treated as words beginning with a consonant. If the combination  $\nu\sigma$  was still tolerated in the original language, as seems probable (see p. 459), the forms which contained it were now modernised:  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\varsigma$  became  $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , &c. Other proto-Hellenic forms may have gone through the like process: e.g.  $\delta\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  and  $\delta\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  (Dor.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ , Aeol.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\epsilon$ );  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\mu\iota$  (Att.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\upsilon\mu\iota$ , Ion.  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\iota$ );  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  (Ion.  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ).

In the declension of nouns we have to notice the Ionic genitives in  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  (for older  $-\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ ,  $-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ). These genitives are too numerous to be ruled out as post-Homeric corruptions. All that we can say is that in the language of Homer the original endings  $-\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ ,  $-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$  had passed into forms of the metrical value of  $-\epsilon\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  (capable of being scanned as  $\cup$ — or as —). Possibly these were  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , which in Ionic would become  $-\epsilon\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  (cp.  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  for  $-\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for  $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , &c.). In the polysyllabic nouns in  $-\iota\varsigma$ , usually declined as  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , Gen.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , Dat.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}$ , Nom. Pl.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$ , Gen. Pl.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , it seems possible that Ionicising has taken place. The Attic dialect was the only one which preserved the somewhat less symmetrical but more ancient Gen.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , Dat.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ , Nom. Pl.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$ , Gen. Pl.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$ . The Dat. in  $-\acute{\iota}$ , which is demonstrably Homeric, is not contracted from  $-\iota\iota$ , but is an ancient (Indo-germanic) Instrumental<sup>22</sup>.

The Ionic change from  $\alpha\omicron$  to  $\epsilon\omicron$  appears in the forms  $\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu$  (cp.  $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\acute{\tau}\epsilon\varsigma$ ),  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (cp.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ ),  $\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ,  $\eta\gamma\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ : not however in all similar cases (not e.g. in  $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ).

Ionic influence is also to be seen in  $\eta\eta\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu$ , which have taken the place of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  or (before a vowel)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \kappa'$ , and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \kappa'$ . As has been already noticed (p. 459) the contraction in  $\eta\eta\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu$  can hardly be Homeric; and they are used in the vulgate text without

<sup>22</sup> Brugmann, *Grundr.* II. § 266, p. 620.

regard to the syntactical distinction observed in Homer between the 'pure' Subjunctive and the Subjunctive with *ἄν* or *κεν*<sup>20</sup>. It may be that under Ionic influence *ἄν* has often taken the place of *κε(ν)*: but it is impossible to banish *ἄν* altogether from the original language of the poems.

The loss of the *spiritus asper* is characteristic of Asiatic Ionic, and also of Lesbian Aeolic. It is apparently Ionic in *οὐρος* 'boundary,' *οὐρος* 'watcher,' *οὐλος* 'whole,' *οὐδός* 'threshold,' and perhaps in other words that Fick gives as Aeolic—*ἄλτο* (or *ἄλτο*), *ἄμαξα*, *ἡμαρ*, *ἡμος*<sup>21</sup>. In other cases the smooth breathing is original: e. g. in *ἔππος equus*, *ἀρμονίη* (*ἡραρον*, &c.).

### β. Aeolic.

It is impossible to doubt that the dialect of the Lesbian lyric poets, called Aeolic by the grammarians, exercised a perceptible influence upon the text of Homer. The most conspicuous instances are to be seen in the pronouns of the First and Second Person Plural, *ἄμμες*, *ἄμμι(ν)*, *ἄμμε* and *ὑμμες*, *ὑμμι(ν)*, *ὑμμε*, which are trebly Aeolic, viz. in respect of the accent, the smooth breathing and the double *μ*. How then was this influence exercised? Regarding *ὑμμες* &c. Fick himself is our guide<sup>22</sup>. 'The smooth breathing,' he says, 'may have been inferred from the Aeolic dialect.' That is to say, the Ionian rhapsodists (and after them the grammarians) pronounced *ὑμμες* &c., contrary to the usage of their own dialect, because they only knew the word as an Aeolic form. But if this explanation holds for *ὑμμες* &c., it is equally good for *ἄμμες* &c. And if it explains the breathing, why not also the accent and the double nasal? Accordingly the history of these pronominal forms may be re-constructed somewhat as follows. The original stems *δοσμέ*, *ὑσμέ* became Old Ionic *ἀμέ ὑμέ*, Boeotian *ἀμέ οὔμέ*, Lesbian *ἄμμε ὑμμε*. Along with these, which were used without any case-ending as accusatives, there were the nominatives *ἀμές ὑμές*, Lesb. *ἄμμες ὑμμες*, and the datives *ἀμῖν ὑμῖν*, *ἄμμιν ὑμμιν*. In Homer these ancient forms, especially the accusatives, are beginning to be superseded by new forms modelled on the nouns in *-ης*, gen. *-εος*: hence (with Ionic *η*) *ἡμέας ὑμέας* &c.<sup>23</sup> In the Ionic dialect the older declension

<sup>20</sup> Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* I. pp. 85–86; Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 362.

<sup>21</sup> Fick, *Die hom. Odyssee*, p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> 'Für *ὑμμες ὑμμιν ὑμμε* und *ὑββάλλειν* mag die *psilose* aus dem Aeolischen dialecte erschlossen sein' (*ibid.*).

<sup>23</sup> The variety of forms in the existing text is very great; but they may be accounted for, as has been shown by Van Leeuwen (*Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae*, pp. 251–257), by supposing an original declension *ἡμέε* (better *ἡμέε*)

died out, except as a source of epic archaisms. Under these circumstances it was natural for the rhapsodists, whether of Ionian birth or not, to assimilate the older epic pronouns to the living Aeolic declension, with which they were doubtless familiar. Hence instead of *ἡμέε* *ὕμέε* &c.,—forms that should have appeared in Ionic—we find the confessedly Aeolic *ἄμμε* *ὕμμε* &c.

It is remarkable that the corresponding Possessives *ἄμω* and *ὕμω* have retained their original Homeric form, instead of passing into Lesbian *ἄμμος* *ὕμμος*. The fact serves to show the accidental and sporadic character of the influence that Aeolic forms exercised on the text of Homer.

A similar account may be given of the *μμ* in the infinitives *ἔμμεναι* *ἔμμεν*, which are formed in the Aeolic manner from *ἔσμεναι* *ἔσμεν*. In Ionic we might have had *εἴμεναι* *εἴμεν*: but these forms being unknown in the Ionic vernacular the Aeolic forms took their place. It is to be observed however that Homer has also the forms *ἔμμεναι* *ἔμμεν*. These are not Aeolic, and cannot have come from *ἔσμεναι* *ἔσμεν*: they must have been formed on the analogy of *θέμεναι* and the like<sup>23</sup>.

Aeolic *νν* may be recognized in *ἀργεννός*, *ἱρεβεννός*, *ἱραννός* (*-ννος* for *-σνος*): cp. Ionic *ἀργεινός*, *φαιεινός*, *ἱρατεινός*. They are evidently words that belong to the poetical style, and have little root in popular usage. Hence they serve chiefly to show how easily such words are affected by the influence of another literary dialect. So perhaps *ἰννοσίγαιος* is Aeolic, *εἰννοσίφυλλος* Ionic: but *ἰννοσίχθων* shows that the lengthening

*ἡμέε* &c., and a new formation in *-έε* *-έων* *-έας*. For the new forms *ἡμέε* and the like we can very often restore *ἄμμε* &c.: but there are at least twelve places in Homer in which *ἡμέε* with the scansion *-οοο* is guaranteed by the metre. The others of the same type, *ἡμέε* (or *ἡμέε*) *ὕμέε* &c., are less decidedly supported, but are doubtless Homeric. The view of some scholars (including Van Leeuwen) that *ἄμμε* and *ὕμμε* are duals seems untenable. It is most unlikely that they would be used as well as *νῶε* and *σφῶε*. They are to be classed with *ἔμμε*, *σέ*, *φέ*, as stems without a case-ending. The want of an ending, however, came to be felt, and in this way we can understand why *ἡμέε* *ὕμέε* are better attested in Homer than the rest of the new formation. That formation doubtless began with the accusative (Joh. Schmidt, *K. Z.* xxvii. 299).

<sup>23</sup> It is possible that *ἔμμεναι* *ἔμμεν* are also products of analogy. It is difficult to see why *ἔμμεναι* and *ἔμμεν* should have been formed if the regular *ἔσμεναι* *ἔσμεν* were already in use. On the other hand *ἔσμεναι* may have been produced afresh from the stem *ἔσ-*, just as Attic *ἔσμεν* took the place of Ionic *εἴμεν*. If so, the final change from *ἔσμεναι* to *ἔμμεναι* may have been comparatively late, and independent of Aeolic influence. Cp. the account of the *νν* of *ἰννομή*, *Πελοπόννησος*, &c. (Brugmann, *Grundr.* II. p. 1011).

The form *ἔμμορε*, generally regarded as an Aeolic perfect, notwithstanding the corresponding Middle form *εἴμμορε*, is perhaps better taken as an aorist. It occurs in Il. i. 278 *οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς* 'never gained a share'; in Il. 15. 189, where we should read *δέδαστο*, *φέκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς* (cp. *ἔλαχον* in the next line); and in Od. 5. 335 and 11. 338 where the same phrase recurs. The Aeolic infinitive *μέμορθαι* points to a Pf. Act. *μέμορε*: cp. *ἐγρήγορθαι* and *ἐγρήγορα*.

is merely metrical<sup>24</sup>. And we find Aeolic *ορ πο* instead of *ορ πα* (for Indo-germ. *ṛ*) in *ἡμβροτον, πόρδαλις, ἀναβροχέν*. Whether Homer exhibits Aeolic *αι ευ ου* for *αφ εφ οφ* seems very doubtful. Of the instances given by Fick (*Odyssey*, p. 18) the most plausible are *αἰένωσαν* (said to be for *ἀν-φέρωσαν*), *αἰάλοιοι, ταλαύριος, καλαῦρονψ, εἴδαε, εἰληρα, ἀπηύρα, ἀπούρας*—which again are conventional or poetical words<sup>25</sup>. The same may be said with confidence of the form *πίσυρες* 'four,' which is doubtless to be identified with the Aeolic *πίσυρες*. If the Homeric language used a second numeral, in addition to the regular *τίσσαρες*, it was probably of the nature of a borrowed word, used in some special connexion,—as we talk of a 'dozen' or a 'quartet.' In the *Iliad* it is applied only to horses, and perhaps came in when four-horse chariots were first introduced.

It is needless to resort to Aeolic to account for words or forms that are proto-Hellenic. Thus *πλίες πλίας* (= *πλίονες πλίονας*) are found not only in Aeolic, but also in Cretan Doric (*πλίες πλίανς πλίανσι*). And the same principle applies to changes due to causes that are always present. Thus *κεκλήγων* for *κεκληγώς* is not necessarily Aeolic because in that dialect every perfect participle is treated in this way. It is one of many examples of the tendency to put thematic in place of non-thematic forms. The reverse change produced the Aeolic verbs in *-μι* (*κἀλημι* and the like), of which there are a few instances in Homer. These also are not necessarily intrusions from Aeolic. *E.g.* the infinitive *φορήμεναι* need not be taken from Lesbian, any more than *φορήναι* is taken from Cyprian.

#### γ. Attic.

The ascendancy of the Ionians in the realm of literature was not long maintained after their loss of political and commercial greatness. Indeed the comparative obscurity of the cyclic poets seems to show that the prestige of the Ionian epos outlived the poetical movement to which it was originally due. The literary centre was shifted to European Hellas. The poems of Homer were brought back from their long exile, and although they retained their Ionic form, as Greek literary feeling required, they were no longer directly or mainly under Ionian influence. Those who now recited them, those who listened to or read them, were men who spoke various local dialects, of which the most important was Attic.

<sup>24</sup> Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 160.

<sup>25</sup> As to the other instances—*δένομαι, χεῖναι, ἀλεύσθαι, ἀγανέι, ἀεονή*—see Schulze, *op. cit.* pp. 54–55.

The effect of this Attic cultivation of Homer may be traced in a certain number of differences, generally rather minute, between Homeric and Ionic forms. Our text of Homer has *οὐν*: all dialects except Attic have *ὄν*. Homer has *τέσσαρες, ἄρσην*, not *τίσσερες, ἔρσην*: *μείζων, κρείσσων*, not *μέζων, κρέισσων*: *πῶς, πότε, &c.*, not *κῶς, κότε, &c.*: *τέρας τέρας, γέρας γέρας*, not *τέρεος γέρεος*. Homer retains the *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν* and the *spiritus asper*, which are lost in New Ionic (as also in Lesbian Aeolic)<sup>34</sup>. Besides these, there are two groups of forms in which Attic influence is less directly obvious:

1. In the conjugation of certain verbs in *-αω* the combinations *ᾱο* and *ᾰο* (or *ᾱω*) are changed into *ωο* (or *ωω*) and *οω*, and *αε* into *αα*: hence the forms *δράωσι, ἡβῶντες, μνωόμενοι, ὀρώω, ὀρόωντες*: *μνάσθαι, μνουάσθαι, ὀράας &c.*: also *φῶος* for *φᾰός*, *φᾰάνθη* for *φαένθη*, and some others. They were explained by J. Wackernagel as the result of a double change, first the regular contraction, then a restoration of the metre by 'distraction.' *E.g.* *ἄνδρ' ὀράω* first became *ἄνδρ' ὀρᾱ* then *metri gratia ἄνδρ' ὀρόω*. Recently Brugmann has gone back to the view of G. Curtius, viz. that these forms represent an intermediate stage in the process of contraction,—that in which two vowels are assimilated to each other, but are not yet fused into a single long syllable. The difficulty of this hypothesis is that it is not verified. There is no trace of these or similar forms in any living dialect. Moreover, if the change is a phonetic one, we expect it to take effect with something like uniformity: whereas exceptions are frequent,—*e.g.* *ναιετάουσι, τηλεθᾰόντας, πεινάων, διψᾰών, κραδάων, ἀναμαιμάει, δοιδιᾰεί, ὁμοστιχᾰί*. Indeed the examples of the change seem to be limited to instances in which the contracted form also is in common use: *ὀρόω ὀράας &c.* beside *ὀρᾱ ὀρᾱς*, but *ναιετάουσι* in the absence of *ναιεῶσι &c.* These facts point to the operation of analogy. In the Homeric language there were apparently two sets of forms, the uncontracted *ὀράω ὀράεις &c.*, retained (like the genitives in *-οιο*) by the poetical tradition and the metre, and the contracted *ὀρᾱ ὀρᾱς &c.*, which were the only forms in colloquial use. The intermediate *ὀρόω ὀράας &c.* were produced by assimilating the archaic to the living forms as far as metre permitted. Probably too the process was influenced by the similar treatment of the verbs in *-εω*. Pairs such as *ὀρόωσι* and *ὀρᾶσι*, *μνάσθαι* and *μνάσθαι*, are closely analogous to *τελείει* and *τελεῖ, τελείεται* and *τελεῖται*.

There is nothing to show when or where the changes now in question

<sup>34</sup> These may be added to the instances in which agreement in points of dialect goes with local proximity. See Collitz, *Verwandschaftsverhältnisse*.

were brought about. The occasional variation in the manuscripts between such forms as *ραιετάουσα*, *ραιετάωσα*, *ραιετώωσα* suggests that they may have been of no great antiquity. In any case they were due to the existence of the Attic forms *ὀρῶ ὀρής* &c.

2. There remains a group of Homeric words in which we find *ā* instead of the Ionic *η*. These are:—the genitives of the First Declension in *-āo* and *-āwn*: the nouns *λαός*, *lāas* (gen. *lāos*, *lāwn*), *Ἰλαος*, *ὀπάων*, *διδυμῶν*, with the participles *πεινῶν* and *διψῶν*, and numerous proper names, *Λαομέδων*, *Λαοδίκη*, *Μενέλαος*, *Πρωτεσίλαος*, *Ἀμφιάραος*, *Ἰάονες*, *Ποσειδάων*, *Μαχάων*, &c.; also *θεά*, *Φειά*, *Λάα*, *Ναυσικάα*, *Αἰπείας*, *Ἑρμείας*, *Αὔγειας*: the possessive *ἀμός*: and one or two isolated verb-forms, *έάσω* (fut. of *έάω*), *έᾶγα*, *έᾶδοτα*<sup>37</sup>.

In this case, again, a phonetic explanation is excluded by the irregularity of the phenomena. It will be seen that in most of the instances *ā* is retained before *o* or *ω*. But against these we have to set the Ionic *η* appearing in *νῆός* 'temple,' *νῆός* and *νῆων* (gen. of *νῆς*), *πηός* 'kinsman,' *παιήων* 'paean' and *Παιήων* (epithet of Apollo). So from original *ἄφος*, *tāfos* we find *ἔως* or *είως*, *τέως* or *τείως*, from which with the help of the metre we can restore *ἦος* *τῆος*. Further, although *λαός* is the form of the word in Homer and in most of the Ionic poets (Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Xenophanes), the true Ionic *ληός* is quoted from Hipponax, and has left its mark on some Homeric proper names, as *Λήϊτος* (cp. the Ionic *λήϊτον* = Attic *πρυτανεῖον*), *Ληόκριτος*, *Ληοάδης* (written *Λειώκριτος*, *Λειώδης*). As the names *Θερσίτης*, &c. tend to show that the change from *θήρσος* to *θάρσος* is post-Homeric, so these names point to a time when the form *ληός* was in general use. Finally, it may be conjectured that in the participles *πεινῶν* and *διψῶν* the ending *-ῶων* stands for an Ionic *-ηων*. It can hardly be an accident that these verbs are among the few that contract *ae* to *η* (*πεινῆς*, *πεινῇ*, &c.).

The *ā* of this group of words might be explained, like the accent and the *μμ* of *ἄμμε* and *ὅμμε*, by the influence of Aeolic. We may suppose (e.g.) that when *ληός* passed into *λεός* in spoken Ionic, as it did before the time of Herodotus, the poetical *ληός* reverted under the attraction of the Aeolic dialect to *λαός*.

There is another quarter, however, in which the same phenomenon presents itself, viz. in the so-called Old Attic—the dialect of the Tragic poets and Thucydides. In that dialect the combination *āo āw*, answering to Ionic *ηο ηω*, is almost invariable: e.g. *λαός*, *ναός* 'temple,' *ναός* *ναών*

<sup>37</sup> In this list we do not include words in which *ā* arises phonetically, as in *δαήρ* for *δαιήρ*, *αἴσσω* for *αἰφίσσω*, or by contraction of *ae*, as in *λαρός*, *ἀριστος*, or compensatory length, as *φθάνω*, *ικάνω* for *φθάνω*, *ικάνω*. Still less should we count instances of metrical license, as *ἀθάνατος*, *ἀκάματος*, *Ἀπόλλωνα*.

(gen. of *ναῦς*), with the adj. *ναῖος*: *δαῖος* or *δαῖος*, *παῖος* 'kinsman,' *συνάορος*, *παράορος*, *τιμάορος*, *ἐπάων*, also the proper names *Ἰάοις*, *Μενέλαος*, *Ἰόλαος*, &c. The issue is complicated by the doubt regarding the nature of the dialect itself. The ancient notion of Old, Middle and New Attic as successive stages of the language spoken at Athens in the classical period is no longer tenable. It is proved from inscriptions that New Attic, though first known to us from Aristophanes, was the genuine colloquial speech of Attica from the earliest times of which there is any record: while Old Attic, as we find it in the dialogue of Greek tragedy, was not a living or colloquial, but only a literary dialect. From what sources, then, was this Old Attic formed, and how did it gain that position? The question has been discussed at length by Mr. Rutherford in the introduction to his *New Phrynichus* (pp. 3-31), and his conclusion is that 'the basis of the language of Tragedy is the Attic of the time when Tragedy sprang into life,' that is to say, of the time of Thespis and Pisistratus. The proof of this conclusion he finds chiefly in the number of words common to Ionic and the dialogue of Tragedy, but unknown to Comedy and to Attic prose. More recently it has been disputed by Mr. Schulhof<sup>38</sup>, principally on the ground that Old Attic is not a form of speech from which New Attic can have directly descended. For example, New Attic *πράττω* cannot have been reached by a phonetic change from Old Attic *πράσσω*, or New Attic *ἄν* 'if' from Old Attic *ἦν*. The true source of Old Attic, according to Mr. Schulhof, is the literary Ionic of the iambic poets, such as Archilochus and Hipponax. Both these views seem to contain a proportion of truth. The Tragic poets doubtless wrote under the literary influence of Ionic, especially of the Ionic poets who had invented and perfected the iambic metre. At the same time they must have adopted some at least of the peculiar Attic sounds. In *πράσσω*, for instance, if the *σσ* was Ionic, the *ᾱ* was native, and indeed was the result of the Attic change of *η* to *ᾱ* after *ρ*.

How then are we to regard the Old Attic *ᾱο* and *ᾱω* in *λαός* *ναός* and the like? It cannot be due to epic influence, since it is consistent, which the epic usage is not (e.g. *λαός* but *νηός*). Nor can we suppose the sound to be borrowed from Aeolic or Doric: for why should these words be borrowed rather than others? The only alternative is to attribute them to a phonetic law or tendency, of the same order as that which turned *-η* *-ρη* into *-ᾱ* *-ρᾱ*<sup>39</sup>. By the operation of this law,

<sup>38</sup> J. M. Schulhof, '*Attic*' '*Ionic*' and '*Tragic*' (Cambridge, s. a.). The pamphlet contains suggestions that deserve to be worked out in greater detail.

<sup>39</sup> It seems probable that there was a double change, first pan-Ionic, from *ᾱ* to *η*, then Attic, from *η* back to *ᾱ* after *ε* *ρ* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 104, p. 98).



then, the Ionic change which produced *λῆός ηῆός* &c. must have been reversed, and original *λαός ναός* &c. restored. In this way two specifically Attic groups were created, viz. that of *θεά Ἐρμείας* &c. and that of *λαός ναός* &c. Hence when the period of Attic ascendancy arrived, and Athens became a meeting-place of rhapsodists and Ὀμηρικοί, both these groups had their share of influence on the text.

Why this Attic influence appears in some words and not in others—why, for instance, *λαός* is Homeric but not *ναός*—can only be matter of conjecture<sup>40</sup>. It is worth observing however that in some cases the issue between *α* and *η* was not absolutely determined even in the texts of the Alexandrians. Zenodotus, who was himself an Ionian (of Ephesus), read Ἀμφιάροτος, Ἀριήδνη, Βουγῆϊος, κρητός (Il. i. 530): and Aristarchus read Βάανορα (Il. ii. 92) and Πείας (Il. iv. 203), where the manuscripts have Βιήνορα, Πείης.

### § 8. Mr. Ridgeway's Theory.

It is impossible to leave this subject without some notice of a theory recently put forward by Professor Ridgeway of Cambridge, first in a paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*<sup>41</sup>, and again in his work on *The Early Age in Greece*, the first volume of which has appeared since the preceding pages were in type.

According to this theory the civilisation reflected in the poems of Homer—to which we may fitly apply the Homeric national name 'Achaean'—is separated from that of the Mycenaean monuments by important points of difference. Foremost among these is the Homeric custom of burning the dead, which stands in marked contrast to the peculiar Mycenaean manner of burial. Again, the Mycenaean objects belong to the age of Bronze, when 'black iron was not'; whereas in Homer there is evidence of the use of iron for cutting instruments of various kinds. The armour, too, is materially different. Mr. Ridgeway still maintains, against the view put forward by W. Reichel, that the Homeric heroes wore helmets, greaves, and breastplates of bronze—things unknown in the Mycenaean finds. He sees traces in Homer of the use of round shields, as well as the figure-of-eight shields which were the sole defensive armour of the Mycenaean

<sup>40</sup> Doric influence may be admitted in some cases, as in *συναγός* and *χορευός*, since, as Mr. Rutherford observes, hunting with dogs and choral singing were things in which the Dorians were masters (*New Phrynichus*, p. 496).

<sup>41</sup> vol. xvi. pp. 77-119, 'What people produced the objects called Mycenaean?'

warrior: also of the comparative disuse of the bow<sup>42</sup>. In dress the Achæan period is characterised by the close-fitting chiton, and the cloak (χλαίνα or φάρος) fastened by a brooch: also by the practice of wearing long hair (κάρη κομόωντες) instead of the species of top-knot (κρωβύλος) seen on the Mycenæans. It is further noted that Homer says nothing of signet gems, which were much used in the Mycenæan period.

The existence of this Homeric or Achæan form of culture is attributed by Mr. Ridgeway to an ethnical movement analogous in some respects to the Dorian invasion and conquest of Peloponnesus. The Achæans, he believes, were a Celtic people, settled, for a time at least, in Epirus, who descended upon southern Greece and established the order of things represented in epic poetry by the empire of Pelops and Agamemnon. From them the Peloponnesus was called Ἀχαικὸν Ἄργος. Another detachment crossed the Pindus and carried the Achæan name into Thessaly—a district which in the *Iliad* is next in importance to Argolis itself. Two countries—Attica and Arcadia—were not reached by the wave of invasion, and accordingly play a very subordinate part in the Trojan war. The Achæans were fair-haired—this is expressly said (*e.g.*) of Menelaus and Achilles<sup>43</sup>—but in time were absorbed into the Greek population, which (then as now) was dark-haired and dark-eyed. They took over the culture that they found, retaining however some of their own usages, and especially the improvements in armour, &c., which they had brought with them, and to which they doubtless owed their success. Moreover, as usually happens when a successful invasion leads to a military aristocracy, they adopted the language of the conquered<sup>44</sup>. In this way Mr. Ridgeway accounts for the fact that the Homeric dialect does not greatly differ from those of the Aeolic and Ionic groups—which he rightly regards as closely allied—and that in vocabulary it shows a remarkable coincidence with Arcadian and Cyprian. Finally, he searches among the traditions and ethnical names for an answer to the question which formed the title of his paper five years ago, viz. what people produced the objects called Mycenæan? As might be

<sup>42</sup> This point is somewhat exaggerated by Mr. Ridgeway when he says, p. 301, that no Achæan warrior employs the bow for war. He surely forgets Teucer. But it is clear that in the time represented by the *Iliad* the bow had lost much of its former importance. Cp. p. 305 (*supra*).

<sup>43</sup> As to Achilles see Il. 23. 141 *ξανθὴν ἀντιπαρὸ χλαίης*. Regarding Ulysses the statements are contradictory: see the note on Od. 16. 176. Fair hair is attributed also to Meleager (Il. 2. 642), and to Agamède (Il. 11. 740).

<sup>44</sup> It was so (*e.g.*) with the Norman conquest of England, and the Frankish conquest of Gaul.

expected, he finds that the name most widely diffused in pre-historic Greece, especially in the 'Mycenaean' districts—Arcadia, Attica, Thessaly—is that of the Pelasgians.

It will be apparent from this brief outline that on some important points Mr. Ridgeway is at one with the scholars whose opinions have been quoted above (p. 467). He agrees with them in regarding the Mycenaean culture and the Achaean dominion as both pre-Dorian; also in believing the objects found on Mycenaean sites to be generally earlier than the corresponding objects described in Homer. That being so, the question whether the Homeric age falls within the Mycenaean age, or is to be treated as a distinct archaeological period, is a question of detail. The main issue is not whether certain changes had taken place within a time to be styled Homeric, but whether they were brought about, as Mr. Ridgeway holds, by the agency of a people of different race, which formed an intermediate stage between pre-historic Mycenaean and historical Dorians.

What then is the evidence for the supposed Achaean-Celtic conquest of Pelasgian Greece?

Some of the passages that Mr. Ridgeway quotes from the ancient historians will hardly be thought convincing. Few scholars would think that much is proved by the statement that Achaeus was the son of Xuthus, and that Dorus, Aeolus and Xuthus were the sons of Hellen<sup>45</sup>. The names evidently stand for the Hellenic nation and the chief dialects of historical Greece. The myth, therefore, is much later than Homer and the Homeric Achaeans. Another myth, or learned invention in the form of a myth, tells us of the three brothers Achaeus, Phthius and Pelasgus<sup>46</sup>—obviously eponymous heroes of equally post-Homeric sub-divisions of Thessaly. So too of the various stories that bring an Achaeus or his sons from Thessaly to Peloponnesus, or *vice versa*; they simply mean that the name 'Ἀχαιοί' was met with in both countries. In Homeric times the Achaeans were everywhere: afterwards the name survived in certain localities, isolated by the intrusion of new races; and men began to wonder what was the connexion between the localities.

Greater weight is to be attached to some indications in Homer. It has already been noticed<sup>47</sup>, as a proof of the European origin of the Homeric poems, that Agamemnon and the other leaders in the Trojan war are curiously distinct from the older local heroes—from such figures as Perseus of Argos, Adrastus of Sicyon, the Aeolidae

<sup>45</sup> Paus. vii. 1. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Dionys. Hal. i. 17.

<sup>47</sup> On p. 475 (*supra*).

of Corinth, the Dioscuri in Lacedaemon, Theseus at Athens. They do not derive a mythical title from these older heroes; on the contrary, they appear in the character of intruders or usurpers. Hence the suggestion that the empire of Agamemnon and his peers was in fact the result of a successful inroad is not without a certain plausibility.

It is not very easy to follow the argument which Mr. Ridgeway bases upon 'labialisation' in Greek. The term may be used of at least three sets of phenomena, which he does not keep sufficiently distinct, viz. (1) the labial affection of an original velar, exemplified in Latin *qu*; (2) the pan-Hellenic change from this labialised sound when followed by the vowel *o* to a labial, as in Greek *wo-* for Latin *quo-* (whereas Latin *qui-*, *que-* answer to Greek *ti-*, *te-*): and (3) the labial which appears in Aeolic where Doric and Ionic exhibit a dental, as in *πέρραπες* for *τέρραπες*, *φῆρ* for *θήρ*. Mr. Ridgeway's description of the phenomenon in question as 'traces of labialism superimposed upon a general tendency to preserve the *κ*' (p. 673) does not properly apply to any one of these groups of instances. The retention in Greek of the gutturals *κ γ χ* depends upon conditions that have not been completely ascertained: but in any case it is clearly not sporadic, or due to foreign influence of an accidental kind. When the original sound is palatal (e.g. *κ* in *ἐκατόν*, = Sanscr. *ç*), it is never labialised in Greek. When the original is velar (Sanscr. *k*, *c*), the appearance of *κ γ χ* in Greek is exceptional: but it may be accounted for by some other law. Thus *κ* remains in *λύκος* under the rule that labialisation does not take place after a *u*-sound<sup>48</sup>.

The weak point of Mr. Ridgeway's argument, taken as a whole, is the want of evidence in Homer of a racial difference between the 'Achaeans' and the bulk of the population. The common language, upon which the poet himself lays so much stress, may perhaps be accounted for by the supposition that the conquerors, being a small minority, learned the language of their subjects. But surely we should have found other distinctions. What traces are there of *grades* of any kind—of difference of legal status or social condition or religious usage? The men who fought before Troy are called Achaeans, without any exception. If the 'Achaeans' were a military

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Ridgeway founds another linguistic argument on the fact that the names of some of the Achaean chiefs are not easily explained as Hellenic. Such are Achilles, Odysseus, Aeacus, Ajax, Laertes, Peleus. But on the other hand Agamemnon and Menelaus are quite Hellenic. And the same etymological difficulty appears in many of the older names of heroes—Perseus, Theseus, Proetus, Aeolus—and generally in those of deities.

aristocracy, the whole army must have belonged to it. The only difference of rank, either in the Agora or in war, is between the *λαοί* or rank and file and the few great chiefs who formed Agamemnon's council. There is nothing at all answering to the Dorian gradation of Spartans, Perioeci and Helots, or the racial distinctions which obtained under similar circumstances in Thessaly.

Again, if the Achaeans were only a ruling caste, we should expect to find some name for the rest of the population. The word *Ἀργεῖοι*, being derived from the name of the country, might have served in such a use. But *Ἀργεῖοι* is exactly synonymous with *Ἀχαιοί*. And all such words as *λαός* or *δῆμος* evidently include the Achaeans.

In place of the hypothesis of an Achaean conquest it seems possible to make two suppositions of a less violent kind. These are, (1) that advances in culture—the use of iron, of bronze armour, of cremation, &c.—reached Greece gradually and by pacific intercourse: and (2) that the empire of Agamemnon was the work of a dynasty under which Mycenae became for a time, through causes no longer discoverable by us, the political centre of continental Greece and some of the islands. The former of these suggestions must be left to the judgement of experts. It is for archaeologists to determine the nature and degree of the connexion (if there is one) between the arts and usages described in Homer and the culture which may be thought to have been brought down the eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is for the historian to speculate on the political conditions under which any such intercourse may have subsisted. The second problem is also historical, but deals with matters that are even more beyond our reach. For what divination can recover for us the series of causes through which a supremacy such as that of the Pelopidae was gained in 'Mycenaean' Greece?

## V. THE HOMERIC HOUSE.

§ 1. *The opposing theories.*

In the discussion of the Homeric House, as in other parts of the field of Homeric archaeology, the main question has come to be whether the data furnished by the poems agree on the whole with the type revealed in the remains of the 'Mycenaean' period, or belong to a distinctly later stage of culture. We naturally form for ourselves some mental picture of the palace of Priam on the Trojan acropolis, of the splendid palaces of Alcinous and Menelaus, above all of the banqueting-hall which was the scene of the 'Vengeance of Ulysses.' How far are we aided in forming this picture by the great palaces of which the ground-plan can still be traced on the rocks of Tiryns and Mycenae? Are we to imagine the action of the latter books of the *Odyssey* as taking place in a building like these palaces, or must we suppose something more resembling the Hellenic house of the fifth and following centuries?

The former of these alternatives is supported by the high authority of Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who adopted it in the chapters which he contributed to Schliemann's book on *Tiryns*<sup>1</sup>. Soon after the publication of that book the relation of the Tiryns palace to the Homeric descriptions was examined afresh by Sir Richard Jebb<sup>2</sup>, who came to the conclusion that the points of agreement had been greatly exaggerated, and that the house of the *Odyssey* answered in its most characteristic features to the Hellenic mansion of historical times. In particular he held that the Homeric μέγαρον, like the later ἀνδρῶν, had two entrances, viz. the front entrance from the courtyard (αὐλή), and a back entrance, leading from the women's apartments and store chambers; whereas in Dörpfeld's view these other apartments did not lie behind the men's hall, but were separate buildings, entering directly from the courtyard. This view has now been taken up and defended in detail by Mr. J. L. Myres, in a paper published (like Sir Richard Jebb's) in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Tiryns: the Pre-historic Palace of the Kings of Tiryns*, by Dr. Henry Schliemann (London, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> *The Homeric House in relation to the remains at Tiryns* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. vii. p. 170).

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xx. p. 128.

§ 2. *The Fire-place.*

There is at least one point on which the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae have undoubtedly thrown fresh and interesting light, viz. the position and structure of the fire-place (ἑσχάρη). It will be seen from the ground plan of the Tiryns palace (part of which is given in fig. 1), that in the centre of the Great Hall (μέγαρον) there are the bases of four columns still *in situ*, with traces of

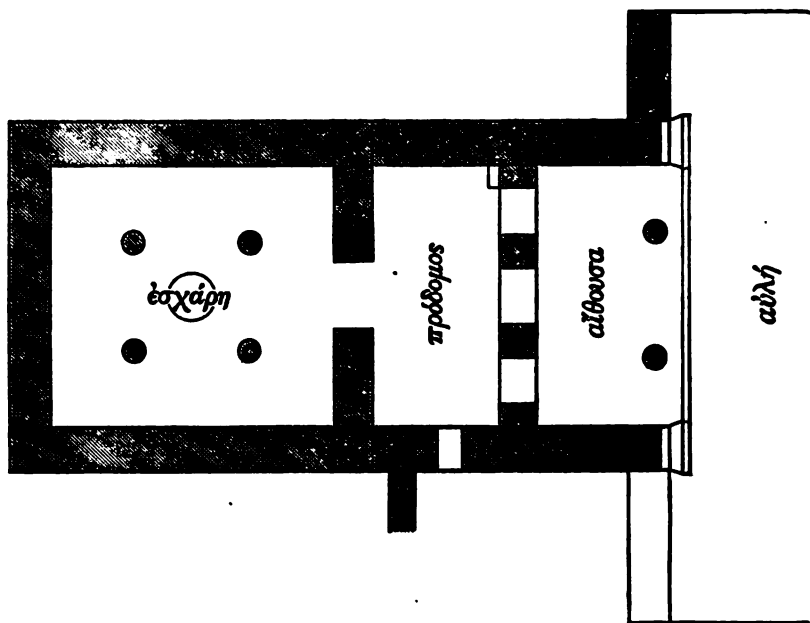


FIG. 1. PALACE OF TIRYNS.

a fire-place within the square thus formed. These four columns were doubtless employed, as Dörpfeld has conjectured<sup>4</sup>, to support a louvre or lantern somewhat higher than the roof of the building, and serving partly to give light to the room and partly as an escape

<sup>4</sup> *Tiryns*, p. 218 'It would answer much better to cover the square included by the pillars, after the manner of a basilica, with a higher roof: in the vertical walls of the upper structure (clere-story) smaller or larger apertures could be introduced, through which not only light would enter into the megaron, but also the smoke from the hearth would find an easy escape.'

for the smoke. A section showing the possible construction of this lantern is given by Mr. Middleton in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vii. 165): see fig. 2. A similar construction was usual in the hall of a mediaeval castle, with the difference that the lantern was not placed on columns rising from the floor, but rested on the framework of the roof. A much closer parallel to the Mycenaean hearth is to be found in the Icelandic houses of the *Saga* period, the plan of which has been recovered by recent investigations<sup>5</sup>. As may be seen from the sketch reproduced on p. 218 (with the section given in fig. 3), the *stofa* or chief room—answering to the Homeric μέγαρον—is a large square hall, with a roof supported by four rows

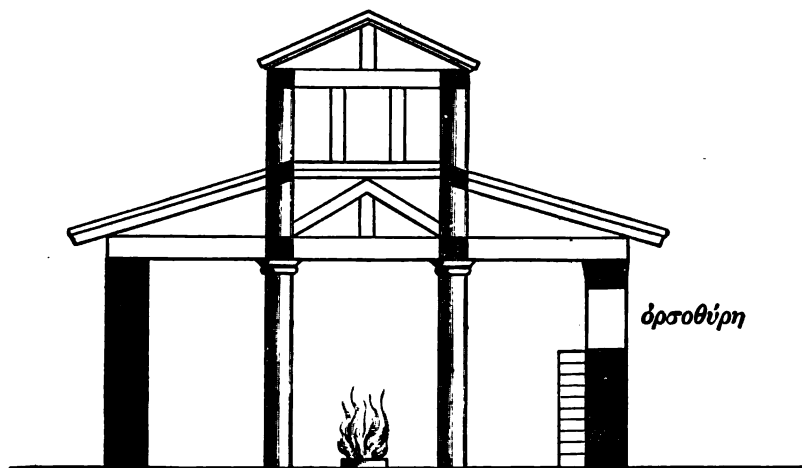


FIG. 2. RESTORATION OF THE HALL AT TIRYNS: transverse section  
(Mr. Middleton in *J. H. S.*, vii. 165).

of columns.' The two inner rows (*instafir*) are larger and higher than the others, and between them, in the middle of the hall, is the fire-place, with the seats of honour for the host and his principal guest or guests. Thus the chief place was not, as in a mediaeval hall, at the top of the room—with a dais and 'high table'—, but as nearly as possible in the middle, within the central columns of the building. So too in the Homeric μέγαρον it is now clear that the hearth was in the middle, surrounded by a group of columns. It is there that queen Arete sits working 'in the light of the fire,

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privat-boligen på Island i Saga-Tiden* (Copenhagen, 1889); *Den islandske Bolig i Fristats-Tiden* (Copenhagen, 1894).



and 'leaning against a pillar,' with her maids *behind* her, *i. e.* outside the place of honour (Od. 6. 305-307). It is there also that Penelope sits 'in the light of the fire,' while Ulysses, as the honoured guest, sits on the opposite side 'against a tall pillar' (Od. 23. 89-90). So the singer Demodocus was placed 'in the midst of the banqueters, resting against a tall pillar' (Od. 8. 66). This was therefore the place from which Penelope addressed the Suitors, according to the recurring formula—

στη ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγες πύκα ποικυῖο,

and from which Nausicaa gazed at Ulysses, and then spoke to him (Od. 8. 458). It is evident that the words are more appropriate to

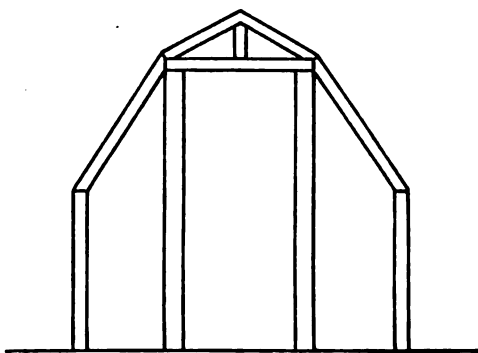


FIG. 3. ICELANDIC *stöfa*: transverse section showing the four rows of columns (*Grundr. d. german. Philologie*, xii. p. 479).

columns that formed the main support of the *roof* than to the posts of the door-way (see Od. 16. 415, with the note). The lantern overhead was doubtless the opening through which Athene flew in the shape of a bird (*ἄγρις ὡς ἀρουαία διέττατο* Od. 1. 320).

At Mycenae the fire-place is better preserved than at Tiryns, and the four bases of columns are still visible<sup>6</sup>. The same construction is found in the 'Palace of Erechtheus' on the Acropolis of Athens<sup>7</sup>. We may infer that this feature was universal in the Mycenaean period. The other Mycenaean sites—Gha in Boeotia, the sixth stratum at Troy, &c.—do not seem to furnish direct evidence on the point.

<sup>6</sup> Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *J. H. S.* xx. p. 130: cp. Mr. Middleton's *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* (*J. H. S. Suppl.* no. 3), esp. Pl. i. 67, 74, Pl. viii. no. xii.

§ 3. *The μέγαρον of the women.*

The word μέγαρον is generally understood as denoting the 'men's hall'—the room in which the chief and his followers were accustomed to pass their leisure time. It is to be observed, however, that it is used in the *Odyssey* of some part at least of the women's apartments—probably of their chief room, in which the mistress of the house and her handmaidens carried on the spinning or weaving or embroidery that formed their usual employment. This appears most clearly from Od. 18. 316:

ἔρχεσθε πρὸς δώμαθ' ὧ' αἰδοίη βασίλεια,  
τῇ δὲ παρ' ἡλάκατα στροφαλίζετε, τέρπετε δ' αὐτήν,  
ῥιμναὶ ἐν μεγάρῳ.

So in Od. 22. 497 the women are called forth ἐκ μεγάρου, *i. e.* from the apartments to which they have been strictly confined during the slaying of the Suitors, and are sent to cleanse the men's hall. And in Od. 18. 185–198 Penelope, who is in an upper chamber (cp. 18. 206 κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα), sends Eurycleia to bring two of her attendants. Eurycleia goes διὰ μεγάρου (l. 185), and the attendants come ἐκ μεγάρου, and escort Penelope to the hall where the Suitors are. The μέγαρον here must be a room in which women servants would ordinarily be. So in Od. 23. 20, 24 the μέγαρον to which Penelope talks of sending back the old nurse must be the women's room. And so, therefore, in 20. 6, where Ulysses as he lies awake in the πρόδομος hears the women passing ἐκ μεγάρου, it must mean 'from *their* μέγαρον' (not as given in the note *a. l.*).

The plural μέγαρα is also used of the women's apartments (Od. 17. 569., 19. 16, 30). Properly speaking the singular μέγαρον is applied to a particular room, the plural to the group of which that room forms the chief part (cp. τόξα = 'bow and arrows,' λίκτρα = 'a bed and its furniture,' &c.). But this is a difference that in the nature of things is not always perceptible. In general it will be found that μέγαρα is a vaguer word, which may be put for μέγαρον when the definite sense of 'room' or 'hall' is not required.

§ 4. *The θάλαμος.*

Any room except the μέγαρον may be called a θάλαμος or 'chamber.' When it is said that the Trojans made for Hector θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν (Il. 6. 316), we may put δῶμα = μέγαρον, and thus obtain the three component parts of a great house. As to the place of the

*θάλαμος* or *θάλαμοι* the indications are most diverse. The chamber of Penelope was in an upper storey, reached by a stair. The chamber of Ulysses, in which the bed was made of a living olive-tree, was certainly on the ground. The store-chamber where the bow lay was some way from the chamber of Penelope (*Od.* 21. 5-42). Again, in the vast palace of Priam there were fifty chambers for his sons, and opposite these, also within the *αὐλή*, there were twelve chambers for his married daughters. These, it will be evident, were separate buildings, opening into a spacious courtyard. So Phoenix, when he had been watched for nine days by his kinsmen and his comrades (*Il.* 9. 473-476), escaped by breaking the door of the *θάλαμος* in which he slept and leaping over the wall of the *αὐλή*. Hence, too, the need of torchlight to show the way at night from the *μέγαρον* to the *θάλαμος*—the two fires kindled by the watchers of Phoenix being an exceptional precaution. The ordinary case is that of Telemachus, who sleeps in a *θάλαμος* built in a conspicuous part of the court, and is lighted to it by the old nurse Eurycleia (*Od.* 1. 425-428):

Τηλέμαχος δ' ὅθι οἱ θάλαμος περικαλλέος αὐλῆς  
 ὑψηλὸς δέδμητο περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
 ἔνθ' ἔβη εἰς εὐνὴν πολλὰ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζων.  
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας φέρε κτλ.

So too Eurynome guides Ulysses and Penelope to their *θάλαμοι*, 'holding a torch in her hands' (*Od.* 23. 294). These passages give us the notion of a group of distinct buildings—a *μέγαρον*, perhaps a second *μέγαρον* for the women, and *θάλαμοι* of various kinds—all opening on to a courtyard or *αὐλή*, which was accordingly the chief or only means of communication between them. And this is confirmed by the occasional use of such words as *οἶκος* and *δῶμος* for the several apartments of the palace (for *οἶκος* cp. *Od.* 1. 356., 20. 105., 21. 350, 354, 358: for *δῶμος* *Od.* 1. 330., 21. 5).

At this point, again, it is interesting to compare the descriptions which we have of the domestic architecture of mediaeval Iceland<sup>1</sup>. A farmhouse, it appears from the *Sagas*, consisted of at least three or four distinct houses (*hús, herbergi*), besides barns, cowhouses, &c. These 'houses' usually were (1) the men's hall (*stofa*), (2) the sleeping-room, (3) the kitchen, (4) the eating-room. They were

<sup>1</sup> See the article by Kr. Kälund and Valtýr Guðmundsson in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, xii. p. 429. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. W. A. Craigie.

not rooms in the modern sense, parts of a single large house, but separate buildings, each of which contained a single room<sup>9</sup>.

§ 5. *The position of the women's quarters.*

It will be clear from the passages now quoted that the word *θάλαμος* usually denoted a separate structure, composed of a single room, and opening off the *αἶλή*. It did not imply anything as to the situation of the room so called. Is there then any evidence as to the relative position of the *θάλαμος* (or *θάλαμοι*) of Penelope and her attendants? Were her apartments placed, like the Hellenic *γυναικωνίτις*, at the back of the men's hall? And were they approached from that hall? On this subject the indications in the *Odyssey* are few, but perhaps sufficient.

1. In *Od.* 20. 92 Ulysses hears the voice of Penelope weeping in her *θάλαμος*, having himself just wakened from sleep in the vestibule (*πρόδομος*) of the *μήγαρον*. He is still in the *πρόδομος*, or has approached the altar of Zeus in the *αἶλή*, when he hears some words uttered by a woman who is grinding corn in a 'house' (*οἶκος*) near him. He must therefore have been within hearing distance of Penelope's sleeping chamber, and also near the rooms in which the women were doing their work. He can hardly have been at the opposite end of the palace from them, as would have been the case if the women's quarters were behind the Great Hall.

2. Antinous throws his stool at Ulysses (*Od.* 17. 462 ff.); Penelope hears the blow, and knows who has dealt it. She is then 'sitting in her chamber' (*ἡμίνη ἐν θαλάμῳ*), surrounded by her maidservants: Ulysses has returned from his round of begging (*ἀπαχωρήσας* 17. 453, 461), and directly afterwards takes his seat again on the threshold

<sup>9</sup> The men's hall with its central fire-place, surrounded by huts serving as sleeping-places, may still be found in Greece and Turkey. 'Je me rappelle surtout, dans la montagne de Samarie, un village où nous avons passé la nuit. Les maisons où couchaient les paysans n'étaient que des huttes de terre, fort basses: mais il y avait au milieu du bourg un grand bâtiment fait d'une pièce unique, très vaste, que recouvrait un toit en coupole. C'était ce qu'on appelait la "maison des hôtes" (*medhâfa*). Pendant que les femmes travaillaient aux champs, les chefs de famille passaient là de longues heures à fumer, à prendre du café et à causer. Nous les trouvâmes réunis à la tombée du jour dans leur *mégaron*: ils nous firent au premier moment un aussi mauvais accueil que jadis les prétendants à Ulysse. Il nous fallut parler haut et payer d'audace pour loger nos bêtes de somme et nos bagages dans un coin de la grande salle et pour obtenir, mouillés comme nous l'étions par une pluie torrentielle, notre place au foyer. Celui-ci était formé par de grosses pierres, rangées en cercle, vers le centre du vaisseau. Il est permis de croire que, dans le palais d'Alkinoos et dans celui d'Ulysse, l'âtre avait une apparence moins rustique' (Georges Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Tom. vii. *La Grèce de l'Épique*, p. 89).

(17. 466). Hence he could not well have been seen or heard from an upper room at the *back* of the μέγαρον. Penelope and her attendants must be placed somewhere within reach of the *front* entrance.

3. Penelope calls Eumaeus to her (Od. 17. 507), and gives him a message to Ulysses, which he delivers. It would evidently be easier for Penelope to communicate with Eumaeus *outside* the μέγαρον—to hail him from across the αἶλή, as Mr. Myres suggests,—than to bring him into an inner θάλαμος which he could not enter without being observed by all the Suitors.

4. In a later passage (Od. 20. 387) Penelope places her seat κατ' ἀντηστῆν, and there hears the talk of the Suitors, who are feasting in the μέγαρον. Mr. Myres takes the phrase κατ' ἀντηστῆν as equivalent to κατ' ἀντίθυρον (Od. 16. 159), which appears to mean the space at the further side of the αἶλή, facing the door of the μέγαρον. Unless ἀντηστῆς has some other sense not now discernible, this seems the most probable account.

There is one feature of the incident of Od. 17. 507 ff. which seems at first sight to show that the way to Penelope's room lay through the μέγαρον. Penelope, as we saw, sends Eumaeus to Ulysses, who was then in his place by the threshold of the μέγαρον, to ask him to go to her. He answers that he fears to do so because of the Suitors, by whom he has been ill-treated when he was going among them and doing them no wrong. He therefore begs her to wait till night, when the Suitors will be gone. But the argument may be, as Mr. Myres suggests, that the Suitors will object to an unknown stranger having access to Penelope in the women's quarters: and this argument is equally valid wherever Penelope is supposed to be. It must be remembered too that the poetical value of an incident may be much more obvious than the matter of fact requirements of the story. In this instance the message of Penelope and the reply of Ulysses have a double artistic purpose. The poet wishes to bring out the mysterious attraction that leads Penelope to notice and favour the seeming beggar, notwithstanding her general incredulity; and he also wishes to lead up to the great scene between Ulysses and Penelope in the nineteenth book. It was however a necessary part of the incident that Ulysses should give a reason—not the true one—for his refusal of Penelope's request. Under the circumstances we cannot expect his reason to be quite above criticism from the prosaic and logical point of view.

It may be asked here whether on any of the ancient sites there are traces of buildings that might have been women's quarters, and are within reach of the main entrance of the μέγαρον. The answer as

regards the palace of Tiryns is somewhat doubtful, as a glance at the ground-plan, with its supposed women's μέγαρον, will show. But there can be no difficulty about the buildings at Mycenae (fig. 4). There, as Mr. Myres observes<sup>10</sup>, 'a similar smaller group of rooms (which this time is furnished with an upper story approached by a corridor and staircase) lies *κατ' ἀντηστῆν* on the further side of the courtyard, and

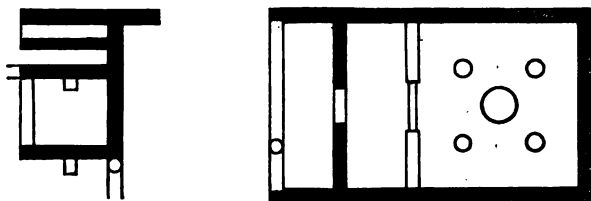


FIG. 4. PALACE AT MYCENAE. Women's quarters (?) opposite the main entrance (Mr. Myres in *J. H. S.* vol. xx. p. 131).

exactly opposite the πρόδομος of the Great Hall. Penelope's δόμος or οἶκος, with its μέγαρον, θάλαμοι, κλῖμαξ and ὑπερώια, is thus repeated in every essential detail: and the whole story of the *Odyssey*, so far as it concerns the heroine, could have been rehearsed without a hitch in the palace of the ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν of Mykenai.'

#### § 6. *The door, or doors, of the μέγαρον.*

It is time to consider the question of the women's quarters from a different side. If the way to them lay through the μέγαρον (as has been supposed), that room must have had at least two main doors, viz. the front entrance from the πρόδομος, and a back entrance at the top of the room. There is no trace of any such second doorway at Tiryns or Mycenae. Is there any evidence of its existence to be found in the story of the *Odyssey*?

If we could argue from silence—that is to say, from the absence of any express mention of the second door—the matter would be simple. In no passage is it said or implied that the μέγαρον had two doors. When a door is spoken of there is no trace of a desire or endeavour to show *which* door is meant. The question turns entirely upon what may be called circumstantial evidence. We have already noticed the argument founded upon the unwillingness of Ulysses to be seen going to Penelope while the Suitors are in the μέγαρον. It is an argument

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xx. p. 136.

which depends for its validity on the purpose and meaning of the action of Ulysses. Again, there are two doors which before the final trial of the bow Ulysses takes care to have closed, viz. the door of the women's apartment, and the gate of the αὐλή. He bids Eumaeus tell the women—

κληῖσαι μέγαρον θύρας πυκινῶς ἀμαρνίας.

In this line (as was shown in the note on 21. 382) the μέγαρον intended is that of the women—the injunction to them is to shut the door of *their* μέγαρον. Had the poet said 'the door of the men's hall,' that would naturally mean the main entrance, which was certainly not closed<sup>11</sup>. What, then, is there to show that the door into the women's μέγαρον was at the upper end of the men's hall? The probabilities are surely on the other side. The closing of the two doors, a measure intended to bar the chance of any aid coming to the Suitors, was necessarily carried out without their knowledge. Ulysses gives his instructions secretly to Eumaeus and Philoetius (21. 228–231): they avoid even being seen together (προμηστῖνοι ἐσέλθετε μὴδ' ἅμα πάντες): and Philoetius goes out 'in silence' to perform his part (21. 388). It was clearly impossible to close a door in the μέγαρον while the Suitors were there. The ὀρσοθύρη, as presently appears, was left open, and Eumaeus was told off to guard it (Od. 22. 129). It would doubtless have been closed if that could have been done without exciting suspicion.

### § 7. *The threshold, or thresholds.*

The chief argument for a second door in the Homeric μέγαρον is derived from the mention of two thresholds. One was of stone, the λαῖνος οὐδός of Od. 17. 30., 20. 258., 23. 88: the other was of ash, and is mentioned in Od. 17. 338. But it is not difficult to show that both these 'thresholds' or door-sills were at the entrance of the men's hall. In 17. 30 Telemachus crossed the λαῖνος οὐδός, and was seen and welcomed by Eurycleia and the maidservants: thereupon Penelope came from her chamber and welcomed him. Consequently the οὐδός that he had just crossed was not that of his mother's room. The other two passages are indecisive, since they can be reconciled with any view of the place of the threshold. Elsewhere the λαῖνος οὐδός of a house evidently belongs to the main entrance, as in the house of

<sup>11</sup> This is clear from 22. 76: the only chance of the Suitors there is to drive Ulysses from the door. Nothing is said of unfastening or opening it. It appears also from the movements of Telemachus, who brings arms for himself and the others, evidently passing freely through it.

Eumaeus (Od. 16. 41), and the temple at Pytho (Il. 9. 404, Od. 8. 80). On the other hand the μέλιος οὐδός was no less clearly at the entrance of the hall. Ulysses in his character as an aged beggar comes and sits *υπο* it (Od. 17. 339 *ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ*)—not *beside* it, as is said of the λαῖνος οὐδός. The solution of the difficulty is given by Mr. Myres. It is simply that the two thresholds belong to the same doorway, viz. that of the Great Hall. Every doorway on the ground floor had its λαῖνος οὐδός, a massive stone threshold of considerable breadth—the ξειστός οὐδός where Ulysses fought with Irus, the μέγας οὐδός from which he sent his arrows among the Suitors. But at Tiryns, if there was a door at the entrance of the μέγαρον, there must have been a second threshold of another material. The stone sill of this doorway has no sockets for hinges: consequently, if it had a door (as the Homeric μέγαρον had), that door must have been fitted with a four-sided frame, and the sill of this frame—which it would be natural to call the μέλιος οὐδός—would rest *υπο* the stone threshold which still survives. It would be a place upon which a man might sit, and indeed (as Mr. Myres tells us) a threshold of this kind furnishes the beggar's seat in every café in the Levant. As to the material it is to be observed that there was a δρύϊνος οὐδός of the upstairs chamber where the bow lay (Od. 21. 43). Perhaps the χάλκεος οὐδός of which we hear in the palace of Alcinous (Od. 7. 83), and also in Tartarus (Il. 8. 15), takes the place of the usual wooden sill, not of the stone threshold. It may have been in fact of wood covered with bronze plating.

With the opposition between the λαῖνος οὐδός and the μέλιος οὐδός disappears the last shred of evidence for a door at the upper end of the μέγαρον. At the same time we get rid of all difficulty about the place of Ulysses at the successive points in the story. At his first coming he seated himself on the μέλιος οὐδός of the μέγαρον (17. 339). He and Irus fought on the ξειστός οὐδός—evidently the broad stone threshold. Next day Telemachus artfully (*κέρδεα νομῶν*) places him within the μέγαρον, giving him however only a humble stool and a small table (20. 257). While the trial of the bow is going on he slips out with the two faithful servants Eumaeus and Philoetius, and reveals himself to them; after which he returns to his seat. When he asks to be allowed to try the bow, and Penelope and Telemachus support him in this, Eumaeus brings the bow from the fire-place and places it in his hands. He then proceeds to string the bow, and to shoot from his seat (*αὐτόθεν ἐκ δίφρου καθήμενος*, 21. 420). Presently at his signal Telemachus armed himself and took his stand near his father (21. 431), who immediately sprang on



to the 'great threshold' of the hall; and the slaying of the Suitors began. All this time Ulysses has been at or near the entrance of the μέγαρον, except when he made his round of begging.

§ 8. *The use of ἀνά and κατά.*

This account of the matter is strongly confirmed by an observation which Mr. Myres has made on the force of the prepositions ἀνά and κατά in relation to a house. It may be described shortly by saying that the ideas of 'up' and 'down' are the same as if we were speaking of a cave or a well. To enter a house is to go *down into* it (cp. the phrase ἰδύσσοτο δώματα and the like): to leave it is to come *up out of* it. Hence κατά δῶμα (μέγαρον, οἶκον, δόμον, &c.) implies motion *from* the door to the interior of the house or room: ἀνά δῶμα, &c. motion *towards* the entrance. This distinction Mr. Myres establishes by a convincing array of examples. It aids in the interpretation of several passages:

(1) In 17. 531 κατά δώματα is said by Penelope of the place of the Suitors—showing that she was *outside* of the hall when she spoke (not *within* or *behind* it).

(2) In 17. 566 Ulysses goes on his round of begging κατά δῶμα, *i. e.* he proceeded from the entrance, where he had been sitting.

(3) In 22. 23, 99, 307 the Suitors are driven κατά δῶμα, or κατά μέγαρον, by Ulysses, who is on the threshold (cp. 22. 270 μηστιγμῆρες δ' ἀνεχώρησαν μεγάρου μυχύνδε). So 22. 381 πάπτησεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καθ' ἑὸν δόμον.

And *e contrario*:

(4) In 21. 234 Ulysses tells Eumaeus to bring the bow to him ἀνά δώματα, from the middle of the room to the place where he was, *viz.* beside the λαῖνος οὐδός. Accordingly Eumaeus brought the bow φέρων ἀνά δῶμα (21. 378); and from that moment the escape of the Suitors was barred.

Apart from these passages, which the proper distinction thus made between ἀνά and κατά converts into so many arguments, the mere existence of such a distinction goes a long way to establish the correctness of the view now taken. As Mr. Myres well argues, the difference between 'from the door' and 'to the door' is hardly conceivable with two doors exactly opposite each other. It could only arise or be maintained if the μέγαρον, as a rule, had one door.

§ 9. *The ὀροσθύρη, &c.*

A discussion of the Homeric House, as Mr. Myres justly says, can hardly be complete without dealing in some detail with the narrative of Od. 22. 126–146. Some of the difficulties of that passage have been touched upon in the commentary; and unfortunately they are difficulties upon which the ground plans of Mycenaean buildings do not throw any new light. It will be enough here to state very briefly the chief conclusions arrived at.

The ὀροσθύρη seems from its name to have been a 'rising door,' i. e. a trap-door of some kind; or possibly a 'raised door,' an opening or window above the level of the floor. In any case the way through it lay in an upward direction, as appears from the phrase ἀν' ὀροσθύρην ἀναβαίνειν (22. 132)—unless indeed any way *out* of the hall could be spoken of as a way 'up.' The place of the ὀροσθύρη is approximately fixed by the incident of Od. 22. 332–341, where Phemius is described as close to it, and also near the mixing-bowl, which was in the innermost part of the hall (21. 145). It was therefore, as we should expect, as far as possible from where Ulysses stood. There is nothing to show whether it was in the wall opposite the main entrance, or in one of the side-walls: but on the latter supposition it is easier to understand how Eumaeus could watch it from the outside, and still be within reach of his friends. Apparently it was through the ὀροσθύρη that Melanthius fetched arms for the Suitors (see the note on 22. 143). As he did so without being seen from the threshold, we must suppose some contrivance by which the ὀροσθύρη was screened from view—unless we are to understand that Melanthius was outside the ὀροσθύρη all the time, and only passed in the arms through it. The Suitors might have got out by it themselves, as Phemius afterwards thought of doing (22. 332 ff.): but they could only reach the courtyard by a λαύρη, a narrow corridor or gallery<sup>13</sup>, where one man would have been a match for them all.

Regarding the phrases ἀκρότατον παρ' οὐδὸν (22. 127) and ἀνὰ ῥώγας μεγάρου (22. 143) the existing purely literary evidence does not enable us to advance beyond more or less probable conjecture.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Myres compares the mining galleries from which Laurium (Λαύρειον) was so called.



**VIEW OF ITHACA, LOOKING NORTHWARDS**

**Taken by permission from a photograph belonging to the German  
Archaeological Institute of Athens.**

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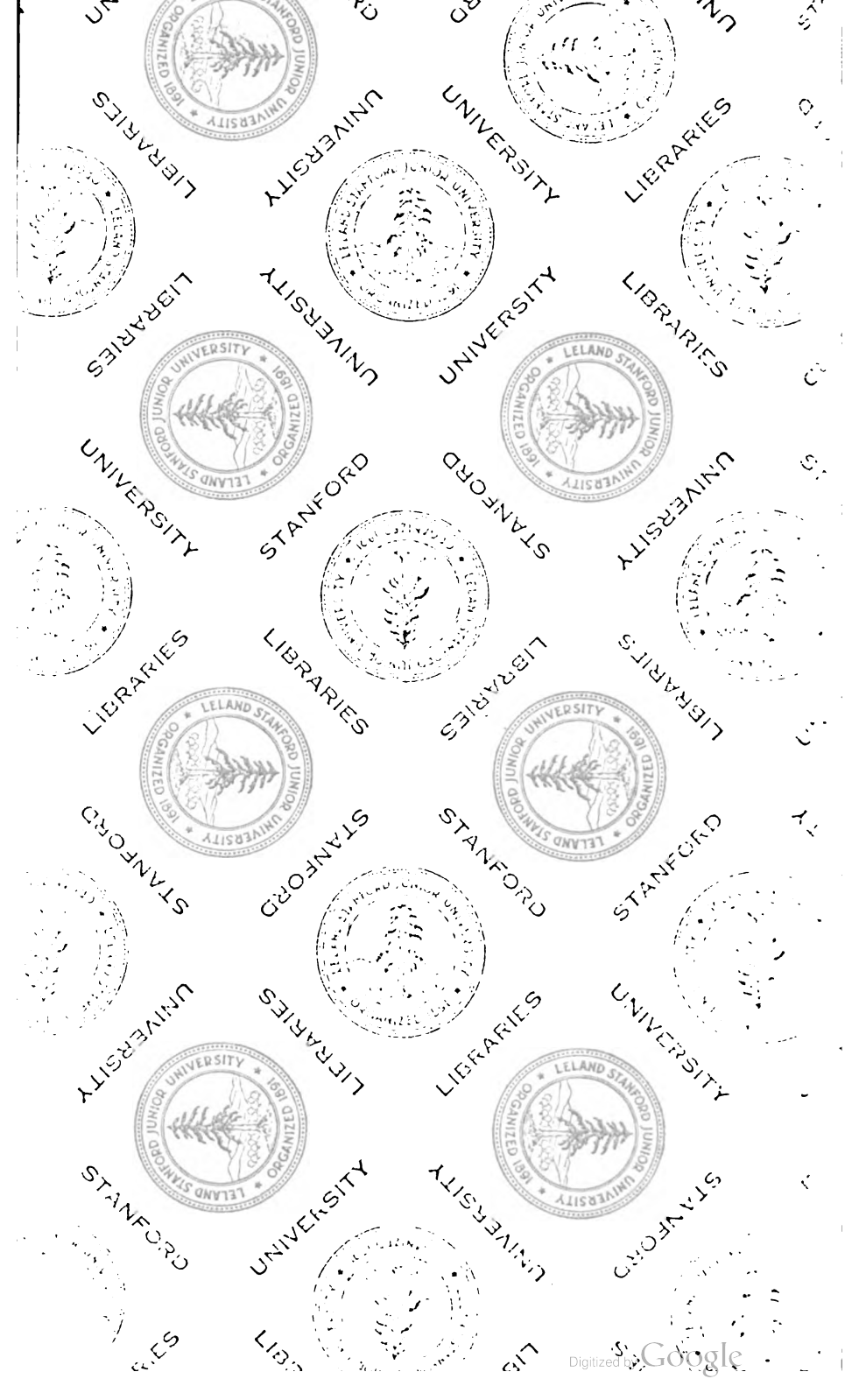
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