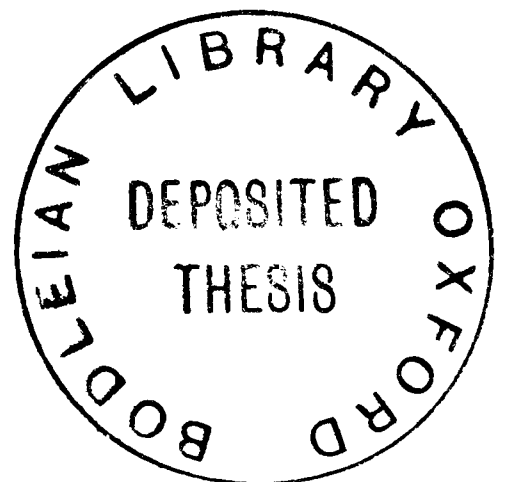


CHARACTERS' STORYTELLING
IN THE HOMERIC EPICS

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Y.S.

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INTRODUCTION

In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, characters often tell stories of past events. The materials of these stories range from the deeds of heroes who belong to generations before the Trojan War, to the past experiences of the speakers themselves. Thus many mythological tales which do not feature in the main plot, such as the Meleagros story, the Niobe story, the story of the Wooden Horse, and the *nostoi* of various Greek heroes, are incorporated into the Homeric epics through the speeches of their characters.

Among the Analysts, the stories told by characters in the Homeric epics tended to be regarded as faithful summaries of (inevitably hypothetical) lost 'sources'.¹ This tendency among the Analysts was no doubt influenced by the *Quellenforschung* of historical sources, but the inapplicability of this method, which is suitable to the study of written records, came to be perceived after the general recognition of the oral nature of the Homeric epics.

Furthermore, critics began to pay attention to the literary function of these stories in their respective contexts within the epic. R. Oehler studied the function of those stories which are employed as *paradeigmata*.² Later, M. M. Willcock argued that there are traces of the

¹ E.g., Finsler 1914, pp.39-59; Howald 1924; Cantieni 1942.

² Oehler 1925. We shall define a *paradeigma* as a story introduced with the purpose of persuading the addressee (in the direction either of imitation or avoidance of the story's conclusion); or of consoling the addressee; or of justifying the speaker's own behaviour. In the Homeric scholia, the term παράδειγμα is applied to such stories as Herakles' sack of Troy (schol. bT ad E640), the Meleagros story (schol. A ad I 528), Nestor's prowess in the Pylian - Epeian War (schol. bT ad Λ717-8), the death of Herakles

poet's manipulation of mythological details to create correspondences with the context.³ It has also been suggested that the correspondences between a story and its context are not confined to those enhancing the appropriateness of the story as a *paradeigma*, but that they perform other functions, including prefiguration of future events in the epic.⁴ As regards the close connection of the stories with their contexts, those stories which are repeated in different contexts are illuminating. Stories such as those of Tydeus (Δ370-400, E800-813), the murder of Agamemnon (α32-43, γ193-200, δ512-537, λ405-434), and the Wooden Horse (δ266-289, θ499-520, λ505-537) retain their basic outline each time they are recounted, but there are conspicuous variations. Because of these variations, the Analysts allocated different versions of the same story to different poets who were utilizing different 'sources'.⁵ But it has been shown that peculiar details in one version are often particularly relevant in their own context.⁶ Thus the variations between different versions of the same story can be regarded as due to the poet's attempt to present a story with a particular emphasis to suit its context, not as due to different 'sources'.

Recent studies, which pay full attention to the close connection between the stories told by characters and their contexts, presuppose a

(schol. AT ad Σ117), Zeus' delusion on the occasion of Herakles' birth (schol. bT ad T95), and Nestor's feats at the funeral games for Amarynkeus (schol. bT ad Ψ630).

³ Willcock 1964.

⁴ Kakridis 1935; Braswell 1971; Andersen 1987.

⁵ E.g., for the treatment of different versions of the murder of Agamemnon by the Analysts, cf. Hölscher 1967, pp.3-4, who criticizes their postulation of 'sources'.

⁶ For the Tydeus story, cf. Andersen 1978, pp.33-43, 78-87 (see Chapter 2); for the murder of Agamemnon, cf. Hölscher 1967 (see Chapter 5); for the Wooden Horse, see Chapter 6.

sophisticated technique on the part of the poet.⁷ This sophistication can be paralleled by analogous techniques employed in the Homeric epics. Andersen has shown that when Iliadic characters refer to recent events which happen, or are mentioned, earlier in the epic, representations of these events sometimes show a notable manipulation of details or shifts of emphasis which serve particularly well in their new contexts.⁸ The use of similes offers another example of a similarly sophisticated technique. Homeric similes are often linked with their contexts not only by the so-called *tertium comparationis*, but by various points of correspondence.⁹ For example, the brightness of Achilles' armour is compared to a star at X26: παμφαίνονθ' ὥς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο. In this simile, Achilles' movement of running across the plain is fused into the image of the star in the simile.¹⁰ Furthermore, some of the animal similes attached

⁷ The drastic change of attitudes towards storytelling in Homer from the Analysts to recent scholars may be partly explained as a result of a significant change of attitudes towards the arts in the 20th century as generalized by John Bayley: "The change could be defined quite simply as a move away from the idea of the transcendence of art to an awareness of it as the manipulation of conventions, codes, and illusions. As consumers of art we are now expected to ask not what it is but how it has been put together" (Introduction to Edgar Wind, *Art and Anarchy*³, (1985), p.xii).

⁸ Andersen 1990. For example, Hyperenor's taunting words are alleged by Menelaos (P24-8), but are not mentioned in the narrative (Ξ516-9); Patroklos says that Sarpedon was the first to scale the Achaian wall (Π558), but it was actually Hektor (M438). Other instances cited by Andersen include: P125-6 / Σ174-7; I 352-4 / O721-3; Φ77-9 / Ψ744-9.

⁹ Cf. Edwards 1991, pp.30-4.

¹⁰ For this kind of fusion between *illustrans* and *illustrandum* in early Greek poetry (remarkably similar to the interfusion of details between *paradeigma* and context

to a hero which involve the death of an animal prefigure the death of the hero later in the epic.¹¹ These instances of close connection between similes and their contexts, as well as of manipulation of the recent past, entitle us to look for the poet's sophisticated technique in the case also of the correspondence between events of a remote past narrated in characters' stories and their contexts.

In addition to the function of characters' stories in their immediate contexts, we should also note their function in the larger context of each epic. Andersen convincingly showed in his *Diomedesgestalt in der Ilias* how closely the stories told in *Iliad* 4-6 are related to the depiction of the prowess of Diomedes. These stories can be seen as an important element in the characterization of Diomedes. The special connection of characters' storytelling with an important *persona* can be found in the case of other heroes of the *Iliad*. For instance, *paradeigmata* which are either presented to Achilles or spoken by him are particularly conspicuous. They are located in the context of Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon (book 1), in the embassy to Achilles (book 9), in Achilles' meeting with Thetis (book 18), in Agamemnon's apology to Achilles (book 19), and in Achilles' meeting with Priam when he gives back Hektor's corpse (book 24). These are all very important moments within the course of Achilles' μῆνις and its consequences. Nestor is also notable among the heroes of the *Iliad* in terms of storytelling. He recounts stories of his youthful prowess as many as four times (books 1, 7, 11, and 23). There are also a number of stories concerning past events among the Olympian gods.

postulated for Homer), cf. Davies 1991, ad Soph. *Trach.* 31ff. and 147 with references to relevant literature.

¹¹ Kawashima 1965, pp.25-8; Moulton 1977, pp.112-3 with n.63. This point will be further discussed in the Conclusion.

These stories are told in connection with important moments in the course of action among the gods, such as Thetis' supplication to Zeus (book 1), the quarrel between Zeus and Hera (book 1), Aphrodite's injury by Diomedes (book 5), and Hera's deception of Zeus (book 14). These stories play an important part in the representation of the world of the Olympian gods in the *Iliad*.

In the *Odyssey* too, the stories told by characters are arranged in connection with the design of the whole epic, and are closely related to the characterization of the principal *personae*, especially Odysseus. In the *Telemacheia*, the story of Orestes' revenge for Agamemnon's death is repeatedly presented as a *paradeigma* for Telemachos. The story of Agamemnon's murder also appears in the two *Nekyiai* (books 11 and 24). The story of the Wooden Horse, in which Odysseus plays a leading role, is told in the *Telemacheia* by Menelaos (book 4). This story is mentioned again in the song of Demodokos (book 8), and in the first *Nekyia* (book 11). Odysseus' long story as related at Alkinoos' court presents numerous adventures during his own *nostos* (books 9 to 12). Odysseus' lying stories, which are scattered throughout the second half of the *Odyssey* (books 13, 14, 17, 19, 24), represent an important aspect of the hero of cunning intelligence. Thus both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, characters' storytelling can be regarded as an important element of the whole structure of each epic.

In this thesis, special attention will be paid to the function of characters' stories in the wider context of each epic. In order to facilitate this aim, the stories are classified according to their connections with principal characters (or groups of characters). In Part 1, the stories in the *Iliad* are classified into four groups: the stories recounted to or by Achilles (Chapter 1); the stories told in connection with Diomedes' deeds in books 4-6 (Chapter 2); the stories narrated by Nestor (Chapter 3); the

stories about the Olympian gods (Chapter 4). In Part 2, the stories in the *Odyssey* are also examined within four categories: the story of Agamemnon's murder and the revenge taken by Orestes (Chapter 5); the stories of the Wooden Horse and other events in the last stage of the Trojan War (Chapter 6); Odysseus' long story of his adventures on the way back from Troy (Chapter 7); Odysseus' lying stories (Chapter 8). Though this study does not treat the stories told by characters exhaustively,¹² most of them fall into the above eight categories. After the examination of each story in Part 1 and Part 2, significant differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in terms of characters' storytelling will be discussed in the Conclusion.

¹² The stories discussed in each chapter are listed in the table of contents. Among the stories told by characters which do not fall into these eight categories, notable instances include Γ204-224 (Odysseus and Menelaos' visit to Troy as envoys before the war, also at Λ138-142) and φ295-304 (the Centaur Eurytion's infatuation).

Part 1
The *Iliad*

Chapter 1

Paradeigmata pertaining to Achilles

1 Introduction

In the *Iliad*, various characters tell stories to Achilles either as a *paradeigma* for Achilles or for the speaker himself: Nestor tells of his exploits at the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths in book 1; Phoinix tells the story of Meleagros in book 9; Agamemnon tells the story of Zeus' delusion at Herakles' birth in book 19. One might also note that Nestor in book 23 tells Achilles of his own feats at the funeral games of Amarynkeus.¹ Moreover, Achilles himself also tells stories as *paradeigmata*: he mentions the death of Herakles in book 18, and tells the story of Niobe in the last book of the poem.

These *paradeigmata* are scattered throughout the *Iliad*. In this respect, they make a contrast to the *paradeigmata* concerning Diomedes, which are confined to *Iliad* 4 to 6. It should be noted that the *paradeigmata* pertaining to Achilles are placed at important points in the plot of the *Iliad*. Nestor's story in book 1 is told in the scene in which Achilles conceives his wrath. Phoinix's story in book 9 is told in the scene in which Achilles receives an embassy from Agamemnon requesting him to return to the battle. Achilles mentions Herakles' death in book 18 to explain to Thetis his return to the battle which will result in his early death. Agamemnon's story in book 19 is told when Achilles, in an assembly of the Greeks, formally renounces his wrath and

¹ Nestor's story of his prowess in the Pylian-Epeian War (book 11) is included in the message which he asks Patroklos to convey to Achilles. Patroklos, however, does not repeat the story to Achilles. See Chapter 3.

announces his re-entry into the war. The meeting of Achilles and Priam in book 24, in which the Niobe story is told, is the conclusion of the whole epic. One may say that most of the important moments in Achilles' deeds in the *Iliad* are accompanied by stories presented as *paradeigmata*.

In this chapter, we will examine the function of the Meleagros story (I 529-599), the death of Herakles (Σ117-9), Zeus' delusion at Herakles' birth (T95-133), and the Niobe story (Ω602-617), each in its context.² The significance of these stories for the characterization of Achilles will be discussed in the conclusion.

2 The Meleagros *Paradeigma* (I 529-599)

(a) Correspondence with Achilles' Situation

In *Iliad* 9, Odysseus, Phoinix and Aias (and two heralds) are sent as an embassy to Achilles to bring him back to battle. Phoinix tells the story of Meleagros as a *paradeigma* for Achilles (I 529-599). In this story, the Aitolians and the Kouretes are at war. The Aitolians are oppressed by the enemy because their hero, Meleagros, has retired from battle after he was enraged by his mother. The Aitolians offer a gift and supplicate Meleagros to return to battle, but their effort is in vain. At last his wife, Kleopatra, persuades him to return to battle. Meleagros saves his compatriots, but cannot receive the gifts formerly promised to him. Following this story, Phoinix recommends Achilles not to imitate Meleagros, but to return to battle while the gifts promised by Agamemnon are still obtainable.

² Nestor's stories of the battle of Centaurs and the Lapiths (A259-273) and of the funeral games of Amarynkeus (Ψ629-642), which are related not so much to the characterization of Achilles as to that of Nestor himself, will be discussed together with other stories told by Nestor in Chapter 3.

There is another version of the story of Meleagros which was widespread and differs from the *paradeigma* in *Iliad* 9 in some important points.³ According to this version, at Meleagros' birth, the Fates foretold that he would die when a wooden stick, which was in the fireplace, burned to ashes. Hearing this, his mother Althaia picked up the firebrand and kept it. Later, when the Kalydonian boar hunt was held, Meleagros killed the boar, but quarrelled over it with Althaia's brothers (i.e. his uncles) and killed them. When Althaia heard of the murder, she put the firebrand upon the fire to avenge them, and Meleagros died. The version in the *Iliad* is different in that Meleagros' death is caused by Althaia uttering a curse. In extant literature, Meleagros' death due to a firebrand is first found in a fragment of Phrynichos' *Pleuroniai*.⁴ Bacchylides' *Ode* 5 (94-154) recounts the whole story of Meleagros' death due to the burning of a firebrand. Euripides' lost tragedy *Meleagros* is also thought to have adopted the hero's death involving a firebrand, as can be conjectured from its fragments.⁵ This version was also adopted by later mythographers and Roman poets.⁶

³ Cf. *RE* xv-1, 1931, s.v. 'Meleagros' (van der Kolf); *LIMC*, s.v. 'Meleagros'; Gantz 1993, pp.328-339.

⁴ Phrynichos fr.6 (Snell). Since lyric metre is used in this fragment, it is believed that the tragedy itself was not about the death of Meleagros, but that the chorus incidentally mentioned this myth, which must have been well-known by then. Cf. the testimonia to this fragment in Snell's edition. Therefore, death by firebrand is unlikely to be a creation of Phrynichos, but must have been a popular tale in the sixth century B.C. Cf. *RE* xv-1, s.v. 'Meleagros', col.452.

⁵ Euripides frs. 515-539 (Nauck). Attempts to restore Euripides' *Meleagros* can be found in *RE* xv-1, coll.453-455 and Page 1937. Meleagros' love for Atalante, which is a

On the other hand, there are only a few examples of authors who adopt the alternative account of Meleagros' death through Althaia's curse, and, moreover, these were written by later mythographers upon whom direct or indirect influence from the account in *Iliad* 9 is likely.⁷ In other words, as far as extant literature is concerned, Meleagros' death by his mother's curse is told only in *Iliad* 9 and later accounts which might have been influenced by it. As Meleagros' death due to the burning of a firebrand was popular in Phrynichos' time and thereafter, in spite of the *Iliad*'s great influence on Greek literature, it is generally assumed that the hero's death involving a firebrand was the original version.⁸

It has been suggested that the change from death due to the burning of a firebrand to death by curse was necessary in order to bring into the Meleagros *paradeigma* a situation similar to that of Achilles.⁹ According to the version which recounts Meleagros' death by a firebrand, he dies immediately after Althaia decides to kill him. Moreover, he does not even know when he is dying who is the cause of his death.¹⁰

major element of the story in Apollodorus and Ovid, first appears in fragments of Euripides' Meleagros. Page suggests that this was Euripides' creation.

⁶ E.g. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VIII 260-525.

⁷ Diodoros (4, 34, 2-7), Apollodoros (1, 8, 3), and Antoninus Liberalis (2) adopted Meleagros' death by curse. The first and second of these recount two versions (death involving a firebrand and death by curse) separately, and the third mixes the two versions.

⁸ Cf. Kakridis 1935, pp.2-3.

⁹ Cf. Willcock 1964, p.152; Voskou 1974.

¹⁰ For example, in Bacchylides *Ode* 5 (144-154), Meleagros is stripping armour from a fallen enemy on the battle field, and when Althaia throws the stick into the fire, he suddenly feels his body become weak and dies immediately.

Therefore, if the poet had adopted the version involving a firebrand, there would have been no room for his wrath, withdrawal from battle, and supplication by others, all of which produce similarities with Achilles' situation. The change from Meleagros' death by the burning of a firebrand to death by curse introduced an interval between Althaia's decision to kill her son and his actual death, so that elements such as his wrath could be incorporated into the story.

One should note that Meleagros' motive for withdrawing from the battle is not clear. It is not obvious why he made the whole population of Kalydon face destruction merely because of his anger towards his mother. Moreover, she feels sympathy for the Kouretes, the enemy of the Aitolians (though her relation to the Kouretes is not stated in the *Iliad*).¹¹ By contrast, Achilles has a sufficient motive for retiring from the battle. In *Iliad* 1, his value as a warrior is denied by Agamemnon, so he wants his value to be recognized by causing the Greek side to be defeated for a while through his absence. He aims to make Agamemnon and others acknowledge his value as a warrior.¹² Since Meleagros' wrath does not seem to be a sufficient motive for withdrawing from battle, it has been suggested that the hero's wrath and his refusal to fight were introduced into Meleagros' story in order to produce similarities with Achilles' situation in the *Iliad*.¹³

In connection with Meleagros' wrath, Phoinix's autobiographical account (I 447-484) just before the Meleagros *paradeigma* is notable. Phoinix's father, Amyntor, had a concubine and disregarded his wife, who

¹¹ Cf. Willcock p.153. Althaia is a daughter of the king of the Kouretes, Thestios.

Therefore she curses Meleagros in order to avenge the princes of the Kouretes.

¹² Achilles has also been advised by Thetis to stay away from battle (A 421-2).

¹³ Cf. Reinhardt 1961, p.21; Heubeck 1984, p.132.

asked her son to have sexual intercourse with the concubine, thinking that she might become disgusted by the old Amyntor after her encounter with Phoinix. Because of this, Amyntor got angry with Phoinix (περιχώσατο (I 449), πατρὸς χωομένοιο (I 463)), and uttered a curse that Phoinix should never have children (I 453-7). Phoinix thought about killing his father, but a god checked his anger (ἀλλά τις ἄθανάτων παῦσεν χόλον (I 458-9)).¹⁴ These repeated mentions of anger in this account prefigure the motif of anger in the *paradeigma* (I 558, 565), which forms an important point of correspondence with Achilles' wrath.¹⁵

The supplication of Meleagros at I 574-586 is closely related to Achilles' situation in *Iliad* 9. First the Kalydonian elders supplicate Meleagros by sending priests with the promise of the gift of an estate (I 574-580). Then Meleagros' father, Oineus, supplicates his son (I 581-3), followed by his sisters and mother (I 584-5). Finally Meleagros' truest and dearest (κεδνότατοι καὶ φίλτατοι) friends supplicate him (I 585-6). It has been pointed out that the three groups of supplicants (the priests, Meleagros' family, his friends) correspond respectively to Odysseus, who lists Agamemnon's offerings; Phoinix, who is Achilles' father figure; and Aias, who refers to the φιλότης ἑταίρων with which he and others honoured Achilles (I 630-2).¹⁶

¹⁴ This detail is reminiscent of a scene in *Iliad* 1 in which Athene checks Achilles, who is about to kill Agamemnon. Cf. Griffin 1995, ad I 458-461. For the question of the authenticity of I 458-461, cf. Janko 1992, p.28.

¹⁵ One should also note that Amyntor's curse prefigures Althaia's.

¹⁶ Lohmann 1970, pp.258-263. Kakridis 1949, pp.20-5 sees a trace of a traditional "ascending scale of affection" (friends - parents - (brothers and sisters) - husband or wife) in the order of the suppliants to Meleagros. Kakridis claims that the position of the

The elaborate correspondence between the *paradeigma* and the situation of Achilles in *Iliad* 9 has the effect of strengthening Phoinix's message to Achilles, which is based on the story of Meleagros.

(b) The Role of Kleopatra

Kleopatra's role in the Meleagros *paradeigma* shows conspicuous similarities to that of Patroklos in the *Iliad*: Kleopatra stays with Meleagros while he retires from battle, just as Patroklos stays with Achilles when the embassy arrives. Kleopatra's other and more important role is to entreat Meleagros with tears and persuade him to return to battle when the city of Kalydon faces serious danger (I 590-6). This role resembles Patroklos' role later in the *Iliad*. Both Kleopatra and Patroklos entreat a hero who retires from battle because of wrath, and both succeed in persuading him (in Patroklos' case, with the request to allow him to return to battle instead of Achilles), and as a result, their own sides are saved from danger.¹⁷

It should be noted that this role of Kleopatra has no place in the version in which Meleagros is killed by the burning of a firebrand.¹⁸ Moreover, if the two elements of the name, Κλεοπάτρη - κλέος and πατήρ - are inverted, they constitute the name Πάτροκλος. Thus it has been

friends was raised to just before Kleopatra, echoing the presence of Achilles' friends at his camp in *Iliad* 9.

¹⁷ Cf. Schadewaldt 1966, p.149; Lohmann 1970, p.262.

¹⁸ Bacchylides does not mention Kleopatra, nor do other fragmentary accounts of the Meleagros myth before and in the classical period. Her name is mentioned in later mythographers, Apollodoros and Antoninus Liberalis, both of whom are dependent on the *Iliad*. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VIII 521) refers to Meleagros' wife once, but does not give her a name or a specific role.

suggested that the role of Kleopatra was created to make it correspond to that of Patroklos.¹⁹

The correspondence between Kleopatra's supplication and that of Patroklos belongs to a different category from the other points of correspondence we have seen above: Achilles' withdrawal from the battle because of his wrath is the situation depicted in *Iliad* 9, but Patroklos' supplication occurs considerably later in the epic. If the Meleagros *paradeigma*, which Phoinix tells in order to persuade Achilles, includes an allusion to Patroklos' future, the function of this story is not confined to the means of one character's persuasion of another. Since neither Phoinix nor Achilles knows what will happen to Patroklos in the future, the allusion should be regarded as a message from the poet to the audience, who were familiar with the later development of the plot and could recognize the allusion to Patroklos' future role.²⁰

There are some passages which seem to link the scene of the embassy to Achilles (*presbeia*) with *Iliad* 16 (*Patrokleia*). Achilles utters the following words in his reply to Patroklos' supplication at the beginning of book 16:

ἦτοι ἔφην γε
οὐ πρὶν μηνιθμὸν καταπαυσέμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπότε ἄν δὴ
νῆας ἐμὰς ἀφίκηται αὐτὴ τε πτόλεμός τε (Π 61-3).

This statement alludes to Achilles' own words to Aias in *Iliad* 9:²¹

¹⁹ Oehler 1925, p.16. The double name of Kleopatra/Alkyone is a further support to the theory that the name Kleopatra is invented. Schadewaldt 1966, p.140; Hainsworth 1993, ad I 561-3.

²⁰ Andersen 1987, p.5. Morrison 1992, pp.119-124 suggests that the Meleagros story misdirects the audience as to the moment at which Achilles (or Patroklos) returns to the battle.

²¹ Cf. Scodel 1989, p.91. n.4; Hainsworth 1993, ad I 643-655.

οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἵματόεντος,
 πρὶν γ' υἷον Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος Ἴκτορα δῖον
 Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι
 κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε σμῦξαι πυρὶ νῆας.
 ἄμφι δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
 Ἴκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω (I 650-5).

This statement indicates²² that Achilles has changed his attitude compared with his reply to Odysseus that he will sail home the next day (I 428-9). The condition of Achilles' return to battle in this passage (the enemy's invasion of the camp and their setting fire to the ships) seems to echo the condition in which Kleopatra supplicated Meleagros²³:

πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ πύργων
 βαῖνον Κουρήτες καὶ ἐνέπρηθον μέγα ἄστυ.
 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον εὐζωνος παρὰ κοιτῆς
 λίσσετ' ὀδυρομένη (I 588-591).

Another passage which has a bearing on the link between the *presbeia* and the *Patrokleia* occurs in Zeus' speech at Θ 470-483: Zeus announces that many Greeks will be killed and Hektor will not cease from killing until Achilles returns to the battle. In this speech, Zeus refers to the fate of Patroklos:

οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἴκτωρ,
 πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα,
 ἥματι τῷ ὅτ' ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνησι μάχωνται
 στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος (Θ473-6).

Since the battle depicted in *Iliad* 8, in which the Greeks are driven back to the Achaian wall, prepares for the situation in which the embassy is sent to Achilles,²⁴ the reference to Patroklos' death in this passage can be seen as another bridge between the *presbeia* and the *Patrokleia*. The passages discussed above, which link the *presbeia* and the *Patrokleia*,

²² Whitman 1958, pp.190-1.

²³ Whitman 1958, p.191.

²⁴ Leaf 1900, p.332.

support the view that Kleopatra's supplication in the *paradeigma* is an allusion to Patroklos' supplication in *Iliad* 16.

(c) The Idas-Marpessa Episode

In connection with the allusion to Patroklos' role in *Iliad* 16, the significance of the following description of Kleopatra's parents has not been adequately recognized:

κούρη Μαρπήσσης καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίνης
 Ἴδεώ θ', ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν τότε· καὶ ῥα ἄνακτος ἐναντίον εἶλετο τόξον
 Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφης·
 τὴν δὲ τότε ἐν μεγάροισι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Ἀλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, οὐνεκ' ἄρ αὐτῆς
 μήτηρ Ἀλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα
 κλαῖ' ὅτε μιν ἐκάεργος ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (I 557-564).

This description occupies an important position in the structure of the Meleagros *paradeigma*. The *paradeigma* can be divided into three sections²⁵: (1) I 529-549 (episodes preceding the war); (2) I 550-574 (Meleagros' wrath); (3) I 574-599 (supplication and Meleagros' return to battle). Ring-composition is employed in the first and second sections. The account of the Idas-Marpessa story occupies the central position in the ring composition of the second section, whereas the corresponding position in the first section is occupied by the account of Artemis' anger (I 533-7). In contrast to Artemis' anger, which is the cause of the Kalydonian boar hunt and the subsequent war, the Idas-Marpessa story has nothing to do with the plot of the Meleagros story. Thus the account of Idas and Marpessa was once described as "a digression which grievously interferes with the narrative."²⁶

²⁵ For the analysis of the structure of the Meleagros *paradeigma*, cf. Lohmann 1970, pp.254-255.

²⁶ Leaf 1900, ad I 557.

It should be noted that Apollo's role is conspicuous in the story of Idas and Marpessa. Idas is said to have taken up his bow and vied with Apollo for his bride (I 558-560). Marpessa was abducted by Apollo and cried like an ἄλκυών (kingfisher).²⁷ Their daughter, Kleopatra, used to be called ἄλκυόνη after her mother's lament (I 561-4).

This brief account of Kleopatra's parents does not cover the entire myth of Idas and Marpessa. The usual account of this story begins with Idas' abduction of Marpessa and subsequent pursuit by her father, Euenos.²⁸ Euenos fails to catch them because swift horses, given by Poseidon, are pulling Idas' chariot. Euenos, in despair, drowns himself in a river, which is named after him. Then comes Apollo's abduction of Marpessa and the confrontation between the god and Idas. Finally, Zeus intervenes in this confrontation and lets Marpessa choose between Apollo and Idas. She chooses Idas, fearing that Apollo may desert her when she gets old. Thus, only a portion of the Idas-Marpessa story in which Apollo features is selected in the account of Kleopatra's parents, so that the god's intervention is overtly emphasized.

It should be noted that Apollo's intervention also features prominently in the *Patrokleia*, to which the role of Kleopatra seems to allude. After succeeding in driving the Trojans from the Greek camp,

²⁷ In ancient Greece, the *alkyon* (kingfisher) was thought to cry with a plaintive note. Cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson 1930, p.47. The bird was also associated with marital love. This association can be seen in the story of Alcyone, the wife of Keyx. Cf. Forbes Irving 1990, pp.239-240. Both in the Idas-Marpessa story in the *Iliad* and in the myth of Keyx and Alcyone, the plaintive cry of the kingfisher is associated with the cry of a wife who is separated from her husband. Cf. Wilamowitz 1935, p.131, Anm.2.

²⁸ Accounts of the myth of Idas and Marpessa as a whole can be found in Apollodoros (1, 7, 8-9) and in schol. bT ad I 557.

Patroklos approaches the walls of Troy, in spite of Achilles' instruction not to do so, and there Apollo intervenes and causes his death. It is also notable that Patroklos challenges Apollo in the *Patrokleia*. At Π 702-711, Patroklos tries to scale the Trojan wall three times, but each time Apollo pushes him back. When Patroklos approaches the wall a fourth time like a god (δαίμονι ἴσος (Π 705)), Apollo warns him that Troy is not destined to be sacked by him. Then Patroklos retires, avoiding the god's anger. Patroklos in this scene resembles Idas in the *paradeigma*, a figure who also confronted Apollo.

The Idas-Marpessa story is connected to the Meleagros story through Kleopatra, who is both the daughter of Idas and Marpessa, and the wife of Meleagros. It is striking, however, that Kleopatra is a shadowy figure in the tradition of the Meleagros story independent of the *Iliad*: as we have seen above, she may be a creation of the poet of the *Iliad*.²⁹ One cannot deny the possibility that the connection of the Idas-Marpessa story with the Meleagros story was created, together with the character of Kleopatra, by the poet of the *Iliad*. The account of the Idas-Marpessa story, with its emphasis on Apollo's intervention, strengthens the correspondence between the role of Kleopatra and that of Patroklos in *Iliad* 16.

²⁹ Kleopatra (Alkyone) is an obscure figure in the tradition of the Idas-Marpessa story as well. There is no mention of a daughter of Idas and Marpessa in Simonides fr. 563 (Page) (= schol. bT ad I 557), nor in Bacchylides, *Dithyramb* 6 and fr.20 (Snell). Apollodoros (1, 8, 2) and Pausanias (4, 2, 7), upon whom influence from the account in the *Iliad* is perfectly conceivable, record the existence of a daughter named Kleopatra without giving her any role in the story.

3 The Death of Herakles (Σ117-9)

At the meeting of Thetis and Achilles in *Iliad* 18, the goddess reveals that Achilles will die soon after Hektor is killed (Σ95–6). Achilles replies that he prefers to avenge Patroklos' death by killing Hektor and to accept his own death if the gods so wish (Σ98–126). In this speech, Achilles cites the death of Herakles (Σ117–9).

It may be noted that the apotheosis of Herakles after his death is not mentioned in Achilles' speech. A trace of the episode of the apotheosis, which was to become a major feature in later literary treatments of the Herakles myth, can be found in *Odyssey* 11. Odysseus sees only the εἶδωλον of Herakles in the underworld, while Herakles himself lives among the Olympian gods:

τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακλεΐην,
εἶδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἄθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην,
παῖδα Διὸς μέγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου (λ601–4).

An attempt to reconcile the scene of Odysseus' encounter with Herakles in the underworld with the widespread episode of his apotheosis can be discerned in this passage.³⁰ In *Iliad* 18, on the other hand, a mention of Herakles' apotheosis after death would be inappropriate in a *paradeigma* cited by Achilles when he decides to acquire honour by sacrificing his life, even if the episode of the apotheosis was well-known at the time of composition. The apotheosis of Herakles is never mentioned in the *Iliad*.³¹

³⁰ Cf. Heubeck's comment in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad λ601–27. For the later development of the motif of Herakles' apotheosis, cf. Holt 1989, pp.69–80; Davies 1991, p.xx, n.11.

³¹ Similarly, the immortality allowed to the Dioskouroi is not mentioned at Γ236–44, but is mentioned at λ298–304. There are brief references to Tithonos (Λ1–2 = ε1–2) and Ganymedes (Υ232–5) as living among the immortal gods. Griffin discusses the scarcity of

Achilleus ascribes the cause of Herakles' death to μοῖρα and ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἡρῆς (Σ119). Hera's hostility to Herakles plays a prominent role in the Herakles myth, and two instances of her hostile actions against the hero are referred to in the *Iliad*: Hera sent Herakles' ship off course to Kos (Ξ249–56, O24–30) and delayed Herakles' birth to make Eurystheus king of the Argives instead of him (T95–133). The mention of Hera's anger in *Iliad* 18 may partly be prompted by such a hostility of the goddess to the hero, but the expression χόλος Ἡρῆς also seems to echo Achilles' reflection on the nature of χόλος only a few lines before:³²

ὥς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο,
καὶ χόλος, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι,
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἢ ὕτε καπνός·
ὥς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (Σ107–11).

In this passage, Achilles connects his general reflection on χόλος with his anger against Agamemnon. Achilles' anger has led to his closest friend's death, which he laments in this scene. Since Herakles' death is caused by Hera's χόλος, this *exemplum* provides another instance of the destructive force of χόλος.

In the brief three-line reference to Herakles' death, one line is devoted to the statement that he was dearest of men to Zeus: ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι (Σ118). One should note the superlative (φίλτατος) in this line. The use of superlatives is idiomatic in mythological *paradeigmata*.³³ Since Herakles is presented as a hero who had to die even though (περ) he was the dearest to Zeus, he is appropriate in a

the motif of bestowal of immortality on human beings in the Homeric epics in contrast to the Epic Cycle, in which this motif was employed frequently (Griffin 1977, pp.42-3).

³² Cf. Edwards 1991, ad Σ119–20.

³³ E. g., A266-7, H155. Cf. Davies 1985, p.249.

paradeigma with which Achilles expresses his determination to face his own imminent death. This line also provides a link with Achilles, since he also is a dear son of a goddess. Furthermore, Herakles had to die because of a goddess' anger. Achilles too says that he will accept death whenever Zeus and other gods want (Σ115–6). He cannot specify which god will bring about his death at this stage, but later in the *Iliad*, it will be revealed that Apollo is the relevant deity.³⁴ Therefore, this *exemplum* offers a close parallel to Achilles who will suffer death because of divine enmity even though he is a dear son of a goddess.

4 Zeus' Delusion at Herakles' Birth (T95-133)

(a) Combination of Parable and *Paradeigma*

Following Achilles' renunciation of his anger against Agamemnon, and the announcement of his return to the battle in *Iliad* 19, Agamemnon makes a speech containing a parable of Ate and a *paradeigma* of Zeus' delusion at Herakles' birth (T78–144). Agamemnon claims that it is not himself but Zeus, Moira and the Erinyes who were responsible for what he did to enrage Achilles (T86-9). To illustrate this claim, Agamemnon recounts the parable of Ate who smites *everyone* with blindness of mind (T91–4). Then Agamemnon gives an instance of Ate's work: the story of Zeus being tricked by Hera and failing to make his son, Herakles, king of the Argives (T95–133).

The significance of this speech in the wider context of the *Iliad* has attracted the attention of scholars. The speech looks back at the course of events since the quarrel in book 1 from Agamemnon's point of view.³⁵ The combination of parable and *paradeigma* in this speech has remarkable

³⁴ Φ277–8, X358–60.

³⁵ Rabel 1991, pp.103-4.

parallels in books 9 and 24.³⁶ Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the overall structure of the *exemplum*, i.e. a quarrel in the divine sphere and its destructive effect on the human sphere, has significant implications in view of the structure of the first and the last books of the *Iliad*, in both of which the continuation and termination of enmity in the human and divine spheres are central issues.³⁷ These studies amply show the need to take the wider context of the *Iliad* into consideration when one interprets Agamemnon's speech. In the following discussion too, relevant passages from other parts of the *Iliad* will be examined in order to clarify the function of the storytelling in the scene of the Greek assembly in *Iliad* 19.

First, we will discuss a peculiar characteristic of this speech: the combination of parable and *paradeigma*. As we noted above, other instances of a similar combination can be seen in Phoenix's speech at I 434–605 and in Achilles' speech at Ω518–551. Compared with these two passages, one can find a distinct feature in the use of the parable and the *paradeigma* in Agamemnon's speech in that they merge together. The personified Ate, who also features in the parable, enters the narrative of the *paradeigma* at T126:

αὐτίκα δ' εἶλ' Ἴατῃν κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο
 χωόμενος φρεσὶν ἦσι, καὶ ὤμοσε καρτερὸν ὄρκον,
 μή ποτ' ἐς Οὐλύμπόν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
 αὐτίς ἐλεύσεσθαι Ἴατῃν, ἥ πάντας ἀἶται.
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἔρριπεν ἅπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 χειρὶ περιστρέψας· τάχα δ' ἴκετο ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων (T126–31).

Zeus' punishment of Ate may be felt to be abrupt, since the deity who deceived Zeus was Hera, not Ate. After Agamemnon's claim, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι (T86), the implication of this unexpected punishment seems to be that Achilles should likewise not blame Agamemnon who directly

³⁶ Held 1987.

³⁷ Davies 1995.

enraged him, but the divine powers behind Agamemnon's act. One should also note that the description of the punishment of Ate forms a close connection between the parable at T91–4 and the *paradeigma*. It not only continues the depiction of Ate's physical features (τῇ μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὔδει / πίνυται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἢ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει (T92–3); αὐτίκα δ' εἶλ' Ἄτην κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο (T126)), but also explains why Ate stays on earth and harms human beings as described at T91–4: it was because Zeus swore a solemn oath that Ate should never come back to the world of gods on Olympus. Thus T126–133 serves both as a conclusion to the *paradeigma* and as a continuation of the parable.

Through this connection of parable and *paradeigma*, Agamemnon's situation is closely associated with the *paradeigma*. Agamemnon's foolish action against Achilles is not only similar to Zeus' experience in the *paradeigma*. The fact that Zeus hurled down and kept Ate on earth explains why everyone on earth will be harmed by Ate, and 'everyone' should, by implication, include Agamemnon. The *paradeigma* is put in a quasi-causal relationship with the present situation in the *Iliad* by means of the parable.

(b) The Suffering of Herakles

Another structural feature of the *exemplum* involving Zeus' delusion is a slight modification in the ways of applying the *exemplum* to Agamemnon's situation at the beginning and the end of the story. At T88–9, Agamemnon claims that the gods sent a wild ἄτη upon him at the assembly in *Iliad* 1. Then, following the parable of Ate, Agamemnon states: καὶ γὰρ δὴ νύ ποτε Ζῆν' ἄσατο (T95).³⁸ With καὶ γάρ, a common

³⁸ At T95, Aristarchos' reading is 'Ζεύς' which is recorded in schol. A and T ad T95. It is accepted in Allen's OCT. The manuscripts, however, read Ζῆν' (accepted by van

expression in the introduction of *paradeigmata*,³⁹ Zeus is introduced as one who became a victim of delusion like Agamemnon. At the end of the story, there is a reference to Zeus' grief:

τὴν (sc. Ἄτην) αἰεὶ στενάχεσχ', ὅθ' ἐὼν φίλον υἱὸν ὀρώτο
ἔργον ἀεικὲς ἔχοντα ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως ἀέθλων (T132-3).

Zeus' grief is explicitly compared to Agamemnon's in the following lines:

ὥς καὶ ἐγὼν, ὅτε δ' αὖτε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ
'Αργείους ὀλέκεσκεν ἐπὶ πρύμνησι νέεσσιν,
οὐ δυνάμην λελαθέσθ' ἄτης, ἣ πρῶτον ἀάσθην (T134-6).

The correspondence between the *paradeigma* and the situation in the *Iliad* is not confined to the ἄτη of which both Zeus and Agamemnon are victims. Herakles' labours also correspond to the suffering of the Greeks. As Zeus grieved over his ἄτη when he saw his son doing shameful labours, so Agamemnon cannot but think of his ἄτη while the Greeks are being killed. The references to Eurystheus and Hektor, the individuals who inflict the sufferings, strengthen the parallel between Herakles and the Greeks. The *exemplum*, therefore, which began with one point of correspondence (Agamemnon-Zeus), acquires other points of correspondence at the end.⁴⁰

The sufferings of men in battle are compared to those of Herakles elsewhere in the *Iliad*. In book 8, when Zeus forbids other gods to help either the Greeks or the Trojans, while Athene wants to help the

Thiel and others), taking ἄσατο as middle. In the latter case, the subject of the verb is Ἄτη supplied from the parable, so the *paradeigma* and the parable are more closely united. Cf. Edwards 1991, ad T95-9, p.249.

³⁹ E.g., Ω602. Cf. Ed. Fraenkel 1957, pp.185-6.

⁴⁰ One may see an irony in that the servitude of Herakles to Eurystheus resembles that of Achilles to Agamemnon. Cf. Rabel 1991, p.116.

oppressed Greeks, the goddess refers to her rescue of Herakles (Θ362–9).⁴¹ In book 14, the Trojans are oppressed while Zeus is put to sleep by a crafty trick of Hera. This portion of the narrative (the Διὸς ἀπάτη) is surrounded by two references to a former similar trick on Hera's part (Ξ249–261, O24–30), in which the one who suffered while Zeus was asleep was Herakles. The comparison of the sufferings of the Greek army to the sufferings of Herakles in the speech of Agamemnon can be regarded as a common pattern in the use of the Herakles myth in the *Iliad*, but one should note the effect achieved by the employment of this common pattern at T132–6: as Ate was the cause of Herakles' sufferings, so ἄτη is specifically singled out as the cause of the sufferings of the Greeks.

This expression of Agamemnon's view on the cause of the suffering of the Greeks is significant in the context, since Achilles too has expressed his sorrow over the great loss of the Greek army:

Ἀτρείδῃ, ἣ ἄρ τι τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
 ἔπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅ τε νῶϊ περ ὀχνημένῳ κῆρ
 θυμοβόρῳ ἔριδι μενεήναμεν εἵνεκα κούρης;
 τὴν ὄφελ' ἐν νήεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἄρτεμις ἰῶ,
 ἥματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσας·
 τῷ κ' οὐ τόσσοι Ἀχαιοὶ ὁδὰξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδ' αὖ
 δυσμενέων ὑπὸ χερσίν, ἐμεῦ ἀπομηνίσαντος (T56–62).

In this passage, Achilles singles out a κούρη as the cause of the deaths of so many Greeks. He does not mention the name of the κούρη (Briseis), nor the fact that the *abduction* of Briseis by Agamemnon was the cause of his wrath, though he refers to the wrath at T62. Achilles tactfully avoids mentioning these details in his first speech on the occasion of his reconciliation with Agamemnon.⁴² On the other hand, Agamemnon

⁴¹ The parallel between the Greeks and Herakles is strengthened by their similar act of calling for help from gods (Θ346–7 and Θ364).

⁴² Achilles mentions the abduction later in the assembly at T272–3.

proposes a different view of the cause of the Greeks' destruction, ascribing the cause to ἄτη.

Both Achilles and Agamemnon reduce the cause of the Greeks' destruction to a single word. This pattern of thought can be found in the proem of the *Iliad*:

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἥρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἶωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι (A1–5).

The proem reduces the cause of the deaths of the Greeks to μῆνις, as Achilles and Agamemnon reduce it to κούρη and ἄτη respectively.⁴³ In connection with the expression μῆνιν . . . οὐλομένην in the proem, one should note that Agamemnon calls Ate οὐλομένη at T92. Furthermore, Achilles' μῆνις is mentioned in the poet's narrative between the speeches of Achilles and Agamemnon: ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐχάρησαν ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ / μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος (T74–5). The expression μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος echoes Thetis' instruction to Achilles earlier in book 19: ἀλλὰ σύ γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας ἥρωας Ἀχαιοὺς, / μῆνιν ἀποειπὼν Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν (T34–5), and signifies the formal end of Achilles' anger against Agamemnon, reiterating the word μῆνις which was used in the proem.⁴⁴ It is significant that reflections on the cause of the Greeks' destruction — a pattern of thought shared with the proem — are

⁴³ All three nouns are feminine singular. In this connection, one should note that the cause of the Trojan War is sometimes ascribed in the Homeric epics to one female figure, Helen (e.g. Γ156-160, p118-9).

⁴⁴ There is only one other instance where μῆνις is used for Achilles' anger (I 517). The noun μῆνις is never used for mortals except Achilles in the *Iliad*, whereas the verb (ἐπi)μηνίω is used for other mortals (e.g. A247, N460). Cf. Clay 1983, pp.65-7; Janko 1992 ad N459-61.

expressed by Achilles and Agamemnon on the occasion where the cessation of Achilles' μῆνις is marked by the poet.

The last speech at the Greek assembly in *Iliad* 19 is made by Achilles:

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ μεγάλας ἄτας ἄνδρεςσι διδοῖσθα·
οὐκ ἂν δὴ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἐμοῖσιν
Ἀτρείδης ὥρινε διαμπερές, οὐδέ κε κούρην
ἦγεν ἐμεῦ ἀέκοντος ἀμήχανος· ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς
ἤθελ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν θάνατον πολέεσσι γενέσθαι.
νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δαίπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα (T270–5).

One should note that Achilles accepts Agamemnon's explanation of the Greek destruction. Achilles admits that Agamemnon's abduction of Briseis was caused by the ἄτη which was sent by Zeus. He also admits that the death of so many Greeks was the will of Zeus.⁴⁵ Achilles' magnanimous acceptance of Agamemnon's view on the abduction of the κούρη and the cause of the Greeks' destruction is appropriate for the last speech at the assembly where the reconciliation of the two heroes is publicly announced.

5 The Niobe *Paradeigma* (Ω602-617)

Achilles tells the story of Niobe when he exhorts Priam to take food in *Iliad* 24. This *paradeigma* has attracted scholars' attention because it contains some significant details which cannot be found in other versions of the Niobe story.

⁴⁵ In the proem of the *Iliad* too, the deaths of the Greeks resulting from Achilles' μῆνις is regarded as Διὸς βουλή (A5). Note the following similarities: ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς / ἤθελ' (T273-4) ~ Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (A5); Ἀχαιοῖσιν θάνατον πολέεσσι γενέσθαι (T274) ~ πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν (A3). For the use of ποθὶ (T273), it should be noted that ποθὶ = πού (cf. LSJ, s.v. ποθὶ, 3) is idiomatic when a mortal refers to gods' will (cf. Ed. Fraenkel ad Aisch. Ag. 182f.).

The story of Niobe as a whole can be found in schol. A ad Ω602, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VI 148-312, Apollodoros (3, 5, 6), Hyginus (9, 2-4), etc. These accounts all tell the following story: Niobe boasted of her many children in comparison with the goddess Leto who had only two. Leto got angry with her and the goddess' son and daughter, Apollo and Artemis, killed Niobe's children in retaliation. Niobe went back to Sipylos, her home country, and was turned to stone amid the mountains. She can still be seen shedding tears. Although extant accounts which cover the whole story, except the one in the *Iliad*, are later than the classical period, this story is known to have been taken up by earlier poets.⁴⁶

Compared to the above account of the story of Niobe, the *paradeigma* in the *Iliad* 24 contains the following peculiar points: (1) Niobe remembered⁴⁷ food (Ω602, 613); (2) the corpses of Niobe's children were left on the ground for nine days (Ω610); (3) Zeus turned the people to stone (Ω611); (4) the gods buried the corpses on the tenth day (Ω612).

The reference to Niobe's meal corresponds to Achilles' exhortation to Priam about eating a meal, and it enables this story to function as a *paradeigma*.⁴⁸ The children's corpses correspond to Hektor's corpse lying

⁴⁶ E.g., Hesiod, fr. 183 (Merkelbach-West), Sappho, fr. 142 (Lobel-Page), Aischylos, fr. 154a - 167a (Radt), Sophocles, fr. 441a - 451 (Radt). Furthermore, the Niobe story is employed as a *paradeigma* in Sophokles' *Antigone* (824-832) and *Elektra* (150-2). Cf. Lesky 1936, coll.644-706; Forbes Irving 1990, pp.146-8, 294-7.

⁴⁷ It may be significant that Niobe is not said to have *taken* food, but just to have *remembered* it. This can be seen as a subtle endeavour to soften the conflict with the tradition of this myth in which Niobe's meal after the deaths of her children probably did not feature.

⁴⁸ It should also be noted that Achilles himself has been refraining from taking food because of sorrow (cf. Ω128-30 and T154-354).

neglected on the ground. Priam has also lost other sons in the Trojan war (Ω253-262, cf. also Ω546). The burial of the children by the gods corresponds to Zeus' intention that Hektor's corpse be returned for its funeral (Ω74-6, Ω110-9). So these points contribute to the link between this *paradeigma* and Priam's situation in *Iliad* 24.

The above three points (Niobe's meal, the exposure of the corpses of her children, the burial by the gods) are thought to be the poet's addition to the traditional version of the Niobe story, because these peculiar details are especially appropriate in a *paradeigma* for Priam.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the petrification of the people by Zeus (Ω611), another peculiar detail of the Niobe *paradeigma*, does not have any direct correspondence with Priam's situation in the *Iliad*. It has been suggested that this detail explains why the corpses of Niobe's children were neglected for nine days.⁵⁰ If the people had been able to move freely, they would naturally have held a funeral for the royal children. So the poet got rid of them by turning them to stone. Thus this peculiar detail too has special relevance in a *paradeigma* for Priam, since it allows one element (exposure of the corpses), which is parallel to the context, to stand in the story.

⁴⁹ Cf. Oehler 1925, pp.6-7; Kakridis 1949, pp.99-102. For a different view, cf. Pötscher 1985-6.

⁵⁰ Cf. Kakridis 1949, p.101; Willcock 1964, p.141. Schol. A and bT ad Ω611 interpret the phrase 'λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε' as meaning 'made (the hearts of) the people unsympathetic (ἀσυμπάθεις)'. This interpretation was accepted by van der Valk 1963-4, p.646. But this kind of metaphorical use of λίθους cannot be found in the *Iliad*, and the scholia's view should be regarded as 'später Rationalismus' (Lesky 1936, col. 646).

Thus the motif of petrification was transferred from Niobe to the people to explain the inactivity of the people.⁵¹ One may also note how the picture of Niobe lamenting among petrified people prefigures her later lamentation amid the rocks (ἐν πέτρῃσιν (Ω614)) of the lonely mountains at Sipylos, with herself being turned to stone (Ω617).

At the end of the *paradeigma*, Niobe's lamentation in the lonely mountains is described as follows:

νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν, ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν,
ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
νυμφάων, αἳ τ' ἄμφ' Ἀχελώιον ἐρρώσαντο,
ἔνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει (Ω614-7).

According to schol. A ad Ω614-7, the authenticity of these four lines was questioned by Alexandrian scholars. One of the reasons for the athetesis was that "this exhortation is ridiculous: 'Eat, because Niobe ate and became a stone.'"⁵² Some modern scholars have agreed with this view, claiming that the description of a petrified Niobe, which shows a wretched outcome after she ate, is not suitable to the exhortation.⁵³

On the other hand, some scholars defend 614-7.⁵⁴ Von der Mühl maintains that the main point of the description at Ω614-7 is not Niobe's petrification as such, but the continuation of her lament after she took a meal, and that this passage thus corresponds to Achilles' mention of

⁵¹ Cf. Willcock 1964, pp.141-2, with n.4; Richardson 1993, ad Ω614-7.

⁵² The scholion lists other 'difficulties' in 614-7, but these cannot be regarded as serious grounds for deletion. Cf. Leaf 1902, ad Ω 614-7.

⁵³ E.g., Lesky 1936, coll. 645-6; Kakridis 1949, pp.96-105; van Thiel 1982, p.609. Moreover, some think that the position of Ω614-7 which seems to interfere with the ring composition of this story adds to the suspicion. E.g., Lohmann 1970, p.13, Anm.4; Friedrich 1975, p.187, Anm.203.

⁵⁴ E.g., Leaf 1902, ad Ω614-7; von der Mühl 1952, pp.384-5; van der Valk 1963-4, pp.385-6; Macleod 1982, ad Ω 614-7.

Priam's future lamentation at Ω619-20.⁵⁵ He moreover points out that the expression κήδεα πέσσει (Ω617) is consciously repeated when Priam describes his grief as κήδεα μυρία πέσσω (Ω639).⁵⁶

The correspondence between Niobe's lamentation at Ω614-7 and Achilles' mention of Priam's future lamentation should be examined with respect to the larger context of *Iliad* 24. Achilles' words before the Niobe *paradeigma* should be noted:

ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ κατ' ἄρ' ἔξευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο (Ω522-4).

ἄνσχεο, μηδ' ἀλίσστον ὀδύρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν·
οὐ γάρ τι πρῆξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱὸς ἑῆος,
οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις, πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα
(Ω549-551).

Compared with these words, Achilles' remark at Ω619-20 has a different tone: he first told Priam to stop crying, pointing out its uselessness, but after the Niobe story he expects Priam to lament.

This change of tone in Achilles' words should be interpreted with reference to the composition of the whole scene of his meeting with Priam. This meeting is interrupted when Achilles goes out to prepare Hektor's corpse for return (Ω572-595), and the meeting is then resumed. Before the interruption, there is a moment when Achilles shows a severe attitude towards Priam. When Achilles tries to make Priam take a seat by pointing out the uselessness of wailing, as quoted above, Priam refuses and urges Achilles to return Hektor's body immediately (Ω552-8). Achilles shows discontent (ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν (Ω559)), and sternly commands Priam not to make him angry (Ω560-70). Priam is frightened by his words (ἔδδαισεν δ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ (Ω571)). Furthermore, the way

⁵⁵ Von der Mühl 1952, p.385.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Anm.65.

Achilleus rushes out of the door is described with the simile of a lion (Ω572), which reveals his ferocity.⁵⁷

In the subsequent scene, Achilleus prepares for the returning of Hektor's body. Achilleus' comrades take the ransom from Priam's chariot, but it is remarkable that they leave two cloths (δύο φάρεα) and an undergarment (χιτών) to wrap Hektor's corpse (Ω580-1). Then Achilleus puts Hektor's body, which has been washed and anointed, on the bier (λεχέων (Ω589)). Thus Achilleus symbolically begins funeral rites for Hector⁵⁸. In Ω591ff., Achilleus calls out Patroklos' name and reports to him that he has returned Hektor's body and received the ransom for it. At this point, his revenge on Hector seems truly to have come to an end. Achilleus' words and action after he comes back to Priam show that he has become more sympathetic towards Priam. By telling the Niobe *paradeigma*, he invites Priam to share his meal. Since it is explicitly stated that Achilleus has just finished his meal when Priam appears (Ω475), his invitation comes purely from his feelings of hospitality. It should also be noted that Priam and Achilleus marvel at each other after the meal (Ω629-32). Then, after Achilleus has ordered his retainers to prepare Priam's bed and made a generous proposal to postpone the resumption of the battle during Hektor's funeral, he takes Priam's right hand to make him feel at ease (Ω671-2). This gesture makes a clear contrast with Achilleus' former attitude to Priam, which made the latter fear him (Ω571).

In the course of the scene, when Achilleus becomes more sympathetic towards Priam after he has finished the preparation of

⁵⁷ Achilles' savage and unyielding mind is compared to a lion by Apollo (Ω41-3).

Cf. Macleod 1982, ad Ω572.

⁵⁸ Macleod 1982, ad Ω587-9.

Hektor's body, the words at Ω619-20 concerning Priam's future lamentation have the important function of indicating the change in Achilles' attitude. Since Achilles' remark at Ω619-20 plays an important part in the composition of the whole scene, it is understandable that these lines are anticipated and emphasized by the description of the petrified Niobe which corresponds to Priam's lamentation.

The phrase θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει (Ω617) has attracted the attention of those who oppose the deletion of Ω614-7. The meaning of the verb πέσσω ranges from 'to ripen (fruits)' (η117), 'to bake' to 'to digest', but it is used in figurative senses in the *Iliad*.⁵⁹ In B237, it means 'to devour, or be greedy over a γέρας'. In other cases, it means 'to keep something painful in oneself': anger (Δ513, I 565), pain of wounds (Θ513), or grief (Ω617, 639).⁶⁰ Of these occurrences of the verb, only Ω617 and Ω639 take κήδεα as object. The rarity of the phrase κήδεα πέσσω, together with the close succession of the two occurrences, seems to support von der Mühl's view that the double use of the phrase at Ω617 and Ω639 is deliberate.

It should be noted that Ω617 emphasizes at the very end of the *paradeigma* the fact that Niobe's misfortune was sent from the gods (θεῶν ἐκ).⁶¹ The idea that gods are the source of misfortune for mortals has been expressed in Achilles' speech at Ω518-551. Achilles says that the gods have destined mortals to live in misery, contrasting wretched men with the gods, who have no sorrows:

⁵⁹ Cf. Chantraine 1984-1990, s.v. 'πέσσω'.

⁶⁰ Cf. Kirk 1985, ad Δ512-3.

⁶¹ Leaf 1902, ad Ω614-7 comments that Niobe was turned into stone 'by the favour of the gods', and that her petrification was a sign of the gods' recognition of 'her faithful sorrow'. There is, however, no indication in the text of Ω614-7 that the petrification of Niobe was a sign of the gods' favour.

ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
ζῶειν ἄχνυμένους· αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἄκηδέες εἰσὶ (Ω525-6).

In the following parable of the jars (Ω527-533), he says that Zeus gives a mixture of the contents of the jar of evils and the jar of blessings to some, but only evils to others. To illustrate this parable, Achilleus mentions Peleus, who has been given both fortune and misfortune (Ω534-542), and also Priam, who once surpassed others in wealth and number of children, but has now been given suffering (πῆμα) from the gods (Ω543-549). Thus the end of the Niobe *paradeigma* and Achilleus' speech at Ω518-551 state similar views about the relationship between men and the gods.⁶²

6 Conclusion

In the *paradeigmata* examined in this chapter, we have noted the emphasis placed on *strong emotions*: Meleagros' wrath, Hera's anger towards Herakles, Zeus' grief as he looks at Herakles' labour, Niobe's wailing, and Marpessa's lamentation. We have also noted that, together with these strong emotions, *various sufferings* are mentioned: the description of the possible suffering of the Aitolians in Kleopatra's supplication, the death of Herakles, Herakles' labours, and Niobe's loss of her children. These emphases on emotions and sufferings seem to be closely related to the characterization of Achilleus.

It scarcely needs saying that wrath is an important aspect of Achilleus' characterization. It should also be noted that his attitude towards others' sufferings plays an important part in his characterization throughout the *Iliad*.⁶³ In his plea to Thetis in *Iliad* 1, Achilleus mentions

⁶² One should recall that Achilleus, too, will be sent suffering (death) by a god in the near future, and that he is well aware of it. Cf. T408-423, Φ108-113, X356-366.

⁶³ Whitman 1958, pp.181-220 traces the different stages of the 'evolution' of Achilleus in the *Iliad*.

the suffering of the Greeks which will be caused by his absence from the battle:

αἶ κέν πῶς ἐθέλῃσιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρῆξαι,
τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρύμνας τε καὶ ἀμφ' ὅλα ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς
κτεινομένους, ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος (A408-410).

In this passage, the deaths of the Greeks are for Achilles no more than a means to restore his honour. Meleagros' wrath in the *paradeigma* in book 9 corresponds to the state of Achilles, who is wholly preoccupied with his anger. Achilles first claims to the embassy that he will depart from Troy on the next morning (I 427-9). He softens his attitude in his reply to Aias, but it will only be after Hektor kills the Argives and sets fire to their ships that he will perhaps return to battle (I 650-5). At the beginning of book 16, Patroklos expresses his concern for the afflictions of the Greeks. He lists the main heroes on the Greek side who have been injured (Π21-9), and criticizes Achilles' anger (Π29-35). It is to be noted that Patroklos' concern is anticipated in Achilles' question as to why Patroklos is weeping:

ἦε σύ γ' Ἀργείων ὀλοφύρεαι, ὥς ὀλέκονται
νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσιν ὑπερβασίης εἵνεκα σφῆς (Π17-8).

In this passage, the suffering of the Greeks is attributed to 'their presumptuousness'. Like Patroklos, Kleopatra in the Meleagros *paradeigma* pleads in tears, pointing out the destruction resulting from the hero's absence from the battle (I 591-4). Meleagros was moved by Kleopatra's words (I 595) and returned to battle. Achilles, on the other hand, sends Patroklos as his surrogate. When Thetis visits Achilles, who is grieving for Patroklos' death, she refers to Achilles' wish uttered in book 1:

ὥς ἄρα δὴ πρὶν γ' εὖχεο χεῖρας ἀνασχών,
πάντας ἐπὶ πρύμνησιν ἀλήμεναι υἱας Ἀχαιῶν
σεῦ ἐπιδευομένους, παθέειν τ' ἀεκήλια ἔργα (Σ75-7).

Later in the same scene, Achilles expresses his regret at not having been able to aid Patroklos and his ἑταῖροι:

οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμεν φάος οὐδ' ἑτάροισι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ δὴ πολέες δάμεν Ἑκτορι δίῳ (Σ102-3).

The ἑταῖροι, who are juxtaposed with Patroklos in this passage, may be regarded as a reference to Patroklos' comrades, i.e. the Myrmidons. But one may also discern an echo of Patroklos' wish to aid the Greeks in his plea to Achilles in book 16: ἦν πού τι φάος Δαναοῖσι γένωμαι (Π39). Patroklos wanted to be the light of salvation (φάος) for the afflicted Greeks. If one notices the similarity of these two passages, the word ἑταῖροι, which primarily means the Myrmidons, bears the overtone of 'the Greeks in general'. The *paradeigma* of Herakles (Σ117-9) echoes Achilles' reflection on the destructive nature of strife and anger (χόλος) as we noted above. It also indicates Achilles' recognition of the misery of human beings who cannot escape death, not even Herakles, the dearest of men to Zeus. From this *paradeigma*, Achilles concludes that he should acquire κλέος by killing the enemy (Σ121-6). When Achilles renounces his anger towards Agamemnon in the assembly in book 19, he shows his regret for the loss of the Greeks in general who were killed while he was away in his anger:

τῷ κ' οὐ τόσσοι Ἀχαιοὶ ὁδὰξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδας
δυσμενέων ὑπὸ χερσίν, ἐμεῦ ἀπομηνίσαντος (Τ61-2).

It is this affliction of the Greeks, as we have seen above, which corresponds to the suffering of Herakles in the *paradeigma* told by Agamemnon.

Achilles' attitude towards the suffering of the Trojans should also be noted. When Achilles turns down Lykaon's pleading for his life in book 21, he mentions Patroklos' death and his own imminent doom (Φ107-113), just as he cited the death of Herakles when he expressed his decision to face his death (Σ117-9). Achilles' words to Lykaon ἀλλὰ φίλος, θάνε

καὶ σύ (Φ107), in which Lykaon's fate is juxtaposed with those of Patroklos and Achilles (καὶ σύ), is based on his recognition of the common human lot. Thus Lykaon is called φίλος, even though he is a Trojan. This recognition of a common human misery is also the basis of Achilles' understanding of the suffering of Priam, whose fate Achilles compares to that of his father, Peleus (Ω534-548). This notion of common human misery is emphasized, as we have seen above, in the parable of the two jars (Ω527-533), and in the Niobe *paradeigma*, both of which represent human misery as sent from gods.

The *paradeigmata* discussed in this chapter are closely connected with the depiction of Achilles' anger and his attitude towards the sufferings of others. The emphasis on anger and suffering in these *paradeigmata* articulates this important aspect of Achilles' characterization in the *Iliad*.

Chapter 2

Paradeigmata in the *Diomedea*

1 Introduction

Iliad 5 is largely devoted to the description of Diomedes' prowess on the battle-field. This is the first of the series of *aristeiai* of Greek heroes in the *Iliad*, and in length and elaboration next only to that of Achilles in books 20-22, the last *aristeia* in the poem. Diomedes' prowess in book 5 is prepared for in the scene of *epipoleis* in book 4, in which Agamemnon visits several Greek chieftains (the last of whom is Diomedes), and rouses them to battle. The encounter of Diomedes and Glaukos in the first half of book 6 serves as the conclusion of Diomedes' feats. The portion of the *Iliad* from the *epipoleis* to Diomedes' encounter with Glaukos forms a fairly independent unit, which we shall call the *Diomedea*.

It is notable that mythological *exempla* cluster closely together in the *Diomedea*. At Δ370-400, Agamemnon, rebuking Diomedes for his inactivity, recounts the feats of his father, Tydeus, at Thebes. Diomedes is roused to fight by this rebuke, so the story of Tydeus sets an example of heroic achievement, and prepares for his *aristeia* in book 5. (Tydeus' valour is repeatedly recalled in book 5 (E125-6, 800-813).) Dione mentions three gods who have suffered at human hands, in order to console her daughter Aphrodite, who has been injured by Diomedes (E382-415). At E633-646, Tlepolemos recounts the story of Herakles' sack of Troy. At E800-813, Athene again mentions the feats of Tydeus at Thebes. Finally, the stories of Lykourgos and Bellerophontes are told by Diomedes and Glaukos when they encounter each other in book 6.

The concentration of *paradeigmata* concerning Diomedes in books 4-6 makes a contrast to the location of *paradeigmata* concerning Achilles, which are scattered throughout the *Iliad*.¹ In this connection, it should be noted that Diomedes' role complements that of Achilles, since Diomedes' main actions are generally restricted to the scenes in which Achilles is absent from the battle.² Both Diomedes and Achilles are young, and both are preeminent in attack. In this respect, they jointly make a contrast with Aias, since some of the latter's most memorable actions belong to his defensive valour.³ Both Diomedes and Achilles confront gods in their *aristeiai*.⁴ Furthermore, correspondence of minor details links the two heroes, e.g., both express the fanciful idea of taking Troy with the aid of only one close friend⁵; both fight Aineias, who is rescued by a deity⁶; a simile involving the star Sirius is attached alone in the poem to these two heroes.⁷ It may even be the case that Diomedes is wounded in his foot by Paris' arrow (Λ375-8) because Achilles' eventual death by Paris' shot is foretold in the *Iliad* (X359-360) and the arrow is traditionally said to have hit

¹ See p. 7 above.

² For the comparison of Diomedes and Achilles in the *Iliad*, cf. Whitman 1958, pp. 167-9; Andersen 1978, pp.9-11.

³ E.g., Λ544-595, O415-564, Π102-123, P128-139, P715-753. Aias' towering shield (σάκος ἥύτε πύργον (H219, Λ485, P128)) symbolizes this defensive aspect of his characterization. Cf. von der Mühl 1976, p.443f.

⁴ E330-340, E855-861; Φ233-283.

⁵ I 47-9; Π97-100. Cf. Macleod 1982, p.25, n.1.

⁶ E434-8; Υ156-339.

⁷ E5-6; X25-31. For the variation between these two similes, cf. Whitman 1958, pp.143, 167.

Achilleus' heel.⁸ In spite of the numerous common motifs employed in the depiction of the two heroes, however, the readers of the *Iliad* cannot fail to notice that Diomedes lacks those qualities of Achilleus which make him a tragic hero.⁹ Comparison between the two heroes will be an important aspect as we consider the function of the stories within the *Diomedea* in the light of their contribution to the characterization of Diomedes.

In this chapter, two *paradeigmata* involving Tydeus (Δ370-400, E800-813), the story of Herakles' sack of Troy (E633-646, 648-654), the stories told by Diomedes and Glaukos in *Iliad* 6 (the Lykourgos *paradeigma* (Z123-143) and the story of Bellerophontes (Z145-211)) will be examined with regard to their function within the context of the *Diomedea*.¹⁰ These stories' contribution to the characterization of Diomedes will be further discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.

2 The Tydeus *Paradeigma*

(a) Agamemnon's rebuke of Diomedes (Δ370-400)

Diomedes is closely associated with his father through repeated references to Tydeus' deeds in the *Diomedea* and thereafter.¹¹ Especially, two *paradeigmata* of Tydeus, one narrated by Agamemnon in book 4 and

⁸ E.g., Apollodoros, *Epitome* 5.3; Quintus Smyrnaeus 3.60-2. Schoeck 1961, pp.76-7.

⁹ Willcock 1973, p.3: "The essential about Diomedes is that he is a natural winner. He has none of the self-questioning of Achilles, but a great deal of Achilles' brilliance and flair"; Andersen 1978, p.10: "Diomedes hat nicht die Schwere und Tiefe eines Achilleus, nicht das Tragische und Schicksalhafte, das den Peliden auszeichnet."

¹⁰ Dione's story of gods' sufferings (E382-415) will be discussed in chapter 4.

¹¹ Δ370-400, E125-6, 800-812, Z222-3, K285-290, E119-125.

the other by Athene in book 5, are closely related to Diomedes' characterization.

Agamemnon begins his speech with a rebuke of Diomedes for his inactivity (Δ370-1), unfavourably comparing him with Tydeus, and concluding that Diomedes is inferior to his father in battle, if better in speech (Δ399-400). Thus Tydeus is presented as a model whom Diomedes should imitate, but fails to. This combination of rebuke (νεῖκος) for inactivity or cowardice and a *paradeigma*, can be seen in Athene's rebuke of Diomedes in book 5, as well as in Tlepolemos' speech to Sarpedon (E633-646) and Nestor's speech in book 7 (H124-160).¹²

The account of the *paradeigma* begins with Tydeus and Polyneikes' visit to Mykenai for recruitment (Δ376-381). The fact that Tydeus visited Mykenai before Agamemnon's reign seems to explain why the latter heard about Tydeus, but did not himself see him.¹³ It should be noted that this episode, the visit of the attackers of Thebes to the city of the main commander of the expedition against Troy in the previous generation, creates a slight point of contact between the Theban War and the Trojan War, which belonged to different legends.¹⁴ Thus this episode strengthens the link between the two legends which is already established by the very presence of Diomedes, one of the Epigonoι, in the *Iliad*.¹⁵ Furthermore, Andersen points out that a detail in the description of Tydeus and Polyneikes' visit can be seen as an implied *exemplum* for Diomedes.¹⁶ The

¹² Lohmann 1970, p.27 with n. 37.

¹³ Cf. de Jong 1987, pp.161-2 with n.29.

¹⁴ Cf. Willcock 1978, ad I 377.

¹⁵ For the problem of the inclusion of Diomedes in the *Iliad*, cf. Andersen 1978, pp.14-5.

¹⁶ Andersen 1978, p.35.

Mykenaians are said to have been willing to send a contingent to the war, though they changed their mind when Zeus sent an unfavourable omen (Δ381). This initial readiness of the Mykenaians to involve themselves in a war led by Argives can be seen as a positive model for Diomedes, an Argive hero, in the expedition led by the Mykenaiian Agamemnon.¹⁷

After the visit to Mykenai, Tydeus was sent to Thebes alone as an envoy. He is said to have challenged the Thebans, who were feasting, to compete in various feats, in all of which he easily defeated his opponents (Δ385-390). Tydeus' victory is attributed to the aid given by Athene: τοίη οἱ ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη (Δ390). The Thebans, enraged by the defeat, sent fifty men in an ambush against Tydeus on his way back (Δ391-5).¹⁸ Tydeus, however, killed all but one of the ambushers. The reason for Tydeus' sparing of one of them is attributed to his obedience to the portents sent by the gods: θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας (Δ398).¹⁹

Tydeus' victory over many opponents both in the feats in Thebes and in the ambush on the way back foreshadows Diomedes' valour in the battle which is described in book 5. Note also that Athene's aid to Tydeus and the latter's obedience to divine will corresponds to the relationship between Diomedes and Athene in the coming battle-scene.

¹⁷ Agamemnon's expedition to Troy has been supported by an (ultimately) favourable omen, cf. B308-320.

¹⁸ The name of one of the leaders of the ambush, Λυκοφόντης (vulg.: Πολυφόντης A and Aristarchos), son of Αὐτοφόνος, may be an invented name for this ambush in which a mass killing by Tydeus takes place. Cf. Willcock 1964, pp.144-5; Andersen 1978, pp.44-5, n.11.

¹⁹ Tydeus' obedience to the gods' τέρατα is prefigured by the Mykenaiians' obedience to Zeus' σήματα (Δ381).

Diomedes does not reply to Agamemnon, but Sthenelos does respond to the rebuke (Δ404-410). Sthenelos claims that Agamemnon's accusation is false because the Epigonoi (including Diomedes and Sthenelos) are far superior to the Seven (including Tydeus, and Sthenelos' father, Kapaneus), referring to the two sieges of Thebes. The Epigonoi succeeded in taking the city, while the Seven failed to do so. It should be noted that Sthenelos refers to the Epigonoi's obedience to the gods' τέρατα and Zeus' aid to them: πειθόμενοι τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀρωγῇ (Δ408). This claim echoes Agamemnon's mention of Athene's aid to Tydeus (Δ390) and his obedience to the gods' τέρατα (Δ398). Furthermore, Sthenelos' reference to the ἀτασθαλίας of the Seven as the cause of their destruction (Δ409) implies a refutation of Agamemnon's claim concerning Tydeus' obedience to divine will.

In the Theban legend, the leaders of the besieging army, except the prophet Amphiaraos, are conceived as savage and brutal. For Tydeus too, an act of extreme savagery is reported in the Cyclic *Thebais* (fr. 5 Davies *EGF* / fr.9 Bernabé *PEG*). Tydeus was mortally wounded by Melanippos. Amphiaraos killed Melanippos in revenge, and gave his head to Tydeus. Tydeus, in his rage, devoured Melanippos' brain. Athene was going to confer immortality upon Tydeus, but changed her mind when she saw this detestable act. It should be noted that in the *paradeigmata* told by Agamemnon and Athene, the prowess of Tydeus is represented not by his deeds in the war itself, but by his actions before it. It is conceivable that Tydeus' deeds in the war, which include his eating of his enemy's brain depicted in the *Thebais* or some similar impious acts, were intentionally suppressed in these *paradeigmata*, in order to present Tydeus as a positive

model for Diomedes.²⁰ This suppression is remarkable since the *paradeigma* in book 4 is preceded by the following description of Tydeus:

οὐ μὲν Τυδέϊ γ' ὥδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἐτάρων δῆϊοισι μάχεσθαι
(Δ372-3).

These lines would serve perfectly as an introduction to an account of Tydeus' prowess in battle.

(b) Athene's rebuke of Diomedes (E800-813)

Athene rebukes Diomedes when he is resting because of the wound inflicted by Pandaros' arrow. In her rebuke, the goddess refers to the feats of Tydeus when he went to Thebes as an envoy, which detail was also mentioned in the *paradeigma* told by Agamemnon in book 4. The *paradeigma* told by Athene is a shortened version of the *paradeigma* in book 4, since it concentrates on Tydeus' feats in Thebes, whereas Agamemnon also refers to the visit to Mykenai and the ambush on the way back from Thebes. It should be noted, however, that a few details in the *paradeigma* in book 5 are not included in the previous one.

Firstly, Athene states that Tydeus was small in stature: Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας (E801). This detail renders Tydeus' prowess as a fighter (ἀλλὰ μαχητής (E801)) more impressive. Andersen suggests²¹ that this otherwise unknown physical feature of Tydeus is an *ad hoc* invention, and cites Pindar's *Isth.* 3-4 as a similar instance, in which Herakles is said to have been short in stature (μορφὰν βραχύς (71)), but unflinching in his soul (ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμπτος (71b)). This curious reference to the short stature of Herakles, who is generally represented as huge, echoes a description of Melissos, whose victory is praised in this ode, as not

²⁰ Griffin 1977, pp.46-7, with n.46a; Andersen 1978, p.17.

²¹ Andersen 1978, p.78 with n.60.

possessing the huge stature of an Orion: οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὀαριωνεΐαν ἔλαχεν (67)).²² Given the correspondence between Melissos' stature and the curious representation of Herakles' small size in *Isth.* 3-4, one may wonder whether the short stature of Tydeus mentioned in the *paradeigma* in *Iliad* 5 has any relevance to the context. In this respect, one should note that Diomedes fights not only with humans, but that he is also brought into conflict with the gods, i.e. the confrontation of Athene with Aphrodite and Ares. The gods in the *Iliad* are conceived as larger in stature than men. Thus, when Athene, instead of Sthenelos, mounts the chariot beside Diomedes, the axle creaks loudly because of the weight: μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων / βριθοσύνη· δεινὴν γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸν ἄνδρα τ' ἄριστον (E838-9). When Ares is injured by Diomedes' spear, the god shouts in pain as loudly as the battle cries of nine or ten thousand men (E859-961).²³ It may be possible to see the curious detail of Tydeus' small stature in the *paradeigma* as a reflection of Diomedes' participation in the fight between gods, who are far larger than men.

Another detail which does not appear in Agamemnon's version of Tydeus' *paradeigma* is Athene's injunction not to fight or display his prowess during his mission (E802-4). More precisely, Athene tells Tydeus to feast in the halls in peace (E805). In spite of this injunction, Tydeus challenges the Thebans at the feast.²⁴ This detail of Athene's prohibition

²² Ibid. n.60.

²³ When Ares is knocked down by Athene in book 21, his huge size (seven πέλεθρα) is mentioned (Φ407).

²⁴ Andersen 1978, p.79 suggests that the episode of ambush is suppressed in the *paradeigma* told by Athene, because the account of ambush in the *paradeigma* in book 4 mentions Tydeus' obedience to the gods' τέρατα (Δ398): this does not suit the emphasis placed on Tydeus' will to show his prowess even in disobedience of a divine injunction.

may be more appropriate in the *paradeigma* told by the goddess herself, since it is a personal matter between Tydeus and Athene. Moreover, this detail has relevance in its context within the *Diomedea*: Tydeus' showing of his prowess despite Athene's prohibition makes a contrast with Diomedes' inactivity in spite of the goddess' encouragement to fight mentioned at E810-2. In this passage, the goddess refers to her earlier injunction to Diomedes at E124-6.

In his reply to Athene's rebuke, Diomedes defends his inactivity (E815-824). He reminds Athene that the goddess herself told him not to fight against immortal gods except Aphrodite (E819-821). This is a reference to Athene's injunction at E129-132. Since Diomedes sees Ares fighting on the battlefield (E824), his temporary withdrawal from the battle is in accordance with Athene's order. It should be noted that Diomedes' wound, which is another cause for his inactivity (E794-5), is not mentioned in this speech.²⁵ By this suppression, Diomedes explains his inactivity solely on the basis of his meticulous observance of the goddess' injunction. This speech renders Diomedes more obedient to Athene than Tydeus in the *paradeigma*, who displayed his prowess by neglecting the goddess' prohibition.

In her reply to Diomedes (E826-834), Athene tells him not to fear Ares or any other gods, and bids him fight Ares. Athene's promise of aid to Diomedes (τοίη τοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθός εἰμι (E828)) echoes her aid to Tydeus in the *paradeigma* (τοίη οἱ ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦα (E808)).²⁶ It should be noted that this injunction again reveals Diomedes as more obedient to Athene than was Tydeus, since Diomedes is told by Athene to

²⁵ Andersen 1978, p.78.

²⁶ Andersen 1978, p.80.

ignore her former injunction, whereas Tydeus breached the goddess' injunction without being told to do so.

3 Herakles' Sack of Troy (E633-646, 648-654)

(a) The Exchange between Tlepolemos and Sarpedon

In his speech to Sarpedon (E633–646), Tlepolemos narrates how Herakles, his father, once sacked Troy. In this speech, Tlepolemos taunts Sarpedon with cowardice and openly doubts the rumour that Sarpedon is a son of Zeus. Tlepolemos further states that Sarpedon is far inferior to other sons of Zeus and mentions the exploits of Herakles, another son of Zeus, at Troy. He says that Herakles came to Troy because of Laomedon's horses.²⁷ He led only six ships and 'fewer men'²⁸, but sacked the city of Troy and 'emptied the streets'.²⁹ The emphasis in Tlepolemos' account is clearly placed upon the extraordinary prowess of Herakles. Following the reference to Herakles' sack of Troy, Tlepolemos again rebukes Sarpedon:

σοὶ δὲ κακὸς μὲν θυμός, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί
οὐδέ τί σε Τρώεσσιν οἶομαι ἄλκαρ ἔσσεσθαι (E643–4).

The use of the pronoun σοί, with an adversative particle δέ at the beginning of E643, indicates the contrast between Sarpedon and Herakles.

Sarpedon refers to the same exploits of Herakles in his reply to Tlepolemos:

Τληπόλεμ', ἥτοι κείνος ἀπώλεσεν Ἴλιον ἱρήν
ἀνέρος ἀφραδίησιν ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος,
ὅς ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαντα κακῶ ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ,
οὐδ' ἀπέδωχ' ἵππους, ὧν εἵνεκα τηλόθεν ἦλθε (E648–51).

²⁷ The horses of Laomedon are already mentioned at E266-9.

²⁸ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν at E641 probably means 'fewer than the men participating in the present Trojan war'.

²⁹ Kirk 1990, ad E640-2, p.124 comments that χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς (E642) is "a powerful phrase unparalleled in the epic".

He admits that Herakles sacked Troy. What Sarpedon adds to Tlepolemos' account of the story is a fuller description of the cause of the sack, i.e. Laomedon's folly (ἀφραδίαι E649): Laomedon addressed Herakles, who had rendered him a good service (εὖ ἔρξαντα), with abusive words (κακῶ . . . μύθῳ), and did not give the horses for which Herakles came from afar. It is to be noted that Laomedon's responsibility for the destruction of Troy is given emphasis in Sarpedon's account of the story.

The reason for the emphasis on Laomedon's responsibility is not explicitly stated. A scholion detects an implied contrast between Herakles and Tlepolemos: Herakles' sack of Troy is justified because Laomedon did him wrong. Tlepolemos' attempt to sack Troy, on the other hand, is unjust (from Sarpedon's viewpoint), so he will not succeed.³⁰

The implied contrast between Herakles and Tlepolemos, which the scholion suggests, seems to be confirmed by the structure of Sarpedon's speech. He talks in the first half of his speech (E648–51) about Laomedon's folly, which led to Herakles' sack of Troy. In the latter half, he declares that he will kill Tlepolemos:

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε φημὶ φόνον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν
ἐξ ἐμέθεν τεύξεσθαι, ἐμῶ δ' ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα
εὖχος ἐμοὶ δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ (E652–4).

Herakles' success in taking Troy is juxtaposed with the prediction of Tlepolemos' failure at the same place. The transition from the mention of Herakles' sack to the threat to Tlepolemos is marked by a personal pronoun σοί and an adversative particle δέ at the beginning of E652. It should be noted that the same combination σοὶ δέ indicates a contrast

³⁰ Schol.bT ad E648–54. This view is approved by Kirk 1990, ad E649–54, p.124.

One should, however, note that, though Tlepolemos does not have any personal enmity against the Trojans, the Greeks' expedition as a whole has a good reason, i.e. the punishment for Paris' abduction of Helen.

between Herakles and Sarpedon in the preceding speech of Tlepolemos (E643).

Sarpedon takes over the reference to Herakles' sack of Troy from Tlepolemos' speech, but, by emphasizing Laomedon's injustice, he turns the unfavourable comparison with Herakles, which has been used against himself, back against his opponent. This ingenious shift in the use of an *exemplum* facilitates the comparison between a son (Tlepolemos) and a father (Herakles). The importance of the motif of the father-son comparison in the larger context will be discussed later.

(b) Similarity with the Exchange between
Agamemnon and Sthenelos (Δ370–410)

It has been pointed out that the speeches of Tlepolemos and Sarpedon in *Iliad* 5 show structures similar to those of Agamemnon and Sthenelos in *Iliad* 4.³¹ Both Agamemnon's speech in *Iliad* 4 and Tlepolemos' speech in *Iliad* 5 are examples of reproach (νεῖκος) containing a reference to a former hero's deed as an *exemplum*. The replies to these two speeches are also similar, since both Sthenelos and Sarpedon refute the reproaches with reference to the same past events (the Seven's siege of Thebes, Herakles' sack of Troy).

Similar expressions are employed in these two exchanges. Both Agamemnon and Tlepolemos' reproaches contain the verb πτώσσειν in a rhetorical question (τί πτώσσεις . . . ; (Δ371), τίς τοι ἀνάγκη πτώσσειν . . . ; (E633–4)).³² The similarity between the following two lines should also be noted:

³¹ Fenik 1968, p.66-7; Kirk 1990, ad E634-7, p.123.

³² Similar expressions can be found in other νεῖκος-speeches. E.g. τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι H129. Cf. Fenik 1968, pp.66-7.

παυρότερον λαὸν ἀγαγόνθ' ὑπὸ τείχος ἄρειον (Δ407)

ἔξ οἷης σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν (E641).

The comparatives in these two lines are both employed in order to indicate the difference between two sieges of the same cities, Thebes and Troy.³³ At the same time, one should note a variation in the use of comparatives: Δ407 is put in the reply of Sthenelos who claims that the *second* expedition to Thebes (by the Epigonoι) was with a smaller army. On the other hand, E641 is spoken by Tlepolemos in his νεῖκος (not in Sarpedon's reply), and he says that the *first* expedition to Troy (by Herakles) involved a smaller army.

These two exchanges contain another notable parallel with each other. Sthenelos says that the first attackers against Thebes (the Seven) perished because of their 'reckless folly': κείνοι δὲ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο (Δ409). Sarpedon also attributes the cause of Herakles' sack of Troy to Laomedon's folly: . . . ἦτοι κείνος ἀπώλεσεν Ἰλίων ἱρὴν / ἀνέρος ἀφραδίῃσιν ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος (E648–9). Thus the emphasis on folly (ἀτασθαλίαι, ἀφραδίαι) as the cause of the destruction of one party (the aggressors at Thebes, the defenders at Troy) is common to both accounts.

³³ ἄρειον should mean 'stronger than the former Theban wall (in the time of the siege by the Seven)' despite Schol. A ad Δ407 which sees a comparison between the Theban wall and the Trojan wall. Cf. Kirk 1985, ad Δ407, p.374. It should be noted that the comparison between the Seven and the Epigonoι prevails in the exchange of Agamemnon and Sthenelos. Cf. χέρεια (Δ400) and ἀμείνονες (Δ405).

Some of the verbal echoes we have seen above may be ascribed to the use of typical motifs, but on the whole the similarity between these two pairs of speeches is striking.³⁴

The link between the Agamemnon-Sthenelos scene and the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon scene seems to be, at least partly, influenced by the association of the two great wars in the Greek epic tradition. The Theban War and the Trojan War are linked in the account of the ‘Five Ages’ in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ
τοὺς μὲν ὑφ’ ἑπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,
ᾧλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλων ἔνεκ’ Οἰδιπόδαο,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἔνεκ’ ἠυκόμοιο (*W&D* 161-5).

These two wars are said to be the places where the fighters in the ‘Heroic Age’ perished. The wars at Thebes and Troy also dominate the scheme of the Epic Cycle, which is made up of three epics concerning wars at Thebes (*Oidipodeia*, *Thebais*, *Epigonoï*) and eight concerning the Trojan war and its aftermath (*Kypria*, *Iliad*, *Aithiopis*, *Ilias Mikra*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*, *Odyssey*, *Telegonia*). Though the Cyclic epics were probably composed later

³⁴ In the *Iliad*, a *veikos*-speech is usually spoken by one’s ally (like Agamemnon to Diomedes in book 4), not by one’s enemy (like Tlepolemos to Sarpedon in book 5). Fenik 1968, p.66 remarks that if a fighter meets his enemy on the battlefield, “normally the one fighter asks how his opponent dare face him, or praises his boldness but urges him to withdraw before it is too late (cf. Z125–7, P16–7, P30–2, Y178, Φ150–1). But Tlepolemos asks Sarpedon why he is staying away from the fight - a surprising reversal after E471”. This variation on the typical *veikos*-speech facilitates the similarity between the Agamemnon-Sthenelos scene and the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon scene.

than the *Iliad*, Thebes and Troy had no doubt been established as ‘focal points of epic war’ in the Greek epic tradition by the time of the *Iliad*.³⁵

(c) Father-Son Comparison: the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon Scene
in the *Diomedea*

The motif of the father-son comparison in the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon scene seems to be prompted by the prevalent juxtaposition of Tydeus and Diomedes in the *Diomedea*, and especially by the resemblance of this scene to the exchange between Agamemnon and Sthenelos in *Iliad* 4.

A remarkably similar contrast of father and son appears in Sophocles’ *Aias*:

ὅτου πατήρ μὲν τῆσδ’ ἀπ’ Ἰδαίας χθονὸς
τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ’ ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ
πρὸς οἶκον ἦλθε πᾶσαν εὐκλειαν φέρων·
ἐγὼ δ’ ὁ κείνου παῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐς τόπον
Τροίας ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἐλάσسونι σθένει,
οὐδ’ ἔργα μείω χειρὸς ἀρκέσας ἐμῆς,
ἄτιμος Ἀργείοισιν ὧδ’ ἀπόλλυμαι (*Aias* 434-440).

Aias’ father, Telamon, was with Herakles at the first sack of Troy. Aias here contrasts the fairest prize (καλλιστεῖ’) and honour (εὐκλειαν) of Telamon with his own present misery in which he is deprived of honour (ἄτιμος).³⁶

³⁵ West 1978, p.191. Janko 1992 ad N663-670 suggests that material of Theban saga is adapted to the Trojan war at B830-4.

³⁶ Sophocles’ *Aias* abounds in allusions to the *Iliad*. Cf. Garner 1990, pp.51-64. At *Aias* 434-440, too, Sophocles might have been inspired by the juxtaposition of the two Trojan wars (in which father and son respectively participate) in the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon scene in *Iliad* 5 (and possibly by the comparison of the two Theban wars in the Agamemnon-Sthenelos scene in *Iliad* 4). (Garner does not mention this point.) Note the use of comparatives in these three passages: . . . ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἐλάσسونι σθένει, οὐδ’ ἔργα μείω χειρὸς ἀρκέσας ἐμῆς (*Ai.* 438-9); δεῦρ’ ἐλθὼν . . . ἀνδράσι παυροτέροιςιν (E640-1); ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ’ ἀμείνονες . . . παυρότερον λαὸν

Similarly, Tlepolemos has to die before the fall of Troy, so he cannot acquire the same honour as could his father in the first campaign against the same city. By the reference to the first sack of Troy set in the mouth of Tlepolemos, his inferiority to his father is accentuated. In this respect, Tlepolemos' relationship to Herakles makes a contrast with Diomedes' relationship to Tydeus. While Diomedes, with other Epigonoi, proved to be better than their fathers at Thebes and is showing prowess equal to his father in the *Iliad*, Tlepolemos will prove to be inferior to his father at Troy. Thus the Tlepolemos-Sarpedon scene with the mythological references provides a foil to Diomedes.³⁷

4 Stories told by Diomedes and Glaukos in *Iliad* 6

Diomedes faces Glaukos at Z119–236. The exchange between them is particularly interesting as regards the use of characters' storytelling. In Diomedes' speech, the story of Lykourgos (Z130–140) occupies the central part. In answer to Diomedes' question as to who his opponent is, Glaukos recounts the genealogy of his family, in which the story of Bellerophontes is narrated in great detail (Z145–211). Thus in this exchange, one character's storytelling is balanced by another's. Moreover, the two stories show a common feature in that both Lykourgos and Bellerophontes incurred divine hatred and met with a miserable end.

ἀγαγόνθ' ὑπὸ τείχος ἄρειον (Δ405–7). Other instances of the linking of the two Trojan wars appear in Pindar, *Ol.* 8.31–46, *Isth.* 5.35–8; Sophokles, *Philoctetes* 1439–40; Isocrates, *Or.* 5.111–2; Propertius 3.1. 32; Ovid, *Met.* 9.232–3.

³⁷ Andersen 1978, p.74 remarks: “Das Entscheidende ist m. E., dass Tlepolemos ein Heldensohn ist, der die hohen Erwartungen, die seine Abstammung erweckt, nicht erfüllt”.

(a) The Lykourgos *paradeigma* (Z130-140)

Diomedes faces Glaukos on the battle-field and expresses unwillingness to fight if his opponent is a god, citing the story of Lykourgos. Analysts once claimed that Diomedes' unwillingness to fight against a god was not compatible with Diomedes' battle against Aphrodite and Ares in book 5.³⁸ But on closer scrutiny, one can see that his unwillingness does not necessarily contradict his previous deeds.³⁹ It is true that Diomedes wounds Aphrodite and Ares, but he does so under Athene's special injunction to fight these two gods (E131-2, E829-830). One should also recall that there are several passages in book 5 which seem to prepare for Diomedes' reluctance: Athene prohibits Diomedes from fighting against gods (other than Aphrodite) at E130-1; Diomedes is given another warning about rivalry with gods by Apollo at E440-2. Moreover, when Diomedes finds Ares helping Hektor, he commands his comrades to retreat (E603-6), and he himself refrains from fighting. At E818-21, Diomedes quotes the previous command of Athene not to fight against gods, when he is rebuked by the same goddess for his inactivity. Through these passages, especially after Apollo's admonition, Diomedes' hesitation over fighting against gods, except when he is specifically commanded to do so by Athene, is clearly indicated. So Diomedes' unwillingness to fight against gods as expressed in his speech to Glaukos is actually in keeping with the depiction of Diomedes in book 5.

Diomedes' speech to Glaukos also echoes the deeds of the hero in the *Diomedeia* in a different way. In his speech to Glaukos, Diomedes seems to

³⁸ For Leaf 1900, p.256, Diomedes' words at Z123-43 and his victories over gods in book 5 constitute a contradiction which is "perhaps the most patent in the *Iliad*, and one which can in no way be palliated."

³⁹ Andersen 1978, p.98.

be assuming that he will win the battle whether the opponent is a man or a god, and he is only afraid that, if the opponent is a god, he may suffer later.⁴⁰ This unusual confidence is appropriate for Diomedes only after his victory over two gods in book 5.

The story of Lykourgos belongs to a group of legends about futile attempts to reject the Dionysiac religion.⁴¹ In Diomedes' account of the story, the mention of Dionysos' τιθηῖναι (Z132) and θύσθλα (Z134), which the nurses of Dionysos carried, may be a hint at the Dionysiac rites.⁴² The motif of a male's pursuit of female followers of the god recurs in Dionysiac legends and rituals.⁴³

This ritualistic significance, however, is not emphasized in Diomedes' account of the story. The main emphasis is on the consequences of Lykourgos' violent action against Dionysos. It is remarkable how easy it was for Lykourgos to drive away Dionysos and his nurses. The nurses are scattered, and there are no signs of resistance by Dionysos, who is implicitly envisaged as a little child. The god simply flees from Lykourgos' attack into the sea and is received by Thetis in the folds of her robe.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Andersen 1978, p.99.

⁴¹ Cf. Dodds 1960, pp.xxv-xxvi; Nilsson 1967, p.565.

⁴² *Homeric Hymn* xxvi tells of the infant Dionysos being brought up by nymphs on Mt. Nysa (ll.3-4). The same hymn tells how the τιθηῖναι later became followers of Dionysos (ll.8-10). θύρσοις (a wand carried by the devotees of Dionysos) is suggested by E. Benveniste as the etymology of the word θύσθλα (Z134) (= θυρσος – θλα). Cf. *LfggE* s.v. 'θύσθλα'.

⁴³ Dodds 1960, p.xxvii.

⁴⁴ At Σ395-405, Thetis (with Eurynome) is said to have sheltered Hephaistos when the god fell from Olympos. See Chapter 4.

Dionysos' fear is repeatedly indicated: φοβηθείς (Z135), δειδιότα (Z137), κρατερὸς ... τρόμος (Z137).

The complete ease with which Lykourgos attacks Dionysos makes a sharp contrast with his later misery caused by the gods. Lykourgos did not live long after his attack on Dionysos and his nurses. The motif of Lykourgos' short life is stated twice. At the beginning of the story (Z130–1), Diomedes refers to the early death of Lykourgos, and his misery is described again at the end of the story:

τῷ μὲν ἔπειτ' ὀδύσαντο θεοὶ ρεῖα ζῶντες,
καί μιν τυφλὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν
ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν (Z138–40).

One should note the emphasis on the gods' hatred towards Lykourgos. This hatred is mentioned twice at Z138 (ὀδύσαντο) and Z140 (ἀπήχθετο), the latter of which employs a very strong expression: he was hated by *all* the gods.⁴⁵ The blinding of Lykourgos by Zeus (Z139) increases his misery.

The cause of Lykourgos' early death is clear: his offence against a god caused his misery. The overall structure of the Lykourgos story emphasizes this logic. Each of the two mentions of Lykourgos' short life, which form the outer ring of the story, is accompanied by a subordinate clause.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ⁴⁶ Δρύαντος υἱός, κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος,
δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν (Z130–1).

· · · · · οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν
ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν (Z139–140).

⁴⁵ The phrase ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν recurs only once in the Homeric epics at Z200. The significance of this repetition will be discussed at §4(c) below.

⁴⁶ For the expression οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ, see n.84 below.

At 131, the relative clause introduces Lykourgos as a *theomachos*, and the ἐπεὶ clause at 140 cites hatred by the gods as the reason for his short life.⁴⁷ This subtle variation in the two clauses placed at the start and at the end of the story makes the causal relationship clear: he fought gods (131), incurring their hatred (140), and therefore he could not live long.

(b) The Bellerophontes Story (Z145-211)

Glaukos takes Diomedes' question τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; (Z123) as an inquiry about his genealogy. Thus he begins his reply with a question Τυδεΐδῃ μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρεεῖνεις; (Z145), but nevertheless gives a long account of his genealogy.

It seems striking that Glaukos does not give his name. One explanation could be that parentage may suffice as identification of a hero. Asteropaios too does not tell his name when Achilles asks him “τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ὃ μιν ἔτλης ἀντίος ἐλθεῖν;” (Φ150). To this question, Asteropaios replies “Πηλεΐδῃ μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρεεῖνεις;” (Φ153) and simply gives his homeland and his genealogy. Another explanation could be that, since Glaukos' name is mentioned at Z119 in the poet's narrative, and the audience knows who the opponent of Diomedes is, the poet was not too concerned about stating the name in Glaukos' own words.⁴⁸ But one should note that the emphasis of Diomedes' question “τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι;” shifts from “Who are you among men (καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (Z123))?” to “Are you a man or a god?” as Diomedes goes on to express his unwillingness to fight

⁴⁷ For the ring-composition in Diomedes' speech at Z123-143, cf. Lohmann 1970, pp.12-3.

⁴⁸ Cf. K447 where Diomedes knows Dolon's name without being told it. See Taplin 1992, p.150, n.4. For comparable phenomena in Greek tragedy, cf. Davies 1991, ad Soph. *Trach.* 872, 934.

against gods and tries to justify his claim by the *exemplum* of Lykourgos.⁴⁹ Because what Diomedes is inquiring about is not so much his opponent's name as whether he is a man or a god, Glaukos' account of his human descent serves as an answer to Diomedes.

Before the account of his genealogy, Glaukos employs the simile of leaves to illustrate the transience of human beings (Z146–9). A notable shift in the meaning of γενεή is involved in this simile.⁵⁰ The word γενεή at 145 means 'a particular family, race or descendants', whereas the same word in the simile (Z146) means 'each generation (of leaves)'. After the simile, ἀνδρῶν γενεή (Z149) means not a 'genealogy' of a particular family, but each 'generation' of men, i.e. human beings in general. This ingenious shift introduces a reflection on the common human condition. The Bellerophontes story later in the same speech will add an example to this general reflection on human transience.

A conspicuous motif in the Bellerophontes story as told by Glaukos is the gods' favour towards the hero. First, at Z156–7, it is said that the gods (θεοί) endowed Bellerophontes with κάλλος and ἡνορέη ἐρατεινή.⁵¹ Then at Z171, Bellerophontes is said to have reached Lykia under the gods' guidance (θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ). Again at Z183, when he killed the Chimaira, he followed the gods' portents (θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας).

In other accounts of the story, Bellerophontes slays the Chimaira with the assistance of the winged horse, Pegasos. At Hesiod, *Theogony* 325,

⁴⁹ The question "τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε;" occurs twice elsewhere in the *Iliad* (O247, Ω387). On both of these occasions, a mortal man asks this question of a god (Hector of Apollo in O, Priam of Hermes disguised as a young Myrmidon in Ω).

⁵⁰ H. Fränkel 1921, pp.40-1.

⁵¹ The gift of physical beauty from the gods also prepares for the theme of Anteia's love for Bellerophontes (Z160-2). Cf. Kirk 1990, ad Z156–7, p.179.

the slaughter of the Chimaira is a joint achievement by Pegasus and Bellerophontes. Pegasus' collaboration seems to be mentioned in a fragment of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*.⁵² In Pindar's *Olympian* 13, Bellerophontes was on Pegasus' back when he conquered the Amazons and the Solymoi as well as the Chimaira.⁵³ The Chimaira-Pegasus-Bellerophontes scene appears in proto-Corinthian vase paintings and Attic blackfigure vase paintings in the seventh century B.C.⁵⁴ Because of these early attestations of Pegasus' participation at the slaying of the Chimaira, scholars have assumed that Pegasus had been an established element of the story but was suppressed in the account of Bellerophontes' victory over the monster at Z179–183.⁵⁵ Instead of a reference to Pegasus, the expression θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας appears at Z183. The expression θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ at Z171 also seems to be employed as a substitute for a reference to Bellerophontes' journey on the winged horse's back. These expressions have been regarded merely as traces of abbreviation of fuller versions of the story.⁵⁶ But one should also note their positive function in Glaukos' account of the story. These two phrases reiterate the motif of the gods' goodwill towards Bellerophontes, which has

⁵² Hes. fr. 43a (Merkelbach-West), 84-7.

⁵³ *Ol.* 13.86-90.

⁵⁴ Cf. Schmitt 1966.

⁵⁵ E.g., Murray 1934, p.175, n.2, who comments: "Pegasus is omitted by Homer as a monster. ... The Chimaera, a savage monster in remote lands, is obviously less incredible than the tame Pegasus in a stable in Corinth." For other cases of the suppression of the marvellous in Homeric poems, cf. Griffin 1977, pp.40-2.

⁵⁶ Murray 1934, p.175. Kirk 1962, p.166 regards these expressions as typical examples of what he calls 'the abbreviated reference style'. Andersen 1990, pp.44-5, however, criticizes this sort of approach.

already been referred to in connection with the hero's physical beauty and manliness at Z156–7. Cumulatively, the motif of the gods' favour and guidance is emphasized,⁵⁷ which will produce a sharp contrast to the attitude of the gods in Bellerophontes' later life. The expressions substituted for the mention of Pegasos contribute to this cumulative effect.

Bellerophontes achieves great success in Lykia. After the hero has accomplished three exploits and has even repelled an ambush, the Lykian king is said to have recognized that Bellerophontes was son of a god (θεοῦ γόνον (Z191)). In fact, there are other versions of the Bellerophontes story in which the hero's father is said to be Poseidon.⁵⁸ At Z155, however, it is clearly stated that Bellerophontes' father was Glaukos (the speaker's great-grandfather), and there is no hint of divine parentage. Gaisser suggests that Bellerophontes' divine parentage was carelessly disclosed at Z191, whereas it is suppressed elsewhere in Glaukos' speech.⁵⁹ But the expression γίνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἥνιν ἔόντα (Z191) can be interpreted as indicating merely that the Lykian king infers, from his admiration for Bellerophontes' extraordinary achievements, that the hero is of outstanding lineage.⁶⁰ While the possibility that the expression at Z191 is a vestige of a tradition which tells of Bellerophontes' divine parentage cannot be excluded,

⁵⁷ Zeus' intervention is mentioned at Z158–9: ὅς ῥ' ἐκ δήμου ἔλασσε, ἐπεὶ πολὺ φέρτερος ἦεν, / Ἀργείων· Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε. It is not clear whether the object of the verb ἐδάμασσε is Bellerophontes or the people of Argos. If it is Bellerophontes, this may be another instance of divine guidance for the hero. But ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ seems to indicate 'kingly rule in general rather than power over a single man' (Monro 1906, ad Z159, p.312).

⁵⁸ Hes. fr. 43a (Merkelbach-West), 81–3; Pindar *Ol.* 13.69.

⁵⁹ Gaisser 1969b, p.173.

⁶⁰ de Jong 1987, p.166; Kirk 1990, ad Z191, p.185.

the hero is presented as son of an ordinary human being in Glaukos' account of the story.

A series of gifts to Bellerophontes is enumerated at Z192–5. The king gave his daughter to Bellerophontes as his wife (Z192). The king also offered half of his entire βασιληὺς τιμή (Z193).⁶¹ The Lykian people also granted private land (τέμενος) to the hero (Z194–5). The account of Bellerophontes' bliss in Lykia culminates in the reference to his children at Z196–199. Bellerophontes begot three children.⁶² His daughter Laodameia was loved by Zeus and bore the god's son, Sarpedon.

Despite the favour of the gods towards Bellerophontes, and his prosperity in Lykia, he was hated by the gods and lived in utter misery in later life:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
ἦτοι ὃ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων (Z200–2).

The word-play at Z201–2 strengthens the image of his lonely wandering: the plain where Bellerophontes wandered (ἀλᾶτο) avoiding (ἀλεείνων) human

⁶¹ For βασιληὺς τιμή, cf. Benveniste 1974, pp.52-3.

⁶² It is notable that the number three plays a prominent role in the composition of the Bellerophontes story in *Iliad* 6. Bellerophontes had to conquer three enemies: the Chimaira (which was a monstrous conglomeration of three animals), the Solymoi, and the Amazons (cf. πρῶτον μὲν (Z179), δεύτερον αὖ (Z184), τὸ τρίτον αὖ (Z186)). The gifts he received at Lykia were threefold and they are enumerated in a tricolon crescendo: the king's daughter as wife (Z192: half a line), the royal power (Z193: a whole line), the private estate (Z194–5: two lines). Finally, he had three children. The motif of 'three times' (τρίς) plays an important role in the composition of Homeric narrative, as Bannert 1988, pp.40-57 points out. For the recurrence of the motif 'three' in folk tales, cf. Stith Thompson 1955-8, s.v. 'Three' in the index; M.A.Grant, *Folktales and Hero-Tale Motif in the Odes of Pindar* (1967), p.12 etc.

footsteps is called 'Αλήιον.⁶³ A similar image of lonely wandering recurs in the description of the jars of Zeus:

ὦι δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε,
καί ἑ κακὴ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,
φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν
(Ω531–533).⁶⁴

This is the fate of a man who is given only misfortunes from the jars. The image of solitary wandering separated from both human society and divine favour represents the most extreme state of human misery. The account of the death of Bellerophontes' two children (Z203–5) follows the description of his wandering. Both Isandros and Laodameia are said to have been killed by gods (Ares and Artemis). The enmity of the gods against Bellerophontes' two children reflects the hatred of 'all the gods' against Bellerophontes himself.⁶⁵

Through the above analysis of the Bellerophontes story, it is obvious that the description of Bellerophontes' fortune after he became hated by the gods (Z200ff.) makes a sharp contrast with the description of his earlier life up to the point when he achieved his great success in Lykia through the gods' favour. Moreover, the reversal of the gods' attitude towards him appears to have occurred suddenly and unexpectedly, since the cause of their hatred toward him is not mentioned. Other accounts of the Bellerophontes story tell how the hero incurred it. Pindar mentions the

⁶³ Von der Mühl 1952, p.117; Rank 1951, pp.37-8. Scholia A & bT ad Z201 suggest that 'Αλήιον is etymologically related to ἄλη (noun derivative of ἀλάομαι). A plain called 'Αλήιον is reported either in Lykia or Kilikia (Herodotus 6.95, etc.), cf. *Lfgre* s.v. 'Αλήιον (πεδῖον).

⁶⁴ Schol. bT ad Ω 532 compares this passage with the wandering of Bellerophontes at Z201–2. Cf. Richardson 1993, ad Ω527–33.

⁶⁵ The motif of the bereaved father appears repeatedly in the *Iliad*, culminating in Priam and Peleus. Cf. Griffin 1980, pp.123–8.

episode of Bellerophontes' flight up to heaven in *Isthmian* 7 as an example of the attempt to transcend human limitation:

..... τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν
ἔδραν· ὅ τοι πτερόεις ἔρριψε Πάγασος
δεσπότην ἐθέλοντ' ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμούς
ἐλθεῖν μεθ' ὁμάγυριν Βελλεροφόνταν
Ζηνός. τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν
γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά (I. 7.43-8).

According to a later account of the story, Zeus got angry with Bellerophontes' audacious flight, and made Pegasus fling Bellerophontes off his back by sending a gadfly.⁶⁶ Pindar also implies Bellerophontes' wretched end in *Olympian* 13 after the description of his exploits: διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ (Ol.13.91). Pindar certainly had the episode of Bellerophontes' flight in mind, and assumed that it was well known to the audience.⁶⁷ Since the episode of Bellerophontes' flight to heaven was well-known by the time of Pindar and, as mentioned above, Pegasus already appears in Hesiod's *Theogony* and visual art of the archaic period, it is a fair assumption that the episode of the flight was deliberately suppressed in the *Iliad*'s account of the Bellerophontes story.⁶⁸ If this is the case, the vagueness over the cause of the divine hatred for Bellerophontes results from conscious omission of a detail of the story.

⁶⁶ Schol. A ad Z155 (= Asclepiades of Tragilos, Jacoby *FGrHist* 12F13). Cf. *RE* iii (1899), s.v. 'Bellerophon' (Behte), col.249.

⁶⁷ In *Olympian* 13, which was composed for a Corinthian victor, Bellerophontes is presented as a great hero of the same city. Pindar needed to pass over the episode of the flight because it would have undermined Bellerophontes' glory. Cf. Thummer 1969, pp.123-4.

⁶⁸ Andersen 1978, p.109, n.11. Cf. n.55 above.

(c) Correspondence between the Two Stories:
The Motif of the Gods' Hatred for Men

General similarities in the stories of Lykourgos and Bellerophontes are obvious. Both heroes were hated by all the gods. Analysis of the two stories has also revealed that both of them are so composed that the earlier prosperity of the hero makes a sharp contrast to his later misery. Furthermore, one should note the force of καί at Z200. It has been suggested that this καί links Bellerophontes' misery with that of Lykourgos.⁶⁹ This interpretation is based on the resemblance of Z140 and Z200:

. . . . ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν (Z140).

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ κεῖνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν (Z200).

The wording after the feminine caesura is identical, and never recurs elsewhere in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. This verbal echo underlines the similarity of the two hero's lives, i.e. a hero falls into misery in his later life. The other interpretation of καὶ κεῖνος is 'even he whom the gods had formerly loved and protected'.⁷⁰ This suggestion is attractive, since the motif of divine favour and protection appears again and again (Z156-7, 171, 183).⁷¹

For the proper interpretation of the force of καί at Z200, one should also consider the difference of the two heroes as regards their relationship with gods. Bellerophontes achieved success under the gods' guidance (cf. Z171, 183). In contrast, Lykourgos attacked a god and his attendants. The surprise implied by καί at Z200, therefore, results not only from the contrast to the gods' previous favour toward Bellerophontes, but also from

⁶⁹ Ameis-Hentze (I-2), ad Z200, p.116 ; Andersen 1978, p.104.

⁷⁰ Monro 1906, ad Z200, p.313.

⁷¹ de Jong 1987, pp.278-9, n.39.

the contrast with the impious Lykourgos, i.e., ‘not only the impious Lykourgos, but also even Bellerophontes whom the gods favoured.’ The καί, therefore, links Bellerophontes with Lykourgos (‘Bellerophontes, too’) and, at the same time, implies a climax (‘even Bellerophontes’).⁷² In this manner, the two stories are closely connected by the expression at Z200.

A common feature of Lykourgos and Bellerophontes in the legends is that both of them challenged gods. Lykourgos literally fought against Dionysos. He is one of the familiar *theomachoi*.⁷³ Bellerophontes, on the other hand, tried to reach the abode of the Olympian gods. In the *Iliad*, we encounter several other stories of *theomachoi* or challengers of the gods. Dione lists those gods who suffered at human hands (E385–402). Ares was confined in a brazen jar by Otos and Ephialtes. Hera and Hades were shot by Herakles. The destinies of these *theomachoi* are not specifically detailed, but Dione says in general terms that one who fights against the gods cannot live long (E407).⁷⁴ In addition to those who openly fought against gods, a series of human beings who somehow offended gods and suffered punishment are mentioned elsewhere in the poem. Thamyras boasted that he would win a singing contest against the Muses (B594–600). The goddesses became angry, and made him πηρός (‘maimed’ or ‘blind’), and deprived him of his musical skill. Oineus neglected to make an offering to Artemis, so the goddess sent the monstrous boar to Kalydon (I 533–540). Niobe, in

⁷² Denniston 1954, p.293: “... when the addition is surprising, or difficult of acceptance, and when a sense of climax is present, ‘also’ becomes ‘even’. (Greek does not, like English, express the distinction between these two ideas.)”

⁷³ Lykourgos is referred to as a *theomachos* in a mythological exemplum in Sophocles' *Antigone* 955–65. For his role in Aeschylus' lost trilogy *Lykourgeia*, cf. West 1990, pp.26ff.

⁷⁴ Cf. Andersen 1978, pp.99–100.

Achilleus' speech to Priam, lost her twelve children, who were shot by Apollo and Artemis (Ω 602–17). It is clearly indicated that Niobe's boast against Leto concerning the number of her children caused the divine anger. In all these cases, it is either indicated or implied that someone who commits an offence against the gods is punished. The Lykourgos story in *Iliad* 6 also shows this pattern of offence and punishment.⁷⁵

In the Bellerophontes story too, the poet could have followed the established pattern of challenge and punishment, since the episode of the audacious flight seems to have been already established in the legend. But the poet abandons this pattern, and leaves the cause of divine enmity open. Since the cause of Bellerophontes' misery is not stated, the gods' enmity against him appears to be groundless, and Bellerophontes' disaster appears to be caused by the gods' arbitrary will. This point is accentuated by the link between this story and the Lykourgos story, in which the cause of divine anger is, by contrast, clearly indicated.

Diomedes' speech, together with the Lykourgos story, reveals his assumption that a man can evade the gods' enmity by refraining from offence against them. He says he will not fight if his opponent is a god, in order to avoid a miserable end like Lykourgos'. Glaukos seems to counter Diomedes' argument by narrating his version of the Bellerophontes story: the gods can inflict arbitrary sufferings on those who do not seem to have committed any offence.⁷⁶ The simile of the leaves at the beginning of

⁷⁵ It should be noted that none of these *theomachoi* or offenders against gods who receive punishment are characters in the main plot of the *Iliad*. They are mentioned in speeches, except Thamyras, who is mentioned in a digression in the Catalogue of Ships. Blasphemous human beings, like the Seven against Thebes in the Cyclic *Thebais*, are absent from the main plot of the Homeric epics, as pointed out by Griffin 1977, pp.46-7.

⁷⁶ Gaiser 1969b, p.175.

Glaukos' speech, which underlines the transience of human beings, anticipates and gives extra emphasis to the arbitrary dispensation of misery by the gods in the Bellerophontes story.⁷⁷

Moreover, Glaukos seems to prove his argument when he and Diomedes exchange their armour. The poet tells us that Zeus deprived Glaukos of his sound mind, so that he gave his precious golden armour in exchange for Diomedes' far cheaper bronze armour. Scholars have found it hard to explain why Zeus had to inflict this infatuation, since he seems to have no reason to be hostile to Glaukos. It has been suggested that Zeus' intervention in the exchange of presents ironically proves the arbitrariness of the gods which Glaukos suggested in his speech.⁷⁸ The contrast between the two different views on human misery seems to be underlined by the composition of the Diomedes-Glaukos scene as a whole.

5 Conclusion

To put the function of the stories discussed in this chapter in a wider perspective, it is necessary to locate them in the context of the whole epic. In this respect, the comparison of Diomedes' characterization as it has emerged from the above examination with the characterization of Achilles will be fruitful, as has been suggested at the beginning of this chapter.

Diomedes' attitude towards Agamemnon's rebuke in book 4 makes an interesting parallel to Achilles' response to Agamemnon's insult in book 1. Diomedes remains silent, respecting the reproof of the reverend king: αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο (Δ402). He also criticizes Sthenelos for his objection to Agamemnon's rebuke (Δ412-8), and recommends him to turn his thoughts to prowess in the battle: ἀλλ' ἄγε

⁷⁷ Macleod 1982, p.12.

⁷⁸ Andersen 1978, p.106; Scodel 1992, p.82.

δὴ καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς (Δ418). In *Iliad* 9, Diomedes recalls Agamemnon's rebuke in book 4: ἀλκὴν μὲν μοι πρῶτον ὀνειδίσας ἐν Δαναοῖσι, / φᾶς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκιδα (I 34-5). This remark reveals that, although Diomedes refrained at the time from protesting to Agamemnon, he was nevertheless sensitive to the insult. Since this remark is uttered in a scene preceding the embassy to Achilles, in which his lingering anger towards Agamemnon is depicted, a contrast between Diomedes and Achilles can be discerned. Both Achilles in book 1 and Diomedes in book 4 were insulted by Agamemnon. Achilles, on the one hand, was enraged by the insult and retired from the battle. Diomedes, on the other, restrained himself and exhibited his prowess in the battle.⁷⁹

In addition to Diomedes and Achilles' attitudes towards Agamemnon, their attitudes towards the gods and fate make a notable contrast.

The two Tydeus *paradeigmata* not only establish the link between Diomedes and his father,⁸⁰ but also reflect the relationship between Diomedes and his protectress, Athene: the hero's loyal obedience to the goddess and the goddess' reliable aid to the hero.

The special relationship between the goddess and the hero leads Diomedes to victories over Aphrodite and Ares, which seem to blur the

⁷⁹ In book 9 (I 34-6), Diomedes complains about Agamemnon's rebuke in book 4. Griffin 1995, ad I 34ff. suggests that Diomedes who "is not prepared to be slighted without reply, but (...) is prepared to wait for satisfaction" presents "a counter model of heroism to that of Achilles."

⁸⁰ The father - son relationship is also emphasized in the story of Herakles' sack of Troy. See pp.50-1 above.

normal boundary between gods and men.⁸¹ Even Achilles is later almost overpowered by a river god, and has to be saved by Hephaistos (Φ233-382). An impressive sign of the blurring of the usual border line between gods and men in the *Diomedea* is Diomedes' special sight, which enables him to see gods who come down to earth. Athene says to Diomedes:

ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον ἦ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκοις ἡμὲν θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα (E127-8).

Because Athene removed the ἀχλύς from Diomedes' eyes, he could recognize Aphrodite (E330-3), Apollo (E433), and Ares (E592-6, cf. E824) on the battlefield. The word ἀχλύς is especially associated with hindrance to sight,⁸² but nowhere else does the removing of ἀχλύς bring about special sight which enables a human being to recognize a god.⁸³

This exceptional clarity of the gods' action in book 5 is echoed by Diomedes' assumption in the Lykourgos *paradeigma* that he can avoid divine enmity by refraining from offending a god. It is interesting to compare this *paradeigma* with the brief *paradeigma* of Herakles uttered by Achilles in *Iliad* 18. The Herakles *paradeigma* is introduced by a formulaic expression οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ:⁸⁴

⁸¹ However, Diomedes does not transcend the boundary between men and gods in the real sense. It is actually the goddess Athene, not Diomedes, who defeats Aphrodite and Ares. Diomedes acts merely as a tool, and Apollo reminds him of his human limitations (E440-2). Cf. Macleod 1982, pp.12-3: "So the hero's (sc. Diomedes') *aristeia* is ultimately designed to remind him and us that men are less than the gods, and that divine favour, whatever glory it may give to an individual, never removes him from the common condition."

⁸² *Lfgre*, s.v. 'ἀχλύς', B.

⁸³ Fenik 1968, p.22; Kirk 1990, ad E127-30, p.69; *Lfgre*, s.v. 'ἀχλύς', B1aα.

⁸⁴ οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ(έ) recurs at E22, Z130, N269, Ξ33, Θ32, κ327 always at the beginning of a verse. This phrase serves as a negative (and emphatic) counterpart of

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα
 ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι·
 ἀλλὰ ἐ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης
 (Σ117).

This expression is also employed to introduce the Lykourgos *paradeigma*:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος,
 δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν (Ζ130–1).

Both Achilles and Diomedes cite a previous hero's death caused by divine enmity as a *paradeigma* introduced by the same formula. Considering these similarities, it is notable that the *exempla* of Lykourgos and Herakles are employed with almost opposite logic. Diomedes employs the story of Lykourgos' early death as an excuse for his not fighting (if the opponent is a god) in order to avoid early death, whereas Achilles justifies his determination to go back to the battle and accept his imminent death caused by gods (cf. Σ115-6) by referring to Herakles' death. One can catch a glimpse of the essential difference between the two foremost Greek fighters, tragic Achilles and untragic Diomedes, in the use of these two mythological *exempla*.

Although Dione implies Diomedes' early death at E412-5, there is no other reference to his imminent death in the *Iliad*. Tradition holds that Diomedes returned safely home after the war.⁸⁵ Dione's remark should be regarded as "describing what *can* happen to those who attack the gods, not what *will* happen to Diomedes."⁸⁶ By contrast, it is firmly established in the *Iliad* that Achilles will be killed in the near future by Paris and

καὶ γὰρ which is idiomatic in the introduction of *exempla*. Cf. Ed. Fraenkel 1957, pp.185-6.

⁸⁵ γ180-2; Proklos' summary of the *Nostoi* (Davies *EGF*, p.67, ll.7-8 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.5, l.5).

⁸⁶ Willcock 1978, ad E412-5.

Apollo.⁸⁷ Later accounts tell us that the murder of Troilos by Achilles at a sanctuary of Apollo was the cause of the god's anger towards Achilles. This episode seems to have been established at an early period since it featured in the *Kypria*, and depictions of the scene appears in vase paintings of the archaic period.⁸⁸ In the *Iliad*, however, this episode is not mentioned, in spite of the predictions of Achilles' death caused by Apollo and the depictions of Apollo's enmity towards Achilles (Φ596-X20, Ω32-54). As regards the reason for the omission of the episode in the *Iliad*, it has been suggested that the murder of Troilos, as represented in later literature and visual art, contains details which are not compatible with the heroic atmosphere of the *Iliad*, such as an ambush by Achilles, his love for Polyxena, or his homosexual desire for Troilos.⁸⁹

One can find a similar incomprehensibility concerning the gods' anger in the case of divine enmity against Troy. The principal Olympian gods who are against Troy are Hera, Poseidon and Athene.⁹⁰ For the two goddesses, the cause of their anger is the Judgement of Paris mentioned at Ω25-30.

⁸⁷ Cf. Σ96, T416-7, Φ277-8, X358-60. The actual death of Achilles was described in the *Aithiopis* (Davies *EGF*, p.47, ll.20-1 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.69, ll.15-6).

⁸⁸ Cf. Proklos' summary of the *Kypria* (Davies *EGF* p.32, ll.81-2 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.42, l.63); Kullmann 1960, pp.272-3, n.3. For visual representations, cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Achilleus', nr.206-388. The earliest possible representation of the episode goes back to ca. 700 B.C. (nr.332a). In the *Iliad*, Troilos' name is mentioned only at Ω257 as one of Priam's sons who were killed. There is no mention of the significance of Troilos' murder in this passage. It is, however, possible that Troilos' epithet at Ω257, ἵπποχάρμης, may be a slight hint at the scene of Troilos' murder, in which he tries to escape from Achilles either on a horse or a chariot. Cf. Richardson 1993, ad Ω257, p.299-300.

⁸⁹ Davies 1989, p.49.

⁹⁰ Cf. Irmscher 1950, pp.40-6.

Yet there are passages earlier in the epic in which Hera and Athene's hatred towards Troy is described without any reference to the Judgement (Δ20-72, E418-425, Υ313-7, Φ419-433).⁹¹ Reinhardt suggests that the episode of the Judgement of Paris does not suit the heroic atmosphere of the *Iliad*.⁹² Because of this omission, the two goddesses' hostility towards Troy is left inexplicable.⁹³ The cause of Poseidon's enmity against Troy, on the other hand, is the deception of the god by Laomedon, the previous king of Troy, mentioned at Φ441-457.⁹⁴

The episodes of the Judgement of Paris and Laomedon's earlier deception surely form the background to the choice of the three anti-Trojan god and goddesses. Yet, since these episodes are revealed towards the end of the epic, earlier passages concerning divine hatred towards Troy remain without any indication of the causes. Moreover, it should be noted that, when human beings refer to the doom of Troy, the pattern of offence against gods and punishment by them is not mentioned. For example, when Hector envisages the destruction of Troy at Z447-465, there is no mention

⁹¹ On E422-5, Kirk 1990, p.105 comments: "Behind all lies the Judgement of Paris, specifically mentioned only at 24.28-30 but underlying the whole relationship between Paris and Aphrodite and the hostility towards Helen of Here and Athene."

⁹² Reinhardt 1960, pp.16-36.

⁹³ For the question why the episode of the Judgement was finally mentioned in book 24, cf. Davies 1981; Macleod 1982, ad Ω25-30.

⁹⁴ It should be noted that, when Poseidon rescues Aineias in book 20, he refers to Zeus' hatred towards the offspring of Priam (Υ306), the reason for which is not stated. Cf. Edwards 1991, ad Υ306. Menelaos accuses the λώβη of the Trojans (implying Paris' abduction of Helen) in his prayer to Zeus at N620-639 (cf. Janko 1992, ad loc.). Note also that Zeus' wrath towards injustice of humans features in a simile of a storm (Π384-392) which is applied to the flight of the Trojans. Cf. Janko 1992, ad Π384-393.

of this pattern. At Ω518-51, Achilles expresses his views on the present hardship of Priam in terms of human suffering in general. He tells the parable of the two jars, which illustrates Zeus' dispensation of prosperity and misery to human beings. Zeus gives a mixture of evils and blessings to some, and only evils to others. Therefore, according to this parable, human beings cannot exclusively obtain blessings, but must all suffer hardship at least sometimes.⁹⁵ Moreover, since there is no explanation as to why one mortal has to suffer more and another less, Zeus' dispensation appears to be entirely arbitrary. As an illustration, Achilles refers to the blessings and miseries given to Peleus by the gods: he was rich and had power, and even obtained a goddess as his wife, but he is destined to lose his only son (Ω534-42). Then Achilles contrasts Priam's former prosperity with the woe which now surrounds Troy (Ω543-8). He attributes the misery of the Trojan war to the heavenly gods:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πῆμα τόδ' ἤγαγον Οὐρανίῳνες,
αἶεί τοι περὶ ἄστυ μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε (Ω547-8).

Achilles puts the war within the framework of the gods' arbitrary dispensation of fortune. One should note that Achilles' view on the misery of human beings in general expressed in this scene is particularly appropriate for the consolation of Priam.

Achilles' view of the gods' arbitrary dispensation of hardship to human beings as well as his determination to accept the imminent death earned by inexplicable divine enmity make a contrast to Diomedes' optimistic assumption of the possibility of avoiding gods' hatred expressed in the *Lykourgos paradeigma*. It is remarkable that a similar contrast exists between the *Lykourgos paradeigma* and the *Bellerophon* story.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Cf. Macleod 1982, ad Ω527-33.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gaiser 1969b, p.175: "Diomedes' outlook is closely bound up with his own character and fate; that of Glaukos informs the poem as a whole."

Chapter 3

NESTOR'S STORIES

1 Introduction

Nestor shows a conspicuous inclination to tell lengthy stories. At the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles in *Iliad* 1, Nestor tells the story of his participation in the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. When Hektor challenges the Achaian leaders to single combat in book 7, Nestor recounts the story of his single combat against Ereuthalion. In book 11, Nestor tells Patroklos a long story of his own youthful valour in the Pylian-Epeian war. Finally, at the funeral games for Patroklos in book 23, he tells the story of his feats at the funeral games for Amarynkeus.¹

Compared to the stories which we have discussed in chapters 1 and 2, a conspicuous feature of Nestor's storytelling is that he repeatedly tells of his own experiences. Thus mythological materials connected with the north-western Peloponnese (Pylos, Elis, Arcadia), together with the Thessalian myth of the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths, are incorporated into the *Iliad* in Nestor's mouth. It should be noted that all four stories of Nestor represent his military or athletic prowess.

In this chapter, we shall discuss how the stories of Nestor are employed in each context. We shall also assess the heroism of Nestor as represented in these stories in comparison with the characterization of other heroes in the main plot of the *Iliad*.

¹ Nestor's inclination for storytelling also featured in the *Kypria*. Cf. Proklos' summary (Davies, *EGF* p.31, ll.36-9 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.40, ll.27-9).

2 The Battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths (A260-273)

As an *exemplum* for Agamemnon and Achilles, Nestor recounts how his counsel was respected at the assembly of the Lapiths. It has been suggested that Nestor's participation was probably an invention of the poet of the *Iliad*, since Nestor does not appear in other versions of the story.² One should further note that another change was introduced into the story along with the participation of Nestor. In the usual accounts of the story, the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs occurs at a wedding. The Centaurs get drunk and try to carry away the bride, and a brawl breaks out as the Lapiths try to stop them. In Nestor's account in *Iliad* 1, on the other hand, he came from remote Pylos to join the Lapiths because they summoned him (A269-270). This statement seems to imply the Lapiths' recruitment of Nestor as their ally.³ The mere brawl was thus turned into a full-scale war.⁴ By means of this alteration of the original myth, a military assembly, in which Nestor enjoys the attention of the great Lapiths, is introduced, and the poet could, therefore, use this story as a relevant mythological *exemplum* set in the mouth of Nestor at the scene of the assembly of the Greeks.

² Cf. Mulder 1910, p.47; von der Mühl 1952, p. 24, n.29; Willcock 1964, p.143.

³ It is unlikely that A270 refers to an invitation to the wedding. As examples of military recruitment, one should recall Tydeus and Polyneikes' visit to Mykenai (Δ376-381), and Nestor and Odysseus' visit to Phthia (Λ765-770).

⁴ Van Wees 1992, pp.191-2. Ibid., pp.192-3 points out that a similar instance of transformation from a brawl to a war can be seen in the story of Meleagros in *Iliad* 9. Another similar instance is the death of Agamemnon depicted in *Odyssey* 4 and 11 (δ512-537, λ405-434). According to these two accounts, Agamemnon was killed while fighting heroically together with his men against Aigisthos' men. In other accounts of the story, however, he was killed while taking a bath. See Chapter 5.

The Lapiths' superiority to the present heroes in the Trojan War is mentioned in the story:

οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν,
Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον (A262-4).

The use of superlatives at A266-7 (κάρτιστοι, κάρτιστοι, καρτίστοις), which is idiomatic in mythological *exempla*,⁵ enhances the superiority of the Lapiths. These details strengthen the persuasiveness of Nestor's story: since far better heroes listened to Nestor's advice, Achilles and Agamemnon should likewise accept Nestor's counsel.

In addition to his advice to the Lapiths, Nestor mentions his own military prowess:

καὶ μαχόμεν κατ' ἑμ' αὐτὸν ἐγώ· κείνοισι δ' ἄν οὔ τις
τῶν, οἳ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι, μαχέοιτο (A271-2).

Although the exact meaning of κατ' ἑμ' αὐτὸν ('on my own') is ambiguous,⁶ this phrase implies that Nestor fought against the formidable enemies as a worthy ally of the Lapiths. The adversative particle δέ (271) makes a contrast between Nestor, who once could fight the Centaurs, and the present men who would not be able to do so. In this connection, a seemingly trivial expression in the mythological *exemplum* is significant. At A260, Nestor tells Agamemnon and Achilles that the Lapiths were 'greater even than you' (ἀρείοσιν ἢ ἐπερ ὑμῖν). The reading ὑμῖν is attested by the majority of the manuscripts and was supported by Zenodotos, but Aristarchos supported a different reading ἡμῖν. The reason for this suggestion, as schol. A ad A260 reports, is that ὑμῖν is an 'insulting' (ἐφύβριος) expression compared to ἡμῖν with which Nestor includes

⁵ Davies 1985, p.249.

⁶ Kirk 1985, ad A271 suggests that this expression signifies that Nestor fought without a chariot, and cites A720 as a parallel. Alternatively, it may mean that he fought in front of the rank of his peers as a πρόμαχος.

himself in the company of Agamemnon and Achilles. Kirk suggests that line 262 ("For I have never seen and never will see such men") may support the reading 'ῆμιν'.⁷ But, since Nestor establishes himself in the story as a worthy ally of the Lapiths, the reading ὑμῖν is more appropriate.⁸

3 Nestor's Single Combat with Ereuthalion (H132-157)

In *Iliad* 7, Hektor challenges the Greek heroes to single combat. The Greeks hesitate to accept the challenge, except Menelaos who stands up after a while to face Hektor but is checked by Agamemnon because his potential opponent is a much better man. In this situation, Nestor rebukes the cowardice of the Greeks,⁹ and tells a story of his single combat with Ereuthalion.¹⁰ Nestor begins the account of his prowess with an expression of regret for his lost youth (H132-3, 157). This is a common feature in his speeches in *Iliad* 11 (Λ670) and 23 (Ψ629). In all of these three speeches by Nestor, the logic is that he himself would be able to perform deeds of valour if he were young.

Nestor's story of his single combat in his youth corresponds very well to this situation. The background situation of the story is a war between the Pylians and the Arcadians. One of the enemies, Ereuthalion, challenged the Pylians to single combat. The Pylians were afraid and no

⁷ Kirk 1985, ad A260.

⁸ Leaf 1900, ad A260 suggests that Nestor is represented as a 'peer of better men than those he is advising.'

⁹ The form of νεῖκος-speech is common to the speeches of Agamemnon and Athene to Diomedes (Δ370-400, E800-813). See Chapter 2.

¹⁰ Nestor refers to the same single combat at Δ318-9, but does not narrate the details as he does in book 7.

one dared to accept the challenge. Then Nestor accepted it, and won the combat against his enemy. Within this framework, Nestor's acceptance of the challenge is clearly presented as an *exemplum* which the present Greek heroes should follow. His speech proves to be effective: nine men volunteer for the fight.

Nestor claims that, though he was the youngest among the Pylian fighters, his enduring heart (θυμὸς πολυτλήμων) and his courage (θάρσει ᾧ) prompted him to fight (H152-3). The fact that Nestor accepted the challenge even though he was the youngest shows his courage. He also emphasizes Ereuthalion's size and strength:

τὸν δὲ μήκιστον καὶ κάρτιστον κτάνον ἄνδρα·
πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (H155-6).

These two lines, with superlatives idiomatic in mythological *exempla*, render Nestor's enemy extremely formidable. These details enhance Nestor's prowess.

Within the story of Nestor's single combat, there is a notably ample description of the history of the iron mace which Ereuthalion carried (H137-149). The original holder of the iron mace was Areithoos, whose fame (cf. his nickname κορυνήτης) and military achievement are emphasized at H138-141.¹¹ Then follows an account of the combat between Areithoos and Lykourgos on a narrow path (H142-146). Thus, within the story of Nestor's single combat, the digression on the history of the armour contains another duel. It should be noted that Lykourgos, who fought in a place where Areithoos could not use his famous weapon, won

¹¹ Areithoos is briefly mentioned as the father of Menesthios, who is killed by Paris at the beginning of book 7 (H8-10). His nickname κορυνήτης is also mentioned there, but without any explanation. Nestor's speech later in the same book supplies the reason why he acquired this nickname. Note also that the name Ἀρηίθοος (swift in battle) is etymologically significant. Cf. Rank 1951, p.109.

his victory by cunning, not by physical strength (δόλῳ, οὐ τι κράτει γε (H142)).¹² By introducing this contrast into the story, Nestor's strength is overtly emphasized. This again contributes to the paradigmatic effect of the story.

4 The Pylian-Epeian War (Λ670-761)

The long speech of Nestor in *Iliad* 11 begins with complaints against Achilles (Λ656-667), which include a list of those leading Greek heroes who have been wounded (Λ660-4). He then recounts the story of his cattle raid and his prowess in the war, which continues for about ninety lines. This part begins with his usual regret for his lost youth (Λ670) and ends in a contrast between Nestor and Achilles:

ὥς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, μετ' ἀνδράσιν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
οἶος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπονήσεται (Λ762-3).

An implicit paradigmatic message can be discerned in this contrast: Achilles should follow the *exemplum* of Nestor who used his prowess for the benefit of his people.¹³ After the account of his prowess in the war, Nestor turns to a reminiscence of his visit to Phthia (Λ765-790). Finally, Nestor instructs Patroklos to try to persuade Achilles to join the battle, and, if he stays back because of some divine prophecy, to send Patroklos instead, in Achilles' armour (Λ790-803).

In the story of Nestor's exploits, the cattle raid is extensively described (Λ672-707). This raid was the cause of the war between the Pylians and the Epeians (cf. Λ671-2). But the long account of the raid also contains some details which are relevant in the context. Firstly, the

¹² Cunning and strength are the two main modes of warfare. For example, Troy is taken as a result of Achilles' κράτος and Odysseus' δόλος. For the contrast between Achilles and Odysseus, see Chapter 6.

¹³ Cf. Schadewaldt 1966, pp.84-5.

important motif of a father-son relationship is introduced in the account of the raid: Nestor gave joy to his father Neleus when he brought back the booty (Λ683-4), from which Neleus greatly profited (Λ696-704). The motif of the father-son relationship occurs in the account of the Pylian-Epeian war (Λ717-9, see below), and is prominent in the reminiscence of the scene at Phthia.

Another detail which has a special relevance to the context is the loss of Neleus' sons (Λ692-3). Of the twelve sons of Neleus, only Nestor was alive, since the others had been killed by Herakles. The names of Neleus' sons who were killed by Herakles are listed in Hesiod fr.33a, ll.9-12 (Merkelbach-West).¹⁴ This fragment describes in detail the special ability of one of the sons, Periklymenos, who can change his shape, and also his combat with Herakles (ll.13-36). But the *Iliad* does not name any of the sons, and Herakles' attack on Pylos is only briefly mentioned at Λ690-1. Thus Nestor, who alone is named among Neleus' sons, receives exclusive attention. Nestor's status as the only son of Neleus is close to that of Achilles who is also the only son of Peleus. Furthermore, the loss of Neleus' sons creates a parallel with the situation of the Greeks whose principal heroes have been wounded, as Nestor enumerates the names of the injured heroes earlier in the same speech (Λ660-4). Since Achilles is the only principal hero who is neither wounded nor tired, his position is analogous to that of Nestor in the story, who could only perform deeds of prowess after the deaths of his brothers. The setting of Thryoessa (Λ711-3) also resembles that of the Greek camp. As Thryoessa is surrounded by the enemy and needs help from the Pylians, so the Greek camp is hard pressed by the Trojans and is seeking help from the Myrmidons.

¹⁴ Cf. λ286.

In the battle around Thryoessa, Nestor fought without his chariot, since Neleus had hidden his horses, thinking that the young Nestor was not yet experienced in war:

οὐδέ με Νηλεὺς
εἶα θωρήσσεσθαι, ἀπέκρυψεν δέ μοι ἵππους·
οὐ γάρ πώ τί μ' ἔφη ἴδμεν πολεμήια ἔργα (Λ717-9).

Despite his father's prohibition, Nestor entered the battle and displayed conspicuous prowess. This detail sharpens the contrast between the young Nestor and Achilles. As Nestor recalls later in the same speech, Peleus ordered his son to display his valour all the time:

Πηλεὺς μὲν ὧ παιδὶ γέρων ἐπέτελλ' Ἀχιλῆϊ
αἶεν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων (Λ783-4).

Thus Achilles remains inactive despite his father's injunction to fight, whereas Nestor fought despite his father's prohibition.¹⁵

As to the composition of the long account of the Pylian-Epeian war, it has been suggested that the typical form of an *aristeia* is employed in this account.¹⁶ For example, elements such as the routing of the enemies by killing their leader (Λ738-746),¹⁷ divine help (Λ721),¹⁸ and divine rescue of enemy heroes (Λ750-2)¹⁹ recur in the *aristeiai* of the Greek heroes in the *Iliad*. At the end, Nestor accomplishes a complete victory over the enemy, which his fellow Greek heroes do not achieve in the *Iliad*.²⁰ In this sense, Nestor's prowess in his story excels the *aristeiai* in the main plot of the *Iliad*. This is in accordance with the logic of *exempla*

¹⁵ This is similar to the contrast between Tydeus and his son Diomedes in Athene's speech at E800-813. See Chapter 2.

¹⁶ Pedrick 1983, pp.63-5.

¹⁷ Cf. E27-9, Π290-1, 659-660, Φ206-8.

¹⁸ Cf. *Iliad* 5 passim, X226-277.

¹⁹ Cf. E22-4, 311-8, Υ290-325, 443-4, Φ597-8.

²⁰ Pedrick 1983, p.64.

in general: the individuals who are cited as *exempla* in various ways go beyond the characters to whom persuasion or consolation is directed.

Nestor asks Patroklos to convey his message to Achilles:

ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ταῦτ' εἵποις Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι, αἶ κε πίθηται.
τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίναις
παρειπών; ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραΐφασίς ἐστὶν ἐταίρου (Λ790-3).

When Patroklos returns to Achilles' hut in *Iliad* 16, he repeats the beginning (the plight of the Greeks including the list of the injured heroes: Λ659-665 ≈ Π23-9) and the end (Λ794-803 ≈ Π36-45) of Nestor's long speech.²¹ It should be noted that Patroklos omits the entire account of Nestor's prowess in his youth, which includes numerous details which would have a paradigmatic effect on Achilles, and the reminiscence of Nestor's visit to Phthia, which contains Peleus' instruction to his son (Λ783-4). Furthermore, Patroklos does not positively attempt to persuade Achilles to return to battle, though that is what Nestor was asking (cf. Λ792-3, esp. παραΐφασίς ἐταίρου). Instead, he merely criticizes Achilles' inactivity (Π30-5), and asks for permission to go himself to battle in Achilles' armour (Π36-45), repeating Nestor's counsel, which was originally intended only as the second-best plan. Thus the comparison of Nestor's speech in *Iliad* 11 and Patroklos' report in *Iliad* 16 reveals that Nestor's story had the effect of encouraging Patroklos to enter the battle himself, rather than persuade Achilles to do so.²² In this connection, it should be noted that the Nestor-Patroklos scene in *Iliad* 11 is explicitly connected with the *Patrokleia* in *Iliad* 16. The expression ἀρχὴ κακοῦ at Λ604 alludes to Patroklos' fate. Moreover, it has been suggested that one

²¹ Cf. von Scheliha 1943, pp.255-9.

²² Cf. Pedrick 1983, p.67-8.

of the functions of this scene in the whole structure of the *Iliad* is to bring Patroklos on the stage and prepare for the *Patrokleia*.²³

In view of the grave effect of Nestor's speech on Patroklos, a geographical detail in the story may be significant. Nestor pursued the enemy as far as Bouprasion and then turned back:

τόφρα γὰρ οὖν ἐπόμεσθα δι' ἄσπιδέος πεδίοιο,
κτείνοντές τ' αὐτοὺς ἀνά τ' ἔντεα καλὰ λέγοντες,
ὅφρ' ἐπὶ Βουπρασίου πολυπύρου βήσαμεν ἵππους
πέτρης τ' Ὠλενίης, καὶ Ἀλειςίου ἔνθα κολώνη
κέκληται· ὅθεν αὐτίς ἀπέτραπε λαὸν Ἀθήνη.
ἔνθ' ἄνδρα κτείνας πύματον λίπον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
ᾧσ' ἀπὸ Βουπρασίοιο Πύλονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους,
πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν (Λ754-761).

Thus the point where Nestor and the Pylians turned back receives ample attention. In this connection, it may be significant that the spot where Patroklos, the addressee of Nestor's story, should have stopped his pursuit of the enemy receives special attention in *Iliad* 16. First, Achilles tells Patroklos not to approach the walls of Troy, but to turn back after he has driven the enemy away (Π91-6). Then, after the battle over Sarpedon's corpse, the poet explicitly states that if Patroklos had recalled Achilles' injunction and abandoned his pursuit, he could have avoided his death (Π684-8). The spot on the Trojan plain where Patroklos slew Sarpedon is deemed to be the point from which he should have turned back. Thus the special attention to the point where the pursuit of the fleeing enemy was (or should have been) stopped is common to the story of Nestor's prowess and the *Patrokleia*. A notable difference between Patroklos and Nestor is that the latter stopped the chase at Bouprasion and turned back, whereas the former chases the Trojans too far and gets killed.

23 Schadewaldt 1966, p.88.

5 The Funeral Games for Amarynkeus (Ψ629-642)

At the funeral games for Patroklos in *Iliad* 23, Achilles proposes to give an honorary prize to Nestor after he has distributed prizes to the participants in the chariot race. Achilles says that Nestor should keep the prize, since he cannot perform in the games any more (Ψ618-623). Nestor replies with a story of his exploits at the funeral games for Amarynkeus held at Bouprasion.²⁴ The story of Nestor's success in his younger days sounds like an attempt to prove himself entitled to receive a prize at the present funeral games.

Nestor tells Achilles and others that he won at boxing, wrestling, the foot race, and the spear throw (Ψ634-7). These four events exactly correspond to the events listed by Achilles which Nestor cannot perform any more (Ψ621-3). Nestor's victory in all the games but one is a special feat which the participants of the present funeral games for Patroklos cannot achieve. Nestor's achievement is comparable to Tydeus' feat at Thebes when he was sent there as an envoy ((Δ389-390, E806-8).

The only event in which Nestor did not win was the chariot race for which the biggest prize was set (Ψ638-42). It is notable that the description of the chariot race occupies five lines in Nestor's speech, while the other events take only one line each. The opponents of Nestor, the Aktorione, won the race by "running ahead of him by their (superiority in) number" (πλήθει πρόσθε βαλόντες (Ψ639)). This elliptical expression is explained at Ψ641-2: they were twins, and the one continuously drove with the reins while the other urged the horses with the whip. It has been suggested that the Aktorione are envisaged as Siamese twins (even though the poet does not specifically state so) because they are allowed to

²⁴ It is significant that Bouprasion, which features prominently in Nestor's story in *Iliad* 11, is here named as the location of the funeral games for Amarynkeus.

get on the chariot together in the race which is normally an event for single competitors.²⁵ The emphasis is clearly on the unfairness of the Aktorione's driving. The use of *epanalepsis* at Ψ641-2 (ὁ μὲν ἔμπεδον ἠνιόχευεν, / ἔμπεδον ἠνιόχευ') seems to express Nestor's emotional protest against the unfair race.²⁶

In the main narrative of *Iliad* 23, Antilochos' unfair way of driving is described in detail (Ψ418-441): he tries to pass Menelaos' chariot at a point where the road is narrow. Because of this dangerous driving, Menelaos has to slow down to avoid collision: thus Antilochos finishes second, and Menelaos third. After the race, Menelaos complains about Antilochos' unfair way of driving and claims that he should get the second prize instead of Antilochos (Ψ570-85). It has been suggested that the emphasis on the Aktorione's unfair driving in the chariot race is a reflection of Antilochos' reckless driving in the main narrative.²⁷

The emphasis on the Aktorione's unfairness seems to enhance Nestor's justification for receiving the honorary prize for the chariot race: since Nestor once missed the prize for this event because of the unfair driving by the Aktorione, he should receive compensation in the present funeral games. One should also recall that Nestor's knowledge of chariot

²⁵ Cf. Wilamowitz 1922, p.514. The Aktorione were conceived as Siamese twins in Hesiod fr.18 (Merkelbach-West), and in Ibykos fr.285 (Davies *PMGF*). There are some 16 instances of visual representations of Siamese twins on geometric vases which are supposed to represent the Aktorione. Cf. s.v. 'Aktorione', *LIMC* 1.1, pp.472-6.

²⁶ A similar *epanalepsis* occurs at Υ371-2 and Χ127-8. Cf. Richardson 1993, ad Ψ641-2.

²⁷ Cf. Richardson 1993, ad Ψ499-652.

racing is revealed in his advice to Antilochos at Ψ306-348, and that his expertise in chariot warfare is mentioned elsewhere in the *Iliad*.²⁸

6 Conclusion

The representation of Nestor in his stories contains features which are common to the characterization of Achilles and Diomedes in the *Iliad*. Not only was Nestor the foremost fighter, but he is also said to have been young compared to others in his camp (H153, Λ717-9), like Achilles and Diomedes among the Greek heroes. One should also note that the special support from Athene (H154, Λ721, cf. Λ714-5, 758) is common to Diomedes²⁹ and Achilles.³⁰ Yet one should note that the young Nestor lacks the tragic dilemma which Achilles faces in the *Iliad*. He is simply a young brilliant hero who constantly achieves victory. In this sense, the same contrast between Achilles and Diomedes, as we observed in Chapter 2, can be seen between Achilles and the young Nestor.

Another notable feature of the stories of Nestor's earlier prowess is the repeated emphasis on the chronological distance between the days of his heroic deeds and the present generation. The repeated expressions of regret for his lost youth in his stories in books 7, 11, and 23 cumulatively lay stress upon the fact that the days of his brilliant valour belong to the distant past. Although Nestor is unique in telling his own deeds repeatedly, the chronological distance (between the events described in the stories and the present situation of the Trojan War) is common to the

²⁸ B553-6, Δ322-3, Λ738-46 (in Nestor's story to Patroklos). Cf. Kirk 1985, ad Δ318-25; Griffin 1995, ad I 52.

²⁹ *Iliad* 5 passim.

³⁰ A194-222, X226-277.

other stories we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, whose mythological materials belong to the generations before the heroes of the *Iliad*.

Chapter 4

Stories about the Olympian Gods

1 Introduction

The *Iliad* abounds in descriptions of the Olympian gods. The picture of their activities presented in the *Iliad* is far richer and livelier than in the *Odyssey*. In addition to these activities depicted in the main narrative, their past activities are recalled frequently by the gods themselves.¹ These stories often describe conflicts among gods or between gods and men. The past activities of gods form the background to their present activities in the main plot of the *Iliad*.

To appreciate the stories of the Olympian gods, it is important to take into account the general picture of the relationship between gods and human beings in the *Iliad*. The activities of gods are parallel to human activities in many respects. As the Greeks and the Trojans fight on the Trojan plain, so the gods are divided into two sides, pro-Greek and pro-Trojan. There are many scenes in which divine actions and human actions parallel each other.² Yet the crucial difference between the immortal gods and the mortal men is amply emphasized. With this general picture in mind, one should ask how the former deeds of gods presented in stories differ from their deeds in the main plot of the epic,

¹ The account of the Judgement of Paris at $\Omega 25-30$ is exceptional in that it is not put in the mouth of a god, but in the main narrative of the epic.

² E.g. the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles on the one hand and the quarrel between Zeus and Hera on the other in *Iliad* 1. In books 5 and 21, conflicts among the gods are depicted along with the battles of men.

and what sort of relationship, both among gods and between gods and men, emerges from these stories.

In this chapter, five major stories told by gods are examined from the point of view of their functions in the context of the *Iliad*. These major stories are: (1) Thetis's rescue of Zeus when Hera, Poseidon and Athene revolted against him (A396-406); (2) the sufferings of Ares, Hera and Hades at the hands of men (E382-402); (3) Hera's plot to put Zeus to sleep with the help of Hypnos (Ξ243-262, O18-30); (4) Thetis and Eurynome's protection of Hephaistos (Σ394-405); (5) Poseidon and Apollo's servitude to Laomedon (Φ441-457). Some other, shorter, accounts of former deeds of gods will be briefly discussed in connection with these major accounts.³

2 Thetis' Rescue of Zeus (A396-406)

(a) Hera, Poseidon and Athene's revolt against Zeus

In the Thetis-Achilleus scene of *Iliad* 1, Achilleus tells the story of his mother's rescue of Zeus. Achilleus urges her to recount it to Zeus and to ask him to help the Trojans so that the Greeks realize the value of Achilleus' prowess. In a later scene (A493-530), Thetis supplicates Zeus as asked by Achilleus, but, tactfully, she does not repeat the story in front of him.⁴ Nevertheless, Thetis implies the story by the following expression:

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ ποτε δὴ σε μετ' ἄθανάτοισιν ὄνησα
ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ, τόδε μοι κρήνην ἐέλδωρ (A503-4).

A similar expression was used by Achilleus in his speech to Thetis:

εἴ ποτε δὴ τι

³ E.g. Hephaistos' fall from heaven (A590-4), the story of Okeanos and Tethys' quarrel (Ξ198-210), and the list of Zeus' lovers (Ξ313-328).

⁴ Aristotle comments that a great-souled man (μεγαλόψυχος) does not like to be reminded of help which he has received, and that this is why Thetis does not repeat the story to Zeus (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1124b13-16). Cf. Kuch 1973, p.207, n.11.

ἢ ἔπει ὤνησας κραδίην Διὸς ἢ καὶ ἔργῳ (A394-5).

With this general expression concerning Thetis' former aid to Zeus, Achilles has in mind her rescue of Zeus, which he recounts following these two lines. When Zeus hears a similar expression from Thetis, we are meant to assume that Thetis implies the same incident, though she does not tell the story.⁵ Thus, though the story of Thetis' rescue of Zeus is not narrated in the Zeus-Thetis scene, it provides the reason for Zeus to accept Thetis' supplication, which will inevitably invite opposition from Hera and the other pro-Greek gods.

The episode of Hera, Poseidon and Athene's revolt against Zeus presented mythological difficulties to ancient scholars,⁶ and Zenodotos athetized A396-406.⁷ A scholion preserves Zenodotos' reading: καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, instead of καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη at A400.⁸ This shows that the revolt of Hera, Poseidon and Athene was not an established episode for the Alexandrians.

On the other hand, the three rebellious gods in the story coincide with the chief pro-Greek gods in the *Iliad*. At Ω25-6, these three deities are listed together as the gods who persistently hated the Trojans. Therefore, it has been suggested that the three gods' role in the story was invented by the poet.⁹ The three gods' rebellion suits the context of Thetis' supplication particularly well, since it shows not only that Thetis once rescued Zeus from his plight, but also that the plight was caused by

⁵ Slatkin 1991, pp.64-5. Kuch 1993, pp. 205 and 208 points out this and other verbal echoes between the Thetis-Achilleus and Zeus-Thetis scenes.

⁶ Cf. Schol. bT ad A399-406.

⁷ Schol. A ad A396. For this athetesis, cf. Kirk 1985, ad A396-406.

⁸ Schol. A ad A400. See n.50 below.

⁹ C.J.Carter's suggestion in Willcock 1964, p.144, n.1.

the same gods who would most likely oppose the fulfillment of Thetis' wish.

(b) Briareos as an ally of Zeus

Another noteworthy feature of the story of Thetis' rescue of Zeus is the role of Briareos. This monster is introduced with an elaborate description at A402-4. He is a *hekatoncheir*, who is called Briareos by gods, but Aigaion by men. The latter name seems to be echoed in the next line: 'Αἰγείων' . . . κύδει γαίων (A404-5).¹⁰ Briareos is also said to be stronger than his father (A404).¹¹

Despite this elaborate introduction and its emphasis upon his strength, Briareos' actual role in the rescue of Zeus is not described, except that he sat beside Zeus after the rescue (A405). The presence of Briareos in this story should probably be explained by reference to his significant role in the war between the Titans and the Olympian gods. According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Briareos and two other *hekatoncheires* were crucial supporters of Zeus in the Olympian gods' battle against the Titans.¹² The battle continued indecisively for ten years (*Theog.* 635-8),

¹⁰ Rank 1951, pp.35-73 lists this and other instances of assonance involving proper names.

¹¹ Briareos' father is not specified in the *Iliad*. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Briareos is a son of Uranos and Gaia (147-9), and has a daughter of Poseidon as his wife (817-9). If the father of Briareos should be assumed to be Poseidon in *Iliad* 1, as Schol. AT ad A404 suggests, the statement that he is stronger than his father provides a reason why the rebellious gods, the strongest of whom is Poseidon, feared him (A406). Cf. Kirk 1985, ad A403-4; Slatkin 1991, p.70, n.17.

¹² Note, however, that Briareos seems to be on the Titans' side in the Cyclic *Titanomachia* (fr.3 Davies *EGF* / fr.3 Bernabé *PEG*).

until Zeus brought the three *hekatoncheires* to his side (*Theog.* 639-665). The *hekatoncheires*, Kottos, Briareos and Gyges, fought in the front line, throwing three hundred rocks at a time (*Theog.* 713-7). And it was they who finally defeated the Titans and sent them down to Tartaros (*Theog.* 717-721). The *hekatoncheires* are now living at the gate of Tartaros as trusty guards (φύλακες πιστοί) of Zeus, watching over the Titans (*Theog.* 734-5). One may assume that a similar account of the war of the Titans and the Olympian gods was known to the poet of the *Iliad*, and the role of Briareos in the story of Thetis' rescue of Zeus reflects the roles of the *hekatoncheires* as crucial allies of Zeus and as trusty guards against his enemies in the myth of the battle against the Titans.¹³

In this connection, it is notable that the motif of binding appears in the *Theogony* too. The account of the battle with the Titans begins with this motif.¹⁴ Uranos hated the *hekatoncheires* at first, and kept them in bonds (*Theog.* 617-620). Later, at the end of the war, they bound the defeated Titans in Tartaros (*Theog.* 717-8). In *Iliad* 1, the three rebellious gods' attempt to bind Zeus is repeatedly mentioned. They wanted to bind Zeus (μιν ξυνδῆσαι ἥθελον (A399)). Thetis rescued Zeus from bonds (ὑπελύσαο δεσμῶν (A401)), which seems to imply that Zeus was actually bound. At the end of the story, it is stated that they did not bind Zeus, fearing Briareos (τὸν καὶ ὑπέδδεισαν μάκαρες θεοὶ οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν (A406)). There is a variant interpretation οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔδησαν ('from then on they did

¹³ Slatkin 1991, p.69.

¹⁴ In Hesiod's *Theogony*, as West 1966, ad *Theog.* 617-8 points out, the motif of bondage forms a bridge between the account of Prometheus and the account of the battle against the Titans.

not bind') at A406.¹⁵ If the reading οὐδὲ τ' ἔδησαν should be taken, the connection with the fact that they once bound Zeus may seem slightly awkward.¹⁶ We should note, however, that this repetition of the notion of binding puts a particular emphasis on the motif of bondage. Since the role of the *hekatoncheires* in the account of the Titanomachy in the *Theogony* is closely associated with the notion of binding, the emphasis upon the same motif in the story of the revolt in *Iliad* 1 may be seen as another allusion to the battle against the Titans.¹⁷ Moreover, we will see that the motif of bondage is employed again and again in stories told by gods in the *Iliad*.

Briareos brings an association with the battle against the Titans into the story of the revolt of Hera, Poseidon and Athene against Zeus. This association heightens the seriousness of the rebellion. On the other hand, Briareos, who brought victory to Zeus in the *Titanomachia* myth, can be seen as a symbol of the establishment of the rule of Zeus.¹⁸ In early Greek poetry, deities who represent aspects of Zeus' power and functions are often depicted as sitting beside him.¹⁹ Briareos, who sits

¹⁵ For the force of οὐδ' ἔτ', cf. Griffin 1995, ad I 28. For other instances of textual variation between οὐδὲ τ' and οὐδ' ἔτ', cf. Ruijgh (1971), pp.706-7. It has also been suggested that A406 conceals an older expression οὐδέ *F(ε)* ἔδησαν. Cf. Leaf 1900, ad A406.

¹⁶ Alternatively, one might interpret δεσμῶν (A401) as 'the danger of bonds', but that would be a very strained expression.

¹⁷ Slatkin 1991, p. 69. However, it should be noted that the notion of deities in bondage is a recurrent motif in Greek myths and rituals, cf. Meuli 1975, pp.1035-1081.

¹⁸ Slatkin 1991, p.69.

¹⁹ E.g. Δίκη (W&D 259, Soph. *O.C.* 1381-2), Θέμις (*Homeric Hymn* 23 (to Zeus), Pind. *Ol.* 8. 21-3), Αἰδώς (Soph. *O.C.* 1267-8), Βία and Κράτος (*Theog.* 385-8). The last

beside Zeus (A405), similarly represents Zeus' authority and confirms his rule in the world after the failure of the three gods' attempt at revolt.

(c) Zeus' Indebtedness to Thetis

We have seen above that Briareos is said to be stronger than his father (A404). One should note that the whole succession myth, which includes the Titanomachy, presents a series of sons who defeat their fathers. Furthermore, a possible threat to Zeus' rule from his son is mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony*. After Zeus secured his authority as the new ruler of the world, he took Metis as his first wife (*Theog.* 886-7). But Gaia and Uranos advised him to swallow Metis, because she would bear a son who would become the next king of gods and men (*Theog.* 897-8). A similar story about Zeus' love which would have led to the birth of a son stronger than him can be found²⁰ in Pindar's *Isthmian* 8:

Ζεὺς ὅτ' ἀμφὶ Θέτιος ἀγλαός τ' ἔρισαν Ποσειδᾶν γάμῳ,
 ἄλοχον εὐειδέα θέλων ἐκάτερος
 ἔαν ἔμμεν· ἔρως γὰρ ἔχεν.
 ἀλλ' οὐ σφιν ἄμβροτοι τέλεσαν εὐνὰν θεῶν πραπίδες,
 ἐπεὶ θεσφάτων ἐπακούσαν· εἶπε δ' εὖβουλος ἐν μέσοισι Θέμις,
 εἵνεκεν πεπρωμένον ἦν, φέρτερον πατέρος
 ἄνακτα γόνον τεκεῖν
 ποντίαν θεόν, ὃς κεραυνοῦ τε κρέσσον ἄλλο βέλος
 διώξει χερὶ τριόδοντός τ' ἀμαιμακέτου, Ζηνὶ μισγομένην
 ἢ Διὸς παρ' ἀδελφεοῖσιν (*Isth.* 8. 27-35).

may be closest to Briareos, symbolizing force and power. West 1978, ad *W&D* 259 lists further occurrences of similar motifs.

²⁰ Slatkin 1991, pp.70-3. Slatkin shows the importance of the allusion to this myth for the interpretation of the role of Thetis in the *Iliad*. The same myth is a background to the *Prometheus Bound*, cf. Slatkin 1991, pp.74-6. For other occurrences of the motif of a son stronger than Zeus, cf. West 1966, ad *Theog.* 886-900.

It has been pointed out that the motif of ‘a son stronger than his father’ was transferred from Zeus’ would-be son in this myth to Briareos in the story told by Achilles in *Iliad* 1.²¹

It should be noted that the episode in *Isth.* 8, like the three gods’ revolt in *Iliad* 1, concerns a possible challenge to Zeus’ authority. Themis suggests that Thetis be betrothed to a mortal man, Peleus, so that the birth of a son to Zeus, who will defeat his father and become the next ruler, is prevented (*Isth.* 8. 35a-40). Thus Thetis’ marriage to Peleus may be said to have removed the danger of the overthrow of Zeus’ rule. In this sense, Zeus owes to Thetis the continuation of his rule.²² Together with the allusion to the myth of the Titanomachy, the allusion to the myth of Thetis’ offspring emphasizes the seriousness of the threat to the authority of Zeus. This allusion also underlines Zeus’ special indebtedness to Thetis.

²¹ Willcock 1964, p.144, with n.2. There is no mention in Hesiod’s *Theogony* of Briareos as stronger than his father. It is also notable that Poseidon, one of the three rebellious gods in the story in *Iliad* 1, is the rival of Zeus for Thetis’ hand in the myth mentioned in *Isth.* 8.

²² Cf. Thetis’ complaints about her union with a mortal man, e.g. Σ429-435. Thetis’ mortal son, in Agamemnon’s words, wants to be the ruler of all (A287-9). In a fragment of the *Kypria* (fr.2 Davies *EGF* / fr.2 Bernabé *PEG*), Thetis is said to have gratified Hera by shunning marriage with Zeus (Ἥρα χαρίζομένην φεύγειν αὐτὴν τὸν γάμον Διός). As regards the future security of his rule, Zeus too would have reason to be grateful to Thetis.

3 Sufferings of Gods at the Hands of Men (E382-402)

(a) Emphasis upon the Severity of Sufferings

Dione consoles her daughter Aphrodite, injured by Diomedes, by citing other instances of gods' sufferings at the hands of mortal men. (i) Ares had to endure extreme hardship inflicted by Otos and Ephialtes, the sons of Aloeus.²³ They bound Ares (δησαν κρατερῶ ἐνὶ δεσμῶ) and confined him in a bronze jar for thirteen months (E386-7). When Hermes finally rescued Ares, he was exhausted since the hard bondage had subdued him (χαλεπὸς δέ ἐ δεσμὸς ἐδάμνα (E391)). A surprising comment is added: Ares would have perished, if he had not been rescued by Hermes at the request of Eeriboia, the stepmother of the sons of Aloeus (E388-390).²⁴ (ii) Hera was injured by Herakles in her right breast with a three-barbed arrow (E393-4). She is said to have endured intolerable pain (ἀνήκεστον ὄλγος (E394)). (iii) Hades was also shot by Herakles, this time at Pylos.²⁵ His pain is described at E399-400 (κῆρ ἄχέων, ὀδύνησιν πεπαρμένος . . . κῆδε δὲ θυμόν).

²³ Otos and Ephialtes are represented as challengers to gods in the *Odyssey* also (λ305-320). It should be noted that Otos and Ephialtes' real father is said to be Poseidon in *Odyssey* 11, but this fact is not mentioned in *Iliad* 5. This suppression makes the story of Ares' affliction suitable for the context of gods' sufferings at the hands of mortals, as Andersen 1978, p.64 points out.

²⁴ This mention of the possible death of Ares will be discussed below. Eeriboia's hostility to her stepsons can be seen as a bridge to the conflict between Hera and Herakles, the illegitimate son of Zeus. Hera's malice to Herakles appears elsewhere at T95-129 (Herakles' birth), Ξ256-6 and O24-30 (Herakles' drift to Kos).

²⁵ Schol. bT ad E392-4 record two suggestions: that Hera was also injured in Herakles' war against the Pylians (which is mentioned at Λ690-3, cf. schol. A ad Λ690), and, on the other hand, that Herakles shot Hera in revenge for her refusal to suckle him

The emphasis upon severe suffering is common to the accounts of the three incidents, and it contributes to the effect of consolation, since Aphrodite's injury to her hand (E335-7) is lighter than those of the three gods mentioned by Dione.²⁶

(b) Correspondence to Diomedes' Wounding of gods in *Iliad* 5

It has been suggested that the details of the story of the three gods' sufferings correspond to some events in the main plot of *Iliad* 5. Ares' suffering in the story foreshadows the same god's injury later in the main narrative.²⁷ In this connection, it should be noted that Ares' suffering in the main plot is considerably lighter than his hardship in the story. When he was afflicted by Otos and Ephialtes, he had to endure confinement for thirteen months, whereas his wound is instantly healed on Olympus in the main narrative (E899-906).²⁸ This process of healing is foreshadowed by

when he was a baby (for this myth, cf. Lycophron, 1327-8 and *LIMC*, s.v. 'Herakles' 3344). Moreover, schol. T ad E397 records a reading of Aristarchos, πύλω for Πύλω with the sense 'the gates of Hades'. The diversity of interpretations suggests that Herakles' attack on Hera and Hades was not an established myth. Herakles' wounding of Ares at Pylos is mentioned in the *Shield of Herakles* (ll.359-367). Cf. Janko 1986, p.49.

²⁶ Schol. b and T ad E392-4 point out that Aphrodite is consoled by the stories of the sufferings of gods who are greater than she.

²⁷ Ares' remark to Zeus "ἦ τέ κε δηρὸν / αὐτοῦ πῆματ' ἔπασχον ἐν αἰνῆσιν νεκάδεσσιν (E885-6)" may be seen as a reflection of the long confinement he endured at the hands of Otos and Ephialtes. Cf. Andersen 1978, p. 64.

²⁸ The simile of the curdling of milk (E902-4) underlines the quickness of the healing.

Hades' healing in the story.²⁹ Further echoes of the preceding scene in the Ares episode told by Dione have been pointed out. Ares' rescue verbally resembles the rescue of Aphrodite from the battle. Both are exhausted (τειρόμενον (E391), τείρετο (E352)) and rescued (ἐξέκλεψεν (E390), ἔξαγ' (E353)) by a messenger god (Hermes, Iris).³⁰ Also the surprising mention of the possible death of Ares (καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο, / εἰ μὴ μητρυνῇ . . . (E388-9)) echoes the mention of Aineias' possible death in the main narrative (καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας, / εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὅξυ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη (E311-2)).³¹

Along with these specific instances of foreshadowing and echo, general correspondences between Dione's story and the main narrative in *Iliad* 5 should be noted. In Chapter 2, we saw that Diomedes' wounding of Aphrodite and Ares seems to blur the boundary between gods and men, but, on closer scrutiny, Diomedes is employed merely as an instrument by Athene and the boundary is confirmed by Apollo's warning to Diomedes (E440-2) and the latter's words to Glaukos (Z123-143). A similar concept of the relationship between gods and men can be seen in Dione's story. The three injuries inflicted by mortal men, and especially the mention of Ares' 'mortality', seem to undermine the boundary between men and gods. But the description of Hades' healing at the end of the account of the three gods' sufferings contains an assertion of the immortality of Hades: οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γ' ἐτέτυκτο (E402). The same expression is repeated, as

²⁹ E401-2=E900-1. Also Ares' words cited in n.27 above reflect Hades' suffering in the story (ἐν νεκύεσσι βάλων ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν (E397)). Cf. Andersen 1978, p.64. Ibid. pp.66-7 suggests that, since Hades' natural abode is the nether world, his healing at Olympos is unusual.

³⁰ Andersen 1978, p.65.

³¹ Andersen 1978, pp.64-5; Andersen 1981, p.326.

we noted above (n.29), in the description of Ares' healing (E901), and cancels the mention of Ares' 'mortality' in Dione's story. The mention of the corpses at Pylos (ἐν νεκύεσσι (E397)) subtly suggests a contrast between the immortal god and mortal men: the injured Hades goes up to Olympos and is quickly healed, while the dead bodies of men lie on the battlefield.

4 Zeus' Punishment of Hera's Conspiracy with Hypnos

(a) Exchange of Favours between Hera and Hypnos (Ξ243-262)

Hera's plot to put Zeus to sleep with the help of Hypnos (in order to prevent Herakles' voyage home from Troy) is told by Hypnos in book 14 and by Zeus in book 15. These two accounts of Hera's former plot against Zeus enclose the Διὸς Ἀπάτη of *Iliad* 14.³²

Hera asks Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep, mentioning the former occasion when he fulfilled her request (Ξ233-7), and promises a gift of a golden throne and a foot-stool (Ξ238-241). Hypnos, on the other hand, refuses to fulfill Hera's plea, and recalls the dire consequences of the former occasion. Zeus got angry when he woke up to find that his son was drifting off his course, and flung gods about in his palace while looking for Hypnos. He would have been thrown down to the sea by Zeus if Nyx had

³² Other stories told by gods in *Iliad* 14 also reflect the Διὸς Ἀπάτη in the main narrative. Hera's story of Okeanos and Tethys' quarrel (Ξ198-210) can be seen as a reflection of the conflict between Zeus and Hera since Thetis' supplication in book 1. The list of Zeus' lovers (Ξ315-328) reveals his proneness to succumb to sexual attraction. Cf. Lang 1983, p.157. This list also enumerates Zeus' illegitimate sons. Hera's malignant plot against one of these sons, Herakles (Ξ324), is the subject of the story of Hera's plot.

not protected him (Ξ256-261). This story provides a reason for the refusal.³³

At this refusal, Hera promises to give Pasithea, one of the Χάριτες, to Hypnos as his bride (Ξ267-9). It is to be noted that the word χάρις and its cognates are often used in contexts of returning a favour,³⁴ and in this passage, the goddess Χάρις is promised as a reward for Hypnos' service to Hera. Furthermore, some expressions employed in this scene seem to underline the reciprocal relationship between Hera and Hypnos. In her first plea to Hypnos, Hera says that, if he fulfills her wish, she will owe thanks to him all the days to come: ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι ἰδέω χάριν ἥματα πάντα (Ξ235). Then Hera promises to give him Pasithea, as though the word χάρις which she has used is turned into a personified Χάρις.³⁵ The expression ἥματα πάντα is repeated in Hera's offer of Pasithea as Hypnos' bride: ἥς αἰὲν ἰμείρεαι ἥματα πάντα (Ξ269). And the same expression appears in Hypnos' request for Hera to take an oath: ἥς τ' αὐτὸς ἐέλδομαι ἥματα πάντα (Ξ276). The duration of Hera's gratitude for Hypnos' service corresponds to the duration of Hypnos' desire for his bride promised by Hera as a reward.³⁶ Thus the story told by Hypnos is embedded in the context of his reciprocal relationship with Hera.³⁷

³³ Braswell 1971, p.22 suggests that the role of Hypnos in the story is the poet's own addition to the story of Herakles' sack of Troy.

³⁴ For the concept of χάρις in general, cf. MacLachlan 1993.

³⁵ Janko 1992, ad Ξ233-241.

³⁶ MacLachlan 1993, p.6.

³⁷ A reciprocal obligation can be found in the story of Okeanos and Tethys (Ξ198-210). Hera was raised by this couple (Ξ202-4), so her service is a return for their former favour.

(b) Zeus' Punishment of Hera (O18-30)

Zeus wakes to discover Hera's scheme. He threatens her with physical punishment and tells the story of (apparently) the same occasion mentioned by Hypnos, but he does not mention the role of Hypnos at all. Zeus concentrates on an account of his punishment of Hera.³⁸ The punishment is described in detail (O18-21). Two anvils were attached to Hera's feet.³⁹ A gold chain was attached to her hands, and she was hung in the middle of the sky.⁴⁰ One should note that this story presents an interesting correspondence with the story of the revolt of Hera, Poseidon and Athene against Zeus in *Iliad* 1. In both stories, a god is bound (Hera, Zeus), and other gods are looking on. However, in the revolt against Zeus, the on-looking gods wanted to *bind* Zeus but could not do so after Thetis' intervention, whereas the on-looking gods in the story of the punishment wanted to *untie* Hera but could not do so.⁴¹ Another connection with a story told in *Iliad* 1 can be found in Zeus' statement that he hurled down to earth those gods who tried to release Hera (O21-4). At A590-4, Hephaistos says that he once tried to help Hera, but was thrown down to Lemnos.⁴²

The consequence of Hera's trick on Zeus in the story makes a contrast with the outcome of Hera's similar trick in the main narrative of

³⁸ Cf. Lang 1983, pp.161-2.

³⁹ For the mythological background of the anvils, cf. Whitman 1970.

⁴⁰ A similar notion of suspension of gods by a gold chain appears at O19-27.

⁴¹ Considering this correspondence between the stories told in books 1 and 15, the reference to Zeus' acceptance of Thetis' supplication at O75-7 is significant.

⁴² There are verbal echoes between the two passages: *ρίπτασκον τεταγών ἀπὸ βηλοῦ* (O23), *ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγών ἀπὸ βηλοῦ* (A591); *ὀλιγηπελέων* (O24), *ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν* (A593). Whitman 1970, p.37.

the *Iliad*. While Hera was severely punished in the story, in the narrative she is merely threatened with flogging (O16-7). Zeus then smiles when he hears Hera's apology (O47). Zeus' relationship with gods other than Hera in the story and in the main narrative should also be noted. In the story, Zeus flung gods around in his palace in anger (Ξ256-7), and, as Hera was punished, the other gods got angry with Zeus (ἡλάσ τεον δὲ θεοί (O21)), but Zeus threw down to earth anyone who tried to release her (O22-4). In the main narrative, on the other hand, Zeus sends Hera to the assembly of other gods to relay his orders: to send Iris to check Poseidon who is helping the Greeks, and to send Apollo to Hektor to urge him to return to battle (O55-61). Zeus also announces that he prohibits gods from aiding the Greeks until Achilles' wish is fulfilled (O72-4). As she arrives at Olympos where other gods are gathering, Hera urges them not to try to thwart Zeus' will and confirms his authority (O104-112). Ares, who tries to act against Zeus' will, is instantly checked by Athene (O123-142).⁴³ The violent picture of the relationship between Zeus and other gods in the story contrasts sharply with the civilized and orderly settlement of the conflict following Hera's deceit in the main narrative.

5 Thetis and Eurynome's Protection of Hephaistos (Σ394-405)

In *Iliad* 18, Hephaistos tells a story of the protection which he received from Eurynome and Thetis when he was thrown down to earth by Hera.⁴⁴ Thetis is now visiting Hephaistos' house to ask him to forge

⁴³ The possibility of Zeus' violence against the other gods, which is reminiscent of his flinging about of other gods in the story, is mentioned by Athene in her warning to Ares (O136-7).

⁴⁴ It seems to be easier to imagine Hera flinging Hephaistos when he was an infant than when he has grown up. Cf. Binder 1964, pp.128-9.

armour for Achilles. It should be noted that, though the story provides Hephaistos' motivation for granting Thetis' request, he does not directly tell it to Thetis. This may remind us of the earlier scene of Thetis' supplication of Zeus in which she does not speak directly of her former service to Zeus. Perhaps it is thought more refined not to mention in Thetis' presence the former service in return for which Hephaistos will fulfill her request. It should also be noted that Hephaistos' wife (to whom he tells the story) is one of the Χάριτες (unnamed).⁴⁵ One should further recall that her sister, Pasithea, is mentioned by Hera as a promised gift to Hypnos in a context where the notion of reciprocal favour (χάρις) is prominent (above pp.97-8).

Certain motifs in this story can be seen elsewhere in the *Iliad*. Hephaistos' fall from heaven also features in a story told by him in *Iliad* 1 (A590-4). As for Thetis' role, she also protects Dionysos in a story told by Diomedes in *Iliad* 6 (Z135-7).⁴⁶ It has been suggested that these two motifs were combined in order to explain Hephaistos' indebtedness to Thetis.⁴⁷

In his words to his wife, Χάρις, Hephaistos makes clear his obligation to fulfil Thetis' request:

τῷ με μάλα χρεὼ
πάντα Θέτι καλλιπλοκάμῳ ζωάγρια τίνειν (Σ406-7).

He owes ζωάγρια (a reward for saving his life) to Thetis. The mention of the other protectress of Hephaistos, Eurynome, at Σ398-9 may not be without significance in view of the emphasis on Hephaistos' indebtedness to his protectresses. According to Hesiod's *Theogony* (907-9), Eurynome is

⁴⁵ At *Theog.* 945-6, his wife is Aglaia, the youngest of the Χάριτες.

⁴⁶ Note the use of the same expression used in Thetis' protection both of Hephaistos and Dionysos: Θέτις θ' (or δ') ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ (Σ398, Z136).

⁴⁷ Braswell, 1971, p.21; Lang 1983, p.161.

the mother of the Χάριτες. If one can assume that this genealogy was known to the poet of the *Iliad*, the mention of Eurynome puts a special emphasis on the presence of her daughter in this scene. Moreover, the sequence of events (the rescue of Hephaistos by Eurynome and Thetis, Hephaistos' production of ornaments for the goddesses (Σ400-1), and Hephaistos' marriage with a daughter of Eurynome) would suggest a process of mutual return of favour.

The emphasis upon Hephaistos' obligation to Thetis may throw light on a curious expression in this scene. When Hephaistos agrees to forge a new set of armour, he wishes he could thereby save Achilles from his destined death:

αἶ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ὦδε δυνάιμην
νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἰκάνοι (Σ464-5).

The expression 'θανάτοιο . . . νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι' is "an unusual way to say 'save from death'."⁴⁸ The notion of hiding appears in the story of the protection of Hephaistos. It was because Hera wanted to hide (κρύψαι) her lame son that she hurled him down (Σ395-7). Then Eurynome and Thetis hid him in a cave for nine years, unknown to gods or to mortal men: οὐδέ τις ἄλλος / ἤδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (Σ403-4). Since Eurynome and Thetis' service to Hephaistos consisted in 'concealing' him, and the new set of armour of Achilles is a return for Thetis' former favour, it is possible that the use of the expression 'θανάτοιο . . . νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι' is a reflection of Hephaistos' wish to do an analogous service of 'concealment' for Thetis' son.

⁴⁸ Edwards 1991, ad Σ463-7, who mentions N.J.Richardson's suggestion that this expression is reminiscent of the episode of Achilles' being carried off by Thetis to the White Island. Cf. Proclus' summary of the *Aithiopis* (Davies *EGF*, p.47, ll.27-8 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.69, ll.20-22).

The description of Hephaistos' production of ornaments for Eurynome and Thetis in the cave (Σ400-2) is significant in relation to the following scene of the ὀπλοποιία,⁴⁹ since it is an anticipation of Hephaistos' forging of artefacts for Thetis. Yet the nature of the products on these two occasions makes a contrast. In the story, Hephaistos was making female ornaments of various kinds: brooches (πόρπας), spiral ornaments (γναμπτὰς ἑλικας), rosette-shaped ornaments (κάλυκας), and necklaces (ὄρμους), whereas what he is now going to produce is designed for a man to use in war. In this connection, one should notice that a similar contrast of peace and war appears on the design of the shield in the description of two cities at Σ490-540.

6 Poseidon and Apollo's Servitude to Laomedon (Φ441-457)

(a) Laomedon's Perjury

In *Iliad* 21, a series of conflicts between gods is depicted (Φ330-514): Skamandros (Xanthos) against Hephaistos; Ares and Aphrodite against Athene; Poseidon against Apollo; Artemis against Hera; Leto against Hermes. In the encounter of Poseidon and Apollo, Poseidon first censures his adversary, who is on the Trojan side, by telling the story of their joint servitude to Laomedon in which the Trojan king deceived them. The expression 'πὰρ Διὸς ἐλθόντες' at Φ444 suggests that Zeus ordered Poseidon and Apollo to serve Laomedon, but the reason for this injunction is not stated.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The description of Hephaistos' production of ornaments occupies the central position in the ring composition of the story. Cf. the diagram in Edwards 1991, ad Σ394-409.

⁵⁰ Schol. T ad Φ444 records various views of the purpose of this servitude. One view holds that it is a punishment for the revolt against Zeus mentioned at A396-406.

Laomedon did not give the promised payment to the gods after a year's service (Φ450-7),⁵¹ but sent back the gods with a threat:

σὺν μὲν ὅ γ' ἠπείλησε πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὑπερθε
 δήσειν, καὶ περάαν νήσων ἐπὶ τηλεδαπάρων·
 στεῦτο δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολεψέμεν οὔατα χαλκῷ (Φ453-5).

The act of binding appears repeatedly in other stories in the present chapter. Laomedon's threat to bind the two gods associates him with Otos and Ephialtes who bound Ares. The idea of the exportation of slaves is repeatedly employed in the scene of Achilles and Lykaon's encounter earlier in the same book (Φ34-135).⁵² It is quite common for captives to be sold abroad, but the notion of a mortal man exporting the venerable gods as slaves is unique. The idea of severing ears is an extreme humiliation never otherwise heard of in the *Iliad*.⁵³ These extreme - even absurd - ideas in Laomedon's threat place a special stress on his haughty attitude towards the gods.

Upon hearing the insolent words of Laomedon, Poseidon and Apollo were angry, but they went back empty-handed (Φ456-7). There is no mention of the gods' retaliation against Laomedon. It should be noted,

Zenodotos' reading Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων for Πάλλας Ἀθήνη at A400 (see n.8 above) is connected with this view. Another view maintains that the two gods were sent (in disguise as men) to test Laomedon. Cf. Mercury and Jupiter in Ovid's story of Philemon and Baucis (*Metamorphoses* viii).

⁵¹ As we have seen in Chapter 2, Laomedon later repeated the act of perjury against Herakles.

⁵² Φ35-44, 57-9, 77-9, 102. The experience of being exported as a slave recurs in stories told in the *Odyssey*. Cf. Chapter 8.

⁵³ Mutilation of extremities of body while the victim is alive occurs in the *Odyssey* at χ 474-7 (Melanthios), and is mentioned in a story at φ 299-301 (Eurytion the Centaur) and at σ85-7 (King Echetos). Cf. Davies 1994.

however, that an episode which would serve perfectly as Poseidon's retaliation is told elsewhere in the *Iliad*. At Υ145-8, there is a mention of a sea monster (κῆτος) which attacked Troy and was warded off by Herakles.⁵⁴ Though it is not stated who sent this sea monster, it would naturally be imagined that Poseidon dispatched it to Troy in retaliation for Laomedon's insolent perjury.⁵⁵ Suppression of this episode in Poseidon's story in *Iliad* 21 suits the lingering wrath of Poseidon against Troy. It should be noted that the picture of two venerable gods returning home empty-handed under Laomedon's threat without immediate retaliation differs from the usual picture of gods' authority over mortal men.

(b) Apollo's Reply (Φ462-7)

In his reply to Poseidon's challenge, Apollo refuses to fight against him for the sake of mortal men. He, instead, suggests that they let the human beings fight each other:

ἀλλὰ τάχιστα
παυώμεσθα μάχης· οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ δηριάσθων (Φ466-7).

This indifference to human affairs makes a contrast with Poseidon's attitude, since he is still emotionally involved with his past maltreatment by Laomedon. Apollo's indifference echoes Hera's words to Hephaistos:

οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν
ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἔνεκα στυφελίζειν (Φ379-380).⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Herakles' service to Laomedon, for which the latter promised his horses as reward, is mentioned at E648-651. This service undoubtedly refers to the protection from the κῆτος.

⁵⁵ Lang 1983, p.150.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Hephaistos' words to Hera in *Iliad* 1 (A573-6).

Moreover, Apollo's reply represents the general attitude of the Olympian gods towards the Trojan war. Although the gods are divided into pro-Greek and pro-Trojan sides, and there is the occasional exchange of blows between them (in *Iliad* 5 and 21), essentially they are not deeply involved participants, but rather an audience of the war.⁵⁷ Similarly, the scene of *theomachia* in *Iliad* 21 itself is presented as an amusement for Zeus.⁵⁸

ἄϊε δὲ Ζεὺς
ἥμενος Οὐλύμπῳ· ἐγέλασσε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ
γηθοσύνη, ὅθ' ὀρᾶτο θεοὺς ἔριδι ξυνιόντας (Φ388-390).

Apollo's reply also gives an antidote to the picture of the two gods' humiliation as told by Poseidon. In the story, the relationship of the gods and Laomedon seems to blur the usual boundary between gods and men. Apollo, on the other hand, confirms the difference between immortal gods and the mortal men by comparing men to leaves:

οἱ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἄλλοτε μὲν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν, ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι (Φ464-6).

Another simile of leaves is employed in Glaukos' speech to Diomedes to point to the crucial boundary between immortal gods and mortal men (Z146-9).⁵⁹ In *Iliad* 21, Apollo, who is a regular exponent of this boundary,⁶⁰ seems to correct the picture of the relationship between men and gods in Poseidon's story.

⁵⁷ Griffin 1980, pp.179-204.

⁵⁸ Clay 1989, p.11,

⁵⁹ Cf. Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Cf. Apollo's warnings to various heroes: E431-444 (Diomedes), Π698-711 (Patroklos), X8-9 (Achilleus).

7 Conclusion

Compared with the stories told by humans, one of the conspicuous characteristics of the stories told by gods is that they are often connected somehow with reciprocal obligations.⁶¹ Both Thetis' rescue of Zeus (A) and her (and Eurynome's) protection of Hephaistos (Σ) indicate her former favours (to Zeus and Hephaistos), in return for which her present wish should be granted, though neither story is mentioned in the actual scenes of her requests. Hypnos' story (Ξ) is told in order to refuse the plea of Hera, who appeals to a former instance of fulfilment of a similar request. It then elicits Hera's promise of the gift of a Χάρις as a reward for his service. Poseidon and Apollo's service (Φ) shows Laomedon's failure to fulfil a promised reward, which has caused Poseidon's lasting hostility to Troy. Direct involvement of the speakers or the listeners in the events told in these stories constitutes a major difference from the stories told by human characters, since the subjects of the latter are not generally directly connected with the speakers and the listeners.⁶²

Another feature which characterizes the stories told by gods is the apparent connections between them. Zeus speaks of his hurling gods down to earth without naming any (O22-4), but one of them seems to have been Hephaistos who tells his experience of being thrown down (A590-4).⁶³ Poseidon, who was one of the gods rebelling against Zeus (A), is perhaps punished by him through servitude to Laomedon (Φ). It is notable that another rebel, Hera, receives punishment from Zeus (O), though the cause of this punishment is not the revolt. Moreover, the stories of gods are

⁶¹ Braswell 1971 (*passim*) shows that 'the principle of *do ut des*' pervades the stories of past events among the gods in the *Iliad*.

⁶² Phoinix's brief mention of his fostering of Achilles (I 485-495) is an exception.

⁶³ Cf. n.42 above.

linked with each other by the use of recurring motifs. Most notably, the motif of binding occur repeatedly in the stories of gods. Furthermore, Zeus' hurling about of gods, Hephaistos' fall from heaven, Thetis' protection are repeatedly mentioned. These connections give the impression that the relevant events constitute vaguely integrated backgrounds to the gods' actions in the main plot of the *Iliad*. In particular, the scenes of conflict between Zeus and pro-Greek gods in the stories provide an anticipation of the opposition between them in the main plot of the *Iliad*.

Crude violence and disorder characterize the conflict of gods in the stories. The three gods' attempt to bind Zeus, associated with the image of the battle against the Titans, is an open challenge to Zeus' rule. And the severity of Zeus' punishments of gods with binding and hurling should likewise be noted. Compared with these violent quarrels, the conflicts of gods in the main narrative are nothing but light-hearted. Though complaints about Zeus' behaviour are occasionally uttered, his authority among the gods is never questioned. And physical clashes of the gods are confined to almost comical brawls with no serious consequences. The picture of violent strife among gods in the past constitutes a foil to the present order of Zeus' rule among the Olympians.

In addition to strife among gods, conflict between gods and men also appears in stories. The stories of Dione (E) and of Poseidon (Φ), together with the story about Lykourgos' mistreatment of Dionysos told by Diomedes (Z), present gods who are humiliated by mortal men either by physical force or insolent words. The picture of these cruder relationships of gods and men in the past again makes a marked contrast with the emphasis of the boundary between the immortals and the mortals in the main plot of the *Iliad*.

Part 2
The *Odyssey*

Chapter 5

Agamemnon's *Nostos*

1 Introduction

The *Odyssey* is primarily an epic about Odysseus' return from Troy and events preceding and following his arrival in his homeland. But stories of other Greek heroes' returns (*nostoi*) are also incorporated into the *Odyssey*. Among such *nostoi*, the story of Agamemnon's return is the most conspicuous. The story of the murder of Agamemnon on his arrival in his homeland, and the subsequent revenge taken by his son, Orestes, is recounted (or briefly referred to) by such various characters as Zeus, the disguised Athene, Nestor, Menelaos, Odysseus, and the ghost of Agamemnon himself.

The importance of the story of Agamemnon's *nostos* to the *Odyssey* consists not only in the fact that it is repeatedly mentioned, but also that it provides ample points of correspondence to the main plot of the epic: the murderer of Agamemnon, Aigisthos, who committed adultery with Klytaimestra, corresponds to the suitors of Penelope; the murder of Agamemnon corresponds to the possible danger awaiting Odysseus on Ithaka; and the revenge taken by Orestes corresponds to the revenge on the suitors. The characters in the story of Agamemnon's *nostos* are compared to the characters in the *Odyssey* from various viewpoints.

It should be noted that there are considerable variations in the details between different accounts of the story of Agamemnon's *nostos* in the *Odyssey*. For example, in some accounts, the revenge taken by Orestes is the main object of attention, whereas it is not mentioned at all in others. The representation of Klytaimestra also varies between different accounts. It has been suggested that these variations are due to

the poet's attempt to present the story in a form appropriate to the need in each of its contexts in the epic.¹

The distribution of the accounts of the story of Agamemnon within the whole plot of the *Odyssey* is notable. Apart from brief references to this story,² longer accounts are found in three different sections in the epic: (1) the assembly of gods in book 1, (2) Telemachos' visit to Pylos and Sparta in books 3 and 4, and (3) the two *Nekyiai* in books 11 and 24.

In this chapter, we shall consider the function of five major versions of the story of Agamemnon's *nostos*. These are told by Zeus (α32-43), Nestor (γ193-200), Menelaos (δ512-547), and the ghost of Agamenon (λ405-434, ω199-202). Special attention will be paid to the details and emphases peculiar to each version, and to their significance for their respective contexts.

2 Zeus' Speech at α32-43

Zeus' speech at α32-43 begins with a refutation of men's accusation against the gods that evils come from the gods. Zeus points out that there are cases in which men themselves are by their outrageous acts responsible for their excessive sufferings: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ / σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ μόνον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν (α33-4). This sentence presents a remarkable similarity with the comment on the destruction of Odysseus' companions in the proem: αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο (α7). This echoing of the proem, together with the fact that it is the first direct speech in the *Odyssey* and that its speaker is the highest god

¹ Hölscher 1967; Olson 1995, p.24, with n.2.

² E.g., α 298-300, ν 383-4.

himself, adds to the importance of the pronouncement on human morality at α32–43.³

ἀτασθαλίη and its cognates (adj. ἀτάσθαλος, verb ἀτασθάλλω) are key words in the *Odyssey*. They are most frequently associated with the suitors' outrageous acts.⁴ The application of the word ἀτασθαλίαι to Odysseus' companions in the proem establishes a thematic link between the companions and the suitors to whom ἀτασθαλίη and its cognate words will be applied repeatedly throughout the *Odyssey*. The implication of ἀτασθαλίαι as the cause of destruction of both Odysseus' companions and Penelope's suitors will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Zeus tells how the gods sent Hermes to Aigisthos (α38). Curiously, Hermes as a messenger to Aigisthos never appears in other works of literature and visual art which deal with the *Oresteia* story.⁵ It has been pointed out that the role of Hermes is probably an *ad hoc* invention.⁶ By this incorporation of Hermes as a messenger, the motif of forewarning becomes prominent in the story told by Zeus.⁷ The content of the message is told in three lines:

μήτ' αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάσθαι ἄκοιτιν·
ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρείδαο,

³ Cf. Rüter 1969, p.71, n.29.

⁴ ἀτασθαλίη and its cognates are employed 16 times in reference to the suitors' reckless deeds (γ207, π86, 93, ρ588, σ143, υ170, 370, φ146, χ47, 314, 317, 416, ψ67, ω282, 352, 458, cf. σ57). Other people to whom these words are applied include the companions of Odysseus (α7, μ300), Odysseus (κ437, cf. δ693, σ139), the maidservants at Odysseus' house (τ88), Euryalos (θ166), Eurymedon's people (η60), human beings in general (α34). Cf. Fisher 1992, pp.156-178.

⁵ Prag 1985, p.68.

⁶ S. West ad α37ff. in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988.

⁷ πρό at α37 has a temporal meaning 'beforehand', cf. Chantraine, *G.H.* I, §188.

ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἰμείρεται αἴης (α39–41).

Line 39 is put in indirect speech using infinitives (κτείνειν, μνάσθαι), but the construction abruptly changes to direct speech at lines 40-41 with a finite verb. This change, by making the content of Hermes' speech so much more vivid, underlines the importance of the message in lines 40-1, i.e. the consequence of the outrageous acts of Aigisthos.

Athene begins her speech at α45 with a reference to Aigisthos, who was mentioned in the previous speech of Zeus.⁸ She comments that Aigisthos has suffered destruction as befits him (ἐοικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ (α46)). Athene adds a general remark: ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι (α47)). A scholion comments that this remark refers to the suitors.⁹ Athene maintains the moralistic tone of the speech of Zeus.

At α48, Athene changes the subject of her speech from Aigisthos to Odysseus:

ἀλλὰ μοι ἄμφ' Ὀδυσῇ δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ,
δυσμόρῳ, ὃς δὲ δηθὰ φίλων ἄπο πῆματα πάσχει
νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης. (α48–50).

At line 48, which begins with an adversative conjunction ἀλλά, Odysseus is introduced in contrast to Aigisthos and those who commit similar outrageous acts. Odysseus is presented as suffering hardship undeservedly, unlike Aigisthos. He is said to be suffering because of his companions (α49). Athene's view of Odysseus as an innocent leader who is suffering the consequences of his companions' outrageous acts, is analogous to the presentation of Odysseus as a caring leader in the proem.

⁸ A verbal echo at α41 and 59 strengthens the link between the two speeches.

⁹ Schol. HV ad α47: ἐμφαίνει τοὺς μνηστήρας. This view is supported by S. West ad loc. in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988.

3 The *Oresteia* Story in the *Telemacheia*

In the first four books of the *Odyssey*, the story of the death of Agamemnon and Orestes' revenge is repeatedly told to Telemachos by various speakers. In book 1, Athene-Mentes briefly refers to the famous deeds of Orestes and encourages Telemachos to attain comparable fame:

ἦ οὐκ αἶεις, οἷον κλέος ἔλλαβε διος Ὀρέστης
 πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἔκτανε πατροφονῆα
 Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν, ὅς οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα;
 καὶ σύ, φίλος, μάλα γάρ σ' ὀρόω καλὸν τε μέγαν τε,
 ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ (α298-302).

This *exemplum* is presented at the moment when Telemachos is about to leave childhood (cf. α296-7: οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ / νηπιάας ὀχέειν), and begins to fulfil his responsibilities as the heir of Odysseus. Just as the fate of Aigisthos, as reported by Zeus, sets the moral tone of the whole epic, the achievement of Orestes sets the standard which Telemachos should try to reach. Moreover, during his visit to Pylos and Sparta, Telemachos is reminded of Orestes' revenge first by Nestor at Pylos and then by Menelaos at Sparta.

As we examine Telemachos' experiences at Pylos and Sparta, it is important to remember that his journey foreshadows Odysseus' return in various ways. It is a journey to the world of the Trojan heroes and back to the Island of Ithaka, a small scale *nostos*. Also, various stories of Greek heroes' returns are told during Telemachos' stay at Pylos and Sparta, and these show distinct similarities with Odysseus' experiences in his wanderings. In this sense, Telemachos' journey is a compressed version of the *Odyssey*.¹⁰

In the following sections, we will discuss the use of the *Oresteia* story in the scenes of Telemachos' encounters with Nestor and Menelaos, with regard to the context of the *Telemacheia* and the whole *Odyssey*.

¹⁰ Cf. Clarke 1967, p.41.

(a) Nestor's Speech at γ103-200

In reply to Telemachos' request for information about Odysseus (γ79-101), Nestor tells a long story of his own return and the fates of other heroes (γ103-200). At the end of this speech, Nestor mentions the death of Agamemnon and the revenge taken by Orestes as an *exemplum* to Telemachos:

Ἀτρείδην δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε νόσφιν ἑόντες,
ὥς τ' ἦλθ' ὥς τ' Αἰγισθος ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.
ἀλλ' ἦτοι κείνος μὲν ἐπισμυγερῶς ἀπέτισεν.
ὥς ἀγαθὸν καὶ παῖδα καταφθιμένοιο λιπέσθαι
ἀνδρός, ἐπεὶ καὶ κείνος ἐτίσατο πατροφονῆα,
Αἰγισθον δολόμητιν, ὅς οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα.
καὶ σύ, φίλος, μάλα γάρ σ' ὀρώω καλὸν τε μέγαν τε,
ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀπιγόνων ἐν εἴπῃ (γ193–200).

Nestor draws a lesson from the *exemplum* of Orestes in the last two lines of this quotation. These two lines are identical to α301-2 quoted above. In book 1, this lesson does not seem to have any notable impact on Telemachos (cf. α307-313), but it elicits the following reply from him in book 3:

ὦ Νέστορ Νηληιάδη, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,
καὶ λίην κείνος μὲν ἐτίσατο, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
οἴσουσι κλέος εὐρὺ καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν ἀοιδῆν.
εἴ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσὴνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν,
τίσασθαι μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίης ἀλεγεινῆς,
οἳ τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται.
ἀλλ' οὐ μοι τοιοῦτον ἐπέκλωσαν θεοὶ ὄλβον,
πατρί τ' ἐμῷ καὶ ἐμοί· νῦν δὲ χρὴ τετλάμεν ἔμπης (γ202-9).

He acknowledges the glorious deed of Orestes using the expression καὶ λίην, and wishes he also could achieve an equivalent deed, repeating the same verb (ἐτίσατο (203), τίσασθαι (206)). But Telemachos immediately denies the possibility that the gods will grant the same sort of fortune (208-9). One can compare this denial with Athene's reply to Zeus at α45-62. Zeus points out human beings' own responsibility for their sufferings and cites the case of Aigisthos. Athene uses the same expression καὶ λίην

(α46) to maintain that the case of Odysseus is different from that of Aigisthos.

In reply to Telemachos' pessimistic view of the possibility of revenge on the suitors, Nestor mentions the possibility of Odysseus' return:

τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κέ ποτέ σφι βίας ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών,
ἦ ὅ γε μούνοσ' ἐών ἢ καὶ σύμπαντες Ἀχαιοί; (γ216-7).

According to the above text, the subject of the verb ἀποτίσεται is Odysseus and the pronoun ὅ also refers to him. But Nestor speaks of Telemachos', not Odysseus', revenge on the suitors in the following seven lines (γ218-224). This abrupt change of subject seems to have prompted Zenodotos' reading ἀποτίσσαι for ἀποτίσεται, and σύ for ὅ at γ216-7.¹¹ According to this interpretation, Nestor is talking only about Telemachos' revenge in his speech at γ211-224. However, the manuscript reading should be preferred to Zenodotos' reading, given that Athene-Mentor's words at γ231 presuppose that the return of Odysseus has been discussed, and also that Telemachos spoke of the gods' dispensation of fortune both to himself and to Odysseus (γ209 πατρί τ' ἐμῷ καὶ ἐμοί) just before Nestor's speech.

The abruptness of the mention of Odysseus at γ216-7 may reflect the ambiguity of Nestor's view about Odysseus' return. Nestor mentions the possibility of Odysseus' return and revenge at γ216-7, but in the following lines speaks only of Telemachos' revenge, since he is not at all sure about Odysseus' return. It should be noted that the expression τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κέ ποτέ . . . ; ("Who knows whether he will come back and take vengeance (or not) ?") is not an affirmative suggestion of Odysseus' return. By the phrasing at γ216-224, whether Nestor imagines the revenge on the suitors as a joint enterprise of Odysseus and Telemachos or as Telemachos' solitary act is left ambiguous. This uncertainty about

¹¹ Schol. H ad γ217.

Odysseus' participation in the revenge on the suitors has a bearing on Nestor's long account of Menelaos' return at γ254-328.

At γ226-8, Telemachos rejects Nestor's suggestion and utters slightly impious words: οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε / ἐλπομένῳ τὰ γένοιτ', οὐδ' εἰ θεοὶ ὥς ἐθέλοιεν (γ227-8). This statement elicits a protest from Athene-Mentor at γ230-8, which includes a brief reference to Agamemnon's death:

Τηλέμαχε, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων.
 ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σάώσαι.
 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας
 οἴκαδ' εἴ ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι,
 ἢ ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι ἐφέστιος, ὥς Ἀγαμέμνων
 ὤλεθ' ὑπ' Αἰγίσθοιο δόλῳ καὶ ἥς ἀλόχοιο (γ230-5).

In this brief mention of the story of Agamemnon's death, it should be noted that Klytaimestra's involvement in the murder is mentioned.

Her role in the murder of Agamemnon is not generally mentioned when the *Oresteia* story is told in the *Telemacheia* (α298-300, γ193-4, γ303-5, δ529-537, cf. also α35-6), and Orestes' revenge on Aigisthos is emphasized. By contrast, when the ghost of Agamemnon speaks of his own death in the two *Nekyiai*, Klytaimestra's role is mentioned with emphasis (λ410, λ422-430, ω199-200), but Orestes' revenge is left unmentioned.¹² Of these two distinct types of presentation of the story of Agamemnon's death, the type common to the *Nekyiai* is employed in Athene-Mentor's speech at γ230-7, with a mention of Klytaimestra's involvement and without a mention of Orestes' revenge. The reason for choosing this version of the story in this particular speech seems to be that Athene-Mentor is making a contrast between the late but safe return of Odysseus and the quick but disastrous return of Agamemnon. Since Agamemnon's misery needs to be underlined, the poet employed at γ230-5 the version used in the *Nekyiai*, which emphasizes the misery of

¹² Hölscher 1988, pp.301-2.

Agamemnon, who was killed by his wife and does not yet know of Orestes' revenge, which would be a consolation to him.

This flexible use of the two versions of the *Oresteia* story shows that it is not necessary to postulate two separate authors who utilized two different 'sources' of the myth: on the one hand, the poet emphasized Orestes' achievement and usually suppressed Klytaimestra in the *Telemacheia* where Orestes is presented as a positive *exemplum* for Telemachos; on the other hand he emphasized Klytaimestra's role and suppressed Orestes' revenge in the *Nekyiai*, since this latter version effectively underlines Agamemnon's misery. But even in the *Telemacheia*, the poet is ready to use the version employed in the *Nekyiai* when the need to underline Agamemnon's misery arises in a particular context. A similar use of the *Nekyia*-version of the story can be seen at δ 91–2: *τείως μοι ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλος ἔπεφνε, / λάθρη, ἄνωιστί, δόλῳ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο*. Here Menelaos expresses his unhappiness in spite of his great wealth. He is not happy because his brother was murdered while he himself was accumulating wealth away from his homeland. Since the misery of Agamemnon which caused Menelaos sadness needs to be emphasized in the context, the version of the *Nekyiai* is employed.¹³

At γ243-252, Telemachos asks how Agamemnon was killed and where Menelaos was at the time of the murder. Telemachos supposes that Menelaos would have avenged Agamemnon if he had been in his homeland. Prompted by this question, Nestor tells a long tale, in which the *Oresteia* story is combined closely with Menelaos' *nostos* (γ254-328).

¹³ It should also be noted that in both passages in the *Telemacheia* where the *Nekyia*-type of presentation is found (γ230-5, δ91-2), the reference to Klytaimestra is not by name, but by the word *ἄλοχος* alone, and her involvement in the murder is expressed by the word *δόλος*.

After a remark about what Menelaos would have done if he had come home while Aigisthos was alive (γ254-261), Nestor narrates in detail how Aigisthos succeeded in seducing Klytaimestra (γ263-275). At first, Klytaimestra refused Aigisthos' seduction. This stage corresponds to Penelope's present situation on Ithaka. Penelope is surrounded by her suitors, but is refusing to get married. A reference to Klytaimestra's discretion (φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσι (γ266)) reminds the audience of Penelope's repeated epithets, περίφρων and ἐχέφρων. But later, when the gods' doom (μοῖρα θεῶν (γ269)) forced Klytaimestra to submit and a singer¹⁴ whom Agamemnon left with her as her guardian was removed, she consented to Aigisthos' proposal. Klytaimestra was now willing (ἐθέλουσαν (γ272)) to commit adultery, which makes a contrast with her earlier discretion. This stage represents a possible danger which could happen to Penelope.

Nestor turns the subject of his story to the wanderings of Menelaos (γ276-302), and then comes back to the events in Agamemnon's homeland:

¹⁴ This unparalleled role of a singer as a guardian has long been a puzzle for scholars. Cf. Page 1972 and Scully 1981. Andersen 1992 suggests that the removal of Agamemnon's singer symbolizes the discontinuation of a song about Agamemnon, which makes a contrast to the continuation of a song about Odysseus, i.e. the *Odyssey* itself. Another possible reason for the choice of a singer as Klytaimestra's guardian is the association of songs or stories with the power of θέλγειν. Phemios' repertoire of songs is called θελκτήρια (α337). Sirens are said to enchant (θέλγουσιν (μ40)) all people. Eumaios is enchanted by the disguised Odysseus' stories (θέλγοιτό ... φίλον ἦτορ (ρ514), ἐμὲ κείνος ἔθελε (ρ521)). Aigisthos kept trying to seduce (θέλγεσκεν (γ264)) Klytaimestra, but while a singer who had the power to enchant (θέλγειν) was with her, he could not succeed.

the death of Agamemnon, Orestes' revenge, and Menelaos' return (γ303-312).

At γ307-8, Orestes is said to have returned from Athens.¹⁵ It should be noted that Nestor's account contains two figures returning home: Orestes, who has just come of age (ὅππότεν ἤβησεν καὶ ἤς ἰμείρεται αἴης (α41)), comes home from within Greece; and Menelaos, a hero at the Trojan war, comes home from Troy after many years of wanderings. This combination of two returns corresponds to the situation in the main plot of the *Odyssey*: Telemachos, who has just reached the threshold of adulthood, is now visiting the Peloponnese and will shortly come home, while Odysseus is still wandering far away but Athene has already persuaded Zeus to send him home.¹⁶ Moreover, Nestor's speech at γ254-328 has a structure as a whole analogous to that of the *Odyssey*. Nestor's account begins in Agamemnon's homeland, moves to Menelaos' wanderings, and comes back to the homeland; while in the *Odyssey* a description of the situation on Ithaka (books 1-2) is followed by Odysseus'

¹⁵ Ancient commentators were puzzled by the designation of the place of Orestes' exile as Athens, since later poets unanimously testify that he stayed at Phokis. So Zenodotos conjectured ὅψ ἀπὸ Φωκίων for ὅψ ἀπ' Ἀθηνάων (γ307). S. West 1988, ad γ307 speculates that Zenodotos' reading was derived from lost manuscripts. cf. *ibid.* p.43. Aristarchos' reading is ὅψ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων. This can mean either 'from Athens' or possibly '(Orestes came) back (ὅψ) prompted by (ἀπὸ) the goddess Athene'. Cf. van der Valk 1949, p.153. If the reading of the manuscripts is correct, could the poet's choice of Athens, a favourite city of the goddess Athene, as the place of Orestes' stay, be influenced by the motif of the same goddess' protection of Telemachos which is the centre of attention in the context of the *Odyssey*? For the special relationship between Athens and Athene in Homer, cf. η78-81 and B546-9.

¹⁶ Cf. Klingner 1947, p.50.

wanderings (books 5-12), and the latter half of the epic is occupied by the events on Ithaka. Thus Nestor's speech is a miniature version of the *Odyssey* in terms not only of the roles of the main characters but also of the spatial settings of the narrative. The ingenious combination of the *Oresteia* story with Menelaos' *nostos* makes Nestor's speech exhibit these remarkable similarities to the whole *Odyssey*.¹⁷

After Orestes killed Aigisthos, he is said to have held a funeral feast to commemorate the deaths of his mother and Aigisthos:

ἦτοι ὃ τὸν κτείνας δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισι
μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο (γ309-10).

How Klytaimestra died is not mentioned either in this speech of Nestor or in any other passage in the *Odyssey* where the *Oresteia* story is told. But in the later version of the story commonly found in the three tragedians, Orestes kills Klytaimestra as well as Aigisthos. Orestes' matricide featured already in the Cyclic *Nostoi*¹⁸ and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.¹⁹ Considering that the matricide was already part of the *Oresteia* story in the early Greek epic tradition, and that, in the passage quoted above, Klytaimestra is said to have been buried at the same time as Aigisthos, it is likely that the poet of the *Odyssey* consciously suppressed Orestes' matricide.²⁰ By the suppression of this negative aspect of Orestes, he is presented as an appropriate *exemplum* for Telemachos.²¹

The motif of the funeral has appeared twice earlier in the same speech of Nestor. At the beginning of the speech, Nestor surmises that if

¹⁷ Cf. Hölscher 1988, p.96.

¹⁸ Davies *EGF* p.67, ll.25-7 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.95, l.17-9.

¹⁹ Fr.23a (Merkelbach-West), l.30.

²⁰ Cf. Schol. EQV ad γ310: φείδεται διὰ τούτων τοῦ Ὀρέστου. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐφημότερον εἶπεν ὅτι ἔθαψε τὴν μητέρα, τὸν δὲ θάνατον παρεσιώπησεν.

²¹ Hölscher 1988, p.303.

Menelaos had come home and found Aigisthos alive, he would not only have killed the murderer of Agamemnon, but have also refused to give a funeral and exposed the corpse for dogs and birds to devour (γ255-61). Then Nestor reports that the same Menelaos had given a proper funeral for one of his companions, Phrontis (γ278-285), even though he was in a hurry on his way home (ἐπειγόμενός περ ὁδοῖο (γ284)). The contrast between Menelaos' hypothetical maltreatment of Aigisthos' corpse and his actual care for Phrontis' body underlines Menelaos' anger against Aigisthos. Orestes, on the other hand, did perform a funeral rite for his mother and Aigisthos, though the former was hateful and the latter cowardly (μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο (γ309)).²² Unlike Menelaos' hypothetical refusal of a funeral, Orestes is shown as performing the obligations for the dead, especially for his mother.²³ Thus the mention of the funeral held by Orestes may be ascribed to the wider intentions of the poet, who suppressed the matricide and aimed at presenting Telemachos in a favourable light.

²² Note that the adjective στυγερῆς makes a contrast to the favourable description of Klytaimestra at γ266. For Aigisthos, another epithet ἀμύμονος is used at α29 in the same metrical position. Thus ἀνάλκιδος here is an exception to the principle of formulaic economy. Cf. S. West, ad γ 309-10 in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988. ἀμύμονος with a following proper name in the same metrical position is a repeated traditional phrase (4x *Il.*, 5x *Od.*), while the combination of ἀνάλκιδος and a proper name does not recur in the Homeric epics. One can assume that the choice of the epithet at γ309 is intentional.

²³ Jebb 1907, p.xi, n.3 comments: "The fact that the funeral feast was given 'to the Argives' implies that they welcomed Orestes as a deliverer, and also that (whatever had been the manner of his mother's death) they did *not* regard him as resting under any defilement which incapacitated him for religious acts."

At γ 311-2, Nestor says that Menelaos returned on the day of the funeral. There follows an instruction to Telemachos:

καὶ σύ, φίλος, μὴ δηθὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησο,
κτῆματά τε προλιπὼν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν σοῖσι δόμοισιν
οὔτ' ὑπερφιάλους, μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσι
κτῆματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τηῦσίην ὁδὸν ἔλθης (γ313-6).

The same expression καὶ σύ marked an instruction to Telemachos following an account of the *Oresteia* story at α 301 and γ199. In both passages, the instruction was that Telemachos should follow the *exemplum* of Orestes' glorious act. But here, the point is that Telemachos should not make the same mistake as Menelaos, who returned home too late for revenge. The motif of Telemachos' need to return early recurs in book 4, and the importance of this motif in the *Telemacheia* will be discussed later.

(b) Menelaos' Speech at δ333-592

Telemachos and Nestor's son, Peisistratos, arrive at Sparta and are welcomed by Menelaos and Helen. Early next morning, Telemachos asks Menelaos if he knows whether Odysseus is dead or alive (δ316-331). In reply, Menelaos tells a long story of his own wanderings (δ333-592), in which an account of the *Oresteia* story, as well as information about Odysseus, is included.

Menelaos' wanderings contain numerous similarities to various parts of Odysseus' wanderings which are to be told later in the *Odyssey*.²⁴ Menelaos is forced to stay on the island of Pharos (δ351-362), while Odysseus too is detained by Kalypso on the island of Ogygia. Odysseus' unwilling stay on the island is mentioned later in the same speech (δ556-

²⁴ Cf. Plass 1969, pp.104-8.

60).²⁵ Menelaos is instructed by Eidothea to consult Proteus about how to return home. Likewise Odysseus is instructed by Circe to consult Teiresias (κ488-95).²⁶ In order to acquire information from Proteus, Menelaos has to overcome the sea-god's powers of transformation. Eidothea tells him how to ambush and catch Proteus, and provides seal skins and ambrosia for him and his companions. Odysseus also overcomes Circe's magical powers of transforming men into animals with the help of Hermes (κ281-306). Menelaos and his companions hide under seal-skins. This reminds us of Odysseus and his companions' hiding under sheep when they escape from Polyphemos' cave (ι424-467). In this connection, it is noteworthy that both Proteus and Polyphemos live in a cave, and that Proteus is compared to a herdsman among sheep (νομεὺς ὥς πώεσι μῆλων (δ413)). Thus elements of Odysseus' various adventures are concentrated in Menelaos' Proteus adventure.

In his interview with Proteus, Menelaos asks about other Greek heroes' fates after he has been told about his own homecoming (δ485-490). In reply, Proteus focuses his attention on three of the Greek leaders (δ496-8): two heroes who perished during their homecoming (Lokrian Aias and Agamemnon) and one hero who is still being held on the sea (Odysseus).

Proteus' account of Lokrian Aias' fate (δ499-511) contains a motif which also plays an important role in Odysseus' wanderings. Poseidon first drove Aias against the rocks of Gyrai, but spared his life. At this moment, Aias uttered impious words: φῆ ῥ' ἄεκητι θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα

²⁵ The same picture of Odysseus pining for home appears at the beginning of the epic (α13-5, 48-59) and in book 5 where Odysseus comes into the main plot for the first time in the *Odyssey* (ε149-58). Cf. Hölscher 1988, pp.87-93.

²⁶ For further correspondences between Menelaos' Proteus-adventure and Odysseus' visit to the land of the dead, cf. Hansen 1972, pp.8-19.

λοῖπμα θαλάσσης (δ504). If he had not uttered this boast, Aias might have escaped death. But because of these words, he incurred Poseidon's anger, who this time actually dashed Aias' ship against the rock and drowned him. Odysseus also boasted when he escaped from Polyphemos onto open sea (ι475-9, 502-5, 523-5). In response to these words, Polyphemos threw a rock twice at Odysseus' ship and both times he missed the ship just by a little (ι481-3, 537-40). Furthermore, because Odysseus revealed his name in these taunting words, the Cyclops invoked Poseidon (δ528-35) and incurred the god's lasting anger against Odysseus. So Odysseus almost perished because of boastful words, like Lokrian Aias, and incurred the anger of the same god as actually killed Aias.

In Proteus' account of the death of Agamemnon (δ512-37), the descriptions of the watchman (δ524-8) and of the ambush (δ529-37) are prominent. The motif of ambush has already appeared earlier in the description of Menelaos' encounter with Eidothea and Proteus. But the tones of these two ambushes are quite different. Menelaos ambushed the self-transforming sea god among the stench of seals merely to acquire information, whereas the ambush planned by Aigisthos brought death to Menelaos' brother. The motif of ambush appears again shortly after the scene of the conversation between Telemachos and Menelaos. At δ 669-672, Antinoos proposes a plan to ambush Telemachos, and the suitors approve it. This plan is reported to Penelope by a messenger (δ 697-702). The emphasis on the ambush in Menelaos' speech foreshadows the suitors' plan to ambush Telemachos in the following scene.²⁷

²⁷ For the importance of the motif of λόχος in the *Odyssey* as a whole, cf. A. T.

Edwards 1985, pp.27-41.

On hearing Proteus' account of Agamemnon's death, Menelaos sits down on the sand and cries. Proteus urges Menelaos to stop crying and to go back to his homeland as soon as possible:

μηκέτι, Ἀτρείος υἱέ, πολὺν χρόνον ἀσκελὲς οὕτω
 κλαῖ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄνυσίν τινα δῆομεν· ἀλλὰ τάχιστα
 πείρα, ὅπως κεν δὴ σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἴκηαι.
 ἢ γάρ μιν ζῶόν γε κιχήσεται, ἢ κεν Ὀρέστης
 κτεῖνεν ὑποφθάμενος, σὺ δέ κεν τάφου ἀντιβολήσαιοις
 (δ 543-7).

One should recall that Nestor also instructed Telemachos not to tarry away from home after he told the story of Agamemnon's death (γ 313-6). Nestor used Menelaos, who returned too late for revenge, as a negative *exemplum* whose mistake Telemachos should avoid. Proteus mentions both possibilities, Menelaos' being in time for revenge and Orestes' having killed the murderer before Menelaos' return, in connection with his recommendation to Menelaos to try to return home early.

This repetition of the motif of the need to return early is remarkable, since at the end of his long speech Menelaos asks Telemachos to delay his departure from Sparta:

ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσιν,
 ὄφρα κεν ἐνδεκάτῃ τε δωδεκάτῃ τε γένηται·
 καὶ τότε σ' εὖ πέμψω (δ 587-9).

In response, Telemachos expresses the need to return home immediately, while he acknowledges the danger of forgetting about his house and parents if he is detained at Menelaos' palace:

Ἀτρείδῃ, μὴ δὴ με πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔρυκε.
 καὶ γάρ κ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἐγὼ παρὰ σοί γ' ἀνεχοίμην
 ἥμενος, οὐδέ κέ μ' οἴκου ἔλοι πόθος οὐδὲ τοκῆων·
 αἰνῶς γὰρ μύθοισιν ἔπεσσί τε σοῖσιν ἀκούων
 τέρπομαι· ἀλλ' ἤδη μοι ἀνιάζουσιν ἑταῖροι
 ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθέῃ· σὺ δέ με χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἐρύκεις (δ 594-9).

Moreover, the motif of the need to return early is employed repeatedly in *Odyssey* 15, where Telemachos' departure from Sparta is

depicted.²⁸ At dawn, Athene visits Telemachos to remind him of the need to return home (ο1-3), and tells him to urge Menelaos to send him home as soon as possible (ο14-5).²⁹ Telemachos tells Menelaos that he wants to return home, and is granted his departure together with gifts (ο64-129). Moreover, Telemachos asks Peisistratos not to take him to Nestor at Pylos, since Nestor may detain him:

μή με παρὲξ ἄγε νῆα, διοτρεφές, ἀλλὰ λίπ' αὐτοῦ,
μή μ' ὁ γέρων ἄέκοντα κατάσχη ὧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
ἰέμενος φιλέειν· ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὸ θᾶσσον ἰκέσθαι (ο199-201).

In this decision to avoid seeing Nestor, Telemachos shows full acceptance of Nestor's earlier instruction to him in *Odyssey* 3.

(c) Telemachos' Identity as Odysseus' Son

Nestor gives two instructions to Telemachos in book 3, both times drawing on the *Oresteia* story as an *exemplum*. Both instructions recommend Telemachos to take responsibility as a son whose father is absent from his homeland. The first instruction (γ199-200) urges Telemachos to emulate Orestes who avenged his father. The second instruction (γ313-6) forbids him to tarry away from home like Menelaos while Odysseus' property is being wasted by the suitors.

²⁸ It is not specified how long Telemachos and Peisistratos have stayed at Menelaos' palace since the scene in δ. By calculation, the intervening description of Odysseus' homecoming from Ogygia (ε-ξ) takes about a month. Cf. Stanford 1959, vol.I, pp. x-xii; Reece 1993, pp.71-5. The poet may have intentionally left the duration of Telemachos' stay at Sparta vague by not mentioning either the number of days or any event during this period.

²⁹ Reece 1993, p.91 points out that Athene's command (ο10-3) echoes Nestor's warning to Telemachos at γ313-6.

Telemachos' reaction to these two instructions should be examined in connection with the gradual process of Telemachos' establishment of his identity as the son of Odysseus throughout the *Telemacheia*. When Telemachos sees Athene-Mentes in *Odyssey* 1, he expresses uncertainty about his own identity as Odysseus' son and wishes that his father were someone else more fortunate than Odysseus:

μήτηρ μὲν τέ με φησὶ τοῦ (i.e. Ὀδυσσῆος) ἔμμεναι,
 αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
 οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐὼν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω.
 ὥς δὴ ἔγωγ' ὄφελον μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι υἱὸς
 ἀνέρος, ὃν κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖς ἐπὶ γῆρας ἔτετμε.
 νῦν δ' ὅς ἀποτμότατος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 τοῦ μ' ἐκ φασὶ γενέσθαι, ἐπεὶ σύ με τοῦτ' ἐρεΐνεις (α215-220).

Arriving at Pylos, Telemachos says to Athene-Mentor that he does not know what to say to Nestor. This lack of confidence in his own power of speech echoes his poor performance at the assembly in *Odyssey* 2, where he failed to persuade the Ithakans to drive the suitors out of his house. But after Athene-Mentor has given him encouragement, Telemachos speaks to Nestor (γ79-101), and Nestor pays him a compliment that his speech resembles his father's speech and is appropriate (γ124-5). After Telemachos has refused Nestor's first instruction expressing his lack of confidence in the gods' support (γ202-9), Nestor refers to Athene's protection of Odysseus at Troy:

εἰ γάρ σ' ὥς ἐθέλοι φιλέειν γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 ὥς τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος περικήδετο κυδαλίμοιο
 δήμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ὅθι πάσχομεν ἄλγε' Ἀχαιοί –
 οὐ γάρ πω ἴδον ὦδε θεοὺς ἀναφανδὰ φιλεῦντας,
 ὥς κείνῳ ἀναφανδὰ παρίστατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη –
 εἴ σ' οὕτως ἐθέλοι φιλέειν κήδοιτό τε θυμῷ,
 τῷ κέν τις κείνων γε καὶ ἐκλελάθοιτο γάμοιο (γ218-24).

Nestor imagines that if Athene supports Telemachos as she supported Odysseus, he will succeed in taking vengeance on the suitors. This reference to Athene's protection is important in the larger context of the Pylos scene, because Athene-Mentor later transforms herself into a bird

and flies away (γ371-2), and Nestor rightly recognizes that it was Athene. When Athene-Mentes similarly flew away in the shape of a bird back on Ithaka (α319-323), Telemachos did not know which divinity it was, but this time he is told that the same goddess who protected Odysseus is now assisting him.³⁰

At Sparta, before Telemachos reveals his identity, Helen and Menelaos infer from his physical features that he is Odysseus' son (κείνου γὰρ τοιοῖδε πόδες τοιαῖδε τε χεῖρες / ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαὶ κεφαλὴ τ' ἐφύπερθέ τε χαίται (δ149-150)). Later, when Menelaos offers three horses and a chariot together with a silver cup (δ589-592), he requests other gifts which can be stored up (κειμήλια) instead, because horses are not suitable for the geographical conditions of Ithaka (δ600-8). This sensible request elicits Menelaos' compliment: αἶματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος, οἱ' ἀγορεύεις (δ611). Now Menelaos recognizes Telemachos' noble birth by his thoughtful speech.³¹

As outlined above, throughout Telemachos' journey it is gradually revealed that he possesses ability in rhetoric, quick intelligence, and protection provided by Athene. All these are characteristic virtues of Odysseus. Telemachos' responses to Nestor's two instructions relating to the *Oresteia* story reflect this process of Telemachos' discovering his possession of virtues which are shared with Odysseus and thus establishing his identity as Odysseus' son. Telemachos' refusal of Nestor's first instruction is in keeping with his initial uncertainty about his identity as Odysseus' son. On the other hand, his gradual acceptance of Nestor's second instruction, i.e. his growing recognition of the need to return home early and to face the plight of his house, reflects Telemachos'

³⁰ Klingner 1947, p.47.

³¹ Cf. Reece 1993, pp.89-90.

determination to assume responsibility as the heir of Odysseus. In this way, the *Oresteia* story is closely interwoven with the characterization of Telemachos in the *Telemacheia*.³²

4 The Story of Agamemnon's *Nostos* in the two *Nekyiai*

(a) The Encounter of Odysseus and Agamemnon in the First *Nekyia* (λ385-466)

In *Odyssey* 11, Odysseus recounts his experiences in the land of the dead. The description of his encounter with Agamemnon's shade comes after a short break at λ333-76 in the long story which occupies books 9-12. In this intermission, Alkinoos asks Odysseus whether he saw any of the heroes who fought at Troy (λ370-2). Responding to this request, Odysseus first relates his encounter with Agamemnon. By means of this break, Odysseus' encounter with Agamemnon is given special prominence among the other encounters.³³

Odysseus asks the ghost of Agamemnon how he died (λ397-403) and the latter recounts how he was murdered by Aigisthos and Klytaimestra (λ405-434). Compared to other accounts of Agamemnon's murder in the *Odyssey*, the most obvious characteristic of this account is the prominence of Klytaimestra's role. Agamemnon's account of the murder is introduced by the statement that it was Aigisthos, in collaboration with Klytaimestra, who brought about his death:

ἀλλά μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε
ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένη ἄλόχῳ οἴκόνδε καλέσσας,
δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ (λ409-11).

The subject of the verb ἔκτα is Aigisthos, and this gives the impression that he is envisaged as the main culprit in the murder, and Klytaimestra

³² For the maturation of Telemachos, cf. Olson 1995, pp.65-90.

³³ Hölscher 1988, p.303.

as a mere helper. At the end of the account of the murder, however, the tone is different:

οἶον δὲ καὶ κείνη ἐμήσατο ἔργον ἀεικές,
κουριδίῳ τεύξασα πόσει φόνον. . . (λ429-30).

This time, Aigisthos is not mentioned, and Klytaimestra is treated as mainly responsible for Agamemnon's murder. This transfer of emphasis is in accordance with the attention paid to Klytaimestra's role in the latter half of the account of Agamemnon's death (λ421-6): she killed Cassandra (λ421-3), and refused to close Agamemnon's eyes and mouth (λ424-6). Klytaimestra is said to have turned away 'νοσφίσαι' (λ425) from the dying Agamemnon. The same verb has been used earlier in *Odyssey* 11 in the speech of Elpenor's shade. When Odysseus departed from Circe's island, he had to leave his dead companion Elpenor behind for a while, because he was facing a difficult journey to the land of the dead (λ53-4). The shade of Elpenor entreats Odysseus not to turn away 'νοσφισθείς' (λ73) from him and leave behind his corpse without proper funeral rites: μὴ μ' ἄκλαυτον ἄθαπτον ἰὼν ὅπιθεν καταλείπειν / νοσφισθείς (λ72-3). Odysseus assures Elpenor that he will perform the funeral rites (λ80).³⁴ In contrast, Agamemnon's ghost has been left disconsolate, because his wife actually turned her back on him, and refused to show at least the last respect of closing his eyes and mouth when he died.

As noted above, Odysseus' account of his experiences in the land of the dead is divided into two parts by an intermission at λ333-76. In the first half, his encounters with the souls of Elpenor, Teiresias, and Antikleia are narrated, and then comes a series of encounters with the souls of famous women. Odysseus names as many as fourteen female figures, and he adds brief accounts of their stories. The obvious emphasis

³⁴ At μ8-15, Odysseus tells how he actually buried Elpenor and built a mound for him.

on Klytaimestra's role after the intermission maintains the attention to various women's deeds and fates established in the catalogue of women before the intermission. The relationship between the account of Klytaimestra's deeds and the catalogue of women is worth closer examination.

The catalogue begins with three women who were loved by gods and bore glorious children. Tyro (λ235-259) was loved by Poseidon, who disguised himself as the river Enipeus. She bore him Pelias and Neleus. Antiope (λ260-5) slept with Zeus and bore him Amphion and Zethos. Alkmene (λ266-8) also bore Zeus' son, Herakles. Herakles' wife, Megara (λ269-70), is mentioned following Alkmene's account. These children occupy particularly important places in Greek mythology. One might notice that no gloomy episodes are mentioned in Odysseus' accounts of these women.

The tone changes with the account of the next figure, Oidipus' mother, Epikaste (λ271-80). She unknowingly married her son, who had killed his own father. After this abominable marriage became publicly known, Epikaste hanged herself and left many sorrows to Oidipus: τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω / πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα τε μητρὸς ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσιν (λ279-80). The word ἐρινύες in this passage means 'curses' which Epikaste uttered against Oidipus as she killed herself.³⁵

In Odysseus' next story (λ281-297), an episode involving Chloris' daughter Pero is narrated. The narrative of this episode (λ287-297) is highly elliptical, but it is possible to grasp the general outline of the story by combining this passage with ο228-238 where the same story is told in greater detail. Pero was wooed by all the neighbouring princes, but her father Neleus would only give his daughter to whoever could drive

³⁵ Heubeck in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad λ279-80.

Iphikles' cattle from Phylake to Pylos. Melampus (who is not named in book 11 but only called μάντις ἀμύμων at λ291) promised to do the task in order to win Pero's hand for his brother.³⁶ The difficulty of this task is emphasized in the *Nekyia*'s account. The cattle are described as 'grievous' (ἀργαλέας (λ291)). Melampus suffered because of a hard destiny sent by a god (χαλεπή θεοῦ μοῖρα), being imprisoned in painful bonds (δεσμοὶ ἀργαλέοι) by herdsmen (λ292-3). It was not until a year later (ὅψ' περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὥραι (λ295)) that Melampus was liberated, by telling Iphikles a prophecy. Since the narrative stops there and does not explain how he drove back the cattle and succeeded in the task, the emphasis remains upon the hardship of Melampus' painful and long imprisonment which was caused by Chloris' daughter, Pero.³⁷

The description of the next encounter with Leda (λ298-304) contains an account of her two sons, Kastor and Polydeukes. They are said to have been buried under the earth 'alive': τοὺς ἄμφω ζωοὺς κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα (λ301). In the following two lines, it is said that Zeus granted them the privilege to live alternately, but the wording at λ301-2 may imply that they both had to remain in the nether world.³⁸

In the description of his next encounter with Iphimedeia (λ305-20), Odysseus narrates the story of her two sons, Otos and Ephialtes, begotten by Poseidon. These monstrously huge and strong children had to die young. They challenged the Olympian gods and tried to reach the heavens

³⁶ Cf. ο237-8.

³⁷ ὁ δὲ τῆος ἐνὶ μεγάροις Φυλάκοιο / δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ δέδετο, κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων / εἵνεκα Νηληϊος κούρης ἄτης τε βαρείης (ο231-3). For the motif of a woman as the cause of a great trouble, see n.42 below and above Chapter 1, n.43.

³⁸ Cf. Ameis-Hentze-Cauer, ad loc.

by piling up mountains. Zeus, who was angered by this audacious challenge, killed them.

In contrast with the first three women (Tyro, Antiope, Alkmene), it is noticeable that suffering and misery pervade the stories concerning the next four women (Epikaste, Chloris, Leda, Iphimedeia) and their offspring. The children of these women either suffered themselves (Oidipus, Kastor and Polydeukes, Otos and Ephialtes) or became a cause of someone else's suffering (Pero).

After the accounts of the above women, Odysseus mentions two sets of three women at λ321 (Phaidra, Prokris, Ariadne) and at λ326 (Maira, Klymene, Eriphyle). Only the last women of these two sets (Ariadne, Eriphyle) are presented with stories. Ariadne, whom Theseus was bringing from Crete to Athens, died on the island of Dia and could not enjoy any profit from having rescued Theseus. The story concerning Eriphyle, the last women in the catalogue, is told in only one line: ἡ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήντα (λ327). Later versions of the story³⁹ tell how Eriphyle was bribed either by Polyneikes or Adrastos, and revealed the hiding place of her husband who was not willing to join the expedition against Thebes. Because of his wife's betrayal, Amphiaraos had to join the expedition and met his end. In these two stories, Ariadne and Eriphyle themselves, not their children, either suffered or caused misery.

The above analysis reveals the predominance of a gloomy tone in the latter part of the catalogue. And it is significant that the catalogue ends with Eriphyle whose deed has a marked similarity to Klytaimestra's

³⁹ Pindar *Nem.* 9. 30; Apollod. 3. 6. 2, etc.

in that they both betrayed their husbands.⁴⁰ The change of tone in the catalogue, and in particular the figure of Eriphyle, seem to prefigure Klytaimestra, who participated in the actual murder of her husband. In this sense, Klytaimestra can be regarded as a continuation and climax of the catalogue of women.⁴¹

Some passages in the description of Odysseus' encounter with the shade of Agamemnon contribute to this link between Klytaimestra and the catalogue of women. After the intermission, Odysseus announces that he is going to tell of the sufferings of his comrades at Troy who survived the war but perished on the way home through a vile woman's will: κακῆς ἰότητι γυναικός (λ384). In this expression, Odysseus must have Klytaimestra in mind, because he will shortly tell the story of Agamemnon's murder. But, since he has not revealed which story comes first, the expression is ambiguous to the ears of the audience who may think of Helen, the cause of the entire war.⁴² At the same time, the expression κακῆς ἰότητι γυναικός continues the negative attention paid to female figures in the catalogue of women and reminds the audience in particular of the last of the women to be mentioned, Eriphyle, who accepted a bribe for the betrayal of her husband. One should also note

⁴⁰ Heubeck in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad λ326-7. Eustathios (1697, 41) notes a further similarity between Alkmaion, the son of Amphiaraos, and Orestes: Ἀλκμαίων ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ Ἐριφύλης, τὴν μητέρα κτανὼν χόλῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίως Ὀρέστη.

⁴¹ Hölscher 1988, p.303.

⁴² Cf. Eustathios (1691, 37-8): κακῆς δὲ ἰότητα γυναικὸς λέγει ἢ τὴν τῆς ἀρχεκάκου Ἑλένης, δι' ἣν τὰ μεγάλα κακά, ἧς ἀπώλοντο εἵνεκα πολλοὶ, ἢ τὴν τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτόν, and schol. BTV ad λ384, which also suggests less plausibly that Cassandra may be meant. Cf. also Stanford 1959, ad λ381.

that after his description of Klytaimestra's deeds, Agamemnon's ghost refers to womankind in a generalized tone:

ὥς οὐκ αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο γυναικός,
ἢ τις δὴ τοιαῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶν ἔργα βάλῃται·
οἶον δὲ καὶ κείνη ἐμήσατο ἔργον ἀεικές,
κουριδίῳ τεύξασα πόσει φόνον (λ427-30).

In the first two lines (λ427-8), Agamemnon states that there is nothing more dreadful and shameless than a woman who devises such deeds. This general statement is applied to the specific case of Klytaimestra in the next line: "That woman too (καὶ κείνη) devised such (οἶον) a disgraceful deed." The generalized tone in this passage functions as a reminder of the series of gloomy stories concerning women in the latter part of the catalogue and especially of the deed of Eriphyle. Furthermore, Agamemnon refers to the whole of womankind at the end of his speech (λ433-4). Odysseus' reply to Agamemnon at λ436-9 maintains this attention to women. He attributes the hardships of Menelaos and Agamemnon to two women:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὲ γόνον Ἀτρέος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἐκπάγλως ἤχθηρε γυναικείας διὰ βουλὰς
ἐξ ἀρχῆς· Ἑλένης μὲν ἀπωλόμεθ' εἵνεκα πολλοί,
σοὶ δὲ Κλυταιμνήστρη δόλον ἥρτυε τηλόθ' ἐόντι (λ436-9).

By combining the hardships of the two sons of Atreus, the poet reviews the entire Trojan war in terms of the sufferings caused by women.

The attention to unfaithful women who betrayed their husbands (Eriphyle, Klytaimestra, Helen) has a further echo in the description of Odysseus' next encounter with Achilles. Odysseus mentions Eurypylos as one of the heroes on the Trojan side whom Neoptolemos killed in the battle:

ἄλλ' οἶον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ,
ἥρω' Εὐρύπυλον, πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
Κήτειοι κτείνοντο γυνάων εἵνεκα δώρων (λ519-521).

The deaths of Eurypylos and many of his Keteian contingent were caused by γύναια δῶρα. Later versions of Eurypylos' story tell how Priam

succeeded in recruiting Eurypylos by giving his mother, Astyoche, a golden vine as a bribe.⁴³ γύναια δῶρα refers to this bribe (“presents to a woman”). In fact, the same expression γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων is used for the bribe to Eriphyle at o247. Astyoche and Eriphyle are remarkably similar in that both were bribed and forced a male (son or husband) to go to a war in which he met his end.⁴⁴ These two similar episodes of unfaithful women are placed before and after the story of Klytaimestra so that the one (Eriphyle) prefigures and the other (the mother of Eurypylos) echoes the still more unfaithful woman.

After Odysseus’ brief reply (λ436-9), Agamemnon makes his second speech (λ441-61), in which he praises Penelope in contrast to Klytaimestra. Agamemnon begins by advising Odysseus to be cautious of his wife and not to tell the whole story (λ441-3), but he then denies the possibility of Penelope’s devising Odysseus’ murder, and praises her prudence:

ἀλλ’ οὐ σοί γ’, Ὀδυσσεῦ, φόνος ἔσσεται ἔκ γε γυναικός·
λίην γὰρ πινυτή τε καὶ εὖ φρεσὶ μήδεα οἶδε
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια (λ444–6).

Then Agamemnon recalls the scene in Ithaka when he and Odysseus left Penelope with the baby Telemachos (λ447-8). He says that Telemachos and Odysseus will see each other again (λ450-1). With this mention of Telemachos and Odysseus’ reunion, Agamemnon’s thoughts revert to Klytaimestra who prevented him from seeing his son, Orestes (λ452-3).

⁴³ Cf. Akusilaos, *FGrHist* 2F40 (=schol. Q.V. ad λ520). The golden vine was mentioned in the *Ilias Parva* (fr. 6 Davies *EGF* / fr.29 Bernabé *PEG*).

⁴⁴ Eustathios (1697, 39-40) noted this similarity: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ Ἀστυόχῃ δῶρον ἴσχυσε κατὰ φίλου παιδός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἐριφύλῃ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω.

Thus the contrast between the prudence of Penelope and the unfaithfulness of Klytaimestra is sharply presented.

The following advice, however, contains a difficulty:

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσι·
κρύβδην, μηδ' ἀναφανδά, φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
νῆα κατισχέμεναι, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν (λ454–6).

This advice for a secret homecoming, with the comment that there is no trustworthiness in women, undermines Agamemnon's statement only ten lines before that there will not be a murder-plot by Penelope. Scholars have therefore doubted the authenticity of these lines.⁴⁵ But one can retain them, perhaps, by arguing that after the open admiration of Penelope's prudence, Agamemnon's advice returns to the cautious tone with which he began this speech.⁴⁶ Even though he praises Penelope's prudence, the memory of his wife's unfaithfulness makes him add the advice of a cautious homecoming. The implication of this curious reversal in Agamemnon's tone should be considered within the wider context of the *Odyssey* as a whole.

Agamemnon's advice to make a secret return prefigures Odysseus' homecoming, since he lands on Ithaka unrecognized by anybody except the goddess Athene, and comes to his house in disguise.⁴⁷ Moreover, when Athene advises Odysseus to consider how to take vengeance on the suitors and informs him of the situation of the suitors and Penelope, he exclaims:

⁴⁵ Schol. H ad λ452: οὐδὲ οὗτοι ἐφέροντο ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις, ὡς μαχόμενοι τοῖς προκειμένοις. (This scholion refers to λ454-6, cf. Bolling 1925, p.242.) But all the extant manuscripts contain these lines. Whereas these lines are bracketed by e.g. Ameis-Hentze-Cauer, Merry and Riddell, and von der Mühl, they are retained by e.g. Allen and van Thiel.

⁴⁶ Cf. the interpretation of Agamemnon's speeches in λ by Olson 1995, pp.37-8.

⁴⁷ Heubeck in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad λ454-6.

ὥ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο
 φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον,
 εἰ μὴ μοι σὺ ἕκαστα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες (v383–5).

Odysseus is relieved that he landed secretly and could grasp the situation of the enemies at his home, otherwise he would have followed the same path to destruction as Agamemnon. One should also note Odysseus' attitude to Penelope after he returns to his home in disguise. Before he enters his home, Odysseus has already revealed his identity to Telemachos (π186-9), but it is only after the vengeance on the suitors that he very slowly and cautiously reveals his identity to Penelope. Even in book 19, where the disguised Odysseus has an intimate conversation with Penelope, he keeps his identity secret from her⁴⁸, though he is accidentally recognized by Eurykleia (τ467-475). Considering that Athene has told him of Penelope's longing for his return (v379), and he himself has heard Penelope's reluctance in having to remarry (σ271-3), Odysseus' attitude in book 19 seems extremely cautious.

This cautious attitude of Odysseus towards Penelope corresponds to the cautious tone of Agamemnon who recognizes and praises Penelope's prudence, but remains suspicious of womankind and advises a secret homecoming. Thus Agamemnon's advice at λ454-6 prefigures Odysseus' activity on Ithaka not only in terms of his secret homecoming, but also of his cautious attitude towards Penelope.

On the other hand, whether Penelope remains faithful to Odysseus until his homecoming is until book 11 not yet certain. The possibility of Penelope's remarriage to one of the suitors has been mentioned repeatedly

⁴⁸ Some scholars assume that Penelope recognized Odysseus in book 19. The difficulty of this interpretation is her prayer to Artemis at v61-82, and her response to the report that Odysseus has returned in book 23 (ψ11-24, 59-68), as Rutherford 1992, pp.34-5 remarks. Cf. Murnaghan 1987, p.137.

in earlier books.⁴⁹ After her trick of the web has been discovered, Penelope does not have any means to delay the marriage. Therefore in book 18 Penelope announces that she will marry one of the suitors, albeit reluctantly (σ251-80). If she marries one of the suitors, the situation in Ithaka will resemble that in Mykenai when Agamemnon returned, although Penelope would remarry reluctantly while Klytaimestra committed adultery with Aigisthos willingly (γ272). So at the stage when Odysseus is in the land of the dead, the danger of Penelope's falling into the hands of Odysseus' enemies is very real to the audience who know the situation in Ithaka. As we have seen above, Nestor told Telemachos that Klytaimestra too was prudent at first, but eventually she was seduced (γ265-272). Agamemnon's return to a cautious tone in his advice regarding a secret homecoming (λ454-6) corresponds, then, to the suspense concerning Penelope's situation in Ithaka. Agamemnon leaves the final assessment of Penelope's trustworthiness open.

(b) Agamemnon's Praise of Penelope
in the Second *Nekyia* (ω192-202)

In the second *Nekyia*, Agamemnon finds Amphimedon among the souls of the suitors led by Hermes to the nether world (ω102-4), and asks him how he and the other young men died (ω106-119). Amphimedon describes what happened in Ithaka (ω121-190). Hearing this report, Agamemnon praises Odysseus and Penelope:

ὅλβιε Λαέρταο πάι, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ·
ἦ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτήσω ἄκοιτιν·
ὥς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείῃ,
κούρῃ Ἰκαρίου, ὥς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος,
ἄνδρὸς κουριδίου. τῷ οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλείται
ἦς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν αἰοιδὴν
ἄθάνατοι χαρίεσσιν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ.

⁴⁹ E.g. α275-8 (Athene-Mentes' advice to Telemachos), β113-4 (Antinoos), ο16-9 (a dream sent to Telemachos by Athene).

οὐχ ὥς Τυνδαρέου κόυρη κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,
 κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν, στυγερὴ δέ τ' αἰοιδῇ
 ἔσσειτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει
 θηλυτέρησι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησιν (ω192–202).

Here again, Agamemnon utters praise of Penelope in contrast to Klytaimestra, but this time he does not add any of the reservations which we saw in his advice to Odysseus in the first *Nekyia*.

Since this praise of Penelope is a reaction to Amphimedon's preceding speech, it should be seen in connection with the description of her deeds by Amphimedon. Amphimedon begins his speech with an account of Penelope's trick involving the web (ω129-148), and goes on to describe events in Ithaka after Odysseus' arrival which led to the murder of the suitors (ω149-190).

Notably, Amphimedon states at the beginning of his account of the events in Ithaka that Penelope devised death for the suitors:

ἦ δ' οὐτ' ἠρνείτο στυγερὸν γάμον οὔτε τελεύτα,
 ἥ μιν φραζομένη θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν,
 ἄλλὰ δόλον τόνδ' ἄλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμήριξε (ω126-8).

Amphimedon thinks that while Penelope's expressed attitude towards her remarriage was indeterminate, she was actually contemplating the murder of the suitors.⁵⁰ He goes on to state that in addition to this indeterminate attitude, Penelope devised another trick (δόλον τόνδ' ἄλλον (ω128)). This second δόλος refers to the trick involving the web which Amphimedon is going to recount (ω129ff.).

A similar expression was used when Antinoos described the same trick in book 2:

πάντας μὲν ῥ' ἔλπει καὶ ὑπίσχεται ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω,
 ἀγγελίας προΐεισα· νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾷ.
 ἦ δὲ δόλον τόνδ' ἄλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμήριξε (β91-3).

The first two lines refer to Penelope's indeterminacy about her remarriage: her false promises which kept the suitors hopeful while she

⁵⁰ Cf. Felson-Rubin 1994, pp.104-7.

had other intentions. The third line is almost identical to ω128 except for the beginning of the verse (ἦ δὲ – ἄλλά), and the same expression δόλον τὸνδ' ἄλλον refers to the trick of the web. Comparison between the above two passages makes it clear that Amphimedon's view of Penelope's indeterminacy is different from Antinoos' view in that he now, after the massacre of the suitors, sees a murderous intention behind Penelope's attitude which Antinoos did not perceive. As we will see below, Amphimedon's view of Penelope is reflected in his following account of the events on Ithaka.

There are two other accounts of Penelope's weaving trick in the *Odyssey*. One is told by Antinoos (β93-110), and the other by Penelope herself (τ139-156). It has been pointed out that some minor differences between the three accounts reflect the intentions of each speaker to justify himself or herself.⁵¹ Amphimedon's version of the story contains a peculiar detail about the completed web not found in the other two accounts:

εὖθ' ἡ φᾶρος ἔδειξεν, ὑφήνασα μέγαν ἱστόν,
 πλύνασ', ἡελίῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἢ σελήνῃ,
 καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα κακός ποθεν ἤγαγε δαίμων
 ἄγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε συβώτης (ω147-150).

With this description of the splendid web, the moment of its completion is emphasized. It was a crucial moment for the fate of the suitors, since at this very moment Odysseus, the bringer of death to them, landed on the island of Ithaka. The impressive description of the completed web accentuates the significance of the moment.

The synchronism of the completion of the web and Odysseus' landing is one of the points which are criticized by those who think the last part of the *Odyssey* is a later addition by a different poet.⁵² They

⁵¹ Heubeck in Russo, Fernández-Galiano and Heubeck 1992, ad ω128-46.

⁵² E.g. Page 1955, pp.120-1.

claim that the completion of the web is regarded as occurring some time before the point of time at which the *Odyssey* starts. Wender, however, observes⁵³ that the period during which the suitors have courted Penelope is at β89-90 said to be three years, which coincides with the period of Penelope's weaving stated at ω140-2. So there is not necessarily a real contradiction: the number of days since the meeting of the Olympian gods in book 1 may be negligible compared to three years. One should, however, note that the simultaneity of the completion of the web and Odysseus' return is not emphasized elsewhere in the epic.⁵⁴

In Amphimedon's description of events after Odysseus' return (ω149-190), there is another peculiar detail. Amphimedon says that Odysseus ordered Penelope to set up the contest of the bow to occasion the massacre of the suitors:

αὐτὰρ ὃ ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδίῃσιν ἄνωγε
τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολίον τε σίδηρον,
ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχήν (ω167-9).

This assumption of a plan shared between Odysseus and Penelope to massacre the suitors obviously contradicts the actual course of events in the *Odyssey*, because Penelope has not yet recognized her husband at the time of the contest.⁵⁵ In the *Odyssey*, the murder of the suitors at the contest of the bow was planned and carried out exclusively by Odysseus, Telemachos, Eumaios, and Philoitios. Penelope has not been told anything about the plan to massacre the suitors. Amphimedon, however,

⁵³ Wender 1978, p.34.

⁵⁴ It may be possible that there was a version of the story of Odysseus in which the hero returns at the same time as Penelope completes the web, as Woodhouse 1930, pp.66-71 suggests. The poet may have utilized this version in Amphimedon's speech to achieve the effect which we will discuss below.

⁵⁵ For the view that Penelope recognized Odysseus in book 19, see note 48 above.

sees things differently. For him, Penelope knowingly participated in the massacre by setting up the archery contest.⁵⁶

Amphimedon's assumption of a consultation between Penelope and Odysseus about the massacre before the contest accords with his statement earlier in the same speech that Penelope was devising death for the suitors (ω127). One should also note that Amphimedon's emphasis on the simultaneity of the completion of the web and Odysseus' return contributes further to the characterization of Penelope as a contriver of the suitor's deaths. According to Amphimedon's view of the course of events, Penelope's δόλος concerning the web and the return of Odysseus are chronologically juxtaposed. The implication of this chronology is that the δόλος is seen as a means of prolonging the courtship of the suitors until the killer arrives in Ithaka. Thus, for Amphimedon, the trick of the web was part of Penelope's scheme to achieve the massacre of the suitors. Thus Amphimedon depicts Penelope as a woman of extreme cunning, and narrates the events in Ithaka according to this view.

As we have seen above, Agamemnon's praise of Penelope (ω192-202) is uttered in response to Amphimedon's depiction of Penelope as a woman of supreme δόλος. It should be noted that Klytaimestra too is associated with δόλος in the *Odyssey*.⁵⁷ Thus Agamemnon makes a contrast between two women, both of whom are associated with δόλος. Klytaimestra and Penelope (at least in the report of Amphimedon) are similar in that both contrived murder, but there is a crucial difference between them: Penelope used her δόλος against her husband's enemies, while Klytaimestra used her δόλος against her own husband. This difference in the use of δόλος

⁵⁶ Felson-Rubin 1994, p.105, with p.175, n.23.

⁵⁷ γ 234-5 ὥς Ἀγαμέμνων / ὤλεθ' ὑπ' Αἰγίσθοιο δόλῳ καὶ ἥς ἀλόχοιο. ; δ 91-2 τείως μοι ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλος ἔπεφνε, / λάθρη, ἀνωιστί, δόλῳ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο.

reflects the fact that Penelope remained on the side of her husband even though he had not returned ten years after the war, while Klytaimestra shifted her loyalty to the side of her husband's enemy though he returned immediately after the war. This crucial difference between the two women of δόλος is stressed in Agamemnon's speech: Penelope remembered her husband (ὥς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος, / ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου (ω195-6)), but Klytaimestra killed hers (κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν (ω200)). The use of the word κούριδιος twice in close succession brings out the difference in the two women's allegiance to their husbands.

5 Conclusion

Agamemnon's praise of Penelope is his final judgement on her merit, which he left open in the first *Nekyia*.⁵⁸ In book 11, Agamemnon was aware of the danger that even the prudent Penelope might betray her husband. In book 24, he discovers that Penelope did not become like Klytaimestra. This development in the comparisons of Penelope and Klytaimestra in the two *Nekyiai* should be seen in the light of the use of the *Oresteia* story through the *Odyssey*.

Similarity between the *Oresteia* story and the *Odyssey* is emphasized in the first half of the epic. When the *Oresteia* story is alluded to by Zeus in the first scene after the proem of the *Odyssey*, the god presents Orestes' vengeance on Aigisthos as a common pattern of the destruction of human beings through their own folly. Throughout the *Telemacheia*, Orestes is presented as the model of a virtuous son whom Telemachos should emulate. Various correspondences between the *Oresteia* story and the present situation in Ithaka are pointed out in the speeches of Nestor and Menelaos. In the first *Nekyia*, Agamemnon's

⁵⁸ Wender 1978, p.41.

advice to Odysseus shows that there is a danger of Odysseus' meeting his end on his return home like Agamemnon. On the other hand, the second half of the *Odyssey* shows a movement away from the pattern of the *Oresteia* story. When Odysseus realizes that he has landed on Ithaka and has the goddess Athene as his protector, he utters a speech of relief that he avoided the initial danger of death, exactly like Agamemnon who did not know of the presence of his enemies and was killed immediately after his homecoming. But the danger for Odysseus still remains. Books 13-22 describes how Odysseus eliminates his enemies and reestablishes himself in his home country, which Agamemnon signally failed to do. This process is reported to Agamemnon by Amphimedon, who adds his own view regarding Penelope's role. This account elicits Agamemnon's praise of Penelope which confirms that she turned out to be the opposite of Klytaimestra. With this praise of Penelope, the *Odyssey's* movement away from the pattern of the *Oresteia* story is complete.

In this context, Agamemnon's reference to songs in his comparison of Penelope and Klytaimestra is significant. He says that Penelope's fame will never cease and the immortals will make a delightful song for her:

τῷ οἱ κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται
ἥς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσιν δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
ἄθᾶνατοι χάριессαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ (ω196-8).

In contrast, Klytaimestra's song will be a hateful one which will continue to bring ill repute to womenkind in general:

στρυγερὴ δέ τ' ἀοιδὴ
ἔσσειτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει
θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησιν (ω200-2).

The present *Odyssey* is, of course, an example of song concerning Penelope. The *Odyssey* starts off as a story in many respects similar to the story of Agamemnon's return, but in crucial aspects it diverts its course from the pattern of the Mykenaian story. The returning hero is not killed, but he behaves cautiously in his homeland and successfully kills

his enemies. The son of the hero accomplishes the act of vengeance not for the dead father, but in collaboration with him. And above all, the wife remains faithful to her husband until his return (and, in Amphimedon's view, she devises the δόλος of death against her husband's enemies, not against her husband). These crucial divergences make the *Odyssey* a great epic in contrast to the famous story about Agamemnon's family. The poet's own commendation of the *Odyssey* is pronounced through Agamemnon's mention of the future songs about the two women.

Chapter 6

THE WOODEN HORSE AND
OTHER EVENTS IN THE TROJAN WAR

1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we discussed the use of the stories of the Greek heroes' *nostoi* from Troy, especially the story of Agamemnon's homecoming. The characters of the *Odyssey* also tell stories of events in the Trojan War itself. The subjects of these stories include the Wooden Horse, Odysseus' spying mission to Troy, the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, the death of Ajax, and the death and burial of Achilles.

These events, except for the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, belong to the last stage of the Trojan War, after the narrative of the *Iliad* ends. It is noteworthy that the *Odyssey* never explicitly refers to the events narrated in the *Iliad*. It has therefore been suggested that the poet of the *Odyssey* had the intention of avoiding overlapping with the *Iliad* in its references to the war, even though one can find numerous instances of subtle allusions to the *Iliad*.¹ Thus, by incorporating stories of the events of the last stage of the Trojan War, the *Odyssey* supplements the *Iliad*'s account of the war without any overlapping.

It should also be noted that the position of the stories of the events of the Trojan war within the structure of the *Odyssey* shows a similar pattern to that of the stories of the *nostoi*. As the story of the revenge taken by Orestes is repeatedly told before and during Telemachos' journey to the Peloponnese, and stories of other heroes' return are also told at Pylos and Sparta, the stories of Odysseus' spying mission to Troy and of the Wooden Horse are told when Telemachos visits Sparta. In the two

¹ Cf. Monro 1901, p.325.

Nekyiai (λ, ω), where the story of Agamemnon's death is told by the shade of Agamemnon himself (λ405-461, ω199-202), the episodes of the Wooden Horse (λ505-537), Ajax's death (λ543-565), and Achilles' death (ω36-94) are mentioned. Only in θ, where the story of Odysseus' quarrel with Achilles and the story of the Wooden Horse are sung by Demodokos, is there no mention of Agamemnon's *nostos*. But one should note that the songs of Demodokos precede Odysseus' long account of the adventures within his own *nostos*. Telemachos' journey to the Peloponnese, where he meets the heroes who came back from Troy and are still living, the two *Nekyiai*, where the words of the shades of the deceased heroes are recounted, and the scene in Alkinoos' palace where stories are told by Demodokos and Odysseus, are the passages in the *Odyssey* which look back to past events in the Trojan war and its aftermath.

Since, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the stories of the *nostoi* of Agamemnon and other heroes fulfil important functions in each context within the structure of the *Odyssey*, we should also pay attention to the function of the stories of the Wooden Horse and other episodes from the Trojan War, with regard not only to their immediate contexts but also to the structure of the epic.

2 Helen and Menelaos' Stories at Sparta

(a) Odysseus' Spying Mission to Troy (δ244-264)

Helen's account of Odysseus' spying mission to Troy begins with a detailed description of his disguise (δ244-250). Odysseus changed his appearance by flogging himself (or having himself flogged), and putting rags around his shoulders (δ244-5). Furthermore, he behaved like a

beggar (δέκτης).² This initial emphasis on Odysseus' disguise leads to the scene of Helen's encounter with Odysseus (δ250-6). He deceived all the Trojans, and Helen alone recognized Odysseus' true identity despite his disguise.³

Andersen points out that Helen's report of her encounter with Odysseus resembles the situation in Ithaka.⁴ Odysseus is also disguised as a beggar in Ithaka. More specifically, Helen's act of washing Odysseus (δ252) reminds us of Eurykleia's act of washing Odysseus' feet (τ386-392, 467-475). It is at this moment that Eurykleia recognizes Odysseus' true identity. Moreover, Helen's interview with Odysseus and his cunning escape from answering the questions (δ251) corresponds to the meeting of Penelope and Odysseus in book 19, where Penelope suspects that the stranger might be her husband, but Odysseus avoids the revelation of his identity by telling a false story.

² The word δέκτης, which is not attested elsewhere, is regarded as a derivative of δέχομαι (Ion., Aeol., Cret. δέκομαι) meaning 'a beggar', cf. *LfrgE*, s.v. 'δέκτης, Δέκτης'. Schol. HMQT ad δ248 report that Aristarchos took this view. But the same scholia state that a certain Δέκτης appears in the *Epic Cycle* (Davies, *EGF*, p.76, fr.7). Thus some modern scholars (including von der Mühl) deem the word a proper noun. But if it is a proper noun, the following relative clause (ὅς . . . Ἀχαιῶν) is difficult to understand, cf. S. West 1988, ad loc. Stanford 1959, ad δ245 claims that οἰκῆι 'slave' (δ245) is incompatible with δέκτη. But the expression οἰκῆι ἐοικώς is a comparison applied to the physical appearance of the flogged skin and the tattered clothes, whereas δέκτη refers to the act of begging in Troy.

³ τοῖον ἐόντα (δ250) means 'even though he was in such a disguise', cf. Ameis-Hentze, ad δ250.

⁴ Andersen 1977, p.9.

Helen ends her account with a favourable presentation of her past actions. Odysseus killed many Trojans before he went back to the Greek camp with much information (δ257-8). So all the other Trojan women wailed, but Helen was glad in her heart because she was looking forward to returning home (δ259-261). The antithesis between Helen and the other Trojans also appears at δ249-250. In that passage, the keen eyes of Helen, who perceived Odysseus' identity despite his disguise, are emphasized in contrast with the Trojans who were deceived. The antithesis between the sorrow of the Trojan women and the joy of Helen at δ259-261 emphasizes that Helen did not have sympathy for the Trojans, but was already hoping to return home. She further claims that she lamented the ἄτη which Aphrodite sent upon her when she left her family.⁵ She adds at the end that her husband lacks nothing in respect of both mind and appearance: οὐ τευ δευόμενον, οὐτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι εἶδος (δ264). Thus Helen claims towards the end of her speech that she wanted to come home, regretted her elopement, which she claims to have been prompted by a goddess, and that she admires her husband.

(b) The Wooden Horse (δ266-289)

Following Helen's account of Odysseus' prowess when he secretly entered Troy, Menelaos tells the story of another deed of prowess on Odysseus' part: the Wooden Horse.

He begins his speech with the comment that Helen's account was seemly, 'κατὰ μοῖραν' (δ266). It should be noted that Menelaos repeatedly uses the second person singular referring to Helen throughout his story: ἔειπες (266), ἦλθες . . . σὺ . . . σ' (274), περίστιξας (277), ὀνόμαζες (278),

⁵ Likewise Agamemnon blames the gods (Zeus, Moira, and Erinyes) who sent ἄτη to him when he expresses his regret over his folly in taking away Achilles' γέρας (T86-9).

ἐβόησας (281), σέ (286), σε (289). Thus Menelaos' speech is formally directed to Helen.

Helen also features prominently in the story. She came to the Wooden Horse in which Odysseus, Menelaos, Diomedes and other Greek heroes were hiding. She called the names of the Greek soldiers, imitating their wives' voices (δ278-9). By so doing, Helen endangered the lives of the Greek men inside the Wooden Horse, because an impulse either to go out or to answer the call of Helen seized Diomedes and Menelaos. They were checked by Odysseus, and the other Greeks also kept silence. Only Antiklos was about to respond to Helen's call, so that Odysseus had to put a hand over his mouth to prevent him (δ286-9). If Odysseus had not prevented these men from responding to Helen, the presence of the Greek soldiers in the Wooden Horse would have been revealed to Deiphobos who was following Helen (δ276), and all of them would have been killed.

Menelaos surmises that Helen received a command from a δαίμων, who wished to give glory to the Trojans, when she visited the Wooden Horse (δ274-5).⁶ He is apparently unable to understand why Helen acted in such a way as to endanger the Greeks in the Wooden Horse. Helen said that Odysseus told her the whole plan of the Achaians: “μοι πάντα νόον κατέλεξεν Ἀχαιῶν” (δ256). So it is quite likely that she knew of the ruse of the Wooden Horse. Did she intentionally try to reveal the presence of the Greek soldiers to Deiphobos? Even if it were possible to suppose that Helen did not recognize the presence of Deiphobos or of any other Trojans,⁷ still her act is extremely dangerous to the Greeks. The picture of a Helen who behaved irrationally and endangered the Greek soldiers undermines Helen's favourable depiction of herself as a woman who kept

⁶ ‘ἔμελλε’ (δ274) expresses a probability in the past, cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ‘μέλλω’ I, b.

⁷ Erbse 1995, pp.5-6.

the secret of Odysseus' identity and whose sympathy was already on the Greek side. Menelaos' conjecture of the workings of a δαίμων behind Helen's inscrutable behaviour may be an ironical echo of Helen's attribution of the cause of her elopement to Aphrodite at δ261-2.⁸

The mention of Deiphobos' name at δ276 is an obvious correction of Helen's too favourable self-portrait.⁹ In her speech, she perhaps tactfully avoids mentioning the name of Paris, the man with whom she fell in love, when she speaks of her departure from home (δ262-4), nor does she mention her marital status after Paris' death. But in the *Little Iliad*, she became Deiphobos' wife after Paris' death.¹⁰ If this tradition was known at the time of the *Odyssey*,¹¹ the reference to Deiphobos' name reminds the audience that Helen in fact married again after the death of her lover.

Let us turn to the depiction of Odysseus in Menelaos' account of the Wooden Horse. Odysseus steadfastly resisted the temptation to respond to Helen's mimicry of the voices of the wives of the Greeks, while others were easily tempted. This steadfastness of Odysseus is vividly emphasized by the description of his seizing Antiklos' mouth. Andersen again points out that the supposed wives' voices calling to their husbands hiding in the Wooden Horse foreshadow Penelope's interview with the disguised Odysseus.¹² The disguised Odysseus steadfastly refrains from revealing his identity in front of his wife in book 19. Andersen also points out that

⁸ Schmiel 1972, p.469.

⁹ Olson 1989, p.393.

¹⁰ Proclus' summary of the *Little Iliad* (Davies *EGF*, p.52, l.11 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.74, l.10).

¹¹ Cf. S.West ad δ276 and Hainsworth ad θ517 in Heubeck, West & Hainsworth 1988.

¹² Andersen 1977, pp.10-11.

Odysseus' act of seizing Antiklos' mouth foreshadows his act of seizing Eurykleia's mouth when she recognizes his scar and is about to reveal his identity to Penelope (τ476-481).¹³

(c) The Function of the Two Stories

The similarities of Helen's story and Menelaos' story are conspicuous. Odysseus' concealment of his identity is the central theme in both stories: he conceals his identity by disguise in Helen's story (cf. κατακρύπτων (δ247)) and he is literally concealed in the Wooden Horse with others. It should also be noted that Helen plays prominent roles in both stories, and her roles in them are similar in that she tries to reveal the hidden man (or men). Thus both of these two stories have two foci: Odysseus and Helen.

In respect of the representation of Helen in these stories, the story of Menelaos seems to be a subtle and masked counter-argument to Helen's self-portrait, as we have seen above. In her own story, Helen was glad to see the success of Odysseus' mission. She further claims that, already before the sack of Troy, she was repentant of her former folly and was hoping to return to Menelaos. Menelaos, on the other hand, reveals the mysterious act on her part which nearly jeopardized the ruse of the Wooden Horse. He may also be hinting at Helen's second marriage in Troy in spite of her alleged repentance. One should also recall that Menelaos uses second person singular references to Helen throughout his story, which may well be embarrassing for her to listen to.

The composition of the Spartan scene should be taken into account in connection with Menelaos' implied criticism of Helen. The scene begins with the double wedding feast of Menelaos' son and daughter (δ2-14). The

¹³ Andersen 1977, p.12.

son, Megapenthes, was not born of Helen, but of a slave woman, because the gods did not allow children to Helen after she bore Hermione (δ11-4). This detail may remind the audience of the long separation of Helen from Menelaos. The name Μεγαπένθης (Great-Grief) seems to be a ‘speaking name’ pointing to his father’s grief.¹⁴ Menelaos incidentally mentions the hardships during his journey home in his words to Eteoneus:

ἦ μὲν δὴ νῶϊ ξεινήϊα πολλὰ φαγόντες
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων δεῦρ’ ἰκόμεθ’, αἳ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς
 ἐξοπίσω περ παύσῃ οἰζύος (δ33-5).

When Menelaos mentions Odysseus’ hardships and deplores the fact that his whereabouts are unknown (δ104-112), Telemachos utters a lament (δ114-6). After Helen enters the scene (δ121-137) and Telemachos’ identity is revealed (δ156-167), Helen, Telemachos, Menelaos and Peisistratos lament together (δ183-8). Peisistratos’ speech at δ190-202 includes a reference to the death of Antilochos (δ199-202). This accumulation of references to hardship and grief sets the tone of the Sparta scene which is very different from that of the Pylos scene.¹⁵ This accumulation is all the more remarkable if one recalls that the cause of all the woes, Helen, is present in this scene.

Helen dispels the grief with a magic drug (δ219-233). By doing so, she tries to cheer up the gloomy atmosphere at the meal. But at the same time she drives away the sorrow caused by the memory of hardships of which she herself was the ultimate cause. It is true that Helen expresses her regret at her former misconduct (δ 261), but one should note that the

¹⁴ Other ‘speaking names’ referring to one’s father include Τηλε-μαχος (far-fighter), Ἀστυ-αναξ (King of the city, cf. Z403), Εὐρυ-σακης (Broad-Shield). For further instances, cf. von Kamptz 1982, pp.31-2.

¹⁵ For similarity and contrast between the Pylos scene and the Sparta scene, cf. Dimock 1989, p.46-7.

tone is very different from the expression of her regret in *Iliad* 3. There she says to Priam:

ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἄδειν κακός, ὅππότε δεῦρο
 υἱέι σῶ ἐπόμεν, θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα
 παῖδά τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὀμηλικίην ἐρατεινήν.
 ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα (Γ173-6).

And it is Priam who blames the gods, instead of Helen, for the war surrounding Troy:

οὐ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν,
 οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν (Γ164-5).

In *Odyssey* 4, on the other hand, Helen herself puts the blame for her elopement on a goddess (δ261-2). This excuse for her own past folly after the accumulation of references to the sufferings of the Trojan war seems to prepare for the masked criticism of Helen in Menelaos' story.

Let us turn to the representation of Odysseus, the other focus of the stories told by Helen and Menelaos. Telemachos sets out on a journey to Pylos and Sparta to hear news about Odysseus. These two stories are, in fact, the only accounts of Odysseus' heroic actions during the Trojan war which Telemachos hears during his journey. After the two stories about his father, Telemachos comments:

Ἀτρεΐδῃ Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,
 ἄλγιον· οὐ γάρ οἱ τι τό γ' ἤρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
 οὐδ' εἴ οἱ κραδίη γε σιδηρὴ ἐνδοθεν ἦεν (δ 291-3).

This comment reveals that Telemachos discerns certain qualities of his father (τό (δ292)) or the great steadfastness of his spirit (κραδίη σιδηρὴ (δ293)) in the stories. Odysseus' prowess as revealed in the two stories includes the typical heroic behaviour of harming enemies (δ 257) and helping friends (δ 288), but the most emphasized quality of Odysseus in both stories is his ability to survive dangerous situations by concealing his identity.

Odysseus' secret identity is an important and recurring motif in the *Odyssey*.¹⁶ In Polyphemos' cave, Odysseus tells his false name Οὐνίς to the Cyclops, concealing his true identity (1 366). On the island of Ogygie, Odysseus is concealed from the world for many years by Kalypso (Concealer). After Odysseus returns to Ithaka, he disguises himself as a wandering beggar. Thus this motif plays an important role in both Odysseus' *nostos* and his revenge, two of the three main component parts of the *Odyssey*. Through the use of the motif of the concealment of Odysseus' identity in the stories told by Helen and Menelaos in *Odyssey* 4, a foreshadowing of this important motif is incorporated in the other main component part of the epic, the *Telemacheia*. Moreover, it is not, perhaps, a mere coincidence that the specific prefigurations of the scenes in Ithaka (the questioning and washing of the disguised Odysseus, Odysseus' seizing of someone else's mouth) are included in the stories told to Telemachos, who confirms his identity as the son of Odysseus during his journey to the Peloponnese and prepares himself for facing the troubles at home. The image of the disguised Odysseus impressed on Telemachos through the stories of Helen and Menelaos during this journey, foreshadows the disguised figure of Odysseus with whom Telemachos collaborates against the suitors.

3 Demodokos' Songs in θ

Demodokos performs three songs in book 8. The subjects of the first and the third songs are taken from the Trojan War, and Odysseus features prominently in both. The subject of the second song, on the other hand, is a comical scene among the Olympian gods. Odysseus' reactions to the three songs are carefully described. He cries after listening to the first

¹⁶ Cf. Murnaghan 1987, pp.3-19.

and the third songs but enjoys the second, whereas the Phaiakians enjoy all three of them. Thus Demodokos' songs are directly connected to the portrayal of Odysseus in book 8.

It should be noted that Odysseus' identity receives special attention in books 7 and 8. At the beginning of book 7, where Odysseus is about to enter the city of King Alkinoos, Athene pours mist around him so that no one scoffs at him or asks who he is (ἐξερέοιθ' ὅτις εἴη (η17)). At η199-206, Alkinoos wonders whether the stranger (Odysseus) is a god or a man.¹⁷ In reply, Odysseus states only that he is a mortal man, not at all like an immortal god, without revealing his identity (η208-214). Odysseus himself poses the question "Are you a goddess or a mortal?" (θεός νύ τις ἢ βροτός ἐσσι; (ζ149)) to Nausikaa in book 6. In her reply, Nausikaa states that she is a daughter of King Alkinoos (θ196), which shows that she is not a goddess. Likewise, when Glaukos is asked whether he is a god or a man in *Iliad* 6 (Z123-143), he understands that the question is about his γενεή (τίη γενεῇν ἐρεΐνεις; (Z145)), and lists his forefathers, starting from Sisyphos and continuing on to Hippolochos who begot Glaukos himself

¹⁷ Alkinoos refers to the stranger's homeland at η193-6, and to his birth at η198. Besslich 1966, pp.42-3 rightly sees in this speech an implied interest in the stranger's homeland and identity. What hinders Alkinoos from asking the stranger's identity directly is perhaps the consideration that a host should not ask an unknown guest's name until a meal is finished (The meal finishes at η228-232). Cf. νῦν δὲ κάλλιον ἐστι μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι / ξείνους, οἳ τινές εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς (γ 69-70); σίτου θ' ἄπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / δείπνου πασσαμένω εἰρησόμεθ' οἳ τινές ἐστον / ἀνδρῶν (δ 60-2), also α123-4 and ξ45-7. Cf. Garvie 1994, ad η166.

(Z152-211).¹⁸ But in *Odyssey* 7, instead of revealing his parents or his genealogy, Odysseus refers to his miserable suffering to show that he is not an immortal god. He claims that in respect of his hardship he is comparable to those who suffered most among mortal men (η211-4). He also states that all his hardship was caused by the will of the gods (θεῶν ἰότητι (η214)).¹⁹ After the meal is finished (η232), Arete, who has noticed that the clothes the stranger is wearing are the ones Arete herself made with her maids (η234-5), asks at η237-9 who he is:

ξεῖνε, τὸ μὲν σε πρῶτον ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτή·
τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἵματ' ἔδωκεν;
οὐ δὴ φῆς ἐπὶ πόντον ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι;

But surprisingly, Odysseus does not reveal his identity. Arete is asking him three questions: (1) Who are you and where are you from? (2) Who gave these clothes to you?²⁰ (3) Did you come here wandering over the sea?²¹ In his reply to these questions, Odysseus first describes his

¹⁸ See Chapter 2. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aphrodite, who is disguised as a mortal girl, is asked a similar question and names Otreus as her father in order to prove that she is not a goddess (ll. 108-112).

¹⁹ Odysseus entreats Alkinoos in the latter part of his speech to give him a meal and to send him back to his homeland (η215-225). In this part, too, Odysseus' hardship and sorrow are frequently referred to: κηδόμενόν (215), πένθος (219), ὅσσ' ἔπαθον (221), δύστηνον (223), πολλὰ παθόντα (224).

²⁰ τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν occurs once in the *Iliad* (Φ150) and seven times in the *Odyssey* (α170, η238, κ325, ξ187, ο268, τ105, ω298). In the *Odyssey*, this expression is always followed by πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆες, except here (η238). Arete's motherly care for the clothes is expressed by this modification of the formulaic line.

²¹ φῆς (present) is preferable to another MS reading φῆς (imperfect), because Odysseus has not yet mentioned his wanderings over the sea. At η152, he has only said that he is away from his φίλοι. Cf. Garvie 1994, ad η239.

wanderings from the island of Kalypso to Scheria (η241-289). This confirms Arete's assumption that he has arrived at Scheria after wandering over the sea. At the end of this account, he tells how he met Nausikaa, who gave him the clothes. Thus Odysseus' speech contains answers to Arete's questions (3) and (2). Then Odysseus ends his speech with this remark: ταῦτά τοι, ἄχνυμένος περ, ἀληθείην κατέλεξα (η297),²² leaving the first question of Arete unanswered.²³ At the beginning of book 8, we are reminded of the fact that Odysseus' identity and homeland have not been revealed by Alkinoos' speech to the Phaiakians who gather at the King's palace next morning²⁴:

ξείνος ὅδ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅς τις, ἀλώμενος ἵκετ' ἐμὸν δῶ,
 ἢ ἐπὶ πρὸς ἡοίων ἢ ἐσπερίων ἀνθρώπων·
 πομπὴν δ' ὀτρύνει καὶ λίσσεται ἔμπεδον εἶναι (θ28-30).

The suspense about the stranger's identity is enhanced by the mention of πομπή, because Alkinoos needs to know his guest's homeland in order to send him there.

At the end of book 8, Alkinoos inquires about Odysseus' name and his homeland:

τῷ νῦν μηδὲ σὺ κεῦθε νοήμασι κερδαλέοισιν,
 ὅτι κέ σ' εἴρωμαι· φάσθαι δέ σε κάλλιόν ἐστιν.
 εἰπ' ὄνομ', ὅτι σε κεῖθι κάλεον μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε,
 ἄλλοι θ' οἱ κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ οἱ περιναιετάουσιν.
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τις πάμπαν ἀνώνυμός ἐστ' ἀνθρώπων,
 οὐ κακὸς οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός, ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα γένηται,

²² A similar expression (ταῦτά τοι ἄχνυμένη περ ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω) ends a speech at *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 433.

²³ Besslich 1966, pp.62-3 observes that the situation is not appropriate for Odysseus to tell his identity: (1) Arete is suspicious of Odysseus' possession of the clothes she is familiar with, and (2) there is nothing which would prove or suggest that he is a famous hero who fought at Troy. If he says 'εἰμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης' in this situation, there is a danger that he be taken for a liar or a megalomaniac.

²⁴ Cf. Besslich 1966, p.67.

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίθενται, ἐπεὶ κε τέκωσι, τοκῆες.
εἰπὲ δέ μοι γαῖάν τε τεῆν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε,
ὄφρα σε τῇ πέμπωσι τιτυσκόμεναι φρεσὶ νῆες (θ548-556).

The expression “So this time (νῦν), do not conceal anything with your cunning intentions (548)” shows that, in Alkinoos’ view, the stranger has so far cunningly evaded disclosure of his identity.²⁵ This time, however, Odysseus is willing to reveal who he is:

εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν
ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει (ι19-20).

And he goes on to tell a long tale of his adventures that occupies books 9 to 12. With this long awaited revelation, the recurring motif of his concealed identity finally comes to an end.

Not only the length of time during which Odysseus remains nameless, but the recurrent expressions of interest (by Alkinoos and Arete) in Odysseus’ identity, and his apparent efforts to evade the question, give this scene a conspicuous position among other scenes where unknown guests are received in the *Odyssey*.²⁶ The postponement of the revelation of Odysseus’ identity is an important structural element of the Scheria scene. As we examine the function of Demodokos’ songs, therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that the performances of these songs, together with other events in book 8, are placed in a context where the question of Odysseus’ identity receives special attention.

²⁵ Besslich 1966, pp.67-8.

²⁶ At τ115-8, the disguised Odysseus refuses to answer Penelope’s question about his identity (τ104-5). But Penelope asks the question again at τ162, and Odysseus tells a lying tale (τ165-202), so his identity is kept in suspense for just a short period. In this passage, Odysseus’ initial show of reluctance to reveal his identity enhances the semblance of trustworthiness of the following tale. Cf. Besslich 1966, pp.68-9; Reece 1993, p.171.

(a) The First Song (075-82)

The subject of the first song of Demodokos is a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilleus. The contents of the song are summarized at 075-82. Though it is stated at line 74 that this episode was very popular, there is no certain mention of the episode independent of this passage.²⁷ Many scholars believe that it may have been invented for the context of *Odyssey* 8.²⁸ The occasion of the quarrel, θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ (076), is verbally echoed by δαιτὸς . . . εἴσης / . . . δαιτὶ . . . θαλείῃ (098-9). It is to be noted that the two antagonists in this quarrel are the central heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively. In this connection, it is significant that this passage shows a similarity to the proem of the *Iliad*. Both mention a quarrel between two eminent Greek heroes. Both refer to the plan of Zeus, by which great sufferings were inflicted upon human beings. Moreover, expressions like Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς (082, cf. A5), ἄναξ δ'

²⁷ Von der Mühl 1976, pp.148-154 suggests that this episode was taken from the story of a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilleus on the island of Tenedos. This story featured in the *Kypria* (Davies *EGF*, p.32, ll.64-7 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.41, ll.50-2) and was perhaps taken up again in Sophokles' *Syndeipnoi* (*TrGF*, fr.562-571). It is also mentioned by Aristotle (*Rhet.* III, 1401b17-9) and others. Cf. *TrGF* iv, pp.425-6. Though the quarrel is basically between Agamemnon and Achilleus, a fragment of the *Syndeipnoi* (fr. 566) is from the scene of a quarrel between Achilleus and Odysseus, who supports Agamemnon. But the difficulty of this view is that the joy of Agamemnon (077-8) seems odd if he is personally involved in the quarrel. Cf. Marg 1956, p.19. If the song of Demodokos was based on this story, one has to assume that Agamemnon's involvement in the quarrel was suppressed, perhaps in order to facilitate the detail of his joy. Nagy 1979, pp.15-65 assumes that this song refers to a lost tradition about the Trojan War in which a rivalry between Odysseus and Achilleus was the central theme.

²⁸ E.g. Marg 1956, Finkelberg 1987.

ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (077, cf. A7), and Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλλῆος (075, cf. A7) resemble wordings in the proem of the *Iliad*.²⁹

The cause of the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus is not mentioned. But it is reasonable to assume that the basic difference of these two heroes lies at the heart of this quarrel: Achilles is pre-eminently a hero of physical force, βίη or κράτος. Odysseus, on the other hand, is a hero of δόλος par excellence.³⁰ The antithesis of δόλος and κράτος (or βίη) is a recurrent motif in the Homeric epics.³¹

The summary of Demodokos' first song ends with a reference to the suffering of the war:

τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πῆματος ἀρχή
Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλᾶς (081-2).

The particle γάρ at 81 indicates that this sentence explains why Agamemnon consulted the oracle of Apollo.³² It was because the Trojan War was about to begin. The word πῆμα is used with the verb κυλίνδω three times elsewhere in the Homeric epics.³³ Here, it is πῆματος ἀρχή 'the beginning of the misery' that was 'rolling on'.³⁴ It should also be noted that this suffering is conceived as inflicted on both sides, Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι (082).³⁵

²⁹ Cf. Taplin 1990a.

³⁰ Rüter 1969, pp.249-250 points out that the basic difference between the two heroes can be discerned in the *Iliad* at I 308-313, 346-7, T216-220.

³¹ Cf. H142, ι408, λ120.

³² Garvie 1994, ad 081-2.

³³ I 347, P688, β163.

³⁴ For the use of ἀρχή as 'beginning' or 'origin' of suffering, cf. κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή (Λ604), νῆας . . . ἀρχεκάκους (E62-3), ἥ τ' ἔπλετο νείκεος ἀρχή (X116).

³⁵ The Sirens also sum up the whole Trojan War as toils inflicted upon both the Greeks and the Trojans by the will of the gods (μ189-90).

The joy of Agamemnon at lines 77-8 makes a contrast with this emphasis on suffering.³⁶ At lines 78-80, the content of the oracle is not given, but it seems likely that the oracle stated that when the best of the Achaians (ἄριστοι Ἀχαιῶν) quarrelled, the Greek army would win the war. It has been suggested that the motif of the misunderstood oracle is employed here, i.e. the quarrel of the best of the Achaians in the oracle refers to the quarrel between Agamemnon himself and Achilles depicted in the *Iliad*.³⁷ If so, Agamemnon's joy at the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus was a vain joy. In fact he was destined to suffer with other Greeks in consequence of his quarrel with Achilles.

Listening to this story, Odysseus cries. His reaction is described at lines 83-92. At 90-92, the Phaiakians' enjoyment of the song makes a sharp contrast with Odysseus' sorrow. One should note the grammatical construction employed in the two sentences at lines 87-92: ὅτε λήξειεν . . . , ἔλεσκε καὶ σπείσασκε. ὅτ' . . . ἄρχοιτο καὶ ὀτρύνειαν . . . , γοάσκειν. Both of these sentences consist of a temporal clause with optative verb(s) and a main clause with verb(s) in iterative form (-σκ-). Thus Demodokos pauses not only once but several times during his performance, and Odysseus begins to cry and hide his face each time the singer resumes the performance. By representing Odysseus' act of crying in this way, the contrast between the Phaiakians' enjoyment and Odysseus' sorrow is greatly emphasized. Furthermore, the sorrow of Odysseus and the light-heartedness of the Phaiakians are repeatedly mentioned later in this book.³⁸

³⁶ Marg 1956, p.24.

³⁷ Calhoun 1939, p.11, n.25; Marg 1956, p.24.

³⁸ References to Odysseus' suffering and sorrow: e.g. 6137-9 (Laodamas), 149 (Laodamas), 154-5 (Odysseus), 182-4 (Odysseus), 231-3 (Odysseus). References to the

In connection with the first song, Odysseus' quarrel with Euryalos should be noted. Alkinoos, having observed his guest secretly shedding tears (094-5), suggests to the Phaiakians that they should hold a sports contest outside (096-103). After several events, Laodamas, a son of Alkinoos, urges the stranger to participate in the contest (0145-151), but Odysseus refuses (0153-7). Then Euryalos rebukes Odysseus, claiming that he does not seem like anyone who is familiar with sports, but is rather like a travelling trader (0159-164). Angered by these words (0178-9, 185), Odysseus reviles Euryalos. Thus, as Odysseus quarrelled with Achilles in the first song of Demodokos, he is involved in a quarrel in the land of the Phaiakians. Odysseus' quarrel with Euryalos can be seen as a re-enactment of his heroic past on a smaller scale.

Odysseus' exchange with Euryalos is an important moment in book 8, because it drives Odysseus into participating in the contest, though he was initially unwilling (0153-7). This quarrel leads to the scene in which Odysseus proves his superiority in a sports contest (discus throw), which is an important step before the full revelation of his identity.³⁹ Firstly, Odysseus' victory in the discus throw proves that he belongs to the class of nobles, who alone can be familiar with sports. One can discern this recognition of Odysseus' noble birth in Euryalos' conciliatory gift to him (0400-411) after the discus throw. He previously compared Odysseus to a trader, but now gives him a precious sword, a gift suitable for a hero.⁴⁰ Thus Odysseus' victory allows a glimpse of his status. Secondly, in his words following the discus throw, Odysseus mentions in passing his

Phaiakians' joy and light-heartedness: e.g. 0131, 248-9 (the Phaiakians' delight in feasts, music, dance, clothes, warm bath and bed).

³⁹ Odysseus' participation in the contest is hinted at in 022-3.

⁴⁰ Hohendahl-Zoetelief 1980, p.6.

presence at the Trojan War. He boasts about his skill in archery, and claims that only Philoktetes surpassed him in archery at Troy (θ 219-220).

Odysseus' remark on his skill in archery is further elaborated by a reference to two eminent archers of a past generation: Herakles and Eurytos (θ223-8). Both of these two men are said to have challenged immortal gods in archery (θ225), and Eurytos' premature death because of divine anger is mentioned (θ226-8). The death of Eurytos has a bearing on Odysseus' archery, because, according to the poet's comment on Odysseus' bow at the beginning of *Odyssey* 21, Eurytos bequeathed his bow to his son, Iphitos, at his death, and later Iphitos gave it to Odysseus (φ31-3). The detail about Eurytos connects Odysseus' boast among the Phaiakians to the bow he left at Ithaka, and thus Odysseus' future activity with his bow is foreshadowed.⁴¹

(b) The Second Song (θ266-366)

In his second performance, Demodokos sings a song about Ares and Aphrodite's adultery and their ensuing punishment by Hephaistos (θ266-366).⁴² It should be noted that this sort of comical scene among the Olympian gods is absent elsewhere from the *Odyssey*, whereas such depiction of the gods is characteristic of the *Iliad*, for instance, the laughter of the gods in book 1, Hera and Zeus' bed scene in book 14, and exchanges among gods in the *Theomachia* in book 21.⁴³ Thus one catches a glimpse of the Iliadic world of the Olympian gods in this song.

⁴¹ Clay 1983, pp.89-92.

⁴² Like the first song of Demodokos, there is no early Greek attestation of this story independent of this passage.

⁴³ Burkert 1960, pp.134-9.

On the other hand, the subject of this song, seduction and adultery, is a major motif in the *Odyssey*.⁴⁴ The adultery of Aigisthos and Klytaimestra is repeatedly mentioned as a sort of foil to the happier marriage of Odysseus and Penelope. This adultery led to the murder of Agamemnon, subsequently avenged by Orestes. At Ithaka, the suitors are courting Penelope, and she is on the verge of accepting her new marriage unwillingly, after means of postponing the decision have been exhausted. The suitors will be punished with death by Odysseus and his helpers. Paris' seduction of Helen is also mentioned (ψ218-224). This adultery had the dire consequence of the Trojan War. Thus the second song of Demodokos takes up a serious motif in the *Odyssey*. At the same time, the outcome of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite makes a sharp contrast to the grievous consequences of seduction and adultery in the human world. The divine adulterers are simply freed. Ares goes to Thrace and Aphrodite goes to Paphos (θ359-363). A scene of the goddess' adornment and dressing concludes the song (θ363-6). It has been noted that such echoes of serious human affairs in light tones are characteristic of the depiction of the world of gods in the *Iliad*.⁴⁵

Another aspect of this song which is significant in the context of the *Odyssey* is the emphasis on τέχνη and δόλος. In the description of the production and setting-up of the binding threads⁴⁶ (θ273-282), the device is called δόλος twice (276, 282). The adulterers are caught in these

⁴⁴ Marg 1956, p.22.

⁴⁵ Macleod 1982, p.3.

⁴⁶ Invisible binding threads also feature in the story of Hephaistos' return to Olympus, in which the god binds Hera on a throne with invisible threads. Alcaeus fr.349 (Lobel-Page), Plato *Resp.* 378d, etc. Visual representations: *LIMC*, s.v. 'Hephaistos' 113-128. Cf. Page 1955a, pp. 258-261; Janko 1992, ad Ε256-61.

‘skilfully-made bonds’ δεσμοὶ τεχνήεντες (θ296-7). Later Hephaistos himself calls the device δόλος καὶ δεσμός (θ 317). Thus Hephaistos triumphs over the adulterers with his δόλος and τέχνη. One of the gods who are looking at the trapped adulterers remarks that “the slow one has overtaken the swift one, as now slow Hephaistos has caught Ares, the swiftest of all the gods on Olympos, though he is lame, by his skills (τέχνησι)” (θ329-332). One can find a parallelism between the antagonism of Hephaistos and Ares (and Aphrodite) and that of Odysseus and Euryalos.⁴⁷ Odysseus comments that Euryalos’ physical appearance is distinguished, but his intellect is weak (θ176-7). This reflects Hephaistos’ comments on the physical beauty of Ares (θ 310) and on Aphrodite’s physical beauty and thoughtlessness (θ 320). Odysseus’ concern about his running ability (θ 230-3) echoes Hephaistos’ lameness. One may also discern in the antagonism between Ares and Hephaistos a subtle echo of the theme of the first song, the antagonism between the hero of κράτος and the hero of δόλος.

(c) The Third Song (θ499-520)

Unlike the first and the second songs, Odysseus himself requests the subject of the third song (θ487-498). In his request for a new song, Odysseus summarizes the first song of Demodokos as Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον . . . ὅσσ’ ἔρξαν τ’ ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ’ ἐμόγησαν ‘the fate of the Achaians . . . what they did, suffered and toiled’ (θ489-490). Then Odysseus urges Demodokos ‘to pass over’ (μετάβηθι) from the song full of sufferings to a new topic, the Wooden Horse. He designates the subject of the next song succinctly as ἵππου κόσμον . . . δουρατέου (θ492-3). The word κόσμος seems to be employed here with a variety of connotations. The primary

⁴⁷ Braswell 1982, pp.131-2.

meaning of κόσμος can be rendered as ‘the orderly or beautiful shape’ of the Wooden Horse.⁴⁸ At the same time, considering the mention of the construction of the Horse in the following relative clause (τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ (θ493)), κόσμος may also imply the process of its building.⁴⁹ Furthermore, another relative clause attached to ἵππου follows:

ὅν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε διος Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας, οἳ ῥ' Ἴλιον ἐξάλαπαξαν (θ494-5).

Here Odysseus proudly adds that he led the Wooden Horse, the δόλος, to the Trojan acropolis. By this second relative clause, κόσμος at θ492 is given another connotation, the ‘stratagem’ of the Wooden Horse.⁵⁰ From his leading role in the enterprise of the Wooden Horse, Odysseus can be called ‘the sacker of Troy’.⁵¹ The wording of Odysseus’ request, with its ambiguous use of κόσμος, seems to indicate Odysseus’ desire to hear a song concentrating on the various aspects of the Wooden Horse, especially his own brilliant prowess as the leader of the enterprise of the Horse, which finally brought about the destruction of Troy.

A summary of Demodokos’ song (θ 499-520) follows Odysseus’ request. There are two other accounts of the Wooden Horse in the *Odyssey*, one by Menelaos in book 4 (δ 266-289) and the other by Odysseus himself in the first *Nekyia* in book 11 (λ 523-532). These two accounts describe only the inside of the Wooden Horse. This is natural, because both speakers, Menelaos and Odysseus, were actually hiding in the Horse. The story of Demodokos also mentions the presence of Odysseus and other

⁴⁸ Cf. LSJ, s.v. ‘κόσμος’, I, 3.

⁴⁹ Cf. the use of κοσμεῖν in the sense of ‘to prepare’, e.g. δόρπον ἐκόσμει (η13).

⁵⁰ κοσμεῖν is regularly used in the sense of ‘marshalling’ a troop, and κοσμήτωρ means ‘a commander’.

⁵¹ Cf. α 2, χ 230, and Odysseus’ epithet πολίπορθος.

Greeks in the Horse (0502-3), but it mainly describes what was happening outside the Wooden Horse while the Greek heroes were hiding in it.⁵² The Trojans decided to let the Wooden Horse in as an offering to the gods, rather than to cut it open or drop it over a cliff (0504-9). And the comment is added: ‘because it was fate that Troy be destroyed’ (αἶσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι (0511)). By thus putting more weight on the description of events outside the Wooden Horse, Demodokos’ song places a special emphasis on the doom of the Trojans. Then Demodokos sings of the final battle of the Trojan war (0514-520). Odysseus’ prowess is mentioned. He, together with Menelaos, is said to have fought and won the most dreadful fight αἰνότατον πόλεμον (0519) around Deiphobos’ house.

It should be noted that a shift of emphasis is discernible between Odysseus’ request and the actual content of the song. Odysseus asked Demodokos to sing of ‘the κόσμος of the Wooden Horse, . . . which godlike Odysseus led to the acropolis as a δόλος’ (0494-5). But in Demodokos’ song, it was the Trojans themselves who brought it to the acropolis (0504), and the description of the discussion outside the Horse shows that it was the fatal decision of the Trojans, rather than the leadership of Odysseus, that led to the doom of Troy. Demodokos’ song places emphasis on the suffering of the war, especially on the Trojan side. It is also to be noted that Odysseus’ prowess in the battle around Deiphobos’ house is associated with great hardship, as implied in the expression αἰνότατον πόλεμον (0519).

After this song, Odysseus cries even more than he did after the first. This time, he is said to have melted (τήκετο (0522)) in tears. And he does not try to hide his tears. An extended simile of a captive war widow is attached (0523-530). In this simile, the woman’s city has just been

⁵² Andersen 1977, p.7.

taken by the enemies, and she is prostrate in tears on the body of her husband who was killed defending his city and people. But the enemy soldiers push her with spears and take her away. This is a good example of a characteristically Odyssean use of similes.⁵³ In the *Iliad*, the materials of similes are taken from the everyday world which has little to do with the war depicted in the main narrative. But in this simile, the material (the misery of a conquered city) coincides with the topic of Demodokos' song. In particular, the emphasis on the doom on the Trojan side in Demodokos' song, as we have seen above, corresponds to the misery of the vanquished in the simile. In fact, the lamentation of the woman in the simile represents the sorrow of the Trojan women.⁵⁴

By applying this simile to describe the way in which Odysseus is shedding tears, the lamentation of the vanquished in the Trojan war is juxtaposed with the lamentation of the victor, who also had to suffer in consequence of the war. In so doing, the poet indicates the vast extent of the misery of the war which affected both sides. One should recall that the first song of Demodokos includes an adumbration of the misery (πῆμα) of the Trojan War at a stage even before the first actual battle began (θ 81-2). There too, the misery of the war is conceived as affecting both sides (θ 82). The third song, with the simile of a captive war widow, presents a concrete picture of the misery of the war at its culmination, which was merely hinted at in the first song.

(d) The Significance of Demodokos' Songs within the *Odyssey*

Odysseus' identity is concealed from the Phaiakians throughout book 8, but some hints about his heroic stature are gradually revealed to

⁵³ Podlecki 1971; Foley 1978.

⁵⁴ Macleod 1982, p.4-5.

them, especially to Alkinoos. Odysseus' reactions to the first and the third songs of Demodokos hint at his personal involvement in the Trojan War. Odysseus' crying at the song about the Wooden Horse triggers Alkinoos' question about his still nameless guest's identity. By the time Alkinoos asks this question, he has seen his guest cry during the first song, which is also about the Trojan War, and he has heard in passing that his guest fought at Troy (θ219-220). Odysseus' tears at the first and the third songs show his emotional involvement in the Trojan War, and the reference to Odysseus' presence at the war hints at direct personal involvement. These hints naturally lead to Alkinoos' speculation, stated at the end of his question about his guest's identity:

εἰπὲ δ' ὅ τι κλαίεις καὶ ὀδύρεαι ἔνδοθι θυμῷ
 Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἢ δ' Ἰλίου οἶτον ἀκούων.
 τὸν δὲ θεοὶ μὲν τεύξαν, ἐπεκλώσαντο δ' ὄλεθρον
 ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα ᾗσι καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ.
 ἦ τίς τοι καὶ πηρὸς ἀπέφθιτο Ἰλίοθι πρό,
 ἔσθλος ἑὼν, γαμβρὸς ἢ πενθερός; οἳ τε μάλιστα
 κήδιστοι τελέθουσι μεθ' αἶμά τε καὶ γένος αὐτῶν,
 ἦ τίς που καὶ ἑταῖρος ἀνὴρ κεχαρισμένα εἰδώς,
 ἔσθλος; ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν τι κασιγνήτοιο χερσίων
 γίνεται, ὅς κεν ἑταῖρος ἑὼν πεπνυμένα εἰδῇ (θ577-586).

Alkinoos asks whether one of the stranger's relatives by marriage (γαμβρός ἢ πενθερός) or an intimate comrade (ἑταῖρος) was killed at Troy. The reference to ἑταῖρος, which is commonly applied to a comrade in the war in the Homeric epics and especially to Odysseus' companions in the *Odyssey*,⁵⁵ shows that Alkinoos is by now made to suppose that his guest was himself at the war and had bitter experience of it. In this sense, the third song forms a crucial step towards the revelation of Odysseus' identity. In contrast with the occasion of Arete's questions about his identity at η237-9, the accumulation of hints about the stranger's status

⁵⁵ Odysseus himself refers to his ἑταῖροι at Troy as he passingly reveals his participation in the Trojan War in his boast after the discus throw (θ217).

suggests that he is a man of noble birth who fought at Troy. This situation facilitates the Phaiakians' acceptance of Odysseus' revelation.

In addition to this process, which leads to the revelation of Odysseus' identity to Alkinoos and other Phaiakians, one can discern a process of gradual disclosure of Odysseus' qualities at another level.⁵⁶ The poet reveals various characteristics of Odysseus to the audience of the *Odyssey* in book 8.

The emphasis on Odysseus' skill in archery at θ 215-228 reveals a distinctive feature of Odysseus' role in Ithaka, i.e. his victory in the contest of the bow and the ensuing slaughter of the suitors with the same bow. In this respect, it is remarkable that Odysseus is not particularly a hero of archery in the *Iliad*,⁵⁷ even though he claims that he surpassed all the Greeks at Troy except Philoktetes (θ 219-220). It is symbolic that Odysseus did not bring to Troy the bow which he had been given by Iphitos.⁵⁸ This characterization of Odysseus as a supreme archer is not *Iliadic*, but particularly suits his role in the *Odyssey*.

δόλος is a common motif which runs through the three songs of Demodokos. In the first song, Odysseus' quality as a hero of δόλος is hinted at in contrast to Achilles, the hero of physical force. In the second song, Hephaistos' triumph over Ares, the god of superior physical force, by means of his δόλος, continues the motif of rivalry between a hero of δόλος and a hero of βίη in the first song. The subject of the third song is the δόλος of Odysseus which directly brought about the sack of Troy. In this sense, too, the rivalry between Odysseus and Achilles is relevant, since

⁵⁶ Cf. Murnaghan 1987, pp.170-2.

⁵⁷ Teukros and Pandaros are the heroes who are mainly associated with skill in archery in the *Iliad*.

⁵⁸ Cf. φ38-41.

Achilleus is conceived as the main force against the Trojans in the *Iliad* whose presence is essential for the Greek side.⁵⁹ Moreover, the death of Hector at Achilleus' hand is symbolically equated with the destruction of Troy.⁶⁰ Thus the Wooden Horse, the δόλος which Odysseus led to the Trojan acropolis (θ494), shows the distinct manner in which Odysseus conquered Troy in contrast to the manner of Achilleus, whose antagonism towards Odysseus is mentioned in the first song.

When Odysseus finally reveals his name to the Phaiakians, he names his δόλοι as the quality by which he is famous among men (ι19-20). One should note that δόλος also characterizes his future role in the *Odyssey*, i.e. his disguise as a beggar and his cunning way of trapping and killing the suitors. We have seen above that Hephaistos' punishment of his wife's seducer in Demodokos' second song shows a thematic affinity with Odysseus' revenge on the suitors. Moreover, the motif of δόλος in the three songs of Demodokos, together with his claim to supreme skill in archery (θ215-8), foreshadows the role he plays in his homeland. In this sense, not only the second song, but all three songs, prefigure Odysseus' triumph over the suitors.

In our analysis of the three songs of Demodokos, we have also noted another aspect of Odysseus, i.e. his suffering. Odysseus emphasizes his

⁵⁹ Cf. I 351-5.

⁶⁰ The epithet πολίπορθος is applied to Achilleus in the *Iliad* (θ372, O77, Φ550, Ω108). Cf. Shive 1987, pp.77-8, 99-100. Oka 1990 shows that the application of this epithet to Achilleus reflects the general tone of the *Iliad*, in which Hektor is regarded as the sole defender of Troy (B412-7, Z402-3, X506-7, Ω725-730, etc.), therefore Achilleus, who killed him, is seen as the conqueror of Troy. One should, however note that Achilleus had already sacked other cities. Cf. Taplin 1986, and Proclus' summary of the *Kypria* (Davies *EGF*, p.32 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.42, l.58).

suffering in his conversation with Alkinoos and Arete in book 7. In book 8, the first song of Demodokos reminds Odysseus of his bitter quarrel with Achilles, which makes him shed tears in secret. Odysseus' sorrow is further emphasized in contrast to the light-heartedness of the Phaiakians. This song also includes a foreshadowing of the suffering in the war at the very opening stage of the Greek expedition to Troy. The third song depicts the doom of Troy, which is the culmination of the misery of war on the Trojan side. The simile of a captive war widow attaches a picture of the severe fate of the vanquished side to the victor, who also had to suffer in consequence of the war. By thus equating the misery of the vanquished and the victor, the poet presents Odysseus as an embodiment of the total misery of the war.

On the other hand, the comical sketch of the punishment inflicted upon seduction and adultery among the Olympian gods presented in the second song allows us to see human misery in the wider (Iliadic) perspective of the contrast between gods and human beings. References to the gods' involvement in the misery of the Trojan War in the first and the third songs (Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλᾶς (082), διὰ μέγα θυμον Ἀθήνην (0520), cf. also 0493) also point to this contrast. In this respect, too, the three songs have a unified effect.

This repeated attention to human misery also seems to have a wider implication in the *Odyssey*. It certainly prepares for Odysseus' *apologoi* (1-μ) in which his numerous hardships are recounted, but also it foreshadows an important aspect of Odysseus' behaviour on Ithaka. The disguised Odysseus repeatedly tells false stories, in which he claims that he was formerly prosperous in one way or other but has now become a miserable wandering beggar through a change of fortune. Odysseus' testing of the suitors and the members of his household is a process of finding out whether any of them can show respect and sympathy to a

person who is a victim of the transience of fortune. In this sense, he shows distinct consciousness of the transience of human fate. This aspect of Odysseus' behaviour at Ithaka is prefigured by the references to the suffering of the Trojan War, which is presented in the wider context of human misery in general in the songs of Demodokos.

Thus, *Odyssey* 8, in which suspense as to Odysseus' identity is an important structural element, presents distinct qualities of his future role in the *Odyssey*, along with the process of the gradual disclosure of his heroic status to the Phaiakians. Odysseus is absent from the main narrative of the first four books, so his qualities can only be hinted at through brief references to his former deeds.⁶¹ After the description of Odysseus' preparation for departure from Ogygie and his subsequent shipwreck in book 5, the poet finds an occasion to present the main hero of the epic more fully to his audience in the Scheria scene. Odysseus' skill in speech is amply shown in his speech to Nausikaa (ζ149-185). In book 8, he is presented as a hero of δόλος and a supreme archer. His keen awareness of human misery is also presented. The figure of Odysseus with emphasis on these qualities is quite different from the figure of Odysseus in the *Iliad*. In this sense, the portrayal of Odysseus in book 8 presents a particularly Odyssean Odysseus to the audience of the epic. And the three songs of Demodokos make, each in its way, essential contributions to illustrate these qualities of the hero of the *Odyssey*.

⁶¹ Cf. α 253-266 (Odysseus as an archer), δ106-7 (his suffering), γ121-2 (his δόλοι).

For the first passage, cf. Dirlmeier 1966.

4 Stories of the Trojan War in the two *Nekyiai*

(a) The Exploits of Neoptolemos (λ505-537)

In the first *Nekyia*, Odysseus describes to the shade of Achilles the exploits of Neoptolemos in the Trojan War. This account includes the episode of the Wooden Horse (λ523-532). One should note that the *Nekyia* in *Odyssey* 11 is part of Odysseus' *apologoi* (ι-μ), which are addressed to King Alkinoos and the Phaiakians following Demodokos' third song (θ499-520), the subject of which is also the Wooden Horse. Thus two accounts of the same episode are presented to the same audience on the same occasion, first by Demodokos and then by Odysseus. Though a long stretch of Odysseus' story of his adventures intervenes between the two accounts of the Wooden Horse, the fact that the *apologoi* are addressed to the Phaiakians at the court of Alkinoos has been brought back to our attention by the intermission in Odysseus' narrative at λ333-376. It is notable that Alkinoos, who has heard two songs of Demodokos on the Trojan War, specifically requests Odysseus to tell him about his encounter with those who fought and died at Troy (λ370-2). This request creates a thematic bridge between the songs of Demodokos and Odysseus' encounter with the shades of Greek heroes who participated in the Trojan War. In this connection, it may be significant that Alkinoos compares Odysseus to a singer (ᾠοιδός) as he praises Odysseus' storytelling:

σοὶ δ' ἔπι μὲν μορφήν ἑπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἔσθλαί,
μῦθον δ' ὥς ὅτ' ᾠοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας,
πάντων Ἀργείων σέο τ' αὐτοῦ κήδεα λυγρά (λ367-9).⁶²

Odysseus' *Apologoi* as a whole rivals the songs of Demodokos, and he includes in the scene of the Underworld his own account of the story of the Wooden Horse which was previously sung by Demodokos.

⁶² Heubeck in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, ad λ368-9 notes a similarity between this praise of Odysseus' storytelling and Odysseus' praise of Demodokos' song at θ487-98.

Odysseus' account of the Wooden Horse and Neoptolemos' prowess is a reply to Achilles' question about his son and his father (λ492-503).⁶³ Agamemnon's shade also inquires about his son at λ457-461. Though Odysseus does not know anything about Orestes (λ505), the audience of the epic know that Orestes proved himself a worthy son of Agamemnon by avenging his father's murder.⁶⁴ Odysseus can give an answer, however, to Achilles' inquiry about Neoptolemos.

Neoptolemos is highly praised in Odysseus' reply. His competence in speech at assemblies is mentioned at λ510-2, and his prowess in battle is described in detail at λ513-537. Excellence both in speech and in fighting is the ideal virtue of a hero.⁶⁵

The description of Neoptolemos' exploits begins with a comment on his vigorous manner of fighting:

αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἐν πεδίῳ Τρώων μαρναίμεθ' Ἀχαιοί,
οὐ ποτ' ἐνὶ πληθυὶ μένεν ἀνδρῶν οὐδ' ἐν ὀμίλῳ,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, τὸ δὲ μένος οὐδενὶ εἴκων (λ513-5).

This passage echoes Achilles' question at λ493: ἦ ἔπετ' ἐς πόλεμον πρόμος ἔμμεναι ἦε καὶ οὐκί.⁶⁶ Achilles himself was a leading fighter (πρόμος ἀνὴρ) who fought in front of the line of the Greek soldiers as depicted in

⁶³ Achilles' inquiry about Peleus (λ494-503) occupies more lines than his inquiry about Neoptolemos (λ492-3). Achilles expresses similar concern about his old father left at home in *Iliad* 24 (Ω540-2, cf. also T334-7). It is notable that possible mistreatment of the aged Peleus by the people around him (λ496-503) is also mentioned in that scene by Priam (Ω488-9). Cf. A. T. Edwards 1985, pp.53-4.

⁶⁴ Cf. α 35-43, 298-300, γ 193-8, δ 546-7.

⁶⁵ In *Iliad* 9, Phoinix says that he was sent to Troy to teach the young Achilles to be “μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων (I 443).” Cf. Heubeck in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, ad λ511-6.

⁶⁶ Cf. Heubeck in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, ad λ514-5.

the *Iliad*, and asks if his son fulfilled the same role. There is another echo of Achilles' words in Odysseus' reply. Achilles says of himself: πέφνον λαὸν ἄριστον, ἀμύνων Ἀργείοισιν (λ500). A similar expression is used when Odysseus says that he cannot list all the foes who were killed by Neoptolemos: ὅσσον λαὸν ἔπεφνεν ἀμύνων Ἀργείοισιν (λ518). The correspondence of these two lines underlines the similarity of the roles which the father and the son played among the Greeks.⁶⁷

The reference to Eurypylos (λ519-522) provides a further link between Achilles and Neoptolemos. Eurypylos is the only hero named among the enemies whom Neoptolemos killed. Eurypylos' father was Telephos (519), a king of Teuthrania, whom Achilles once wounded according to the tradition.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Odysseus adds a comment that Eurypylos was the most beautiful hero after Memnon (λ522). Since Memnon is the last major hero whom Achilles killed,⁶⁹ Odysseus' comment links Neoptolemos' exploits with his father's.

In the description of the Wooden Horse, Neoptolemos' courage is emphasized in contrast to the cowardice of other Greeks who were shedding tears and trembling for fear (λ526-530).⁷⁰ Odysseus concludes his speech by stating that Neoptolemos acquired a fair share of the booty after the sack of Troy and that he returned home safely (λ533-7).

⁶⁷ Heubeck in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, ad λ518. The expression ἀμύνων Ἀργείοισιν appears only at λ500 and λ518 in the Homeric epics.

⁶⁸ The Greeks' expedition to Teuthrania and Telephos' wound at Achilles' hands featured in the *Kypria* (Proclus' summary, Davies *EGF*, p.32, ll.47-9 / Bernabé *PEG*, pp.40-1, ll.36-8). Cf. Kullmann 1960, pp.189-203.

⁶⁹ This episode was included in the *Aithiopsis* (Proclus' summary, Davies *EGF*, p.47, ll.14-9 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.68, ll.10-2).

⁷⁰ Kakridis 1971, p.48, n.55.

Odysseus represents Neoptolemos as a distinguished warrior who inherited his father's qualities, and who, unlike his father, lived to see the end of the war and returned safely with much booty. The shade of Achilles rejoices, because he has been told that his son was pre-eminent (ὅ οἱ οἶδ' ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι (λ540)). Achilles' joy at hearing of the prowess and safe return home of his son matches the hatred of death which he expressed earlier (λ 488-491). Odysseus' story reveals that Achilles' heroic qualities were inherited by Neoptolemos and continued to live in him.

Odysseus' account of Neoptolemos' exploits also contains references to Odysseus himself. It was Odysseus who fetched Neoptolemos from the island of Skyros to Troy (λ508-9). Odysseus mentions that only Nestor and himself were superior to Neoptolemos in speech at assemblies (λ512). More notably, Odysseus features prominently in the description of events inside of the Wooden Horse. Odysseus claims that everything was entrusted to himself:

. ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο,
ἤμην ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν λόχον ἢ δ' ἐπιθεῖναι (λ524-5).

We have seen above that Odysseus, still a nameless stranger, showed an interest in his own leading role as he requested Demodokos to sing of the Wooden Horse (θ494), but the singer's actual song, as summarized at θ499-520, concentrated on the events outside the Horse rather than Odysseus' role inside the Horse. Thus this mention of Odysseus' key role in the Horse subtly complements Demodokos' account of the story. An expression similar to the passage quoted above (λ524-5) can be found twice in the *Iliad*:

αὐτόματα δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον ὦραι,
τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλύμπός τε,
ἤμην ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἢ δ' ἐπιθεῖναι
(Ε749-751=Θ 393-5).

Just as the Seasons (Ἔρρα) are responsible for the timely opening and closing of the gate of heaven and Olympos, Odysseus was responsible for opening the Wooden Horse at the right moment for the attack, and for keeping it closed until then. In this respect, Neoptolemos makes a contrast to Odysseus, for he repeatedly entreats Odysseus to let him get out of the Horse (λ530-2).⁷¹ Neoptolemos' impatience serves as a foil to Odysseus' patience and caution.

Odysseus' ability to wait patiently until the right moment arrives plays a key role in his behaviour at Ithaka in the latter half of the epic. In this passage, it is notable that this quality is delineated in contrast to Neoptolemos, who inherited the impetuous valour of his father, Achilleus. Therefore, we have in this passage a contrast between the qualities of Odysseus and the qualities of Achilleus, the two heroes whose opposition to each other was the subject of Demodokos' first song. And this contrast emphasizes an aspect of Odysseus' qualities which characterize his deeds in Ithaka later in the epic.

(b) Achilleus' Death and Funeral (ω36-97)

In the second *Nekyia*, Agamemnon's shade meets Achilleus' shade, and they hold a conversation. First, Achilleus addresses Agamemnon (ω24-34). Achilleus begins his speech with praise of Agamemnon's vast political power while he lived (ω24-7), but then turns to Agamemnon's death (ω28-34). He comments that Agamemnon should have died at Troy while enjoying his τιμή, so that the Greeks would have built a tomb for him and he would have acquired a great κλέος for his son (ω30-3). At the

⁷¹ Neoptolemos is characterized by swiftness both in speech (αἰεὶ πρῶτος ἔβαλε λ511)) and in fighting (πολὺ προθέεσκε λ515)). This matches his impatience in the Wooden Horse.

end of the speech, Achilles states that Agamemnon had to meet the most pitiable death (οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ (ω34)). Achilles' address makes it clear that Agamemnon lacked the honourable death and funeral which would have provided great fame for his offspring.

In his reply, Agamemnon recounts the death of Achilles and the subsequent battle around his body (ω37-42), and describes the funeral, the building of the tomb, and the funeral games in great detail (ω43-92). The presence of Thetis, her sister goddesses, and the Muses as mourners (ω47-64) endows the funeral with unusual dignity. The tomb of Achilles, which the ἱερὸς στρατός⁷² of the Greeks built on a promontory, is said to be conspicuous from far away on the sea to those who live now and those who will be born (ω83-4). Achilles' tomb will spread his fame both geographically and chronologically. As for the funeral games in honour of Achilles (ω85-92), Agamemnon emphasizes the unusually valuable prizes (περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα (ω85, 91)) which Thetis procured from other gods. Then he comments: μάλα γὰρ φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν (ω92). This phrase recalls Achilles' earlier remark to Agamemnon: 'Ατρείδη, περὶ μὲν σε φάμεν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ / ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων φίλον ἔμμεναι ἥματα πάντα (ω24-5). Achilles and other Greeks thought (φάμεν)⁷³ that Agamemnon was favoured by Zeus always (ἥματα πάντα), but it turned out that he had to die most pitiable without κλέος. Agamemnon, in return, says that Achilles was truly the beloved of the gods. Agamemnon continues:

ὥς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανὼν ὄνομ' ὤλεσας, ἀλλὰ τοι αἰεὶ
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους κλέος ἔσσεται ἐσθλόν, Ἀχιλλεῦ·
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τί τόδ' ἦδος, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσας;
ἐν νόστῳ γάρ μοι Ζεὺς μήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον

⁷² The exact meaning of ἱερὸς στρατός (ω81) is disputed. Cf. *Lfgre*, s.v. 'ἱερός' (M. Schmidt), B, I, 1. Schmidt accepts the view that ἱερός in this passage signifies the assistance of gods.

⁷³ Cf. Ameis-Hentze-Cauer, ad ω24.

Αἰγίσθου ὑπὸ χερσὶ καὶ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο (ω93-7).

Thus Agamemnon concludes his account of Achilles' death and funeral by contrasting Achilles, whose name will not be forgotten and whose κλέος ἐσθλόν will be among all men forever, with himself, for whom Zeus devised a miserable death at the hands of Aigisthos and his own wife.⁷⁴ What Agamemnon describes in this speech (honourable death and funeral) were exactly what Achilles told him that he failed to obtain. Thus, the speeches of these two heroes are so composed that the contrast between the two is underlined.

It should be noted that Achilles and Agamemnon are adversaries of each other in the *Iliad*: their quarrel at the beginning is the cause of the miseries described in the epic. One detail in the speech of Agamemnon's shade is thought to refer to a passage in the *Iliad*:

..... δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ
 χρύσειον ἀμφιφορῆα· Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον
 φάσκ' ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο.
 ἐν τῷ τοι κεῖται λεύκ' ὀστέα, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιὰδαο θανόντος,
 χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τῆς ἀπάντων
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα (ω73-9).

Achilleus' bones were put in a gold urn together with Patroklos' bones. This is a realization of the wish uttered by Patroklos' shade in *Iliad* 23: ὥς δὲ καὶ ὀστέα νῶιν ὁμῇ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι (Ψ91).⁷⁵ The building of Achilles' sepulchral mound is also mentioned at Ψ245-8. These are rare examples of references in the *Odyssey* to events mentioned in the *Iliad*, since events described in the *Iliad* are generally avoided when episodes of

⁷⁴ The reference to Zeus' plan (Ζεὺς μήσατο (ω96)) looks back to the Greeks' opinion mentioned by Achilles at ω24-5 that Agamemnon was a φίλος of Zeus.

⁷⁵ Cf. Heubeck in Russo, Fernandez-Galliano & Heubeck 1992, ad ω76-9. Ψ92 (χρῦσεος ἀμφιφορεύς, τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ) is regarded as spurious. Cf. Janko 1992, p.26.

the Trojan War are referred to in the *Odyssey*.⁷⁶ Yet the references to the burial of Achilles and Patroklos' bones together in an urn and the building of the tomb may not be exceptions to this principle, since these events do not actually happen in the *Iliad*, but are only promised. In this connection, one should note that Achilles' premature death itself is repeatedly anticipated in the *Iliad*.⁷⁷ In *Iliad* 9, Achilles mentions the two possible fates predicted by Thetis:

μήτηρ γάρ τέ με φησὶ θεὰ Θέτις ἀρφυρόπεζα
 διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοςδε·
 εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
 ὤλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·
 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
 ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὤκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη (I 410-6).

It is the first of the two fates that Achilles chooses in the course of the *Iliad*, i.e. a premature death at Troy which is accompanied by κλέος ἄφθιτον. Agamemnon's shade in *Odyssey* 24 describes the realization of what is promised or predicted in the *Iliad*, utilizing traditional material on Achilles' death.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Monro 1901, p.325.

⁷⁷ E.g. Σ96, T416-7, Φ277-8, X358-360.

⁷⁸ Achilles' death and funeral were described in the *Aithiopis* (Proclus' summary, Davies *EGF*, p.47, ll.20-8 / Bernabé *PEG*, p.69, ll.15-22), in which Achilles' death was preceded by Thetis' warning concerning Memnon (presumably that Achilles will meet a premature death if he kills Memnon), Antilochos' death at the hand of Memnon, and Achilles' revenge on Memnon for Antilochos' death (Proclus' summary, Davies *EGF*, p.47, ll.14-19 / Bernabé *PEG*, pp.68-9, ll.10-15). Neoanalytic studies on the *Iliad* have suggested that traditional (pre-*Aithiopis*) material influenced the similar course of events in the *Iliad* (with Patroklos and Hektor taking the roles of Antilochos and Memnon respectively). Cf. Pestalozzi 1945, pp.44-5; Kakridis 1949, pp.65-95; Schoeck 1961, pp.20-31.

Agamemnon begins his speech with a vocative ὄλβιε:

ὄλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ (ω36).

It is noteworthy that he begins the praise of Odysseus after Amphimedon's account of the *mnesterophonia* with the same word:

ὄλβιε Λαέρταο πάι, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ (ω192).⁷⁹

Furthermore, it should be noted that Agamemnon praises Odysseus and his faithful wife's glorious deeds in contrast to his own miserable fate, in particular, the wickedness of his wife. Thus Agamemnon's miserable end serves as a foil both to the κλέος of Achilles and to the κλέος of Odysseus and Penelope (ω196).⁸⁰ As Agamemnon praises Penelope, he predicts that the immortals will produce a pleasing song (ἀοιδὴν χαρίεσσαν) for Penelope (ω197-8), and contrasts this with the hateful song (στυγερὴ ἀοιδή) about Klytimestra's deeds (ω199-201). In the last chapter, we have seen that this song about the faithful wife of Odysseus can be seen as a self-reference to the *Odyssey*. Through the parallelism of Agamemnon's praise of Achilles and his praise of Odysseus, then, the κλέος sung of in the *Odyssey* is given a comparable status to the κλέος of Achilles, who is the main hero of the *Iliad*.⁸¹

5 Conclusion

Each of the three accounts of the Wooden Horse depicts different aspects of the episode. Menelaos' description of Helen's illogical behaviour outside the Horse, which endangered the Greek men inside (δ266-289), functions as a retort to Helen's self-defence in her previous speech (δ235-264). The depiction of the events outside the Horse in the third song of

⁷⁹ The form ὄλβιε occurs only in these two places (ω36, 192) in the Homeric epics.

⁸⁰ Wender 1978, p.42.

⁸¹ Cf. Hölscher 1988, pp.307-8.

Demodokos (0499-520) puts emphasis on the misery of the war on the Trojan side, which is echoed in a simile (0523-530) attached to Odysseus' lament after hearing the song. The description of Neoptolemos' courage within the Horse in the first *Nekyia* (λ505-537) fits well in Odysseus' speech to Achilles' shade, which as a whole praises the heroic quality of Neoptolemos. This account is similar to Menelaos' account in that both describe the behaviour of the Greek men inside the Horse, but the difference is notable. Menelaos in book 4 describes the susceptibility of the Greeks to the temptation of Helen's voice, which makes a contrast with the steadfastness of Odysseus. Odysseus in the first *Nekyia* describes the fear of the Greeks, which serves as a foil to Neoptolemos' courage. Thus the three representations of the Wooden Horse reflect the different functions which these accounts fulfil in each context.

We have also noticed that the three accounts of the Wooden Horse throw light on different aspects of the qualities of Odysseus. Menelaos' account of the Wooden Horse (δ), together with Helen's preceding account of Odysseus' spying mission to Troy, reveals Odysseus' ability to remain unrecognized among the enemies and to resist the temptation of revealing his identity. In book 8, the Wooden Horse highlights the δόλος of Odysseus (0494). This aspect of Odysseus is also hinted at by the second song of Demodokos which depicts the δόλος of Hephaistos, whose situation is similar to that of Odysseus. Also the third song of Demodokos, together with the following simile, presents Odysseus as an embodiment of the entire misery of the Trojan War. Odysseus' account of the Wooden Horse in the first *Nekyia* shows his patience, in contrast to Neoptolemos' impatient desire to fight. All these aspects of Odysseus foreshadow his behaviour and attitude in his homeland. In this respect, the following words of Athene-Mentor at the *mnesterophonia* are significant:

οὐκέτι σοί γ', Ὀδυσεῦ, μένος ἔμπεδον οὐδέ τις ἀλκή,

οἷη ὅτ' ἄμφ' Ἑλένη λευκωλένῳ εὐπατερείῃ
 εἰνάετες Τρώεσσιν ἐμάρναο νωλεμές αἰεῖ,
 πολλοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἔπεφνες ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῇτι,
 σῇ δ' ἥλω βουλῇ Πριάμου πόλις εὐρυάγυια (χ226-230).

The goddess reminds Odysseus of his former prowess in the Trojan War, especially of the ruse of the Wooden Horse (σῇ . . . βουλῇ). As the Wooden Horse and other stories of the Trojan War in the first half of the *Odyssey* foreshadow Odysseus' activities at Ithaka, the goddess' reminder points back to the Trojan War at the moment when Odysseus' activities at Ithaka culminate in the revenge on the suitors.⁸²

We have also noticed that the comparison of Odysseus with Achilles is a recurrent motif in the *Odyssey*. The quarrel of the two heroes in the first song of Demodokos (θ 72-82) hints at the basic difference between the two. Achilles is a hero of βίη, whereas Odysseus is a hero of δόλος. The opposition of these two types is illustrated by Hephaistos' revenge on Ares in the second song of Demodokos, in which Hephaistos' δόλος overcomes Ares' βίη. In the first *Nekyia*, Odysseus encounters the shade of Achilles, and Odysseus' story of Neoptolemos' prowess includes a reference to the basic difference between himself and Neoptolemos (who inherited Achilles' heroic qualities). In this story, one should note, the impetuous Neoptolemos is put under the control of the patient Odysseus who holds the ultimate authority in the Wooden Horse. In the second *Nekyia*, the κλέος of Achilles and the κλέος of Odysseus (with the help of faithful Penelope) are praised equally by the shade of Agamemnon. And the κλέος of Odysseus perhaps receives more emphasis, since it is praised after the κλέος of Achilles.

In the last chapter, we saw that in the first half of the *Odyssey* Agamemnon's fate is repeatedly compared with the danger impending for Odysseus, but his success in overcoming the danger at Ithaka is

⁸² Andersen 1977, p.15.

underlined by the statement of the shade of Agamemnon in the second *Nekyia* that Odysseus' fate turned out to be quite the opposite to his own (ω192-202). In a somewhat similar manner, the comparison with Achilles also serves to define Odysseus' achievement depicted in the *Odyssey*. Achilles is the most glorious example of one type of hero, while Odysseus exemplifies another type. The references to the difference between these two types in the first half of the *Odyssey* (θ, λ) shows Odysseus as a rival to the Achilles-type. And the pronouncement of the shade of Agamemnon in the second *Nekyia* confirms that Odysseus' achievement is no less glorious than, or even surpasses, the κλέος of Achilles.

Chapter 7

ODYSSEUS' *APOLOGOI*,
with Special Reference to the Thrinakia Episode

1 Introduction

Odysseus narrates his adventures to the Phaiakians in books 9-12 of the *Odyssey*. Many episodes in this account contain traces of their folktale origins.¹ These adventures contain a great variety of marvellous encounters, and each episode is fascinating in its own right. On the other hand, scholars have also noticed a skilful design in the arrangement of these episodes.

K. Meuli suggested that the course of Odysseus' and his companions' wanderings was influenced by the route which the Argonauts took in a pre-Homeric *Argonautica* story.² Furthermore, Reinhardt showed that the adventures of Odysseus were so arranged that they fitted the special situation of Odysseus, who was a commander with a fleet at his departure from Troy but eventually reduced to a lone wanderer when he reached his homeland.³ G. W. Most has recently argued that Odysseus' *apologoi* are integrated into the context of the Phaiakian scene through his message to the Phaiakians implied in the account of his adventures. He suggests that the *apologoi* are designed to define the proper duties of hospitality (i.e. to entertain a stranger with feasts and to send him home promptly) with various negative examples,⁴ and that the *apologoi* are designed to support Odysseus' request to the Phaiakians to send him

¹ Cf. Page 1973.

² Meuli 1921. Cf. Crane 1988, pp.135-156.

³ Reinhardt 1960, pp.47-124.

⁴ Most 1989, p.25. Cf. Reece 1993, pp.203-4.

home without delay.⁵ In connection with the last point, one should add to Most's observations the fact that Odysseus' strong wish to return home (ι 21-36) directly precedes the account of his adventures, and that a reference to the Phaiakians as escorting Odysseus home (λ332) ends the first half of the *apologoi* before the intermission in book 11.

A clue to another aspect of the integration of the *apologoi* into the fabric of the *Odyssey* seems to be given by the proem of the epic. At α 7-9, the fact that Odysseus' companions ate the cattle of Helios is mentioned in the form of a reference to the reckless deeds (ἄτασθαλίας) which caused their destruction. Thus, out of the twelve or so adventures which occurred during Odysseus' wanderings, only the Thrinakia episode is mentioned in the proem.

Some scholars think that the proem misrepresents the whole course of the adventures of Odysseus by singling out the Thrinakia episode and by disregarding other episodes.⁶ In fact, those companions who perished because of the slaughter of Helios' cattle were the crew of one ship only. The other eleven ships were destroyed by the Laistrygonians, and some of the companions were killed by the Kikonians, the Cyclops, and Skylla. Elpenor died because of his own mistake on Aiaia. Yet the proem proceeds as though all the companions of Odysseus were destroyed because of their deeds of ἄτασθαλίας at Thrinakia. The special attention paid to this episode in the proem seems to be an attempt to emphasize its importance to the *Odyssey* as a whole. In order to judge the validity of the representation of the Thrinakia episode in the proem, it is necessary, on the one hand, to examine how crucial this episode is in the *apologoi*, and,

⁵ Most 1989, p.30.

⁶ There is a recent and useful survey of this question in Walsh 1995, pp.385-392.

on the other, to assess its relevance to the structure of the *Odyssey* as a whole.

2 The Thrinakia Episode within the Composition of the *Apologoi*

Reinhardt suggests that the adventures of Odysseus can be divided into three stages in respect of the number of ships, i.e. (1) Odysseus with his fleet, (2) Odysseus with his surviving ship, and (3) Odysseus with no ship.⁷

The first stage consists of the episodes of the Kikonians, the Lotus-Eaters, the Cyclops, Aiolos, and the Laistrygonians. Odysseus was commander of a fleet consisting of twelve ships at the beginning of this stage. That the number of ships was twelve is incidentally revealed at 1159. The same number of ships are attributed to Odysseus' contingent in the catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2 (B 637). At the end of this stage, eleven ships are destroyed, and only Odysseus' own ship survives into the next stage.

The second stage consists of the episodes of Circe, the *Nekyia*, the Sirens, Skylla, Charybdis, and Thrinakia. The storm after the Thrinakia episode destroys the ship and its crew, except Odysseus. The third stage, which includes the episodes of Kalypso and the Phaiakians, is not part of Odysseus' speech, but falls within the main narrative of the poet (books 5-13).

It should be noted that the first and second stages abound in magical and monstrous elements, for example, the lotus fruits, the Cyclopes, the bag of winds, the Laistrygonians, Circe's magic, the song of the Sirens, Skylla and Charybdis. The third stage, on the other hand, presents hardly any of these elements. Kalypso does not perform any

⁷ Reinhardt 1960, p. 57.

Odysseus from home for a long time as already revealed in Zeus' speech in *Odyssey* 1 (α68-75, cf. α20-1). Since Poseidon's anger is the cause of Odysseus' long wandering, it is appropriate for the Cyclops episode, which prompted the anger, to be placed earlier in the adventures.

It should be noted that Odysseus and his companions repeatedly remind themselves of the danger they encountered in the cave of the Cyclops.¹¹ The encounter with the Cyclops earlier in their adventures gives an example of an extreme danger to which the others they face later are compared.

One should also note the correspondence between Polyphemos' curse and the warnings of Teiresias and Circe later in the *apologoi*. Polyphemos, now blinded, prays to his father, Poseidon:

δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πολυπόρθιον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι,
 υἱὸν Λαέρτew, Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἔχοντα.
 ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι
 οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 ὅψε κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
 νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃς, εὖροι δ' ἐν πῆματι οἴκῳ (1530-5).

Polyphemos asks Poseidon to prevent Odysseus' homecoming, or, if he is predestined to return home, to allow it to him only after long delay, deprived of his companions and his ship, and, in addition, to make him find difficulties at home. The latter option in this prayer, i.e. Odysseus' delayed homecoming after the loss of his companions and his ship, establishes the outcome of the *apologoi*. But in this prayer, there is no mention of the cattle of Helios, the slaughter of which, as the proem of the *Odyssey* announces, finally caused the destruction of all the companions who had survived previous dangers. The detail of the cattle is supplied and linked with the destruction of the companions in Teiresias' prophecy in the first *Nekyia*:

¹¹ κ198-220, κ435-7, μ209-212. Odysseus also reminds himself of this experience after he returns home at υ18-21. Cf. J. Finley, Jr. 1978, pp.131-2.

ἄλλ' ἔτι μὲν κε καὶ ὥς, κακὰ περ πάσχοντες, ἴκοισθε,
 αἶ κ' ἐθέλης σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἐταίρων,
 ὁππότε δὴ πρῶτον πελάσῃς εὐεργέα νῆα
 Θρινακίῃ νήσῳ, προφυγῶν ἰοειδέα πόντον,
 βοσκομένας δ' εὖρητε βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
 Ἥελιου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.
 τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἑάας νόστου τε μέδῃαι,
 καὶ κεν ἔτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην, κακὰ περ πάσχοντες, ἴκοισθε.
 εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὄλεθρον
 νηὶ τε καὶ ἐτάροις. αὐτὸς δ' εἴ περ κεν ἀλύξῃς,
 ὅψ' ἐ κακῶς νεῖαι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
 νηὸς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίῃς· δῆεις δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ (λ104-115).

Teiresias warns Odysseus that, if the cattle of Helios at Thrinakia are harmed, his companions will be lost. It should be noted that the two lines from Polyphemos' curse (λ534-5) which express the Cyclops' wish for Odysseus' delayed homecoming together with the loss of his companions and ship and the troubles at home, are repeated in Teiresias' prophecy (λ114-5) with only the necessary adjustment of verbs added. The same warning about the cattle of Helios is repeated by Circe with more details at μ127-141, in which one line is again repeated from Polyphemos' curse (λ534 ≈ μ141). These two prophecies supplement the framework of the *apologoi* established in the previous curse by adding the details about the cattle of Helios.¹² At the same time, by presenting the destruction of the companions as a possibility which may be avoided, these prophecies point to the crucial importance of the companions' choice at Thrinakia. The effective arrangement of these passages in the course of the *apologoi* should be noted. The outcome of the *apologoi* is indicated in Polyphemos' curse, which is placed near the beginning of the first stage of the adventures, and the two prophecies at the middle add the detail of the cattle of Helios to the preceding curse and reveal the importance of the Thrinakia episode which, with its sequel, the destructive storm, occupies the last part of the *apologoi*.

¹² Heubeck ad λ104-115 in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989.

The Aiolos episode also contains details which would suit the second stage of adventures better than the first.¹³ Odysseus says that he himself controlled the sails and did not entrust this task to anybody else all through the voyage from the island of Aiolos for nine days in order to reach home faster (κ 32-3). This special care on Odysseus' part does not apply to the whole fleet, but only to the ship in which Odysseus was sailing. When Odysseus fell asleep, the crew on his ship opened the bag given by Aiolos and consequently the *whole* fleet was driven back to the island whence they had started (κ 34-55). This error on his companions' part is anticipated at κ 27: αὐτῶν γὰρ ἀπωλόμεθ' ἀφραδίησιν. This expression attributes the responsibility for the destruction to Odysseus' companions in general. This causes a slight discrepancy with the actual event, because the crew members of one ship only are responsible for opening the bag of winds. The presence of those who were sailing on other ships does not seem to be considered in this passage.

As for the expression at κ 27, one should note its similarity to α 7: αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο.¹⁴ In both cases, the companions' destruction is attributed to their wrong deeds (ἀφραδίησιν and ἀτασθαλίησιν) which strictly belong to the crew of only one ship.

It should also be noted that the Aiolos episode shows further correspondences with the Thrinakia episode. In both, the companions make irretrievable mistakes while Odysseus is asleep. Also, in terms of the structure of the whole adventure of Odysseus, these two stories are located directly before catastrophes at the end of the first and the second

¹³ Reinhardt 1960, pp.54-5.

¹⁴ Heubeck ad κ26-7 in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989.

stages. The attribution of responsibility for the destruction to the companions themselves underlines this parallelism.¹⁵

The above observations, based on the insights of Reinhardt, show the importance of the Thrinakia episode in the structure of the *apologoi*. The significance of the events at Thrinakia is marked by the echo of Polyphemos' curse in the warnings of Teiresias and Circe, as well as by the correspondence of the ὄφραδία and the ἀτασθαλία of the companions as the causes of the disasters at the end of the first and the second stages. Bearing the importance of this episode in mind, we shall examine the description of the ἀτασθαλία of the companions at Thrinakia closely, and consider its significance in the larger context of the *Odyssey*.

3 The ἀτασθαλία of the Companions in the *Odyssey*

(a) Parallelism between the Companions, Aigisthos, and the Suitors

The word ἀτασθαλία, which is employed in reference to the slaughter of the cattle of Helios in the proem (α 7), is again used in reference to the same slaughter in Odysseus' warning to his companions. Odysseus made them swear not to kill the cattle of Helios: μή πού τις ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσιν / ἧ βοῦν ἡέ τι μῆλον ἀποκτάνῃ (μ300-1). The use of the word ἀτασθαλία at the point when Odysseus and his companions were about to embark on the island of Thrinakia reinforces the connection of the companions' ἀτασθαλία with their destruction announced in the proem of the epic.

Not long after the proem, the word ἀτασθαλία is repeated in Zeus' speech:

ὦ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται.
ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἳ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν (α32-4).

¹⁵ Reinhardt 1960, p.57.

As in the proem (α7), a possessive adjective indicates that the responsibility for the miseries rests on those who suffered them.¹⁶ Zeus mentions the case of Aigisthos as an example of this general condition (α35-43). Thus the destruction of the companions is linked with that of Aigisthos through the use of the key word ἀτασθαλία. As the companions were destroyed because of their own ἀτασθαλία, so Aigisthos too suffered the revenge of Orestes because of his own ἀτασθαλία of seducing Klytaimestra and killing Agamemnon.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, the story of Agamemnon's homecoming is repeatedly compared to Odysseus'. In this comparison, Aigisthos corresponds to the suitors of Penelope. Thus Zeus' speech in *Odyssey* 1 with its *exemplum* of Aigisthos, forms a link between the companions and the suitors. In this connection, it is remarkable that the deeds of the suitors too are repeatedly called ἀτασθαλία in the *Odyssey*.¹⁷ Since the story of Agamemnon's homecoming functions as an *exemplum*, one may assume that the destruction of Odysseus' companions through their ἀτασθαλία foreshadows the death of the suitors through an analogous cause.

Some scholars, however, disagree over this parallelism between the companions on the one hand, and Aigisthos and the suitors on the other.¹⁸ They argue that the companions' ἀτασθαλία cannot be called *their own*, since the gods forced them to slaughter the cattle of Helios. This view has been rebutted by other scholars who point out that there was alternative food (fish and birds) available at Thrinakia (μ330-2), and that Odysseus

¹⁶ At α7, the use of a genitive pronoun (αὐτῶν) reinforces the possessive adjective (σφετέρῃσιν).

¹⁷ Cf. Ch. 5, n.4 above.

¹⁸ E.g., Fenik 1974, p.216.

survived without eating the meat of the slaughtered cattle.¹⁹ Thus the choice which the companions faced at Thrinakia was not so much whether to eat the cattle or to die of starvation, as whether to endure hunger by eating only meagre food or to yield to the temptation of eating the delicious and abundant but forbidden meat.²⁰ In this sense, the companions' slaughter of the cattle at Thrinakia can be called *their own* ἀτασθαλία. They committed this reckless act because they could not resist their desire to eat beef.

In this connection, it should be noted that the companions' failure to resist their desire is a recurrent motif in the *apologoi*. In the land of the Kikonians, the companions indulged themselves in a feast after the initial victory over the enemy, in spite of Odysseus' urge to leave the place as soon as possible:

ἔνθ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῶ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἡμέας
 ἠνώγεα, τοὶ δὲ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.
 ἔνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθυ πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα
 ἔσφαζον παρὰ θίνα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς (143-6).

The delay caused by this sumptuous feast (cf. esp. πολλὸν μέθυ, πολλὰ μῆλα καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς) led to their defeat by the Kikonians who came back with increased forces (147-61). In the Aiolos episode, the companions opened the bag of winds because they thought that what Odysseus was concealing in the bag were gifts of gold and silver (κ34-47). This giving in to the desire to see the contents of the bag, which was rooted in their desire for material gain, prevented their homecoming, and they had to encounter destruction in the land of the Laistrygonians. These two episodes present a pattern analogous to the Thrinakia episode: the companions fail to resist their desire and have to face destruction as a

¹⁹ E.g. Friedrich (1987), p.391. Menelaos and his companions survived on the island of Pharos by fishing (δ 368-9).

²⁰ Friedrich (1987), p.391.

consequence. Thus these two episodes foreshadow their similar behaviour at Thrinakia. Furthermore, the phrasing of Teiresias' prophecy in the *Nekyia* emphasizes the importance of Odysseus and his companions' restraint at Thrinakia for their homecoming:

ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν κε καὶ ὥς, κακὰ περ πάσχοντες, ἴκοισθε,
αἳ κ' ἐθέλης σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἐταίρων (λ104-5).

This passage also prepares for the crucial choice of the companions at Thrinakia.

Another motif closely connected with that of the companions' giving in to temptation is their insubordination. In the Kikonian episode, they ignored Odysseus' order and satisfied their appetite for food and drink. In the Aiolos episode, their desire led them to open the bag which was given to Odysseus by Aiolos. It should be noted that no leader of the insubordination is specified in these two episodes, except that, in the latter case, Odysseus quotes the words with which the companions instigated each other (κ38-45). The leader of the companions' insubordination at Thrinakia, Eurylochos, is first singled out among the companions in the Circe episode. Most notably, when Odysseus came back from Circe's house to fetch his companions, who were waiting for him at the ships, Eurylochos alone opposed Odysseus and tried to discourage other companions from following Odysseus to Circe's house (κ429). Thus the leader of the insubordination at Thrinakia is prepared for in the Circe episode.

The companions of Odysseus failed, then, to restrain their desire at Thrinakia, as in the earlier episodes in the *apologoi*, even though they could have chosen to do so. In this sense, the companions' ἀτασθαλία can be called *their own* as in the proem, so one need not dismiss the validity of the parallelism as regards ἀτασθαλία between the companions, the suitors and Aigisthos.

In Chapter 5, we have seen how the story of Agamemnon's homecoming functions as an *exemplum* at various levels in the course of the *Odyssey*. We shall now compare the ἀτασθαλίας of the companions with those of the suitors in order to assess the function of the *apologoi* in the context of the whole *Odyssey*.

(b) Odysseus' Warnings to the Companions

The possibility of danger on Thrinakia is frequently repeated in the *apologoi*. Apart from the prophecies of Teiresias and Circe, Odysseus warns his companions of this danger three times (μ271-6, μ297-302, μ320-3). This repetition underlines the crucial importance of the incident on Thrinakia.

It has been pointed out that in Odysseus' threefold warnings to his companions, information about the cattle of Helios is partially and gradually disclosed.²¹ In the first warning (μ271-6), Odysseus indicates the source of the information (μαντήϊα Τειρεσίου / Κίρκης τ' Αἰαΐης (272-3)) but does not mention the presence of the cattle on the island. He only reveals that the island belongs to Helios and that αἰνότατον κακόν is waiting for them there. As Odysseus is trying to dissuade his companions from landing on the island, this vague indication of the danger is enough for his purpose. Another curious feature is Circe's warning to avoid the island: Κίρκης τ' Αἰαΐης, ἥ μοι μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε / νῆσον ἀλεύσθαι περσιμβρότου Ἡελίοιο (μ273-4), but Circe does not give this advice in her words concerning Thrinakia as reported by Odysseus (μ127-141). In the speeches of Circe (and of Teiresias), Odysseus' arrival at Thrinakia seems to be taken for granted (Θρινακίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφίξειαι (μ127), cf. λ105-9). This manipulation of detail in Circe's advice is also appropriate for the

²¹ Andersen 1973, pp.13-4.

purpose of Odysseus who tries to persuade his companions not to land on this island.²² In the second warning (μ297-302), Odysseus mentions the presence of the cattle. Since he has reluctantly consented to land on the island of Thrinakia, he reveals that his men should not kill the cattle, and makes them take oaths. After the landing, Odysseus summons a meeting (ἀγορὴν θέμενος (μ319)), and issues his third warning (μ320-3). This time, Odysseus specifies that the cattle belong to Helios, a dreadful god (δεινοῦ . . . θεοῦ) who sees and hears everything. This gradual revelation of information in the three warnings, together with the oaths and the summoning of an ἀγορή,²³ creates the effect of crescendo, and emphasizes the seriousness of the danger.

This partial or gradual revelation of truth is a characteristic manner of Odysseus. When Odysseus' ship approaches Skylla and Charybdis, he deliberately avoids mentioning the danger waiting for them:

Σκύλλην δ' οὐκέτ' ἐμυθεόμην, ἄπρηκτον ἀνίην,
μή πώς μοι δείσαντες ἀπολλήξειαν ἑταῖροι
εἰρισίης, ἐντὸς δὲ πυκάζοιεν σφέας αὐτούς (μ223-5).

One should recall that partial revelation of truth is part of the advice which the shade of Agamemnon gives to Odysseus in the *Nekyia*:

τῷ νῦν μή ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἥπιος εἶναι,
μηδ' οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πφασκέμεν, ὅν κ' ἐὺ εἰδῆς,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι (λ441-3).

²² Odysseus also manipulates a detail of Circe's instruction concerning the Sirens. Circe says to Odysseus, "If you yourself want to hear (ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούμεν αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα), let the companions bind you . . ." (μ49-50). But Odysseus claims to his companions that Circe ordered him and him alone to hear the song (οἶον ἔμ' ἡνώγει ὅπ' ἀκούμεν (μ160)). Cf. Dawe 1993, ad μ160.

²³ For the significance of ἀγορή, cf. Andersen 1973, p.13 with n.14.

Heeding this advice, Odysseus reveals his true identity only gradually at Ithaka. Thus the gradual revelation of truth, which was advised by Agamemnon, and consciously exercised by Odysseus in his warnings to his companions, foreshadows his behaviour on Ithaka.

A forewarning was also issued in Aigisthos' case. In the Olympian scene in book 1, Zeus claims that the gods sent Hermes to warn him (α37-8), and quotes the message:

μήτ' αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάσθαι ἄκοιτιν·
 ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαο,
 ὁππότε ἄν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἦς ἰμείρεται αἴης.
 ὥς ἔφαθ' Ἑρμείας (α39-42).

The suitors are also forewarned of their destruction. At the assembly in *Odyssey* 2, Halitherses interprets the omen of the two eagles sent by Zeus and prophesies the homecoming of Odysseus and his revenge on the suitors (β161-176). On the very day of the *mnesterophonia*, Theoklymenos also reveals to the suitors his vision of their death (υ351-7). Thus the motif of forewarning links Aigisthos and the suitors with the companions of Odysseus. It should be noted that the sources of all these forewarnings are either the gods or prophets who can foretell the will of the gods. The elaborate repetition of the forewarnings about the danger on Thrinakia contributes to this link.

The three parties also correspond to each other in that they neglect these warnings. In the *apologoi*, the danger of neglecting a warning is prefigured in the Kikonian episode, in which the companions' neglect of Odysseus' order resulted in their defeat. Odysseus himself also neglected his companions' plea in the cave of the Cyclops to leave before anyone came back (ι224-230).²⁴ In his warnings about the Sirens, Odysseus mentions a choice one faces when a divine forewarning has been revealed:

²⁴ Odysseus further neglected the plea of his companions not to call to the Cyclops from his ship (ι492-505).

ἀλλ' ἔρέω μὲν ἐγὼν, ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε θάνωμεν
ἢ κεν ἀλευάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγοιμεν (μ156-7).

Informed of the danger, one may still die by neglecting the warning, or one can evade the death by heeding it. The companions heeded the warning at the island of the Sirens, but they did not do so on Thrinakia, though they had been told of the divine warning.²⁵ The phrasing at μ156-7, especially the participle εἰδότες, is reminiscent of Zeus' comment on Aigisthos' neglect of divine forewarning in book 1: Aigisthos seduced Klytaimestra and murdered Agamemnon, though he knew the destruction (εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον (α37)) which was awaiting him. The companions at Thrinakia and Aigisthos knew their destruction in the sense that they had been given the divine forewarnings. The same applies to the suitors, since they are told by prophets of the consequence of their reckless behaviour.

(c) Slaughter of the Cattle

When Eurylochos proposed the slaughter of the cattle of Helios while Odysseus was absent, he claimed that the slaughter was to be a sacrifice to the gods:

ἀλλ' ἄγετ', Ἥελίοιο βοῶν ἐλάσαντες ἀρίστας
ῥέξομεν ἀθανάτοισι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἔχουσιν (μ343-4).

But the companions could not follow the proper ritual procedure of sacrifice. Instead of sprinkling barley (κρί),²⁶ they pelted the cows with leaves (μ357-8). Also they poured water instead of wine over the meat (μ362-3). While the use of leaves and water instead of barley and wine indicates the lack of provision, this deviation from the customary ritual process of sacrifice also ingeniously reveals the impiousness of their intent

²⁵ Cf. Heubeck ad μ156-7 in Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989.

²⁶ For the rite involved, cf. Burkert 1983, pp.4-5.

in spite of the semblance of piety.²⁷ The causal relationship of this impious act with the storm which destroyed the companions is vividly expressed by the description of Helios' anger in the Olympian scene at μ374-390.²⁸

The lavishness of the slaughter of the cattle ordered by the suitors is mentioned again and again. Already, when the suitors' presence at Odysseus' house is first mentioned in the *Odyssey* (in Athene's speech at α 90-2), and when they are first introduced in the poet's narrative, they are associated with the slaughter of Odysseus' cattle (α106-8). In various passages, the suitors are said to be 'eating up (κατέδουσι)' Odysseus' property (βίον),²⁹ or simply 'eating his house (οἶκον)'.³⁰ When Odysseus lists his charges against the suitors in the scene of the *mnesterophonia* (χ35-41), he mentions their consumption of his 'house' first: ὅτι μοι κατεκείρετε οἶκον (χ36). The suitors' lavish slaughter of Odysseus' cattle forms an important part of their ἀτασθαλία.³¹

Considering this close association of the companions and the suitors with slaughter of cattle, it is interesting that Aigisthos' murder of Agamemnon is compared to a slaughter of a bull in two passages. First, Menelaos tells Telemachos that Aigisthos invited Agamemnon to his place and killed him at a meal just as someone kills a bull at a manger: ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ (δ535). The same simile recurs in the speech

²⁷ Andersen 1973, p.19, with n.10.

²⁸ Friedrich 1987, p.388.

²⁹ λ116, ν396, ν428, ο32, ρ378, and cf. τ534.

³⁰ β237-8, φ332.

³¹ At σ143-5 and ω458-460, the suitors' consumption of Odysseus' property, together with their disrespect for Penelope, is called ἀτάσθαλα (σ143) and ἀτασθαλία (ω458). The ἀτασθαλία of the suitors will be further discussed later.

of the shade of Agamemnon (λ411), who also compares his companions' death to slaughter of pigs (λ413-5). Since slaughter of cattle is associated with the ἀτασθαλίας of both the companions of Odysseus and the suitors, these similes which compare Aigisthos' ἀτασθαλίας to the slaughter of cattle strengthen the parallelism between the three parties.

(d) Feasting

After the Olympian scene (μ374-390), in which the rage of Helios is described, Odysseus mentions the eerie omens (τέρατα) of the slaughtered cows:

τοῖσιν δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ τέρατα προὔφαινον·
εἶρπον μὲν ῥινοί, κρέα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖς ἐμεμύκει,
ὀπταλέα τε καὶ ὠμά· βοῶν δ' ὥς γίνετο φωνή (μ394-6).

One might think that these omens would have deterred the companions from slaughtering more cows.³² On the contrary, they kept on slaughtering, and continued their feast for six days until finally the favourable wind blew on the seventh day and enabled them to depart the island:

ἐξῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι
δαίνυντ' Ἡελίοιο βοῶν ἐλόωντες ἀρίστας (μ397-8).

The continuation of the feast confirms that the slaughter was not a necessity to avoid starvation, since, if so, the number of cows slaughtered would have been kept to a minimum. The continuation of the slaughter reveals the companions' greed.³³ The eerie omen of the carcasses of the cows, together with the defective ritual process of the sacrifice (μ356-365), emphasizes the impiousness of the companions' feast.

³² Cf. Van der Valk 1949, p.224. One should perhaps compare these omens with Theoklymenos' eerie vision at υ351-7. This vision is ignored by the suitors, as the eerie omens on Thrinakia are ignored by the companions.

³³ Cook 1995, pp.119-120.

There are various scenes of eating in the *apologoi*. Apart from the ordinary meals of the crews,³⁴ there are, on the one hand, everlasting feasts at Aiolos' palace (κ8-11) and the feast at Circe's house which lasted a year (κ452-477); and at the other extreme, there are cannibalistic feasts upon some of the companions (Polyphemos, Antiphates the king of the Laistrygonians, Skylla). Within this wide range of eating scenes, there is a series of meals which preceded disasters: the feast at the land of the Kikonians (ι45-6); the lotus fruits which some of the companions ate so that they lost their will to return home (ι93-7); the cheese which Odysseus and his twelve chosen men ate while waiting for the return of the Cyclops (ι231-3); and the meal which Circe offered when the companions first arrived at her house, after which they were turned to animals (κ233-240). The impious feast at Thrinakia, which preceded Zeus' storm, forms the culmination of this series of dangerous meals.

The suitors are constantly feasting at Odysseus' house. Their wicked behaviour at the feast is emphatically described in the *Odyssey*. Athene-Mentes comments on the haughtiness of the suitors feasting in Odysseus' house:

ὥς τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκέουσι
δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα. νεμεσσήσαιτό κεν ἄνῆρ
αἴσχεα πόλλ' ὀρόων, ὅς τις πινυτός γε μετέλθοι (α227-9).

In the latter half of the epic, the haughtiness of the suitors at the feast is impressively presented in their repeated abuse of Odysseus disguised as a beggar.³⁵ In book 17, Antinoos throws a footstool (θρῆνυς) at Odysseus (ρ 462-5). In book 18, Eurymachos makes fun of Odysseus' baldness (σ349-355). In book 20, Ktesippos throws a cow's foot at Odysseus (υ 299-302).

³⁴ E.g., ι85-6, ι161-2, ι556-7, κ57, κ181-4, μ29-30.

³⁵ Slater 1990, p.217; Reece 1993, pp.198-9. See Chapter 8.

The suitors' haughty attitude towards the wandering beggar is reflected in Odysseus' comment upon the divine wrath that awaits them:

τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα·
οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·
τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐπέσπον (χ413-6).

The suitors' haughty behaviour at the feast forms another part of their ἀτασθαλία.

During his journey to the Peloponnese, Telemachos attends feasts at Pylos and Sparta. The presence of the proper hosts in these feasts makes a contrast with the feast of the suitors who are consuming the property of Odysseus in his absence. Likewise, the feast at Scheria, which Odysseus praises highly (ι2-11), makes a sharp contrast with the suitors' feast which he will find back at home. These feasts function as positive foils to emphasize the wickedness of the suitors' feast. Examples of wicked behaviour at feasts other than those of the suitors are also mentioned in the Ithakan scene. At the beginning of book 21, Herakles' murder of Iphitos is related in connection with the origins of Odysseus' bow (φ 22-30). As the suitors are said to abuse anyone who visits them (ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο (χ415)) and thus invite the gods' anger, so Herakles killed Iphitos who visited him (ἀφίκετο (φ 25)), and paid no respect to the wrath of the gods or the meal which he provided:

σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν ἠδέσαστ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν,
τὴν ἣν οἱ παρέθηκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν (φ 28-9).

Another example of bad behaviour at feasts is the episode of Eurytion the Centaur which Antinoos tells to the disguised Odysseus (φ295-304). Eurytion got drunk and wreaked havoc with the feast at Peirithoos' house: μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθόοιο (φ 298). The Lapiths got angry at his behaviour, so they cut off his ears and nose, and sent him away (φ 299-302). Antinoos tells this story to discourage the beggar from trying the bow, but Antinoos and the other suitors are in fact the ones who

have indulged in haughty behaviour.³⁶ Furthermore, the consequence of Eurytion's drunken behaviour prefigures the punishment which will be inflicted on Melanthios (χ 474-7),³⁷ who works for the suitors. Thus, as in the case of the companions' feast on Thrinakia, the suitors' feast should be seen in relation to other feasts, which, by contrast or similarity, underline the wickedness of the suitors' behaviour at the feast.

The episode of Herakles' impious entertainment of Iphitos is similar to Aigisthos' murder of Agamemnon. Aigisthos too invited Agamemnon and his companions to his house, and killed them while entertaining them at a feast (δειπνίσσας, cf. δ 534-5, λ409-411). Agamemnon's shade vividly describes how he and his companions were slain among wine-bowls and loaded tables (λ419-420). The motif of an impious feast again strengthens the parallelism between the companions of Odysseus, the suitors, and Aigisthos.

4 Conclusion

Considering the elaborate correspondences which we have traced between the companions of Odysseus, the suitors and Aigisthos, one can say that the destruction of the companions foreshadows the death of the suitors as it is also foreshadowed by the death of Aigisthos.

The link between the companions of Odysseus and the suitors is strengthened by some passages in which these two parties are mentioned together. In the assembly of the Ithakans in book 2, Halitherses warns the suitors that Odysseus is now contemplating how to kill them:

τοῖσιν γὰρ μέγα πῆμα κυλίνδεται· οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
δὴν ἀπάνευθε φίλων ὦν ἔσσεται, ἀλλὰ πού ἤδη
ἐγγὺς ἐὼν τοῖσδε σσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φυτεύει
πάντεσσιν (β163-6).

³⁶ Slater 1990, p.216 with n.40.

³⁷ Cf. Davies 1994, p.535.

In the same speech, he mentions the prophecy which he uttered when Odysseus left for Troy:

φῆν κακὰ πολλὰ παθόντ', ὀλέσαντ' ἄπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
ἄγνωστον πάντεσσιν εἰκοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ
οἴκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι (β174-6).

This juxtaposition of the deaths of the companions and the suitors may seem a mere coincidence, but they are linked together closely in the following passage, in which Eupeithes, a father of one of the suitors, accuses Odysseus:

τοὺς μὲν σὺν νήεσσιν ἄγων πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς
ῥέεσε μὲν νῆας γλαφυράς, ἀπὸ δ' ῥέεσε λαοὺς,
τοὺς δ' ἐλθὼν ἔκτεινε Κεφαλλήνων ὄχ' ἀρίστους (ω 427-9).

Eupeithes juxtaposes the deaths of the companions and the suitors in the accusation which he levels against Odysseus. In view of this accusation, the proem (α 6-9) and the *apologoi* as a whole defend Odysseus regarding the death of his companions, while the description of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας defends Odysseus' revenge on the suitors. In the first *Nekyia*, Teiresias mentions both the companions and the suitors in his prophecy:

εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὄλεθρον
νηί τε καὶ ἐτάροις. αὐτὸς δ' εἴ περ κεν ἀλύξης,
ὄψε κακῶς νεῖαι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης· δῆεις δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ,
ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους, οἳ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι
μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες (λ112-7).

In this passage, the logic is that the slaughter of the cattle of Helios (εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι) leads to the loss of Odysseus' companions and ship, and to the troubles on Ithaka, i.e. the suitors who eat up (κατέδουσι) Odysseus' property.³⁸ Considering these links between the companions and the suitors, it may not be a mere coincidence that sulphur (θέειον) which is

³⁸ Cook 1995, p.120.

used to purify the scene of the *mnesterophonia* (χ 481-2, χ 493-4, ψ 50) is also mentioned in the storm which destroyed the companions (μ 417).³⁹

In order to clarify the effect of the correspondence of the ἀτασθαλίες of Odysseus' companions with that of the suitors, it is necessary to examine the guilt of the suitors.⁴⁰ The suitors' guilt, which Odysseus requites by killing them, is not so straightforward as in the case of Orestes' revenge on Aigisthos. The suitors have not killed anyone whom Odysseus would have to avenge, nor would the mere act of wooing itself deserve death as a punishment.

It is to be noted that the revenge on the suitors is ordered by Athene (α 293-6, ν 375-8), and revealed in a prophecy as a predestined course of events (λ115-120). This may reflect the fact that the *mnesterophonia* was an element which the poet inherited from the tradition. It is quite likely that the *mnesterophonia* was a deeply rooted element in the pre-Homeric story of a husband who returned home after many years of wandering. When the poet took up this story to compose a whole-scale epic, one of his tasks might well have been to specify the guilt for which the suitors were killed.

The charges against the suitors are summed up in Odysseus' words to them at χ 35-41. In this speech, the lavish consumption of Odysseus' property, the suitors' sexual relationships with the slave women, and the wooing during Odysseus' lifetime are mentioned. In his reply to the speech, Eurymachos accepts these charges, but lays all the blame upon Antinoos, who has just been killed by Odysseus. He also lays against

³⁹ J. Finley, Jr. 1978, p.136. The only other mention of sulphur in the *Odyssey* is in one of Odysseus' lying tales (ξ307).

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of the guilt of the suitors, cf. Erbse 1972, pp.113-142.

Antinoos another charge, that he tried to kill Telemachos and be king himself (χ 51-3).

As we have seen above, the lavish consumption of Odysseus' cattle is repeatedly mentioned, and forms a part of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας.⁴¹ The plan to kill Telemachos is also repeatedly mentioned,⁴² and on one occasion Leiokritos reveals his intention to kill Odysseus if he returns and tries to drive out the suitors.⁴³ The suitors' intended usurpation of the house of Odysseus, together with the kingship, puts Odysseus in a position in which, if he returns to his house as its master and does not kill the suitors, he will be in danger of being killed by them.⁴⁴ The suitors' sexual relationship with the slave women can also be considered an offence to the house of Odysseus, since they belong to Odysseus.⁴⁵

Another aspect of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας is their haughty behaviour at the feasts in Odysseus' house and, in particular, their abuse of the disguised Odysseus. This charge is expressed in Odysseus' words to Eurykleia quoted above (χ 413-6).

These several aspects of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας are repeatedly described in the Ithakan scenes, and, through this accumulation, the poet establishes the wickedness of the suitors.

It should be noted that Aigisthos attempted and for a while succeeded in usurping the house of Agamemnon by seducing the queen

⁴¹ Olson 1995, p.202, n.58 underrates this aspect of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας.

⁴² δ 663-72, δ 842-7, π 371-386, υ241-6, υ273-4. Olson 1995, pp.195-6 minimizes the suitors' intention of usurping either the property of Odysseus' household or the kingship.

⁴³ β246-251.

⁴⁴ Yamagata 1994, p.31.

⁴⁵ Cf. Yamagata 1994, pp.28-9.

and killing the returning king. The correspondence of the suitors with Aigisthos throws light on the similar intention of the suitors, i.e. their usurpation of the house of Odysseus by killing Telemachos, and possibly also Odysseus if he returns. Thus this correspondence contributes to the emphasis upon one aspect of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας.

To sum up, on the one hand, the ἀτασθαλίας of the companions at Thrinakia form a climax of the course of events in the *apologoi*, especially regarding the behaviour and destiny of the companions of Odysseus, and, on the other hand, contribute to the unity of the *Odyssey* through their correspondence with the ἀτασθαλίας of the suitors and Aigisthos. In this sense, one can reasonably assert that the Thrinakia episode connects the *apologoi* to the main body of the *Odyssey*.

Chapter 8

Odysseus' Lying Stories

1 Introduction

After Odysseus returns to Ithaka in book 13, he tells a series of false tales about his origin and about how he came to the island. These tales constitute the main examples of characters' storytelling in the last half of the *Odyssey*. In this chapter, we will examine five of these stories¹: (1) the story told to the disguised Athene (ν256-286); (2) the story told to Eumaios (ξ192-359); (3) the story told to Antinoos (ρ415-444); (4) the story told to Penelope (τ165-202, 221-248, 262-307); (5) the story told to Laertes (ω 303-314).

Some common elements can be found among these lying stories. The disguised Odysseus often claims to be a Cretan.² The Trojan War is mentioned in some of the stories, along with the name of the Cretan hero Idomeneus. The Phoenicians, Thesprotia, an expedition to Egypt, Odysseus' consultation of an oracle at Dodona, appear in more than one of these stories. Furthermore, motifs similar to those mentioned above can be found in the stories Odysseus tells on various occasions in Phaiakia.³

¹ There are other, shorter, accounts of the disguised Odysseus' false identity, e.g. σ138-140, τ 75-80.

² Odysseus stands in the tradition of lying Cretans. Cf. Richardson 1974 ad *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 123-4, and Pfeiffer's testimonia ad Kallimachos *hymn* 1.8. Reece 1994 speculates that a 'Cretan *Odyssey*', in which Telemachos meets Odysseus in Crete, existed and influenced the composition of the *Odyssey*.

³ The elements common to Odysseus' stories at Phaiakia and Ithaka are conveniently listed in a chart by Alden 1992, p.10.

Despite these common elements, however, the lying stories of Odysseus differ considerably from each other. Scholars have realized that the autobiographies in these stories differ according to the situation in which the disguised Odysseus finds himself.⁴

In this chapter, remarkable features of each of the lying stories will be examined with respect to their significance within their context. Special attention will be paid to how the composition of each story reflects the message of Odysseus to each addressee. A few general points arising from the examination of each story will be discussed in the conclusion.

2 The Story told to Athene (v256-286)

The Phaiakians bring Odysseus on their ship to Ithaka, and put him, still asleep, on the coast, together with their gifts (v113-125). When Odysseus wakes up, he finds himself left alone with his possessions in a land which he does not yet recognize as his native soil (v187-199). In his first utterance after he wakes up (v200-216), he deliberates about where he should bring his possessions as well as where he himself should go (πῇ δὲ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πῇ τε καὶ αὐτὸς / πλάγξομαι (v203-4)), and he checks whether any of his gifts have been lost (v 215-8). When Athene, disguised as a young man, approaches Odysseus, he implores her to save his possessions and himself: ἄλλὰ σάω μὲν ταῦτα, σάω δ' ἐμέ (v230). Thus Odysseus' concern about his possessions is repeatedly mentioned in the scene preceding his lying tale to the disguised Athene.

⁴ E.g. Walcot 1977, p.1; Emlyn-Jones 1986, p.3.

Odysseus' lying tale explains why he is left alone with his great possessions: he tells how he committed a murder and fled Crete,⁵ escorted by the Phoenicians, who departed while he was asleep, leaving his possessions with him. This lying story also strengthens his plea to the disguised Athene to save his possessions (ἀλλὰ σάω μὲν ταῦτα (v 230)). Firstly, the story includes an account of the outcome of Orsilochos' attempt at theft. Odysseus claims that he killed Orsilochos in ambush⁶ on a dark night, without being known to anybody (v 267-270). The account of the death of Orsilochos serves as an implicit warning to the young man (the disguised Athene) not to try to take the possessions away.⁷ Secondly, the story also includes an account of the Phoenicians' treatment of the speaker and his possessions. They tried to escort the speaker to Pylos or Elis, but were prevented by a storm. Their unwillingness to leave the course, which would have led to the destination wished by the speaker, is stated: πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένους, οὐδ' ἤθελον ἐξαπατῆσαι (v 277). After they landed on Ithaka, the Phoenicians lay down on the ground, exhausted by their effort to bring their ship to harbour, but while the speaker was sleeping, they took his possessions out of the ship and departed. The description of the Phoenicians' manner of departure almost reproduces the departure of the Phaiakians depicted previously in the main narrative (v 113-125).

⁵ An exile who has committed a murder is a frequent motif in the *Odyssey*: e. g. ξ 379-81 (an Aitolian), ο 223-5 (Theoklymenos), ψ118-122, υ42-3 (Odysseus himself). Cf. Janko 1992, ad N694-7.

⁶ Walcot 1977, p.10 suggests that the name Ὀρσίλοχος ('Ambush-arouser') can be seen as an allusion to the ambush (cf. λοχησάμενος (v268)) by which he was killed.

⁷ Moreover, Trahan 1952, p. 36 comments that the mention of the speaker's children (v258) implies that they may avenge their father if he is harmed.

It should be noted that in reality Odysseus first thought that he had been tricked by the Phaiakian sailors. He thought he had been left in a strange land. Odysseus invokes Zeus and asks him to avenge this wicked act (v 213-4). Odysseus' checking of the possessions after this utterance shows his suspicion of the Phaiakians (cf. v 217-8). Later, however, it turns out from the disguised Athene's words that the Phaiakians have, after all, brought him to Ithaka. The sincerity of the Phaiakian sailors, which Odysseus has just realized, is transferred to the Phoenician sailors in the story.⁸ The Phoenicians' treatment of the possessions serves as a positive model which the young man, to whom the story is told, should follow.⁹ Thus, even though the story itself is not introduced as a *paradeigma*, it contains both a negative model and a positive model for the listener, and strengthens Odysseus' appeal to the disguised Athene to protect his possessions.

3 The Story told to Eumaios (ξ192-359)

(a) Odysseus' Return

In the hut of Eumaios, Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, is asked about his identity by the swineherd (ξ185-190). In reply, he tells a long story of his origin and adventures.

In the exchange between Eumaios and the beggar preceding this lying tale, the prospect of Odysseus' return is discussed. Eumaios says that there have been liars who fabricated stories about Odysseus (ξ122-130), and he expresses his conviction of Odysseus' death (ξ133-8). The

⁸ The assertion that the Phoenicians did not mean to deceive (οὐδ' ἤθελον ἐξαπατῆσαι (v277)) seems to reflect the fact that the Phaiakians, whom Odysseus suspected of deceiving him, were found not to have done so.

⁹ Trahan, 1952, p.36.

beggar, on the other hand, asserts that Odysseus will return (ξ149-164). He even claims that he hates those who tell deceitful tales as much as he hates the gates of Hades (ξ156-7),¹⁰ and swears by Zeus, the hospitable table, and Odysseus' hearth, that Odysseus will return within a month and take vengeance on the suitors (ξ158-164). Eumaios still dismisses the beggar's claim (ξ166-170). Given that the prospect of Odysseus' return is the centre of attention in this exchange, it seems no coincidence that towards the end the long lying story contains a report of Odysseus' preparations for return (ξ321-333). Odysseus is said to have gone to Dodona to consult an oracle concerning whether he should return home openly or secretly (ξ327-330). This implies the possibility that Odysseus will return (or is already in Ithaka) *incognito*.¹¹ It should also be noted that this passage mentions the Thesprotian king's oath:

ὥμοσε δὲ πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἀποσπένδων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
νῆα κατειρύσθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἑταίρους,
οἳ δὴ μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἔς πατρίδα γαῖαν (ξ331-3).

It may not be clear why the king had to *swear* with a libation to the speaker, but this detail does echo the stranger's earlier oath about the prospect of Odysseus' return at ξ158-164. Thus the story is meant not only to provide information about the beggar, but also to convince Eumaios of Odysseus' impending return.

Following his assertion that he hates liars (ξ156-7) and Eumaios' demand for the truth (ξ186), the stranger claims at the very beginning that his story is to be 'very precise' (μάλ' ἀτρεκέως (ξ192)). The wealth of details in this story, which is by far the longest of Odysseus' lying tales, contributes to the credibility of the account.

¹⁰ Cf. Achilles' words at I 312-3.

¹¹ Halitherses mentions his prophecy, which he uttered at Odysseus' departure for Troy, that he will return *incognito* in the twentieth year (β174-6).

After the stranger's tale, Eumaios replies that his heart was stirred by all the details of the story concerning his sufferings and wanderings (ξ361-2), but that the account concerning Odysseus was not convincing (ξ363-5). The stranger still insists on Odysseus' likely return in his reply to Eumaios (ξ391-400), and proposes a deal: if Odysseus comes back, Eumaios should give him clothes and send him to Doulichion, but if Odysseus does not return, he, the speaker, can be thrown down from a cliff (ξ395-400). But Eumaios brushes aside the beggar's proposal (ξ402-8), and turns to the preparation of a meal.

Throughout the long exchange between Eumaios and the stranger, the latter tries to convince Eumaios of the prospect of Odysseus' return by various means: an oath, a long, vivid autobiographical tale, and the proposal of a deal. Though Eumaios never says that he has altered his attitude, it has been suggested that there is a hint of a slight change.¹² When Eumaios performs a sacrifice, he prays to the gods for Odysseus' return:

καὶ ἐπεύχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν
νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὄνδε δόμονδε (ξ423-4).

This prayer makes a contrast with the conviction as to Odysseus' death expressed before the stranger's long tale (especially at ξ133-8).¹³

(b) Treatment of a Stranger

As details of the lying story in book 13 reflect Odysseus' message to the disguised Athene, the lying story in book 13 also contains details related to the disguised Odysseus' message to Eumaios. The story contains an account of a raid on the Egyptians (ξ244-284). When the

¹² Rose 1980, pp.290-2.

¹³ In book 17, Eumaios again prays for Odysseus' return (p 240-6). Rose 1980, p.292.

stranger's companions, after initial success, were defeated by the Egyptians, he claims that he supplicated the Egyptian king (ξ276-9).¹⁴ The king pardoned the speaker and took him on his chariot, though many Egyptians wanted to kill him (ξ279-282). The stranger comments on the Egyptian king's awe of Zeus Xeinius¹⁵:

Διὸς δ' ὠπίζετο μῆνιν
 ξεινίου, ὅς τε μάλιστα νεμεσσᾶται κακὰ ἔργα (ξ283-4).

The king's attitude towards the suppliant based on his awe towards Zeus Xeinius serves as a positive model for Eumaios in his treatment of the helpless stranger.

After seven years' stay in Egypt, the stranger claims that he met a wicked Phoenician, who tricked him and tried to sell him as a slave (ξ288-298). But the Phoenician's ship met a storm, which was sent by Zeus. The ship was struck by Zeus' lightning bolt, and only the stranger survived (ξ299-309). The Phoenician's evil treatment of the stranger, which was eventually punished by Zeus, makes a contrast to the Egyptian King's hospitality. The Phoenician's ill-treatment of the stranger can be seen as a negative model for Eumaios in his treatment of the stranger, and the punishment inflicted by Zeus on the Phoenician serves as a warning.

¹⁴ Emlyn-Jones 1986, pp.5-7 compares the account of this raid with the description of the raid on the Kikonians in book 9 and points out a remarkable difference: in book 9, Odysseus behaves as a military commander of his companions, whereas the stranger describes himself as critical of his companions' act of raiding. It should be noted that the speaker makes a sympathetic comment on the suffering of the victims of the raid (ἐκ δὲ γυναικας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα (ξ264)). This detachment of the speaker from the raid in the lying story suits the act of surrender and supplication better than Odysseus' attitude in the Kikonian episode. For supplication-scenes in Homer, cf. Crotty 1994.

¹⁵ For Zeus Xeinius, cf. Reece 1993, pp.64-5.

It should be noted that the sequence of positive model of benevolent king and negative example of wicked trader is repeated in the tales of the Thesprotian king, Pheidon (ξ316-337) and the Thesprotian sailors (ξ337-359). After the thunderstorm which destroyed the ship of the wicked Phoenician, the speaker drifted nine days, clinging on the ship's mast, and reached Thesprotia (ξ310-315). The king's son took the stranger to his house, where the king received him 'without asking for any recompense (ἀπριάτην (ξ317))'.¹⁶ The stranger also adds that the Thesprotian king was entertaining Odysseus, who went off to Dodona, temporarily leaving great possessions at the king's palace (ξ321-330). Moreover, the king ordered Thesprotian sailors to take the stranger to Doulichion. In contrast to the Thesprotian king's hospitality to the stranger, the Thesprotian sailors, like the wicked Phoenician, intended to sell him as a slave (ξ341-3). When they reached Ithaka, they bound and left him in the ship, while they landed and prepared their meal (ξ344-7).

The repetition of the motif of a king who receives a stranger kindly, and the motif of wicked traders, may be compared to the use of 'doublets' in Odysseus' *apologoi* in books 9-12, e.g. Circe and Kalypso; the Cyclops and the Laistrygonian king; and the two storms caused by Helios and Poseidon.¹⁷ The repetition of the sequence of benevolent kings and wicked

¹⁶ For the usage and meaning of this word, cf. Leumann 1950, p.167; Hoekstra in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad ξ317.

¹⁷ However, note also that so called 'doublets' are not necessarily treated with equal weight. For example, the Circe adventure is far more vivid than Odysseus' stay with Kalypso; the Cyclops adventure is far fuller in detail than the description of the encounter with the Laistrygonian king. Likewise, the first instance of each motif receives fuller treatment in the story told to Eumaios: the description of the expedition to Egypt is far more vivid than that of the stranger's stay at Thesprotia which is

traders in the story told to Eumaios strengthens its paradigmatic message concerning the treatment of a helpless stranger.

Frequent mentions of the gods' intervention are also a notable feature of the lying story told to Eumaios. As the stranger recounts his former military prowess, he says that Ares and Athene gave him θάρσος and ῥηξηνοπίη (ξ216-7). He attributes his liking for voyage and war to a god (ξ224-7). After the Trojan War, a god scattered the returning Greeks (ξ242), and Zeus devised evil fortune for him (ξ243). In the expedition to Egypt, Zeus is said to have caused panic among the speaker's companions (ξ268-9). And the same god put in the stranger's mind the idea of surrender and supplication to the Egyptian king (ξ273-4). Then again, Zeus is said to have caused the destruction of the ship of the wicked Phoenician (ξ300), by rousing a thunderstorm (ξ303-7). Thus the god took away the Phoenician sailors' home-coming (ξ309, where θεός apparently refers to Zeus). The same god, on the other hand, spared the stranger's life by providing him with a mast to cling to (ξ310-2). Then, the gods are said to have released the stranger from his bondage in the wicked Thesprotian sailors' ship (ξ348-9), and the story ends with the comment that the gods hid him from the searching Thesprotians and led him to Eumaios' hut (ξ 357-9). Thus most of the events recounted in the story are attributed to the will of the gods, especially of Zeus.¹⁸ The accumulation of divine interventions seems to have relevance to the stranger's message to Eumaios, since it adds weight to the mention of the Egyptian king's awe of Zeus Xeinius (ξ283-4). Eumaios should show hospitality not only

dominated by the report of Odysseus' whereabouts, and the description of the Phoenician's actions which ends with a thunderstorm sent by Zeus is more drastic than the Thesprotian traders' treatment of the stranger and his escape from them.

¹⁸ Note that Odysseus is said to have gone to Dodona to hear Διὸς βουλή (ξ 328).

because it is the general law of Zeus Xeinius to do so, but also because the stranger went through hardships and was eventually sent to him by the will of Zeus and other gods.

Eumaios understands the message of the story. He echoes the divine interventions in the story by saying that a god has brought the stranger to him (ἐπεὶ σέ μοι ἤγαγε δαίμων (ξ386)). He also expresses his awe of Zeus Xeinius:

οὐ γὰρ τοῦνεκ' ἐγὼ σ' αἰδέσσομαι οὐδὲ φιλήσω,
ἀλλὰ Δία ξένιον δείσας αὐτόν τ' ἐλεαίρων (ξ388-9).

In this connection, one should recall Eumaios' words earlier in book 14:

ξῆιν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
ξῆινον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες
ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε (ξ56-8).

These words show that Eumaios was ready to accept the message inherent in the story concerning the treatment of needy strangers.

It has been pointed out that Eumaios' response to the stranger's autobiographical story is also represented by the meal with which he entertains the stranger.¹⁹ When the stranger was first led into Eumaios' hut, the swineherd cooked two young pigs for the stranger. Eumaios says that he can only offer young pigs to his guests because the fat pigs are consumed by the suitors (ξ80-2). After the stranger's long tale, Eumaios orders that the best of the pigs be brought for the stranger (ξ414-5), and honours him by giving him a long chine. The stranger is pleased (ξ438), and wishes that Eumaios may receive Zeus' favour (ξ440-1).

Another indication of Eumaios' attitude towards the stranger can be found in the use of the motif of clothes.²⁰ The motif of giving clothes to strangers appears repeatedly in the conversation between Eumaios and

¹⁹ Rose 1980, p.290. Contra Olson 1995, pp.124-5. For the composition of the scene of Eumaios' entertainment of Odysseus, cf. Reece 1993, pp.145-164.

²⁰ Rose 1980, pp.292-3.

the disguised Odysseus. First, Eumaios suspects that the stranger would readily fabricate a story about Odysseus in order to obtain clothes:

αἶψά κε καὶ σύ, γεραιέ, ἔπος παρατεκτῆναιο,
εἴ τίς τοι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἴματα δοίῃ (ξ131-2).

In his reply, the stranger proposes that χλαῖνα and χιτῶν should be given him only when Odysseus actually returns (ξ153-4). In the lying story, Pheidon, the Thesprotian king, is said to have given χλαῖνα and χιτῶν to the stranger (ξ320), but the wicked Thesprotian traders robbed him of these clothes and gave him rags (ξ341-3). Thus the motif of giving clothes contributes to the contrast between the benevolent king and the wicked traders. Later, to test Eumaios and see whether he provides him with a cloak (ξ459-461), the stranger tells a story of Odysseus' cunning which provided a cloak for the stranger on the Trojan plain (ξ462-506). Eumaios understands the point of the story, and offers to lend a cloak for the night, though he cannot afford to give one. Then he adds the prospect of Telemachos' giving clothes to the stranger:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἔλθῃσιν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός,
αὐτός τοι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἴματα δώσει (ξ515-6).

This expression is devoid of the suspicion which was present at ξ131-2 quoted above. The change of tone between these two passages illustrates Eumaios' growing regard for the stranger, and the accumulation of the clothing motif in between attracts attention to this development.

(c) Correspondence with Eumaios' Autobiographical Story (o 390-484)

In *Odyssey* 15, Eumaios tells an autobiographical story, which contains details similar to those of Odysseus' lying story in book 14. Both the stranger in the lying story and Eumaios were the sons of prosperous fathers. The stranger claims that his father Kastor was honoured for his wealth and for his glorious sons on the island of Crete (ξ 205-6), whereas

Eumaios' father, Ktesios,²¹ was a king over two cities on the island of Syrie (ο403-414). Eumaios was taken away on a Phoenician traders' ship and they sold him as a slave. The slave woman who took Eumaios out of his parents' house was also a Phoenician. These wicked Phoenicians in Eumaios' tale correspond to the Phoenician trader in the lying story who tricked the stranger and intended to sell him (ξ288-309).²² This correspondence is remarkable because the Phoenician traders are represented as benevolent in the lying story told to the disguised Athene in book 13. Furthermore, Eumaios' words preceding his autobiographical story reveals that after he was bought by Laertes, his wife treated him and her youngest daughter equally while he was a boy (ο 363-5). This reminds us of a detail in the lying story: though the stranger was an illegitimate son, born of a bought concubine (ὠνητὴ παλλακίς), his father treated him and his legitimate sons equally (ξ 202-3).

Considering that Eumaios was raised together with Odysseus' younger sister, it is reasonable that Odysseus should know Eumaios' experience.²³ It should also be noted that Odysseus asks Eumaios whether his city was plundered, or if he was taken away on a ship, when he was alone among cattle, and sold (ο 384-8). The second supposition, which, with variation of details, roughly corresponds to what happened, paves the way for Eumaios to speak. Thus the similarities between Odysseus' lying tale and Eumaios' autobiographical story should be seen

²¹ The name Κτήσιος (related to κτήσις, κτάομαι) is a significant name: Hoekstra in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, ad ο414.

²² Trahan 1952, p.39. The word τρώκης (τρώκται) applied to the Phoenicians in Odysseus' lying story in book 14 (ξ289) and Eumaios' tale (ο416) does not recur in the Homeric epics. Cf. Rutherford 1992, pp.71-2.

²³ Rose 1980, p.287.

as due to Odysseus' intention to present his own experience as analogous to that of Eumaios, thus to gain sympathy from him.

Eumaios' sympathy towards the stranger is discernible in his reply to the lying story:

ᾧ δειλὲ ξείνων, ἦ μοι μάλα θυμὸν ὄρινας
ταῦτα ἕκαστα λέγων, ὅσα δὴ πάθες ἡδ' ὅσ' ἀλήθης (ξ361-2).

It should be noted that the stranger replies to Eumaios' autobiographical tale with similar words:

Εὖμαι', ἦ μάλα δὴ μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ὄρινας
ταῦτα ἕκαστα λέγων, ὅσα δὴ πάθες ἄλγεα θυνῶ (ο486-7).

The stranger and Eumaios stirred each other's hearts with their stories. These comments on each other's stories underline the similarity of their experiences.²⁴ The introduction of Eumaios' autobiographical tale (ο 390-402) also reveals Eumaios' sympathy towards the stranger. Eumaios suggests that others may sleep but that he and the stranger should enjoy recalling each other's hardships:

νῶι δ' ἐνὶ κλισίῃ πίνοντέ τε δαινυμένω τε
κήδεσιν ἀλλήλων τερπώμεθα λευγαλέοισι,
μνωομένω· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ,
ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πολλ' ἐπαληθῇ (ο398-401).

The use of (first person) dual forms (νῶι, πίνοντε, δαινυμένω, μνωομένω) effectively conveys Eumaios' sense of "shared sufferings and mutual understanding."²⁵

As regards the sense of "shared sufferings", it is notable that another example appears in a vignette of the life story of the Phoenician slave woman who took Eumaios away (ο425-9).²⁶ She was taken away by Taphian pirates from her rich family and sold as a slave. The life story of the Phoenician woman closely corresponds to Eumaios' experience. The

²⁴ Cf. Rutherford 1992, p.70.

²⁵ Rose 1980, p.292.

²⁶ Cf. Minchin 1992, p.261.

accumulation of similar sufferings in Odysseus' and Eumaios' stories seems to point to the instability of human fortune.²⁷

We have noted above that the intervention of the gods is repeatedly mentioned in Odysseus' lying story to Eumaios. This is also a feature of Eumaios' story in book 15. First, with a conventional expression, the inhabitants of the island of Syrie are said to meet their death through the 'gentle arrows of Apollo and Artemis' (ο410-1). After Eumaios was abducted, Zeus sent favourable winds to the ship for six days (ο475). On the seventh day, the Phoenician woman was suddenly slain by Artemis (ο478). Moreover, the stranger comments on Eumaios' story that it was by Zeus' will that Eumaios came to the house of a kind master after all his hardships (ο488-492). Even though most of these expressions are conventional (death by Apollo and Artemis' arrows, a god bringing about a dawn or sending wind), the accumulation does convey a sense of frequent divine intervention in Eumaios' hardships. Thus a sense of the insecurity of the human lot is combined with the notion of divine intervention in both Odysseus' lying story and Eumaios' autobiographical story. It is important to note that this sense of human instability caused by gods forms the background of Eumaios' hospitality to the stranger.²⁸

²⁷ The disguised Odysseus points out the instability of human fortune to Amphinomos (σ130-7).

²⁸ The same sense is expressed in a remark of Philoitios, another servant who is loyal to Odysseus, when he first sees his disguised master:

δύσμορος, ἧ τε ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆι ἄνακτι·
 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ δυόωσι πολυπλάγκτους ἀνθρώπους,
 ὅπποτε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικλώσωνται οἰζύν (υ194-6).

4 The Story told to Antinoos (ρ 419-444)

Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, begs Antinoos for food, and tells a lying story about himself. This story contains a repetition of the account of the raid in Egypt given in the story told to Eumaios (ρ427-441 = ξ 258-272), but there are a number of differences in these two stories, apart from the fact that the story told to Antinoos is considerably shorter.

The first notable difference can be seen in the description of the speaker's home in his native land. In the story told to Eumaios, the disguised Odysseus starts with an account of his alleged father Kastor's prosperity (ξ199-208), but in the story to Antinoos, he begins with his own prosperity (ρ 419-423). In this connection, one should note that the description of the beggar's own former prosperity is particularly appropriate to the context of this story in which Antinoos is begged for food:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔναιον
 ὄλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη
 τοίῳ, ὅποιος ἔοι καὶ ὅτευ κεχρημένος ἔλθοι (ρ419-421).

The beggar's former treatment of strangers who visited his house, as mentioned in this passage, does not appear in the story to Eumaios in book 14. The verb δόσκον (ρ420) echoes the beggar's request to Antinoos which precedes the story (δός (ρ415), χρῆ δόμεναι (ρ417)). Thus the opening lines of the story present a former deed of the beggar as a *paradeigma* which Antinoos should follow.²⁹

The end of the story presents a major alteration: in the story told to Antinoos, the disguised Odysseus claims that he went from Egypt to Cyprus, from where he came to Ithaka (ρ442-4). The story told to Eumaios, however, contains no mention of Cyprus, and it is Thesprotia where he is said to have stayed before he reached Ithaka. This

²⁹ The lines ρ419-424 are repeated in the beggar's speech to Melantho (τ75-80).

discrepancy seems remarkable, considering that Eumaios is present when the beggar tells the story to Antinoos.³⁰ One possible reason for the substitution of Cyprus for Thesprotia is Odysseus' connection with Thesprotia. In the story told to Eumaios, Odysseus' information is placed within the account of the speaker's stay at Thesprotia. Also, in the lying story to Penelope in book 19, the disguised husband claims that he heard information about Odysseus from the Thesprotian king (τ 270-290). While it is appropriate to tell the alleged information about Odysseus to Eumaios and Penelope, there is no point in telling the suitors about Odysseus' prospect of return and giving them a chance to prepare for it.³¹

One should also note that the Egyptians are said to have given (δόσαν) the beggar to a guest-friend (ξείνῳ), Dmetor, the king of Cyprus (ρ 442-3), so the beggar himself became a 'present'. Thus the end of the story echoes the motif of the generous gift which appeared at the beginning.

The main body of the story told to Antinoos concentrates on the raid upon Egypt. All the other elements of the story told to Eumaios (e.g., the Trojan War, the wicked Phoenician, the Thesprotian king, and the wicked Thesprotian traders) are omitted. One should note that the beggar's critical attitude towards the act of raiding receives more emphasis, since the beggar's companions are called 'pirates' (ληιστῆροι (ρ 425)) in this story, though they are called ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισιν (ξ247) and ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι (ξ249) in the story told to Eumaios. Another difference from the account of the raid in the story as told to Eumaios is the omission of the Egyptian king's mercy to the speaker.

³⁰ Cf. Schol. ad ρ422.

³¹ Concerning the substitution of Cyprus for Thesprotia, Trahan 1952, pp.40-1 suggests that, if Eumaios notices the substitution, he would think that the beggar is intentionally deceiving the suitors.

These differences in the accounts of the raid seem to make the latter version more appropriate as a message to Antinoos and the other suitors. By omitting other major episodes present in the longer version recounted to Eumaios, the beggar highlights the act of raiding, which corresponds to the suitors' consumption of Odysseus' property.³² The emphasis on the speaker's critical attitude towards the raid corresponds to the condemnation of the suitors' haughty behaviour. Lastly, by the omission of the Egyptian king's act of mercy, the retaliation for the raid is presented as ruthless, which would serve as a warning to the suitors.³³

Considering that the story told by the beggar contains not only a *paradeigma* for liberality, but also a warning about the suitors' arrogance, it is notable that mentions of Antinoos' violent act frame this story. Just before the beggar begins, Antinoos seizes a footstool from under the table (ρ 409-410), and, after a short exchange following the story, he throws the footstool and strikes the beggar's shoulder (ρ462-3). This violent act makes a contrast with the reaction of Eumaios, who understands the message of the story told to him in *Odyssey* 14.

5 The Story told to Penelope (τ165-202, 221-248, 262-307)

At the end of Penelope's account of her trick with the web (τ124-163), she questions the disguised Odysseus about his identity. In reply, he tells a lying story in which he proclaims himself as a Cretan named Aithon (cf. τ183).³⁴ At the beginning of the story, the beggar promises to

³² For the emphasis upon the extravagance of the suitors' consumption of Odysseus' property, cf. Chapter 7.

³³ Emlyn-Jones 1986, p.7.

³⁴ In the lying stories told to Athene, Eumaios, and Antinoos, Odysseus does not give any false name.

tell of numerous hardships he suffered (τ165-171), but the following account contains no such episodes.³⁵ Instead, the story presents Aithon's origin (τ172-184), his entertainment of Odysseus in Crete (τ185-202), Odysseus' appearance on that occasion (τ221-248), and the news about Odysseus which he heard at Thesprotia (τ262-307).

Aithon is represented as a son of Deukalion, the previous king of Crete, and a brother of Idomeneus, the present king (τ181). Thus the disguised Odysseus claims to have had a higher social status than in the other stories in which he claims to be a Cretan. In both the story told to Athene and that told to Eumaios, he claims to have himself participated in the Trojan War along with Idomeneus (ν 262-6, ξ 235-242), but he does not claim to be a brother of Idomeneus.³⁶ Aithon's high social status as a member of the royal family renders him an appropriate person to give luxurious entertainment to Odysseus.

Odysseus' visit to Crete is another unique feature of the story told to Penelope among the Cretan tales. Odysseus intended to visit Idomeneus, with whom he claimed guest-friendship (cf. ξείνον (τ191)). but Idomeneus had departed for Troy, so Aithon entertained Odysseus while he stayed in Crete because of adverse winds. The detailed description of Aithon's hospitality to Odysseus and his companions (τ194-8) establishes his guest-friendship (ξενία) with Odysseus (cf. ξείνια δῶκα (τ185), ἐν ἐξείνισσα (τ194)).³⁷

³⁵ Hölcher 1988, p.212.

³⁶ The story told to Antinoos in book 17 does not include any account of his family background.

³⁷ In book 17, Eumaios says to Penelope that the beggar claims to be a ξείνος πατρώιος of Odysseus (ρ 522). It is to be noted that the lying story told to Eumaios in book 14 does not relate the beggar's entertainment of Odysseus, so that this

Aithon's account of Odysseus' stay in Crete touches Penelope's heart and she weeps (τ 204). Her weeping is compared in a simile to snow thawing on lofty mountains (τ 205-7).³⁸ Penelope then prompts the beggar to tell her more about Odysseus and his companions to test whether he really entertained (ἐξείνισας) them or not (τ 215-9). The beggar describes in detail Odysseus' cloak with a brooch and his tunic (τ 225-235). He also describes Odysseus' honoured herald, Eurybates (τ 244-8). It is to be noted that the beggar inserts a mention of his precious presents to Odysseus in this account (τ 241-3).

Penelope is further touched and recognizes the authenticity of the description of her husband (τ 249-250). She promises more hospitable treatment of the beggar (τ 253-4). In this connection, it should be noted that Aithon's entertainment of Odysseus in the story has an exemplary force. As Aithon entertained Odysseus instead of the absent Idomeneus, so Penelope should likewise entertain Aithon, instead of her absent husband, who was once sumptuously entertained by Aithon.

Penelope's promise of hospitality to the beggar is followed by her confirmation that she herself prepared Odysseus' clothes, as correctly described by the beggar (τ 255-7). Then she expresses her pessimistic view of the prospects of her husband's returning (τ 257-260). To this last point, the beggar replies with an account of the news about Odysseus which he heard from the Thesprotian king, Pheidon (τ 262-299).

representation of the beggar seems to be influenced by the story told to Penelope in book

19. Cf. Stanford 1958, ad p.522.

³⁸ Dimock notes the significance of the name Αἴθων ('Blazing') for the story's effect on Penelope, whose weeping is compared to a thaw. Murray-Dimock 1995, vol.2, p.249, note a.

We have seen that the information as to Odysseus' whereabouts acquired at Thesprotia is also included in the lying story told to Eumaios. The news about Odysseus in the story told to Penelope, however, is much more elaborate than in the story to Eumaios. The information about Odysseus in book 19 is preceded by an account of part of Odysseus' real wanderings: the loss of his companions at sea off the island of Thrinakia (τ 273-7) and the Phaiakians' hospitality to him (τ278-282). In this connection, the omission of Kalypso's island, where Odysseus arrived after the storm off Thrinakia, is notable. It has been suggested that by this tactful suppression, the disguised Odysseus avoids mentioning his sojourn with the beautiful goddess.³⁹ By incorporation of details of the real wanderings, the news about Odysseus acquires fuller and more vivid details. The beggar even mentions the Phaiakians' offer to send Odysseus to Ithaka, but at this point he deviates from the truth:

καί οἱ πολλὰ δόσαν πέμπειν τέ μιν ἥθελον αὐτοῖ
οἴκαδ' ἀπήμαντον. καί κεν πάλαι ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς
ἦην· ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ τό γε κέρδιον εἶσατο θυμῷ,
χρήματ' ἀγυρτάζειν πολλήν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἰόντι (τ 281-4).

Thus the true return of Odysseus on a Phaiakian ship is mentioned as an unreal possibility. His desire to obtain more possessions is said to be the reason why he did not accept the Phaiakians' offer to escort him to his native land. One should also note that details which suggest Odysseus' imminent return in the story told to Eumaios are repeated. Odysseus' inquiry at Dodona (τ 296-9 = ξ 327-330) again implies the possibility of Odysseus returning *incognito*. Pheidon's oath on the readiness of a ship

³⁹ Russo, ad τ271-87 in Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck, 1992. This suppression may be compared to the replacement of Kalypso by savage and rough men who are keeping an unwilling Odysseus on an island in Athene-Mentes' speech to Telemachos (α198-9). As Odysseus tells his adventure to Penelope in book 23, however, Kalypso's island is not omitted (ψ333-7).

for the escort of Odysseus to Ithaka (τ 288-290 $\approx$ ξ 331-3) prefigures the beggar's oath at the end of his story (τ 303-7 $\approx$ ξ 158-162).

While it is important for Odysseus to convince Eumaios (his potential ally in the fight against the suitors) of his master's return, it is essential to convince Penelope, since she is on the verge of remarrying. One should note that Penelope states how the pressure on her to remarry comes not only from the suitors, but also from her parents and her son (τ 157-161). The urgent need to convince Penelope of Odysseus' imminent return seems to be the reason for the expansion of the recent news about Odysseus, which has already appeared in the story to Eumaios, by additional details which contribute to increasing the credibility of the story.

6 The Story told to Laertes (ω 265-279, 303-314).

In book 24, when Odysseus visits Laertes, he deliberates whether he should kiss and embrace his father revealing who he is, or test him first by asking questions (ω 235-8). The second option seems better to Odysseus and he tells a false story claiming to be Eperitos from Arybas (ω 304-6). The story causes Laertes to cry (ω 315-7). It is difficult to understand the necessity for Odysseus telling a lie to his father at this stage, since the suitors have already been killed.⁴⁰ But, as has been pointed out, this apparently unnecessary testing of Laertes illustrates an aspect of Odysseus' nature, i.e. cautious concealment of his true identity,

⁴⁰ One should, however, remember that Odysseus' authority in Ithaka has not been securely established, since revenge by the suitors' relatives is foreseeable. It might be the case that, before he reveals his identity, Odysseus wants to be absolutely sure about the attitude of Laertes, who is likely to be his ally in the fight against the avengers of the suitors.

which he has repeatedly shown in the second half of the *Odyssey*.⁴¹ One should also note that Odysseus' decision to test Laertes is parallel to Penelope's similar decision when she sees her husband after the *mnesterophonia*. She deliberates whether she should stand aloof and question her husband or kiss him and clasp his hands (ψ85-7), but she decides to test him (ψ173-181).

The lying story which reduces Laertes to tears seems not only unnecessary but cruel. On this point, it should be noted that Laertes' grief over the absence of Odysseus is repeatedly mentioned throughout the *Odyssey*.⁴² Laertes' act of lamentation at hearing the false story can be seen as an enactment of his repeatedly mentioned grief for his son. One should also note that tears at hearing an account of Odysseus' former deeds are a part of a recognition scene in the case of Telemachos at Sparta (δ113-6) and Odysseus at Phaiakia (θ 83-95, θ 521-534). In both cases, the weeping of a still unknown guest prompts the host (Menelaos and Helen in δ, Alkinoos in θ) to ask his identity.⁴³ In book 24, the tears of Laertes prompt Odysseus to reveal his true identity.

Like the story told to Penelope, the story told to Laertes contains a description of the relationship between Eperitos and Odysseus. At ω 263, the expression ξείνῳ ἐμῷ (my guest-friend) is applied to Odysseus. At ω 266-8, Eperitos is said to have entertained (ἐξείνισσα) Odysseus, who was the most welcome among his guest-friends, and the gifts of friendship (δῶρα ξεινήϊα) which Eperitos gave to Odysseus are listed at ω273-9. In reply, Laertes comments that the gifts Eperitos gave to Odysseus proved to be futile (δῶρα δ' ἐτώσια ταῦτα χαρίζεο), since Odysseus is not present

⁴¹ Wender 1978, pp.56-7.

⁴² E.g., δ110-1, λ187-196, ο353-5. Cf. Wender 1978, pp.58-9; Heubeck 1984, p.155.

⁴³ Cf. Richardson 1984, pp.224-5.

to give gifts to him in return (ω 283-6). Finally, Odysseus ends his false account with a statement that Eperitos and Odysseus both hoped to give glorious gifts to each other in the future (ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν (ω314)). The accumulation of the motif of gifts in this exchange between Odysseus and Laertes is notable.

After Laertes weeps, pouring dust over his head (ω315-7), Odysseus' heart is stirred and he reveals his true identity (ω321-6). Following Laertes' demand for a sure sign of identity (ω328-9), Odysseus mentions the scar on his leg and the trees Laertes gave to him when he was a boy (ω331-344). It may not be without significance that the motif of gifts receives emphasis also in the explanation of the two proofs of Odysseus' identity. The account of the scar (ω 331-5) is an abridgement of the fuller version in book 19 (τ 393-466). It should be noted that the shortened version in book 24 ends with a mention of the gifts promised by Autolykos, for which Odysseus went to visit him: ὄφρ' ἄν ἐλοίμην / δῶρα, τὰ δεῦρο μολῶν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν (ω334-5). This mention of promised gifts serves as a bridge to the second proof: the gift of trees promised by Laertes (ω 336-344). Odysseus enumerates the trees which once Laertes promised to give him (ἅ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας (ω337)): Laertes gave thirteen pear trees, ten apple trees, and forty fig trees (ω340-1). He also promised to give fifty rows of vines (ω341-2). Thus the motif of gifts runs through the lying story and the two proofs of Odysseus' identity. It should also be noted that Odysseus' very first words to Laertes are about his good care of the trees in his orchard (ω244-7). The mention of trees at the beginning of the exchange between the father and the son and at the presentation of the proof of identity frames the false account of Eperitos' gift to Odysseus.

In the scene of Penelope's recognition of Odysseus, double proofs of identification are also presented: Odysseus' scar (ψ73-7) and the secret of the marriage bed, which is made of an olive tree still rooted in the ground

(ψ183-204). Thus the double proofs of the two recognition scenes correspond to each other not only because the first proof (the scar) coincides, but also because the second proof consists of a tree (or trees) in both cases. It should also be noted that the proof of tree(s) in both cases represents the relationship between Odysseus and the one who recognizes him. Whereas in Penelope's recognition of Odysseus, the bed made of an olive tree symbolizes their marital relationship, the trees as inheritance indicate Odysseus' role as the successor of Laertes.⁴⁴ Since Laertes' heir has returned, the promise of the gift of trees did not prove futile. This makes a contrast with the gifts mentioned in the false story, which are described by Laertes as ἐτώσια (ω283).

7 Conclusion

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, we have seen that stories about former deeds of Odysseus are recounted by various people (Nestor, Menelaos, Helen, Agamemnon, Demodokos, and Odysseus himself), and that these stories reveal different aspects of Odysseus' nature. To this rule, the lying stories which we have discussed in this chapter are not exceptions. The poet's comment before the story told to Athene seems to sum up the aspects of the hero's nature which are revealed in the lying stories:

οὐδ' ὅ γ' ἀληθέα εἶπε, πάλιν δ' ὅ γε λάζετο μῦθον,
αἰεὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόον πολυκερδέα νωμῶν (ν 254-5).

Firstly, Odysseus keeps back the truth when he tells false stories, even to Laertes, when there seems to be no necessity to do so. This aspect of his nature is prefigured in the Cyclops episode in which Odysseus gives a false name, Οὐτις (ι364-7). Secondly, in telling the lying tales, he exhibits his cunning intelligence (νόον πολυκερδέα), especially where gain (κέρδος) is concerned. His lying tale to Athene reveals his intention of preserving

⁴⁴ Wender 1978, pp.61-2.

his possessions. His stories told to Eumaios, Antinoos, and Penelope imply the message that they should give him protection and/or gifts. The reports about Odysseus contained in the stories told to Eumaios and Penelope refer to his accumulation of gifts (e.g., ξ 323-6, τ 241-3, τ 281, τ 283-6, τ 293-5). And one should recall that the recognition scene in book 24, which contains Odysseus' lying tale to Laertes, puts special emphasis on the motif of gifts.

Another feature which is common to most of the lying stories (except the story told to Laertes) is the pattern that the speaker was once prosperous, but through some drastic change of fortune, has been reduced to the humble condition of a helpless wanderer. The motif of change of fortune also recurs outside the lying stories in the *Odyssey*. We have seen above that Eumaios' story (ο403-484) presents a change of fortune similar to that in the story which Odysseus tells him. This story also contains a reference to a Phoenician slave woman who had an experience similar to Eumaios (ο425-9). Both the Aitolian mentioned by Eumaios (ξ 379-381) and Theoklymenos (ο272-8) committed a murder and became exiles as in Odysseus' self-portrait in the story told to Athene. Furthermore, Odysseus' long absence from home caused misery not only to his wife, but also to his father, Laertes, as we have seen above, and to his mother, Antikleia, who died of sorrow for her absent son (λ197-203, ο358-360). Odysseus' favourite dog, Argos, was also reduced to a miserable condition after its master departed (ρ290-323). The occurrence of this pattern in the lying stories, together with other mentions of such instances, strengthens this sense of the insecurity of fortune in the second half of the *Odyssey*. It should be noted that those lying stories which show such a pattern in change of fortune are all told to encourage a favour from the addressees. Athene, Eumaios, and Penelope offer support in response to the stories, but Antinoos disregards the message of the story: he seizes a foot-stool

and throws it at the beggar (ρ 409-410, ρ 462-3). Though this outrageous act is criticised by other suitors on the spot (ρ 481-7), similar violent treatment of the beggar is repeated by the suitors: Eurymachos makes fun of the beggar's bald head (σ351-5) and throws a foot-stool at him (σ394-8). Then Ktesippos throws an ox's hoof at the beggar (υ299-302).⁴⁵ Thus Antinoos' violence towards the beggar does represent a prominent aspect of the suitors' attitude. Furthermore, those slaves of Odysseus' household who willingly serve the suitors, Melanthios (ρ 217-235, υ178-182) and Melantho (σ327-336, τ 66-9), abuse the beggar.

These instances of abuse of the beggar are linked with the later killing of the suitors and the disloyal slaves. When Melanthios kicks Odysseus, he considers killing him right away, but restrains himself (ρ 233-8).⁴⁶ When Antinoos throws a foot-stool at Odysseus (ρ462-3), the latter shakes his head, pondering evil against him: ἄλλ' ἄκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων (ρ 465). In this scene, the same line is applied to Telemachos pondering evil against Antinoos (ρ 491). After Melantho's harsh words to Odysseus (τ 66-9), he warns her that she may be punished by Telemachos, if not by Odysseus (τ 71-88). Odysseus ponders evil against Melanthios (υ184) after the latter's abusive words (υ178-182). When Ktesippos throws an ox's hoof at the beggar, but misses the target, Telemachos remarks that he would have killed Ktesippos if the ox's hoof had hit the beggar (υ304-8). When Philoitios kills Ktesippos in the *mnesterophonia*, he remarks with irony that the death is a guest-present in return for the hoof which he gave to Odysseus:

⁴⁵ For this sequence of three suitors throwing objects at Odysseus, cf. Fenik 1974, pp.180-4.

⁴⁶ Later Melanthios is humiliated by the cutting off of his body's extremities (χ474-7). Cf. Davies 1994.

τοῦτό τοι ἀντὶ ποδὸς ξεινήιον, ὃν ποτ' ἔδωκας
ἀντιθέω Ὀδυσῇ δόμον κάτ' ἀλητεύοντι (χ 290-1).

In the passages mentioned above, the revenge upon the suitors and the slaves on their side is conceived as a retaliation for their arrogant treatment of the disguised Odysseus.

It should be noted that the suitors' ill-treatment of the beggar is linked with the *mnesterophonia* at a level different from direct personal revenge for their arrogance towards Odysseus: i.e. at the level of divine punishment. When Odysseus expresses his concern about the aftermath of the *mnesterophonia* to Athene, he betrays a notion that the killing is Zeus and Athene's will: εἴ περ γὰρ κτείναιμι Διὸς τε σέθεν τε ἔκητι (υ 42). Replying to Eumaios' question about the suitors' treatment of the beggar, he states his wish that the gods should take vengeance on their outrage (υ169-171). When Eurykleia is about to boast aloud as she sees the corpses of the suitors (χ 401-8), Odysseus checks her and says that it was the fate ordained by the gods which destroyed them:

τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα·
οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·
τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν αἰκέα πότμον ἐπέσπον (χ 413-7).

In book 23, Eurykleia tells Penelope of Odysseus' vengeance upon the suitors. Penelope answers that it was not Odysseus, but one of the immortal gods who killed the suitors (ψ 63-4), and adds a comment on the suitors' reckless deeds almost identical to that quoted just above:

οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·
τῷ δι' ἀτασθαλίας ἔπαθον κακόν (ψ 65-7).

Both Odysseus in book 22 and Penelope in book 23 see the suitors' ill-treatment of those who came to them, represented by their arrogant treatment of the disguised Odysseus, as the cause of the divine punishment. Since the *mnesterophonia* is represented as a divine punishment in the passages listed above, Odysseus' role bears the

significance of an agent of the divine will.⁴⁷ In this sense, a remark by the suitors after Antinoos has thrown the footstool at the beggar (the miserable wanderer might be a god (p483-7)) ironically prefigures Odysseus' role as an agent of the gods which he assumes in the *mnesterophonia*. In this connection, it should be noted that Eumaios' awe towards Zeus Xeinius (emphasized in book 14) makes a contrast with the suitors' ungodly treatment of the wandering beggar.⁴⁸

In Chapter 7, we have seen that the poet needed to emphasize the wickedness of the suitors to make the *mnesterophonia* an appropriate punishment for them, and that the suitors' extravagant consumption of Odysseus' property, especially of his cattle, constitutes one aspect of their wickedness. This aspect is stressed through the analogy of their ἀτασθαλίας with the ἀτασθαλίας of Odysseus' companions, which consisted of their consumption of the cattle of Helios. Another aspect of the wickedness of the suitors which is emphasized by the poet is their ill-treatment of the wandering beggar. The difference between Antinoos' response to Odysseus' lying tales, which is a primary example of the suitors' ill-treatment of the wandering beggar, and other characters' supportive responses to the lying tales, helps to emphasize this aspect of the suitors' ἀτασθαλίας.

⁴⁷ Cf. Rutherford 1986, p.160; Reece 1993, pp.181-7; Olson 1995, pp.205-223.

⁴⁸ An instance of ungodly ill-treatment of a guest can be seen in the account of Herakles' murder of Iphitos (φ 24-30). Cf. Chapter 7, §3(d) above.

CONCLUSION

1 Relationship between Stories and Epic Plot

In the preceding chapters, we have examined the links between the stories told by characters and the main plot of each Homeric epic. Not only is each story closely connected with its immediate context, but also the stories are effectively employed at appropriate points in the overall design of each epic. At the same time, there are remarkable differences between the two epics in the use to which stories are put. In this concluding chapter, we will pay attention to these differences in order to clarify the general characteristics of the use of stories in each epic.

One notable difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is the way in which the stories are introduced. In the *Iliad*, most of the stories are introduced as *paradeigmata*, as rhetorical devices for persuasion or consolation. In the *Odyssey* too, some stories, notably that of Agamemnon's homecoming, are employed as *paradeigmata*; but the majority of stories are not explicitly introduced as *paradeigmata*.¹

Those stories introduced as *paradeigmata* into the *Iliad* contain rich correspondences with the epic plot which establish the similarity between the situations in which the Iliadic heroes stand and the situations of the *paradeigmata*. These correspondences increase the applicability of the *paradeigmata*. But we have also observed that some stories in the *Iliad* contain details which prefigure future actions. Since the mortal characters are not aware of the later development of the epic plot, these prefigurations are not connected with the issue of persuasion.

¹ Note, however, that some of the lying tales of Odysseus contain positive or negative models for the listeners, as we have seen in Chapter 8.

Characters in the *Odyssey* often tell stories in reply to a request for information. In the case of the story of Agamemnon's homecoming, one can find abundant points of correspondence with the epic plot which contribute to the purpose of persuasion. But other stories, which are not connected with any purpose of persuasion, generally lack this sort of correspondence with the immediate epic context, a correspondence which is peculiar to *paradeigmata*. In this sense, one may say that the stories in the *Odyssey* are more detached from the epic plot than those in the *Iliad*.² On the other hand, we have nevertheless found a different sort of correspondence. Menelaos' story of his adventures during his return from Troy contains features remarkably similar to Odysseus' adventures as recounted later in the epic. Three accounts of the story of the Wooden Horse narrated by different characters in the first half of the *Odyssey* present or prefigure various characteristics of Odysseus which he displays in the second half. We have also traced the elaborate correspondences as regards their ἀτασθαλίαι between Odysseus' companions in the *apologoi* and the suitors of Penelope. These stories are connected with the plot of the epic by means of prefigurations of future events, a technique which we have also found in stories within the *Iliad*.

These prefigurations of later events embedded in stories should be seen in conjunction with the technique of announcement of the future in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.³ Both epics open with a prologue which vaguely announces the subject. An exchange between Zeus and a goddess (Thetis in the *Iliad*, Athene in the *Odyssey*) in the first book of both epics indicates

² Hebel 1970, p.222.

³ For the foreshadowing of the future in Homer, see Wieniewsky 1924; Duckworth 1933; Morrison 1992. For this phenomena in other genres, esp. in Greek tragedy, cf. Davies 1989a.

what is to happen in each epic (defeat of the Greek side until Agamemnon requites Achilles' damaged honour; Odysseus' homecoming and Telemachos' summoning of an assembly and his journey to the Peloponnese). Thereafter, various passages (such as gods' or seers' prophecies, the poet's predictions, and similes) scattered through both epics, announce the future course of events. Mortal characters express their attitudes to future events in the form of fear, wish, threat, etc., which heighten the suspense concerning what is to come.

Scholars have detected a comparable anticipation of the future in Homeric similes. First, there is a number of similes which anticipate actions which follow immediately.⁴ Along with similes with short-range anticipation, there are similes which anticipate epic actions at longer ranges. Most notably, a series of animal similes which include a mention of the animal's death foreshadow the death of the heroes to whom these similes are applied.⁵ For example, the simile of a lion applied to Patroklos at Π752-3 contains a mention of the animal's death. This detail, together with other predictions of Patroklos' destiny (Θ473-6, Λ602-4, Π46-7), prefigures the hero's death later in book 16. Likewise, similes at Μ41-8 and Υ171-5 prefigure the deaths of Hektor and Achilles respectively. These and other instances of anticipation in similes are instructive, since the prefigurations of the future embedded in characters' storytelling are equally implicit.⁶ The network of anticipations of the future in *Iliad* and

⁴ E.g., O379-384 (cf. Janko 1992, ad O381-4). For other examples, cf. Edwards 1991, p.32.

⁵ For this series of animal similes, cf. Kawashima 1965, pp.25-8; Moulton 1977, pp.112-3, with n.63.

⁶ For other similes which contain long-range anticipation, cf. Edwards 1991, pp.30-34 and ad P736-41.

Odyssey, especially the existence of long range anticipation in similes, entitles us to see the prefigurations in characters' stories not as a mere coincidence but as a part of the technique of anticipation of the future in both epics.

The stories in the *Odyssey* are often not closely linked with the immediate context by a paradeigmatic purpose, and are generally longer and more diffuse; but it is important to note that they also contain details which foreshadow future actions in the epic, and are thus connected to the epic plot, as is also the case with stories in the *Iliad*.

2 Representation of the Past

Another noticeable difference between the two Homeric epics that affects the characters' storytelling lies in the choice of material for the stories. In the *Iliad*, the subjects of the stories are usually taken from outside the myth of the Trojan War. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, most of the stories are about the Trojan War and its aftermath. Even some of Odysseus' lying tales are connected with the expedition to Troy. In other words, the *Odyssey* generally presents its characters' past in stories, whereas the *Iliad* usually presents various myths unconnected to its characters' past. It should be noted that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have different ways of representing the past. To be brief, the narrative of the *Iliad* concentrates on the present action, while the narrative of the *Odyssey* is full of reminiscences of the past.⁷ We shall examine this basic difference to see its bearing on the different choice of materials for the characters' storytelling in the two epics.

The main plot of the *Iliad* depicts the tenth year of the Trojan War, but some events which would naturally belong to the beginning of the war

⁷ Hebel 1970, p.222.

are included in the narrative.⁸ Agamemnon's review of the whole army in book 2 would be more appropriate when the fleet for the expedition first assembled than in the tenth year. The *teichoskopia* in *Iliad* 3, where Priam asks Helen the names of Greek chieftains, would more naturally have taken place when the enemy first arrived at Troy. The duel of Menelaos and Paris, Helen's former and present husbands, may also seem more appropriate at the initial stage of the war than in the tenth year. The perfidious shot by Pandaros in *Iliad* 4, on the other hand, can be seen as a re-enactment of Paris' faithless abduction of Helen. Since the death of Hector represents the fall of Troy, one can see the poet's intention of representing the entire Trojan War, from the beginning to the end, within the actual plot of the *Iliad*. This concentration on the present, by transferring earlier events from the past into the actual plot of the epic, characterizes an important aspect of the attitude to the past in the narrative of the *Iliad*.⁹

Fully in accordance with this feature of the *Iliad*, episodes from the earlier stages of the war are conspicuously rare in the stories told by the Iliadic characters. Notable exceptions include several brief mentions of Achilles' earlier campaigns¹⁰ and a reference to Menelaos and Odysseus' embassy to Troy (Γ204-224). The vast majority of the stories told by characters present myths unconnected with the Trojan War. The story of Meleagros is a sequel to the boar hunt by the heroes of the previous generation on mainland Greece. The story of Niobe is located in Asia Minor. Herakles captured Troy, indeed, but it happened under the reign of the previous king, Laomedon. The Tydeus stories are taken from the

⁸ Cf. Davies 1986, pp.71-2.

⁹ Cf. Andersen 1990, p.42.

¹⁰ Cf. Taplin 1986.

myth of the war at Thebes which took place one generation before the Trojan War. Nestor presents stories from the Peloponnese in the days of his youth, i.e. two generations earlier. These and other stories of the deeds of past heroes and heroines in characters' speeches in the *Iliad* present events that are distant from the present war in terms of time and/or place. The stories about the Olympian gods, which concern their own past deeds, are not directly related to the Trojan War.¹¹

The distance between the Trojan War in the main narrative and the events in the stories is often emphasized. Nestor, quite exceptionally, tells of his own experiences, but, as we have seen in Chapter 3, his futile formulaic regret for his lost youth (H132-3, 157, Λ 670-1, Ψ 629-630) underlines the chronological difference between the present war at Troy and his exploits in the Peloponnese. When Agamemnon recounts the story of Tydeus to Diomedes, he makes it clear that he himself did not see Tydeus (Δ374-5).¹²

It should be noted that the stories generally present a cruder world than that of the main narrative. Monstrous or fantastic beings like Briareos-Aigaion (A403-5), the Chimaira (Z179-183)¹³, the Aktorione (Λ709-710, 750, Ψ638-642), the Amazons (Γ 188-9, Z 186) are mentioned in the stories, but are entirely absent from the actions of the main plot of the

¹¹ One notable exception is the mention of the Judgement of Paris (Ω27-30), but it is not told by a character but set in the main narrative.

¹² As another instance of this tendency to distance the stories from the characters of the *Iliad*, one might cite the brief description of the Kalydonian boar hunt (I 538-546) in which the participation of Peleus, Achilles' father, is not mentioned, although he is treated as one of the principal participants in this hunt both in literary and iconographic traditions.

¹³ The Chimaira is also mentioned at Π 328-9.

Iliad.¹⁴ The world of the gods in the stories is also subtly different from that of the main narrative, as we have seen in Chapter 4. In the consolatory speech of Dione to Aphrodite (E382-415), the former speaks of the colossal brothers, Otos and Ephialtes, and of Herakles fighting and defeating gods. Furthermore, this speech includes a mention of the possible death of a god (E388-391).¹⁵ These stories of the sufferings of gods make a sharp contrast with the main narrative of the *Iliad*, in which the crucial difference between θνητοὶ ἄνθρωποι and ἀθάνατοι θεοί is repeatedly emphasized. The actions of the Olympian gods towards each other as depicted in these stories are also crude and violent. Achilles reminds Thetis of the gods' attempted revolt against Zeus (A 396-406). Zeus once inflicted physical punishment on Hera (O18-22). Hephaistos tells a story of his being thrown down to earth by Zeus (A 590-4). He also tells Thetis a story in which he was thrown down by Hera (Σ 395-9). In contrast to such serious strife and violence among the Olympian gods as narrated in speeches, the gods in the actual narrative only quarrel verbally except for very rare brawls (Athene against Ares and Aphrodite in books 5 and 21, Hera against Artemis in book 21).

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the explanation of the cause of divine enmity towards humans presents a distinct difference between the main plot and the stories in the *Iliad*: while a mythological background to divine hatred often remains unspecified in the main plot (to produce an impression of inexplicable fate), the causal relationship between offence against gods and punishment inflicted upon the offender is frequently indicated in stories narrated by characters. It is also notable that in the stories told by Sthenelos (Δ 404-410) and by Sarpedon (E 648-654), the

¹⁴ Griffin 1977, pp.40-1.

¹⁵ Cf. Andersen 1981.

defeats of the Seven against Thebes and Laomedon are ascribed to their ἀτασθαλίας (Δ 409) and ἀφραδίαι (E 649) respectively. In this respect, the *Odyssey* presents a striking contrast, since, as we have seen in Chapter 7, both the destruction of the suitors in the actual main plot and that of Odysseus' companions in the *apologoi* are ascribed, with emphasis, to their ἀτασθαλίας, which incurred divine punishment.

In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the way in which the past is represented, either in the main narrative or in characters' stories, is quite different from the *Iliad*. The main plot of the *Odyssey* is full of reminiscences of past events in the Trojan War and its aftermath. Telemachos visits the Peloponnese in quest for information about his father, and the stories told by Nestor, Helen and Menelaos concerning Odysseus thus constitute the main action at Pylos and Sparta. In the Phaiakia too, Demodokos' three songs and Odysseus' *apologoi* constitute the principal actions in books 8-12. In contrast to the *Iliad*, in which previous events are taken over into the main plot as present actions, the dominance of reminiscences of past events characterizes the actions in the first half of the *Odyssey*.

In the *Iliad*, Helen says that she and Paris will be the subject of songs (ἀοιδίμοι) among future generations (Z 357-8). In the *Odyssey*, precisely such songs about the Trojan War are sung by Phemios and Demodokos¹⁶. A consolation for the heroes suffering and dying in the *Iliad* is that they will be remembered by later generations (e.g. H 87-91). This consolation is also referred to in the *Odyssey* (e.g. ω 433), but another consolation is mentioned, the joy of recounting one's hardship after it has gone:

νῶϊ δ' ἐνὶ κλισίῃ πίνοντέ τε δαινυμένω τε
κῆδεσιν ἀλλήλων τερπόμεθα λευγαλέοισι

16 Finley, Jr. 1978, pp.91-2.

μνωομένω· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ,
ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῆ (ο398-401).

The motif of recalling or telling one's experience appears repeatedly in the *Odyssey*.¹⁷ The Odyssean characters' stories of their experiences at Troy and during their return journey reflect this joy.

It is also a notable characteristic of the *Odyssey* that the same event is narrated by more than one character.¹⁸ The story of the murder of Agamemnon is told by the shade of Agamemnon himself (λ409-434) and by Menelaos (δ 519-549), as well as by Zeus (α 35-43), Athene-Mentes (α 298-300), and Nestor (γ255-275, 304-310). Penelope's trick of the web is told by Penelope herself (τ137-156) and two other suitors, Antinoos (β93-110), and Amphimedon (ω123-150). The story of the Wooden Horse is told by two of the heroes who were actually in it, Menelaos (δ 271-289) and Odysseus (λ523-532), as well as by Demodokos (θ 499-520). These events are recounted with different points of emphasis according to the different viewpoints of those who actually experienced them and of those who did not. The *Odyssey*'s characteristic interest in past experiences (one's own and others') can be seen here too.

Since the characters of the *Odyssey* tell of their own experiences or at least of events of their own generation, the distance between the stories and the actual narrative is smaller than in the *Iliad*. Nestor does not use the formulaic regret for his lost youth in the *Odyssey* as he tells his story to Telemachos (γ103-200), since the Trojan War does not belong to his youth of two generations ago, but to the present generation. In the case of Odysseus' adventures, monstrous or magical elements tend to be

¹⁷ E.g. δ592, θ101-3, 241-5, 251-3, 461-2, λ223-4, μ212.

¹⁸ In the *Iliad*, Tydeus' feats at Thebes (Δ370-400, Ε800-813) and Zeus' punishment of the conspiracy between Hera and Hypnos (Ξ249-261, Ο18-30) are the only stories which are narrated more than once.

presented in Odysseus' speech rather than in the main narrative, as we saw in Chapter 7. It should, however, be noted that these elements belong to Odysseus' own experience, not to the heroes of past generations as in the case of the *Iliad*. The difference in world picture between the stories and the main narrative which we perceived in the *Iliad* is smaller in the *Odyssey*.¹⁹

¹⁹ One may compare the difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in terms of the representation of the past in characters' storytelling with the difference between the two epics in terms of the relationship between similes and narrative. The realm of everyday activities such as herding or farming depicted in similes makes a clear contrast with the depiction of the war in the narrative of the *Iliad*, while these activities actually occur in the narrative of the *Odyssey*. Furthermore, there are similes peculiar to the *Odyssey* which involve such subjects as the father-son relationship (α 306-8, ε 394-8, π17-21, ρ109-113), the landing of shipwrecked sailors (ψ133-8), and the wailing of a war widow (θ 523-530, cf. Chapter 6), which touch on the actual experiences of principal characters of the epic.

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ABSTRACT

Characters' Storytelling in the Homeric Epics

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This thesis is a study of the stories told by characters in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Recent studies have revealed that these stories, which were once generally regarded as mere summaries of lost 'sources', contain various correspondences to their respective contexts, and are thereby integrated into the main narrative of each epic. These stories also contribute to the characterization of principal figures. Thus characters' storytelling should be regarded as an important component of the composition of the Homeric epics.

In Part 1, the stories told by characters in the *Iliad* are divided into four categories: *Paradeigmata* pertaining to Achilles (Chapter 1), *Paradeigmata* in the *Diomedea* (Chapter 2), Nestor's stories (Chapter 3), and stories about the Olympian gods (Chapter 4). In Part 2, the stories in the *Odyssey* are likewise divided into four categories: Agamemnon's *nostos* (Chapter 5), the Wooden Horse and other events in the Trojan War (Chapter 6), Odysseus' *apologoi* (Chapter 7), and Odysseus' lying stories (Chapter 8). Under these eight headings, the function of each story is examined in terms of its rhetorical effect, echo of the events in the main narrative, foreshadowing of future events, contribution to the characterization of principal figures, etc. These examinations show that the stories told by characters are closely connected with the main plot of each epic.

Interesting differences between the two epics in respect of their use of characters' storytelling emerge from the above examinations. Notably, the Iliadic characters tell stories about heroes of previous generations, whereas the Odyssean characters often tell stories of their own experiences. This is related to the difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as regards the representation of the past. This and other issues are discussed in the Conclusion.

