

At §30 we find a description of animals:

κροκοδείλους καὶ ἐχίδνας πλείστας καὶ σάυρας  
ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὡς τὸ κρέας τῶν σαυρῶν ἐσθίουσι, τὸ δὲ  
λίπος τήκουσι καὶ ἀντ' ἐλαίου χρῶνται.

Stuck proposed ὦν τὸ κρέας [τῶν σαυρῶν] ἐσθίουσι, and Frisk accepted his suggestion, stating (p. 111) that 'une phrase consécutive n'est pas de mise ici, elle demanderait d'ailleurs l'infinifit'. Both arguments invoked by Frisk do not hold water. Precisely as a consequence of their being ὑπερμεγέθεις, the lizards offer not only their flesh as food (this could apply to small lizards as well) but also a surplus of fat so plentiful that it can be melted down and used as a substitute for oil (this can only apply to large, heavy lizards such as those described by the author).<sup>14</sup>

ὦς with the indicative instead of ὥστε with the infinitive is found in later prose (cf. Bauer, *Wört. N.T.*, s.v. ὦς, III, 1, b and IV, 2). The author of the *Periplus* likes *variatio* (cf. Frisk, pp. 74, 75, 81, 117 f.): just as he used consecutive ὥστε with the participle (as an equivalent of the infinitive) once, at §40 (cf. Frisk, p. 86), so he has used consecutive ὦς with the indicative (ἐσθίουσι, τήκουσι, χρῶνται) in the one passage we are analysing. The sense of ὦς with the indicative, in the cases in question (cf. Bauer, *loc. cit.*) is either purely consecutive (i.e., here, = 'the region has exceedingly large lizards, so that the inhabitants eat the flesh of these lizards and melt their fat . . .') or acquires an explicative force (i.e., here, = 'the region has exceedingly large lizards, so much so that the inhabitants eat the flesh of these lizards and melt their fat . . .').

GIUSEPPE GIANGRANDE

Birkbeck College,  
University of London

<sup>14</sup> To be more precise, the author is describing not the European lizard, which is skinny and fatless because it must run quickly in order to catch insects, but the large lizard called σκίγκος (cf. LSJ, s.v., and Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, vol. II, p. 275 ff.: 'Waran', 'Dornechse'), a kind of crocodile whose 'Fleisch und Fett' (*Der Grosse Brehm*, Berlin 1964, vol. IV, p. 344) are greedily eaten by the natives.

### Asteris and the Twin Harbours

(*Od.* iv 844-7)

(PLATES III-IV)

ἔστι δὲ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλὶ πετρήεσσα  
μεσσηγῆς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιο τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
Ἄστερις, οὐ μεγάλη· λιμένες δ' ἐν ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ  
ἀμφίδιμοι τῇ τὸν γε μένον λοχῶντες Ἀχαιοί.

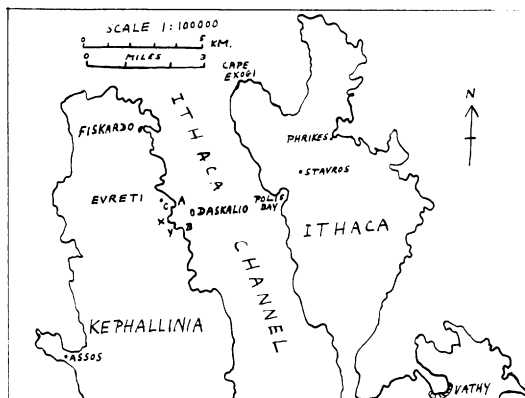
R. Lattimore's translation is neat and accurate:

There is a rocky island there in the middle channel  
halfway between Ithaca and towering Samos,  
called Asteris, not large, but it has a double  
anchorage  
where ships can lie hidden. There the Achaeans  
waited in ambush.

I assume that Homeric Ithaca is the island now called Ithaki and that Samos is Kephallinia.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld's view (*Alt-Ithaka*, 1927) that Homeric Ithaca = Leukas has not won many adherents. Against

channel will then be the Ithaca Channel, and here there is only one island, now called Daskalio (FIG. 1). So Daskalio = Asteris. So far, so good; Homer has deftly pinpointed the location of the ambush by



associating it with the only small island off the west coast of Ithaca.

Daskalio is certainly *πετρήεσσα*; indeed it is nothing but a narrow shelf of rock about 200 yards long, and rising only about 15 feet above water level (PLATE IIIa). No one can deny that it is *οὐ μεγάλη*; the phrase may well be a litotes. It is not strictly in 'mid-channel', being 3,000 yards from Ithaca and only 800 yards from Kephallinia, but this may pass in a poetic description.<sup>2</sup> It is with the 'double anchorage' that Homer's description appears to lose touch with reality.

Daskalio is entirely devoid of harbours now, and the same was true two thousand years ago. According to Strabo (i 3.18) the island which Homer endowed with two good havens, 'now has not even one suitable anchorage'. Faced with this difficulty, Merry and Riddell concluded: 'It is impossible to accept the view of modern geographers identifying Asteris with the modern rock of Daskalio'.<sup>3</sup> But in this sceptical conclusion they over-emphasise the one discrepancy in the Homeric picture at the expense of the three particulars in which it is apt and accurate. They also, in effect, discount the evidence of Strabo that the islet was still called Asteris in his day.<sup>4</sup>

Strabo is summarising an ancient controversy about Asteris (cf. x 2.16). In his view, 'it is preferable to adopt the explanation of physical change (*μεταβολή*)

it, see A. Shewan (his papers on the problem are collected in his *Homeric Essays*, 1935), Lord Rennell of Rodd (*Homer's Ithaca*, 1927), and F. H. Stubbings (*A Companion to Homer*, 1962, 398-421). W. B. Stanford (edition of *Odyssey*, p. xl) concludes that 'the arguments against the traditional view are not strong enough to justify our rejecting it'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Od.* xv 29, where the suitors are described as lying in wait simply 'in the channel of Ithaca and Samos'.

<sup>3</sup> Edition of *Odyssey*, *ad loc.* See also Appendix III.

<sup>4</sup> i 3.18. The name is very apt. I have seen Daskalio from Ithaca in the early morning, and from Kephallinia in the late afternoon. At both times the sunlight reflected from its bare limestone flanks made it gleam very brightly against the 'wine-dark' water of the channel. The comparison to a star in the evening sky would come readily to mind. Cf. Paulatos, *Ἡ πατρίς τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς* (Athens, 1906), quoted by Shewan, *Homeric Essays*, 46.

rather than that of Homer's ignorance of the locality (*ἄγνοια*) or his misrepresentation of the topography in the manner of a story-teller' (*κατάψευσσις τῶν τόπων κατὰ τὸ μυθῶδες*).

Most modern investigators reject Strabo's hypothesis of physical change. Shewan says all that can be said in favour of one-time havens in Daskalio, but one must conclude that his pleading fails.<sup>5</sup>

What of the hypothesis that Homer did not know the locality, i.e. at first hand? This is, in effect, the solution adopted by Victor Bérard in his full discussion in *Les Navigations d'Ulysse* (1927, i, 306 ff.). Bérard does not allow that Homer ever visited Ithaca, yet he accepts that his topographical information is in general accurate. Homer, he suggests, derived his knowledge from an ancient *Periplus*, a source which provided him with factual, but terse, information about the Ithaca Channel, Asteris, and the twin harbours. With the aid of extracts from ancient and modern *Pilots*, Bérard has no difficulty in showing that such manuals may easily be misinterpreted by armchair travellers. Homer, he supposes, fell into some such confusion. The twin harbours were not figments of his imagination. They occurred in his source, but he mistook their precise location. The harbours were not *in* Asteris, but *near* it. For twin harbours nearby Bérard points to the Fiskardo inlet in Kephallinia.

In support of his view, Bérard rightly directs our attention to *Odyssey* xvi 365 ff., where Antinoös is making excuses for the failure of the ambush:

ἦματα μὲν σκοποὶ ἴξον ἐπ' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας  
αἰὲν ἐπασσύτεροι . . .

By no stretch of the imagination could Daskalio be credited with *ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας*, 'windy heights'. Sentries posted there would be almost at water level, and could not see very far down the channel. But on nearby Kephallinia there are numerous promontories between two and three hundred feet high affording an excellent prospect down the whole length of the channel.

I agree with Shewan (p. 12) that 'Bérard points the way to a satisfactory solution for Asteris', but I wish to propose two modifications to his view.

First, I do not agree that Homer acquired his knowledge of Ithaca only from a *Periplus*. I share the belief of some Ithakists that Homer visited the island, and worked a detailed knowledge of its terrain into the fabric of the narrative. The reader will find the case for Homeric autopsy argued in detail in chapter 7 of my *Homer and the Heroic Age* (1975).<sup>6</sup>

There (pp. 145 and 150) I was not very specific about the location of the 'twin harbours', but the investigation described below now makes me think that greater precision in the identification is possible.

Secondly—and this is the main novelty in my

<sup>5</sup> *Homeric Essays*, 47–8, 76–7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Casson, *Antiquity* xvi (1942) 71 ff. Also, the verdict of Miss H. L. Lorimer (*Homer and the Monuments*, 498): 'The numerous points of coincidence between landscape and poem, and the suitability of the site to the movements of the characters in relation to it seem to be beyond the reach of coincidence and to argue personal knowledge in the poet.'

account—I wish to point out that the Homeric harbours can be found much closer to Daskalio than Bérard suggested.

A line drawn from Polis Bay through Daskalio meets the shore of Kephallinia just south of the little village of Evreti. When visiting Ithaca in 1972 I was looking along this line of sight, and thought I could see two coves on Kephallinia 'inside' Daskalio.<sup>7</sup> In August 1974, during a brief visit to Fiskardo, I had the opportunity to search for the coves I had sighted. The result of this investigation is pictorially conveyed in PLATES IIIa–d and IVa–b. I did not have time to inquire locally about the names of the coves, but there is no doubt they answer well to Homer's description. They are much closer to Daskalio than Fiskardo harbour—half a mile as against two miles. As PLATE IIIb shows, they are also 'within' or 'inside' Daskalio in the sense that the islet lies athwart their mouths.<sup>8</sup>

What precisely did Homer mean by *λιμένες ἀμφίδουμοι*? The *Odyssey* scholia indicate some divergence of opinion among ancient commentators. Dindorf records the following note:

ἀμφίδουμοι] διπτοί, ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσδύσεις, τούτεστιν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους εἰσπλους καὶ καταγωγὰς ἔχοντες. ἢ διπλοί, εἰς οὗς ἔστι δύνειν, ἢ ἑκατέρωθεν εἰσδύσεις ἔχοντες.

Two alternative suggestions emerge fairly clearly from this somewhat repetitive statement. Either the twin harbours are to be conceived as lying back to back—on either side of an isthmus, for example. Or, they lie side by side, providing alternative anchorages within the confines of two projecting headlands.

The second alternative suits the terrain near Evreti. The headlands bounding the twin harbours are those marked A and B on FIG. 1. The anchorages are those marked X and Y. (The small cove marked c has no shingle beach). X (PLATE IVa) has a shingle beach about 100 yards long at its northern end. As may be seen from the photograph, the rest of the shoreline is fringed with boulders making it unsuitable for the beaching of boats. Y (PLATE IVb) is a smaller cove only about 50 yards across at its landward end, but it has a good shingle beach. The two coves are divided by a small promontory (PLATE IIIc). Their proximity can be judged from the fact that my daughter swam from one to the other in less than twenty minutes. Both coves are completely invisible from the channel to the south. They are *ναύλογοι* in the sense of the scholion: *ἐν οἷς αἱ νῆες λοχῶσαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύουσαι λαθεῖν δύναται*. The headlands A and B (A is the ridge on the skyline in PLATE IIIc; B is the furthest point in PLATE IVa, and the

<sup>7</sup> On re-reading Bérard I found that he had made a similar observation from a boat in the Ithaca Channel (*Les Navigations d'Ulysse*, 448). He does not, however, relate this observation to the Homeric text.

<sup>8</sup> The *Periplus Hannonis Carthaginiensis* sect. 14 (Müller) runs: *Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ νῆσος ἦν μεγάλη καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λίμνη θαλασσώδης . . .* Comparison with sect. 18 shows that *λίμνη* means a 'straight' or 'sound', and therefore the second *ἐν* must mean 'enclosed by'. It is, I suggest, just possible that Homer's *ἐνι* (*ἐνεῖσι*) could mean 'are enclosed by'. In *Od.* ix 126 οὐδ' . . . *ἐνι* means 'are not included among'. Alternatively, read *ἐνί*?

hillside in PLATE IV*b*) provide excellent vantage points for sentries.

In the Homeric account of the ambush there is only one ship manned by the suitors. Yet Homer provides twin harbours for it. This would be a pointless complication if the description were purely fictional. The introduction of this detail suggests that the description is grounded in local topography, and is not merely generic. But there is also an element of fiction in the account. Homer has taken some liberty with the facts. He has conflated the rocky reef of Daskalio-Asteris with the 'twin harbours' and 'windy heights' on Kephallinia. This is a very understandable piece of compression in a story told for dramatic effect. Homer (as I suppose) had taken the trouble to familiarise himself with the scene of the narrative by a visit to Ithaca. The setting of the ambush was an important element in the plot, and he felt the need to locate it with precision. Asteris, the only island in the Ithaca Channel, was as good as a map reference for this purpose.<sup>9</sup> Asteris had no harbours, but never mind. There were twin harbours close by. There was no need to explain this in burdensome detail to an Ionian audience. It was simpler to say that the harbours were 'within' Asteris, and leave it at that.

Miss Lorimer, while accepting that Homer must have had personal knowledge of Ithaca, proposes a different solution for the Asteris problem.<sup>10</sup> She thinks there was an older stream of the epic tradition in which the setting of Odysseus' homecoming was on Leukas, and supposes that considerable traces of this tradition are still evident in our *Odyssey*, even though for the author (Homer) Ithaca is Ithaki. In keeping with this complicated hypothesis she revives Dörpfeld's view that the description of Asteris fits Arkhoudi, a medium-sized island lying roughly between Ithaca and Leukas.<sup>11</sup> At the same time she tries to maintain that for Homer the scene of the ambush was the 'rugged promontory' (Cape Mytikos) at the south of the Bay of Sami (where there is no island!).<sup>12</sup> Of Daskalio she says: 'The inconspicuous rock of Daskalio just south of the Bay of Polis, to which Ithakists pin an uneasy faith, is completely unsuitable in situation and fails to comply with any feature of the description.'

I hope to have shown that this verdict is quite

<sup>9</sup> An ambush based on the shore of Kephallinia 'inside' Asteris had the following advantages: (a) it was as close as possible to Polis Bay without being on Ithacan soil (where it might be noticed by well-wishers of Telemachos); (b) it afforded a fine prospect of the Ithaca Channel while offering complete concealment to the ambush party. The ambush failed because Telemachos landed out of sight of the watchers on the S.E. corner of Ithaca. His ship then came round the east side of the island and slipped into Polis Bay before it could be intercepted.

<sup>10</sup> *Homer and the Monuments*, 499–501.

<sup>11</sup> As Shewan, *Homeric Essays* 36–58, has demonstrated in great detail, Arkhoudi fits the Homeric description of Asteris far less well than Daskalio does, and the placing of the ambush at Arkhoudi generates insoluble difficulties in regard to Telemachos' homeward voyage.

<sup>12</sup> In this she is in fact reviving a suggestion first made by Sir William Gell in his *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* (1807) 79.

unfounded. In situation Daskalio is eminently suitable for the requirements of the narrative, and for Homer's poetic purposes. It complies far better than Arkhoudi with three of the four features he assigns to it. And the twin harbours are still to be seen within half a mile of it.

J. V. LUCE

Trinity College, Dublin

### Solon, Fragment 25<sup>1</sup>

Fr. 25.6–9D οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο  
πρὶν ἀνταράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.  
ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταχμίῳ  
ὄρος κατέστην.

7 πῖαρ Plut.: πῦαρ pap. *Ath. Pol.* ἀνταράξας . . . ἐξεῖλε  
pap., coniecerat Gildersleeve: ἂν ταράξας ἐξεῖλε Plut.

Solon is answering his critics (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 12.5). The *demos* has never had it so good. The 'bigger and stronger men', *μειζόνους καὶ βίαν ἀμείνονες*, also have cause to thank him. For if anyone else had had this office, 'he would not have restrained the *demos*, nor would he have stopped, before', etc. Plutarch (*Vit. Sol.* 16) introduces the lines in almost the same words.

V. 7 is difficult. Bergk and others construe: 'until, having stirred up the milk, he had taken the cream'. There are two objections to this. Firstly, the word order would involve an interlacing of main and participial clauses which Greek normally eschews.<sup>2</sup> Bergk claims that Solon is peculiar in the freedom of his hyperbaton,<sup>3</sup> but the examples he quotes (*fr.* 1.43–5 and 23.5D) are not of this type and are very much easier.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, the sense: 'it is not usual to stir up milk when it is wanted to skim off cream'.<sup>5</sup> Linforth<sup>6</sup> recognised the force of this argument, and concluded, in the light of the ancient evidence, that *πῖαρ* refers to butter.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fr.* 25D, Bgk. = *fr.* 37 West. References hereafter are to Diehl. I am indebted to Professor A. Andrewes, Mr G. W. Bond, Mr W. G. Forrester and Professor H. Lloyd-Jones for valuable advice and criticism.

<sup>2</sup> 'A part of a sentence the verbal centre of which is a *participium coniunctum*, provided that it serves to describe a self-contained action, forms a syntactical colon on its own', which cannot be interlaced with the main sentence (Fraenkel, *Agamemnon*, p. 512, from 'Kolon und Satz, I', *NGG*, 1932, 202 = *Kl. Beitr.* i 78). Fraenkel's view is contested by Page in his note on *Ag.* 1127; but see *PCPS* n.s. 21, 1975, 82–8.

<sup>3</sup> 'Solet passim Solo verborum traiectione satis licenter uti' (*PLG*<sup>4</sup> ii 54).

<sup>4</sup> As Arthur Platt points out (*J. Phil.* 24, 1896, 256).

<sup>5</sup> F. G. Allinson in *AJP* 1, 1880, 458; 'Laval's centrifugal apparatus had not yet been invented', A. Platt (*loc. cit.* [n. 4]).

<sup>6</sup> I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, 1919, 193.

<sup>7</sup> It is clear from Hdt. 4.2, Hippocr. *de Morb.* 4.51, Anaxandr. 41.8 that butter-making was regarded as a barbarian activity (*cf.* Casaubon *ap.* Schweighäuser on Athen. 447d). Linforth disarmingly remarks: 'we must conclude that Solon became acquainted with this Scythian practice in the course of his travels, and referred to it in a rather obscure metaphor; or that butter-making, though not mentioned in literature, was not unknown to the Attic peasants'.

(a)



(b)



(c)

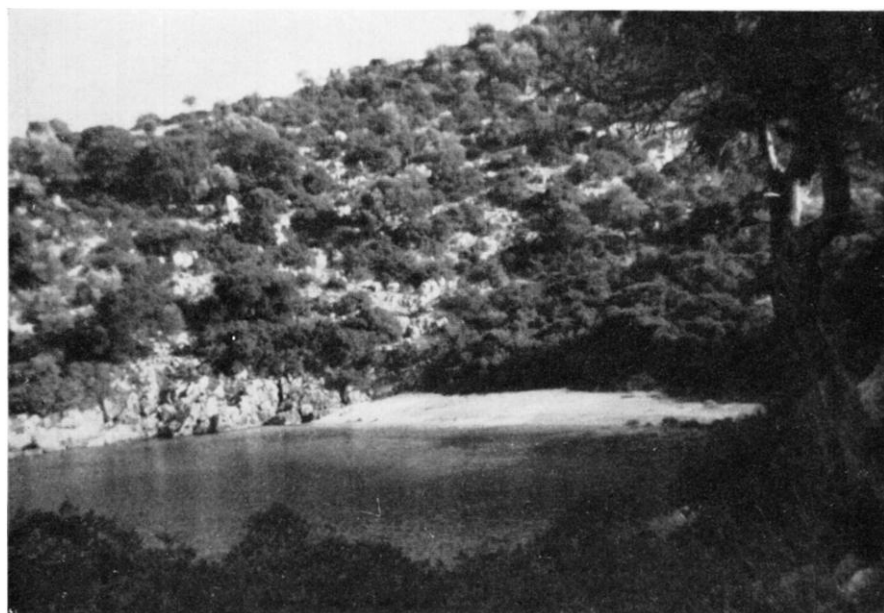


ASTERIS AND THE TWIN HARBOURS

(a)



(b)



(c)



ASTERIS AND THE TWIN HARBOURS (a-b)  
A FRAGMENT BY ONESIMOS (c)