

©Copyright 2009
Molly Herbert

'Almost Knowing How to Read': Scribes as Creative Partners in Homeric Transmission

Molly Herbert

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2009

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
Department of Classics

UMI Number: 3377285

Copyright 2009 by
Herbert, Molly

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3377285
Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

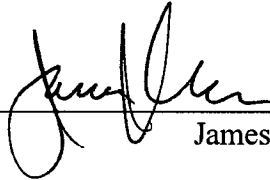
University of Washington
Graduate School

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a doctoral dissertation by

Molly Herbert

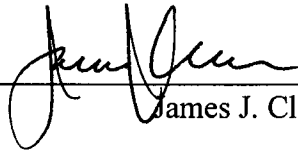
and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

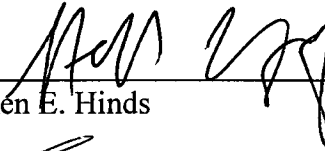


James J. Clauss

Reading Committee:



James J. Clauss



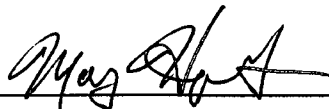
Stephen E. Hinds



Olga Levaniouk

Date: 22 June 2009

In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctoral degree at the University of Washington, I agree that the Library shall make its copies freely available for inspection. I further agree that extensive copying of the dissertation is allowable only for scholarly purposes, consistent with "fair use" as prescribed in the U.S. Copyright Law. Requests for copying or reproduction of this dissertation may be referred to ProQuest Information and Learning, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346, 1-800-521-0600, to whom the author has granted "the right to reproduce and sell (a) copies of the manuscript in microform and/or (b) printed copies of the manuscript made from microform."

Signature 

Date 6/25/09

University of Washington

Abstract

‘Almost Knowing How to Read’: Scribes as Creative Partners in Homeric
Transmission

Molly Herbert

Chair of Supervisory Committee:
Professor James J. Clauss
Department of Classics

The ultimate origins of the Homeric texts are mysterious, despite centuries of theorizing. Although the textual transmission can be traced as far back as the medieval period, there is much disagreement about the nature of the texts and their transmission prior to that period. The present study endeavors to shed light on these issues through a close study of early papyri of Homer with a high degree of textual variation. Such papyrus texts, the majority of which are pre-150 BCE, tend to contain many readings that differ from the medieval vulgate, and are known for this reason as eccentric papyri. The first chapter of my study surveys various theories that have been put forward to explain the textual variation in early papyrus texts, and makes the case for my theory regarding the improvisational copying of certain passages. Chapter 2 examines *Iliad papyrus 12*, in which textual variants have a particular tendency to heighten the emotional appeal of speeches, always an essential feature of oral performance. In Chapter 3 I turn to *Odyssey papyrus 31*, in which variants are particularly abundant in passages that use the discourse marker *autar* to focus the narrative on the thoughts and actions of Odysseus. My conclusion argues that these variants, far from being the thoughtless products of incompetent copyists, make the poem both more Homeric and more Hellenistic and that my approach, which emphasizes the phenomenology of these variants rather than focusing on any particular reading, will be one of the most productive ways to interpret early textual variants of Homer as the field of Homeric studies moves forward.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Almost Knowing How to Read:	
Inferential Reading and Homeric Reception.....	8
Aesthetics and Tradition: Variants in Homeric Scholarship.....	15
Improvisational Copying and Homeric Variants.....	20
Homericizing Variants in Apollonius' <i>Argonautica</i>	29
Conclusion.....	32
Chapter Two: The Power of Speech: <i>Iliad Papyrus 12</i>	36
<i>Iliad</i> 21.371-382a.....	43
<i>Iliad</i> 22.126-142.....	50
The Funeral of Patroclus.....	56
<i>Iliad</i> 23.156-165a.....	59
<i>Iliad</i> 23.179-183a.....	62
Conclusion.....	64
Chapter Three: Discourse Markers and Improvisational Copying in <i>Odyssey Papyrus 31</i>	66
<i>Odyssey</i> 10.16-30.....	73
<i>Odyssey</i> 9.537-555.....	85
<i>Odyssey</i> 10.67-79.....	92
The Blinding of Polyphemus and the Vulgate.....	95
Conclusion.....	99
Conclusion.....	100
Bibliography.....	105
Appendix One: <i>Iliad Papyrus 12</i>	114
Appendix Two: Additional Variants in <i>Iliad Papyrus 12</i>	140
Appendix Three: <i>Odyssey Papyrus 31</i>	147
Appendix Four: Additional Variants in <i>Odyssey Papyrus 31</i>	169

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a great pleasure to thank the people who supported me as I wrote this dissertation. I am indebted, above all, to the members of my reading committee: James Clauss, Stephen Hinds, and Olga Levaniouk. Their guidance and encouragement has been invaluable. I also thank the Department of Classics for awarding me a Greenfield Dissertation Fellowship in the fall of 2005.

DEDICATION

To my parents.

Introduction: The Wild Papyri

The instability of the Homeric text is a familiar idea. The quotations of Homer found in classical authors often diverge to a surprising degree from the current standard text, derived from the medieval vulgate tradition. The vulgate tradition also has many more standardized readings than the oldest existing texts of Homer, the Ptolemaic papyri, known as ‘eccentric’ or ‘wild’ because they contain so many readings that differ from the vulgate. The textual transmission of every well-attested ancient work of any length contains variants, but the sheer number and quality of these particular variants and the nature of the Homeric text have made the ‘eccentric’ papyri an issue of some concern for Homeric scholars. An important consideration in conventional textual criticism is deciding which variant is the ‘better’ reading – more contextually appropriate or closer to the style of the rest of the work. Variants in the ‘eccentric’ papyri present two obstacles to the textual critic. First, the sheer magnitude of variants far exceeds that found in the medieval vulgate edition of Homer, as well as that typically encountered in other authors. Second, because our Homeric text derives from an oral tradition, the normal definition of ‘variant’ lacks meaning. The formulaic nature of Homeric language can make it appear that any one of a number of variants could fit into the text.¹ Both the presence and nature of variants in the ‘eccentric’ papyri require further thought.

Two questions motivate this study. The first is why an unusual number of variants occur in Ptolemaic papyri of Homer, and the second is how they came to be

¹ The *Homer and the Papyri* database now offers the opportunity to search all known variant readings for any given line of Homer [Nagy and Sutton 1992]. For an example of two possible readings of one line in the *Iliad* that have a significant impact on how we read the poem metapoetically, see Nagy 2002.

incorporated into the text. Much has been written about the significance such variants can have in the larger context of the poem, and why these verses may have varied from the vulgate. I survey the relevant scholarship in chapter 1 below. But how the variants entered the papyrus *texts*, and why they seem to be particularly common in certain passages, rather than being more or less evenly distributed throughout, has not yet received a thorough treatment in Homeric scholarship. Stephanie West's edition of the fragments, while meticulous in its textual scholarship, nevertheless dismisses many of the variants as clumsy corruptions of an originally pure tradition.² Haslam's work on the papyri shares West's tendency to weigh the variants according to artistic standards based on the vulgate tradition, and to focus perhaps too narrowly on their aesthetic qualities.³ A more productive approach has been taken by Gregory Nagy and others, who examine the variants as survivals of alternate traditions. Nagy has demonstrated how several variants allow us to glimpse competing narrative traditions and to learn much about the collation of texts by Aristarchus.⁴ Rather than viewing the variants as an unwelcome intrusion or discarding them as inartistic, Nagy acknowledges that they provide insight into the establishment and transmission of the Homeric poems.

Once we accept that the variants have much to teach us, it becomes worthwhile to explore the question of how they entered the textual record in the first place. This dissertation contends that variants in the eccentric papyri reflect the intersection of orality and literacy in the Hellenistic age and shed light on how this intersection shaped the

² West 1967; I discuss her assessment of several individual variant readings in my second and third chapters.

³ Haslam 1978, 1997. Haslam and West's work is nevertheless valuable, as I discuss in my first chapter.

⁴ See especially Nagy 2004.

textual record of the Homeric epics. Variants may be attributed to scribes working at a unique point in Greek culture, during the very gradual transition from orality to literacy. On the surface, the scribes had a purely literary task: to produce copies of Homeric epic. At the same time, however, they were well-versed in the methods and conventions of oral performance. As a result, they sometimes approached their work with a transitionally oral mindset, at times treating the poem before them as a living, adaptable organism rather than as a fixed text.⁵ This mindset resulted in fluctuations in the texts that they then copied.

In this study I wish to adopt an approach that has been applied to other poetic traditions and suggests that similar variants in manuscripts from those traditions are the result of a hybrid oral/literate mindset in copyists. Katherine O’Keeffe has produced a detailed treatment of such a phenomenon in manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon poetry, to which my own work is greatly indebted.⁶ According to O’Keeffe, variations tend to enter the text of Anglo-Saxon poems in sections where the language used is most traditional and there is a greater number of alternative formulas available. The more linguistically innovative passages, such as in the *Metrical Preface to Alfred’s Pastoral Care*, when Alfred’s book ‘speaks’, tend to have fewer variants because the language is less traditional. Over time such formulaic variation decreases, as the Anglo-Saxons became more reliant on script *qua* script, as opposed to a means of recording works that were thought of primarily as oral poetry. A similar phenomenon has recently been observed in

⁵ On the idea of transitional orality, cf. Baumann 1986.

⁶ O’Keeffe 1990.

a transcription of a South Slavic epic poem by a native speaker who was both literate and trained as an epic singer.⁷

The initial question I sought to answer in this study involved whether a similar process to that described by O’Keeffe had given rise to the variants in early ‘eccentric’ papyrus texts of Homer. This initial focus gave rise to a second question when I observed that certain passages in each of my texts contained especially profuse variation. I wondered what the reason for this focalization of textual variants might be, and if this was a feature of transitionally oral copying specific to the ancient Hellenistic world. In *Iliad papyrus 12* such variation tended to occur in speeches, while in *Odyssey papyrus 31* it was especially evident in passages that begin with the discourse marker αὐτάρ. To answer my original question, I soon realized, it would be necessary to explain the tendency of variants to cluster in certain passages. This tendency appears to be the salient feature of Homeric papyrus variation, just as the profusion of variants in more traditional passages is the hallmark of manuscript variation in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

In this study I will argue that variants in the eccentric papyri, as well as the clustering tendency described above, may be attributed to a type of formulaic copying that I call *improvisational copying*. I use this term because of the creative and performative elements that characterize such copying. The modernizing of forms we find in the variant readings, clustering of variants in culturally and performatively significant passages, and the witness of the comparative sources, suggest that many if not most of the variants originate with their mid-third century copyists. It remains highly likely that many of these readings come ultimately from performances the scribe has witnessed or

⁷ Foley 2004

versions of the poem of which he was aware. However, the lack of models for many of the variants and plus verses in the known Homeric tradition, and the awareness of the aesthetics of Homeric poetry that they tend to display suggest that the scribe is using his familiarity with Homeric language to 'perform' and recompose lines on his own. The presence of especially profuse variation in certain passages, with light or almost non-existent variation in the remainder of the text, suggests that the production of variant versions of these particular passages is in some sense, from the copyist's point of view, very similar to the phenomenon of oral performance. Homeric performers gave particular attention to speeches and identified with the hero, an identification that was no doubt intensified when the hero was behaving like a bard. This is true, for instance, of Odysseus in *Odyssey papyrus 31*, a passage from his self-narrated *Apologue*, and thus it is not surprising that certain passages in the text contain a profusion of variant readings. In short, scribes practice improvisational copying when they generate passages based on their knowledge of formulaic language; moreover, these variants tend to be introduced in certain types of passages that suggest a performative mindset.

In Chapter 1, I seek to define improvisational copying and to survey the outside evidence that such a phenomenon exists. This outside evidence includes both epic traditions outside of Greece and the manuscript tradition of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, a late literary Greek epic into which scribes nonetheless introduced Homeric formulas. Chapter 1 will also survey scholarship relevant to these ideas. In the two chapters that follow, I discuss the practice of improvisational copying in individual papyrus texts, with

emphasis on how variants cluster in passages that highlight the idea of performance.⁸

Chapter 2 will examine *Iliad papyrus 12*, in which the variants have a particular tendency to heighten the emotional appeal of speeches, always an essential feature of oral performance. In Chapter 3 I turn to *Odyssey papyrus 31*, where variants are especially abundant in passages that use the discourse marker αὐτάρ to focus the narrative on the thoughts and actions of Odysseus. As stated above, identification with the hero is an important aspect of performance. In my conclusion I argue that these variants, far from being the thoughtless products of incompetent copyists, make the poem both more Homeric and more Hellenistic and that my approach, which emphasizes the phenomenology of these variants rather than focusing on any particular reading, will be one of the most productive ways to interpret early textual variants of Homer as the field of Homeric studies moves forward. Finally, I present in an appendix the complete texts of *Iliad Papyrus 12* and *Odyssey Papyrus 31* side-by-side with a modern edition representative of the vulgate tradition. This appendix allows the reader to compare the vulgate and papyrus texts while directly observing the uneven distribution of variants.

Before proceeding, it will be helpful to provide some background information on the two papyri that I will discuss in later chapters. *Iliad papyrus 12* dates from 280-240 B.C.E.. It is cartonnage papyrus, papyrus from mummy casing, found in Hibeh, Egypt, neatly written. It possesses some notes in the original hand, as well as a second and third hand (labeled M. 1 and M. 2, M. standing for *manus*). It also contains marginal signs that

⁸ In accordance with normal critical practice, I have not considered orthographic differences or obvious scribal errors as variant readings. I also have not taken into consideration the presence or absence of elision or *nu* movable, unless they impacted a variant reading. Such minutiae simply crop up far too frequently in Ptolemaic texts to be dealt with here.

are difficult to understand because systematized critical signs were not in use at this time and thus the form, placement and significance of marginal signs are up to the discretion of the copyist. Marginal signs are labeled mgs in the text. *Odyssey papyrus 31*, a palimpsest, dates from 250-200 B.C.E. It is also a cartonnage papyrus, from Ghoran in Egypt, less neatly written than *Iliad papyrus 12*. Occasional notes have been inserted by the original hand and a second hand (M. 2), and marginal signs like those found in *Iliad papyrus 12* are also found in this text.

Chapter One: Almost Knowing How to Read: Inferential Reading and Homeric Reception

In Aristophanes' *Knights*, Demosthenes and Nicias persuade a sausage seller to become a demagogue. When he protests that his poor education makes him unsuitable, Demosthenes responds that, since a demagogue should be a blustering ignoramus, "that is what may stand in your way, almost knowing how to read" (*Eq.* 188-189).⁹ His witty comment reminds us that reading was not yet a normal mode of receiving information, something we should bear in mind when thinking about Hellenistic scribes. In a time of transitional orality, they did not 'read' in the straightforward manner that we do today. For the scribes, the meaning of a passage was not determined solely by deciphering it on a word-to-word basis. The echoes of oral performance often shaped their response to the words appearing on the written page.

The evolution of Greek society from one mode of perception to the other, from that of an audience to that of a reader, parallels in many ways modern society's evolution from a print culture to one that relies more heavily on computers.¹⁰ My dissertation adviser, James Clauss, who began his career in the early days of computer word processing, used the computer like a typewriter, composing the first draft of any writing project longhand before entering the text into a computer. Then he would print out a hard copy, edit it, enter changes, print out another hard copy, and so on. In short, he was effectively stuck between two technologies. It took him a long time before he edited and finally composed on the screen, though even now hard copy is still his preferred mode of

⁹ ἀλλ', ὦγαθ', οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι, πλὴν γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι κακὰ κακῶς. This felicitous but anonymous translation is in Oates 1938.

¹⁰ See Goldberg 2005, especially 20-52, for a discussion of the transition from audience-based to reader-based literary reception in Rome.

critical reading. Just as today there is a combination of clinging to the old medium and excitement about the possibilities of the new, so in ancient Greek society, from the 5th century onward, there was the same mixture of apprehension and fascination about the impact of reading.¹¹ Yet all were affected by this powerful new means of communication and culture creation, although they could not and did not entirely discard a worldview informed by orality.

The same principle – that a change in technology does not mean an immediate change in method – underlies both the above-mentioned anecdote and, I believe, the genesis of textual variation in the early papyri of Homer. In this chapter, I argue that such variants originated with scribes who were caught between two modes of communication: traditional oral performance and the increasingly important practice of writing. Although their task would seem to belong wholly to the literate world, as they produce copies of Homeric epic, they were deeply familiar with both modes and did not turn off the oral part of their brains while copying. I suggest that Hellenistic scribes relied heavily on their familiarity with the formulaic words and phrases of oral poetry when they copied the Homeric epics. I will seek to demonstrate that the way Hellenistic scribes read the texts they copied – often relying on the conventions of oral performance – offers a good explanation for how many of the textual variants made their way into the ‘eccentric’ papyri of Homer. Copyists had two modes of reading, one that processed individual words as in modern reading and one that predicted how a line would read

¹¹ Major secondary works on various stages of orality and literacy in the ancient world include Bing 1988, Burns 1981, Havelock 1963, Thomas 1989, Thomas 1992 and Nagy 1990. Also see the conference volumes from the Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World biennial conference, including Worthington 2002, Mackie 2004, Cooper 2006, and Mackay 2008.

based on knowledge of formulaic language. When copying passages that highlighted performance, such as speeches or passages in which Odysseus describes personal experiences, they switched from modern-style reading to formulaic reading.

My approach is based on that of Katherine O’Keeffe, who argues that *reading*¹² is responsible for many of the textual variants in manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon poetry. In her 1990 book *Visible Song*, O’Keeffe examines the Anglo-Saxon evidence in light of modern theories of reading, which fall under two categories: (1) models that conceive of reading as the processing of information and (2) models that conceive of reading as inference. Information processing models stress identification, a modern example being the ‘sounding out’ method of reading instruction. Inferential models, by contrast, stress reading that is based on familiar patterns. A reader predicts what is coming next in a text based on prior knowledge and does not always realize when his or her expectations have not been met. When working in the inferential mode, however, readers do not rely solely on what appears before their eyes. Instead, they process new information by referring to their preexisting store of knowledge. A modern example can be observed in an ad campaign for the investment firm ING (ING Groep N.V., an Amsterdam-based financial institution) that played on our expectation that those letters form the end of a gerund or participle. As a press release explains, “The print and broadcast advertisements feature partially obstructed signs with the ING logo, which are revealed [fully] to demonstrate that consumers have been viewing the entire company name -- and not just an end of a

¹² Katherine O’Keeffe, as I discuss below, coined the term “ ‘oral’ reading” in reference to the creation of formulaic variants by scribes in Anglo-Saxon poetry [O’Keeffe 1990 95, 125].

word -- throughout the entire piece.”¹³

Another, more literary example is provided by the philologist and essayist Sebastiano Timpanaro in his work on psychology and textual criticism, *The Freudian Slip*. The example, which Timpanaro takes from Freud’s *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, presents an actual instance of verbal variation or error resulting from inferential reading.¹⁴ It involves a native German speaker’s misquotation of a line from Vergil’s *Aeneid*. The line as Vergil wrote it, *Aeneid* 4.625, reads *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*, “Arise, some avenger, from my bones.” The altered version omits *aliquis* and inverts the word order of *nostris* and *ex*: *exoriare ex nostris ossibus ultor*, “arise, avenger, from my bones.” Whereas Freud relates this ‘slip’ to deep-seated psychological issues, which he identified using the technique of free association, Timpanaro offers what might be called a “psycho-cultural” explanation¹⁵: The man has unconsciously changed Vergil’s words into a paraphrase that could be translated word-for-word into German and be understood.¹⁶ Faced with a construction considered unusual even in the Latin language, his dominant means of communication, the German language, has asserted itself without conscious thought.¹⁷ He has rearranged Vergil’s words – something we tend to consider fixed – to fit his expectations, though doing so produces a verbal error.

¹³ ING Americas 2001

¹⁴ Timpanaro’s anecdote is quite similar to the examples of improvisational copying discussed at length in my second and third chapters. Thanks to Dirk Obbink for recommending Timpanaro’s book.

¹⁵ Timpanaro 1976 21

¹⁶ Timpanaro 1976 33-34

¹⁷ Timpanaro 1976 34-35 Scribes were not precisely unconscious of what they were doing when they engaged in improvisational copying, but they did not see it as ‘inaccurate’ or wrong.

O'Keefe argues that Anglo-Saxon scribes approached the texts they copied using both the inferential and information processing modes of reading. She further argues that there is a correlation between inferential reading and formulaic variation in the textual tradition, and that inferential reading leads the scribes to copy formulaically. Scribes 'miscopy' because they are relying on knowledge of formulas as much as what is actually on the page. In other words, their minds would drift from the static text before them to the ever-evolving world of oral performance. As a result, phrases and formulas from the latter would work their way into the text copied by the scribe. My study retains O'Keefe's term 'inferential reading' for reading that relies heavily on a recognition of familiar patterns, but uses the term 'improvisational copying' for the creation of variant readings in Homeric poetry that result from such a technique.

Improvisational copying in Homeric poetry and formulaic copying in Anglo-Saxon poetry are types of copying that imitate oral composition, if only to a limited extent. In both traditions the copyist seems to have felt no need to produce a copy that was perfectly faithful to his exemplar. The production of especially profuse variation in certain scenes is reminiscent of the oral poet's preference for expanding or contracting certain type scenes. O'Keefe's study shows not only that the formulaic copying of Anglo-Saxon scribes can be connected to inferential reading practices, but also that the practice of formulaic copying decreased over time, as Anglo-Saxon society became more literate and reading became more oriented toward information processing. In her discussion of a late poem written in the oral style, *The Metrical Preface to Alfred's Pastoral Care*, O'Keefe explains that traditional formulaic phrasing decreases in the manuscripts where *literate* innovations occur. O'Keefe here refers to a book that is

portrayed as ‘speaking’ about itself:

“The greatest number of half-lines which exhibit low congruence with formulaic systems ... occur in the last part of the poem For this part, where the speaking book explains the circumstances of its translation and copying, [the author] was hard put to find analogous traditional formulas dealing with the matters he discusses The scribal variances and hesitations [here] ... reveal unease with [the author]’s hybrid formulas, indicative ... of disappointed scribal expectations.”¹⁸

O’Keeffe’s observation implies that scribes in the Anglo-Saxon tradition were (a) *reading* the texts they copied and (b) able to switch from an inferential to an information processing mode of reading in response to the type of poetry they were copying. The implication that these scribes could and did use both reading techniques with such facility within the same work further implies that the mode of reading employed is a response to the style of particular passages, not a decision taken at the beginning of a work. This is another feature formulaic copying in Anglo-Saxon shares with improvisational copying in Homeric poetry, as I will demonstrate in chapters 2 and 3 below.

It is even possible to observe improvisational copying at work in living oral traditions. A particularly striking example comes from the inaccurate transcription of a South Slavic epic in the Milman Parry collection at Harvard University. The poem was transcribed soon after its recording in 1935 by Nikola Vuljnović, an assistant of Parry and Lord who had both basic writing skills and training as a singer of epic poetry. His transcription diverges from the actual content of the recording (retranscribed by the poem’s editor, J.Foley) in a variety of ways, including word substitution (e.g. the regular

¹⁸ O’Keeffe 1990 87 The situation with Greek poetry is more complex, since the ‘traditionality’ of the passage does not seem to determine on its own the amount of variants. Rather, cultural factors and similarity to other popular genres such as tragedy also play an important role.

substitution of 'then' for 'but'), irregular word-division, changes in palatalization and the omission of performative consonants (inserted to bridge hiatus). He also changes the structure of lines on several occasions, often to correct a line that appears to have too few or too many syllables, although in reality those syllables are filled by instrumental music on the recording.¹⁹ This type of variation shares many similarities with variants in the early papyrus texts of Homer. They do not substantially change the story, yet they introduce an unusual number of minor lexical changes. Yet the South Slavic variants differ in that they do not seem to be motivated by a sense that certain passages are more 'performative' than others. Rather, Vuljnović has applied his personal preferences as an epic performer to each verse. The cultural milieu of ancient Hellenistic society, in which excerpts from epic poetry were performed alone and rhapsodes focused especially on the enhancement of speeches, no doubt influenced improvisational copying so that it tended to be exercised in selected passages rather than entire works. Despite the differences, Vuljnović's 'resinging' gives us an example of a copyist, highly familiar with a particular oral tradition, choosing to diverge from his 'exemplar' (the recording) according to his own preferences, yet surely with no intent to defraud his employer with an 'inaccurate' copy.²⁰

In the remainder of this chapter, I first survey previous scholarship on variant readings in Homeric papyri. I then shift to explain how improvisational copying may explain the presence of many of these variants. This discussion will emphasize the

¹⁹ See Foley 2004 145-156, and a list of all variants in the earlier transcription from 157-191.

²⁰ 'Resinging' is Foley's term (Cf. the title of the relevant section, "Nikola Vuljnović's Resinging" [Foley 2004].)

concept of ‘cultural diglossia’ to explain the dual mindset of scribes who remain susceptible to oral conventions as they copy. It also will address the issue of why the three extant post-150 BCE eccentric papyri do not display the same type of variation. I then will consider the presence of ‘Homerizing’ variants in the manuscript tradition of Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, which provides a clear example of improvisational copying even within postclassical Greek poetry. When the scribes encountered an *Argonautica* phrase evocative of Homer, they would substitute a Homeric formula for the actual words written by Apollonius.

Aesthetics and Tradition: Variants in Homeric Scholarship

Formulaic variation among the papyri had mostly disappeared from the Homeric textual tradition by 150 B.C.E. The text after that date is very close to the medieval vulgate. This stabilization occurs close to the death date of Aristarchus, and the text comes to reflect the *numerus versuum* of Aristarchus’ edition, although Aristarchus’ edition of Homer and the vulgate text do not appear to share many readings.²¹ In light of Aristarchus’ significance as an editor of Homer, a desire to attribute this stabilization to his efforts has merit. Scholars who promote this view tend to support some version of the theory of Bolling, whose chief contribution to the question was that the medieval tradition and Aristarchus’ edition had the same number of verses.²² Collart’s addition to this theory proposes that whenever Aristarchus’ students encountered a vulgate Homeric

²¹ For an overview see Nagy 2000. *Numerus versuum* is the usual term for the ‘number of verses’ in an edition of Homer. The number being discussed is usually the number of verses in the *Iliad*.

²² Bolling 1925; cf. West 1967 16

text, they encouraged its owner to delete the lines that were deleted in Aristarchus'

text.²³ The important updating of this theory by Michael Apthorp is well summarized by

Gregory Nagy:

"Bolling's analysis of Homeric "interpolations" needs to be refined in terms of two related considerations: (1) the principle of *numerus versusum* and (2) the distinction between the editorial procedures of athetesis and deletion. As Apthorp argues [in a 1998 article], the Homer edition of Aristarchus became the standard source for subsequent applications of the editorial principle of *numerus versusum*, and literary authorities like Plutarch were well aware of this principle. Apthorp emphasizes that Aristarchus in his Homer edition not only athetizes some verses (that is, marks them with an obelus but keeps them in the text proper): he also deletes ("omits") some other verses altogether. The criterion for deletion ("omission") was based on manuscript evidence. To quote Apthorp, "Aristarchus ... omitted only lines which he found very weakly attested."²⁴ Such lines are "plus verses."

Nagy and Casey Dué view these variations as representing traces of the original 'multiform' state of the Homeric epic tradition. In other words, variants are ultimately performance-based. Although Dué is writing primarily about fourth century variants, one of her most important points – that the text of Homer should be treated differently from other classical texts – is entirely relevant here:

"A multitextual approach to Homer acknowledges and even embraces an expected amount of variation between performances of oral poetry. Because this variation or multiformity is generated by the system within which oral poetry is composed, these variants enable us to appreciate oral poetry on more than just the level of a single performance. By adopting a multitextual approach, we can train our ears to hear the echoes of many past performances."²⁵

²³ Collart 1933; cf. West 1967 16-17

²⁴ Apthorp 1980 xv quoted in Nagy 2000

²⁵ Dué 2001a 402 For more on Nagy's views on the diachronic and synchronic aspects of Homeric poetry, see Nagy 1990, 1996 and 1999. For more on Homeric quotations in fourth century oratory, see Ford 1999.

Nagy has argued for treating these variants as traces of performance variation, and I consider his approach quite valid, but I also believe it is valuable to examine the question of how these variants entered the text, as I am attempting to do in this study. Nagy argues for a progression from state-controlled, relatively more stable text in the classical period, to a less stable period as this state control wanes, followed again by a more stable period due to the resumption of some kind of state control, perhaps Alexandrian sanction for the Athenian text.²⁶ The search for an ancient identity for the vulgate, which differs from Aristarchus' text, has caused many to associate it with the Athenian state text.²⁷ Citing Labarde, Nagy notes that "Plato's Homer is not characterized by plus-verses," i.e., the number of verses is similar to that of the vulgate.²⁸ This may be due to the influence of a Peisistratean Recension.²⁹ In Nagy's view, the later stabilization of the text, after 150 B.C.E., is also due to "some new kind of interference by the State," although such interference need not be seen as incompatible with Allen's theory regarding the decline of the performance tradition.³⁰ I join Nagy and other scholars whose work I discuss below in advocating multiple causes for the stabilization of the text.

A complex transmission for the Homeric text, unable to be traced and explained completely, means accepting a broad interpretation of what constitutes a variant (as

²⁶ Nagy 1996 177 and *passim*. Nagy's theory of variation waxing and waning as a result of state control is supported by his observations regarding the terminology used for performers of Homer at different periods. [Nagy 1996 149-150].

²⁷ Jensen discusses this [Jensen 1980 109], as does Foley (see below).

²⁸ Nagy 1996 143 The issues that arise with regard to fourth century Homeric texts, as preserved in quotations, and those that must be dealt with in connection with eccentric papyri are similar in many ways.

²⁹ Nagy 1996 143

³⁰ Nagy 1996 144

opposed to a true reading or mechanical error).³¹ Dué advocates discarding the term altogether: “In fact by strict definition, we cannot speak of the term “variant” at all, for in oral poetry each performance is a new composition, and therefore there can be no original.”³² However, she rejects the idea that older readings, such as those in the fourth century indirect tradition, should automatically be regarded as superior.³³ For example, she suggests that Propertius, whose allusion to *Iliad* 23.62-107 in 4.7 appears to agree with a quotation of Homer in Plato rather than the vulgate, is deliberately choosing a more obscure text and practicing “the Alexandrian method of alluding to Homer.”³⁴ Nagy also acknowledges that, although he would incorporate all variants that are legitimate under his criteria into his ideal edition of Homer, this does not necessarily mean all variants are equal. From a synchronic perspective, all variants must be included; from a diachronic perspective, judgments may be made.³⁵

In his account of Homeric transmission in *Traditional Oral Epic*, John Foley touches on many of these issues, and on some points anticipates my argument regarding oral reading and formulaic copying in the Homeric text. He endorses Nagy’s notion that the remission and resumption of state control of the Homeric text is an important factor in the cycles of decreased and increased variation in the text. The likely continuance of local traditions and their natural decline is offered as an additional explanation.³⁶ Foley further suggests that the codex, with its ability to contain the text of an entire poem, was a

³¹ Nagy 2004 14. For one example of the use of papyrus variants to challenge vulgate readings in a quest for the ‘true’ reading, see Apthorp 1999.

³² Dué 2001a 402

³³ Dué 2001a 404

³⁴ Dué 2001a 404

³⁵ Nagy 2004 70-71

³⁶ Foley 1993 29

contributing factor in the text's stabilization.³⁷ His suggestion that some of the variation was the result of a copyist or editor's intense familiarity with the Homeric poems somewhat anticipates my argument.³⁸ However, as I argue below, the variants' profusion in certain passages, with other passages in the same text closely following the vulgate tradition, suggests that these papyrus texts, rather than reflecting individual local traditions, perhaps represent a still dynamic performative tradition in the process of transforming itself into a more stable text that may have looked very much like the vulgate tradition.

Martin West acknowledges the oral and performative origins of variants but downplays their significance, since, in his view, they are inauthentic because not part of the 'original' text. West's analysis has value for my study in one important area: He is quite specific about the origins of these variants. He considers them the creation of rhapsodes, who made their own texts, which were full of variants because they used the exemplar merely as a guide, "looking away for long periods."³⁹ In a theory similar to that regarding actors' interpolations in Greek tragedy⁴⁰, he also remarks that rhapsodes must have added particularly successful interpolations and alterations to their texts.⁴¹ He does

³⁷ Foley 1993 26

³⁸ "This "concordance interpolation", as [Stephanie] West calls it, belies the existence of a still-fluid vestige of oral tradition, perhaps by this point exclusively the possession of rhapsodes (or even schoolmasters), who could read and write but had committed much of Homer to memory" [Foley 1993 25].

³⁹ West 2001 15 I am not sure that 'looking away' was even a prerequisite for producing a variant text, due to contemporary Greek speakers' evident comfort with inexact transmission and delivery of traditional texts.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nagy 1996 31

⁴¹ West 2001 10, 231, and *passim*.

acknowledge that some such alterations were likely never recorded in writing.⁴² His initial scenario – the rhapsode loosely adhering to the exemplar as he copies his own text – is basically a composition-in-performance mindset translated to text, similar to what I argue takes place in *improvisational copying*.

With some notable and welcome exceptions, scholarship thus far on variant readings in the eccentric papyri has been stalled because of the difficulty in drawing a line from performance to textual record. Attempts at an explanation, such as that advanced by West, tend to require very special circumstances. His account requires that all eccentric papyrus texts were copied by rhapsodes, not a very likely scenario. An important advantage of improvisational copying is that it does not require us to assign any particular identity to the copyist, since this is something that we cannot do with any certainty. Any moderately literate Hellenistic Greek speaker could be an improvisational copier.

Improvisational Copying and Homeric Variants

My argument strives to explain textual variation in the early eccentric papyri of Homer through the concepts of inferential reading, improvisational copying, and cultural diglossia. Cultural diglossia refers to a person's proficiency in two cultures, or two parts of the same culture, rather than two languages. Examples of cultural diglossia might include a Greek living in Rome, as well as a Hellenistic scribe to whom Homer is both a text and a more flexible poetic tradition. Cultural diglossia explains how the same individual could approach a text both as a participant in virtual composition-in-

⁴² West 2001 10

performance and as a literate copyist. Texts in which inferential and information processing reading are both practiced, such as the papyrus texts I discuss in my second and third chapters, show how particular types of passages naturally summoned certain reading techniques, rooted in either a traditional oral or literary mindset. The notion of cultural diglossia I am employing here is somewhat different from that which Walter Ong argues existed in Europe in the Middle Ages. Ong used the term to describe the medieval person's ability to deploy learned Latin and their usually solely oral vernacular tongue in various situations.⁴³ I use the term to refer not to two languages but to two frameworks for the employment of the Greek language, the framework of oral poetry and the framework of written texts.⁴⁴

Minna Jensen has suggested a process that resembles inferential reading and improvisational copying as an explanation for variants in early papyrus texts of Homer, although her account is based on a textual model. But the process she describes does not resolve the problem of textual variants that look like oral multiforms. Her description of Homeric transmission in this period – conducted by the scribe “having been taught in school how to read and write from the text of Homer, living in an age where rhapsodic recitals were still common, [who] must have had his mind crowded with epic lines and half-lines”⁴⁵ – suggests that scribes participated in an oral-like mode of reception. However, because for her an oral variant must dramatically alter the narrative, Jensen is firmly convinced that the variants are textual:

⁴³ Ong 1974 4

⁴⁴ The possibility of this type of cultural diglossia is suggested in passing by Foley [Foley 1993 19 n41, 31 n21]

⁴⁵ Jensen 1980 108

“It is, of course, tempting to connect the existence of various “editions” with the practice of rhapsodes. Parry suggested that the eccentric texts represented different oral versions of Homer. His own subsequent fieldwork, however, made this improbable. The variations are so small and do not alter the text essentially; an episode is never told in a really different fashion, and no episodes occur that are not already known from the Vulgate. The extra verses ... add to the fullness of description, nothing more. Even accounting for various degrees of fluidity in oral traditions, they do not seem to be oral variants.”⁴⁶

Jensen’s observation regarding the tendency of the Homeric variants to add “fullness” rather than significant narrative differences is valuable, for this is one quality that tends to distinguish them from oral variants in other epic traditions that oftentimes make more radical changes to the story. As I will argue in chapters 2 and 3, they affect the tone and focus of the narrative but not the events of the story themselves. The present study contends that these variants are transitional in nature, brought into the text with the assistance of Greek speakers who could write but were intimately familiar with oral traditional poetic language and imbued with a mindset that often did not consider word-for-word reproduction of a textual exemplar a requirement for an ‘accurate’ copy of a poetic text.

Michael Haslam makes a similar observation to that of Jensen, remarking that Ptolemaic texts are “more flaccid what makes [the texts] longer is verses which slow the pace of the narrative without materially altering the action.”⁴⁷ Foley also distinguishes between this type of variant and those of “singers” who are able to create

⁴⁶ Jensen 1980 108

⁴⁷ Haslam 1997 66. He also anticipates my studies in chapters 2 and 3 below with the comment that “the more extensive early texts make it clear that the distribution of plus-verses is very uneven, as is only to be expected.” [Haslam 1997 65] However, he does not offer any comprehensive theory regarding the placement of particular groups of variants, as I attempt to do in those chapters.

“narrative inconsistencies.”⁴⁸ The variants I am studying would seem to fall between a type of major narrative variant that substantially alters the story, which was characteristic of Greek epic at some point in its history, and the types of very minor variants found in that later textual tradition, that do not substantially affect meaning.

What is needed is the acknowledgement of a transitional mode of receiving and transmitting poetry, one that recognizes the fluid boundaries between oral and written communication in an ancient society, even when writing has become quite advanced as a communication method. Anglo-Saxon scholar Katherine O’Keeffe, as I discussed above, has outlined such a process, which she believes explains much of the formulaic variation in Anglo-Saxon poetry. She argues that Anglo-Saxon scribes copied formulaically, and that this practice decreased over time as Anglo-Saxon society became more writing-oriented and the textual transmission of Anglo-Saxon poetry stabilized. Visual information provided by the text, such as consistent margins and stichometry, increased as a result.

This process was paralleled in the Greek tradition by the inclusion of accent marks, punctuation and consistent marginal signs in Homeric texts post-150 B.C.E. Just as more consistent visual information heralds a decline in variation in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the number of eccentric Homeric papyri after the mid-second century dwindles to only three known examples. Moreover, these three papyri, *Iliad papyrus 53*, *Iliad papyrus 354* and *Iliad papyrus 51*, contain variants that, although substantial, are more isolated and more interpolation-like than those found in earlier papyrus texts. This suggests that profuse, creative variation of the type found in earlier eccentric texts is a

⁴⁸ Foley 1993 26

phenomenon peculiar to those pre-150 texts, and likely to be linked to a relatively less literary mindset, which is also reflected in a lack of consistent visual cues to aid (silent) reading. These later texts, by contrast, were farther along in the transition to a literate mindset.

Iliad papyrus 53 is dated by West to around 150 B.C.E. on the basis of handwriting.⁴⁹ In this papyrus there are a few small variants within a boat boarding scene, a very common and very adaptable type of scene in Homeric poetry. Unlike in the earlier eccentric papyri I examine in chapters 2 and 3, in which interpolation-like variation is rare, the papyrus version of the boarding scene is remarkably similar to the version found in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 505-507.

Iliad version (Van Thiel's 1991 edition):

ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ **βαῖνον** ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.
 ἐκ δ' ἄλός ἤπειρόνδε θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἔρυσαντο 485
 ὑφοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν·

And they themselves **went** along the sea's shore.
And they dragged the swift ship up from the salt sea to dry land
 Up onto the **sands**, and placed long timbers **under** it.

Iliad version (*papyrus 53*, S. West p. 33):

[.]το[484y
 [ἐκ δὲ] καὶ αὐτοὶ **βάντε**[ς ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης 484z
 [ἐξ ἄλό]ς ἤπειρον δὲ θοή[ν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἔρυσαντο 485
 [ὑφοῦ] ἐπὶ ψαμάθωι, **παρὰ** [δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν

And they themselves **going** along the sea's shore
 Dragged the swift ship from the salt sea to dry land
 Up onto the **sand**, and placed long timbers **beside** it.

Hymn to Apollo version:

ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ **βαῖνον** ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, 505
 ἐκ δ' ἄλός ἤπειρον δὲ θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἔρυσαντο
 ὑφοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, **παρὰ** δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν,

⁴⁹ Cf. West 1967, Roberts 1955

And they **went** along the sea's shore
And they dragged the swift ship from the salt sea to dry land
 Up onto the **sands**, and they placed long timbers **beside** it.

The existence of such a close parallel in another Homeric text suggests that this is a less actively creative type of variation than that found in earlier texts. It may even be a early instance of concordance interpolation, although the many small differences between the papyrus passage and the *Iliad* and *Hymn to Apollo* passages, on which it would presumably have been modeled, suggests that it may still rely to some extent on the ability to manipulate Homeric language, rather than rote memorization. By contrast, it is far more difficult to find a pre-existing model for many of the variant readings that I argue come from improvisational copying. Several of the plus verses and variant lines in *Odyssey papyrus 31* and *Iliad papyrus 12* have no parallels in the vulgate text of Homer, although they generally use Homeric vocabulary and forms. Variants that come from improvisational copying also are not confined to passages that invite interpolation, like boat landing scenes, but instead tend to occur in passages of performative significance. This suggests a process that is more complex than the type of concordance interpolation that seems to take place in the later papyri. Since variant readings in two out of three of the late eccentric papyri (*Iliad papyrus 53* and *Iliad papyrus 51*) are largely confined to this type of interpolation-like variation, it seems that there was a significant shift from more creative to less creative variation between the mid-third and mid-second centuries.

Iliad papyrus 354 is dated to the second half of the second century BCE and preserves fewer than 50 lines of *Iliad* book 1 (1.92-118, 244-261). It has no plus verses, but it does have significantly different readings in 1.100 and 110. In the vulgate text, 1.100 reads ἐς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἰλασσάμενοι πεπύθοιμεν, “to Chryse; in that case

we might appease and persuade him,” and 1.110 reads ὡς δὴ τοῦδ' ἔνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει, “how for this reason the far-shooter prepares pains for them.” These lines are two of the least well preserved in this papyrus, but it is nevertheless clear that they differed considerably from the versions found in the vulgate. The only part of line 100 that is preserved is the last word, ἐθέλησιν, which only occurs in the *Iliad* as part of the formula αἶ κ' ἐθέλησιν, “if (s)he wishes.” In line 1.110 only one full word of the papyrus reading is visible, ἔδωκε, “(s)he gave (?)” in the middle of the line. The lack of accent marks reflects the tenuousness of even this much reconstruction.⁵⁰ The letters εἰδ are legible at the beginning of the line. The traces of this line do not match any other lines in Homer, and for this reason there is no clear supplement to give. The only significant different variants in this papyrus text are at any rate scant and widely scattered, unlike those in the earlier texts.

In *Iliad papyrus 51*, plus verses 18.606a-d closely resemble a passage from Hesiod's *Scutum*. It has been thought that these verses were interpolated from that poem.⁵¹ However, interpolation implies a literary, text-based model of poetic transmission, which, even in the later stages of the transmission of the *Iliad*, is problematic in light of the formulaic language shared by Hesiod and Homer. This text is the latest of the three post-150 BCE eccentric papyri, and it contains recognizable critical signs, rather than the non-standardized markings that occasionally occur in the earlier papyri. Lines 18.608a-d correspond approximately to Hes. Sc. 207-213:

Iliad papyrus 51:

⁵⁰ West 1967 31

⁵¹ West 1967 *ad loc.*

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν ἐτέτυκτο] ἕανοῦ κασσιτέρ[οιο
 κλυζ[ομ]ένω ἴκε[λο]ς· δοιῶ δ' ἀναφυσιόω[ντες
 ἀργύ[ρ]εοι] δελφῖνες [ἐ]φοίνεον ἔλλ[ο]πας [ἰχθῦς.
 τῶν δ' [ὑπ]ο χάλκε[ιοι] τρέον ἰχθύες· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκταῖς

And on it had been made a harbor of **fine tin**
 Like the sea surging up; and two blowing
 Silver dolphins were devouring the sea fish.
 And under them bronze fish were running away; and on the shore

Hes. Sc.:

Ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὖορμος ἀμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης
 κυκλοτερῆς ἐτέτυκτο πανέφθου κασσιτέροιο
 κλυζομένω ἴκελος· [πολλοί γε μὲν ἄμ μέσον αὐτοῦ
 δελφῖνες τῇ καὶ τῇ ἐθύνεον ἰχθυάοντες
 νηχομένοις ἴκελοι·] δοιῶ δ' ἀναφυσιόωντες
 ἀργύρεοι δελφῖνες ἐφοίβειον⁵² ἔλλοπας ἰχθῦς.
 τῶν δ' ὑπο χάλκειοι τρέον ἰχθύες· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκταῖς

And on it had been made a harbor **of the unfathomable sea, with good mooring-places**
 Of **circular tin quite cleansed of gloss**
 Like the sea surging up; **many dolphins in the middle of it**
Darted along, sporting this way and that
Like they were swimming; and two blowing
 Silver dolphins were eliminating the sea fish.
 And under them bronze fishes were running away; and on the shore

The passage is condensed in the papyrus text; the papyrus line 608a contains elements of both 207 and 208 in Hesiod. πολλοί... ἴκελοι, a passage whose presence in the Hesiodic text has been questioned, is not present in the papyrus text. In addition to these plus verses, there is also a single isolated plus verse, 18.606a, ἐν δ' ἔσ[αν σ]ύριγγε[ς, ἔσ]αν κίθαρις τ[ε] καὶ αὐλοί, “and on it there were pipes, a cithara and flutes.” This line does not have any exact parallels in the Homeric corpus. However, ἐν δέ is used elsewhere as a line-beginning in the description of Achilles’ shield, and the

⁵² ἐφοίβειον is a disputed reading; ἐφοίνεον, the reading of the papyrus text, is one of the alternatives that has been proposed. Cf. Solmsen, Merkelbach and West 1970 *ad loc.*

remainder of the line is a simple list.⁵³ σύρριγγες, αὐλοί and the κίθαρις are all instruments mentioned in the text of Homer.⁵⁴ While it seems this line may be an example of recomposition in the course of copying, it is a far simpler example than those I will discuss in chapters 2 and 3, and would not require any great fluency in Homeric diction. While this certainly may be a sign of some residual inventiveness or creativity in textual variation at this period, it is important to note that in *Iliad papyrus 12* and *Odyssey papyrus 31*, an isolated plus verse is relatively rare. In the remainder of the papyrus text there are no other significant differences from the vulgate. It is unfortunate that more post-150 B.C.E. eccentric papyri are not available for analysis. Nevertheless, although the available evidence is not as full as one could wish, there seems to have been some decline in the inventiveness of variant readings post-150 BCE. The continuance of eccentric papyri, but with apparently declining ingenuity in the use of formulaic language, suggests a gradual process towards a relatively greater incidence of information processing oriented reading, and thus of conventionally accurate copying.

As I discussed above, modern theories of reading are of two types: inferential models and information processing models. Inferential models base reading on familiar patterns; information processing models stress identification.⁵⁵ Formulaic reading, or oral reading, which is a necessary precondition of formulaic or improvisational copying, is an inferential mode of reading. The Anglo-Saxon scribes, Nikola Vuljnović, and, as I argue,

⁵³ For ἐν δέ in the description of the shield, cf. 18.587.

⁵⁴ For the syrinx, cf. *Il.* 10.13, 18.526; the aulos, *Il.* 18.425; the cithara, *Il.* 3.54, 13.731, *Od.* 1.159.

⁵⁵ O’Keeffe 1990 15 Thus inferential reading is more ‘oral’, whereas information processing reading is more ‘literary.’

the early scribes of Homer, all practiced this type of reading. O’Keeffe defines oral reading in this way:

“We see a reading activity reflected in these scribal variants which is formula-dependent, in that the variants observe metrical and alliterative constraints, and which is context-defined, in that the variants produced arise within a field of possibilities generated within a context of expectations. The mode of reading I am proposing operates by suggestion, by ‘guess’ triggered by key-words in formulas. It is a method of reading which is the natural and inevitable product of an oral tradition at an early stage in its adaptation to the possibilities of writing.... Variance in an oral tradition is made inevitable by the subjectivity of the speaker (and hearer), but is constrained by impersonal metre and alliteration. The writing of a poem acts as a very powerful constraint on variance, and in the face of such constraint, the presence of variance argues an equally powerful pull from the oral.”⁵⁶

Homerizing Variants in Apollonius’ *Argonautica*

Since every oral tradition has its own idiosyncracies, O’Keeffe’s formulation will not be entirely applicable to Homeric epic. For example, the appearance of Homerizing variants in Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, a notably literary text, is a phenomenon which, to my knowledge, is not paralleled in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Michael Haslam argues that a hypothesis about Hellenistic scribal behavior similar, although not identical, to O’Keeffe’s theory of ‘oral reading’ explains the presence of Homerizing variants in the papyri of Apollonius’ *Argonautica*. Like ancient texts of Homer, the Apollonian textual tradition contains an unusual amount of variation, much of it difficult to explain in conventional text editing terms. Unlike in the early Homeric papyri, however, in the *Argonautica*’s textual tradition such variation tends to appear in the medieval manuscripts rather than in early papyri. This is likely because early papyri of the *Argonautica* are relatively close in date to the poem’s composition, and thus Homerizing variation

⁵⁶ O’Keeffe 1990 40-41

occurred somewhat later. Haslam organizes unusual Apollonian variants into several categories, two of which parallel especially closely the types of variation present in early papyri of the Homeric poems. One such category, which Haslam calls “Homeric invasion”⁵⁷ encompasses Apollonian phrases that have been changed into similar Homeric formulas.⁵⁸ A sub-category consists of examples in which, although the scribe replaces the likely authorial reading with a common Homeric phrase, he is induced to do so by a loose phonetic association rather than a definite verbal echo, as in the preceding category.⁵⁹

Haslam subsequently endeavors to show why most variants cannot be attributed to the proecdosis, a version of the text possibly revised by Apollonius, mentioned in the scholia, but likely not available in general circulation. His concluding remarks are interesting:

“We can draw a clear distinction between the constant small-scale fluctuation to which what we may fairly call the standard or vulgate text was liable, and the relatively radical divergences of the proecdosis If they [the small-scale fluctuations] are particularly numerous, that is a reflexion of the particular kind of text that the *Argonautica* is: *habent sua fata*.”

The textual tradition of the *Argonautica*, Haslam argues, is full of variants that are fairly small-scale, more extensive than in most textual traditions, but less extensive than authorial variants of the type alleged for Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.⁶⁰ Haslam attributes these changes almost entirely to the textual transmission. The final section of his article

⁵⁷ Haslam 1978 54

⁵⁸ δέπας ἀμφοτέρησιν *Arg.* 1.472 codd., δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2695 πρὸ πόλης ἀνὰ στίβον *Arg.* 1.781 codd., προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον; the last reading cited (προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον) appears to be from P. Amherst 16 verso, according to one of the articles Haslam cites in n17 [Grenfell 1919 23]

⁵⁹ The discussion is too detailed to be easily summarized: see Haslam 1978 55-56.

⁶⁰ See the introduction to Hollis 1970.

deals with the problem of an archetype and stemma for Apollonius' poem. Obtaining a clear picture of the text's descent is difficult because of the high proportion of variance, both in the papyri and in the indirect tradition.

'Homerizing' variation in the text of Apollonius is similar to formulaic variation in Homer, and corroborates a critical point of my argument regarding the latter. The fact that the text is epic hexameter poetry caused the scribes to supply familiar Homeric words and phrases instead of the authorial readings, on the basis of their intimate knowledge of ancient epic. This situation supports the argument that a copyist of ancient Greek epic can be steeped in the poetic tradition to such a degree that his copying of certain verses or sections becomes akin to the act of composition-in-performance. More importantly, such variation in Apollonius demonstrates that scribes were capable of producing this type of variation based specifically upon familiarity with the Homeric poems. The tendency of Homerizing variation in the *Argonautica* to be located in particular types of passages – those with direct verbal Homeric associations and those with aural associations – is analogous to the tendency of formulaic variation in Homer to cluster in certain types of passages. The difference in where variants occur, in Homerizing variation and in improvisational copying, is significant. In papyrus texts of Apollonius, they occur in individual verses that aurally or lexically recall the Homeric poems. In early papyrus texts of Homer, they occur in passages with performative significance. The scribes copying Apollonius are thinking about the texts of Homer, and the substitutions and inaccurate transmissions come by reference to the text of Homer. The scribe does not rework or recompose the language of Apollonius. Therefore it is distinct from improvisational copying yet dependent on some of the same mental habits

that produced improvisational copying, such as a thoroughgoing knowledge of Homeric language and a sense of its innate flexibility.

Conclusion

In the present study I endeavor to demonstrate that many of the textual variants in Homeric papyri are composed by copyists and thus under the influence of the educational and cultural milieu of the Hellenistic period. Because they belonged to a transitionally oral Hellenistic society, copyists possessed cultural diglossia and could apprehend Homer's poems as both performance and text. Their orally based approach to the reading and transmission of poetry caused these individuals, though well educated in both Homer and the larger context of Greek literature, to introduce many variants without considering their copy 'inaccurate.' Indeed, the creativity and sense of the aesthetics of Homeric poetry that appear to lie behind many variant passages are why I chose to refer to this phenomenon as *improvisational copying*. In the next two chapters I examine passages of profuse, creative variation in two papyrus texts of Homer, *Odysseus papyrus 31* and *Iliad papyrus 12*.

By 'passage with profuse, creative variation' I mean a passage that either combines variant readings in existing lines (lines known to us from the vulgate) with plus verses (lines that do not occur in the vulgate), or has substantial variations from existing lines in nearly every verse.⁶¹ This type of variation differs significantly from that found in eccentric papyri after the mid-second century, as I discussed above. Nagy argues that plus verses are traces of the older, pre-Aristarchean, less standardized text. The

⁶¹ Nagy refers to these as "horizontal" and "vertical" variants. [Nagy 2004 *passim*]

awkwardness of many plus verses, he contends, is a sign that they are retained from earlier versions of the text.⁶² He suggests that Aristarchus included but marked with the obelus those lines he deemed questionable on the basis of internal evidence, but dropped altogether those lines that were insufficiently supported by manuscript evidence. The latter are now described as “plus verses” or “interpolations.”⁶³ This aesthetically value-neutral criterion – manuscript attestation – for the designation of lines as “plus verses” would help to explain the wide range of quality and contextual appropriateness among such lines.

Passages with plus verses only, or with minor differences in meaning and syntax (that do not affect meaning appreciably) are not eligible examples of improvisational copying, because these two types of variation represent more typical inconsistencies found in any textual tradition, and can and do occur over a wider time frame than the type of profuse, creative variation I am studying. The concentrated, improvisational variation I examine in this study seems to be a particular feature of the early ‘eccentric’ papyri of Homer. On the analogy of Anglo-Saxon and South Slavic, it would seem to be particularly associated with copyists (or, in the case of modern traditions, transcriptionists) who are highly familiar with oral poetry, to the point that they are capable of viewing the act of committing poetry to writing almost as a species of oral performance.

Some kind of relationship between variant readings in the Ptolemaic papyri of Homer and oral multiforms has long been accepted by Homeric scholars. I argue that

⁶² Nagy 2004 36

⁶³ Nagy 2004 64

many of these variants entered the textual tradition through the process of improvisational copying, whereby scribes addressed the task of copying Homer in a fashion comparable to an oral performance, due to their intense familiarity with Homeric poetry and the relative novelty of poetry as a text-centered art form. The parallel phenomena that have been observed in the manuscripts of traditional poetry in other cultures themselves support the veracity of this hypothesis. The tendency of variant readings to occur with particular frequency in passages with performative significance, in which the copyist would presumably most 'feel like' a performer of Homeric poetry, is another suggestive piece of evidence. This has great significance for how early papyrus texts of Homer like *Iliad papyrus 12* and *Odyssey papyrus 31* are read. Rather than reflecting a corrupt textual tradition, or local traditions with significant distance from the vulgate tradition, they are products of a form of copying that intermittently replicated many of the features of an oral performance, such as identification with the hero and a concern with ornamenting speeches.

In exploring this idea I am choosing to focus on an almost entirely neglected aspect of early papyrus variants: their phenomenology. Studies like that of Haslam and, in her comments, West, have focused perhaps somewhat narrowly on evaluating papyrus readings' aesthetic appeal and their fitness to replace the readings of the vulgate. This approach is problematic as they are very much a mixed bag in those respects. Many variants are awkward or otherwise do not appear to be a good fit for their context; other have a great deal of appeal both in style and contextual appropriateness. Studies that examine particular variants and their implications for our understanding of Homeric

narrative traditions, on the other hand, are very valuable and I hope to enhance their utility by tracing a likely route for such readings' entrance into the textual record.

In the remaining chapters of this study, I will apply the interpretive guidelines outlined thus far to two mid-third century papyrus texts of Homer, *Iliad papyrus 12* and *Odyssey papyrus 31*. Each chapter will examine two important issues relating to the reception of Homer in this period and its impact on the early papyrus texts. Chapter 2 examines profuse, creative variation in speeches in *Iliad papyrus 12*. This chapter focuses particularly on the variants' tendency to intensify judgmental and emotional language, a recognized tendency of Homeric speeches as attested elsewhere. As well as making the text 'more Homeric' by enhancing these tendencies in speeches, variant readings also make the text 'more Hellenistic' by increasing the parallels between the funeral of Patroclus and hero-cult, an important part of Hellenistic culture. Chapter 3 looks at the role of the discourse marker αὐτάρ as a focalizer for creative, profuse variation within the *Apologue* of Odysseus, which is itself an extended speech. The many instances in which αὐτάρ as a discourse marker is joined with 'zero-point' markers such as ἐγώ or a first-person verb suggest that in these passages the copyist would have been strongly compelled to identify with the creatively composing 'bard' Odysseus.⁶⁴ My aim throughout will be to examine variants in early papyri of Homer for what they can tell us about the reception of Homeric poetry in the Hellenistic period, using the same types of evidence – comparative traditions and close studies of language and context – used to develop the Oral-Formulaic Theory itself.

⁶⁴ A zero-point marker is a first-person pronoun, first-person verb, or adverb that connects the speaker to the immediate context of the speech. See Bonifazi 2008 56. See also Suerbaum 1998.

Chapter Two: The Power of Speech: *Iliad Papyrus 12*

In Plato's dialogue *Ion*, Ion admits to Socrates that rhapsodes are not experts in medicine, chariot racing, fishing, or divination, all topics discussed in the Homeric poems. When Socrates asks what *is* the rhapsode's area of expertise, Ion says that it is epic speeches, knowing "the kind of thing...that a man would say, and a woman would say, and a slave and a free man, a subject and a ruler—the suitable thing for each" (*Ion* 540b).⁶⁵ His view of Homeric speeches in terms of categories of people and their *potential* speech implies that for Ion, the *Iliad's* and the *Odyssey's* speeches are not set in stone, but are embellished or altered in performance. "The suitable thing," ὁποῖα, suggests an assortment of traditional material to be drawn upon for each type of speech.⁶⁶

Moreover, Ion declares that his overall goal, which his presentation of Homeric speeches serves, is to move the audience to as much grief as possible over the plight of various characters (*Ion* 535e). This goal accords well with the findings of Jasper Griffin, who has analyzed the vocabulary of speech and narrative in Homer and concludes that speeches are characterized by a sense of judgment and oftentimes by *pathos* that shades

⁶⁵ "Ἄ πρέπει, οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ἀνδρὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅποια γυναικί, καὶ ὅποια δούλῳ καὶ ὅποια ἐλευθέρῳ, καὶ ὅποια ἀρχομένῳ καὶ ὅποια ἄρχοντι. tr. Lane Cooper [Hamilton and Cairns 1989] Cf. Dorter 1973, Janaway 1992, Murray 1981 and Murray 1992.

⁶⁶ Cf. Richard Martin's remarks on the mimetic quality of Homeric speech: Martin 1989 45.

into self-pity.⁶⁷ Griffin's findings will enable us to see how *Iliad papyrus 12*'s variant readings make it 'more Homeric.' Textual variants have a tendency to congregate in *Iliad papyrus 12*'s speeches, and to increase those tendencies that Griffin identified as already distinguishing Homeric speeches from narrative. This suggests that the person(s) responsible for the variants possessed some understanding of this important distinction, which, as Griffin argues, was known to epic 'singers' as well.⁶⁸ In this chapter I will survey some scholarship relevant to the enhancement of speeches in performative and educational contexts, and move on to examine passages of profuse, creative variation and their individual readings.⁶⁹ My intent is to suggest that copyists varied certain speech passages because in some sense they viewed themselves as performers, and they were accustomed to observing performers use speeches as an opportunity to seize the audience's attention with intense, emotional language.

Iliad papyrus 12 preserves sections of the battle of Hephaestus and Scamander, the final defeat of Hector, and the funeral of Patroclus.⁷⁰ The text begins near the end of the battle of the gods, when Hephaestus and Hera intervene in Achilles' fight against the river Scamander. This is followed by fighting between Athena and Ares and among Apollo, Artemis, Zeus and Hera. Achilles then drives the Trojans towards the walls; after Priam witnesses the Greek hero's might, he and Hecuba try to talk Hector out of

⁶⁷ Griffin 1986 42

⁶⁸ Griffin 1986 36-37. The specific vocabulary items Griffin mentions do not match up perfectly, but as Griffin himself argues [Griffin 1986 38], the subjects confined almost entirely to speeches in Homer – judgment of other characters and strong emotion being paramount – are more important than the lexical items whose frequency of use allowed him to recognize this distinction.

⁶⁹ Isolated variants are treated at the end of Appendix 1.

⁷⁰ For a complete text, see Appendix 1.

confronting his nemesis. Hector debates internally on the best course of action and decides to challenge Achilles anyway. Athena intervenes to help Achilles win, and Hector dies after Achilles has told him he does not intend to return his body to the Trojans. The Trojan women mourn for him. In the last event covered in the papyrus text, Achilles plans and carries out a magnificent funeral for Patroclus.

Variants that tend to highlight the emotional impact of speeches, as in *Iliad papyrus 12*, are reminiscent of ‘actors’ interpolations,’ a phenomenon that is thought to have played some role in the transmission of classical tragedies in the same period. Although the impact of these interpolations on the transmission of tragedies is disputed, the concerns about them voiced in the scholia suggest conflicting sets of priorities that may have affected the text of Homer during this period as well.⁷¹ Many of the extra lines and variant readings that can be identified as ‘actors’ interpolations’ seem designed to add emotional intensity to the text, like the Homeric papyrus variants I examine in this chapter.⁷² Evidence of the threat that contemporary scholars felt these interpolations posed to the transmission of the text exposes conflicting views of poetry that may also have had an impact on the transmission of Homer. “For the actor, the text is a malleable object that serves the goals of an evolving art in which not two performances are the same. For the scholar getting the right text and getting the text right are defining issues

⁷¹ A papyrus text of Euripides’ *Heracles*, *Papyrus Hibeh 179*, offers several particularly striking parallels to Homeric papyrus variants, including the types of variants represented (plus verses and substantially different versions of existing lines) and the date of the text (240-280 BCE, the same time period as *Iliad papyrus 12*). The illegibility of many of the lines makes it difficult to tell whether the additional lines were aimed at increasing the dramatic and emotional intensity, like those in the Homeric texts. [Revermann 2006 77]

⁷² Haslam 1979 96 Cf. Falkner 2002 354-355, 359.

of methodology and principle...⁷³ Actors were not oral poets, yet their widely acknowledged readiness to depart from the received text of the plays suggests a tendency to consider literary texts as alterable to fit audience, circumstance and perhaps even personal taste. That much of Hellenistic scholarly writing about tragedy is a reaction against this attitude suggests how widespread the opposing view must have been.⁷⁴

Ion was able to engage in some amount of improvisation in his rhapsodic performances, as Plato's text implies, because of years of experience in Homeric performance. The typical education of the mid-third century, which relied heavily on Homeric poetry throughout, may have fostered a similar mindset to producing the beginnings of a similar skill. Fragments of school exercises indicate that the earliest stage of Hellenistic education involved reciting and copying brief excerpts from the poets, particularly Homer.⁷⁵ In the middle stage of education Homer continued to predominate, but students worked with longer passages. In the third stage Homeric interpretation was an important part of education in rhetoric.⁷⁶ Students "approached Homer...many times throughout their educational careers, from the time when they copied one verse to improve penmanship to the analysis done under the tutelage of a grammarian, and then to the work of paraphrasing and composing in a school of rhetoric."⁷⁷ An educated person would be highly familiar with Homeric language and Homeric poetry, and the nature of many school exercises would accustom the student to view the text as flexible and manipulable. Speeches were seen as distinct and thus more

⁷³ Falkner 2002 352

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Criatore 1996 46

⁷⁶ Criatore 1996 49

⁷⁷ Criatore 2001 205

open to modification. Richard Hunter and Marco Fantuzzi attribute the genre of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, an extended messenger-speech with epic overtones, to the practice of reciting important tragic speeches in schools. They argue that this practice was at least in part derived from the rhapsodic recitation of epic.⁷⁸ This study of tragic speeches in schools, using a model derived from the rhapsodic performance of Homer, would contribute to the impression that such speeches were a distinct subcategory of poetic expression permitting special treatment. Hellenistic students may also have been expected to create a type of 'do-it-yourself' Homeric speech in the composition of *ethnopoia*, exercises of impersonation, using as source material speeches from tragedy and possibly from epic.⁷⁹

It may be objected that memory work, such as may have taken place in Hellenistic schools, is generally regarded as being at odds with oral composition. However, recent work in the fields of Homer and traditional oral epic has challenged that assumption. When dealing with cultures less textually minded than our own it might be better to speak of "remembering" than "memorization," as does Albert Lord.⁸⁰ Lord readily acknowledged the possibility of memorization or 'remembering' of short pieces in an oral traditional context, adding that "After all, even I can remember nine lines."⁸¹ His first priority was always to correct the misconception that the Homeric poems were entirely literary creations, and this has unfortunately led to the misconception that written

⁷⁸ Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002 439

⁷⁹ Criore 1996 52, 226

⁸⁰ Lord 1995 183

⁸¹ Lord 1995 199

language destroys orality and the habit of mind associated with it.⁸² Elizabeth Minchin has demonstrated the complex, multi-system nature of memory as it relates to the composition and transmission of Greek epic, thereby suggesting that oral and literate means of processing, recalling and transmitting epic could easily coexist within the same individual.⁸³ In her chapter on extended catalogues she suggests that the convergence of various memory systems could make possible the reproduction of a passage nearly word-for-word in the absence of modern rote memorization.⁸⁴ In light of her research it is possible to argue that the blinding of the Cyclops in *Odyssey* 9, a passage which does not vary significantly between *Odyssey papyrus 31* and the vulgate, possesses several of the poetic features that favor precise memory. It is a very visual passage, both on its own and in its cultural context as a scene frequently portrayed on vase paintings. As the cognitive psychologists cited by Minchin explain, visual memory frequently serves as a key to verbal memory.⁸⁵ The blinding scene also contains a vivid extended simile in which Odysseus is compared to a shipwright boring a hole in a ship's timber.⁸⁶ As Minchin argues using evidence from neuroscience and pragmatic linguistics, the unusual language and imagery used in similes, their emotional appeal, and the mental effort of relating them to the larger narrative all combine to make a simile and its surrounding context memorable.⁸⁷ Perhaps more importantly, it has long been accepted that short pieces may be committed to memory even in the most purely oral tradition, and the

⁸² Thomas 1992 30, 38

⁸³ Minchin 2001 8-15 and *passim*; Minchin 2007 8-9, 44-45.

⁸⁴ Minchin 2001 79-89

⁸⁵ Minchin 2001 25-28. On visual representations of the Polyphemus episode, see Ch. 3 p. 96 below.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ch. 3 pp. 94-95 below for further discussion of this simile.

⁸⁷ Minchin 2001 132-143

practice of excerpting Homeric passages for educational purposes would seem to create an analogous situation. Short excerpts may have been committed to memory without compromising the ability to embellish or compose orally.⁸⁸

Although Griffin writes that his essay was conceived to counter the tendencies of ‘oralists’ to treat the language of Homer as monolithic, he implies that oral bards were aware of these different tendencies of speech and narrative, presumably through apprenticing and then practicing as singers: “...Homeric singers ...[are] well aware of the problem of stylisation and of different modes of conduct within the epics The later stages of the tradition will not simply have been introducing more contemporary linguistic modes into the speeches without reflection, but ... allowing them into the speeches, and excluding them from such narrative as they composed themselves, with a feeling that they were more appropriate there.”⁸⁹ The training of a bard is not unlike the way in which a Hellenistic copyist would have been exposed to the Homeric poems. An oral poet in training passes through a stage of listening to other poets, and then begins to compose and perform songs himself. An educated Greek speaker of the mid-third-century would have listened to Homer in performance, copied Homer for penmanship, and memorized and recited direct excerpts from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as well as original compositions based on themes and characters from these poems. In the final stage, he would have performed critical analysis of Homer’s poetry. Even if he did not undergo rhetorical training, the third and highest stage of Hellenistic education, participation in public life would have required such critical analysis of Homer, as Ford

⁸⁸ Cf. Reichl 2001

⁸⁹ Griffin 1986 37-38

has shown.⁹⁰ When he then became a copyist, his intense exposure to Homer as well as other poets would have given him a familiarity with poetic formulas much like that of a bard.⁹¹ So he would have been fully capable of understanding, even if he could not articulate it in the abstract, as Ion does, that speeches are the place for heightened drama and *pathos*. His familiarity with the shaping of speeches towards this end, in Homeric performances and competitions, would have made it natural to incorporate into his text variants he had heard or composed himself and that served this goal.⁹²

Iliad 21.371-382a

In the first passage in which variant readings are concentrated, the exchange of speeches between Scamander, Hera and Hephaestus, we see variants that heighten many of the qualities Griffin identifies as already present in Homeric speeches, such as an emphasis on emotion and value judgments. We do find, however, that although the mid-third century *Iliad papyrus 12* follows this tendency to augment such qualities in speeches to a surprising degree, sometimes a concern with emotion and judgment may also spill over into speech introductions and narrative that immediately follows a speech.

⁹⁰ Ford 1999

⁹¹ See p. 29-32 above for Homeric vocabulary and phrasing in the *Argonautica* and its effect on the poem's transmission.

⁹² Cf. Collins 2001. For a potentially similar situation in Greek lyric, see Lardinois 2006. For a modern-day experiment with altering formulaic lines in *Beowulf* based on pre-existing knowledge, see Creed 1959.

In this respect, Hellenistic readers, reciters and copyists of Homer were no doubt influenced by the tendency to allow such subjects into narrative sections in contemporary poetry.⁹³

In the first passage of profuse, creative variation I wish to discuss, the papyrus text presents Hephaestus' defeat of Scamander in a way that emphasizes his similarity to a triumphant epic hero.⁹⁴ In the papyrus text's version of this passage, textual variation causes Hephaestus to be cast in a more heroic light than in the vulgate text. He has been attacking the river Scamander, also known as Xanthus,⁹⁵ at the command of his mother Hera, in an elemental battle of fire against water. In the passage that is extant in the papyrus Scamander agrees to remain neutral in return for Hephaestus' withdrawal. This scene is an opportunity for Hephaestus to transform into the element with which he is frequently associated, fire,⁹⁶ and introduces a serious note into the otherwise comic battle of the gods that dominates Book 22 of the *Iliad*. The attack is also part of an established mythological trope, since Lord cites Hephaestus' rescue of Achilles as an example of a widespread narrative pattern he calls "the almost-death of the hero."⁹⁷

⁹³ Cf. Byre 2002, Berkowitz 2004 on the conflation of speech and narrative styles in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

⁹⁴ In discussions of individual passages like this one, it will be my normal practice to locate the vulgate text (Van Thiel) on the left and the papyrus text, taken from Stephanie West's edition, on the right.

⁹⁵ The river is known as Scamander in the language of men, and Xanthus in the language of the gods. For the language of gods and men, see Watkins 1970 and Düntzer 1859.

⁹⁶ Cf. Brown 1998 238-239

⁹⁷ Lord 1995 72-73

ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼν ἀποπαύσομαι, εἰ σὺ
κελεύεις,
παυέσθω δὲ καὶ οὗτος. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ τόδ'
ὁμοῦμαι,

μή ποτ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀλεξήσιν κακὸν
ἡμᾶρ,
μηδ' ὀπότη' ἄν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσα
δάηται 21.375
καιομένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήιοι υἱεὶς Ἀχαιῶν."

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε θεὰ λευκώλενος
Ἥρη, 21.377

αὐτίκ' ἄρ' Ἥφαιστον προσεφώνεεν θυ-
φίλον υἱόν·
"Ἥφαιστε, σχέο, τέκνον ἀγακλεές· οὐ γὰρ
ἔοικεν
ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἔνεκα
στυφελίζειν."
ὧς ἔφαθ', Ἥφαιστος δὲ κατέσβεσε
θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ· 21.380
ἄψορρον δ' ἄρα κῦμα κατέσσυτο καλὰ
ρέεθρα.

But I myself **will cease**, if you enjoin me, and let
him also cease. And I will also swear this at
your bidding, never to ward off an evil day from
the Trojans, not even when all Troy is blazing
and burning with consuming fire, and the hostile
sons of the Achaeans are burning it. But when
white-armed goddess Hera heard this, she
immediately **spoke to her son**
Hephaestus: "Hephaestus, hold on, glorious
child; for it is not fitting for an immortal god to
strike out thus on account of mortals." Thus she
spoke, and Hephaestus extinguished
marvellously burning fire; and again the flow
rushed down along the lovely streams.

[ἀλλ' ἦτοι] μὲν ἐγὼ λήξ[ω] μέν[ος, εἰ
σὺ κελεύεις,
[παυέσθω] δὲ καὶ οὗτος· ἐγ[ὼ] δ' ἐπὶ καὶ
τόδ' ὁμο[ῦμαι],

εξη M. 1

[μή ποτ'] ἐπ[ὶ] Τρώε[σσι]ν ἀλεξ[.] [σειν
κακὸν] ἡμᾶρ,
[μηδ' ὀπ]ότ' ἄν Τρώη μαλερῶι πυρὶ π[ᾶ]σα
δάη]τ[αι] 21.375
[καιο]μένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήιοι υἱεὶς
Ἀχαι[ῶν]."
[αὐτ]ὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε θεὰ
λευκ[ώ]λενο[ς] Ἥρη [βοῶπις πό]τνια M. 2]
Γms 21.377

[..]. στονπ[.]οσε φωνεισπ.....M. 2

[α]ντίκα μιλίχιοισι προσηύδα
φα[ί]δ[ι]μ[ον] υἱόν·
["Ἥ]φαιστε, σ[χ]έο, [τ]έκνον ἀγακλεέ[ς]· οὐ
γὰρ ἔοικ[εν]
[ἀθά]νατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἔνεκα
[στυ]φελ[ί]ζειν." 21.380
[ὧς] ἔφατο, Ἥφαιστος δὲ κατέ[σ]βεσε
[θεσ]πιδα[ῆ]ς πῦρ,
[ἄ]ψορρον δ' ἄρα κῦμα κα[τέ]σχετ[ο]
καλὰ [ρέε]θρα (?)

κ[ἄρ] ῥόον, ἦ [ι M. 1] τὸ πάροιθεν ἔει-
κ[αλλίρροον] ἕδωρ.

21.382a

But I myself will **stop my anger**, if you enjoin
me, and let him also cease. And I will also
swear this at your bidding, never to ward off an
evil day from the Trojans, not even when all
Troy is blazing and burning with consuming fire,
and the hostile sons of the Achaeans are burning
it. But when white-armed goddess Hera heard
this, she immediately **addressed her illustrious
son with gentle words**: "Hephaestus, hold on,
glorious child; for it is not fitting for an immortal
god to strike out thus on account of mortals."
Thus she spoke, and Hephaestus extinguished
marvellously burning fire; and again the flow
occupied the lovely streams **along the stream**,
**where the beautifully flowing stream ran in
the past**

The passage starts with an adversative ἀλλά, “but,” a grammatical indication of a fresh topic. The end of the passage is also signaled grammatically by the next passage’s beginning with αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ, “and then” (21.383), a discourse marker phrase indicating a visual shift.⁹⁸ The papyrus’ use of the word μένος, “rage,” as the object of λήξω, “I will stop,” in line 21.372, where the vulgate merely uses ἀποπαύσομαι, “I will cease,” intransitively, is one example of the papyrus text intensifying the propensity of speech to foreground emotion, since only the papyrus text explicitly mentions anger. Another example of vocabulary items with greater heroic appeal occurs in the speech introduction. In the papyrus version, Hephaestus is given the epithet φαίδιμος “illustrious” (21.378) which places him in the class of heroic warriors, based upon the use of this epithet to describe human heroes elsewhere in Homer.⁹⁹ Hera’s words, on the other hand, are described as “gentle,” as though Hephaestus is in such a thoroughly heroic rage that he needs to be persuaded to show mercy. Hera’s words receive no descriptive epithet in the vulgate text and Hephaestus is described as ὄν φίλον, “her own [son]” rather than φαίδιμος. Referring to Hephaestus as φαίδιμον is a significant difference from ὄν φίλον: the duel with Scamander represents Hephaestus at his most heroic, and the epithet φαίδιμον invites us to compare him to other heroes for whom this epithet is used. The vulgate reading, on the other hand, suggests that we view him largely as a son doing a favor for his mother, without emphasizing his spectacular divine powers.

⁹⁸ Bonifazi 2008 51

⁹⁹When not used to describe parts of the body (cf. *Il.* 6.27, *Od.* 11.128) the word is used exclusively to describe human heroes in Homer. E.g. at *Il.* 4.505, 17.288. Examples from the *Odyssey* include 2.386 and 3.189.

In light of this greater emphasis upon Hephaestus' defeat of Scamander as a heroic achievement, it is noteworthy that several lines above this passage, in line 21.303, Stephanie West's text provides ἴσχευ, "restrain him" for the vulgate text's reading ἔσχευ "hold him in check" (π[ρὸς ῥόον ἀΐσσοντος ἀν' ἰθύυ, οὐδέ μιν ἴσχευ/ vulg. ἔσχευ, "of the man jumping straight towards the river, and [the river] did not restrain him/hold him in check.") ἴσχευ, although it is West's choice to reconstruct the line (it occurs after the square brackets and is therefore not visible on the papyrus) nevertheless deserves some discussion here. This reading is known from three sources: Aristarchus, the Codex Laurentianus, a fourteenth-century text, and Codex Vaticanus 1319, a twelfth-century text. The other texts in the vulgate tradition have ἔσχευ.¹⁰⁰ This reading, as are many others discussed in this study, appears to be an instance of a Homeric word used with a post-Homeric sense, possibly by a later scribe or performer who had naturally absorbed the more current definition. In Homer, this verb is not generally used to describe physical restraint; the only instance in the vulgate text is when Odysseus' close competition with Oilean Ajax in the foot race is compared to a woman's holding of her weaving spool close to her chest.¹⁰¹ It is far more frequently used in Homer in situations where a hero is restrained, often against his will, by outside forces. A selection of examples will establish the force of the word as particularly applicable to heroic restraint: It is used rather ironically in the phrase δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον, "spiritless fear restrains," by Athena to Diomedes at *Il.* 5.812 and Diomedes to the goddess at 5.817. The same phrase

¹⁰⁰ ἴσχω and ἔχω are etymologically related, as Stephanus *TLG* (beg. of entry) and Richardson 1993 (note on *Il.* 22.356) observe.

¹⁰¹ For ἴσχω's use after Homer in reference to physical restraint, cf. Stephanus *TLG ad loc.* under "inhibeo, reprimo."

occurs again (in the negative) at *Il.* 13.224, as Idomeneus responds to the disguised Poseidon's urging to attack the Trojans. Moreover, the verb is used by the Old Man of the Sea of Odysseus' detention by Calypso at *Od.* 4.558, in Peleus' advice to Achilles to restrain his heart at *Il.* 9.256, and in Nestor's command that the army not flee from the Nereids' lament for Achilles (*Od.* 24.54). It is also used of Zeus' ceasing to restrain his μένος in Hesiod (*Th.* 687). In the middle voice it is used several times in Homer to refer to the need for self-restraint from both heroes and the army at large, at *Od.* 24.54, as I mentioned above, as well as at *Il.* 3.82, 1.214 (in Athena's bid to restrain Achilles from killing Agamemnon), *Il.* 2.247 (Odysseus berates Thersites), and *Od.* 22.356 (Telemachus asks Odysseus to spare Phemius). Poseidon also uses it when he instructs Tyro to tell no one the truth about the parentage of her heroic sons, Pelias and Neleus (*Od.* 11.251). This vocabulary substitution raises the meaning of this line from merely physical to metaphorical as well. Changing the verb in this passage to ἴσχει changes one's perception of Scamander's restraint of Achilles from a mere physical obstacle to a comment on the heroic code and Achilles' overstepping of its boundaries by taking on the forces of nature themselves. Although after Homer it does become something of a synonym for ἔχω, the variations elsewhere in the papyrus show enough knowledge of Homeric language and idiom that the change may well have been meant to enhance the meaning of the passage in the manner I have described.¹⁰²

¹⁰² For the use of ἴσχω in post-Homeric Greek, see *LSJ* ἴσχω III. Entries I and II are instructive on Homeric usage.

Other Variants in *Iliad* 21.371-382a

Plus verse, line : κ[άρ] ῥόον, ἧ τὸ πάροιθεν ἴει κ[αλλιρροο]ν [ῥ]ῶδωρ, “along the stream, where the beautifully flowing stream ran in the past,” 21.382a

Although redundant and somewhat clumsy, this variant demonstrates the commitment of the scribe, or an earlier performer, to embellishing this passage and creating a more vivid image of the river’s flow. The repetition of “stream” (ῥόον...καλλιρροον), however, creates a sort of chiasmus or ring composition that suggests adroitness with Homeric language, and fits particularly well in this context, with Scamander resuming his duties as tutelary god of the river. The assimilation of **κάτ** ῥόον should also be noted.

Assimilation is common in both papyri and inscriptions, reflecting the actual pronunciation of such prepositions as ἐν, commonly rendered ἐγ before an initial velar and ἐμ before an initial labial.¹⁰³ The two papyri I study here are no exception in this regard, although it should be noted that assimilation is not unknown in the vulgate Homeric tradition.¹⁰⁴

βοῶπις πό[τνια], “ox-eyed lady,” added above the line by a second scribe, line 21.377

The alternative reading offered by the second scribe demonstrates the flexibility of speech introductions. βοῶπις πότνια and λευκώλενος, “white-armed,” are both used frequently and in a wide variety of contexts in Homer.

κα[τέ]σχετ[ο], “it occupied,” for κατέσσυτο, “it rushed down along,” line 21.381

In Homer κατέχω usually refers to restraining or detaining someone or something. Later uses of this word in tragedy and oratory carry the meaning “possess, occupy (esp. of rulers),” which is highly appropriate in this context, since the water represents Scamander’s re-assertion of control over his territory.¹⁰⁵ In tragedy, history and inscriptions this verb is used particularly of tutelary gods, which would make it even more appropriate for this context, since Scamander occupies the riverbed in the role of a guardian divinity. It would seem that the improvisationally copying scribe may be employing a metrically appropriate word familiar from other parts of the Homeric corpus, but that he has absorbed a different definition for this word.

¹⁰³ Allen 1987 33

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the rendering of κατά as κάδ fifty-four times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Assimilation appears in *Iliad papyrus 12* in the plus verse discussed above, as well as at 22.424 (τῶμ πολλῶν), 23.162 (λαὸμ μὲν), 23.243 (ἐγ χρυσηῖ), 23.267 (ἄπυρογ κατέθηκε), and 23.281 (τοίσγ γὰρ). In *Odyssey papyrus 31* it appears at 9.454 (σὺλ λυγροῖς), 9.548 (ἐγ νηὸς), 10.72 (ἐγ νήσου). Since it is a normal part of the orthography of papyri, I have noted it here but not highlighted it in my block quotes and appendices, in keeping with the standard scholarly practice of not treating orthographical differences as textual variants.

¹⁰⁵ *LSJ* κατέχω II

Iliad 22.126-142

In Hector's final monologue and last battle, two variants in particular stand out. The first is a fragmentary plus verse that appears to describe the intensity of Achilles' desire for battle. The second is the transposition of a short passage describing the gleam from Achilles' ash spear. In the vulgate it appears at 22.132-135, but in the papyrus it appears just after line 22.316, shortly before the death of Hector.

οὐ μὲν πῶς νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης

τῶ ὀαριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἠΐθεός τε,

> παρθένος ἠΐθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλοισιν.

βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι ξυνελαυνέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα·

εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξη." 22.130

ὡς ὄρμαινε μένων, ὃ δέ οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθεν Ἀχιλλεύς

It is not possible for me now from an oak tree or from a rock to hold dalliance with him, in the way in which youth and maiden, youth and maiden, **dally, each with the other of the pair**. It is better to clash together once more in strife as quickly as possible; let us know on which of two **the Olympian** will bestow **triumph**. He debated thus as he waited, and Achilles came near **him**

[οὐ μὲν πῶς νῦν ἔ]στιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης

[c. 12 letters]μοιο μεμαότα δακρυόεντος 22.126a

[τῶι ὀαριζέμε] [ἅ τε παρθένον [ς M. 1]

ἠΐθεόν [ς M. 1] τε,

[παρθένος ἠΐθεός] ὀταρίζετον ἀλλήλοισιν.

[βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι] ξυνελαύνομεν ὅττι τάχιστα·

[εἶδομεν ὀπποτ]έρ[ω]ι Κρονίδης Ζεὺς

κῦδος ὀρέξη[ι]." 22.130

[ὡς ὄρμαινε μέν]ων, ὃ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν ἦλυθ' Ἀχιλλεύς

It is not possible for me now from an oak tree or from a rock **striving ...the tearful...**to hold dalliance with him, in the way in which youth and maiden, youth and maiden, **dally with each other**. It is better to clash together once more in strife as quickly as possible; let us know on which of two **Zeus son of Cronus** will bestow **renown**. He debated thus as he waited, and so Achilles **came** near

> Ἴσος Ἐνυαλίῳ, κορυθαίκι πτολεμιστῆ,
22.132

σειῶν Πηλιάδα μελίην κατὰ δεξιὸν
ῶμον

δεινὴν· ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο
εἴκελος ἀύγῃ

ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἡελίου

ἀνιόντος. 22.135

Ἔκτορα δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἔλε τρόμος· οὐδ'
ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη

αὐθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ
φοβηθεῖς·

Πηλείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι
πεποιθῶς.

ἤυτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν ἐλαφρότατος
πετεηνῶν

ῥηιδίῳς οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν·

22.140

> ἢ δέ θ' ὕπαιθα φοβεῖται, ὃ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὄξυ
λεληκῶς

ταρφέ' ἐπαΐσσει, ἐλέειν τέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει·
> ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμεμῶς ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε δ'

Ἔκτωρ

equal to Enyalios, the warrior with the glancing
helm, **brandishing Peleus' terrible ash spear
at his right shoulder; and and the bronze
gleamed like the flash of burning fire or the
rising sun.** And trembling seized Hector, when
he perceived him; and he did not dare any longer
to remain there, but he left the gates behind, and
frightened, set out; and Peleus' son pursued him,
trusting in his **swift** feet. As a falcon in the
mountains, swiftest of winged creatures, **easily**
swoops after a dove; she flees in front and he,
nearby, screeching sharply, continually rushes
towards her, and **his spirit urges him to seize
her**; just so, raging, he drove straight on, and
Hector ran ...

[Ἴσος Ἐνυαλίῳ, κορυθαίκι πτολεμιστῆ,

22.132

[Ἔκτορ]α δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἔ]λε [τρόμος·
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ'] ἔ]τλη

22.136

αὐθι μένειν, ὀπίσ[ω] δὲ πύλας λι[πε, βῆ δὲ
φοβηθεῖς·

Πηλείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶν ταχέεσσ[ι

ἤυτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, [ἐλ]αφρ[ότατος
πετεηνῶν,

καρπαλίμ[ως] ὥρμη[σε μετὰ τρήρωνα
πέλειαν·

22.140

ἢ δέ τ' ὕπαι[θ]α φοβε[ῖται, ὃ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὄξυ
λεληκῶς

τα[ρφέ]α ἐπαΐσσει ν[

[ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμ]εμῶ[ς ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε
δ' Ἔκτωρ

equal to Enyalios, the warrior with the glancing
helm. And trembling seized Hector, when he
perceived him; and he did not dare any longer to
remain there, but he left the gates behind, and
frightened, set out; and Peleus' son pursued him,
trusting in his **speedy** feet. As a falcon in the
mountains, swiftest of winged creatures, **swiftly**
swoops after a dove; she flees in front and he,
nearby, screeching sharply, continually rushes
towards her, [**partially preserved variant line**];
just so, raging, he drove straight on, and Hector
ran ...

Hector's admission that he cannot talk pleasantly with Achilles from an oak tree or rock, like a flirtatious couple, evokes a tense scene between Penelope and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. The passage is *Odyssey* 19.162-3, in which Penelope makes use of the oak tree and rock proverb in her questioning of the disguised Odysseus.¹⁰⁶ Scholars from Eustathius onward have had considerable difficulty with this phrase. Ahl and Roisman offer two possible interpretations, depending on whether the *Iliad* is referencing the *Odyssey* or vice versa. If the *Iliad* passage is a reference to the *Odyssey*, Hector's use of this proverb would recall "the cautious interchanges between Odysseus and Penelope in *Odyssey* 19 which serve as a prelude to their acceptance of each other."¹⁰⁷ If the *Odyssey* passage is a reference to the *Iliad* passage, then the proverb refers to the transition from the pleasant world of fantasy to the brutal world of reality.¹⁰⁸ These two possibilities of interpretation, for an individual with access to both poems, mirror the indecision on Hector's part as he weighs his options for dealing with the threat posed by Achilles.

It is not hard to imagine that teachers, scribes and performers of Homer might also have had their attention caught by the *Iliad* passage, considering its inherent interest to the story and inter-poetic echoes, which are particularly memorable, encoded as they are in the traditional genre of the proverb. In the papyrus text, this line is immediately followed by a plus verse that is not fully preserved, but, based on the remaining words, certainly evoked the grief caused by war. The line has been reconstructed with three possible readings:

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Russo et al. 1992 *ad loc.* for a related phrase in Hesiod and a summary of scholarship.

¹⁰⁷ Ahl and Roisman 1996 227 Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1998 37

¹⁰⁸ Ahl and Roisman 1996 227

[ὥς ἄμοτον πολέ]μοιο μεμάοτα δακρυόεντος
 thus incessantly eager for war that brings misery
 (modelled on 23.36, suggested by Gerhard)

[ἀντιάαν πολέ]μοιο μεμάοτα δακρυόεντος
 (modelled on 13.214-215, suggested by Jachmann
 to encounter one eager for war that brings misery)

[ἄνδρ' ἄμοτον πολέ]μοιο μεμάοτα δακρυόεντος
 (suggested by Lloyd-Jones)¹⁰⁹
 a man incessantly eager for war that brings misery

Gerhard argues that this line was added to remove the impression that Hector was afraid of Achilles.¹¹⁰ However, a single line would be ineffective at countering the many other indications of Hector's fear, most notably the fact that he runs from Achilles, a flight that is treated with great *pathos* and dignity rather than as an instance of unacceptable cowardice (*Il.* 22.159-161). More striking is the contrast between the line's intimations of a lust for δακρυόεις πόλεμος, war that causes weeping, and the image of flirting evoked by the oak tree and rock proverb and reinforced by its use in the *Odyssey* passage.¹¹¹ This vivid contrast accords well with the preference for dramatic, emotional language evinced in the other variant readings in this text. The participle μεμάοτα possibly indicates a late date for the composition of this line, since it is, with two exceptions (*Il.* 2.218 and 13.137) formed with an omega rather than an omicron in Homer.¹¹² The form found in the papyrus text is used most often in prose, and presumably would be the normal form employed in post-archaic Greek. Another

¹⁰⁹ Reconstructions cited in West 1967 164

¹¹⁰ Cited in West 1967 164

¹¹¹ πόλεμος fits the context and is modified by δακρυόεις elsewhere in the *Iliad*, at 5.737, 8.388, and 17.512.

¹¹² Cf. Monro 1891 26.1

modernizing variant in this passage is the substitution of a plural pronoun for the dual form found in the vulgate text at line 22.128.

Derek Collins has argued that the presence of plus verses 22.316a-c, which are identical to vulgate lines 22.133-135, reflects a performance by a rhapsode or *homeristês* before an audience that was already familiar with these lines in their vulgate context. Their context in the vulgate, and the lines' context in *Iliad papyrus 12*, where they are placed after line 22.316, have a clear thematic connection. In the passage earlier in book 22, Hector's fate is sealed when he rejects his parents' advice and confronts Achilles in battle. In the later passage in the same book, where the lines are found in the papyrus text, he is fatally wounded as a result of his earlier decision.¹¹³ The enjambment of the participle *σείων* (22.133/316a) is of a type used by rhapsodes in competitive contexts.¹¹⁴ A performer would likely have been presenting only the later scene, Collins argues, and may have inserted the lines after 22.316 to remind the audience of the earlier scene and heighten the drama of the present performance. The passage – Achilles' final rush towards Hector – is one of the highly performable scenes listed in Plato's *Ion* (535b).¹¹⁵ Greater fatalism with regard to Hector's defeat is also implied by the papyrus reading at line 22.259: *Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι λ[ε]λάχωσι θ[ανόντ]α*, "let the Trojans and the wives of the Trojans obtain my body," in contrast to the vulgate reading, *νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοῖσιν δώσω πάλιν ὥς δέ σὺ ρέζειν*, "I will give your body back to the Achaeans, and you do likewise," which suggests the outcome of the fight is still in doubt.

¹¹³ Collins 2001 157

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Collins 2001 155

Collins' study, particularly his analysis of this passage, makes a strong case for the influence of performance and competition on 'eccentric' papyrus texts of Homer, but does not deal with the question of how the variants entered *Iliad papyrus 12*. They may have become part of the text through a scribe's memory of Homeric performance, and his desire to alter the text in accordance with what he had heard. His pre-modern concept of 'accurate' copying would have made this unproblematic.

Other Variants in *Iliad* 22.126-142

παρθένον ἠίθειον **for** παρθένος ἠίθεός, "maiden, youth" line 22.127

This is a mistake that the original scribe corrected to the vulgate reading (παρθένος ἠίθεός) above the line.

Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος, "Zeus son of Kronos, renown" **for** κεν Ολύμπιος εὐχος "the Olympian, triumph", line 22.129

Within Homer, κῦδος refers specifically to magical power that ensures victory, as Benveniste has argued.¹¹⁶ The rest of the line seems equally strong in both papyrus and vulgate readings.

ὃ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν ἤλυθ', "and so he came near," **for** ὃ δέ οἱ σχεδὸν ἤλθεν, "he came near him," line 22.131

The papyrus version of this phrase avoids hiatus (ὃ δ' ἄρα **for** ὃ δέ οἱ) showing a concern with pronunciation and therefore with the poem as an aural, performable entity. Both forms of the aorist of ἔρχομαι (ἤλυθε and ἤλθεν) are found in Homer.

ταχέεσσ[ι], "speedy," **for** κραιπνοῖσι, "swift," line 22.138

The papyrus has substituted a common word for a rarer one. Although both adjectives appear in the Homeric corpus, ταχύς is used far more frequently. The vulgate reading ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι is only duplicated in one other line in Homer, *Il.* 6.505.¹¹⁷

καρπαλίμ[ως], "swiftly," **for** ῥηιδίως, "easily," line 22.140

The papyrus reading, καρπαλίμως, seems preferable because it is more specific and ties the bird of the simile more closely to Achilles, who is known for his speed.

¹¹⁶ Benveniste 1973 346-356

¹¹⁷ West 1967 165

τα[ρφέ]α ἐπαΐσσει ν[, “continually rushes towards her ...(?)” for ταρφέ’ ἐπαΐσσει, ἐλέειν τέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει, “continually rushes towards her, and his spirit urges him to seize her,” line 22.142

Not much can be said about this variant line except that it was a variant line, since the evidence of this rests on a single legible letter, ν.

The Funeral of Patroclus

The common characteristic of variants in speeches in *Iliad papyrus 12*, as I have argued above, is to increase stylistic tendencies that were already present in speeches – tendencies towards judgment of others and more open expressions of emotion. In the case of the speeches connected with Patroclus’ funeral, the variants increase the aforementioned qualities and also strengthen the resemblance between Patroclus’ funeral and the contemporary practice of hero cult. Nagy argues that hero cult was known at the time when Homeric poetry first came to prominence in the 8th century BCE, but that hero cult references are specifically avoided in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* because they are too place-specific, local rather than Panhellenic.¹¹⁸ In Nagy’s opinion, which I share, the funeral of Patroclus, as presented in the vulgate tradition, refers to hero cult without being presented as an actual instance of the practice. Patroclus is Achilles’ substitute in this as in so much else: the audience involvement in mourning a cult hero such as Achilles makes that hero’s funeral an unsuitable vehicle of *kleos* and thus an inappropriate topic for epic.¹¹⁹ Achilles must be kept apart from any suggestion of cult, but Patroclus’ ability to serve as his substitute ensures that he is touched by all aspects of the heroic experience.

¹¹⁸ Nagy 1999 114-117

¹¹⁹ For the significance of Patroclus’ funeral as the counterpoint *akhos / penthos* to Achilles’ *kleos*, see Nagy 1999, especially pp. 113-114. For the necessity of ironic distancing in epic, see also Reinhardt 1961 405-406.

Nagy cites the lamentations (*Il.* 23.12,17), the libation and offering of honey and oil (previously noted by Rohde), and finally Achilles' offer to give Patroclus his share of the spoils (24.592-595) as indications of the funeral's hero cult-like qualities.¹²⁰ The etymology of Patroclus' name, "the glory of ancestors," makes him an ideal candidate for the prototypical cult hero.¹²¹ Patroclus' youth also fits him for this role, since heroes were generally imagined as young and vigorous.¹²²

It is likewise argued by Seaford that the popularity of hero cult arose not from the Homeric poems directly but from the process of *polis* formation and a subsequent desire to establish links with the age of heroes.¹²³ Seaford also argues for a strong link between funeral practices and hero cult, citing the *Iliad* as an important source of these practices.¹²⁴ He suggests that recitations of the Homeric poems served some of the same functions as hero cult. "It is easy to imagine that recitations of epic enhanced the self-image and prestige of the aristocratic clans, particularly of such clans as may have been able to control the recitations, claim descent from the epic heroes, and even assign them to tombs and cults."¹²⁵ Thus hero cult, the performance of Homer and the funeral of Patroclus as a precursor of hero cult *in* Homer are all linked.

Hero cult reached the peak of its popularity in the Hellenistic period, expanding to include not only Hellenistic rulers but also their subordinates. For example, the Macedonian Demetrius Poliorcetes was awarded a hero cult in Athens in 307/6 and

¹²⁰ Nagy 1999 116-117; Rohde 1898 108-110, 228-245, 235n1: citation from Nagy.

¹²¹ Nagy 1999 115

¹²² Burkert 1985 208

¹²³ Seaford 1990 180-181

¹²⁴ Seaford 1990 Ch. 5

¹²⁵ Seaford 1990 181

several of his friends and associates received them in 302/1. As the trend continued, it became acceptable for a family to grant hero status to any of its members who had recently died.¹²⁶ Hero cult was very much a part of everyday life in the Hellenistic world, and many of its practices are echoed in the poem. For example, Achilles' laying of his shorn hair on Patroclus' grave provides a heroic precedent for contemporary Hellenistic cult practice, which often involved the gift of a lock of hair to the hero.¹²⁷

The first passage from Patroclus' funeral with considerable textual variation is Achilles' speech in which he asks Agamemnon for help with crowd control. Textual variation continues into the following sacrifice, which in the papyrus text only is followed by a feast. The tendency of frequent textual variation to 'bleed over' into the narrative passage that may follow a speech is unproblematic in terms of 'improvisational copying,' since, as I have discussed above, the occurrence of a great number of variants in speeches is a *tendency* rather than a hard-and-fast rule. If the start of a speech prompts the scribe to switch to improvisational copying mode, and the narrative that follows the speech is closely related in terms of content. It follows that the scribe would not immediately switch back to conventionally 'accurate' copying right away.

¹²⁶ Bugh 2006 215

¹²⁷ Cf. Seaford 1990 1888. James Redfield notes the symbolism of Patroclus' living comrades, including Achilles, cutting off their hair and sending it to the pyre with his body: "When Achilles left Phthia for Troy, Peleus vowed that Achilles would keep his hair uncut and on his return would cut it and dedicate it to the river Spercheius. He thus vowed that, if Achilles brought his (actual) life back to his own soil, his (metaphorical) life would be given to the river; life would be paid for life. At Patroclus' funeral Achilles breaks this vow, cuts his hair, and puts it in Patroclus' hands on the pyre. By sending his life to the fire with the body of his friend (XXIII.144-51), Achilles gives up his hope of returning to Phthia alive; he (metaphorically) dies with Patroclus, just as he later expects (actually) to die at Troy and be buried with Patroclus (XXIII.245-48)." [Redfield 1994 182]

Iliad 23.156-165a

“Ατρείδη, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστα γε λαὸς
Ἀχαιῶν
πείσονται μύθοισι· γόοιο μὲν ἔστι καὶ
ἄσαι.
νῦν δ’ ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς σκέδασον καὶ δεῖπνον
ἄνωχθι

ὄπλεσθαι· τάδε δ’ ἀμφιπονησόμεθ’, οἷσι
μάλιστα
> κήδεός ἐστι νέκυς· παρὰ δ’ οἱ ταγοὶ
ἄμμι μενόντων.” 23.160
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ’ ἄκουσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν
Ἀγαμέμνων,
αὐτίκα λαὸν μὲν σκέδασεν κατὰ νῆας ἕϊσας·

κηδεμόνες δὲ παρ’ αὐθι μένον καὶ νήεον
ὑλην,
ποίησαν δὲ πυρῆν ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ
ἔνθα,
ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι
κῆρ. 23.165

“Atreus’ son, for the host of the Achaeans obey your words particularly; **it is possible for them to take their fill of lament**. But now disperse them from the funeral pyre and order them to prepare the main meal; and we, to whom the dead man was especially beloved, will labor over these things ; **and let the commanders stay with him**. And when Agamemnon, lord of men, heard this, he immediately scattered the host to the well balanced ships; but the kindred mourners remained **there** and piled up wood, and made a pyre one hundred feet square, **and on the top of the pyre they placed the corpse**, grieving in their hearts.

κλα[.] α τ ρ ε ι [.
. .] ν ο ν α ω σ π ρ [.
[“Ατρείδη, σοὶ] μὲν τε μάλιστα γ[ε]
λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν
> [πείσονται μύθοισι (?)] . . οιομεν ὅττι
τάχιστα
νῦν δ’ ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς σκέδασον καὶ δεῖπνον
ἄνωχθι
[.] τ . ι [. .] α σ λέναι κα[ὶ
δεῖπ]νο[ν
ἄνωχθι 23.158a
[ὄπλεσθαι·] τάδε δ’ ἀμφιπονη[σόμε]θ’
οἷσι μάλιστα
[κήδεός ἐσ]τι νέκυς· περὶ δαν.[23.160
[. . . . κηδ]εμόνες· σκέδασον[23.160a
[αὐτὰρ ἐπ]εὶ τό γ’ ἄκουσεν ἄναξ
[ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,
[αὐτίκα λ]αὸμ μὲν σκ[α]ί[ε]δασεν κατὰ νῆας
ἕϊσας,

[κάπνισσ]άν τε κατὰ κλίσσ [σι Μ. 2]
κ[αὶ δεῖπνον] ἔλοντο. 23.162a
[κηδ]εμόνες δὲ καταῦθι μέ[νον καὶ νήεον
ὑλην
[ποι]ήσαν δὲ πυρῆν ἑκα[τόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ
ἔνθα,
[. . .] . . . ε . [.] ρ α λ υ [. . .] νεκρὸ[ν
θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ. 23.165
μυρ[ι]’ [ὄνε]ί[α]τα χερσ[ιν] ἀμ[ησά]μενοι
κατέθηκαν, 23.165a

“Atreus’ son, the host of the Achaeans, **on the one hand**, obey your words particularly...**as quickly as possible**. But now disperse them from the funeral pyre and order them the main meal ...**order them to go ...even dinner...** to prepare; and we, to whom the dead man was especially beloved, will labor over these things ; **around ...kinsmen; scatter ...** And when Agamemnon, lord of men, heard this, he immediately scattered the host to the well balanced ship, **they made a fire and went down to the huts? and they took their meal**. But the kindred mourners remained **on the spot** and piled up wood, and made a pyre one hundred feet square, and ... they placed the corpse, grieving in their hearts. **They collected and set down countless good things with their hands**

In view of the context, the meal mentioned in the papyrus (23.162a, 23.165a), a detail not present in the vulgate text, seems likely to reflect the meal that was part of many hero cult ceremonies.¹²⁸ The meals represent the dual public/private nature of hero cult: “hero-cult is... a form of death ritual, and death ritual is in general the duty of kin. Hero-cult may accordingly have promoted social cohesion by extending to a larger group the solidarity-in-lamentation of the kinship group at the funeral ... perhaps in a less intense form.”¹²⁹ Heroes are presented with meals and “imagined as sharing feasts with the living.”¹³⁰ From a narrative standpoint, these meals heighten our appreciation of the theme of reconciliation in this passage. The separate meals consumed by Patroclus’ close kin and by the larger army echo the division of hero cult participants into direct descendants and the public. There are suggestions of wider participation in the preparations for the funeral, as well, in a pair of variants found about thirty lines above the passage under discussion. The papyrus text substitutes ὄμοισιν for ὑλοτόμοι in line 23.123. Everyone (πάντες) now carries wood on their shoulders (ὄμοισιν), rather than leaving this job to the woodcutters (ὑλοτόμοι).¹³¹ The substitution of Ἀχαιοῖς, “the Achaeans,” for the vulgate reading Μυρμιδόνεσσι, “the Myrmidons” in line 23.129 widens the circle of soldiers whom Achilles invites to join the funeral procession to include not just Patroclus’ kin and friends, but the entire community of the camp as participants in mourning.

¹²⁸ In contrast, *Odyssey papyrus 31* omits a shared meal (*Od.* 10.56-58). This meal had no special affiliation with hero cult and its omission with hero cult likely reflects the tendency for variants in *Odyssey papyrus 31* to create a more streamlined text.

¹²⁹ Seaford 1990 111

¹³⁰ Seaford 1990 114

¹³¹ See p. 121 for the full text of this passage.

In light of the papyrus text's desire to create closer ties between Patroclus' funeral and the contemporary practice of hero cult, the omission of all references to Achilles' golden amphora or even to the golden cup he uses to perform libations is surprising. Line 23.92, χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς, τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ, "the golden amphora that your lady mother gave you," has been omitted. Plus verse 23.195a, ἀρνῶν π[ρ]ωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλει[ι]τήν ἑκατόμβην, "a splendid hecatomb of first-born lambs," leads into an alternate version of line 23.196, in which Achilles pours a libation to Patroclus, just as he does in the vulgate text, but does not use a golden cup.¹³² As Casey Dué argues, when the golden amphora is present it signals "the reassembling of Achilles' bones into an immortalized hero" beyond the confines of the *Iliad*.¹³³ The far more explicit evocation of hero cult in the funeral of Patroclus and the omission of a clear signal of Achilles' eventual status as a cult hero would seem to be quite contradictory. But perhaps since the papyrus text is far more comfortable making direct links between hero cult and the deaths of heroes *within* the poem, the reference to an eventual cult *outside* the poem was thought unnecessary.

Other Variants in *Iliad* 23.156-165a

κλα[.....]ατρει[.....]νοναωσπρ....[, line 23.155a

This line is mostly illegible in the papyrus, and may have been either a plus verse or a note above 23.156.

μέν, "on the one hand," for γάρ, "for," line 23.156

The μέν in the papyrus text seems to emphasize the two parts of Achilles' request: first Agamemnon is to order them to disperse, and then he is to command them to prepare a meal. Since the papyrus expands and elaborates the theme of the meal, as I discussed above, an earlier indication that this second part of Achilles' plans is coming up, early in the speech, seems apropos.

¹³² See p. 120 for the context of 23.92, and p. 125 for the context of 23.195a-196.

¹³³ Dué 2001b 45

Aglauros in Athens.¹³⁴ The idea that the hero has died unjustly and requires revenge is also a common element that is echoed in Achilles' vow of revenge against Hector's corpse (23.183-183a).¹³⁵ In a plus verse added to this vow in the papyrus text, line 23.183a, Achilles says he wants to give Hector's body to ὠμηστιάι, flesh-eaters. This vivid expression of anger and disrespect fits the context well, since Achilles does physically mutilate Hector's body. It also emphasizes the negative side of the theme of food, exemplified by Achilles' desire, mentioned in 22.346-7, 24.41-42 and 24.207, to eat raw flesh like an animal.¹³⁶ We are reminded that Achilles has not yet relinquished his at times inhuman rage. In this plus verse Achilles also reminds the Greeks of the terrible evils Hector had planned for them, recalling the past fear and present relief the Greeks feel at Hector's death, which is not made nearly as explicit in the vulgate text.

Other Variants in *Iliad* 23.179-183a

τετελεσμενα ὡς περ, "things are being fulfilled as indeed..." for τελέω, τὰ πάροιθεν, "I am fulfilling the things which in the past..." line 23.180

The vulgate reading uses the active voice verb τελέω and thus emphasizes Achilles' active participation in these rites. The substantive phrase τὰ πάροιθεν is also employed in the vulgate, in reference to a past event. The vulgate reading thus implies a stronger connection with a specific earlier promise from Achilles to Patroclus, and thus seems to me the stronger of the two.

ἀμφέπει, "it laps around," for ἐσθίει, "it is consuming," line 23.182

The vulgate reading, ἐσθίει, with its explicit implication of "the fire *eats*," relates the sacrifice of the twelve Trojans more closely to Achilles' avowed desire to practice cannibalism, and is thus the stronger reading.

¹³⁴ Seaford 1990 125

¹³⁵ Seaford 1990 126

¹³⁶ Nagy 1999 136-137

οὐχί· / [τ]όνδε γὰρ οὐ δώσω πυ[ρ]ὶ καέμεν, “I will not give this man to the fire to burn,” for οὐ τί / δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, “I will not at all give the son of Priam to the fire to consume,” line 23.182-183

The papyrus text achieves greater vividness with the demonstrative pronoun τόνδε, the deictic sense of which implies pointing at the body and reducing it to an object, in contrast to the vulgate text, in which Hector is still referred to by his relationship to another person, as Πριαμίδης.

Conclusion

In the case of *Iliad papyrus 12*, the variants, minor as they may seem compared to the fluctuations of a living oral tradition, have serious implications for our understanding of the difference between narrative and speech in Homer, the perception of those differences by Greek speakers in the mid-third century, the nature of ‘eccentric papyri,’ and the reception of the *Iliad* in the Hellenistic period. I discussed textual variation in this papyrus text using an approach based on that of Griffin, who has argued that certain topics and emotions, such as judgment of others and expressions of anger and grief, are far more common in Homer’s speeches than in his narrative. Many of the speech variants in *Iliad papyrus 12* tend to intensify these qualities. Cultural factors such as the continued popularity of poetic performances and the ubiquitous presence of Homer in Hellenistic education may have induced mid-third-century scribes to add such variants to speeches.

Cultural context was integral to my discussion of speeches associated with the funeral of Patroclus. The speeches associated with his funeral, and in some cases the immediately following narrative text, possess variants that tend to heighten the

resemblance between the funeral and hero cult, which enjoyed a surge in popularity in the mid-third century. My analysis of the variants, and how they accorded with stylistic tendencies already present in Homeric speeches, demonstrated that variants in papyrus texts are produced by those, whether scribes, performers, or a combination of the two, who possess considerable knowledge of Homeric language and style. Features of the text highlighted by my analysis, such as references to hero cult, as well as modernizing variants, indicate that at least a part of the variant readings may be contemporaneous with the papyrus text, perhaps inserted from memory or composed by a scribe whose cultural conditioning has discouraged him from developing a modern standard of accuracy in copying.

Chapter Three: Discourse Markers and Improvisational Copying in *Odyssey Papyrus 31*

In *Odyssey* 12.40-55, Circe discourages Odysseus from listening to the Sirens' song, but advises him on how to do so, if he must, with the minimum of danger. Odysseus tells a different story to his men, saying that Circe *commanded* him alone to listen (*Od.* 12.160-165). Both versions of the story lead to the same outcome, Odysseus' encounter with the Sirens. However, the perspective and tone of the events are subtly changed for the different audiences. A member of the poem's audience knows that Odysseus' curiosity is driving him into a rather precarious situation; a member of Odysseus' crew believes he is compelled to undertake the difficult task of listening to the Sirens safely. Both narrators have emphasized the parts of the story that best fit their point of view – Circe the danger, Odysseus the opportunity to acquire knowledge.¹⁵⁰

The textual variants in *Odyssey papyrus 31* and the medieval vulgate tradition are analogous to this situation in many ways. Unlike the variant readings found in *Iliad papyrus 12*, they do not involve an increase in the emotional content of speeches within regular narrative. Rather, they involve subtle changes to the tone and impact of narrative passages within a special extended speech, the *Apologue* of Odysseus, the hero's narration of his travels told to Queen Arete and King Alcinous in *Odyssey* 9-12. In *Iliad papyrus 12*, profuse, creative textual variation tended to occur within speeches, which were a traditional site for such profuse, creative variation in poetic competitions in the ancient world, as the ancient rhapsode Ion and the other evidence discussed in chapter 2 demonstrate. However, variants behave a bit differently in *Odyssey papyrus 31*, most

¹⁵⁰ See Stanford 1993, esp. 75-77.

likely because all of the Cyclops and Aeolus episodes can be considered part of the extended speech of the *Apologue*. The vocabulary analysis of Griffin, discussed in the previous chapter, detects similarities in word choice and themes between the *Apologue* and speeches elsewhere in the *Odyssey* and in the *Iliad*.¹⁵¹ In other words, it qualifies as a speech according to the criteria I discussed in my previous chapter. Since profuse, creative variation is not a phenomenon that appears to have been sustained over very long passages or whole books, such variation in *Odyssey papyrus 31* is confined to selected parts of this hyper-extended speech.

The presence of profuse textual variation in certain passages appears to be governed or signaled by the presence of αὐτάρ employed as a discourse marker, normally accompanied by a first-person pronoun or verb, termed a zero-point marker because it establishes the speaker's presence in the midst of the place or events being described.¹⁵² It is important to note that just as profuse, creative variation was not present in every speech in *Iliad papyrus 12*, not every instance of αὐτάρ and a zero-point marker will necessarily introduce such a passage in *Odyssey papyrus 31*. I use the term 'discourse marker' following the work of Anna Bonifazi, which I discuss in greater detail below. Discourse markers signal the narrator's opinions about how the parts of the story fit together.¹⁵³ As the narrator visualizes the story, discourse markers represent places where he chooses to focus on a certain character or event.¹⁵⁴ The appearance of profuse,

¹⁵¹ Griffin 1986 36

¹⁵² It is important to note that just as profuse, creative variation was not present in every speech in *Iliad papyrus 12*, not every instance of αὐτάρ and a zero-point marker will introduce such a passage in *Odyssey papyrus 31*.

¹⁵³ Bonifazi 2008 36 and *passim*; cf. Lenk 1997 and Brinton 1996.

¹⁵⁴ Bonifazi 2008 41

creative variation in passages that begin with αὐτάρ and a zero-point marker suggests that the copyist perceived the function of these discourse markers as indicators that he could impose his own choices and preferences on the work, if only to a limited extent. The discourse marker draws extra attention to the speaker and his circumstances, and the copyist, operating with a performative mindset, identifies with the speaker, who, in the case of the *Apologue*, is also the hero. Performers of epic poetry have a marked tendency to identify with the hero even when he is not also the narrator.¹⁵⁵ He therefore experienced these discourse markers as appropriate places to switch from information processing reading to inferential reading and thence to improvisational copying.

The episodes preserved in *Odyssey papyrus 31*, the Cyclops and Aeolus narratives, are among the most complex and varied in the *Odyssey*, so a brief overview may be useful.¹⁵⁶ The Cyclops episode is part of Odysseus' story-telling performance for King Alcinous and Queen Arete during his visit to Scheria. It begins with Odysseus and his men arriving at the Cyclops' island, where Odysseus allows his men to steal cheese from Polyphemus' cave. Polyphemus returns, blocks the door with a huge rock, and questions the intruders. They demand hospitality and guest-gifts from the monster, who refuses because hospitality is a custom of civilized peoples, and the Cyclopes are unrepentantly uncivilized.¹⁵⁷ After Polyphemus has eaten two of Odysseus' men and left, shutting them once more into the cave, Odysseus plans an escape. The Greeks prepare a

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Martin 1989, especially the chapter on Achilles.

¹⁵⁶ The entire section was not preserved because the papyrus roll did not survive intact. Much of the text will be cited and discussed here, but for a complete text, see Appendix 2.

¹⁵⁷ Odysseus has arguably violated the laws of hospitality by taking food prior to the appearance of his 'host' [Newton 1983].

sharp stake, and Odysseus gets the monster drunk on strong wine. When Polyphemus asks his guest's name, Odysseus identifies himself as Οὔτις, "no one". Once Polyphemus has passed out, the men blind his eye with the stake. When he calls for help, the Cyclopes do not understand because he says that Οὔτις, "no one", is harming him.¹⁵⁸

Odysseus and his men cling to the underbellies of Polyphemus' sheep so that Polyphemus cannot detect their presence as they pass through the cave door. But once they have launched their ship Odysseus cannot resist taunting the Cyclops and telling him his real name. Polyphemus throws a boulder in the direction of the hero's voice and prays that his father, Poseidon, might punish Odysseus. The Greeks then arrive in Aeolia, where Aeolus, god of the winds, welcomes them. Upon their departure, he gives them a bag containing all the storm winds so that their voyage home will be easier. After they have left, Odysseus' men open the bag while Odysseus is sleeping, thinking it is full of treasure, and the resulting storm drives them back. But Aeolus refuses to give them more help because it is apparent that Odysseus is cursed.

The Cyclops episode appears to combine two traditional story-patterns, one in which the hero escapes danger disguised as a part of an animal herd, and another in which a false name, such as "I myself," helps him to escape.¹⁵⁹ Polyphemus' ability to play the roles of both monster and pastoral lover indicates the innate changeability of his

¹⁵⁸ This wordplay perhaps has a dual significance: at the same time that he is playing a trick, Odysseus may be admitting that the possibility of dying with his return incomplete, in which case he may become exactly who he falsely says he is, a nobody. It was shameful for a hero to deny his identity [Stewart 1976 42]. "[H]e is as good as dead. Potentially, then, he does not exist, is no one" [Simpson 1972 24]. The irony of "Nobody" defeating Polyphemus, whose name means "Much Fame," must also be recognized [Dimock 1956], On Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus as a symbolic rebirth, see Holtsmark 1966, Powell 1970, Newton 1984 and Most 1989.

¹⁵⁹ Heubeck et al. 1989 19, 39-40

character and myth. In addition to its obvious dramatic appeal, the Cyclops episode would hold special interest for someone working in the Hellenistic age. *The Cyclops*, by the late fifth to early fourth century poet Philoxenus, is the earliest known work that deals with Polyphemus' pursuit of the nymph Galatea, an aspect of his myth that continued to fascinate third- and second-century poets such as Theocritus, who employs the Cyclops and Galatea myth in *Idylls* 6 and 11, as well as alluding specifically to Polyphemus' blinding at the conclusion of *Idyll* 7.¹⁶⁰ Bion and Moschus make use of Polyphemus in their poetry as well.¹⁶¹

Odysseus' encounter with Aeolus, immediately following the Cyclops episode, is linked with the Cyclops episode in several ways. Aeolus' rejection of Odysseus' second request for help demonstrates the effectiveness of Polyphemus' curse.¹⁶² "Aeolus ...perceives the action of the gods behind the companions' curiosity and Odysseus' slumber,"¹⁶³ as Irene de Jong observes, and for this reason refuses to help after Odysseus' companions have released the trapped winds.¹⁶⁴ The fantastic and folktale-like structure of this episode is another point of similarity with the Polyphemus narrative: "we see how far we have come from a realistic mode of narrative when Odysseus sails for a magical nine days and nine nights and only when he is so close to shore that he can "see smoke"

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Bowie 2001, especially 79-80, and Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002 163-164

¹⁶¹ Bion II.3, Moschus III.60. See also Hopkinson 1988 and Gutzwiller 1981.

¹⁶² Heubeck et al. 1988 43, and see also de Jong 2001. Given that Aeolus has a divinely appointed office as master of the winds, he has a priestly obligation to the gods that gives him additional authority in cursing Odysseus, since in spoiling his gift, Odysseus' men reject the voice of the gods [Page 1973 76]

¹⁶³ de Jong 2001 156

¹⁶⁴ It has also been argued that this episode serves to prolong the story, or that Aeolus turns Odysseus away because he has not prevented the abuse of a guest-gift. For the former see Jelinek 4; for the latter see Naiden 135. See also Clay 1985 on the similarities between Aeolia and the trapped winds; both are constantly in motion yet contained.

does he fall asleep.”¹⁶⁵ These episodes are eventful and packed with detail. Their use of material represented elsewhere – in contemporary poetry as well as in visual art – may have made the question of what to transmit verbatim and what could be copied improvisationally, especially complex.

For the copyist of *Odyssey papyrus 31*, the word αὐτάρ used as a discourse marker (accompanied by a pronoun or verb in the first person), seems to have prompted a greater sense of freedom in reproducing the text, through variant readings, plus verses and omitted lines. In an important new essay on αὐ-words as discourse markers in Homer, Anna Bonifazi argues that conjunctions and particles that use αὐ- in Homer denote four different types of narrative focus, which she refers to with terms borrowed from cinematography: long shot shifts, middle-distance shots, ‘zooming in’ and ‘flashes.’ In this study we will mainly be concerned with ‘zooming in.’ As Bonifazi explains, discourse markers, in everyday language as well as in epic poetry, reflect the guiding hand of the narrator at work: they are “the linguistic markers that specifically refer to the relation between different parts of the discourse.”¹⁶⁶ The process of reading or listening to the Homeric poems involves a series of visualizations directed by the performer or narrator, who chooses what actions, objects or characters to focus on, and indicates the type or degree of focus with αὐ-words. While the functions of the various αὐ-words overlap, αὐτάρ most often indicates either a long shot shift or an instance of ‘zooming in.’

¹⁶⁵ Powell 2004 131

¹⁶⁶ Bonifazi 2008 45-46

As an instance of ‘zooming in’, the way in which it is most commonly used in the papyrus text, αὐτάρ usually appears in a phrase such as αὐτάρ ὄ, or with a proper name, in a phrase such as αὐτάρ Ὀδυσσεύς to indicate “the isolation of an absolute focus.” Passages that begin in this way maintain, at least for a while, a near-total focus on a single figure. ‘Zooming in’ is an instance of “implied visual discontinuity ... [focusing] on a specific character about whom something relevant is going to be told in the ... following line(s).”¹⁶⁷ In the shared visualization that is a Homeric performance, ‘zooming in’ implies a shift of the mind’s eye. αὐτάρ discourse markers in the Cyclops and Aeolus episodes are in a special category, that of discourse markers uttered by an internal speaker.

Most discourse markers spoken by characters within the poem are accompanied by a zero-point marker, a word that in some way ties the utterance to that precise place or moment. Such markers include the adverbs νῦν and δεῦρο, but somewhat more frequently a first-person pronoun or verb. All such markers imply a special immediacy about the speech, insofar as the person is talking about an event is taking place right in front of the individual and/or at that very moment. First person nouns and pronouns are the type of zero-point marker found most regularly with αὐτάρ as a discourse marker in *Odyssey papyrus 31*. The frequent appearance of the discourse marker αὐτάρ and zero-point markers together in *Odyssey papyrus 31* appears to create a strong personal association with that passage on the part of the copyist and accordingly an implicit willingness to approach it with a performative mindset, based on how frequently this

¹⁶⁷ Bonifazi 2008 55

combination introduces a passage of creative, profuse variation. Discourse markers are thus quite important to performative continuity, i.e. to the performer's choices about what to focus on in a performance of Homeric poetry, since it emphasizes an individualized yet authoritative point of view.¹⁶⁸

The whole narrative of the *Apologue* is in some sense from Odysseus' point of view, of course. But the passages beginning with αὐτάρ and a pronoun or first-person verb, marked by profuse textual variation in the papyrus text, tend to be those whose details were particularly accessible from Odysseus' merely human perspective, rather than his point of view as a semi-omniscient narrator.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the behavior of the copyist in copying these passages *improvisationally* indicates that he himself has been drawn into the role of the narrator-hero, Odysseus. The identification of the Homeric narrator with the hero is well established. The passages of profuse, creative variation in this papyrus text suggest that when the text was particularly focused on Odysseus, the copyist assumed the role of the narrator-hero and copied the text in the manner of an oral performance.

Odyssey 10.16-30

So strong is *Odyssey papyrus 31*'s attraction to αὐτάρ that not only does it treat verses on either side of an αὐτάρ differently, but it supplies αὐτάρ at *Odyssey 10.16*, where the vulgate tradition has a different conjunction, one that denotes a less marked change in focus.

¹⁶⁸ This discussion was largely informed by Bonifazi 2008 56

¹⁶⁹ On Odysseus' knowledge of events he did not personally witness, see Danek 1998 194.

καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῶ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν
κατέλεξα.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼν ὁδὸν ἤτεον ἢ δὲ
ἐκέλευον

πεμπέμεν, οὐδέ τι κείνος ἀνήνατο,
τεῦχε δὲ πομπήν.

δῶκε δέ μοι ἐκδείρας ἀσκὸν βοῶς
ἐννεώροιο,

ἔνθα δὲ βυκτῶν ἀνέμων κατέδησε

κέλευθα· 10.20

κείνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε
Κρονίων,

ἤμην παυέμεναι ἢ δ' ὀρνύμεν, ὄν κ' ἐθέλησι.

νῆι δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇ κατέδει μέρμιθι φαινή

ἀργυρέη, ἵνα μή τι παραπνεύσῃ ὀλίγον
περ·

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ **πνοιὴν ζεφύρου** προέηκεν
ἄηναι, 10.25

ὄφρα φέροι νῆάς τε καὶ αὐτούς· οὐδ' ἄρ'
ἔμελλεν

ἐκτελείειν· αὐτῶν γὰρ **ἀπωλόμεθ'**

ἀφραδίησιν.

ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε
καὶ ἡμαρ,

τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἤδη **ἀνεφαίνετο** πατρὶς
ἄρουρα,

καὶ δὴ πυρπολέοντας ἐλεύσομεν **ἐγγύς**
έόντας. 10.30

and I told him all in the proper manner. But when I asked and bid him to send me on my way, **he did not deny** me anything, **and he prepared** my departure. **And** he stripped and gave me the hide of a nine-year-old bull, and in it he bound the **paths** of the roaring winds; for the son of Cronos made him dispenser of the winds, **both to stop them and to rouse what ever one he wishes.** And in my hollow ship he secured it with a shining cord, so that not even some small part **might slip past**; and for me he sent for **the breath of the west wind** to blow, so that it might convey our ships and ourselves. But he was not destined to bring this to fulfillment; for **we were destroyed** by our own folly. For nine days **we sailed** by night and day alike, and already on the tenth day our native land **appeared**, and indeed, we saw those tending to their fires [being] **close at hand.**

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῶι πᾶσαν ἀληθείην
κατέλεξα.

θ Μ. 1

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼν ὁδὸν ἤτεον ἢ δὲ
κέλευον

πέμπειν, οὐδ' ἔτι' ἐκεῖνος ἀναίνετο,
δῶκε δὲ πομπήν.

προφρονέως δείρας ἀσκὸν βοῶς
ἐννεώροιο

ἔνθα δὲ βυκτῶν ἀνέμων κατέδησε

κελεύθους· 10.20

κείνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε
Κρονίων,

τὸν μὲν παυέμεναι, **τὸν δὲ** ὀρνύμεν ὄν κ'
ἐθέλησιν.

νῆι δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇ κατέδει μέρμιθι φαινή

ἡ Μ. 2

ἀργυρέη, ἵνα μή τι παραπνεύσ[αι] ὀλίγον
περ·

/αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ **Ζεφύροιο πνοιὴν** προέηκεν
ἄηναι, 10.25

ὄφρα φέροι νῆάς τε καὶ αὐτούς· οὐδ' ἄρα
ἔμελλον

ἐκτελείειν· αὐτῶν γὰρ **ἀ[φει]ωλόμεθα**

πω Μ. 2

ἀφραδίησιν.

ἐννῆ[μα]ρ **φερόμεθα** ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ
ἡμαρ,

τῇ δεκάτῃ[ι] δ' ἤδη **κατεφαίνετο** πατρὶς
ἄρουρα,

καὶ δὴ πυρπολέοντας ἐλεύσομεν **ἐγγύθ'**
έόντας. 10.30

but I told him the whole truth. But when I asked and bid him to send me on my way, **he no longer denied** me anything, **and he gave** me my departure. **Readily** he stripped [and gave me] the hide of a nine-year-old bull, and in it he bound the **paths** of the roaring winds, for the son of Cronos made him dispenser of the winds, **to stop one and to rouse another, what ever one he wishes.** And in my hollow ship he secured it with a shining cord, so that not even some small part **might slip past**; and for me he sent for **the breath of the west wind** to blow, so that it might convey our ships and ourselves. But I was not destined to bring this to fulfillment; for **we lost ourselves** by our own folly. For nine days **we were carried** by night and day alike, and already on the tenth day our native land **came in sight**, and indeed, we saw those tending to their fires **close at hand.**

The sequence of events in this passage is reminiscent of the Phaeacian episode: a truthful narrative is followed by guest-gifts and assistance with travel. Aeolus too requests a story from Odysseus. However, rather than asking for the tale of Odysseus' personal tribulations, he asks about the return of all the Achaean chieftains (Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν, "Ilion and the Argives' ships and the Achaeans' return," *Od.* 10.15). George Danek has argued that these similarities suggest the *Apologue* was actually placed within the Aeolus episode in an alternate version or versions of the *Odyssey*.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, the reference to the collective *nostos* of the Trojan war heroes may refer, according to Danek, to another poem in which Odysseus' return was merged with those of the other Greeks in a single narrative.¹⁷¹ The idea that Odysseus' initial visit to Aeolia was a trial run for his stay with the Phaeacians is certainly attractive. Odysseus' respectful treatment of his host and complete truthfulness are important points of contact between these two episodes. The respect he shows to Aeolus can certainly be seen as forming a sharp contrast to his treatment of Polyphemus, as I will discuss below in my analysis of passages from that episode.

The addition of a discourse marker and zero-point marker at line 10.16, and the use of creative, profuse variation in the lines that follow, suggest that a connection was perceived between Odysseus' accurate narration and the lavish send-off bestowed on him by Aeolus. Improvisational copying tends to occur in passages that are unified in their topic or theme and thus appear to be a 'performable' unit. The fact that line 10.16 was

¹⁷⁰ Danek 1998 194

¹⁷¹ Danek 1998 195

copied improvisationally, along with the lines following it, suggests that 10.16-10.31 were perceived by the scribe as unified in subject matter. Odysseus' truthful tale would appear to be the cause of Aeolus' willing help, and thus the tale and the send-off are linked in a relationship of cause-and-effect. The variant reading in 10.16, ἀντάρ ἐγώ, by setting off that line and the fifteen lines that follow it as a discussion of a single subject, indicates this cause-and-effect relationship more clearly than does the vulgate text, which uses the non-discourse marker conjunction καί μέν.

In the Phaeacian episode Alcinous and Arete reward a truthful story with substantial help, as Aeolus does here. However, there is no direct verbal parallel between the relevant part of that episode and the line that begins our passage, verse 10.16. And yet, very similar or identical parallels to both the vulgate and papyrus versions of line 10.16 do occur elsewhere. The vulgate version is similar to *Odyssey* 12.35, ἀντάρ ἐγὼ τῇ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα, "And I told her everything in order," in which Odysseus tells Circe what happened to him in the underworld. The papyrus version of line 10.16 is exactly paralleled at *Od.* 17.123. In that passage Telemachus is giving Penelope an account of his trip to Sparta. When Menelaus inquired why he had come, Telemachus told him the whole truth: ἀντάρ ἐγὼ τῷ πᾶσαν ἀληθείην κατέλεξα, "And I told him the whole truth." Menelaus responded, first by expressing his anger at Penelope's suitors via an animal simile, then by conveying to Telemachus the information about Odysseus given to him by the Old Man of the Sea. Both versions of line 10.16 fit the context well, since similar or identical lines are used in the parallel passages discussed to set the stage for receiving help from a quasi-supernatural figure, albeit at one remove in Telemachus' case. The two phrases used as the object of

κατέλεξα, πᾶσαν ἀληθείην and πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, are discussed by Margalit Finkelberg.¹⁷² She argues that the two phrases are interchangeable within Homer because the most salient feature of a truthful narrative, one that is ἀληθής, is that it is told in the proper order, κατὰ μοῖραν.¹⁷³ The use of these two phrases in such similar contexts in the lines I discuss above would certainly suggest that this is the case.

As I discussed above in connection with the zero-point marker, the use of αὐ- words as discourse markers to indicate a change in narrative focus is always an assertion of the narrator's presence, the "speaking I."¹⁷⁴ The narrator's role in selecting what actions, objects, or characters to focus on implies his continuous presence, as well as his gaze perpetually fixed on the actions of the narrative. This presence of the "speaking I" assumes the context of a performance, as the performer and audience engage in a joint venture of visualizing the story in a sequence determined by the performer. The *additional* αὐτάρ we find in *Odyssey papyrus 31* would suggest that the copyist was drawn into the role of a composer-performer who was responsible for guiding the (virtual) audience's journey through the text. To him line 10.16 seemed to be the beginning of a 'zooming in' passage, whereas the vulgate's version of the line does not make this assertion, at least not as explicitly.

¹⁷² Finkelberg 1987

¹⁷³ Cf. especially Finkelberg 1987 138: "...we should conclude that these two meanings were conceived by [Homer] as interdependent. That is to say, the ordered succession was regarded as the form of a truthful narration, and the truth as the content of a "point-by-point" narrative succession."

¹⁷⁴ Bonifazi 2008 56

Line 10.16 in the papyrus text introduces a passage of profuse textual variation even though it appears to be part of the preceding *xenia* scene, in which Odysseus arrives and is feted by Aeolus before being questioned about the *nostoi* of the Greeks.¹⁷⁵ Aeolus requests that Odysseus tell him about the return of the Achaeans, and Odysseus “told all in order”, καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῶ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα in the vulgate and “told the whole truth”, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῶι πᾶσαν ἀληθείην κατέλεξα in the papyrus text. The poem then appears to switch topic to the gifts Aeolus gave Odysseus on his departure, his *pompe*. But the use of the discourse marker αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ, followed by a profusion of textual variation in subsequent lines, suggests that the scribe or a performer envisaged lines 16-30 as a single, unified passage.

Another variant reading in this passage, προφρονέως δείρας, “readily he stripped (and gave me) ... for the vulgate’s δῶκε δέ μοι ἐκδείρας, “and he stripped and gave me ...” in line 19, is a reading with far-reaching resonances in the rest of the *Odyssey*. In the mini-*Apologue* of *Odyssey* 23, Odysseus tells Penelope that Aeolus “received him with a forward mind,” πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο. The connection between πρόφρων and προφρονέως would have been readily apparent to any competent Greek speaker. As Edwin Floyd has argued, πρόφρων, “kindly, gracious,” and ὑποδέχομαι, “I receive into my home,” when used together in Greek epic, indicate a significant power differential in guest-host relationships.¹⁷⁶ In an unpublished paper Eric Ross has argued that this phrase, used at *Hymn to Demeter* 226 when Demeter accepts Demophoon from

¹⁷⁵ On *xenia* in the *Odyssey*, see Podlecki 1961 and Stewart 1976.

¹⁷⁶ Floyd 1992 252 The phrase appears eight times in Greek epic.

Metaneira, “provides warning of hidden intent.”¹⁷⁷ Demeter’s secret intent, tied closely to her superior personal status, is to immortalize Demophoon by anointing him with ambrosia and placing him in the fire at night. Odysseus’ secret intent in his mini-*Apologue* is the omission of his second, unsuccessful visit to Aeolus from the tale he tells to his wife. Examining the instances in which *πρόφρων* occurs alone in Homeric poetry, Ross suggests that the term on its own implies a power differential, not necessarily connected to guest-host relationships, and that the weaker party, despite an apparently favorable reception, will encounter frustration.¹⁷⁸ In the papyrus text the element of hospitality may be supplied by the context, and possibly by resonance in the mind of the audience with the passage in Book 23. Since Aeolus explains his final dismissal of Odysseus by reference to the inadvisability of playing host to those the gods hate, this use of *προφρονέως* seems to resemble the use of *πρόφρων* and related words elsewhere when they are used to refer to the gods’ looking benevolently on human endeavors.¹⁷⁹ On Odysseus’ initial visit, Aeolus has no reason to suspect that they do not look with favor on Odysseus’ *nostos*; by his second visit, the king of the winds is convinced that the opposite is true. However, the guest-host dimension also appears to be active, since Odysseus is begging a powerful king for help, yet the encounter will ultimately turn out to Odysseus’ disadvantage. The omission from the papyrus text of the men’s shared meal before the second visit (10.56-59) perhaps provides another foreshadowing of unsatisfying guest-host relations to come.

¹⁷⁷ Ross 2003 2

¹⁷⁸ Ross 2003 5-11

¹⁷⁹ Examples include *Iliad* 8.810, when Athena urges Diomedes to fight because she is *προφρονέως* towards him, as well as Diomedes’ attribution of his victory to Zeus because of his *πρόφρων* attitude towards the hero at that moment (*Il.*175)

Other Variants in *Odyssey* 10.16-30

Modernizing Variants

Two modernizing variants are present in this papyrus text. At line 10.18, the more modern form of the infinitive, πέμπειν, is a variant for the vulgate's archaic πεμπέμεν. At line 10.25 a more modern spelling of "breath," πνοήν, is used in the papyrus text. As West points out, the vulgate text of Homer does not normally allow a short syllable after πν, and the vulgate reading πνοιήν reflects this. The need for an extra mora in the papyrus line, due to the short syllable, would seem to explain the switch from the vulgate's more modern form of the genitive single of "west wind," Ζεφύρου, to the more archaic form Ζεφύροιο in the papyrus text. The reversal of the noun-adjective order also seems to be metrically necessary.

Colloquial Variants

The substitution of more prosaic for poetic vocabulary in two instances may have given the text a more colloquial feel. I refer to the variant reading δῶκε for τεῦχε in line 10.18, and the substitution of the utilitarian φερόμεσθα for μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν in line 10.28. The sound similarity between δῶκε and τεῦχε (a dental followed by a palatal) likely plays a role in that variant reading. φερόμεσθα may additionally suggest that Odysseus and his crew have lost control over their ship. The passive mood indicates a lack of agency, and φέρω in the passive voice sometimes refers to being carried along against one's will.¹⁸⁰

κελεύθους, "roads," for κέλευθα, "ways," 10.20

In the masculine gender this noun usually refers to a specific road, a meaning that is not suitable here, since Odysseus is talking about the "ways" of the winds.

τὸν μὲν ... τὸν δὲ, "one...another," for ἡμὲν ... ἡδ', "both...and," 10.22

The papyrus reading eliminates a hiatus, a modernizing, 'secondary' tendency.¹⁸¹

παραπνεύσ[αι] for παραπνεύση, 10.24

The switch from subjunctive or optative, or vice versa, in a purpose clause is a variant frequently found in the textual record of Homer. Compare 9.420, discussed below. A hand other than the original scribe (M. 2) has corrected the optative to the subjunctive reading found in the vulgate.

ἔμελλον, "I/they were destined," for ἔμελλεν, "he was destined," 10.26

This is a scribal error.

¹⁸⁰ *LSJ* φέρω B.I

¹⁸¹ Guéraud 1925 *ad loc.* cf. S. West 1967

ἀ[φει]ωλόμεθα, “we prevented” for ἀπωλόμεθ’, “we were destroyed,” 10.27
 The papyrus is using ἀφαιρεῖσθαι in a rare, non-Homeric sense to mean “prevent.” The difficulty of the reading is no doubt why the second hand (someone other than the original scribe) corrected the reading to that of the vulgate.¹⁸²

ἐγγύθ’ for ἐγγύς, “near,” 10.30
 The last iota of ἐγγύθ’ is not elided when it is found in the vulgate text of Homer.¹⁸³

αὐτάρ and a zero-point marker start off passages of profuse, creative variation in several other places in *Odyssey papyrus 31* as well. The first such passage “zooms in” quite explicitly on Odysseus, who, as we learn in the first full statement of the passage, will use the best ram of all the flocks as the means of his escape. This statement, introduced by the discourse marker αὐτάρ and the zero-point marker ἐγωγε, differentiates Odysseus visually and in terms of status from the rest of his men.

¹⁸² Guéraud 1925 *ad loc.*; cf. S. West 1967

¹⁸³ S. West 1967

¹⁸⁵ *Iliad* 6.208, 11.784

Odyssey 9.431-445

... αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε —
 ἀρνειὸς γὰρ ἔην μῆλων ὄχ' ἄριστος
 ἀπάντων —
 τοῦ κατὰ νῶτα λαβῶν, λασίην ὑπὸ
 γαστέρ' ἔλυσθεις
 κείμην· αὐτὰρ χερσὶν ἄώτου θεσπεσίοιο
 νωλεμέως στρεφθεις ἐχόμην τετληότι
 θυμῷ. 9.435
 ὡς τότε μὲν στενάχοντες ἐμείναμεν Ἥῳ
 δῖαν.
 ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος
 Ἥως,
 καὶ τότε ἔπειτα νομόνδ' ἐξέσσυτο
 ἄρσενα μῆλα,
 θήλειαι δὲ μέμηκον ἀνήμελκτοι περι
 σηκούς·
 οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγεῦντο. ἄναξ δ'
 ὀδύνησι κακῆσι 9.440
 τειρόμενος πάντων οἴων ἐπεμαίετο νῶτα
 ὀρθῶν ἑσταότων· τὸ δὲ νήπιος οὐκ
 ἐνόησεν,
 ὡς οἱ ὑπ' εἰροπόκων οἴων στέρνοισι
 δέδεντο.
 ὕστατος ἀρνειὸς μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε,
 λάχνῳ στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πικινὰ
 φρονέοντι. 9.445
 but as for myself – for there was a ram, **the best
 of all the flocks by far – grasping him on the
 back, turned** under the hairy belly I lay; and
 with enduring heart **turned** faceup I held onto
 him by his marvellously abundant fleece. Thus at
 that time, groaning, we waited for shining Dawn.
 When rosy-fingered early-born dawn appeared,
 just then **the early-born male flocks rushed out**
 to pasture, and **the unmilked females were**
bleating around the pens, for their udders were
 full to bursting. And their lord, afflicted with
 evil pains, felt **the backs** of all the sheep,
 standing upright. But he foolishly did not know
 this fact, that they were bound under the chests
 of the woolly-fleeced sheep. Last among the
 flocks the ram went out the door, **weighted by
 its wool** and by me, thinking furiously.

...αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε —
 ἀρνειὸς γὰρ ἔην, ὃς ὑπείροχος εἶεν
 ἀπάντων —
 [τ]οῦ κατὰ νῶτα πεσῶν, λασίην
 λυ Μ. 2
 ὑπὸ γαστέρα ἐ[ρει]σθεις
 [κ]είμην· αὐτὰρ χερσὶν ἄώτου θεσπεσίοιο
 ἠν Μ. 2
 [ν]ωλεμέως στρέψας ἐχόμ[ε]μ τετληότι
 θυμῷ. 9.435
 [ὡς] τότε μὲν στενάχοντες ἐμείναμεν Ἥῳ
 δῖαν.
 [ἦ]μος δ' ἠριγένεια ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος
 Ἥως,
 [καὶ] τότε ἔπειτα νομόνδε ἐξήλασε πίονα
 μῆλα,
 οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγευ~~ν~~τα. ἄναξ δ'
 ὀδύνησι κεκῆσι 9.440
 τειρόμενος πάντων οἴων ἐπεμαίετο
 νῶτων
 ὀρθῶν ἑσταότων· τὸ δὲ νήπιος οὐκ
 ἐνόησεν,
 ὡς οἱ ὑπ' εἰροπόκων οἴων στέρνοισι
 δέδεντο.
 ὕστατος ἀρνειὸς μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε,
 βληχμῷ τε ἀχθόμενος καὶ μοι πικινὰ
 φρονέοντι. 9.445
 but as for myself – for there was a ram, **who was
 preeminent, best of all the flocks –falling on
 his back, fixed** under the hairy belly I lay; and
 with enduring heart **turned** faceup I held onto
 him by his marvellously abundant fleece. Thus at
 that time, groaning, we waited for shining Dawn.
 When rosy-fingered early-born dawn appeared,
 just then **he drove the fat flocks** out to
 pasture... for their udders being full to bursting.
 And their lord, afflicted with evil pains, felt **the
 backs** of all the sheep, standing upright. But he
 foolishly did not know this fact, that they were
 bound under the chests of the woolly-fleeced
 sheep. Last among the flocks the ram went out
 the door, **burdened by its fleece** and by me,
 thinking furiously.

The papyrus reading in this passage at line 9.433, describing Odysseus' ram, uses an Homeric vocabulary item in a post-Homeric manner. ὑπείροχος, "prominent, distinguished," is used only twice in the vulgate text of Homer, both times in the *Iliad* to describe the kind of warrior a father hopes his son will become.¹⁸⁵ With ὑπείροχος narrowly defined as an heroic term elsewhere in Homeric epic, using it to describe a ram would therefore seem rather inappropriate and so many textual critics might be inclined to reject it. But if we consider the later uses of the word, it becomes apparent that at the time *Odyssey papyrus 31* was copied, ὑπείροχος had become an acceptable description of physical excellence like that presumably possessed by Odysseus' bull, was used relatively frequently to describe animals, and ultimately found its way into in a bucolic context in Theocritus' poetry.¹⁸⁶ In the *Homeric Hymns* we see it used to describe the outstanding beauty of Hera, already moving towards physical description and away from a restriction to military or political contexts like that in which it is found in the *Iliad*.

Although ὑπείροχος continued to be used in such contexts, lyric poets began to employ it in a manner more like that found in *Odyssey papyrus 31*.¹⁸⁷ Pindar associates the word with Hera a second time when he uses it in the superlative at *Pythian 2.38*, to describe her as Zeus creates a simulacrum of his wife to foil a would-be rapist. Pindar *Nemean 3.24*, like *Odyssey papyrus 31*, uses this word to describe impressive beasts, in this instance the sea beasts subdued by Heracles. Callimachus similarly uses it to describe Zeus' eagle as the most outstanding of birds (οἰνῶν ... ὑπείροχον, *Hymn to*

¹⁸⁶ *Idyll 7.28*; see below p. 84.

¹⁸⁷ *Hom. Hymns 12.2*. For the continuing use of ὑπείροχος in martial, athletic and political contexts, see Aeschylus *Persians* 428, Sophocles *Trachiniae* 1096, Bacchylides 3.5, and Herodotus 5.92.

Zeus 68). Theocritus finally brings this word into a bucolic context when one shepherd describes another an “an outstanding piper by far (συρικτᾶν μέγ’ ὑπείροχον)” at *Id.* 7.28. One option would be to dismiss *Odyssey papyrus 31*’s reading as ‘un-Homeric,’ and if we consider the vulgate tradition the only standard of what is Homeric, then such a statement would be accurate in a sense. However, if variant readings like this one are considered indications of a Homeric corpus that was still somewhat adaptable in the manner of an oral tradition, then automatically viewing this textual variant as an intrusive inaccuracy becomes untenable. Instead, we can come to appreciate how the contemporary usage of these words has been absorbed by a copyist, and he imports what he understands as the word’s meaning into his ‘recompositions’ of Homeric lines. This reading’s interpoetic echoes are still worthy of consideration even if this should happen to be an early reading that entered the textual record via scribal memory of an oral performance, although the strictly circumscribed use of ὑπείροχος elsewhere in the Homeric textual record makes that unlikely.

Other Variants in *Odyssey* 9.431-445

πεσῶν, “falling,” for λαβῶν, “grasping,” 9.433

This reading is quite awkward, since it is impossible to “fall” on an animal’s back from underneath, although Odysseus has to attach himself from below for his subterfuge to work. One is reminded of the vase paintings of this scene whose bizarre contortions of Odysseus’ body indicate the difficulty of envisioning a hero riding a ram’s belly.¹⁸⁸

ἐρεισθεις, “fixed,” for ἐλυσθεις, “turned,” 9.433

This variant is also attested in another manuscript.

¹⁸⁸ A fine example is the Attic black figure krater by the Sappho painter, in the Badisches Museum, Karlsruhe, that show Odysseus with his head rotated 180 degrees as he rides underneath the ram. Cf. Steiner 2008.

στρεψας, “having turned,” for στρεφθεις, “having been turned,” 9.435

There seems little to choose between the two readings. Neither gives a clear picture of Odysseus’ position beneath the sheep, although the active voice employed in the papyrus seems preferable, given Odysseus’ emphasis on his agency and initiative in forming the escape plan.

πίονα μῆλα, “fat flocks,” for ἄρσενα μῆλα, “male flocks,” 9.438

Although the papyrus reading is a common formula, Polyphemos’ evening routine does not make sense unless a distinction is drawn between the male and female sheep, as West observes.

βληχιμῶι, “with its bleating,” for λάχνῳ, “with its wool,” line 9. 445

The line is a participial phrase dependent on the line 444 above, which reads the same in both the vulgate and papyrus texts, ὕστατος ἀρνεῖος μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε. Line 445 reads as follows in the vulgate: λάχνῳ στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πυκινὰ φρονέοντι. In the papyrus text λάχνῳ is replaced by βληχιμῶι. βληχιμός is a rare word found only in a glossary, where it is defined as *balatus*, ‘bleating.’ It is undoubtedly absurd for a sheep to be weighed down by its ‘bleating,’ so much so that alternative possibilities should be considered. One option I suggest is that the scribe meant to write βλήχων, a word whose basic meaning is “water-weed,” but which is used to mean “pubic hair” at Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 89. It is a little grotesque to think of someone using a word for “pubic hair” to refer to sheep’s wool here, but perhaps the word was used of animal or human hair generally in colloquial Greek. The line still scans if βληχιμῶι is replaced by βλήχωνι and τε is elided before ἀχθόμενος.¹⁸⁹ This could also be an aural error caused by similarity in sound between λάχνῳ and βληχιμῶι. “Bleating,” the better-attested meaning of βληχιμός, would be a natural thing to think about while copying a passage that features sheep. If such an aurally based mistake has played a role here, it would indicate that the scribe is hearing the poem as he writes it down.

Odyssey 9.537-555

Odyssey 9.537-555 uses the discourse marker function of αὐτάρ followed by the third-person pronoun ὅ to focus on Polyphemos’ final efforts at a tangible revenge on Odysseus. Here the shift is between two very different activities, prayer and violent attack, with a particular focus at the beginning of the passage on Polyphemos alone,

¹⁸⁹ See also Chantraine 1968 *ad loc.* on the etymology of βλήχων.

widening afterwards to include his verbal sparring with Odysseus.¹⁹⁰ The papyrus text, in fact, seems to increase this focus on Polyphemos through the omission of lines dealing with the Greek ship and the addition of a plus verse concerned with the details of Polyphemos' attack. The verse that is added to the papyrus text, 9.537a, focuses on Polyphemos' stone-throwing, and on the doorstone he had used to block Odysseus' escape, rather than on the Greeks' ship, as the omitted lines did: ἐξ αὐλῆς ἀνελὼν ὄθι οἱ θυρεὸς πα . οσ ε[.].[, "picking it up from the enclosure where his doorstone..." This verse, which has no parallels in the rest of the corpus, ensures that in the opening verses of the passage the mind's eye is focused on Polyphemos, as the use of αὐτὰρ ὁ in line 537 suggested it would be.

¹⁹⁰ Bonifazi notes the potential for such a partial shift of focus in "zooming in" passages, observing that "the flow of narration seems to oscillate between non-emphatic shifts from item A to item B and emphatic zooms in item B." [Bonifazi 2008 55]

αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἔξαυτίς πολὺ μείζονα λαῶν
αἰείρας

ἦκ' ἐπιδινήσας, ἐπέρεισε δὲ Ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον·

κάδ δ' ἔβαλεν μετόπισθε νεὸς
κυανοπρώροιο
τυτθόν, ἐδεύησεν δ' οἴηιον ἄκρον
ικέσθαι. 9.540

ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα κατερχομένης
ὑπὸ πέτρης·

τὴν δὲ πρόσω φέρε κῦμα, θέμωσε δὲ
χέρσον ἰκέσθαι.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ', ἔνθα
περ ἄλλαι

νῆες ἐύσσελμοι μένον ἄθροαι, ἀμφὶ δ'
ἑταῖροι

εἴατ' ὄδυρόμενοι, ἡμέας ποτιδέγμενοι αἰεί,
9.545

νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλαμεν ἐν
ψαμάθοισιν,

ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι
θαλάσσης.

μῆλα δὲ Κύκλωπος γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς
ἐλόντες

δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι
ἴσης.

ἀρνειὸν δ' ἐμοὶ οἴω ἐυκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι 9.550

And he lifted up a far greater stone, **whirled it round** and threw it, and put his strength into it very greatly; he threw it a little **behind** the dark-prowed ship, **and it fell short of the tip of the steering oar. And the sea washed up under the stone as it came down**; and a wave bore the ship forward, and carried it **to reach dry land**. But when we **reached** the island, then indeed the other well-benched ships **remained collected together**, and my companions **sat** around grieving, always waiting for us, then we **came to that place and beached the ship on the sands, and we stepped out onto the sea's beach**. And we **took from the hollow** ship the Cyclops' flocks and divided them up, so that no one might go defrauded of an equal share. And my companions gave the ram to me

αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἔξαυτίς πολὺ μείζονα λαῶν
αἰείρας
ἐξ αὐλῆς ἀνελῶν ὄθι οἱ θυρεὸς πα .
οσ ε[.] .[

9.537a

ιδινης M. 1

ἦκε **περιστρέψας**, ἐπέρεισε δὲ (δε) Ἴν'
ἀπέλεθρον·

ἐξοπίσω M. 1

κάδ δ' ἔβαλιεν **προπάροιθε** νεὸς
κυαν[οπρώροιο 9.539

Λ τὴν δὲ πρόσω φέρε κῦμα, θέμωσε δὲ

νηοῖ 9.542

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα, ἔνθα

π[ερ ἄλλαι

νῆες ἐύ[σσε]λμοι μένον ἡμέας, ἀμφὶ δ'

ἑταῖροι

εἴατο ὁ[δ]υρόμενοι, ἡμέας ποτιδέγμενο[ι

αἰεί, 9.545

νεῖα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλάσαντες ἐκέλαμεν ἐν

[ψαμάθοι]σιν, 9.546

μῆλα δὲ Κύκλωπος κοίλης ἐγ νηὸς

ἐλόντ[ε]ς 9.548

δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι
ἴσης.

ἀρνειὸν δ' ἐμοὶ οἴω ἐυκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι 9.550

And he lifted up a far greater stone, **picking it up from the enclosure where his doorstone ... spun it round** and threw it, and put his strength into it very greatly; he threw it a little **in front of** the dark-prowed ship, ... and a wave bore the ship forward, and carried it... [**variant reading, not completely legible**] But when we **reached** the island, then indeed the other well-benched ships **awaited us**, and my companions **sat** around grieving, always waiting for us, then we **propelled the ship to that place and beached it on the sands**. And we **took from the hollow** ship the Cyclops' flocks and divided them up, so that no one might go defrauded of an equal share. And my companions gave the ram to me

μήλων δαιομένων δόσαν ἔξοχα· τὸν δ' ἐπὶ
θινὶ
Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεί Κρονίδῃ, ὃς πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει,

ῥέξας μηρί' ἔκαιον. ὃ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο
ἱρῶν,
ἀλλ' ὄ γε μερμήριζεν, ὅπως ἀπολοίατο
πᾶσαι
νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἔμοι ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι.

9.555

preeminent over the flocks that had been divided;
and I sacrificed him on the beach to Zeus of the
dark cloud, son of Kronos, who rules all, and
burned **the thigh pieces**. **But he did not pay**
attention to my sacrifices, but was pondering
how they might be destroyed, all the well-
benched ships and my faithful companions.

μήλων δαιομένων δόσαν ἔξοχα· τὸν δ'
ἐπ[ὶ] θινὶ
Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεί Κρονίδῃ, ὃς πᾶσιν
ἀνάσσει,

ῥέξας ἱερά καῖον· ὃ δ' οὐκ [ἐμπάζετο]
δῶρων,
ἀλλ' ὄ γε μερμήριξεν, ὅπως ἀπολ[ο]ίατο
πᾶσαι
νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἔμοι ἐρ[ί]ηρες] ἑταῖροι.

9.555

But my well-greaved companions gave the ram
to me alone, preeminent over the flocks that had
been divided; and I sacrificed him on the beach
to Zeus of the dark cloud, son of Kronos, who
rules all, and **burned the thigh pieces**. son of
Kronos, who rules all, and **burned the sacrifice**.
But he did not pay attention to my gifts, but
pondered how they might all be destroyed, all
the well-benched ships and my faithful
companions.

The tense of μερμήριζω, “pay attention,” in line 554, imperfect in the vulgate and aorist in the papyrus text, suggests two different views of Zeus’ justice. The Cyclops episode, particularly Polyphemus’ prayer and Odysseus’ futile sacrifice, is considered to be the beginning of Zeus’ hostility towards Odysseus. This hostility allows Poseidon to delay the hero’s return and make it more difficult.¹⁹¹ Polyphemus’ barbaric behavior and explicit breach of Zeus’ code of hospitality (*Od.* 9.266-279), however, raise the question of whether Zeus’ permitting this to happen is directly rooted in the encounter with Polyphemus, or is rooted in some other impetus or plan.¹⁹² Lines 553-554 have several small differences in the vulgate and in the papyrus text.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Segal 1992, esp. 494-496.

¹⁹² Cf. Newton 1983 and Brown 1996, who argues that Zeus takes Poseidon’s side because Odysseus’ sufferings do not impact his ultimate fate [24].

ρέξας μηρί' ἔκαιον. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρῶν
 ἀλλ' ὅ γε μεμήριξεν, ὅπως ἀπολοῖατο πᾶσαι
 νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἔμοι ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι

I burned the thigh pieces. But he was not paying attention to my sacrifices
 But was pondering how they might be destroyed,
 All the well-benched ships and my faithful companions.

(9.553-555, vulgate text)

ρέξας ἱερὰ καΐον. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο δώρων
 ἀλλ' ὅ γε μεμήριξεν, ὅπως ἀπολοῖατο πᾶσαι
 νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἔμοι ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι

I burned the sacrifices. But he was not paying attention to my gifts,
 But had pondered how they might be destroyed,
 All the well-benched ships and my faithful companions.

(9.553-555, papyrus text)

μεμηρίξεν, “he was pondering,” the vulgate reading, implies that Zeus’ ‘pondering’ was contemporaneous with his disregard of the sacrifice, action described in both texts by another imperfect tense verb, ἐμπάζετο, “he was not paying attention.” As Monro argues, “[A]n action which is thought of as contemporary with some other event is almost necessarily regarded as progressive” and thus expressed with the imperfect tense.¹⁹³

In the papyrus text’s version of this passage, however, the tense of the verb implies that Zeus’ ‘pondering’ was complete before he disregarded Odysseus’ sacrifice, although the two actions are likely still related. “When the [aorist] is used of action which is subordinate in the past, it implies completion before the main action,” as in *Iliad* 2.642, οὐ δ’ ἄρ’ ἔτι αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος, “he was no longer living, and yellow-haired Meleager had died.”¹⁹⁴ The word used to describe Odysseus’ sacrifice in verse 553 in the papyrus text, δώρα, “gifts,” seems to reinforce this view.

¹⁹³ Monro 1891 63

¹⁹⁴ Monro 1891 65. The translation of the line is Monro’s.

When δῶρα is used to describe an offering to the gods in Homer, it nearly always refers to a gift given at some other time, or to the totality of gifts given by an individual to a god, rather than to an actual sacrifice.¹⁹⁵ The papyrus reading thus suggests that Zeus is responding to all Odysseus' behavior towards himself, rather than to this sacrifice alone.

The omission of lines 540 and 541 suggests a desire for a more succinct narrative. While the omission of line 540, τυτθόν, ἐδεύησεν δ'οἰήιον ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι, adds suspense, since the loss of the steering oar would have been a catastrophe, the reader or audience has no particular reason to suppose the rock would have struck there, so a statement in the negative does not seem strictly necessary. The next omitted verse, line 541, explains how the rock, even when it landed, failed to wash up against the ship: ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα κατερχομένης ὑπὸ πέτρης. As in the case of line 540 there is a certain tension added to the scene by the description of disaster averted.

The description of Polyphemus' rock landing is simpler and arguably more direct in the papyrus version. The stone simply lands in the water and creates a wave that drives the ship along. The vulgate version abounds in details of precisely where the rock landed and exactly how the wave was formed. The papyrus text also streamlines the landing of the ship on "Goat Island", where the rest of the men are waiting. The formulaic line ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι, "and they stepped out onto the sea's beach" (9.547) is eliminated to produce a more concise landing scene.¹⁹⁶ The copyist or performers who influenced his tastes seems to have lacked appreciation for the fuller,

¹⁹⁵ Cf. δῶρον, beginning of entry, and ἱερός III.1, *LSJ*.

¹⁹⁶ See my discussion of *Iliad papyrus 53* pp. 24-25 above.

almost redundant style of description found in the vulgate version of this scene. He is moving towards a more concise style of narration, away from the pleonasm of the traditional oral style.

Other Variants in *Odyssey* 9.537-555

ἤκε π[εριστρέψας]]ας, “having spun it around,” **for** ἤκ’ ἐπιδινήσας, “having whirled it around,” line 9.538

The vulgate reading (ἐπιδινήσας) creates an interesting sound pattern with some of the other verbs in the line (ἐπιδινήσας, ἐπέρεισε...ἀπέλεθρον.)

νηοσί, □ **for** χέρσον ἰκέσθαι, “to reach dry land,” line 9.542

Scant traces of this alternative ending to line 9.452 remain.

ἡμέας, “us,” **for** ἀθρόαι, “collected together,” 9.544

West argues that this is also a mistake and that the copyist’s eye most likely drifted to ἡμέας in the next line. However, both readings make sense and “waited for us” adds tension and a sense of group solidarity.

ἐλάσαντες, “having propelled,” **for** ἐλθόντες, “having come,” 9.546

ἐλάσαντες seems like the more vivid choice. “Propelling” seems more forceful than “going/coming.” One gets the sense from that reading that the men were quite eager for the trip to be over.

κοίλης **for** γλαφυρῆς, “hollow,” 9.548

These adjectives, identical in meaning, are frequently interchanged in the textual tradition of Homer.¹⁹⁷

ῥέξας ἱερά καῖον, “Having performed the sacrifice, I burned the sacrifices,” **for** ῥέξας μηρί’ ἔκαιον, “Having performed the sacrifice, I burned the thigh pieces,” 9.553

ἱερά, the reading of the papyrus text, is far more common after ῥέξας. This is the only passage in Homer in which μηρία is known to occur instead, thus this seems a clear example of the scribe supplying the phrase which is more familiar to him.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. West 1967 246

Odyssey 10.67-79

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μετεφώνεον ἀχνύμενος
κῆρ·

“ἄασάν μ’ ἔταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τε
ὑπνος
σχέτλιος. ἀλλ’ ἀκέσασθε, φίλοι·
δύναμις γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν.
ὧς ἐφάμην μαλακοῖσι καταπτόμενος
ἐπέεσσιν·

οἱ δ’ ἄνεω ἐγένοντο· πατήρ δ’ ἠμείβετο
μύθῳ·

“ἔρρ’ ἐκ νήσου θᾶσσον, ἐλέγχιστε
ζωόντων·

οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ’
ἀποπέμπειν
ἄνδρα τόν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται
μακάρεσσιν.

ἔρρ’, ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπεχθόμενος
τόδ’ ἰκάνεις.” 10.75

ὧς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπε δόμων βαρέα
στενάχοντα.

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρῳ πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι
ἦτορ·

τείρετο δ’ ἀνδρῶν θυμὸς ὑπ’ εἰρεσίης
ἀλεγεινῆς
ἡμετέρη ματίη, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι φαίνεται
πομπή.

And I spoke among them, grieved at heart:
“My wicked companions **harmed** me and
pitiless sleep along with them. **But heal me, o
friends; for the power is yours.**” Thus I spoke
addressing them with gentle words, but they
were silent; and the father answered with a
speech: “Go from our island quite quickly, most
deserving of reproach among living things; for it
would not be lawful for me **to entertain** you
hospitably nor to send on his way that man who
is hated by the blessed gods. **Go, since you
reached this place hated by the immortals.**”
Speaking thus, he sent me away from his palace,
groaning heavily. Thence we sailed forth,
grieved at heart. **And the men’s spirits were
worn by painful rowing through our own ill-
judged action, since a conveying wind no
longer appeared.**

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ προσεφώνεον μελιχίοισιν·

“ἔβλαψάν με ἔταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσι
τε

ὑπνος M. 1

οἶνος 10.68

οἱ δ’ ἄνεω ἐγένοντο· πατήρ δὲ ἠμείβετο
μύθῳ· 10.71

“ἔρρ’ ἐγ νήσου θᾶσσον, ἐλέγχιστε
ζωόντων·

[ο]ὐ γάρ ἐμοὶ θέμις ἐστὶ κομίζειν οὐδὲ
ἀποπέμπειν

ἄνδρα τόν ὅς τε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται
μα[κ]άρεσσιν. 10.74

mgs ὧς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπε δόμων **μεγάλα**
[στ]ενάχο[ν]τα. 10.76

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρῳ πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι
ἦτορ· 10.77

And I answered with conciliatory words: “My
wicked companions **harmed** me and wine along
with them. But they were silent; and the father
answered with a speech: “Go from our island
quite quickly, most deserving of reproach among
living things; for it would not be lawful for me **to
entertain** you hospitably nor to send on his way
that man who is hated by the blessed gods.”
Speaking thus, he sent me away from his palace,
groaning **greatly**.

Odyssey 10.67-83 provides an example of a passage that ‘zooms in’ on Odysseus,

signaling this with the discourse marker αὐτὰρ and the zero-point markers ἐγὼ and

μετεφώνεον, a first person verb changed to προσεφώνεον in the papyrus text. A pattern of profuse, creative variation in this passage begins in the first line when the papyrus text reads προσεφώνεον μειλιχίοισιν in place of μετεφώνεον ἄχνύμενος κῆρ. This passage is particularly remarkable for the five lines from the vulgate version that are missing in the papyrus version. However, modernizations of existing verb forms and vocabulary substitutions (in lines 68, 73, and 175) also help to establish a consistent pattern of textual variation in this passage. As in the case of the Greeks' flight from Polyphemus' island, which I discussed above, the omitted lines deal with somewhat extraneous, even if potentially interesting, details. The first two omitted lines,

σχέτλιος. ἀλλ' ἀκέσασθε, φίλοι δύναμις γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν.
ὦς ἐφάμην μαλακοῖσι καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσιν.

...pitiless. But heal me, o friends; for the power is yours."
Thus I spoke addressing them with gentle words.

(10.69-70)

certainly fall into this category. Line 70 repeats the information conveyed in the speech introduction; in the vulgate line 67 we learned that Odysseus was ἄχνύμενος, grieving, as he spoke; in line 70 we learned that he addressed Aeolus and his court μαλακοῖσι ἐπέεσσιν, with gentle words, information we could have inferred from the context. The papyrus version of line 67 says that Odysseus' words were μειλιχίοι, sweet or winning, and this supplies the new information that in the vulgate is conveyed by line 70. Line 69 characterizes the sleep that overtook Odysseus, mentioned in line 68, as σχέτλιος, pitiless, and makes an explicit plea for a second round of assistance, a plea which is easily implied merely by Odysseus' presence at Aeolus' court, so soon after he had set out for home bolstered by all sorts of divine assistance. Line 75, ἐρρ', ἐπεὶ

ἀθανατοισιν ἀπεχθόμενος τόδ' ἰκάνεις, “go, since you reached this place hated by the immortals,” is similarly redundant, or could be viewed as such, since Aeolus has already ordered Odysseus to go in line 72 and declared that his difficulties in travel are evidence of the gods’ hatred in lines 72 and 74. Lines 78-79, also omitted in the papyrus text, mention the ancillary detail of the men’s needing to row because the winds were no longer helping them, due to their wrongdoing (ἡμετέρη ματίη). The omitted lines suggest an improvisational transmission of this passage that favors somewhat terse language. In light of the omitted lines I discussed above, 540 and 541, this would seem to be a preference expressed in other parts of this papyrus text as well. The copyist has possibly been influenced by Hellenistic tastes so that he naturally preferred a more concise style.

Other Variants in *Odyssey* 10.67-83

Modernized Forms

The modernized verb form in line 73, κομίζειν has the same number of mora as the more archaic κομίζεμεν, but not the same number and length of syllables. The line would still scan with the new infinitive form if the ε on the end of οὐδέ were elided, as it is in the vulgate text.

ἔβλασαν for ἄασάν, “they harmed,” line 10.68

Although βλάπτω is fairly common in Homer, it does not become a true synonym for ἄω until later.¹⁹⁸ This variant would seem to be an example of the copyist having absorbed a more current definition for a word that works metrically and is already part of the body of Homeric vocabulary.

μεγάλα, “greatly,” for βαρέα, “heavily,” line 10.76

This variant seems to be an example of the papyrus text substituting a more prosaic term for the more poetic term found in the vulgate.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *LSJ* βλάπτω III for its post-Homeric meaning of “damage, hurt.”

The Blinding of Polyphemus and the Vulgate

A passage that is remarkably free from textual variants is the blinding of Polyphemus, which in this papyrus text runs from 9.372 (the beginning of the text) - 400.¹⁹⁹ This is an extraordinary passage in Homeric poetry, in that an *Iliadic* battle is recast into a showcase for Odysseus' *metis*.²⁰⁰ Moreover, the scene involves a remarkable simile, in which Odysseus is compared to a shipwright boring a hole in a ship's timber. This simile emphasizes Odysseus' superiority to Polyphemus, as one who is capable of employing technology, as does the shipwright to whom he is compared. The juxtaposition of the calm craftsman with the gory scene of the blinding paradoxically emphasizes Odysseus' 'monstrous' brutality.²⁰¹

While the language is formulaic, in the sense that all Homeric language is part of a formulaic system, the relative uniqueness of this passage makes improvisational copying more challenging, relying as it often does on knowledge of alternative formulas and lines. However, since the need to slay a monster arises comparatively seldom in the Homeric corpus, there are fewer formulas and lines for which alternatives exist.²⁰² The centrality of this scene to the episode as a whole and the copyist's familiarity with it may also be a reason for its lack of variants. It is a very well known, meticulously created scene, with a strong and specific visual component. The blinding and escape are scenes frequently depicted on Greek vases, with a number of small differences that lead

¹⁹⁹ There are occasional passages elsewhere that appear to follow the vulgate, but most are so poorly preserved that any discussion like the one that follows would be untenable.

²⁰⁰ Brown 1996 25-26

²⁰¹ On the juxtaposition of civilized technology and monstrous brutality, see Newton 1983 138-139

²⁰² Cf. O'Keefe's analysis of the *Metrical Preface to Alfred's Pastoral Care* [O'Keefe 1990 87], which I quote from and discuss on pp. 12-13 above.

Jonathan Burgess to question whether the scene depicted is always drawing specifically on Homer, or perhaps on a folktale with some similarities. Such details include a blinding weapon that resembles a spit rather than a stake, animal skin disguises rather than live animals as props, and a two-eyed Cyclops.

As Burgess argues, these elements, appearing in vase-paintings which nonetheless resemble the *Odyssey* episode, make determining the relationship between the vase paintings and the poem difficult: “[I]f one regards the use of a spit as folktale-like, then these early Greek representations should be judged as non-Homeric. On the other hand, if one regards wine and live animals for the escape as Homeric, then the images should be judged as Homeric...[I]f we allow that the Cyclops episode was traditionally part of the return of Odysseus, then the Homeric version may be building on myth about Odysseus and Polyphemus, not some folktale about the blinding of an ogre.”²⁰³ Such variety in the visual representation of this story and its forerunners suggests the variability that is perhaps inherent in such a complex and fantastic episode.

As I have emphasized in my introduction to this chapter, the use of discourse markers is a witness to the fact that all Homeric narration entails choice and selectivity. But the blinding of the Cyclops is a tour-de-force of descriptive details, mapping onto and perhaps in some sense even competing with its representations in the visual arts. This passage may have become fixed in this particular wording by analogy with the permanence of the visual arts. Making alterations to the words of Odysseus in other situations was possible, particularly if the variations made use of or heightened traditional

²⁰³ Burgess 2001 110. On the structure of the episode and traditional material adapted, see also Dimock 1989 107-118.

elements of theme and style. But the narrative of the blinding, which was in implicit competition with alternative depictions in art, was the ‘Homeric’ version, not to be altered.

The example of Nikola Vuljnović and his transcription of *The Wedding of Mustajbey’s Son Bećirbey*, as well as the other examples I discussed in my first chapter, have already demonstrated that it is possible to make small changes to an epic in writing yet under the influence of the innate flexibility of formulaic language. But if we need an additional means by which an appreciation of the flexibility of Homeric language could have survived into the mid-third century, the persistently oral nature of Hellenistic education provides us with one. As the persistence of “Homeric catechism,” among other examples, demonstrates, educational methods were inherently conservative and retained a strong oral component even as poetry became increasingly conceived of as literary and textual. The most significant evidence of this teaching method is a quiz preserved in four texts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²⁰⁴ A ninth-century manuscript of the D-scholia of the *Iliad* preserves an extended version that contains elements of all four texts. Cameron translates this version, with the phrases common to all four texts italicized:

“Which gods helped the Hellenes?” Hera, Athena, Hermes, Poseidon, Hephaestus. “Which gods helped the barbarians?” Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Scamander. “*Who was the king of the Trojans?*” Priam. “*Who was their general?*” Hector. “Who were his counsellors?” Polydamas and Agenor. “*Who were their prophets?*” Helenus and Cassandra, children of Priam. “*Who were their heralds?*” *Idaeus and Eumedes, the father of Dolon; perhaps Dolon as well.*”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Cameron 2004 118

²⁰⁵ Cameron 2004 117

Cribiore argues that these texts reflect longstanding educational practice in antiquity:

“*Erôtēmata* (“questions”), which often occur in grammatical texts of late antiquity and the Middle Ages and are therefore considered a late development, derived from pedagogical methods that were always employed in ancient classrooms. The school exercises show that they systematized gnomic and “historical” knowledge, besides being used to categorize grammatical points. Their pedagogical effectiveness is measured by the fact that they still functioned at higher levels of education, as two papyri with remnants of rhetorical catechisms show: one presents questions and answers probably written by a student, the other is a book of higher level with the same structure.”²⁰⁶

Such quizzes perhaps encouraged the student to develop an understanding of Homer that was similar to the “tension of essences” described by Albert Lord, his name for the ability of an oral poet to include all the proper and necessary elements in any particular song, without ever recreating the same performance twice. He emphasizes that the logic and habit of association that holds together the “tension of essences” in the bard’s mind does not have to be linear. A method of quizzing like that exemplified above, that took the characters in Homer out of context and grouped them by association (e.g. “Which gods helped the Hellenes?” Hera, Athena, Hermes, Poseidon, Hephaestus”) seems likely to have produced a somewhat similar effect. Moreover, the mining of the Homeric poems for such scholastic material as historical timelines and allegorical systems may have produced a very similar tension, with the copyist’s familiarity with the same basic knowledge presented in different ways perhaps allowing him to produce different ‘versions’ of Homer’s narrative.

²⁰⁶ Cribiore 2001 209: Cribiore refers to *PSI* 1.85 and the rhetorical catechism discussed in Oellacher 1937.

²¹⁰ Allibone 1965 1633

Conclusion

Applying a pragmatic linguistics approach to *Odyssey papyrus 31* has enabled us to learn much about improvisational copying. Passages of profuse, creative variation tend to occur when the poem was focused on the direct personal experiences of Odysseus, the narrator of Books 9 and 10. We observed that the beginning of such a passage is signaled in the text by the use of the discourse marker αὐτάρ. This word is often joined with a zero-point marker such as a first person pronoun or verb. This latter tendency increases the sense of vividness and immediacy as the passage begins. The scribe's focalization of profuse, creative variation around such passages suggests that he saw himself as akin to an oral bard, since these passages evoke the presence of the hero especially vividly, and the identification of the oral bard with his hero is well established. Such identification is heightened in the Cyclops and Aeolus episodes, since Odysseus is the narrator of these episodes and therefore akin to an oral bard himself. Close reading of the variants revealed many instances of Homeric language continuing to change and evolve, coming to be used in new contexts that reflect post-Achaic usage. It will be important for future study of eccentric papyri and their variants to continue this combination of observation of overarching patterns and engagement in close reading.

4. Conclusion

It is said that when Richard Bentley, the discoverer of the digamma, had read Alexander Pope's *Iliad*, he remarked to the translator, "It is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer."²¹⁰ One of my goals in this study has been to provide one more demonstration that, as with all great poems, each generation has its own Homer. The Homer of the early papyrus texts I discussed above was poised on the boundary between malleable tradition and largely fixed text. Many passages in each text would have been completely familiar to us from their similarity with the vulgate. However, it has been my intention to demonstrate that many of those most closely concerned with performance, such as speeches and invocations of Odysseus as the hero-narrator of the *Apologue*, were interpreted in a different way, as passages that encouraged or even necessitated a quasi-performative effort in creative, improvisational copying. Moreover, the roots of many of the variants in performance, education and the rituals of hero cult give us a picture of a Homer still deeply embedded in public life, with texts of the poem undergoing fluctuations that directly reflected this. Scribes who copied improvisationally neither polluted a pure textual tradition with clumsy half-lines or inappropriate substitutions, nor did they approach the entire text in exactly the same manner as a bard would approach an oral performance. Rather, in certain passages that brought the performative and traditional nature of the work before them to the forefront of the minds, they used pen and ink to engage in the traditional oral activity of recomposition.

Much previous work on early papyrus variants has been valuable, but some of it has been hindered by an excessive focus upon the artistic quality of the variants (or lack

thereof). The sheer number of such readings, drawn from an assortment of texts that does not appear to have undergone any kind of ancient critical editing (beyond the occasional alternative reading noted or enigmatic marginal sign) makes this the wrong place to start. To give these papyrus texts the place they deserve in our efforts to more fully understand Homeric poetry, it will be necessary to understand that they offer the same wide variety of quality as any collection of texts that has been preserved randomly. The most productive approach will go beyond judgment of their fitness to replace the readings of the vulgate, to an examination of their phenomenology – how and why they became part of these versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

It is inevitable that when a work is so deeply rooted in a particular culture, and subject to so many interpretations over time – in oratory, drama, contemporary Hellenistic poetry, comedy, and in writings on history, philosophy and religion – that those interpretations are refracted in some way back onto the current version of the work itself. We might compare early Homeric papyrus variants to changing language in translations of sacred texts or Norton editions of classic literature. The latter in large measure owe their existence to the idea that important literary texts should not be read without a thorough and *current* survey of critical literature available. We should know what passages the audience found significant at different periods in the work's history, and why. To use variant readings in early papyrus texts of Homer to obtain similar information about the Hellenistic audience of these texts has been the objective of this study.

As a tool for obtaining such information from these texts and their variants, I applied to both papyrus texts Katherine O'Keeffe's theory of formulaic copying. I called

my version, formulated to apply to Homeric poetry rather than to Anglo-Saxon, 'improvisational copying' because of the especially creative nature, not only of the variants themselves, but also of their placement in the text, particularly concentrated as they are in passages with a high performative impact. In my second chapter, which dealt at length with a single papyrus text (*Iliad papyrus 12*), I made use of scholarship on the highly emotional and judgmental nature of Homeric speeches in order to demonstrate that the variants in my text make its speeches more Homeric in the sense that they increase these tendencies. A smaller group of variants in the same text make it more Hellenistic insofar as they greatly increase the similarities between the funeral of Patroclus and Hellenistic hero cult.

My third chapter, dealing with *Odyssey papyrus 31*, made use of recent work in pragmatic linguistics on discourse markers in Homer. I argued that the appearance of αὐτάρ at the beginning of every passage of profuse, creative variation in this text, frequently joined with a first-person verb or other "zero-point" indicator, suggested that to the copyist/performer this discourse marker indicated a significant shift in perspective. At moments when the poem focused especially on the personal experiences of Odysseus, the scribe was frequently drawn to copy the passage in question improvisationally. Previous scholarship on the association between poet and hero suggests that the copyist may have identified with the hero and thus will have moved into a particularly 'oral' or performative mode of reception whenever the hero's individual experiences are foregrounded.

It may be objected that we cannot ever know for certain what was passing through a copyist's mind as he worked. But many theories that have made us better readers of

Homeric poetry rely on comparative evidence and a close reading of the Homeric text(s), including the Oral-Formulaic Theory itself. Profuse, creative variation is a phenomenon associated particularly with this transitionally oral time period, as I demonstrated in chapter 1 above. Its exclusivity to the mid-third to early second century indicates that it is in some way connected to the conditions under which Homer was transmitted at this time. Certainly, I would not pretend to be able to ascertain with any degree of certainty how much in each variant reading is due to the copyist's ability to creatively manipulate Homeric language, and how much is due to other Homeric performances or texts to which he may have been exposed. But there are many indications that there was input from both quarters in the majority of cases. What we have do not seem to be truly different versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but rather versions in which certain passages with common features are different from the vulgate text. This focalization of variants is an important piece of evidence, as is the witness of the three comparands I have discussed – Homericizing variants in the *Argonautica*, 'resinging' in South Slavic epic, and formulaic copying in Anglo-Saxon poetry. These three comparative situations all bear many similarities to the 'eccentric' papyri of Homer, and in none of them is there any reason to suppose that copyists did not play a role in the incorporation of formulaic variants into the textual transmission of their respective poems.

The variant readings of early papyri have been hindered in their interpretation by an inclination to treat them primarily as individual variants, exceptions in some ways to the usual rules of textual criticism but largely judged by the same criteria – is it early enough to be a 'true'/authorial reading? Should it replace the established reading?

Interpretations that seek to discover what individual readings can tell us about early alternative traditions are indeed valuable, but those whose primary goal is to establish 'authorial' authenticity or aesthetic preeminence over the readings of the vulgate are ultimately pursuing an interpretive dead end. In this study I have endeavored to advocate a third approach – to examine a group of readings in the aggregate (but with adequate attention to their individual characteristics), to consider their phenomenology and what they may be able to tell us about the gradual transition from oral to literate modes of reception for Homeric poetry. The theory of improvisational copying ultimately suggests that the papyrus variants spring not from almost knowing how to read, but from knowing how to read Homer (from a formulaic perspective) almost too well.

Bibliography

- Ahl, Frederick and Hanna M. Roisman. 1996. *The Odyssey Re-Formed*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Allen, Thomas W, ed. 1912. *Homeri Opera V: Hymni, Cyclus, Fragmenta, Margites, Batrachomyomachia, Vitae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Allen, W. Sidney. 1987. *Vox Graeca*. Cambridge University Press.
- Allibone, S. Austin. 1965. *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott and Co.
- Apthorp, Michael. J. 1980. *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*. Heidelberg.
- . 1999. "Homer's Winged Words and the Papyri: Some Questions of Authenticity." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. 128: 15-22.
- Baumann, Gerd, ed. 1986. *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Wolfson College Lectures 1985. Oxford Clarendon Press.
- Benveniste, Emile. 1973. *Indo-European Language and Society*. (Studies in General Linguistics, L.R. Palmer and G.C. Lepschy, eds.) Tr. Elizabeth Palmer. Miami: University of Miami Press.
- Berkowitz, Gary. 2004. *Semi-Public Narration in Apollonius' Argonautica*. Hellenistica Groningana II. Dudley, MA: Peeters Publishers.
- Bing, Peter. 1988. *The Well-Read Muse*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bolling, George M. 1925. *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*. Oxford University Press.
- Bonifazi, Anna. 2008a. "Memory and Visualization in Homeric Discourse Markers," in Anne Mackay (ed.) *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Graeco-Roman World*. Orality and literacy in ancient Greece ; v. 7 Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 298. Brill Academic Publishers. 35-64.
- Bowie, Ewen. 2001. "Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll*, Philetas and Longus." In *Greek Literature*. Vol. 7: Greek Literature in the Hellenistic Period. ed. Gregory Nagy. 265-289. Reprinted from *Classical Quarterly* 35: 67-91 (1985).

- Brinton, L.J. 1996. *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Brown, Christopher G. 1996. "In the Cyclops' Cave: Revenge and Justice in *Odyssey* 9." *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 49: 1-29.
- Brown, Margery. 1998. "Hephaestus, Hermes and Prometheus: Jesters to the Gods." in Vicki K. Janik. *Fools and Jesters in Literature, Art, and History: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport CN: Greenwood Press.
- Bugh, Glenn Richard. 2006. *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Burgess, Jonathan S. 2001. *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Burkert, Walter. 1985. *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*. tr. by John Raffan. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Burns, A. 1981. "Athenian literacy in the fifth century B.C." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 1981 42 : 371-387.
- Byre, Calvin S. 2002. *A Reading of Apollonius Rhodius' "Argonautica": The Poetics of Uncertainty*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd.
- Cameron, Alan. 2004. *Greek mythography in the Roman world*. Oxford University Press.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1968. *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des Mots*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.
- Christidis, Anastassios-Fivos. 2007. *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clay, Jenny Strauss. 1985. "Aeolia, or under the Sign of the Circle." *The Classical Journal* 80 (1985): 289-91.
- Collart, Paul. 1933. "Les papyrus de l'Iliade", *Revue de philologie*. 7: 52
- Collins, Derek. 2001. "Homer and Rhapsodic Composition in Performance." *Oral Tradition*. 16: 129-167.
- Cooper, Craig, ed. 2006. *The Politics of Orality*. Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece, Vol. 6. *Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum* ; 280. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

- Cribiore, Raffaella. 1996. *Writing, Teachers and Students in Greco-Roman Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press
- . 2001. *Gymnastics of the Mind*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Creed, Robert. 1959. "The Making of an Anglo-Saxon Poem." *ELH, a journal of English literary history*. 26:4. 445-454,
- Danek, Georg. 1998. *Epos und Zitat: Studien zu den Quellen der Odyssee*. Wiener Studien.
- de Jong, Irene J.F. 1998. *Homer: Critical Assessments Volume III: Literary Interpretation*. New York: Routledge.
- Dimock, G. E. 1956. "The Name of Odysseus." *The Hudson Review* 9: 52-70.
- . 1989. *The Unity of the Odyssey*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Dindorf, Wilhelm, ed. 1855. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata*. 2 vols. Oxford University Press.
- Dorter, K. 1973. "The *Ion*: Plato's characterisation of art." *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 32: 65-78
- Du , Casey. 2001a. "Sunt Aliquid Manes: Homer, Plato and Alexandrian Allusion in Propertius IV 7." *CJ* 96: 401-413.
- . 2001b. "Achilles' Golden Amphora in Aeschines' Against Timarchus and the Afterlife of Oral Tradition." *Classical Philology* (2001) 96 (1): 33-47.
- Düntzer, H. 1859. *Die homerischen Beiwörter des Götter und Menschengeschlechts*. Göttingen.
- Estienne, Henri (Stephanus). 1954. *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*. Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt.
- Falkner, Thomas. 2002. "Scholars versus actors: text and performance in the Greek tragic scholia." in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fantuzzi, Marco and Richard Hunter. 2002. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge University Press.

- Finkelberg, Margalit. 1987. "Homer's View of the Epic Narrative: Some Formulary Evidence." *Classical Philology*. 82:2:135-138.
- Floyd, Edwin. 1992. "Why Parmenides wrote in verse," *Ancient Philosophy* 12: 251-265.
- Foley, John Miles. 1993. *Traditional Oral Epic: the Odyssey, Beowulf, and the Serbo-Croatian Return Song*. Paperback ed. Berkeley.
- , 2004. *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey*. Helsinki : Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Ford, Andrew. 1999. "Reading Homer from the Rostrum." *Performative Culture and Athenian Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. 231-156.
- Fraenkel, H., ed. 1961. *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goldberg, Sander M. 2005. *Constructing literature in the Roman republic : poetry and its reception*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gow, A.S.F. 1952. *Theocritus Vol. I*. Cambridge University Press.
- Grenfell, B.P. 1919. "The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Greek Authors." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39: 16-36.
- Griffin, Jasper. 1986. "Homeric Words and Speakers." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106: 35-57.
- Guéraud, Octave. 1925. "Un Nouveau Papyrus de l'Odyssee." *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne* 1: 88-131.
- Gutzwiller, Kathryn. 1981. *Studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion*. Königstein/Ts.: Hain.
- Hamilton, Edith and Cairns, Huntington. 1989. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Haslam, Michael W. 1978. "Apollonius and the Papyri." *Illinois Classical Studies* 3: 47-73.
- , 1997. "Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text." *A New Companion to Homer*. Ian Morris and Barry Powell eds. Leiden and New York: Brill. 55-100
- Havelock, Eric. 1963. *Preface to Plato*. Belknap Press, Harvard University Press.

- Heath, John. 2005. *The Talking Greeks: Speech, Animals and the Other in Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heubeck, Alfred, Stephanie West, John Bryan Hainsworth, Arie Hoekstra and Joseph Russo. 1992. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*. Volume II Books IX -XVI. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hollis, A.S. 1970. *Ovid's Metamorphoses Book VIII*. Ed. with introduction and commentary. Oxford University Press.
- Hopkinson, N. 1984. *Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter*. Cambridge University Press.
- ed. 1988. *A Hellenistic Anthology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Holtzmark, Irving. 1966. "Spritual Rebirth of the Hero: *Odyssey* 5." *The Classical Journal*. 61(5): 206-210
- ING Americas. 2001. "ING Launches First Major U.S. Ad Campaign; Campaign Marks the Next Phase in ING's U.S. Strategy - Building Name Awareness."
<http://www.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=104&STORY=/www/story/05-21-2001/0001497900&EDATE=>
- Janaway, C. 1992. "Craft and fineness in Plato's *Ion*." *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*. 10: 1-23.
- Jelinek, Franz. 1895. *Die Widersprüche im II. Theile der Odysse: Versuch einer Herstellung der Verwandlungsoдыsee*. Wien: Alfred Hölder.
- Jensen, Minna Skaft. 1980. *The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Lardinois, André. 2006. "Have We Solon's Verses?" *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches*. Josine H. Blok and André P.M.H. Lardinois eds. Boston: E. J. Brill
- Lenk, U. 1997. "Discourse Markers." In *Handbook of Pragmatics online*.
<http://www.benjamins.com/online/hop>.
- Liddell, Henry George and Robert Scott. 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Rev. Henry Stuart Jones with Roderick Mackenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cited as *LSJ*.
- Lord, Albert B. 1995. *The Singer Resumes the Tale*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Mackay, Anne, ed. 2008. *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Graeco-Roman World*. Orality and literacy in ancient Greece ; v. 7 Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 298. Brill Academic Publishers
- Mackie, C.J., ed. 2004. *Oral performance and its context*. Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 248. Orality and literacy in ancient Greece ; v. 5. Brill Academic Publishers.
- Martin, Richard. 1989. *The Language of Heroes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mayser, E. 1906. *Grammatik der griechen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig.
- Minchin, Elizabeth. 2001. *Homer and the Resources of Memory: Some Applications of Cognitive Theory to the Iliad and the Odyssey*. Oxford University Press.
- . 2007. *Homeric Voices: Discourse, Memory, Gender*. Oxford University Press.
- Monro, David B. 1891. *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Most, Glenn W. 1989. "The Structure and Function of Odysseus' Apologoi." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. 119:15-30.
- Murray, P. 1981. "Poetic inspiration in early Greece." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 101: 87-101
- . 1992. "Inspiration and *mimesis* in Plato." In A. Barker and M. Warner, eds. *The language of the cave*. Alberta.
- Mynors, R.A.B., ed. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1990. *Pindar's Homer*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- . 1996. *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*. Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. *The Best of the Achaeans*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- . 2000. Review of Martin West (ed.), *Homeri Ilias*. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*.
- . 2002. "Reading Bakhtin Reading the Classics: An Epic Fate for Conveyors of the Heroic Past." In *Bakhtin and the Classics*. Ed. R. B. Branham. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. 71-96.
- . 2004. *Homer's Text and Language*. Urbana, Ill.: Illinois University Press.

- Nagy, Gregory. (ed.-in-chief) and Sutton, D.F. (founding ed.). 1992-. *Homer and the Papyri*. http://chs.harvard.edu/chs/homer___the_papyri.
- Naiden, Fred S. 2006. *Ancient Supplication*. Oxford University Press.
- Newton, Rick M. 1983. "Poor Polyphemus: Emotional Ambivalence in *Odyssey* 9 and 17." *The Classical World*. 76: 137-142.
- . 1984. "The Rebirth of Odysseus." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*. 25: 5-20.
- O'Keefe, Katherine O'Brien. 1990. *Visible Song*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oates, Whitney Jennings, ed. 1938. *The complete Greek drama; all the extant tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and the comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, in a variety of translations*. New York.
- Oellacher, Hans. 1937. "Ein rhetorischer Katechismus in einem Wiener Papyrus." *Wiener Studien* 55: 68-78
- Oldfather, W.A. 1940. Review of *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. *American Journal of Philology* 61: 211-221.
- Ong, Walter J. 1984. "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization." *New Literary History*. 16: 1-12.
- Podlecki, A. J. 1961. "Guest-Gifts and Nobodies in "Odyssey 9" *Phoenix* 15: 125-33.
- Powell, Barry B. 2004. *Homer*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- . 1970. "Narrative Pattern in the Homeric Tale of Menelaus." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*. 101: 419-431.
- Redfield, James M. 1994. *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector*. Expanded edition. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Reichl, Karl. 2001. "Medieval Perspectives on Turkic Oral Epic Poetry." *Inclinate aurem: oral perspectives on early European verbal culture*. Odense University Press. 211-254.
- Reinhardt, Karl. 1961. *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

- Revermann, Martin. 2006 *Comic Business: Theatricality, Dramatic Technique, and Performance*. Oxford University Press.
- Richardson, Nicholas. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary Volume VI: Books 21-24*. Series ed. G.S. Kirk. Cambridge.
- Roberts, C.H. 1925. *Greek Literary Hands*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rohde, Erwin. 1925. *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*. 2nd ed. Tr. W.B. Hillis. New York
- Ross, Eric. S. 2003. "Forward-Minded Receptions: *Prophrôn Hupodexomai* and the *Hymn to Demeter*." Unpublished paper.
- Russo, Joseph, Manuel Fernandez-Galiano, and Alfred Heubeck, eds. 1992. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey: Vol. III: Book XVII-XXIV*. Oxford University Press.
- Seaford, Richard. 2000. *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Segal, Charles. 1992. "Divine Justice in the Odyssey: Poseidon, Cyclops, and Helios." *The American Journal of Philology* 113: 489-518.
- Simpson, Michael. 1972. "Odyssey 9": Symmetry and Paradox in Outis." *The Classical Journal* 68: 22-25.
- Solmsen, F., R. Merkelbach, and M.L. West, eds. 1990. *Hesiodi Theogonia ; Opera et dies ; Scutum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stanford, W.B. 1993. *The Ulysses Theme*. Paperback edition. Dallas, TX: Spring Publications.
- Steiner, Ann. 2008. *Reading Greek Vases*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, Douglas J. 1976. *The Disguised Guest: Rank, Role, and Identity in the Odyssey*. London: Associated University Press.
- Suerbaum, W. 1998. "Die Ich-Erzählungen des Odysseus. überlegungen zur epischen Technik der Odysee." In *Homer: Critical Assessments*. ed. Irene de Jong. Vol. III. 431-459
- Thomas, Rosalind. 1989. *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*. Cambridge University Press.

- .1992. *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge University Press.
- Timpanaro, Sebastiano. 1976. *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*. tr. by Kate Soper of *Il Lapsus Freudiano*. London.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1970. "Language of Gods and Language of Men: Remarks on Some Indo-European Metalinguistic Traditions." In *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans*. ed. Jaan Puhvel. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- West, Martin L. 2001. *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*. München.
- West, Stephanie. 1967. *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*. Köln and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von. 1998. "Die Verwundung der drei Achäerhelden Λ" in *Homer: Critical Assessments* ed. Irene de Jong. New York: Routledge 35-46.
- Worthington, Ian and John Foley, eds. 2002. *Epea and grammata : oral and written communication in Ancient Greece*. Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece, vol. 4. Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 230. Brill Academic Publishers.

Appendix One: Iliad Papyrus 12

The following appendix offers a comparison between Stephanie West's text of *Iliad papyrus 12* (on the left) and Van Thiel's 1996 *Iliad* edition (on the right).

Variations appear in boldface, and all translations are my own. M.2 indicates the papyrus' secondary hand, a hand distinct from that which produced the main text. In this papyrus there are also occasional notes by a third hand, designated M. 3. Marginal signs are marked with the letters *mgs*.

πλῶον καὶ νέκυες· τοῦ δ' ὑπόσε γούνατ'
ἐπήδα 21.302
πρὸς ῥόον ἀΐσσοντος ἀν' ἰθύν, οὐδέ μιν
ἔσχευ
εὐρύ ῥέων ποταμός· μέγα γὰρ σθένος
ἔμβαλ' Ἀθήνη.
οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔληγε τὸ ὄν μένος, ἀλλ'
ἔτι μᾶλλον 21.305

χῶετο Πηλείωνι, κόρυσσε δὲ κῦμα ῥόοιο

ὑπόσ' ἀειρόμενος, Σιμόεντι δὲ κέκλετ'
ἀύσας· 21.307

“φίλε κασίγνητε σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφότεροί
περ
σχῶμεν, ἐπεὶ τάχα ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο
ἄνακτος
ἐκπέρσει, Τρῶες δὲ κατὰ μόθον οὐ
μενέουσιν. 21.310
ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνε τάχιστα, καὶ ἐμπίπληθι
ῥέεθρα
ὔδατος ἐκ πηγέων, πάντας δ' ὀρόθυνον
ἐναύλους·

[Many arms and] corpses [of young men slain in war] were floating. And there on high the knees of the man rushing straight against the stream jumped, and the broad flowing river did not **hold him in check**; for Athena cast great strength into him. And Scamander did not cease from its anger for the present, but still more raged against the son of Peleus, and marshaled the flow of his stream, **lifting it high, and ordered the Simois with a shout**, “But mount a defense very quickly, and fill your streams with water from your head waters, and stir up all your gullies;

Heid. frg. 1262a
πλῶον καὶ νέκυες· τοῦ δ' ὑπόσε γούνατ'
ἐπήδα 21.302
πρὸς ῥόον ἀΐσσοντος ἀν' ἰθύν, οὐδέ μιν
ἔσχευ
εὐρ[ύ] ῥέων ποταμός· μέγα γὰρ σθένος
ἔμβαλ' Ἀθήνη.
οὐδὲ Σκάμ[ανδρος] ἔληγε τὸ ὄν μένος, ἀλλ'
ἔτι μᾶλλον 21.305

το Μ. 1

χῶεδω Πηλεΐ[ωνι], κόρυσσε δὲ κῦμα ῥόοιο
ὑποῦ ἀειρό[μεν]ος τ[ι] Μ. 2
πάντο[θε]ν ἐξοί 21.307

“φίλε κασίγνητ[ε], σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφότεροί
περ
σχ[ῶ]μεν, ἐπεὶ τάχα ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο
ἄνακτος
ἐκπ[έ]ρσει, [Τ]ρῶ[ε]ς δὲ κατὰ μόθον οὐ
μενέουσιν. 21.310
ἀλλ' ἐπ[ά]μυν[ε] τάχιστα, καὶ ἐμπίπληθι
ῥέεθρα
ὔδατος [ἐ]κ πηγέ[ων], πάντας δ' ὀρόθυνον
ἐναύλους,

[Many arms and] corpses [of young men slain in war] were floating. And there on high the knees of the man rushing straight against the stream of the man rushing straight against the stream jumped, and the broad flowing river did not **restrain** him; for Athena cast great strength into him. And Scamander did not cease from its anger for the present, but still more raged against the son of Peleus, and marshaled the flow of his stream **from every side**... “But mount a defense very quickly, and fill your streams with water from your head waters, and stir up all your gullies;

ἐξ ἄλλων; οὐ μὲν τοι ἐγὼ τόσον αἰτιός εἰμι,
21.370

ὅσσον οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὅσοι Τρῶεσσιν
ἄρωγοί. 21.371
ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼν ἀποπαύσομαι, εἰ
σὺ κελεύεις,
παυέσθω δὲ καὶ οὗτος. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ τόδ'
ὀμοῦμαι,

μὴ ποτ' ἐπὶ Τρῶεσσιν ἀλεξήσειν κακὸν
ἡμᾶρ,
μηδ' ὀπότε' ἂν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσα
δάηται 21.375
καιομένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήιοι υἱῆς Ἀχαιῶν."

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε θεὰ λευκώλενος
Ἥρη, 21.377

αὐτίκ' ἄρ' Ἥφαιστον προσεφώνεεν θυ-
φίλον υἱόν·

"Ἥφαιστε, σχέο, τέκνον ἀγακλεές· οὐ γὰρ
ἔοικεν
ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἕνεκα
στυφελίζειν."

[Hera, why has your son attacked my stream to
distress it] out of all others? I for my part am not
to blame, in your view, as much as all the
others, as many as are aids to the Trojans. But I
myself **will cease**, if you enjoin me, and let him
also cease. And I will also swear this at your
bidding, never to ward off an evil day from the
Trojans, not even when all **Troy** is blazing and
burning with consuming fire, and the hostile sons
of the Achaeans are burning it. But when white-
armed goddess Hera heard this, she immediately
spoke to her son Hephaestus: "Hephaestus,
hold on, glorious child; for it is not fitting for an
immortal god to strike out thus on account of
mortals."

Heid. Frg. 1262b & Grenf. Frg. 1
[ἐξ ἄλλων; οὐ] μὲν τοι [ἐγὼ] [τ]όσ[ο]ν
αἰτιός εἰμι, 21.370

πάντες M. 2
[ὅσσον . . .] . . . π[ὅσοι
Τρῶεσσιν ἄρωγοί. 21.371
[ἀλλ' ἦτοι] μὲν ἐγὼ λήξ[ω] μέν[ος], εἰ
σὺ κελεύεις,
[παυέσθω] δὲ καὶ οὗτος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ
τόδ' ὀμο[ῦ]μαι,

εξη M. 1
[μὴ ποτ'] ἐπ[ὶ] Τρῶε[σσιν] ἀλεξ[ε]σειν
κακὸν ἡμᾶρ,
[μηδ' ὀπ]ότε' ἂν Τρῶη μαλερῶι πυρὶ
π[ᾶσα δάη]ται 21.375
[καιο]μένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήιοι υἱῆς
Ἀχαιῶν."

[αὐτ]ὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε θεὰ
βοῶπις πότνια M. 2
λευκ[ώλενο]ς Ἥρη Γ 21.377

[..]. στογπ[.]οσε φωνεισπ.....M. 2
[α]ὐτίκα μιλιχίοισι προσηύδα
φωνεισπ.....M. 2

φα[ιδ]ιμ[ον] υἱόν·
["Ἥφ]αιστε, σ[ι]χέ[ο], [τ]έκνον ἀγακλεές· οὐ
γὰρ ἔοικ[ε]ν
[ἀθά]νατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἕνεκα
[στυ]φελ[ί]ζειν." 21.380
[Hera, why has your son attacked my stream to
distress it] out of all others? I for my part am not
to blame in your view, as much as[all the] ... as
many as are aids to the Trojans. But I myself
will **stop my anger**, if you enjoin me, and let
him also cease. And I will also swear this at
your bidding, never to ward off an evil day from
the Trojans, not even when all **Troy** is blazing
and burning with consuming fire, and the hostile
sons of the Achaeans are burning it. But when
white-armed goddess [ox-eyed lady] Hera heard
this, she immediately **addressed her illustrious
son with gentle words** : "Hephaestus, hold on,
glorious child; for it is not fitting for an immortal
god to strike out thus on account of mortals."

ὥς ἔφαθ', "Ἥφαιστος δὲ κατέσβεσε
θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ· 21.380
ἄφορρον δ' ἄρα κῦμα κατέσσυτο καλὰ
ῥέεθρα.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Ζάνθοιο δάμη μένος, οἱ μὲν
ἔπειτα
παυσάσθην, "Ἥρη γὰρ ἐρύκακε χωομένη
περ· 21.383
ἐν δ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν ἔρις πέσε βεβριθῦα,
ἀργαλέη, δίχα δέ σφιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς
ἄητο. 21.385
σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ, βράχῃ δ'
εὐρεῖα χθῶν,
> ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός. αἶε δὲ
Ζεὺς
ἦμενος Οὐλύμπω· ἐγέλασσε δὲ οἱ φίλον
ἦτορ
γηθοσύνη, ὅθ' ὄρατο θεοὺς ἔριδι ξυνιόντας. 21.390

ἐνθ' οἱ γ' οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἀφέστασαν· ἦρχε
γὰρ Ἄρης
ῥινοτόρος, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπόρουσε

χάλκεον ἔγχος ἔχων, καὶ ὀνειδείον φάτο
μῦθον·
> "τίπτ' αὐτ', ὦ κυνάμια, θεοὺς ἔριδι
ξυνελαύνεις,
θάρσος ἤτην ἔχουσα, μέγας δὲ σε θυμὸς
ἀνῆκεν; 21.395

Thus she spoke, and Hephaestus his extinguished
his marvellously burning fire; and again the
flow rushed down along the lovely streams. But
when the anger of Xanthus was subdued, then
they two ceased, for Hera restrained them,
although she was angry; and weighty strife fell
among the other gods, painful, and their spirit
was blown about in their minds. And they fell
together with a great noise, and the wide earth
resounded, and great heaven sounded all around
like a trumpet. And Zeus heard, sitting on
Olympus; and his dear heart laughed with joy,
when he saw the gods coming together in strife.
And then they did not stand apart any longer; for
Ares took the lead, piercer of shields, and first
rushed at Athena with a bronze spear, and spoke
an admonishing word: "Why, dog-fly, do you
once again drive the gods together in strife, with
mad boldness, and your great spirit urges you?"

[ὥς] ἔφατο, "Ἥφαιστος δὲ κατέ[σ]βεσε
[θεσ]πιδαῆς πῦρ, 21.380
[ἄ]φορρόν δ' ἄρα κῦμα κα[τέ]σχετ[ο]
καλὰ [ῥέε]θρα. (?)

ι M. 1

κ[άρ] ῥόον, ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν ἴει
κ[αλλιρροο]ν [ῥ]ῶρ. 21.382a
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Ζάνθοιο δάμη μένος, οἱ μὲν
ἔπειτα
παυσάσθην· "Ἥρη γὰρ ἐρύκακε χ[ωο]μένη
περ· 21.383
ἐν δ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖ[σ]ιν ἔρις πέσε βεβ[ι]..θυ[ί]α,
[άρ]γα[λ]ήη, [δί]χα δ[ι]έ σφιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς
ἄητο· 21.385
[σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μεγ]άλω[ι] πα[τά]γῳ[ι],
[βρ]άχ[ε] δ' εὐρεῖα χθῶν,
[ἀ]μφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οἴυρ[αν]ός. αἶε
δὲ Ζεὺς
[ἦ]μενος Οὐλύμπω· ἐγέλασ[σε] δὲ οἱ φίλον
ἦτορ

[γηθοσύνη, ὅθ' ὄρατο θεο]ὺς ἔριδι
ξυνιόν[τ]ας. 21.390
[ἐ]νθ' οἱ γ' οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἀφ[έ]σ[τ]ασαν·
ἦρχε γὰρ Ἄρης
[ῥινοτόρος καὶ πρῶτο]ς Ἀθηναίῃ
ἐπόρουσε
[χάλκεον ἔγχος ἔχων, καὶ ὀ]νειδείον φάτο
μῦ[θ]ον·

["τίπτ' αὐτ',] ὦ κυνάμια, θεοὺς ἔριδι
ξυνε[λ]αύνεις,
[θάρσος] ἤτην ἔχο[υ]σα, μέγας δὲ σε
θυμὸς ἀνῆκ[ε]ν; 21.395

Thus she spoke, and Hephaestus his extinguished
his marvellously burning fire; and again the
flow occupied the lovely streams. **along the
stream, where the well-flowing water goes
back.** But when the anger of Xanthus was
subdued, then they two ceased, for Hera
restrained them, although she was angry; and
weighty strife fell among the other gods, painful,
and their spirit was blown about in their minds.
And they fell together with a great noise, and the
wide earth resounded and great heaven sounded
all around like a trumpet. And Zeus heard,
sitting on Olympus; and his dear heart laughed
with joy, when he saw the gods coming together
in strife. And then they did not stand apart any
longer; for Ares took the lead, piercer of shields,
and first rushed at Athena with a bronze spear,
and spoke an admonishing word: "Why, dog-fly,
do you once again drive the gods together in
strife, with mad boldness, and your great spirit
urges you?"

ἤ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε **Τυδείδην Διομήδε'**
ἀνήκας

Ἰ οὐτάμεναι, αὐτὴ δὲ πανόπιον ἔγχος
έλοῦσα

ἰθὺς ἐμεῦ ὤσας, διὰ δὲ χροά καλὸν ἔδαφας:
τῷ σ' αὖ νῦν ὀίω ἀποτισέμεν ὄσσα
μ' ἔοργας.

ὡς εἰπὼν οὕτησε κατ' αἰγίδα

θυσσανόεσσαν 21.400

Ἰ σμερδαλέην, ἣν οὐδὲ Διὸς δάμνησι
κεραυνός·

τῇ μιν Ἄρης οὕτησε μαιφόνος ἔγχει
μακρῶ.

ἤ δ' ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ
παχείῃ

κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τρηχύν τε
μέγαν τε,

τόν ῥ' ἀνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν

ἔμμεναι οὔρον ἀρούρης· 21.405

τῶ βάλε θυῖρον Ἄρηα κατ' ἀχένα, λῦσε
δὲ γυῖα.

ἐπτὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσῶν, ἐκόνισε δὲ
χαίτας, 21.407

τεύχεά τ' ἀμφαράβησε· γέλασσε δὲ
Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

καὶ οἱ ἐπευχομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα
προσηύδα·

“νηπύτι· οὐδέ νύ πῶ περ ἐπεφράσω ὄσσον
ἀρείων 21.410

εὐχομ' ἐγὼν ἔμμεναι, ὅτι μοι μένος
ἀντιφερίζεις.

Don't you remember when you **urged Diomedes son of Tydeus** to strike me, and you yourself, conspicuous, took a spear and thrust straight at me, and tore my fair body? **Therefore in turn now I think you you will pay as much as you have done.**”Speaking thus he struck her on the tasseled aegis, terror-striking, which even Zeus' lightning does not pierce; **on this bloodstained Ares struck with his long spear.** And drawing back, she took a stone lying in the field, black, rough and big, in her stout hand, **that men of earlier times had made the boundary stone of a field.** Then she struck impetuous Ares on his neck, and slackened his limbs. And falling, he extended over seven measures, and he covered his locks with dust, and his arms rattled around him; and Pallas Athena laughed, and triumphing over him she spoke winged words: “o fool, **not even** yet do you take notice of how much better I boast that **I am** than you, so that you set yourself against me with regard to courage.

[ἤ οὐ μέ]μνη[η] ὅτε **Τυ[δε]ίδη**
Διομήδει ἀνώγας

Ἰ οὐτάμ[εναι], αὐτὴ δὲ πανόπιον ἔγχος
έλοῦσα

διὰ M. 2

[ἰθὺς ἐμ]εῦ ὤσας, ἐμὲ δὲ χροά καλὸν
ἔδαφας;

[..]γ[ι]

Heid. frg. 1262c

ὡς εἰ]π[ί]ων ο]ὔ]τησ[ε] κατ' ἀσπίδα

θυσ[σανόεσσαν] 21.400

τ M. 1

[σμερδαλέ]ην ἣν [δ] οὐδὲ Διὸς

α M. 1

δάμνησι α κ[εραυνός·] 21.401

[ἣ δ' ἀναχ]ἄσ[σ]α]μένη λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ

[π]α[χεί]η 21.403

[κείμενον] ἐ[ν] πεδίῳ μ[έ]λανα, τρηχύν τε
μέγαν τε, 21.404

[τῷ] βάλε θ]οὔ[ρ]ον Ἄρηα κ[ατ'] ἀχένα,

λ[ῦ]σ[ε] δὲ γυῖα. 21.406

[ἐπτὰ δ' ἐ]πέσχε πέλεθρα πεσῶν, ἐκόνισε

δὲ χαίτας, 21.407

[τεύχεά τ' ἀ]μφαράβη[σ]ε· γέλασσε δὲ

Παλλ[ὰς] Ἀθήνη,

[καὶ οἱ ἐπευχ]ομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα

π[ροσηύ]δα·

[“νηπύτι· οὐ]δέ νύ πῶ π[ο]τ' ἐπεφράσω

ὄσσ[ον] ἀρείων 21.410

εὐχομ' ἐγὼν] ἐν[ε]μ[αι], ἡ μοι μένος

ἀντιφερίζεις.

“Don't you remember when you **urged**

Diomedes son of Tydeus to strike me, and you

yourself, conspicuous, took a spear and thrust

straight at me and tore my fair body? Speaking

thus he struck her on the tasseled **shield**, terror-

striking, which even Zeus' lightning does not

penetrate. And drawing back, she took a stone

lying in the field, black, rough and big, in her

stout hand. Then she struck impetuous Ares on

his neck, and slackened his limbs. “And falling,

he extended over seven measures, and he

covered his locks with dust, and his arms rattled

around him; and Pallas Athena laughed, and

triumphing over him she spoke winged words: “o

fool, **never** yet do you take notice of how much

better I boast that **I am** than you, so that you set

yourself against me with regard to courage

οὕτω κεν τῆς μητρὸς ἐρινύας
ἔξαποτίνοις,

ἦ τοι χωομένη κακὰ μῆδεται οὔνεκ'
'Αχαιοὺς
κάλλιπες, αὐτὰρ Τρωσὶν ὑπερφιάλοισιν
ἀμύνεις."

καὶ δ' αὐθ' ἠ κυνάμια ἄγει βροτολογιὸν
"Ἄρηα 21.421
δηίου ἐκ πολέμοιο κατὰ κλόνον· ἀλλὰ
μέτελθε."

ὥς φάτ'· 'Αθηναίη δὲ μετέσσυτο, χαῖρε δὲ
θυμῶ,

> καὶ ῥ' ἐπεισαμένη πρὸς στήθεα χειρὶ
παχείη
ἦλασε· τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ
φίλον ἦτορ. 21.425

τῶ μὲν ἄρ' ἄμφω κεῖντο ἐπὶ χθονὶ
πουλυβοτείρη,

ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐπευχομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντ'
ἀγόρευε·

"τοιοῦτοι νῦν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώεσσι
ἄρωγοί,

εἶεν, ὅτ' 'Αργείοισι μαχοίατο
θωρηκτῆσιν,

> ὧδέ τε θαρσαλέοι καὶ τλήμονες, ὥς
'Αφροδίτη 21.430

Thus you will suffer the consequences of the
Erinyes of your mother, who, angry, contrives
evils against you **because** you left the Achaeans,
but fight for the reckless Trojans." Having
spoken thus she turned her two bright eyes
back... [Hera speaks to Athena] and again
already the dog-fly leads Ares, destroyer of men,
out of hostile war among the press of battle; but
follow her. Thus she spoke; and Athena dashed
after her, and rejoiced in her spirit and gave
chase, struck her on the chest with her stout
hand; and her knees and dear heart were
dissolved on the spot. Therefore both of them **lay**
on the earth that feeds many, and triumphing she
spoke winged words: "Would that all such
individuals might be in this state, as many as are
aids to the Trojans, when they fight against the
armored Argives, thus the bold and enduring,
even as Aphrodite came as an ally for Ares,
encountering my courage..."

ε..Μ. 2

[οὕτω κ]εν κα[λ]ι μητρὸς] ἐρινύας ἄψ
ἀ[ποτ]εῖν[οῖς],

οὔνεκα Μ. 2

[ἦ τοι χωομένη] κα[κ]ὰ μῆδεται, εἴ κεν
'Αχ[α]ιοὺς
[κάλλιπες, αὐτὰρ Τ]ρωσ[ι]ν ὑπερφιάλοισ[ιν]
ἀμύνεις."

Hibeh frg. 12

καὶ [δὴ αὐθ' ἠ κυν]ά[μ]ια ἄγει
βροτολογιὸν "Ἄρηα 21.421

mys δηίου ἐκ πο[λ]έμοιο κα[τ]ὰ κλόνον·
ἀλλὰ μέτελθε."

ὥς φάτ', 'Α[θη]ναίη δὲ μ[ε]τέσσυτο, χαῖρε δὲ
θυμῶι,

mys καὶ ῥα [ἐπ]ει[σ]αμένη πρ[ὸ]ς στήθεα
χειρὶ παχείη

ἦλασε· τῆ[ς] δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γο[ύ]νατα καὶ
φίλον ἦτορ. 21.425

[τῶ μ]έ[ν] ἄρ' ἄμφω θεῖνε ποτὶ χθο[ν]ι
πουλυβοτείρη,

[ἦ δ' ἄρ'] ἐπευχομένη ἔπ[ε]α πτερόεντ'
ἀγόρευε·

["τοιοῦτοι νῦν π]άντες, ὅσοι Τρώ[ε]σσι
ἄρωγοί,

[εἶεν, ὅτ' 'Αργείοισι μα]χοίατο
κυδα[λ]ίμοισιν,

ὧδέ τε θαρσαλέο[ι] καὶ τλήμονες, [ὥς
'Αφροδίτη 21.430

Thus you will suffer the consequences of the
Erinyes **even** of your mother, who, angry,
contrives evils against you **if** you left the
Achaeans, but fight for the reckless Trojans."
Having spoken thus she turned her two bright
eyes back... [Hera speaks to Athena] and again
already the dog-fly leads Ares, destroyer of men,
out of hostile war among the press of battle; but
follow her. Thus she spoke; and Athena dashed
after her, and rejoiced in her spirit and gave
chase, struck her on the chest with her stout
hand; and her knees and dear heart were
dissolved on the spot. Therefore both of them
struck against the earth that feeds many, and
triumphing she spoke winged words: "Would
that all such individuals might be in this state, as
many as are aids to the Trojans, when they fight
against the **glorious** Argives, thus the bold and
enduring, even as Aphrodite came as an ally for
Ares, encountering my courage..."

ἀσπάσιοι προτὶ ἄστν, πόλις δ' ἔμπλητο
 ἀλέντων. 21.607
 οὐδ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἔτλαν πόλιος καὶ τείχεος
 ἐκτός
 μεῖναι ἔτ' ἀλλήλους καὶ γνώμεναι, ὅς τε
 πεφεύγοι
 ὅς τ' ἔθαν' ἐν πολέμῳ· ἀλλ' ἀσπασίως
 ἐσέχυντο 21.610
 ἐς πόλιν, ὃν τινα τῶν γε πόδες καὶ γούνα
 σαώσαν.

ὅς ρά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαί
 22.27

φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄστρασι νυκτὸς
 ἀμολγῶ,
 > ὃν τε κύν' ὠρίωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσι.
 λαμπρότατος μὲν ὁ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε
 σῆμα τέτυκται, 22.30

> καὶ τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι
 βροτοῖσιν·

ὥς τοῦ χαλκὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στήθεσσι
 θέοντος.

ῥῶμωξεν δ' ὁ γέρων, κεφαλὴν δ' ὁ γε
 κόψατο χερσίν

ὑψόσ' ἀνασχόμενος, μέγα δ' οἰμῶξας
 ἐγεγῶνει

λισσόμενος φίλον υἰόν· ὁ δὲ προπάρειθε
 πυλάων 22.35

ἐσθήκει ἄμοτον μεμαῶς Ἀχιλῆϊ μάχεσθαι·
 [Meanwhile, the other Trojans, put to flight,
 came in a crowd] glad toward the city, and the
 city was filled with them cooped up. And they
 no longer dared to withstand each other outside
 the city and the wall and to know **both** who had
 fled and who had died in the battle; but gladly
 they poured into the city, whoever their feet and
 knees **saved**. . . . And the old man Priam first saw
 him with his eyes, rushing over the plain, like the
 star which belongs to late summer, and his very
 bright rays appear among many stars in the deep
 night which they call as a nickname Orion's dog.
 It is the brightest, and it happens to be an evil
 sign, and it brings much fever for **wretched**
mortals; just so did the bronze shine on the
 running man's chest. And the old man groaned,
 and struck his head with his hands, lifting them
 high, and he groaned and shouted very much,
 entreating his dear son; but he stood unmoving in
 front of the gates, raging to fight Achilles;

[ἀσπάσιοι προτὶ ἄστν, πόλις δ']
 ἔμπλητο ἀλέντων. 21.607
 [οὐδ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἔτλαν πόλεος κα] τείχεος
 [ἐκτός
 [μεῖναι ἔτ' ἀλλήλους καὶ γνώμενα] ὅς κε
 πε[φεύγοι
 [ὅς τ' ἔθαν' ἐν πολέμῳ· ἀλλ'] .ως
 ἐσέχ[υντο 21.610
 [ἐς πόλιν, ὃν τινα τῶν γε πό]δες καὶ
 γ[ούνα σαώσαι.

Heid. frg. 1263a & Grenf. frg. 3
 [ὅς ρά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ
 α]ύγαί 22.27

[φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι] νυκτὸς
 ἀμολγῶ·

[ὃν τε κύν' ὠρίωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν κ]αλέουσιν.
 [λαμπρότατος μὲν ὁ γ' ἐστί, κακ]ὸν δέ τε
 σῆμα τέτυκται, 22.30

[καὶ τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν

μ]ε]ρὸ]πεσσ[ι βροτοῖσιν·

[ὥς τοῦ χα]λ[κὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στ]ήθεσσι
 θέ[οντος.

[ῥῶ]μωξεν δ' ὁ [γέρων, κεφαλὴν δ' ὁ γε]

κ[όψατο χερσίν
 [ὑψόσ' ἀν]α[σ]χόμεν[ος, μέγα δ' οἰμῶξας
 ἐγεγῶνει

[λισσόμε]νο[ς φί]λον [υἰ]όν· ὁ δὲ
 [προπάρειθε πυλάων 22.35

[ἐσθήκει, ἄμοτον] μεμαῶς Ἀχιλῆϊ
 μάχεσθαι·

[Meanwhile, the other Trojans, put to flight,
 came in a crowd] glad toward the city, and the
 city was filled with them cooped up. And they
 no longer dared to withstand each other outside
 the city and the wall and to know who had fled
 and who had died in the battle; but ... they
 poured into the city, whoever their feet and knees
saved. [And the old man Priam first saw him
 with his eyes, rushing over the plain, like the
 star] which belongs to late summer, and his very
 bright rays appear among many stars in the deep
 night, which they call as a nickname Orion's
 dog. It is the brightest, and it happens to be an
 evil sign, and it brings much fever for **human**
beings; just so did the bronze shine on the
 running man's chest. And the old man groaned,
 and struck his head with his hands, lifting them
 high, and he groaned and shouted very much,
 entreating his dear son; but he stood unmoving in
 front of the gates, raging to fight Achilles;

τὸν δ' ὃ γέρων ἔλεεινὰ προσηύδα χεῖρας
ὀρεγνύς·

“Ἔκτορ μή μοι μίμνε, φίλον τέκος, ἀνέρα
τοῦτον

τούς μοι Λαοθόη τέκετο κρείουσα γυναικῶν.
22.48

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ζῶουσι μετὰ στρατῷ, ἦ τ' ἂν
ἔπειτα

χαλκοῦ τε χρυσοῦ τ' ἀπολυσόμεθ', ἔστι γὰρ
ἔνδον· 22.50

> πολλὰ γὰρ ὤπασε παιδί γέρων
ὀνομάκλυτος Ἄλτης.

εἰ δ' ἤδη τεθνάσι καὶ εἰν Αἴδαο δόμοισιν,
ἄλγος ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ μητέρι τοῖ τεκόμεσθα·

λαοῖσιν δ' ἄλλοισι μινυθαδιώτερον ἄλγος

> ἔσσεται, ἦν μὴ καὶ σὺ θάνης Ἀχιλῆϊ
δαμασθεῖς. 22.55

and the old man spoke pitiable words, stretching
out his hands: “Hector, for my sake do not stand
up to this man whom Laothoe preeminent
among women bore to me. But if they are alive
in the camp, then we will ransom them with
bronze and gold, for it is inside; for Altes, old
man with a glorious name, gave many things to
his child. But if they are now dead in the house
of Hades, there will be pain for my spirit and for
their mother, we who bore them; but for the rest
of the people pain will be shorter, if you do not
die also, subdued by Achilles.

[τὸν δ' ὃ γέ]ρων ἔλεεινὰ προ[σηύ]δα
χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς·

[“Ἔκτορ, μή μοι μίμν]ε, φίλο[ν] τέκος, ἀνέρα
τοῦτον

Grenf. frg. 4 Col. I

[τούς μοι Λαοθόη τέκετο κρείου]σα γυ[ναικῶν].
22.48

[ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ζῶουσι μετὰ στρατ]ῷ, εὔ τ' ἂν
ἔπειτα

[χαλκοῦ τε χρυσοῦ τ' ἀ]ήολυσό[μεθ'], ἔστι γὰρ
ἔνδον· 22.50

[πολλὰ γὰρ ὤπασε παιδί γέρων ὀνομάκλυτος
Ἄλτης].

[εἰ δ' ἤδη τεθνάσι καὶ εἰν Αἴ]δαο δό[μοισιν],
[ἄλγος ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ μητέρι, τοῖ]
τεκόμεσθα·

[λαοῖσιν δ' ἄλλοισι μινυθαδιώτερ]ον
ἄλγος

[ἔσσεται, ἦν μὴ καὶ σὺ θάνης Ἀχιλῆ]ϊ
δαμασθεῖς. 22.55

and the old man spoke pitiable words, stretching
out his hands: “Hector, for my sake do not stand
up to this man ...whom Laothoe preeminent
among women bore to me. But if they are alive
in the camp, then we will ransom them with
bronze and gold, for it is inside; for Altes, old
man with a glorious name, gave many things to
his child. But if they are now dead in the house
of Hades, there will be there will be pain for my
spirit and for their mother, we who bore them;
but for the rest of the people pain will be shorter,
if you do not die also, subdued by Achilles.

κεῖσθαι πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ ὅττι
 φανήη· 22.73
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολιὸν τε κάρη πολιὸν
 τε γένειον
 αἰδῶ τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο
 γέροντος,
 τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι
 βροτοῖσιν.

ἦ ῥ' ὃ γέρων, πολιὰς δ' ἄρ' ἀνά τρίχας
 ἔλκετο χερσὶ 22.77

καί μιν δάκρυ χέουσ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα
 προσηύδα· 22.81

“Ἐκτορ τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο καί μ'
 ἐλέησον
 αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν
 ἐπέσχον·

to lie dead; all things are beautiful for him
 though he lies dead, whatever **may** be visible;
**but when the dogs defile the gray head and
 gray beard and private parts of an old man
 who has been killed, this is most pitiable to
 wretched mortals.**The old man spoke, and
 plucked and tore out grey hairs from his head
 with his hands.... and dropping a tear she
 addressed him with winged words: “Hector, my
 child, respect these and pity me myself, if ever I
 held out to you the breast as a soother of
 troubles;

Hibeh frg. 13 Col. I

I
 [κεῖσθαι πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ, ὅττι]
 φ[α]νεῖη· 22.73 (?)

[ἦ ῥ' ὃ γέρων, πολιὰς δ' ἄρ' ἀνά τρίχας
 ἔλκετο χερσὶν 22.77 (?)

Grenf. frg. 4 Col. II

καί μιν δάκρυ χέουσ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα
 προσηύδα· 22.81

“Ἐκ[τορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο καί μ'
 ἐλέησον
 α[ὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν
 ἐπέσχον·

to lie dead; all things are beautiful for him
 though he lies dead, whatever **might** be
 visible;....The old man spoke, and plucked and
 tore out grey hairs from his head with his
 hands.... and dropping a tear she addressed him
 with winged words: “Hector, my child, respect
 these and pity me myself, if ever I held out to
 you the breast as a soother of troubles;

Ἰ τῶν μνησαί, φίλε τέκνον, ἄμυνε δὲ δήϊον
ἄνδρα

ὥς "Ἐκτωρ ἄσβεστον ἔχων μένος οὐχ
ὑπεχώρει, 22.96
πύργῳ ἐπὶ προὔχοντι φαεινὴν ἄσπίδ'
ἔρείσας.
ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὄν μεγαλήτορα
θυμόν·
"ὦ μοι ἐγών, εἰ μὲν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα
δύω,

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην
ἀναθήσει, 22.100
ὅς μ' ἐκέλευε Τρωσὶ ποτὶ πτόλιν
ἠγήσασθαι
νύχθ' ὑπὸ τήνδ' ὀλοήν, ὅτε τ' ὤρετο
δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην· ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον
ἦεν.
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ὤλεσα λαὸν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν
ἐμῆσιν,
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας
ἔλκεσιπέπλους, 22.105
μή ποτέ τις εἴπησι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμεῖο·

"Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίῃφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν."
remember these matters, dear child and ward off
the hostile man.... thus Hector, with
inextinguishable courage did not recoil, leaning
his shining shield on the jutting rampart. And he
spoke to his own great-hearted spirit: "Alas for
me; if I go inside the gates and walls,
Poludamas will be the first to heap shame on me,
since he ordered me to lead the Trojans to the
city **in the course of this destructive night**,
when shining Achilles roused himself. But I was
not persuaded: it would have been much better.
But now, since I have destroyed my people with
my instances of mad recklessness, I feel shame
before the Trojan men and the Trojan women
with trailing gowns, that some other, lesser man
man might say of me: "Hector, trusting in his
own strength, destroyed his people.

. τῶν μνησαί, φίλε τέκνον, ἄμυνε δὲ δήϊον
ἄνδρα

Hibeh frgs. 13 (Col. II), 26 & Heid. frg. 1263b
[ὥς "Ἐκτωρ ἄσβεστον ἔχων μένος οὐχ
ὑπεχώρει, 22.96
[πύργῳ] ἐπὶ προὔχοντι φαεινὴν ἄσπίδ'
ἔρείσας·
[ὀ]χ[θ]ήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὄν
μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
" οἴμοι ἐγών, ἡ μὲν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα
δύω,

**λωβητός κεν πάσι μετὰ Τ[ρώεσσι
γενοίμην (?)** 22.99a
Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην
ἀναθήσει, 22.100
ὅς μ' ἐκέλευεν Τρωσὶ ποτὶ [πτόλιν
ἠγήσασθαι
νύκτα ποτὶ δυοφερὴν [ὅτ]ε [τ' ὤρετο
δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην· ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον
ἦεν.
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ὤλεσα λαόν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν
ἐμῆσιν,
[αἰ]δ[έ]ομαι Τρῶ(ι)ας κα[ὶ] Τ[ρωι]άδα[ς]
ἔλκεσιπέπλους, 22.105
[μή π]οτέ τις εἴπησι κακώτ[ε]ρος ἄλλος
ἐμεῖο·

"Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίῃφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν".
remember these matters, dear child and ward off
the hostile man.... thus Hector, with
inextinguishable courage did not recoil, leaning
his shining shield on the jutting rampart. And he
spoke to his own great-hearted spirit: "Alas for
me; if I go inside the gates and walls, **I may be
despitefully treated among all the Trojans**,
Poludamas will be the first to heap shame on me,
since he ordered me to lead the Trojans to the
city **at the approach of dark night**, when
shining Achilles roused himself. But I was not
persuaded: it would have been much better. But
now, since I have destroyed my people with my
instances of mad recklessness, I feel shame
before the Trojan men and the Trojan women
with trailing gowns, that some other, lesser man
man might say of me: "Hector, trusting in his
own strength, destroyed his people.

ὥς ἐρέουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τότε ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον
εἶη
ἄντην ἢ Ἀχιλῆα κατακτείναντα νέεσθαι,

> ἦέ κεν αὐτῷ ὀλέσθαι εὐκλειῶς πρὸ
πόλης. 22.110

εἰ δέ κεν ἀσπίδα μὲν καταθείομαι
ὀμφαλόεσσαν
καὶ κόρυθα βριαρῆν, δόρυ δὲ πρὸς τεῖχος
ἐρείσας
αὐτὸς ἰὼν Ἀχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντίος ἔλθω

αὐτῶς ὥς τε γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπὸ τεύχεα
δύω. 22.125
οὐ μὲν πως νῦν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ
πέτρης

τῷ ὀαριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἠΐθεός
τε,
> παρθένος ἠΐθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον
ἀλλήλοισιν.
βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι ξυνελαυνέμεν ὅττι
τάχιστα·
εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὐχος
ὀρέξηι." 22.130
ὥς ὥρμαινε μένων, ὃ δὲ οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθεν
Ἀχιλλεύς

So they will say; and for me it would be much better to face Achilles directly and return when I have killed him, or perhaps by him to be destroyed honorably in front of the city. But if I lay down my bossed shield and strong helmet, and leaning my spear on the wall, going myself, I came face-to face with blameless Achilles [Hector continues his monologue: Let it not be that I go and reach him, but he will not pity me nor respect me in any way, but kill me unarmed] just like a woman, when I have taken off my armor. It is not possible for me now from an oak tree or from a rock to hold dalliance with him, in the way in which youth and maiden, youth and maiden, dally, each with the other of the pair. It is better to clash together once more in strife as quickly as possible; let us know on which of two the Olympian will bestow renown. He debated thus as he waited, and Achilles came near him

ὥς [ἐρέουσιν· ἐμοὶ] δὲ [τότ'] ἂν πολὺ
κέρδιον ἦεν
[ἄντην ἢ Ἀχιλῆα] [κατακτείναντα
νέεσθαι,
ἦ [αὐ]τῷ π[ρὸ πόλ]ης εὐκλειῶ[ς]
ἅ π[ὸ]λέσθαι. 22.110
αι M. 2

[εἰ δέ κεν] ἀσπίδα μὲν [κ]αταθείομεν
ὀμφαλόεσσαν
[καὶ κόρυθα βριαρῆν, δόρυ δὲ πρὸς
τεῖχος ἐρείσας
[αὐ]τὸς ἰὼν [Ἀ]χιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντίος
ἔλθω

Heid. frg. 1263c & Hibeh frg. 13 (Col. II)
[αὐτῶς ὥς τε γυν]αῖκα, ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τεύχεα
δύω. 22.125
[οὐ μὲν πως νῦν ἐ]στὶν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ
πέτρης

[c. 12 letters] μιοιο μεμαότα
δακρυόεντος 22.126a
ναι M. 1 ς M. 1 ς M. 1

[τῷ ὀαριζέ]με [.] ἅ τε παρθένον ἠΐθεόν
τε,
[παρθένος ἠΐθεος] ὀαρίζετον
ἀλλήλοισιν.
[βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι] ξυνελαυνόμεν ὅττι
τάχιστα·
[εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρ]ῳ [κ]ρονίδης Ζεὺς
κῦδος ὀρέξη[ι]." 22.130
[ὥς ὥρμαινε μέ]νων, ὃ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν ἦλυθ'
Ἀχιλλεύς

So they will say; and for me it would be much better to face Achilles directly and return when I have killed him, or by him in front of the city honorably to be killed. But if I lay down my bossed shield and strong helmet, and leaning my spear on the wall, going myself, I came face-to-face with blameless Achilles

[Hector continues his monologue: Let it not be that I go and reach him, but he will not pity me nor respect me in any way, but kill me unarmed] just like a woman, even though I have taken off my armor. It is not possible for me now from an oak tree or from a rock striving ...the tearful...to hold dalliance with him, in the way in which youth and maiden, youth and maiden, dally with each other. It is better to clash together once more in strife as quickly as possible; let us know on which of two Zeus son of Cronus will bestow glory. He debated thus as he waited, and so Achilles came near

Ἰσος Ἐνυαλίῳ, κορυθαίκι πτολεμιστῆι,
22.132

σειῶν Πηλιάδα μελίνῃ κατὰ δεξιῶν
ῶμον

δεινήν· ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο
εἴκελος ἀύγῃ
ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἡελίου

ἀνιόντος. 22.135

Ἔκτορα δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἔλε τρόμος· οὐδ'
ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη

αὐθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ
φοβηθεῖς·

Πηλείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι
πεποιθῶς.

ἤυτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν ἐλαφρότατος
πετεηνῶν

ῥηιδίῳς οἶμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν·

22.140

ἢ δὲ θ' ὑπαιθα φοβεῖται, ὃ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὄξυ
λεληκῶς

ταρφέ' ἐπαῖσσει, ἐλείεν τέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει·

ἢ ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμεμαῶς ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε δ'
Ἔκτωρ

ἢ δ' ἐτέρῃ θέρει προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ

22.151

ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.
ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν πλυνοὶ εὐρέες ἐγγύς
ἔασιν

καλοὶ λαῖνεοι, ὅθι εἶματα σιγαλόεντα
πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι καλαί τε

θύγατρεις 22.155

equal to Enyalios, the warrior with the glancing
helmet, brandishing Peleus' terrible ash spear
at his right shoulder; and and the bronze
gleamed like the flash of burning fire or the
rising sun. And trembling seized Hector, when
he perceived him; and he did not dare any longer
to remain there, but he left the gates behind, and
frightened, set out; and Peleus' son pursued him,
trusting in his swift feet. As a falcon in the
mountains, swiftest of winged creatures, easily
swoops after a dove; she flees in front and he,
nearby, screeching sharply, continually rushes
towards her, and his spirit urges him to seize
her; just so, raging, he drove straight on, and
Hector ran ... [One flows with warm water, and
around it smoke goes up as from a burning fire]
and the other even in summer flows forth like
hail or cold snow or ice from water. And there
near them are lovely broad stone washbasins,
where the lovely Trojan wives and daughters
used to wash bright clothing....

[Ἰσος Ἐνυαλίῳ, κορυθαίκι
πτολεμιστῆι,

22.132

[Ἔκτορ]α δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἔ]λε [τρόμος·

οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ'] ἔ]τλη 22.136

αὐθι μένειν, ὀπίσ]ω] δὲ πύ]λας λί]πε, βῆ δὲ
φοβηθεῖς·

Πηλείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶν ταχέεσσ[ι

ἤυτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, [ἐ]λ]αφρ[ότατος
πετεηνῶν,

καρπαλίμ[ως] ὥρμη]σε μετὰ τρήρωνα

πέλειαν· 22.140

ἢ δὲ τ' ὑπαι[θ]α φοβε[ί]ται, ὃ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὄξυ
λεληκῶς

τα[ρφέ]α ἐπαῖσσει ν[

[ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμ]εμαῶ[ς] ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε

δ' Ἔκτωρ

Grenf. frg. 6

[ἢ δ'] ἐτέρ[η] θέρει προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ

22.151

ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῶι, ἢ ἐξ [ὑ]δατος
κρυστάλλῳι.

[ἔ]νθα] δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν π[λ]υνοὶ εὐρέες ἐγγύς
ἔασιν

[καλ]οὶ λαῖνεοι, τὸθι εἶμα[τ]α σιγαλόεντα
[πλ]ύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλ[ο]χοι καλαί τε

θύγατρεις 22.155

equal to Enyalios, the warrior with the glancing
helmet. And trembling seized Hector, when he
perceived him; and he did not dare any longer to
remain there, but he left the gates behind, and
frightened, set out; and Peleus' son pursued him,
trusting in his speedy feet. As a falcon in the
mountains, swiftest of winged creatures, swiftly
swoops after a dove; she flees in front and he,
nearby, screeching sharply, continually rushes
towards her, [partially preserved variant line];
just so, raging, he drove straight on, and Hector
ran.... [One flows with warm water, and around
it smoke goes up as from a burning fire] and the
other even in summer flows forth like hail or
cold snow or ice from water. And there near
them are lovely broad stone washbasins, there
the lovely Trojan wives and daughters used to
wash bright clothing....

ἴτοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθεν ἀποστρέψασκε
 παραφθᾶς 22.197

ἦ δ' ἄρα τὸν μὲν ἔλειπε, κιχήσατο δ'
 Ἔκτορα δῖον 22.226
 Δηϊφόβῳ εἰκυῖα δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν·

ὥς φαμένη καὶ κερδοσύνη ἠγήσατ' Ἀθήνη.
 22.247

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν
 ἰόντες,
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε μέγας
 κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ·

> “οὐ σ' ἔτι, Πηλέος υἱέ, φοβήσομαι, ὥς τὸ
 πάρος περ 22.250

> τρὶς περὶ ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμου δῖον, οὐδέ
 ποτ' ἔτλην

μεῖναι ἐπερχόμενον· νῦν αὐτέ με θυμὸς
 ἀνῆκε

στήμεναι ἀντία σείῳ· ἔλοιμί κεν ἢ κεν
 ἀλοίην.

> ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο θεοὺς ἐπιδώμεθα· τοὶ
 γὰρ ἄριστοι

> μάρτυροι ἔσσονται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι

ἁρμονιάων· 22.255

οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σ' ἔκπαγλον ἀεικῶ, αἶ κεν ἐμοὶ
 Ζεὺς

[two lines lost here in the papyrus text]

[As often as he he rushed toward the Dardanian gates to dash inside the well-built walls, if those above would defend him with arrows,] so often would he [Achilles] get there **first**....But she left him, and approached shining Hector, resembling Deiphobus in form and unflagging voice....Speaking even so Athena led him along by cunning. And when they were near as they came towards each other, great Hector with the shining helmet first spoke to him: “I will no longer flee, Peleus’ son, as I fled before three times around the great, shining city of Priam, nor ever did I endure standing up to you as you advanced. Now, in turn, my spirit impells me to make a stand opposite you, whether I may kill or be killed. But come here, let us grant each other the gods as witnesses; for they will be the best witnesses and guardians of our covenant; for I will not shame you excessively, if Zeus to me ...

Hibeh frg. 14

τοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθεν ἀποστρέψασκεν
 Ἀχιλλεύ[ς 22.197 (?)

[] . ει

Hibeh frg. 15

ἦ [δ' ἄρα τὸν μὲν ἔλειπε, κιχήσατο δ'
 Ἔκτορα δῖον 22.226 (?)

Δηϊφόβ[ω] εἰκυῖα δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν·

Hibeh frg. 16

[ὥς φαμένη καὶ κερδοσύνη ἠγήσατ']τ'

Ἀθ[ή]ν[η]. 22.247

[οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλή]λοισιν
 ἰόντες,

[τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε μέγας
 κο]ρυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ·

[“οὐ σ' ἔτι, Πηλέος υἱέ, φοβήσομαι, ὥς τὸ]

πάρος περ 22.250

[τρὶς περὶ ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμου δῖεσ(?)ο]ὔδέ
 ποτ' ἔτλης

[μεῖναι ἐπερχόμενον· νῦν αὐτέ με] θυμὸς
 ἀνώγει

[στήμεναι ἀντία σείῳ· ἔλοιμί κεν, ἢ κεν
 ἀλοί]ην.

[ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο θεοὺς ἐπιδώμεθα· τοὶ] γὰρ
 ἄριστ[οι

[μάρτυροι ἔσσονται καὶ ἐπίσκοπο]ι

ἁρμον[ιάων· 22.255

[οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σ' ἔκπαγλον ἀεικῶ, αἶ κε]ν
 ἐμοὶ Ζ[εὺ]ς

[As often as he he rushed toward the Dardanian gates to dash inside the well-built walls, if those above would defend him with arrows,] so often would Achilles get there....But she left him, and approached shining Hector, resembling Deiphobus in form and unflagging voice....Speaking even so Athena led him along by cunning. And when they were near as they came towards each other, great Hector with the shining helmet first spoke to him: “I will no longer flee, Peleus’ son, as I fled before three times around the great, shining city of Priam, nor ever did I endure standing up to you as you advanced. Now, in turn, my spirit impells me to make a stand opposite you, whether I may kill or be killed. But come here, let us grant each other the gods as witnesses; for they will be the best witnesses and guardians of our covenant; for I will not shame you excessively, if Zeus to me ...

νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοῖσιν δώσω πάλιν· ὧς
δὲ σὺ ρέζειν.” 22.259

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας
ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς· 22.260

“Ἐκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας
ἀγόρευε.

ὧς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρκια
πιστά,
οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν
ἔχουσι

τῆλε δ' ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκεος δόρυ. χώσατο
δ' Ἐκτωρ 22.291

χρῦσαι, ἅς Ἡφαιστος ἴει λόφον ἀμφί
θαμείας. 22.316

τῆ ρ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτ' ἔλασ' ἔγχει δίος Ἀχιλλεύς,
22.326

ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή·
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελίη τάμε
χαλκοβάρεια,

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν χαλκὸν τε ἄλις χρυσὸν τε
δέδεξο, 22.340

δῶρα τὰ τοι δώσουσι πατήρ καὶ
πότνια μήτηρ,

**I will give your corpse back to the Achaeans;
and you, do likewise.”** And swift footed
Achilles spoke to him, looking darkly: “Hector,
do not, o wretch speak of agreements to me. As
trustworthy oaths do not exist between lions and
men, nor do wolves and lambs have a like-
minded spirit... golden, which Hephaestus had
placed close together around the crest. ... shining
Achilles eagerly drove in the spear, and the point
went straight through the soft neck; but the
bronze-weighted ash spear did not cut through
the windpipe.... But you take bronze and gold in
abundance, gifts that my father and lady mother
will give to you,

Grenf. frgs. 7(Col. I) & 9

Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι
λ[ε]λάχωσι θ[ανόντ]α.” 22.259b

[τὸν δ'] ἄρ' ὑπόδ[ρ]α ἰδὼν προσέφη
[πόδας ὠ]κ[ύς] Ἀχιλ[λ]εύς· 22.260

[“Ἐκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλαστ]τε, συνημοσύν[ας
ἀγόρ]ευε·

[ὧς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀ]νδρά[σιν] ὄρκ[ια
πισ]τά,

[οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφ]ρο[ν]α
θυμὸν] ἔχ[ο]ντ[ες]

Grenf. frg. 7 Col. II

τ[ῆ]λε δ' ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκεος δόρυ·
χώσατο δ' Ἐκτωρ 22.291

Grenf. frgs. 5 & 8 (Col. I)
[χρῦσαι, ἅς Ἡφαιστος ἴει λόφον] ἀμ[φί]
θαμ[ε]ιά[ς]. 22.316

[σειῶν Πηλιάδα μελ]ίη[ν] κατὰ
[δεξιὸν] ὤμον 22.316a

[δεινήν· ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς] ἐλάμπ[ε]το
[εἵκελος ἀύγῃ] 22.316b

[ἠ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἠ ἡελίου]
ἀνιόντ[ος] 22.316c

Hibeh frg. 17

τῆ ρ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτ' ἔλασ' ἔγχει δίος Ἀχιλλεύς,
22.326

ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή·
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελίη τάμε
χαλκοβάρεια,

Grenf. frg. 8 Col. II

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν χαλκὸν τ[ε] ἄλις χρυσὸν τε
δέδεξο, 22.340

[..]λλα τ[ε]

**Let the Trojans and the wives of the Trojans
obtain my body.”** And swift footed Achilles

spoke to him, looking darkly: “Hector, do not, o
wretch speak of agreements to me. As
trustworthy oaths do not exist between lions and
men, nor do wolves and lambs have a like-
minded spirit... golden, which Hephaestus had
placed close together around the crest.

**Brandishing Peleus' terrible ash spear over
his right shoulder; and bronze shone round**

**about like a ray of the rising or the setting
sun. ... shining Achilles eagerly drove in the**

spear, and the point went straight through the
soft neck; but the bronze-weighted ash spear did
not cut through the windpipe.... But you take
bronze and gold in abundance, gifts that my
father and lady mother will give to you

...[alternate or changed line]

ἴσῳμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ὄφρα
 πυρός με
 Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι λελάχῳσι
 θανόντα.”

-- ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν
 "Ἐκτορα δῖον, 22.393

-- ᾧ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστῳ θεῶ ὧς
 εὐχετόωντο.
 ἦ ῥα, καὶ "Ἐκτορα δῖον ἀεικέα μῆδετο ἔργα.
 22.395

> ἀμφοτέρων μετόπισθε ποδῶν τέτρηνε
τένοντε
 ἐς σφυρὸν ἐκ πτέρνης, βοέους δ' ἐξῆπτεν
 ἰμάντας, 22.397
 ἐκ δίφροιο δ' ἔδησε, κάρη δ' ἔλκεσθαι ἔασεν.
ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀναβὰς ἀνά τε κλυτὰ
τεύχε' αἰείρας
 μάστιξ ἐν ῥ' ἐλάαν, τῶ δ' οὐκ ἄκουτε
 πετέσθην. 22.400
 τοῦ δ' ἦν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ
 χαῖται

ἦν πως ἡλικίην αἰδέσσεται ἠδ' ἐλεήσῃ
 22.419

γῆρας. καὶ δέ νῦ τῶ γε πατῆρ τοιόσδε
 τέτυκται, 22.420
 Πηλεὺς, ὅς μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε πῆμα
 γενέσθαι
 Τρωσί· μάλιστα δ' ἐμοὶ περὶ πάντων ἄλγε'
 ἔθηκε·

and give my body back to my home, so that the
 Trojan men and the Trojans' wives may give me,
 dead, my due of fire." ... **We have won** great
 glory for ourselves; we have killed shining
 Hector, to whom the Trojans in their city prayed,
 as to a god. He spoke, and plotted shameful
 deeds for shining Hector. He pierced the tendons
 of both feet in the back from the heel to the ankle,
 and fastened them to oxhide thongs, and fastened
 him to his chariot, but allowed his head to drag.
And having mounted his chariot and lifted up
his glorious armor, he lashed the horses to
 drive them on, and then not unwillingly the two
 horses sped away. And from the one being
 dragged came a cloud of dust, and all around his
 hair **even if** he may somehow respect my
 time of life and pity my old age. And indeed
 even such a father created him, Peleus, who
 fathered him and raised him to be a source of
 grief for the Trojans. And he caused pain for me
 especially, above all;

[σῳ]μα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν,
 ὄφρα πυρός με
 [Τρῶ]ες κ[αὶ] Τρώων ἄλοχοι λελάχῳσι
 θανόντα.”

Hibeh frg. 18 Col. I
[καὶ τ]εθνηότα περ: τόσα γὰρ κάκ'
ἐμή[σατ'] Ἀχαιοῦς 22.392a
 [.....]δῆ μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν "Ἐκ[τ]ορα
 δῖον

Heid. frg. 1263d Col. I
 [ῳ] Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστῳ θεῶ ὧς
 εὐχετόων]το.” 22.394

[ἦ ῥα, καὶ "Ἐκτορα δῖον ἀεικέα μῆδετο
 ἔργα.] 22.395

[ἀμφοτέρων μετόπισθε ποδῶν τέτρηνε
τέ]νοντα

[ἐς σφύρὸν ἐκ πτέρνης, βοέους δ' ἐξῆπτεν
 ἰμ]άντας 22.397

[]]ην. 22.400(?)

[]]i

Heid. frg. 18 Col. II

εἰ π[ί]ως ἡλικίην αἰδέσσεται ἠδ' ἐλεήσῃ
 22.419

Heid. Frg. 1263d Col. II
 γῆρας· καὶ δ[έ] νῦ τῶ γε πατῆρ τοιόσδε
 τέτυκται, 22.420
 Πηλεὺς, ὅς μ[ι]ν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε πῆμα
 γενέσθαι
 Τρωσί· μάλ[ι]στα δ' ἐμοὶ περὶ πάντων
 ἄλγε' ἔθηκε.

and give my body back to my home, so that the
 Trojan men and the Trojans' wives may give me,
 dead, my due of fire." ... **even though dead; for**
so many evils he intended for the Achaeans
 ...great glory for ourselves; we have killed
 shining Hector to whom the Trojans in their city
 prayed, as to a god. He spoke, and plotted
 shameful deeds for shining Hector. He pierced
 the **tendon** of both feet in the back from the heel
 to the ankle, and fastened them to oxhide thongs
 **if** he may somehow respect my time of life
 and pity my old age. And indeed even such a
 father created him, Peleus, who fathered him and
 raised him to be a source of grief for the Trojans.
 And he caused pain for me especially, above all.

τόσσους γάρ μοι παῖδας ἀπέκτανε
 τηλεθάοντας
 τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι
 ἀχνύμενός περ
 ὡς ἑνός, ὁ μὲν ἄχος ὅξυ κατοίσεται Ἄιδος
 εἶσω, 22.425
 Ἔκτορος· ὡς ὄφελεν θανέειν ἐν χερσὶν
 ἐμῆσι·

> ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἰστὸν ὕφαινε μυχῶ δόμου
 ὑψηλοῖο 22.440
 δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ'
 ἔπασσε.
 κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐπλοκάμοις
 κατὰ δῶμα
 ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στήσαι τρίποδα μέγαν, ὄφρα
 πέλοιτο
 Ἔκτορι θερμὰ λοετρὰ μάχης
 ἐκνοστήσαντι·
 νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησεν ὁ μιν μάλα τῆλε
 λοετρῶν 22.445
 χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος δάμασε γλαυκῶπις
 Ἀθήνη.
 κωκυτοῦ δ' ἤκουσε καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπὸ
 πύργου·
 τῆς δ' ἐλελίχθη γυῖα, χαμαὶ δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε
 κερκίς.

ἢ μιν ἔχεσκ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτ' ἐνὶ πληθύνει μὲν'
 ἀνδρῶν, 22.458
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, τὸ ὄν μένος οὐδενὶ
 εἰκῶν.

for he killed **so many** of my sons in the prime of
 life. I do not mourn so much for **all** of them,
 although I am grieved, as for one, sharp grief for
 whom will lead me down to Hades, Hector.
 Would that he had died in my arms.... But she
 was weaving a web in the inner room of the lofty
 house, double-folded, purple, and was inserting
 multicolored flowers in the weave. And she
exhorted her handmaids with lovely braids
 throughout the house to set a large tripod over a
 fire, so that there would be hot water for washing
 for Hector when he returned from battle; fool,
 she did not know that very far from water for
 washing, flashing-eyed Athena had subdued him
by means of the hands of Achilles. But she
 heard a cry of grief and wailing from the wall;
 and her limbs were shaking, and her shuttle fell
 to the ground....which held him, since he would
 never remain in the crowd of men, but rushed far
 in front, yielding to no one in courage.

τούτους γάρ [μοι παῖδας ἀπέκτανε
 τηλεθάοντας·
 τῶμ πο[λλῶν οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι
 ἀχνύμενός περ
 ὡς ἑνός, ὁ[ὐ μὲν ἄχος ὅξυ κατοίσεται Ἄιδος
 εἶσω, 22.425
 Ἔκτορος· ὡς ὄφελεν θανέειν ἐν χερσὶν
 ἐμῆσι

Hibeh frg. 19
 [ἀλλ' ἢ γ]ε ἰσ[τ]ὸν ὕφ[αι]νε μυχῶι δόμου
 ὑψηλοῖο 22.440
 [δίπ]λακα πορφ[υ]ρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ'
 ἔπασσεν.
 [ἀ]μφ[ι]π[ό]λοισι δ' ἀμφιπ[ό]λοισιν
 ἐπλοκάμοισι κέλευσεν
 [ἀ]μφ[ι]π[υρ]ὶ στή[σαι] τρίποδα μέγαν, ὄφρα
 πέλοιτο
 [Ἔκτορ]ι θερμὰ λ[οετρὰ] μάχης ἐκ
 νοστήσαντι,
 [νη]πί[ι]η, οὐδ' ἐνόη[σεν] ὁ μιν μάλα τῆλε
 λοετρῶν 22.445
 [χερσ'] ὑπ' Ἀ[χι]λλῆ[ο]ς δάμασε
 γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 [. . . .] .σ δ' ἤκ[ουσε] καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπὸ
 πύργου·
 [τῆς δ' ἐλ]ελίχθη γυῖα, χαμαὶ δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε
 κερκίς·

Hibeh frg. 20
 [ἢ μιν ἔχεσκ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτ' ἐνὶ πληθύνει
 μί[ε]ν]ε[ν] [ἀνδρῶν, 22.458
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, τὸ ὄν μένος οὐδενὶ
 εἰκῶν.]

For he killed **such** sons of mine in the prime of
 life. I do not mourn so much for **many** of them,
 although I am grieved, as for one, sharp grief for
 whom will lead me down to Hades, Hector.
 Would that he had died in my arms....But she
 was weaving a web in the inner room of the lofty
 house, double-folded, purple, and was inserting
 multicolored flowers in the weave. And **so**
immediately she **ordered** her handmaids with
 lovely braids throughout the house to set a large
 tripod over a fire, so that there would be hot
 water for washing for Hector when he returned
 from battle; fool, she did not know that very far
 from water for washing flashing-eyed Athena
 had subdued him **beneath the hands of**
Achilles. But she heard a cry of ...and wailing
 from the wall; and her limbs were shaking, and
 her shuttle fell to the ground....which held him,
 since he would never remain in the crowd of
 men, but rushed far in front, yielding to no one in
 courage.

ὥς φαμένη μεγάροιο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση,

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργον τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἴξεν
 ὄμιλον, 22.462
 ἔστη παπτήνασ' ἐπὶ τείχει· τὸν δ' ἐνόησεν

ἐλκόμενον πρόσθεν πόλιος· ταχέες δέ μιν
 ἵπποι
 ἔλκον ἀκηδέστως κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
 22.465

οὐδὲν σοὶ γ' ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκείσεαι
 αὐτοῖς, 22.513
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρώων καὶ Τρωιάδων κλέος
 εἶναι."

ὥς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο
 γυναῖκες. 22.515
 > ὥς οἱ μὲν στενάχοντο κατὰ πτόλιν·
 αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ 23.1

εὐτέ με τυτθὸν ἐόντα Μενοίτιος ἐξ
 Ὀπόεντος 23.85
 ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερονδ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπὸ
 λυγρῆς
 ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον
 Ἀμφιδάμαντος
 > νῆπιος, οὐκ ἐθέλων, ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι
 χολωθεῖς.
 ἔνθα με δεξάμενος ἐν δώμασιν ἵππότηα
 Πηλεὺς

Speaking thus she rushed through the hall like a madwoman.... But when she reached **the wall and the crowd of men**, she stood on the wall and looked; and she perceived him being dragged in front of the city; and swift horses dragged him ruthlessly toward the Achaeans' hollow ships.... [lines missing in papyrus] no help to you at any rate, since you will not lie among them, but it is an honor from the Trojan men and the Trojan women." **Thus she spoke**, weeping, and the women groaned with her. Thus they groaned throughout the city; but the Achaeans.... when Menoetius brought me as a boy from Opoeis to your land, by reason of grievous murder, on the day when I, a fool, killed Amphidamus' son, unwilling, enraged over a game of knucklebones. And there the chariot warrior Peleus received me in his home

ὥς φαμένη μεγάροιο διέσσυτο
 μαι|νά|δι ἴση

Hibeh frg. 21
 [αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Σκαιάς] τε πύλ[ας καὶ]
 πύργον ἴκανε, 22.462
 [ἔστη παπτή]νασ' ἐπὶ τείχ[εσι], τὸν δὲ
 νόησεν

[ἐλκόμενον πρόσθε]ν πόλεως· τ]αχέες δέ μιν
 ἵππ[οι
 [ἔλκον ἀκηδέστως κοί]λας [ἐπὶ] ν[ῆ]ας
 Ἀχαιῶν. 22.465

Hibeh frg. 22
 [οὐδὲν σοὶ] ὄφελ[ος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκείσεαι
 αὐτοῖς, 22.513
 [ἀλλὰ π]ρὸς Τρώων καὶ Τρωιάδων κλέος
 εἶναι."

[ὥς ἄρ' ἔ]φη κλ[αίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο
 γυναῖκες. 22.515
 [ὥς οἱ μὲν] στεν[άχοντο κατὰ πτόλιν·
 αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ 23.1

Heid. frg. 1264a
 [εὐτέ με τυτθὸν ἐόντα Μενοίτιος ἐξ
 Ὀπέ]εντος 23.85
 [ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερόνδ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπο
 λυγρῆς.]
 [ἤματι τῷ ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον
 Ἀμφιδά]μαντος,
 [νῆπιος, οὐκ ἐθέλων, ἀμφ'] ἀστραγά[λοισι
 χολωθεῖς·
 [ἔνθα με δεξάμενος] ἐν δώμασιν ἵππότηα
 Πη]λεὺς M. 2

Speaking thus she rushed through the hall like a madwoman.... But when she reached the **Scaean gates and the wall**, she stood on the wall and looked; and she perceived him being dragged in front of the city; and swift horses dragged him ruthlessly toward the Achaeans' hollow ships.... [lines missing] no help to you at any rate, since you will not lie among them, but it is an honor from the Trojan men and the Trojan women." **So she said**, weeping, and the women groaned with her. Thus they groaned throughout the city; but the Achaeans.... when Menoetius brought me as a boy from Opoeis to your land, by reason of grievous murder, on the day when I killed Amphidamus' son, on the day when I, a fool, killed Amphidamus' son, unwilling, enraged over a game of knucklebones. And there the chariot warrior Peleus received me in his home

ἔτρεφέ τ' ἐνδυκέως καὶ σὸν θεράποντ'
 ὀνόμηνεν. 23.90
 > ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄστέα νῶϊν ὀμῆ σορὸς
 ἀμφικαλύπτοι,
 -- χρύσειος ἀμφιφορεύς, τὸν τοι πόρε
 πότνια μήτηρ." 23.92
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας
 ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς·

> “τίπτε μοι, ἡθείη κεφαλή, δεῦρ'
 εἰλήλουθας
 καὶ μοι ταῦτα ἕκαστ' ἐπιτέλλεαι; αὐτὰρ
 ἐγὼ τοι 23.95
 πάντα μάλ' ἐκτελέω καὶ πείσομαι, ὡς σὺ
 κελεύεις.

σειράς τ' εὐπλέκτους· πρὸ δ' ἄρ οὐρῆες κίον
 αὐτῶν. 23.115
 πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε
 δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον·
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κνημοὺς προσέβαν
 πολυπίδακος Ἴδης,
 αὐτίκ' ἄρα δρυὺς ὑψικόμους ταναήκει
 χαλκῶ

> τάμνον ἐπειγόμενοι· ταὶ δὲ μεγάλα
 κτυπέουσαι
 πῖπτον. τὰς μὲν ἔπειτα διαπλήσσοντες
 Ἀχαιοὶ 23.120
 and raised me with goodwill and named me
 your attendant. And so **would that** the same urn
might conceal the bones of us two, **golden, with
 handles on both sides, which my lady mother
 gave you.** And swift footed Achilles spoke in
 response: “Why, respected head, have you come
 here and give orders to me regarding each of
 these things? But I will bring all things to pass
 for you and obey you, as you order.... and well-
 braided ropes; and the mules went in front of
 them. And they went far uphill, downhill, along-
 hill and across-hill; but when they reached the
 spurs of Ida with many springs, immediately
 with sharp bronze they **made haste** to cut lofty
 oak trees; and the trees were falling, crashing
 loudly. Then the Achaeans, **having split them in
 pieces,**

ἔτρεφέ τ' ἐνδυκέως καὶ σὸν
 θεράποντ' ὀνόμηνεν· 23.90
 [ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄστέα νῶϊν ὀμῆ [σ]ορὸς
 ἀμφικαλύπτει." 23.91

[τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος] προσέφη πόδας
 ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς, 23.93
**ἦδὺ μάλια κνώσσων ἐ]ν ὄνειρείησι
 πύληισιν·** 23.93a
 [“τίπτε μοι, ἡθείη κεφαλή, δεῦρ'
 εἰλή]λ[ο]υθ[ας],
 []
 []
 [πάντα μάλ' ἐκτελέω καὶ πείσομαι, ὡς σὺ
 κελεύ]εις. 23.96 (?)
 []
 []ο
 []το

Heid. frgs. 1264a & 1264c

σειράς [τ' ε]υπλέκτους· πρὸ δ' ἄρ οὐρῆες
 κίον αὐτῶν. 23.115
 πολλὰ δ' [ἄ]ναντα κάτ[αντα πάραντά τε
 δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον·
 ἀ[λλ]᾽ ὅτ[ε δ]ῆ κν[η]μοὺς [προσέβαν
 πολυπίδακος Ἴδης,
 [α]ὐτίκ' ἄρα δρ[υ]ς ὑψι[κόμους ταναήκει
 χα]λκῶι

M. 2 ἐπειγο

τέμ[νον] ἀμειβ[ό]μεν[οι]· ταὶ δὲ μεγάλα
 κτυπέουσαι

α M. 2

M. 2]εσ

πι[πτον]τες μὲν ἔπειτ[α διαπλήσσουντ]αι
 Ἀχαιοὶ 23.120

and raised me with goodwill and named me
 your attendant. And so **let** the same urn **conceal**
 the bones of us two, And swift footed Achilles
 spoke in response, **sleeping very sweetly in the
 gates of dreams:** “Why, respected head, have
 you come here But I will bring all things to
 pass for you and obey you, as you order.... and
 well-braided ropes; and the mules went in front
 of them. And they went far uphill, downhill,
 along-hill and across-hill; but when they reached
 the spurs of Ida with many springs, immediately
 with sharp bronze they **took turns** to cut lofty
 oak trees; and the trees were falling, crashing
 loudly. Then the Achaeans **split them in pieces,**

ἔκδεον ἡμιόνων· ταί δὲ χθόνα ποσσί
δατεῦντο
ἐλδόμεναι πεδίοιο διὰ ῥωπήια πυκνά.

πάντες δ' ὑλοτόμοι φιτροὺς φέρον· ὧς
γὰρ ἀνώγει

Μηριόνης, θεράπων ἀγαπήνορος
Ἴδομενῆος.

κάδ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς βάλλον ἐπισχερώ, ἐνθ'
ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεύς 23.125
φράσσατο Πατρόκλω μέγα ἠρίον ἠδὲ οἱ
αὐτῷ.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάντη παρακάββαλον
ἄσπετον ὕλην,
εἴατ' ἄρ' αὐθι μένοντες ἀολλέες. αὐτὰρ
Ἀχιλλεύς
αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισι
κέλευσε
χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι, ζευξαι δ' ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν
ἕκαστον 23.130

ἵππους· οἱ δ' ὠρνυντο καὶ ἐν τεύχεσσι
ἔδυνον,

> ἄν δ' ἔβαν ἐν δίφροισι παραιβάται
ἠνίοχοί τε.
πρόσθε μὲν ἵππηες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἶπετο
πεζῶν,

> μυρίοι· ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον
ἑτάϊροι.

bound them on the mules; and and they tore the
ground with their feet, hurrying toward the field
through the thick brushwood. And all the
woodcutters were carrying logs; for so Meriones
ordered, attendant of courteous Idomeneus. And
they threw them on the beach one after another,
where Achilles planned a large grave mound for
Patroclus and himself. But when they had
thrown down the countless wood in readiness on
every side, they sat down there and stayed all
together. But Achilles immediately ordered the
battle-loving Myrmidons to gird themselves in
bronze, and for each man to yoke his horses
under his chariot; And they roused themselves
and put on their armor and climbed **onto** their
chariots, fighting men and charioteers. The
chariot warriors were in front, and a cloud of
foot soldiers followed, in countless numbers; and
in the middle his companions were carrying
Patroclus.

ο
[ἔκδεον ἡ]μιόνων· ταί [δὲ χθόνα ποσσί
δ]ατεῦντο
ιε[. . .]αι πεδίονδε [διὰ ῥωπήια
πυκ]νά

mgs ____ ο . . . ι
πάντες δ' ὠμοισιν φιτ[ρούς φ]έρον·
]ε ι
ὧς γὰρ ἀνώγειν

Δ mgs
[. . .] ητρος, θεράπων [ἀγαπ]ήνορος
Ἴδ[ο]μενῆος.
κί[α]δ' δ' ερα ἐπ' [ἀ]κτῆς [βάλλον]
ἐπισχερ[ώ]ι, ἐνθ' ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεύς 23.125
φράσσατο Πατρόκ[λω]ι μέγα ἠρί[ον] ἠδὲ
καὶ αὐτῷ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπε[ὶ] πάντη παρακάββαλο]ν
ἄσπετον ὕλην,
εἴατ' ἄρ' αὐθ[ι] μένοντες ἀολλέες.] αὐτ[ὰρ]
ιλλεύς M. 2

Ἀ]χαιοῖς 23.128
κέκλετο . [c. 20 letters]σ τε μετελθῶν
[c. 25 letters]ανου[23.130
[c. 25 letters]διζί[23.130a
Hibeh frg. 23 (Col. I) & Heid. frg. 1264b
]ας ἐκέλ[ευσε M. 2

[c. 27 letters]τε [.] [.] εντ[23.131
[ἄν δ' ἔβαν] ἐς δίφρου[ς (?)] ἠ[νί]οχοί τε,
[πρόσθε μὲν ἵππηες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἶπετο
πεζῶν,

[μυρίοι· ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον
ἑτ]αῖροι·
bound them on the mules; and and they tore the
ground with their feet,... **toward the field**
through the thick brushwood. And all were
carrying logs **on their shoulders**; for so **ordered**
... attendant of courteous Idomeneus. And they
threw them on the beach one after another, where
Achilles planned a large grave moundfor
Patroclus and **even for himself**. But when they
had thrown down the countless wood in
readiness on every side, they sat down there and
stayed all together. But **he ordered the**
Achaeans...and climbed **into** their chariots ,
fighting men and charioteers. The chariot
warriors were in front, and a cloud of foot
soldiers followed, in countless numbers; and in
the middle his companions were carrying
Patroclus.

> θριξί δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνουον, ἄς
ἐπέβαλλον 23.135
κειρόμενοι· ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος
Ἄχιλλεύς

ἀχνύμενος· ἔταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπι'
Ἄιδόσδε.
οἱ δ' ὅτε χῶρον ἴκανον, ὅθι σφισι πέφραδ'
Ἄχιλλεύς

> κάτθεσαν· αἴψα δὲ οἱ μενοεικέα νήεον
ῥλην.
ἐνθ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος
Ἄχιλλεύς· 23.140
στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο
χαίτην,

ὥς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ κόμην ἐτάροιο φίλοιο
23.152

θῆκεν, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἴμερον ὦρσε
γόοιο.
καί νύ κ' ὄδυρομένοισιν ἔδν φάος ἠελίοιο,
> εἰ μὴ Ἄχιλλεύς αἴψ' Ἀγαμέμνονι εἶπε
παραστάς· 23.155

“Ἄτρείδη, σοὶ γὰρ τε μάλιστά γε λαὸς
Ἀχαιῶν
> πείσονται μῦθοισι· γόοιο μὲν ἔστι καὶ
ἄσαι.

And they **clothed** the whole body with their hair,
which they cut off and cast upon it; and at the
back shining Achilles held his head grieving; for
he was sending his blameless companion to
Hades. And when they reached the place
Achilles had designated, they laid him down.
And immediately they piled up abundant wood
for him. Then again swift-footed shining
Achilles; standing away from the fire, cut off a
sandy lock....[Speaking thus the lock in in the
hand of his dear companion] he placed, and the
desire for lament arose in them all. And now
the sun's light would have set on them as they
wept, if Achilles had not quickly said to
Agamemnon, standing next to him: “Atreus' son,
**for the host of the Achaeans obey your words
particularly; it is possible for them to take their
fill of lament.**

[θριξί δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνυσαν,
ἄς ἐπέβαλλον 23.135
[κειρόμενοι· ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος
Ἄχιλλεύς

[ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην
ῥσχυν]ε δαῖζων 23.136a
[ἀχνύμενος· ἔταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπι'
Ἄιδόςδε.

[οἱ δ' ὅτε χῶρον ἴκανον ὅθι σφισι πέφραδ'
Ἄχιλλεύς,
[κάτθεσαν, αἴψα δὲ οἱ μενοεικέα νήεον]
ῥλην.
[ἐνθ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος
Ἄχιλλεύς· 23.140
[στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο
χαίτην,

Heid. frg. 1264c, d, e 1266a, d, Grenf. frg. 10 &
Hibeh frg. 25

/ [ὥς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ κόμην ἐτάροιο φίλοιο
23.152

θῆ[κεν, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἴμερον ὦρσε
γόοιο.
καί[νύ κ' ὄδυρομένοισιν ἔδν φάος ἠελίοιο
εἰ μὴ 23.155
εσ [M. 2

κλα[.] α τ ρ ε ι [.
. .] ν ο ν α ω σ π ρ [23.155a

[“Ἄτρείδη, σοὶ] μὲν τε μάλιστά γε[
λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν

> [πείσονται μῦθοισι (?)] . . οιομεν ὅττι
τάχιστα

And they **clothed** the whole body with their hair,
which they cut off and cast upon it; and at the
back shining Achilles held his head **and
disfigured his hair, tearing it with both hands,**
grieving; for he was sending his blameless
companion to Hades. And when they reached
the place Achilles had designated, they laid him
down. And immediately they piled up abundant
wood for him. Then again swift-footed shining
Achilles; standing away from the fire, cut off a
sandy lock....[Speaking thus the lock in in the
hand of his dear companion] he placed, and the
desire for lament arose in them all. And now
the sun's light would have set on them as they
wept, if “Atreus' son, the host of the
Achaeans, **on the one hand,** obey your words
particularly...as quickly as possible

νῦν δ' ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς σκέδασον καὶ δεῖπνον
 ἄνωχθι
 ὄπλεσθαι· τάδε δ' ἀμφιπονησόμεθ', οἷσι
 μάλιστα
 > κήδεός ἐστι νέκυς· παρὰ δ' οἱ ταγοὶ
 ἄμμι μερόντων." 23.160
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν
 Ἄγαμέμνων,
 αὐτίκα λαὸν μὲν σκέδασεν κατὰ νῆας εἴσας·

κηδεμόνες δὲ παρ' αὐθι μένον καὶ νήεον
 ὕλην,
 ποίησαν δὲ πυρῆν ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ
 ἔνθα,
 ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι
 κῆρ. 23.165

πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας
 βοῦς
 πρόσθε πυρῆς ἔδερὸν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον· ἐκ δ'
 ἄρα πάντων
 δημόν ἐλών ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος
 Ἄχιλλεύς

But now disperse them from the funeral pyre and
 order them to prepare the main meal; and we, to
 whom the dead man was especially beloved, will
 labor over these things ; **and let the
 commanders stay with him.** And when
 Agamemnon, lord of men, heard this, he
 immediately scattered the host to the well
 balanced ships; but the kindred mourners
 remained **there** and piled up wood, and made a
 pyre one hundred feet square, **and on the top of
 the pyre they placed the corpse**, grieving in
 their hearts. And they flayed and attended to
 many well-grown sheep and shambling oxen
 with twisted horns in front of the pyre; and great
 hearted Achilles, taking the fat of them all,
 covered the corpse

[.]τ . ι [. .] ας ἰέναι κα[ι
 δεῖπ]νο[ν ἄνωχθι 23.158
 [ὄπλεσθαι·] τάδε δ' ἀμφιπονη[σόμε]εθ'
 οἷσι μάλιστα
 [κήδεός ἐσ]τι νέκυς· περι δαν.[23.160
 [. . . . κηδ]εμόνες· σκέδασον[23.160a
 [αὐτὰρ ἐπ]εὶ τό γ' ἄκουσεν ἄναξ
 [ἀνδρῶν Ἄγαμέμνων,
 [αὐτίκα λα]ομ μὲν σκ[ι]α[έ]δασεν κατὰ νῆας
 εἴσας,

σι Μ. 2

[κάπνισσ]άν τε κατὰ κλῖασ κ[αί
 δεῖπνον ἔλοντο. 23.162a
 [κηδ]εμόνες δὲ καταῦθι μένον καὶ νήεον
 ὕλην
 [ποίησαν δὲ πυρῆν ἑκα[τόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ
 ἔνθα,
 [. . .] . . . ε . [.]ραλυ [. . .] νεκρὸν[ν
 θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ. 23.165

μυρι' [όνει]ατα χερσὶν ἀμυσά[μενοι
 κατέθηκαν, 23.165a
 πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια [. .] μῆ[λ]α [καὶ εἰλίποδας
 ἔλικας βοῦς
 πρόσθε πυρῆς [ἔδερὸν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον· ἐκ δ'
 ἄρα πάντων
 δημόν ἐλών [ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος
 Ἄχιλλεύς

But now disperse them from the funeral pyre and
 order them the main meal ...**order them to go
 ...even dinner...** to prepare; and we, to whom
 the dead man was especially beloved, will labor
 over these things ; **around ...kinsmen; scatter
 ...** And when Agamemnon, lord of men, heard
 this, he immediately scattered the host to the
 well balanced ship, **they made a fire and went
 down to the huts? and they took their meal.**
 But the kindred mourners remained **on the spot**
 and piled up wood, and made a pyre one hundred
 feet square, and ... they placed the corpse,
 grieving in their hearts. **They collected and set
 down countless good things with their hands,**
 and they flayed and attended to many well-
 grown sheep and shambling oxen with twisted
 horns in front of the pyre; and great hearted
 Achilles, taking the fat of them all, covered the
 corpse

> ἔς πόδας ἕκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ
σώματα νῆει.
ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος
ἀμφιφορῆας, 23.170
> πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ'
ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
ἔσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῆ, μεγάλα
στεναχίζων.

“χαῖρέ μοι ὦ Πάτροκλε καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο
δόμοισι· 23.179
πάντα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω, τὰ πάροιθεν
ὑπέστην. 23.180
δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱάας
ἔσθλους,
τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἔκτορα
δ' οὐ τι
> δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν,
ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.”

ὥς φάτ' ἀπειλήσας· τὸν δ' οὐ κύνες
ἀμπεπένοντο.
ἀλλὰ κύνας μὲν ἄλαλκε Διὸς θυγάτηρ
'Αφροδίτη 23.185
from the head to the feet. And he piled the
skinned bodies all around. And he placed within
jars of honey and unguent, leaning them on the
bier; and he quickly threw on the pyre four
horses with high-arched necks, groaning a great
deal.... Farewell, Patroclus, even in the house of
Hades; for now **I am fulfilling all the things
that I promised before.** The fire is consuming
twelve excellent sons of the great hearted
Trojans, all of them along with you; but **I will
not at all** give Priam's son Hector to fire to
consume, but to dogs.” Thus he spoke,
threatening; but the dogs did not deal with him.
No, rather Zeus' daughter Aphrodite held off the
dogs

Heid. frg. 1265a Col. I
[ἔς πόδας ἕκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ
σώματ]α νῆει.
[ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος
ἀμφιφορ]ῆας, 23.170
[πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ' ἐριαύχενας
ἵπ]π[ο]ύς
[
[ἔσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῆι μεγάλα
στεν]αχί[ζω]ν.
[2 lines]
[] . [] . [] ασ
[3 lines]
] . λλ [23.178 (?)

["χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Π]ά[τρο]κ[λε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο
δό]μοισιν· 23.179
[πάντ]α γὰρ ἤδη τοι τετελεσ[μένα ὦς
περ ὑπ]έστην. 23.180
[δώδεκ]α μὲν Τρώων μ[εγα]θύμων υ[ιέ]α[ς
ἔσθ]λους
οὐκ[ί M. 2
[τ]οὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας π[ῦρ] ἀμφέπει,
οὐκ[ί M. 2
Ἔκ]τορα δ' οὐχί·
[τ]όνδε γὰρ οὐ δώσω πυρ[ρ]ὶ καέμεν,
]νες .. M. 2

ἀλλὰ . [.]υ[.] . [.] . . i.”
**[ὠμησ]ταῖς φαγέειν· τὸσ[α] γὰρ
κάκ' ἐμήσατ' Ἀ[χ]αι[ο]ύς.” 23.183a**
[ὥς φάτ' ἀ]πειλήσας· τὸν δ' οὐ κύνες
ἀμπεπένοντο,
= mgs
[ἀλλὰ κύν]ας μὲν ἄλαλκε Διὸς θυγάτηρ
'Αφροδ[ί]τη 23.185
from the head to the feet. And he piled the
skinned bodies all around. And he placed within
jars of honey and unguent, leaning them on the
bier; and he quickly threw on the pyre four
horses with high-arched necks ... groaning a
great deal....
“Farewell, Patroclus, even in the house of Hades;
for now **everything has been fulfilled as I
indeed promised.** The fire **laps around** twelve
excellent sons of the great hearted Trojans, all of
them along with you, **but not Hector, for I will
not give this man to the fire to burn, but ...to
flesh-eaters to eat; for he intended just as
many evils for the Achaeans.”** Thus he spoke,
threatening; but the dogs did not deal with him.
No, rather Zeus' daughter Aphrodite held off the
dogs

> ἤματα καὶ νύκτας, ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρίεν
 ἐλαίῳ
 ἀμβροσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ μιν ἀποδρύφοι
 ἐλκυστάζων.
 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ κυάνεον νέφος ἤγαγε Φοῖβος
 Ἄπολλων
 οὐρανόθεν πεδίουδέ, κάλυψε δὲ χῶρον
 ἅπαντα,
 ὅσσον ἐπεῖχε νέκυς, μὴ πρὶν μένος ἡελίοιο
 σκήλει' ἀμφὶ περὶ χροά ἴνεσιν ἠδὲ μέλεσσιν.
 23.190

βορέη καὶ Ζεφύρω, καὶ ὑπίσχετο ἱερὰ
 καλά· 23.195

πολλά δὲ καὶ σπένδων χρυσέῳ δέπαι
 λιτάνευεν
 ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα τάχιστα πυρὶ φλεγεθοῖατο
 νεκροί,
 ὕλη τε σεύαιτο καήμεναι. ὠκέα δ' Ἴρις

ἀράων αἴουσα μετάγγελος ἦλθ'
 ἀνέμοισιν.
 οἱ μὲν ἄρα Ζεφύροιο δυσσαέος ἀθρόοι ἔνδον
 23.200
 εἰλαπίνην δαίνυντο· θέουσα δὲ Ἴρις ἐπέστη

βηλῶ ἐπὶ λιθέῳ. τοὶ δ' ὡς ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
 by night and day, and anointed him with rose-
 scented ambrosial oil, so that Achilles might not
 tear his skin as he dragged him. And Phoebus
 Apollo brought a dark cloud from the sky to the
 field, and covered the entire place, as large an
 area as the corpse rested upon, lest the sun's
 strength make inroads around his flesh on his
 sinews and limbs.... to Boreus and Zephyrus, and
 he **promised** lovely offerings, and pouring
 abundantly **with a golden cup he entreated** that
 they come, so that the bodies might be
 consumed as quickly as possible, and the wood
 might begin to burn. And swiftly Iris, hearing
his prayers, went as messenger to the winds.
 They, together inside the house of ill-blowing
 Zephyrus were partaking of a feast; and Iris,
 having run, took up a position on the stone
 threshold. And when they saw her with their
 eyes,

[ἤματα καὶ] νύκτας, ῥο[δό]εντι δὲ
 χρ[ε]ῖεν ἐλαίῳ
 [ἀμβροσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ μιν ἀποδρύφοι
 ἐλκυστάζων.
 [τῷ δ' ἐπὶ κυάνεον ν]έ[φος ἤ]γαγε Φοῖβος
 Ἄπολλων
 [οὐρανόθεν πεδίουδε, κάλυψε δὲ χῶρ[ον
 ἅ]παντα
 [ὅσσον ἐπεῖχε νέκυς, μὴ πρὶν μένος ἡελίοιο
 [σκήλει' ἀμφὶ περὶ χροά ἴνεσιν] ἠδὲ
 μέλεσσιν. 23.190
 Heid. frgs. 1265a (Col. II), 1265d, 1266A, Grenf.
 frg. 11 (Col. I)

ἠ
 βορραῖ καὶ Ζεφύρωι, καὶ ὑπέσχετο ἱερὰ
 καλά, 23.195
 ἀρνῶν π[ρ]ωτογόνων ῥέξειν
 κλε[ι]τὴν ἐκατόμβην· 23.195a
 πολλά δ' ἀποσπέν[δ]ων ἠράσατο
 δ[ί]τος Ἀχιλλεύς
 ἐλθεῖν ὅττι τάχιστα πυρὶ φλεγεθοῖατο
 νεκροί,
 ὕλη τε σεύαιτ[ο] καιήμ[εν]αι. ὠκα δὲ
 Ἴρις
 εὐχῶλῆς αἴουσα μετάγ[γελος] ἦλθ'
 ἀνέμοισιν.
 οἱ μὲν ἄρα Ζεφύροιο δυσσαέος ἀθρόοι
 ἔνδον 23.200
 εἰλαπίνην δ[αίνυντο· θέουσα δὲ Ἴρις
 ἐπέστη

βηλοῦ ἐπὶ λλιθέου· τοὶ δ' ὡς ἴδον
 ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
 by night and day, and anointed him with rose-
 scented ambrosial oil, so that Achilles might not
 tear his skin as he dragged him. And Phoebus
 Apollo brought a dark cloud from the sky to the
 field, and covered the entire place, as large an
 area as the corpse rested upon, lest the sun's
 strength make inroads around his flesh on his
 sinews and limbs.... to Boreus and Zephyrus,
 and he **promised** lovely offerings, **to sacrifice a
 glorious hecatomb of first-born lambs** and
pouring abundantly, shining Achilles asked
 them so that the bodies might be consumed as
 quickly as possible, and the wood might begin to
 burn. And swiftly Iris, hearing **his prayer**, went
 as messenger to the winds. They, together inside
 the house of ill-blowing Zephyrus were
 partaking of a feast; and Iris, having run, took up
 a position on the stone threshold. And when
 they saw her with their eyes,

πάντες ἀνήξαν, κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἔ
 ἕκαστος.
 ἦ δ' αὖθ' ἔξεσθαι μὲν ἀνήνατο, εἶπε δὲ
 μῦθον·
 “οὐχ ἔδος· εἶμι γὰρ αὖτις ἐπ' ὤκεανοῖο
 ῥέεθρα, 23.205
 Αἰθιοπῶν ἐς γαῖαν, ὅθι ῥέζουσ' ἑκατόμβας
 ἀθανάτοις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ μεταδαίσομαι
 ἱρῶν.
 ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεὺς Βορέην ἠδὲ Ζέφυρον
 κελαδαινὸν
 ἐλθεῖν ἀρᾶται, καὶ ὑπίσχηται ἱερὰ καλά,

ὄφρα πυρὴν ὄρησθε καήμεναι, ἧ ἔνι κεῖται
 23.210
 Πάτροκλος, τὸν πάντες ἀναστενάχουσιν
 Ἀχαιοί.”
 “ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς εἶποῦσ' ἀπεβήσατο, τοὶ δ'
 ὀρέοντο

ἠχῆ θεσπεσίῃ, νέφεα κλονέοντε πάροιθεν.

αἶψα δὲ πόντον ἵκανον ἀήμεναι, ὦρτο δὲ
 κῦμα

πνοιῆ ὑπο λιγυρῆ· Τροίην δ' ἐρίβωλον
 ἰκέσθην. 23.215
 ἐν δὲ πυρῆ πεσέτην, μέγα δ' ἴαχε
 θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ.

they all rose quickly, and each called her to
 himself. But she refused to sit down, and made a
 speech: “No seat; for I must go back to the
 streams of Ocean, to the land of the Egyptians,
 where they are performing hecatombs to the
 immortals, so that I may partake of the sacrifices.
 But Achilles entreats Boreas and Zephyrus to
 come, and he promises holy offerings so that you
 may set the pyre burning, on which Patroclus
 lies, whom all the Achaeans lament.” Having
 spoken thus, she left, and they arose with noise
 befitting gods, the two driving clouds in front of
 them. And they quickly reached the sea to blow
 on it, and a wave **arose** under the whistling
 breeze; and **the two reached** very fertile Troy.
 And **the two fell** upon the pyre, and the divinely-
 blazing fire roared loudly.

πάντ[ρες ἀνήξαν, κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἔ
 ἕκαστος.
 ἦ δ' [αὖθ' ἔξεσθαι μὲν ἀνήνατο, εἶπε δὲ
 μῦθον·
 “οὐχ [ἔδος· εἶμι γὰρ αὖτις ἐπ' ὤκεανοῖο
 ῥέεθρα, 23.205
 Αἰθιοπῶν ἐς γαῖαν, ὅθι ῥέζουσ' ἑκατόμβας
 ἀθ[ανάτοις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ μεταδαίσομαι
 ἱρῶν.
 ἀ[λλ' Ἀχιλεὺς Βορέην ἠδὲ Ζέφυρον
 κελαδαινὸν
 ἐλ[θεῖν ἀρᾶται, καὶ ὑπίσχηται ἱερὰ καλά,
 ἀρν[ῶν πρωτο]γ[όνων ῥέξειν
 κλειτῆν ἑκατόμβην, 23.209a
 ὄφρα [πυρὴν] ἔρησθε καιήμ[ε]να[ι, ἧ ἔνι
 κεῖται 23.210
 Πάτρ[οκλος, τ]ὸν πάντες ἀναστεν[άχουσι
 Ἀχαιοί.”
 ἦ μ[ὲν ἄρ' ὧς εἰ]ποῦσ' ἀπεβήσατο,

ι M. 2

το[ν] δ' ὀρέοντο
 ἠχῆ θ[εσπεσί]ῃ, νέφεα κλονέοντα
 πάρο[ι]θεν.

αἶψα [δὲ] πόντον ἵκανον ἀήμεναι,
 ὦρτο M. 3

ἦλθε δὲ κῦμα
 πνοιῆ[ι] ὑπο λιγυρῆ· Τρωίην δ' ἐρίβωλον
 ἴκ[οντο]. 23.215
 ἐν δὲ [πυ]ρᾶ ἔπεσον, μέγα δ' ἴαχε
 θεσπιδαῆς π[ῦρ].

they all rose quickly, and each called her to
 himself. But she refused to sit down, and made a
 speech: “No seat; for I must go back to the
 streams of Ocean, to the land of the Egyptians,
 where they are performing hecatombs to the
 immortals, so that I may partake of the sacrifices.
 But Achilles entreats Boreas and Zephyrus to
 come, and he promises holy offerings, **to
 conduct a celebrated hecatomb of first-born
 lambs** so that you may set the pyre burning, on
 which Patroclus lies, whom all the Achaeans
 lament.” Having spoken thus, she left, and they
 arose with noise befitting gods, the two driving
 clouds in front of them. And they quickly
 reached the sea to blow on it, and a wave **came**
 under the whistling breeze; and **they reached**
 very fertile Troy. And **they fell** upon the pyre,
 and the divinely-blazing fire roared loudly.

παννύχιοι δ' ἄρα τοί γε πυρῆς ἄμυδις
 φλόγ' ἔβαλλον,
 φουσῶντες λιγέως· ὁ δὲ πάννουχος ὠκύς
 Ἄχιλλεὺς
 χρυσοῦ ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας
 ἀμφικύπελλον,
 οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέει, δεῦε δὲ
 γαῖαν, 23.220

> ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος
 δειλοῖο.

ὥς δὲ πατήρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα
 καίων,
 νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανῶν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε
 τοκῆας,

ὥς Ἄχιλλεὺς ἐτάροιο ὀδύρετο ὅστέα καίων,

ἐρπύζων παρὰ πυρκαϊῆν ἀδινὰ
 στεναχίζων. 23.225

> ἦμος δ' ἑωσφόρος εἶσι φόως ἐρέων ἐπὶ
 γαῖαν,
 ὄν τε μέτα κροκόπεπλος ὑπεῖρ ἄλα
 κίδναται ἠώς,

And all night they beat on pyre's flame, blowing
 shrilly; and all night swift Achilles, with a
 golden cup, drawing wine from a golden mixing
 bowl, sprinkled it on the ground, and wetted the
 earth, **the soul of wretched Patroclus calling**.
 And as a father mourns, burning the bones of his
 son, a bridegroom, who dying causes his
 wretched parents to grieve, so Achilles grieved
 for his companion as he burned his bones,
 moving slowly and heavily beside the funeral
 pyre, groaning vehemently. But when the
 morning star, which Dawn in a saffron peplos
 follows over the sea,

παν[νύχ]ιοι δ' ἄρα τωί γε πυρῆς ἄμυδις]
 φ[λόγ' ἔβ]αλλον,
 [φουσῶντ]ες λιγέως· ὁ δὲ πάννουχος ὠκύς
 Ἄχ[ι]λλεὺς
 χ[ρ]υσ[έου ἐκ] κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας
 ἀμφικύ[πελλον],
 [οἶ]νον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις
 χεεδ Μ. 1

δ[. . .]νε δὲ γαῖαν, 23.220
 κικλήσκων ψυχὴν Πα[τ]ρόκ[λου]
 τεθ]νηῶ[τος].

. . . πυζων παρ[.] π. ρκ[Μ. 2

ὥς δὲ πατήρ οὗ πα[ι]δὸς ὀδύρεται
 ὅστέα καίων,
 [νυμφ]ι[οῦ], ὅς τε θανῶν [δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε
 τοκῆας,

Grenf. frg. 11 Col. II

χήρωσεν διὲ γυναῖκα μυχῶι
 θαλάμοιο νέοιο 23.223a

ἀρητ[ὸ]ν δὲ τ[ο]κεῦσι γόον καὶ
 πένθος ἔθηκεν, 23.223b

ὥς Ἄχιλλεὺς ἐτ[ά]ροιο ὀδύρετο ὅστέα
 καίων,

ἐρπύζων παρ[ι]ὰ πυρκαϊῆν, ἀδινὰ
 στεναχίζων. 23.225

ἦμος δ' ἑωσφόρο[ς] εἶσι φόως ἐρέων ἐπὶ
 γαῖαν,
 ὄν τε μέτα κρ[ο]κόπεπλος ὑπεῖρ ἄλα
 κίδναται ἠώς,

And all night they beat on pyre's flame, blowing
 shrilly; and all night swift Achilles, with a
 golden cup, drawing wine from a golden mixing
 bowl, sprinkled it on the ground, and wetted the
 earth, **calling the soul of dead Patroclus**. And
 as a father mourns, burning the bones of his son,
 a bridegroom, who dying causes his wretched
 parents to grieve, **and he makes his wife
 desolate in the inner chamber of the new
 bedroom and he lays accursed lament and
 longing on his parents**, so Achilles grieved for
 his companion as he burned his bones, moving
 slowly and heavily beside the funeral pyre,
 groaning vehemently. But when the morning
 star, which Dawn in a saffron peplos follows
 over the sea,

τῆμος πυρκαϊὴ ἔμαραίνετο, παύσατο δὲ
φλόξ.
οἱ δ' ἄνεμοι πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαν οἰκόνδε
νέεσθαι

“Ἀτρείδῃ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες
Παναχαιῶν, 23.236
πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσατ'
αἴθοπι οἴνω
πᾶσαν, ὅπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος·
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ὄστέα Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο λέγωμεν,
εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες. ἀριφραδέα δὲ
τέτυκται· 23.240
ἐν μέσση γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῆ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι
ἄνευθεν

ἔσχατιῇ καίοντ', ἐπιμίξῃ ἵπποι τε καὶ
ἄνδρες.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν χρυσῇ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακι
δημῶ
> θείομεν, εἰς ὃ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼν Ἄϊδι
κεύθωμαι.
> τύμβον δ' οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ
πονέεσθαι ἄνωγα, 23.245
ἀλλ' ἐπεικέα τοῖον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν
Ἄχαιοὶ
εὐρύν θ' ὑψηλὸν τε τιθήμεναι, οἳ κεν ἐμεῖο

δεύτεροι ἐν νήεσι πολυκλήϊσι λίπησθε.”
goes spreading light over the land, at that time
the pyre died down, and the fire stopped. And
the winds set out to return back home....
“Atreus’ son and the **best of all the Achaeans**,
first **quench** the whole pyre with shining wine,
as far as the strength of the fire reached; but then
let us gather the bones of Patroclus, Menoetius’
son, distinguishing them well. **And they are
easy to discern**; for he lies in the middle of the
pyre, and the other burned far away on the outer
edge, **horse and men jumbled**. And let us place
them in a golden urn and double-folded fat, until
the time when I myself **am enclosed in Hades**.
And I do not order you to build a very big grave
mound, but as big as is proper; and then,
Achaeans, you who are left among the ships with
many row-locks after me, make it wide and
lofty.”

τῆ[μος] πυρκα[ϊ]τῆ ἔμαραίνετο, παύσατο δὲ
φλόξ.
[οἱ δ' ἄ]νεμοι π[ά]λιν αὖτις ἔβαν οἰκόνδε
νέεσθαι

Heid. frg. 1265e
[“Ἀτρείδῃ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐυκνήμιδε]ς
Ἄχαιοί, 23.236
[πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ] πυρκαϊὴν σβέσετ'
αἴθοπι οἴνω
[πᾶσαν, ὅπόσσον ἐπέσ]χε πυρὸς μένος·
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
[ὄστέα Πατρόκλοιο Με]νοιτιάδαο λέγωμεν
[εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες· ἀρι]φραδέως γὰρ
ἔκειτο· 23.240
ἐν μέσση γὰρ ἔ]κειτο πυρῆ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι
ἄνευθεν

πιμίξ M. 2

[ἔσχατι]τῆ καίοντο ἐ. . . . αὐτοὶ τε καὶ
ἵπποι.
[καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐγ] χρυσῇ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακι
δημῶ
[θείομεν,] εἰς ὃ κεν αὐ[τὸς] ἐ[γ]ῶν Ἄϊδι
κεύθωμαι.
[τύ]μβον δ' οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ
πονέεσθαι ἄνωγα, 23.245
ἀλλ' ἐπειε[ι]κέα τ[οῖον]· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τ[ὸν]
Ἄχαιοὶ
[εὐρύν θ' ὑ]ψηλὸν τε [ε] τιθήμεναι, οἳ κεν
ἐμεῖο
[δεύτεροι ἐν νήεσι πολυ]κ[λ]ηῖσι λίπησθε.”
goes spreading light over the land, at that time
the pyre died down, and the fire stopped. And
the winds set out to return back home....“Atreus’
son and the other excellent **well-greaved**
Achaeans, first **you will quench** the whole pyre
with shining wine, as far as the strength of the fire
reached; but then let us gather the bones of
Patroclus, Menoetius’ son, distinguishing them
well. **And they lie easily discernible**; for he lies
in the middle of the pyre, and the other burned
far away on the outer edge, **themselves and the
horses**And let us place them in a golden urn
and double-folded fat, until the time when I
myself **go to Hades**. And I do not order you to
build a very big grave mound, but as big as is
proper; and then, Achaeans, you who are left
among the ships with many row-locks after me,
make it wide and lofty.”

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο ποδῶκει Πηλεΐωνι.

πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῆν σβέσαν αἶθοπι
οἴνω 23.250

ὅσσον ἐπὶ φλόξ ἦλθε, βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε
τέφρη.

κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάριοιο ἐνηέος ὄστέα λευκὰ

τῷ πρώτῳ· ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον
ἔθηκεν 23.265

ἔξέτε' ἀδμήτην, βρέφος ἡμίονον κvéουσαν·

> αὐτὰρ τῷ τριτάτῳ ἄπυρον κατέθηκε
λέβητα

καλόν, τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχανδότα, λευκὸν
ἔτ' αὐτῶς·

ἴστε γὰρ, ὅσσον ἐμοὶ ἀρετῆι περιβάλλετον
ἵπποι· 23.276

ἀθάνατοί τε γὰρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δὲ ἔπορ'
αὐτούς

πατρὶ ἐμῷ Πηληϊί, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγυάλιξεν.

ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ μ[ενέω καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι·
23.280

> τοῖου γὰρ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν
ἠνιόχοιο

γρ M. 1

ἠπίου, ὃς σφῶϊν μάλα πολλακίς ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον
He spoke, and they obeyed the swift-footed son
of Peleus. First they quenched the pyre with
shining wine as far as the fire extended, and the
deep ashes fell. And weeping [they gathered] the
white bones of their **amiable** companion.... to
the first place winner; but for the second place
winner he designated a horse, six years old, not
broken in, pregnant with mule offspring; but for
the third place winner he designated a lovely
tripod never put on the fire, with a four measure
capacity, still white as it ever was... for you
know to what extent my horses are pre-eminent
in excellence, for they are immortal, and
Poseidon gave them to my father Peleus, who
put them into my hands in turn. But my horses
with uncloven hooves and I stay here, for they
have lost the excellent glory of so great a
charioteer, kindly, who oftentimes soft olive oil
on them...

[ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο ποδῶ]κει
Πηλεΐωνι.

[πρῶτον μὲ]ν κατὰ πυ[ρκαϊ]ῆν σβέσαν
αἶθοπι οἴνω, 23.250

[ὅσσον ἐπὶ φλόξ] ἦλθε, βαθεῖα τὲ κάππεσε
τέφρη·

[κλαίοντες δ' ἐ]τάριοιο **δαίφρονος** ὄστέα
λευκὰ

Hibeh frg. 24

[τῷ πρώτῳ]· ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευ[τέ]ρῳ
ἵππον ἔ[θη]κεν 23.265

[ἔξέτε' ἀδμή]την, βρέφ[ος] ἡμίονον
κvéουσα[ν·

[αὐτὰρ τῷ τριτ]άτῳ ἄπυρογ κατέθηκε
λέβ[η]τα

[καλόν, τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχα]νδ[ό]τ[α],
λευκὸν ἔτ' αὐτ[ῶ]ς·

Hibeh frg. 25

[ἴ]στε γὰρ [ὄ]σσον [ἐμοὶ ἀρετῆι περιβάλλετον
ἵπποι· 23.276

ἀθάνατοί τε [γὰρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δὲ πόρ'
αὐτούς

πατρὶ ἐμῷ Πηληϊί, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγυάλιξεν.
ὥς τῷ γ' ἀθάνατοι κ[α]ὶ ἀγήραοι, οὐδὲ ἔοικεν

23.278a

θνητοὺς ἀθάναοισι [δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρί]ζειν.

23.278b

ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ μ[ενέω καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι·
23.280

> τοῖου γὰρ **σθένης** ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν
ἠνιόχοιο

γρ M. 1

ἠπίου, ὃς σφῶϊν μάλα πολλακίς ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον
He spoke, and they obeyed the swift-footed son
of Peleus. First they quenched the pyre with
shining wine as far as the fire extended, and the
deep ashes fell. And weeping [they gathered] the
white bones of their **skilled** companion.... to the
first place winner; but for the second place
winner he designated a horse, six years old, not
broken in, pregnant with mule offspring; but for
the third place winner he designated a lovely
tripod never put on the fire, with a four measure
capacity, still white as it ever was.... for you
know to what extent my horses are pre-eminent
in excellence, for they are immortal, and
Poseidon gave them to my father Peleus, who
put them into my hands in turn. **Thus they are
immortal and ageless, nor do they seem, being
mortal, to vie with the immortals in form and
appearance.** But my horses with uncloven
hooves and I stay here, for they have lost the
excellent **vigor** of so great a charioteer, kindly,
who oftentimes soft olive oil on them...

Appendix Two: Additional Variants in *Iliad Papyrus 12*

Modernizing Variants

τέ]νοντα for τένοντε, “tendons,” line 22.396 (p. 116)

ἴκ[οντο, “they reached,” for ἰκέσθην, “the two reached,” line 23.215 (p. 125)

ἔπεσον, “they fell,” for πεσέτην, “the two fell,” line 23.216 (p. 125)

These variants use the same vocabulary item and almost identical morphology, but change the number to a singular (22.396) or plural (23.215, 216) from the dual number found in the vulgate text. Since the dual declined precipitously from the archaic period onward, this is an indication of a late date for those variants at least. Another such substitution (of plural for dual), at line 22.128, was noted above.²¹¹

χώεδω for χώετο, “raged against,” line 21.306

This is a mistake, which the original scribe has corrected to the vulgate reading (χώετο) above the line.

πάντο[θει]ν εξο[, “from every side...” for ὑπόσ’ ἀειρόμενος, “raising it high,” line 21.307

Since most of the papyrus version of this lines is missing, my comments will necessarily be tentative. If the remainder of the line was identical or similar to the vulgate version of 21.307, πάντο[θει]ν would seem to be a reasonable alternative to ὑπόσ’ ἀειρόμενος.

The former appears in a similar context at *Il.* 13.28, in which Poseidon’s sea beasts gather on every side out of the ocean’s depths. Thus, on the basis of the available evidence, both readings would seem to work equally well here.

Τυ[δει]ίδηι Διομήδηι ἀνῶγας for Τυδείδην Διομήδε’ ἀνήκας, “you urged Diomedes, the son of Peleus,” line 21.396

West points out that the ἀνῶγα with the dative is used only once in the vulgate text of Homer, at *Odyssey* 20.139. The word order in the papyrus text suggests that the copyist was thinking ahead to the end of the line, planning to employ this rather rare construction.

Ares’ Rebuke of Athena

In the papyrus text three lines are eliminated:

Line 21.399, τῶ σ’ αὖ νῦν ὅϊω ἀποτισέμεν ὅσσα μ’ ἔοργας, “therefore in turn now I think you will pay as much as you have done,”

Line 21.402, τῇ μιν Ἄρης οὕτησε μαιφόνος ἔγχεϊ μακρῶ, “on this bloodstained Ares struck with his long spear,”

²¹¹ For an overview of the gradual decline of the dual, see Christidis 2007 412

Line 21.404, τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης, that men of earlier times had made the boundary stone of a field."

All three add minor, unnecessary details to the preceding sentence, and the text may be stronger and certainly makes good sense without these lines. The variant ἀσπίδα for αἰγίδα which occurs at line 21.400 is less character-specific to Athena and less vivid than the vulgate reading.

ποτ', "ever," for περ, "even," line 21.410

There seems little to choose between these two readings. Both convey the same sense within the line, that Ares has never been and will never be aware of his own inferiority to Athena.

ἐν[ε]μῆι for ἔμμεναι, "be," line 21.411

The papyrus reading may be a mistake, since ἔνεμαι does not make a great deal of sense within the line. This reading is highly insecure anyway, since all but the first epsilon are reconstructions or educated guesses based on letter traces (as signified by the dots beneath these letters in the text.)

καὶ μητρός, "even of (your) mother," for τῆς μητρός, "of your (the) mother," line 21.412

A third possibility, ἐῆς μητρός, has been added above the line by a second scribe. The original papyrus reading, καὶ μητρός, is weaker than the vulgate reading τῆς μητρός; the καὶ is redundant, as West argues.

ἄψ ἀ[ποτ]εῖν[οις for ἔξαποτίνοις, "you will suffer the consequences," line 21.412

I agree with West that in this line also the papyrus reading is weaker than the vulgate reading, with the redundant ἄψ. The papyrus reading also eliminates the *hapax legomenon* ἔξαποτίνω. The existence of weak readings among the papyrus variants does not invalidate my findings. Many of the papyrus readings are well composed and fit well in their context. Moreover, it stands to reason that there are lines in the vulgate tradition whose weakness or awkwardness is not recognized because we have nothing to which we can compare the existing reading.

θεῖνε ποτὶ, "struck against," for κείντο ἐπὶ, "lay on," line 21.426

I concur with West that the papyrus reading is repetitive and causes the τῶ μὲν...ἢ δέ opposition to make less sense. But she argues that both the papyrus and vulgate readings may be problematic substitutions for a lost older reading.

κυδα[λίμοισιν, "glorious," for θωρηκτῆσιν, "armored," line 21.429

Iliad papyrus 12 seems to have a preference for κῦδος-words, and for the replacement of neutral words with words that suggest heroism generally. Cf. the papyrus reading in 22.130 above.

κε for τε, line 21.609

This is a scribal error.

με]ρόπεσο[ι, “human beings,” for δειλοῖσι, “wretched,” line 21.31

Here the papyrus text replaces an emotionally colored word, “wretched,” with the more neutral term μέροψ, generally considered to be a derivative of μείρομαι, meaning “articulate,” and equivalent to ἄνθρωποι in the substantive.²¹²

Lines 22.74-76

A total of ten letters are legible in the fragment that *may* represent lines 22.73 and 22.77, so that the papyrus text may have substituted an optative for a subjunctive at the end of line 22.73, φανείη for the vulgate reading φανήη. Lines 22.74-76, in which Priam describes the pitiable desecration that befalls an old man’s corpse, may be missing. But the scanty textual remains make all of this speculative.

Isolated plus verse, 22.99a: λωβητός κεν πᾶσι μετὰ Τίρωεσσι γενοίμην, “I may be spitefully treated among all the Trojans.” This plus verse follows a frequent line of thought for Hector, who is frequently concerned over how he is or will be perceived by the other Trojans. There are no similar lines in the Homeric poems, but the adjective λωβητός is used at *Il.* 24.531.

νύκτα ποτὶ δνοφερὴν, “at the approach of dark night,” for νύχθ’ ὑπὸ τήνδ’ ὀλοήν, “in the course of this destructive night,” line 22.102

If we take into consideration only the meanings that δνοφερός and ὀλός have in the vulgate Homeric tradition, then the papyrus reading is weaker, as West suggests. The former term tends to refer to physical darkness rather than any metaphorical negativity in the canonical text of Homer. But we might also wish to consider figurative post-Homeric use of δνοφερός, in which case both readings may be appropriate.²¹³ The use of a vocabulary item that suggests a post-Homeric usage might be compared to the changing to singular or plural of items that use the archaic dual in the vulgate text. δνοφερός still fits the line metrically, and the meaning ‘physically dark and (metaphorically) dark, grievous’ night would be comprehensible to a Hellenistic Greek speaker. Moreover, in the *Iliad* this adjective is always used in a context that specifically references grief, a mini-simile in which the tears of a mournful hero are compared to a spring running with dark water (*Il.* 9.15, 16.4).

Ἀχιλλεύς, “Achilles,” for παραφθᾶς, “first,” line 22.197

The ‘eccentric’ papyri tend to increase the incidence of proper names in the text, most likely in the interests of clarity.

²¹² Cf. *LSJ* μέροψ.

²¹³ The figurative uses occur at Pindar *Pyth.* 4.112 and Aesch. *Pers.* 536. Cf. *LSJ* δνοφερός.

ερμον[ιάων for ἀρμονιάων, “covenants,” line 22.255

This is a scribal error.

ἐπήν, “even though,” for ἐπεὶ, “when,” line 22.125

West identifies this as a modernizing variant, commenting that it may have replaced ἐπεὶ (κε) in all the passages in which it occurs in the vulgate text.²¹⁴

Isolated plus verse, line 22.392a: [καὶ τ]εθνηότα περ· τόσα γὰρ κακ’ ἐμη[σατ’] Ἀχαιοῦς, “even though dead; for so many evils he intended for the Achaeans.”

As West points out, this line does not make much sense if it immediately followed 22.392a, but it may have been preceded by another plus verse. There is a metrical issue in the violation of Hermann’s bridge caused by ἐμησατ’, but this would be eliminated if the unaugmented form were used. The same phrase, τόσα γὰρ κακ’ ἐμη[σατ’] Ἀχαιοῦς, is used at 23.183a, where Hermann’s bridge is also violated. The violation of Hermann’s bridge is not unknown in Homer, it is very uncommon in Hellenistic hexameter poetry.²¹⁵

[...]λλα τ[for δῶρα τά τοι δώσουσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, “gifts which my father and lady mother gave me,” line 22.341

]ην for ἐς δίφρον δ’ ἀναβὰς ἀνά τε κλυτὰ τεύχε’ αἰείρας, “having mounted his chariot and lifted up his glorious armor,” line 22.399

In lines 22.341 and 22.399, it is clear that the papyrus reading was different from the vulgate, but no more than a handful of letters survive.

εἶ, “if,” for ἤν, “even if,” line 22.419

The identification of this line is uncertain.²¹⁶

τοίους γάρ μοι παῖδας ἀπέκτανε τηλεθάοντας, “for he killed such sons of mine in the prime of life,”

for τόσσους γάρ μοι παῖδας ἀπέκτανε τηλεθάοντας, “for he killed so many of my sons in the prime of life,” line 22.423

The papyrus and vulgate readings seem equally strong here. I see West’s point about the weakening of the numerical contrast with 22.424 and 22.425 with the papyrus reading τοίους, but the reader or listener would surely have been aware of Priam’s extraordinary number of sons by this point, and could have supplied the interpretive gap without too much trouble. Emphasizing the *quality* of the dead sons is equally poignant and perhaps

²¹⁴ West 1967 *ad loc.* Throughout this discussion of the additional variants, it may be assumed that when I refer to West, it is to her comment on that line in her 1967 edition.

²¹⁵ For Hermann’s bridge in Homer, cf. Nagy 1990 456. For the close adherence to Hermann’s bridge e.g. in Callimachus, cf. Hopkinson 1984 51-54

²¹⁶ Cf. West 1967 169

emphasizes his particular love of Hector to an even greater degree. It should also be noted that Griffin makes a convincing argument for emotional coloring in Homeric speakers' use of τοίος' correlative οἶος.²¹⁷

[αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἀμφιπ[όλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισι κέλευσεν, “and so immediately she ordered her handmaids with lovely braids,” for κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοις κατὰ δῶμα, “and she exhorted her handmaids with lovely braids,” line 22.442

Both readings seem equally strong here. They use the same vocabulary (ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισι / ἐϋπλοκάμοις) or closely related vocabulary (κέλευσεν, κέκλετο). Both κέλευσεν and κέκλετο occur frequently in the Homeric corpus.

[χερσ'] ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, “beneath the hands of Achilles,” for χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος, “by means of the hands of Achilles,” line 22.446

As West points out, the papyrus reading here would actually follow a more normal Homeric construction with the verb δαμάζω, even though the specific phrase χερσ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος does not occur anywhere in the vulgate text of Homer.

[αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Σκαιάς] τε πύλ[ας καὶ] πύργον ἴκανεν, “But when she reached the Scaean gates and the wall,” for αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργον τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἴξεν ὄμιλον, “But when she reached the wall and the crowd of men,” line 22.462

The papyrus reading is more place-specific, referring to the Scaean gates by name rather than to the tower.

[ὥς ἄρ' ἔ]φη for ὥς ἔφατο, “thus she spoke,” line 22.515

I am inclined to agree with West that the vulgate reading is stronger since ὥς ἔφατο often occurs in this position before κλαίων or κλαίουσα elsewhere.

πεδίονδε for πεδίοιο, line 23.122

This variant does not change the meaning of the passage appreciably, and both forms are Homeric.

ἄνωγεν for ἄνωγει, “he ordered,” line 23.123

This variant is insignificant in terms of meaning; it is impossible to know if the papyrus reading (ἄνωγεν) was an attempt to avoid hiatus, since the beginning of the first word of 23.124 is not preserved in the papyrus text.

ερα for ἄρ, line 23.125

This is a scribal error.

²¹⁷ Griffin 1986 46

Isolated plus verse 23.136a: ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἦσχυν]ε δαίζων, “and he disfigured his hair, tearing it with both hands.”

West suggests the alternative reconstruction σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ κόμην to eliminate the illogicality of Achilles tearing his hair while holding Patroclus’ head with both hands, but favors it less than the first option, the line quoted above, which she uses in her text.

Lines 129-132

The papyrus text had different readings from the vulgate text in these lines, and probably a plus verse, but the traces of these lines are extremely scanty, seven letters in all.

εὐχολῆς, “his prayer,” **for** ἀράων, “his prayers,” line 23.199

Both readings work equally well. ἀρή and εὐχολή are essentially synonymous and are both used several times elsewhere in the Homeric corpus.

ἦλθε, “it came,” **for** ὤρτο, “it arose,” line 23.214

Another hand has added the vulgate reading ὤρτο as an alternative reading in the papyrus text. I agree with West that the vulgate reading is stronger in this instance because it is more specific.

κικλήσκων ψυχὴν Πα[τ]ρόκ[λου] τεθνηῶ[τος], “calling the soul of dead Patroclus,” **for** ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο, “the soul of wretched Patroclus calling” line 23.221

The two versions of these lines are equally strong, the only real difference being between τεθνηῶτος and δειλοῖο. I find it highly unlikely that the meaning ‘cowardly’ would be active for δειλός in this context, but, as West points out, the papyrus reading does remove any ambiguity.

Isolated plus verses 23.223a-223b: χήρωσεν διὲ γυναῖκα μυχῶι θαλάμοιο νέοιο ἀρητ[ί]ον δὲ τ[ο]κεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκεν, “and he makes his wife desolate in the inner chamber of the new bedroom and he lays accursed lament and longing on his parents.”

These two plus verses closely resemble *Il.* 17.36-37. An *Iliad* quotation in Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 117D) has 23.223b and another plus verse after that, suggesting that some version of these plus verses may have been fairly widely accepted at this point in the text.²¹⁸

ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ, “well-greaved Achaeans,” **for** ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν, “best of all the Achaeans,” line 23.236

Both versions are equally strong. This variation is common in the textual tradition.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Cf. West 1967 186, who feels that the lines were added independently in the two texts.

²¹⁹ West 1967 187

σβέσεται for σβέσατ', "quench," line 23.237

The papyrus text uses the future tense to express a command, which, as West and Monro note, does not occur in Homer.²²⁰

ἀριφραδέως γὰρ ἔκειτο, "they lie easily discernible," for ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται, "they are easy to discern," line 23.240

The adverbial form of the adjective does not appear in Homer, appearing only twice in Greek literature, at Apollonius *Argonautica* 3.315 and Theocritus *Idyll* 25.175. It seems the use of this adverb here may be an example of modern diction advancing into the Homeric text.

χρυσῆ for χρυσέη, "golden," line 23.243

The contracted form of this adjective occurs in several places elsewhere in the vulgate text of Homer.²²¹

κλεύσωμαι, "go to," for κεύθωμαι, "am enclosed in," line 23.244

There are two additional possibilities, Aristarchus' reading κλεύθωμαι and the minority manuscript reading βλείωμαι. The verb used in the papyrus is known otherwise only from Hesychius.²²²

τὲ for δὲ, "and," line 23.251

Both readings seem equally strong.

δαίφρονος, "skilled," for ἐνηέος, "amiable," line 23.252

The vulgate reading seems stronger. ἐνηής is an adjective that applies only to Patroclus and Nestor.²²³ However, Griffin notes that it is more usual to see this adjective in speech.²²⁴

Isolated plus verses 23.278a-b: ὡς τὼ γ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήραοι, οὐδὲ ἔοικεν / θνητοὺς ἀθάναοισι [δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρίζειν, "Thus they are immortal and ageless, nor do they seem, being mortal, to vie with the immortals in form and appearance." These plus verses, if the reconstruction is correct, closely resemble *Od.* 5.212-213, in which Calypso asserts her superiority to Penelope. These lines may herald the emergence of the interpolation-like variation we see in the post-150 BCE papyri.

σθένος, "vigor," for κλέος, "glory," line 23.281

σθένος ἐσθλὸν is a more unusual phrase than κλέος ἐσθλὸν. However, as West points out, σθένος is often used *pars pro toto* to describe a person's essence or spark of life.

²²⁰ Cf. West 1967 187 and Monro 1891 317.

²²¹ *ibid.*

²²² West 1967 187-188

²²³ Cf. West 1967 188

²²⁴ Griffin 1986 43

Appendix Three: *Odyssey Papyrus 31*

The following appendix offers a comparison between Stephanie West's text of *Odyssey papyrus 31* (on the left) and Van Thiel's 1991 *Odyssey* (on the right). Variations appear in boldface, and all translations are my own. Marginal signs are marked with the letters *mgs*.

θεσπεσίη· τότ' ἂν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέσθαι φίλον
ἦεν. 9.211
τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ
ἦα
κωρύκω· αὐτίκα γάρ μοι οἴσατο θυμὸς
ἀγῆνωρ
ἄνδρ' ἐπελεύσεσθαι μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον
ἄλκην,
ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας.

9.215

καρπαλίμως δ' εἰς ἄντρον ἀφικόμεθ', οὐδέ
μιν ἔνδον

εὕρομεν, ἀλλ' ἐνόμει νομὸν κάτα πῖονα
μῆλα.
ἐλθόντες δ' εἰς ἄντρον ἐθηεύμεσθα ἕκαστα·

ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βριῖθον στείνοντο δὲ
σηκοὶ
ἄρνων ἠδ' ἐρίφων· διακεκριμέναι δὲ
ἕκασται 9.220
ἔρχατο, χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δὲ
μέτασσαι,

enchanting; it was not pleasant to refrain. I
carried a large wine skin filled with this, and also
snacks in a bag; for my brave spirit thought I
would shortly come to a man clothed in great
strength, wild, knowing neither justice nor laws.
And we came quickly to the cave, and we did not
find **him inside**, but he was herding his
properous flocks. And going into the cave we
marveled at each thing; for baskets were
weighted with cheeses and the pens enclosed
young sheep and goats; Each group was divided,
the young offspring separate, the older livestock
separate,

[θεσπεσίη· τότ' ἂν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέσθαι
φίλο]ν ἦεν. 9.211
τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν] δὲ
[[..]] [καὶ ἦα
[κωρύκω· αὐτίκα γάρ μοι οἴσατο θυμὸς
ἀγῆνωρ
[ἄνδρ' ἐπελεύσεσθαι μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον]
ἄλκην,
[ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε
θέμιστας.] 9.215

[καρπαλίμως δ' εἰς ἄντρον ἀφικόμεθ', οὐδέ
μιν ἔνδ M. 1

[[τότ' αὐτ]]όν

[εὕρομεν, ἀλλ' ἐνόμει νομὸν κάτα πῖονα]
μῆλα.

[ἐλθόντες δ' εἰς ἄντρον ἐθηεύμεσθα
ἕκασ]τα·

[ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βριῖθον στείνοντο δὲ
σηκ]οὶ

[ἄρνων ἠδ' ἐρίφων· διακεκριμέναι δὲ

ἕκασ]ται 9.220

[ἔρχατο, χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δὲ
μέτ]ασσαι,

enchanting; it was not pleasant to refrain. I
carried a large wine skin filled with this, and also
snacks in a bag; for my brave spirit thought I
would shortly come to a man clothed in great
strength, wild, knowing neither justice nor laws.
And we came quickly to the cave, and we did not
find **him then**, but he was herding his properous
flocks. And going into the cave we marveled at
each thing; for baskets were weighted with
cheeses and the pens enclosed young sheep and
goats; Each group was divided, the young
offspring separate, the older livestock separate,

χωρίς δ' αὐθ' ἔρσαι· ναῖον δ' ὀρῶ ἄγγεα
πάντα,
γαυλοί τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖσ'
ἐνάμελγεν.

ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν πρῶτισθ' ἔταροι λίσσουντ'
ἐπέεσσι

τυρῶν αἰνυμένους ἰέναι πάλιν, αὐτὰρ

ἔπειτα 9.225

καρπαλίμως ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν ἐρίφους τε καὶ
ἄρνας

σηκῶν ἐξελάσαντας ἐπιπλεῖν ἀλμυρὸν
ὔδωρ·

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, — ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ

κέρδιον ἦεν, —

ὄφρ' αὐτόν τε ἴδοιμι, καὶ εἴ μοι ξείνια δοίη.
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλ' ἐτάροισι φανεῖς ἐρατεινὸς
ἔσεσθαι. 9.230

ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κείαντες ἐθύσαμεν ἠδὲ καὶ
αὐτοὶ

τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν μένομέν τέ μιν
ἔνδον

ἦμενοι, ἕως ἐπῆλθε νέμων. φέρε δ' ὄβριμον
ἄχθος

ὔλης ἀζαλέης, ἵνα οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἶη.

ἔκτοσθεν δ' ἄντροιο βαλῶν ὀρυμαγδὸν
ἔθηκεν·

ἡμεῖς δὲ δείσαντες ἀπεσσύμεθ' ἐς μυχὸν
ἄντρου.

αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἤλασε πῖονα
μῆλα,

And the youngest in turn separate; and all his
vessels, milk pails and milk pans, into which he
milked, well-made, were overflowing with whey.
There from the very first my companions
beseeched me in words to take cheese, come
back, but then having quickly driven away lambs
and kids from their pens to sail the salt sea; but I
did not obey them – it would have been far better
– until I might see him, and he might give me
guest-gifts. He was not destined to be lovely to
my companions. And there having kindled a fire
we sacrificed, and taking cheeses we ate and we
waited for him inside sitting, until he came back
from the meadows. And he was carrying a
heavy burden of dry wood, so he could use it to
make his dinner. And having thrown it down
inside the cave he made a din; and frightened we
rushed back into the inner part of the cave. But
he drove his prosperous flocks into the wide
cave,

[χωρίς δ' αὐθ' ἔρσαι· ναῖον δ' ὀρῶι
ἄγγεα πάν]τα,

[γαυλοί τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖσ'
ἐνά]μελγεν.

[ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν πρῶτισθ' ἔταροι λίσσουντ'
ἐπέεσ]σι

[τυρῶν αἰνυμένους ἰέναι πάλιν, αὐτὰρ

ἔ]πειτα 9.225

[καρπαλίμως ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν ἐρίφους τε καὶ
ἄρ]νας

[σηκῶν ἐξελάσαντας ἐπιπλεῖν ἀλμυρὸν
ὔ]δωρ·

[ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, — ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ

κέρδιον ἦεν, —]

[ὄφρ' αὐτόν τε ἴδοιμι, καὶ εἴ μοι ξείνια δοίη.]
[οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλ' ἐτάροισι φανεῖς ἐρατεινὸς
ἔσε]σθαι. 9.230

[ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κήαντες ἐθύσαμεν ἠδὲ καὶ
αὐ]τοὶ

[τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν, μένομέν τέ μιν]
ἔνδον

[ἦ]μένοι, εἰς ἐπῆλθε νέμων. φέρ]ε δ'
ὄβρι[μον ἄχθος

[ὔλης ἀζαλέης, ἵνα οἱ ποτι]δ[όρπιον εἶη.

[ἔντοσθεν δ' ἄντροιο βα]λῶν ὀρυμαγδ[ὸν]
ἔθηκεν· 9.235

[ἡμεῖς δὲ δείσαντες] ἀπεσσύμεθ' ἐς μ[υχὸν
ἄντρου.

αὐ[τὰρ ὁ γ' εἰς εὐρὺ σπέο]ς ἤλασε πῖονα
μῆ]λα,

And the youngest in turn separate; and all his
vessels, milk pails and milk pans, into which he
milked, well-made, were overflowing with whey.
There from the very first my companions
beseeched me in words to take cheese, come
back, but then having quickly driven away lambs
and kids from their pens to sail the salt sea; but I
did not obey them – it would have been far better
– until I might see him, and he might give me
guest-gifts. He was not destined to be lovely to
my companions. And there having kindled a fire
we sacrificed, and taking cheeses we ate and we
waited for him inside sitting, until he came back
from the meadows. And he was carrying a
heavy burden of dry wood, so he could use it to
make his dinner. And having thrown it down
inside the cave he made a din; and frightened we
rushed back into the inner part of the cave. But
he drove his prosperous flocks into the wide
cave,

πάντα μάλ', ὅσ' ἤμελγε, τὰ δ' ἄρσενα
 λεῖπε θύρηφιν,
 ἀρνειοὺς τε τράγους τε, βαθείης ἔκτοθεν
 αὐλῆς.
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑψόσ'
 αἰείρας, 9.240
 ὄβριμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε δύω καὶ εἴκοσ'
 ἄμαξαι
 ἐσθλαὶ τετράκυκλοι ἀπ' οὐδεος ὀχλίσσειαν·

τόσσην ἠλίβατον πέτρην ἐπέθηκε θύρησιν.

ἐζόμενος δ' ἤμελγεν ὄϊς καὶ μηκάδας αἴγας,

πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, καὶ ὑπ' ἔμβρυον ἦκεν
 ἐκάστη. 9.245
 αὐτίκα δ' ἤμισυ μὲν θρέψας λευκοῖο
 γάλακτος

πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν ἀμηςάμενος
 κατέθηκεν,
 ἤμισυ δ' αὐτ' ἔστησεν ἐν ἄγγεσιν, ὄφρα οἱ
 εἶη
 πίνειν αἰνυμένω καὶ οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἶη.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σπεῦσε πονησάμενος τὰ ἄ
 ἔργα, 9.250
 καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ εἴσιδεν, εἶρετο δ'
 ἡμεας·

“ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρά
 κέλευθα;
 ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
 all the flocks which he would milk, but he left
 the males outside, the goats and rams, inside the
 large courtyard. And then he took a huge door
 stone, lifting it aloft, weighty; twenty-two
 excellent wagons with four wheels could not
 have raised **it at any rate** from the ground; such
 a rock he put in his doorway. And sitting down
 he milked the sheep and lady goats, all in order,
 and he set a nursling under each. And right
 away having drawn off half of the white milk,
having collected it he placed in wickerwork
 baskets for cheeses, and half in turn he kept in
 the milk pails, so **he could have it for taking
 and drinking, and it would be for dinner**. But
 when he had busied himself about his tasks, even
 then he kindled the fire and looked, and saw us,
 “Strangers, who are you? From what place have
 you sailed over the watery roads?”

πάντ[α μάλ', ὅσ' ἤμελγ]ε, τὰ δ'
 ἄρσενα λε[ῖπε θύρηφιν,
 ἀρνειο[ύς τε τράγους] τε, βαθείης ἔκτοθ[εν
 αὐλῆς.
 αὐτὰρ [ἔπειτ' ἐπέθηκ]ε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑ[ψόσ']
 αἰείρας, 9.240
 ὄβριμ[ον· οὐκ ἂν τόν]δε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι
 ἄ[μαξαι
 ἐσθλαὶ [τετράκυκλοι] ἀπ' οὐδεος
 ὀχλίσ[σειαν·
 [τό]σση[ν ἠλίβατον πέ]τρην ἐπέθηκε
 [θύρησιν.
 ἐζόμενος δ' ἤμελγε]ν ὄϊς καὶ μηκάδας
 [αἴγας,
 πάντα [κατὰ μοῖραν, κα]ὶ ὑπ' ἔμβρυον
 ἦ[κεν ἐκάστη. 9.245
 αὐτίκα [δ' ἤμισυ μὲν θρέψ]ας λευκοῖο
 γάλακτος

μενος M. 1

πλεκτ[οῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν ἀμηςά]το
 κατ[έθηκεν,
 ἤμισυ δ' [αὐτ' ἔστησεν ἐν ἄγγεσιν, ὄ]φρ[ο]
 [ε]πι δο[
 πίνοι αἰ[νυμένος καὶ οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἶη.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπ[εὶ δὴ σπεῦσε πονησάμενος τὰ ἄ
 ἔργα, 9.250
 [κα]ὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ εἴσιδεν, εἶρετο δ'
 ἡμεας·
 “ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρά
 κέλευθα;
 ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
 all the flocks which he would milk, but he left
 the males outside, the goats and rams, inside of
 the large courtyard. And then he took a huge
 door stone, lifting it aloft, weighty; twenty-two
 excellent wagons with four wheels could not
 have raised **this** from the ground; such a rock he
 put in his doorway. And sitting down he milked
 the sheep and lady goats, all in order, and he set
 a nursling under each. And right away having
 drawn off half of the white milk **he collected
 and placed it** in wickerwork baskets for cheeses,
 and half in turn he kept in the milk pails, so he
 could have it **drink it, having taken it**, and it
 would be for dinner. But when he had busied
 himself about his tasks, even then he kindled the
 fire and looked, and saw us, “Strangers, who are
 you? From what place have you sailed over the
 watery roads?”

ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε

οἶά τε ληιστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ'
ἀλόωνται

[one hundred lines missing]

ἦδὺ ποτὸν πίνων καί μ' ἦτεε δεύτερον
αὔτις·

δὸς μοι ἔτι πρόφρων καί μοι τεὸν οὔνομα
εἶπε 9.355

αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον, ᾧ κε σὺ
χαίρης.

καὶ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι φέρει ζεῖδωρος
ἄρουρα

οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος
ἀέξει·

ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρός ἐστιν
ἀπορρώξ·

ὥς ἔφατ'· αὐτὰρ οἱ αὔτις ἐγὼ πόρον
αἶθοπα οἶνον· 9.360

τρὶς μὲν ἔδωκα φέρων, τρὶς δ' ἔκπιεν
ἀφραδίησιν.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Κύκλωπα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν
οἶνος,

καὶ τότε δὴ μιν ἔπεσσι προσηύδων
μειλιχίοισι·

“Κύκλωψ, εἰρωτᾶς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν; αὐτὰρ
ἐγὼ τοι

ἐξερέω· σὺ δέ μοι δὸς ξείνιον, ὥς περ
ὑπέστης. 9.365

Are you on some business or do you wander idly like pirates who wander [new passage begins] He drank and asked me to give him the drink again a second time, “Give it to me again with a forward mind and tell me your name immediately, so I may give you a guest-gift in which you may rejoice. For the grainbearing earth of the Cyclops bears rich wine for them and Zeus makes it grow; but this is an outpouring of ambrosia and nectar. Thus he spoke; and I gave him the shining wine again; and I brought it to him and gave it three times, and three times he drank in his foolishness. But when wine had gone around the Cyclops in his wits, **even then I addressed him with pleasing words**, “Cyclops, you ask my glorious name; and I will tell you; but you give me a guest-gift, as you promised.

ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μασιδίως
ἀλάλησθε

[οἶά] τε ληισ[τῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ'
ἀλόωνται

[one hundred lines missing]

[ἦδὺ ποτὸν πίνων καί] με ἦτει δεύτερον
αὔτις·

[“δὸς μοι ἔτι πρόφρων καί] μοι τεὸν
οὔνομα εἶπον 9.355

[αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα τοι δῶ] ξείνιον, ὦι κε σὺ
χαίρης.

[καὶ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι φέρει] ζεῖδ[ω]ρος
ἄρουρα

[οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος
ἀέξει·]

[ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρός ἐστιν
ἀπορρώξ·]

[ὥς ἔφατ'· αὐτὰρ οἱ αὔτις ἐγὼ πόρον
αἶθοπα οἶνον·] 9.360

[τρὶς μὲν ἔδωκα φέρων, τρὶς δ' ἔκπιεν
ἀφραδίησι].

[αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Κύκλωπα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν
οἶνος,]

[εἶπεα

[“Κύκλωψ, εἰρωτᾶς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν;
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι]

[ἐξερέω· σὺ δέ μοι δὸς ξείνιον, ὥς περ
ὑπέστης.] 9.365

Are you on some business or do you wander idly like pirates who wander [new passage begins] He drank and asked me to give him the drink again a second time, “Give it to me again with a forward mind and tell me your name immediately, so I may give you a guest-gift in which you may rejoice. For the grainbearing earth of the Cyclops bears rich wine for them and Zeus makes it grow; but this is an outpouring of ambrosia and nectar. Thus he spoke; and I gave him the shining wine again; and I brought it to him and gave it three times, and three times he drank in his foolishness. But when wine had gone around the Cyclops in his wits, ...**spoke**, “Cyclops, you ask my glorious name; and I will tell you; but you give me a guest-gift, as you promised.

Οὔτις ἐμοιγ' ὄνομα; Οὔτιν δέ με
κικλήσκουσι

κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχύν αὐχένα, κὰδ δέ
μιν ὕπνος 9.372
ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ. φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο
οἶνος

ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμεοι· ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο
οἰνοβαρείων.

καὶ τότε ἔγῳ τὸν μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδοῦ
ἦλασα πολλῆς, 9.375

εἰως θερμαίνοιτο· ἔπεσοι δὲ πάντας
ἑταίρους

θάρσυνον, μή τίς μοι ὑποδδείσας ἀναδύη.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάινος ἐν πυρὶ
μέλλεν

ἄψεσθαι χλωρός περ ἑών, διεφαίνετο δ'
αἰνώς,

καὶ τότε ἔγῳ ἄσσον φέρον ἐκ πυρός, ἀμφὶ
δ' ἑταῖροι 9.380

ἴσαντ'· αὐτὰρ θάρσος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα
δαίμων.

οἱ μὲν μοχλὸν ἐλόντες ἐλάινον, ὄξυν ἐπ'
ἄκρω,

ὀφθαλμῶ ἐνέρεισαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν
ἄερθεῖς

δίνεον, ὡς ὅτε τις τρυπῶ δόρυ νήιον ἀνήρ
Nobody is my name; and my mother and father
and all my other companions call me Nobody.
Thus I spoke, and he answered with a ruthless
spirit, "I will eat Nobody last among his
companions, and the others beforehand; and this
will be my guest-gift to you. He spoke and fell
prone faceup, and then he lay down, drooping at
his thick neck, and all-subduing sleep seized
him, and wine rushed out of his gullet and bits of
flesh; and he belched, heavy with wine. And
then I drove the bar under **plentiful ash**, until it
was heated. And I encouraged all my
companions in words, so that no one might
become frightened and withdraw. But when the
olive wood bar was just about to be seized in the
fire, although it was green wood, and it glowed
brightly, just then I brought it close, from the
fire, and my companions stood around, and a
divinity inspired us with great courage. They
took the olive wood bar, sharp at its tip, and
pressed it into his eye; and I, **rising** above,
whirled it around, as when someone drills a
timber for a ship with a drill,

[Οὔτις ἐμοι γ' ὄνομα; Οὔτιν δέ με
κικλήσκουσι]

[possible traces of 367-371] occur here
κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχύν αὐχένα, κὰδ δέ
μιν ὕπνος 9.372

[ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ· φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο
οἶνος]

[ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμεοι· ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο
οἰνοβαρείων.

[καὶ τότε ἔγῳ τὸν μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδὸν
ἦλασα πολλῆς, 9.375

[εἰως θερμαίνοιτο· ἔπεσοι δὲ πάντας
ἑταίρους]

θάρ[συνον, μή τίς μοι ὑποδδείσας ἀναδύη.]
ἀλλ' [ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάινος ἐν πυρὶ
μέλλεν]

ἄψε[σθαι χλωρός περ ἑών, διεφαίνετο δ'
αἰνώς,]

καὶ τό[τ' ἔγῳ ἄσσον φέρον ἐκ πυρός, ἀμφὶ
δ' ἑταῖροι] 9.380

ἴσαντ'· αὐτὰρ θάρ[σος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα
δαίμων.]

οἱ μὲν μοχλὸν ἐλό[ντες ἐλάινον, ὄξυν ἐπ'
ἄκρωι,

ὀφθαλμῶι ἐνέρεισα[ν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν
ἄερθεῖς]

δίνεον, ὡς ὅτε τις τ[ρυπᾶι δόρυ νήιον ἀνήρ
Nobody is my name; and my mother and father
and all my other companions call me Nobody.
Thus I spoke, and he answered with a ruthless
spirit, "I will eat Nobody last among his
companions, and the others beforehand; and this
will be my guest-gift to you. He spoke and fell
prone faceup, and then he lay down, drooping at
his thick neck, and all-subduing sleep seized
him, and wine rushed out of his gullet and bits of
flesh; and he belched, heavy with wine. And
then I drove the bar under **plentiful ash**, until it
was heated. And I encouraged all my
companions in words, so that no one might
become frightened and withdraw. But when the
olive wood bar was just about to be seized in the
fire, although it was green wood, and it glowed
brightly, just then I brought it close, from the
fire, and my companions stood around, and a
divinity inspired us with great courage. They
took the olive wood bar, sharp at its tip, and
pressed it into his eye; and I, **fixed** above,
whirled it around, as when someone drills a
timber for a ship with a drill,

τρυπάνω, οἱ δέ τ' ἔνερθεν ὑποσσείουσιν
 ἰμάντι 9.385
 ἀψάμενοι ἐκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἔμμενές
 αἰεῖ·
 ὥς τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πυριήκεα μοχλὸν
 ἐλόντες

δινέομεν, τὸν δ' αἶμα περίρρεε θερμὸν
 ἐόντα.
 πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας εὔσεν
 αὐτμῇ
 γλήνης καιομένης· σφαραγεῦντο δέ οἱ πυρὶ
 ρίζαι. 9.390

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνήρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἤε
 σκέπαρνον

εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἰάχοντα
 φαρμάσσω· τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε
 κράτος ἐστίν·
 ὥς τοῦ σίζ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαϊνέω περι μοχλῶ.
 σμερδαλέον δὲ μέγ' ὤμωξεν, **περὶ δ' ἰαχε**
πέτρη, 9.395
 ἡμεῖς δὲ δείσαντες ἀπεσσύμεθ'· αὐτὰρ ὁ
 μοχλὸν
 ἐξέρυσ' ὀφθαλμοῖο πεφυρμένον αἶματι
 πολλῶ.
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἔριψεν ἀπὸ ἔο χερσὶν
 ἀλύων,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Κύκλωπας μεγάλ' ἤπνευεν, οἱ ρά
 μιν ἀμφίς
 ὤκειον ἐν σπήεσι δι' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας.
 9.400

and those beneath keep spinning it with the
 thong, touching it on either side, and it runs
 continuously always. In such a way we took up
 the fire-pointed stake and whirled it around in his
 eye, and the hot blood flowed around it. The
 breath of the burning eyeball singed his upper
 and lower eyelids and brows, and the roots
 crackled in the fire. As when a bronze smith
 dips a large axe or an adze in cold water and
 hardens it as it hisses loudly; for this is the
 source of iron's strength; thus his eye hissed
 around the olivewood stake, and terribly he
 groaned a huge groan, **and the rock re-echoed**
it. And we were frightened and ran away; but he
 drew out the stake from his eye bright with
 plentiful blood. Then, he threw it from himself,
 signaling his distress with his arms, and he
 shouted loudly to the other Cyclopes, who
 dwelled on either side in caves on the windy
 hilltops.

τρυπάνωι, οἱ δέ τ' ἔνερθεν
 ὑποσσείουσιν ἰμάντι 9.385
 mgs x ἀψάμενοι ἐκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει
 ἔμμενές αἰεῖ·
 ὥς τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πιριήκεα μοχλὸν
 ἐλόντες

ε M. 1

δινέομεν, τὸν δ' αἶμα περίρρεε θερμὸν
 ἐόντα.
 πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' [ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας
 εὔσεν αὐτμῇ
 γλήνης καιομένης· [σφαραγεῦντο δέ οἱ πυρὶ
 ρίζαι. 9.390

ἀνήρ M. 1

: ὥς δ' ὅτ[ε τις] ἀνήρ χαλ[κεὺς πέλεκυν
 μέγαν ἤε σκέπαρνον

i M. 1

ἐν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἰάχοντα
 [φ]αρμάσσω· τὸ γὰρ αὐ[τε] σιδήρου γε
 κράτος ἐστίν·
 ὥ[ς] τοῦ σίζ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαϊνέωι περι
 μοχλῶι.

ζμερδαλέον δὲ ὤμωξεν χα[9.395

Δ mgs ἡμεῖς δὲ δεδίσαντες ἀπεσσύ[μεθ']·
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μοχλὸν
 ἐξέρυσε ὀφθαλμοῖο πεφυ[ρμένον αἶματι
 πολλῶι.

τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἔριψεν ἀπὸ ἔο χερσὶν ἀλύων,

αὐτὰρ ὁ Κύκλωπας μεγάλ' ἤπνευεν, οἱ ρά
 μιν ἀμφίς

ὤκειον ἐν σπήεσι δι' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας.

9.400

and those beneath keep spinning it with the
 thong, touching it on either side, and it runs
 continuously always. In such a way we took up
 the fire-pointed stake and whirled it around in his
 eye, and the hot blood flowed around it. The
 breath of the burning eyeball singed his upper
 and lower eyeleds and brows, and the roots
 crackled in the fire. As when a bronze smith
 dips a large axe or an adze in cold water and
 hardens it as it hisses loudly; for this is the
 source of iron's strength; thus his eye hissed
 around the olivewood stake, and terribly he
 groaned ..., And we were frightened and ran
 away; but he drew out the stake from his eye
 bright with plentiful blood. Then, he threw it
 from himself, signaling his distress with his
 arms, he shouted loudly to the other Cyclopes,
 who dwelled on either side in caves on the windy
 hilltops.

οἱ δὲ βοῆς αἴοντες ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος·

ἰστάμενοι δ' εἶροντο περὶ σπέος, ὅττι ἐ κήδοι-

“τίπτε τόσον, Πολύφημ', ἀρημένος ὦδ' ἐβόησας

νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην καὶ ἀύπνους ἄμμε τίθησθα;

ἢ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει; 9.405

ἢ μή τίς σ' αὐτὸν κτείνει δόλω ἢ ἐ βίηφι;”

τούς δ' αὐτ' ἐξ ἄντρον προσέφη κρατερὸς Πολύφημος·

“ὦ φίλοι, Οὐτίς με κτείνει δόλω οὐδὲ βίηφι.”

οἱ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενοι ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον·

“εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τίς σε βιάζεται οἷον ἐόντα, 9.410

νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι·

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' εὐχέο πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.”

ὡς ἄρ' ἔφην ἀπιόντες, ἐμὸν δ' ἐγέλασε φίλον κῆρ,
ὡς ὄνομ' ἐξαπάτησεν ἐμὸν καὶ μητις ἀμύμων.

Κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύνησι, 9.415

And hearing his cry they came, some from one side, some from the other, and they stood around the cave and asked him what troubled him: “Why so greatly distressed do you thus cry ou through the ambrosial night and render us sleepless? Is some one among mortals driving away your flocks? Is someone killing you yourself by stragem or by strength?” Strong Polyphemus answered them from the cave: “**Friends, Nobody is killing me by craft and not by force.**” And they, replying, spoke winged words: If no one injures you, being alone, sickness is from great Zeus, not to be avoided.” But you, pray to your father, Lord Poseidon.” Thus they spoke, going away, and my dear heart laughed, that my name and excellent scheme tricked him. But the Cyclops, groaning and suffering agony in anguish,

οἱ δὲ βοῆς αἴοντες ἐφοίτων [ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος·

ἰστάμενοι δ' εἶροντο περὶ σπ[έος, ὅττι ἐ κήδοι·

“τίπτε τόσον, Πολύ[φ]ημε', ἀρη[μένος ὦδ' ἐβόησας

ορφνα M. 1

νύκτα δι' [ἀμβροσ]ίην καὶ ἀύπν[ους] ἄμμε τίθησθα;

[ἢ μή τίς σευ] μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκ[οντος] ἐλαύνει; 9.405

. mgs ἢ μή τίς σ' αὐτὸν κτ[είνει] δόλωι [ἢ ἐ βίηφι;”

τούς δ' [αὐτ' ἐξ] ἄντρον προσέφη κ[ίρατε]ρὸς Πολ[ύ]φημος·

.....α λ α μ ..δ τ .λ

[“εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τίς σε βιάζ[ε]ται [οἶο]ν ἐόντ[α], 9.410

[νὸυ]σόν γε οὐ πως ἔστι Διὸς [μεγ]άλ[ου] ἀλέασθαι·

[ἀλλ' εὐ]χου σύ γ' ἔπειτα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.

[τοῦ] γὰρ δὴ πάς ἐσσί, πατήρ δὲ σὸς ε[ὔ]χεται εἶναι.” 9.412a

[ὡς ἄρ' ἔ]φην ἀπιόντες, ἐμὸν δὲ γέλασε [φίλον κῆρ,

[ὡς ὄνομ'] ἐξαπάτησεν ἐμὸν καὶ μητις [ἀμύμων.

v M. 1

[Κύκλωψ] δὲ στενάχω τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύ[νη]σι, 9.415

And hearing his cry they came, some from one side, some from the other, and they stood around the cave and asked him what troubled him: “Why so greatly distressed do you thus cry ou through the ambrosial night and render us sleepless? Is some one among mortals driving away your flocks? Is someone killing you yourself by stragem or by strength?” Strong Polyphemus answered them from the cave: ... If no one injures you, being alone, sickness is from great Zeus, not to be avoided.” But you, then, pray to Lord Poseidon. For you are his child, and he claims to be your father.” Thus they spoke, going away, and my dear heart laughed, that my name and excellent scheme tricked him. But the Cyclops, groaning and suffering agony in anguish,

χερσὶ ψηλαφόων, ἀπὸ μὲν λίθον εἴλε
θυράων,
αὐτὸς δ' εἶνι θύρησι καθέζετο χεῖρε
πετάσσας,

εἴ τινά που μετ' ὄεσσι λάβοι στείχοντα
θύραζε·
οὕτω γάρ που μ' ἤλπετ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ νήπιον
εἶναι.

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευον, ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα
γένοιτο, 9.420

εἴ τιν' ἐταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν ἢ δ' ἔμοι
αὐτῷ

εὐροίμην· πάντας δὲ δόλους καὶ μῆτιν
ὑφαινον,
ὥς τε περὶ ψυχῆς· μέγα γὰρ κακὸν ἐγγύθεν
ἦεν.

ἦδε δέ μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο
βουλή·

ἄρσενες οἷες ἦσαν εὐτρεφῆες δασύμαλλοι,
9.425

καλοὶ τε μεγάλοι τε, ἰοδνεφῆς εἶρος ἔχοντες·
τοὺς ἀκέων συνέεργον εὐστρεφέεσσι
λύγοισι,

τῆς ἔπι Κύκλωψ εὔδε πέλωρ, ἀθεμίστια
εἰδώς,

σὺν τρεῖς αἰνύμενος· ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα
φέρεσκε,

τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ ἐκάτερθεν Ἴτην σώοντες
ἐταίρους. 9.430

τρῆϊς δὲ ἕκαστον φῶτ' οἷες φέρον· αὐτὰρ
ἔγωγε —

**feeling about with his hands, took the
doorstone, and stretching out his hands put it
in the doorway.** in case he might grab anyone
making their way outside with the sheep; for thus
he expected me to be senseless in his mind. But
I had made a plan, so that matters **might turn
out** for the best if I should find an escape from
death for my companions and my very self; and I
wove all wiles and stratagem, as for my life; for
great evil was near. This plan seemed best to my
spirit... there were well-nourished, thick-fleeced
male sheep, nice and **big**, with violet-dark wool;
I silently bound them together with braided
withes on which the Cyclops, monstrous, having
no regard for for what is right, was accustomed
to sleep, taking three together; the one in the
middle **kept on bearing** a man, and the other
two went on either side, saving my
companions. **And** every third sheep bore a man;
but as for myself —

εἴ τινά που μετ' ὄεσσι λάβοι στείχοντα
θύραζε· 9.418

οὕτω γάρ που μ' ἤλπετ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ νήπιον
εἶναι.

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευον, ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα
γένηται, 9.420

εἴ τιν' ἐταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν ἢ δ' ἔμοι
αὐτῷ

εὐροίμην· πάντας δὲ δόλους καὶ μῆτιν
ὑφαινον,
ὥς τε περὶ ψυχῆς· μέγα γὰρ κακὸν ἐγγύθεν
ἦεν.

ἦδε δέ μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο
βουλή·

ἄρσενες οἷες ἦσαν εὐτρεφῆες δασύμαλλοι,
9.425

εὐτρ Μ. 1

καλοὶ τε μμεγάλοι τε, [ιοδν]εφῆς ἴρος
ἔχοντες·

τοὺς ἀκέων συνέεργον εὐστρεφέεσσι
λύγοισιν,

..... ὕ

[τοῖς ἔπι Κύκλωψ ..] πέλωρ ἀθεμίστια
εἰδώς,

[σ]ύντρεῖς αἰνύμενος· ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα
φέρεσκεν,

τῷ δ' ἄρα ἐπ' ἐκάτερθεν Ἴσαν
σώιζοντες ἐταίρους. 9.430

τρῆϊς δ' ἄρ' ἕκαστον φῶτ' οἷες φέρον·
αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε —

in case he might grab anyone making their way
outside with the sheep; for thus he expected me
to be senseless in his mind. But I had made a
plan, so that matters **might turn out** for the best
if I should find an escape from death for my
companions and my very self; and I wove all
wiles and stratagem, as for my life; for great evil
was near. This plan seemed best to my spirit...
there were well-nourished, thick-fleeced male
sheep, nice and **big**, with violet-dark wool; I
silently bound them together with braided **withes
on which** the Cyclops, monstrous, having no
regard for for what is right..., taking three
together; the one in the middle **kept on bearing**
a man, and **two went on either side, saving** my
companions. **And** every third sheep bore a man;
but as for myself —

ἀρνειὸς γὰρ ἔην μῆλων δχ' ἄριστος
ἀπάντων —
τοῦ κατὰ νῶτα λαβῶν, λασίην ὑπὸ
γαστέρ' ἔλυσθεις

κείμην· αὐτὰρ χερσὶν ἄώτου θεσπεσίοιο
νωλεμέως στρεφθεὶς ἐχόμεν τετληότι
θυμῶ. 9.435

ὥς τότε μὲν στενάχοντες ἐμείναμεν Ἡῶ
δίαν.

ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος
Ἡώς,

καὶ τότε ἔπειτα νομόνδ' ἐξέσσυτο

ἄρσενα μῆλα,

θήλειαι δὲ μέμηκον ἀνήμελκτοι περὶ
σηκούς·

οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγεῦντο. ἄναξ δ'
ὀδύνησι κακῆσι 9.440

τειρόμενος πάντων οἴων ἐπεμαίετο νῶτα
ὀρθῶν ἑσταότων· τὸ δὲ νήπιος οὐκ
ἐνόησεν,

ὥς οἱ ὑπ' εἰροπόκων οἴων στέρνοισι
δέδεντο.

ῥστατος ἀρνειὸς μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε,
λάχνῳ στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πυκινὰ
φρονέοντι. 9.445

τὸν δ' ἐπιμασσάμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς
Πολύφημος·

“κρίε πέπον, τί μοι ὦδε διὰ σπέος ἔσσυο
μῆλων

ῥστατος· οὔ τι πάρος γε λελειμμένος ἔρχεαι
οἴων,

for there was a ram, the best of all the flocks by
far – grasping him on the back, turned under
the hairy belly I lay; and with enduring hear
turned faceup I held onto him by his
marvellously abundant fleece. Thus at that time,
groaning, we waited for shining Dawn. When
rosy-fingered early-born dawn appeared, just
then the early-born male flocks rushed out to
pasture, and the unmilmed females were
bleating around the pens, for their udders were
full to bursting. And their lord, afflicted with
evil pains, felt the backs of all the sheep,
standing upright. But he foolishly did not know
this fact, that they were bound under the chests
of the wooly-fleeced sheep. Last among the
flocks the ram went out the door, weighted by
its wool and by me, thinking furiously. And
strong Polyphemus, feeling him, spoke to him:
“O good ram, why do you thus as last of the
flocks rush out through the cave? You never
went left behind by the other sheep before,

ἀρνειὸς γὰρ ἔην, ὅς ὑπείροχος εἶεν
ἀπάντων —

[τ]οῦ κατὰ νῶτα πεσῶν, λασίην

λυ Μ. 2

ὑπὸ γαστέρα ἐ[ρ]ει[σ]θεις

[κ]είμην· αὐτὰρ χερσὶν ἄώτου θεσπεσίοιο
ην Μ. 2

[ν]ωλεμέως στρέψας ἐχόμε[μ] τετληότι
θυμῶι. 9.435

[ὥς] τότε μὲν στενάχοντες ἐμείναμεν Ἡῶ
δίαν.

[ἦ]μος δ' ἠριγένεια ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος
Ἡώς,

[καὶ] τότε ἔπειτα νομόνδε ἐξήλασε πίονα
μῆλα,

οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγευτα. ἄναξ δ'
ὀδύνησι κεκῆισι 9.440

τειρόμενος πάντων οἴων ἐπεμαίετο
νώτων

ὀρθῶν ἑσταότων· τὸ δὲ νήπιος οὐκ
ἐνόησεν,

ὥς οἱ ὑπ' εἰροπόκων οἴων στέρνοισι
δέδεντο.

ῥστατος ἀρνειὸς μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε,
βληχμῶι τε ἀχθόμενος καὶ μοι πυκινὰ
φρονέοντι. 9.445

τὸν δ' ἐπιμασσάμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς
Πολύφημ[ο]ς·

“κρίε πέπον, τί μοι ὦδε διὰ σπέος ἔσσυο
μῆλων

ῥστατος· οὔ τι πάρος γε λελειμμένος ἔρχεαι
οἴων,

for there was a ram, who was preeminent, best
of all the flocks – falling on his back, fixed
under the hairy belly I lay; and with enduring
heart turned faceup I held onto him by his
marvellously abundant fleece. Thus at that time,
groaning, we waited for shining Dawn. When
rosy-fingered early-born dawn appeared, just
then he drove the fat flocks out to pasture... for
their udders being full to bursting. And their
lord, afflicted with evil pains, felt the backs of
all the sheep, standing upright. But he foolishly
did not know this fact, that they were bound
under the chests of the wooly-fleeced sheep.
Last among the flocks the ram went out the door,
burdened by its fleece and by me, thinking
furiously. And strong Polyphemus, feeling him,
spoke to him: “O good ram, why do you thus as
last of the flocks rush out through the cave? You
never went left behind by the other sheep before,

ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτος νέμειαι τέρεν' ἄνθεα
ποιῆς

μακρὰ βιβάς, πρῶτος δὲ ροὰς ποταμῶν
ἀφικάνεις, 9.450

πρῶτος δὲ σταθμόνδε λιλαίειαι ἀπονέεσθαι

ἐσπέριος· νῦν αὐτε πανύστατος. ἦ σύ γ'
ἄνακτος
ὀφθαλμὸν ποθέεις; τὸν ἀνήρ κακὸς
ἐξαλάωσε
σὺν λυγροῖς ἐτάροισι, δαμασσάμενος
φρένας οἴνω,
Οὔτις, ὄν οὐ πῶ φημι πεφυγμένον εἶναι
ὄλεθρον. 9.455

εἰ δὲ ὁμοφρονέοις ποτιφωνήεις τε γένοιο
εἰπεῖν, ὅππῃ κείνος ἐμὸν μένος ἤλασκάζει·

τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε διὰ σπέος ἄλλυδις
ἄλλη
θεινομένου ραίοιτο πρὸς οὔδει, κὰδ δέ κ'
ἐμὸν κῆρ
λωφῆσειε κακῶν, τά μοι οὔτιδανὸς πόρεν
Οὔτις." 9.460
ὥς εἰπὼν τὸν κριὸν ἀπὸ ἔο πέμπε θύραζε.
ἐλθόντες δ' ἤβαιὸν ἀπὸ σπειούς τε καὶ αὐλῆς
πρῶτος ὑπ' ἀρνειοῦ λυόμεν, ὑπέλυσα δ'
ἐταίρους.

but you first by far graze on the fresh flowers of
the grass, stepping high, and you first reach the
streams of the rivers, and first long to return to
the pen in the evening; but now you are dead
last. Surely you are pining for the eye of your
lord? An evil man **blinded** it **along with** his
baleful companions, having subdued my wits
with wine, Nobody, who I declare has not yet
escaped destruction. If only you could
sympathize with me and could become
endowed with speech, so that you could tell me
where he skulks in order to evade my **anger**;
then when he had been struck, the contents of his
skull would be broken in pieces on the floor
throughout the cave, some here, some there, **and**
my heart **would** find relief from the evils, which
worthless Nobody brought me. Speaking thus, he
sent the ram out the door from him. And having
gone a little way from the cave and the
courtyard, first I released myself from the ram,
and then I released my companions.

/mgs ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτος νέμειαι τέρεν'
ἄνθεα ποιῆς

M. 1 ὦν

μακρὰ βιβάς, πρῶτος δὲ ροὰς ποταμ[οῦ]
ἀφικάνεις, 9.450

ισι M. 1

πρῶτος δὲ σταθμό[νδε] λιλαίειαι
εὐνηθῆναι M. 1
[ἀπονέεσθαι]
ἐσπέριος· νῦν αὐτε πανύστατος. ἦ σύ γ'
ἄνακτος
ὀφθαλμὸν ποθέεις; τὸν ἀνήρ κακὸς
ἐξαλάωσεν
σὺλ λυγροῖς ἐτάροισι, δαμασσάμενος
φρένας οἴνωι
Οὔτις, ὄν οὐ πῶ φημι πεφυγμένον εἶναι
ὄλεθρον. 9.455

εἰ δὲ ὁμὰ φρονέεις ποτιφωνήεις τε γένοιο
εἰπεῖν, ὅππῃ κείνος ἐμὸν νόον []
ἤλασκάζει·

τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε διὰ σπέος ἄλλυδις
ἄλλη
/θεινομένου ραίοιτο πρὸς οὔδει, κὰδ δέ τ'
ἐμὸν κῆρ
λωφῆσειε κ[ακῶν, τά μοι οὔτιδανὸς πόρεν
Οὔτις." 9.460
ὥς εἰπὼν τ[ὸν κριὸν ἀπὸ ἔο πέμπε θύραζε].
ἐλ[θό]ντες δ' [ἤβαιὸν ἀπὸ σπειούς τε καὶ
αὐλῆς
πρῶτος ὑ[π'] ἀρνειοῦ λυόμεν, ὑπέλυσα δ'
ἐταίρους.

but you first by far graze on the fresh flowers of
the grass, stepping high, and you first reach the
streams of the river, and first long to return the
pen in the evening; but now you are dead last.
Surely you are pining for the eye of your lord?
An evil man **blinded** it **along with** his baleful
companions, having subdued my wits with wine,
Nobody, who I declare has not yet escaped
destruction. If only you could **think like**
thoughts and could become endowed with
speech, so that you could tell me where he skulks
in order to evade my **mind**; then when he had
been struck, the contents of his skull would be
broken in pieces on the floor throughout the
cave, some here, some there, **and** my heart
would find relief from the evils, which worthless
Nobody brought me. Speaking thus, he sent the
ram out the door from him. And having gone a
little way from the cave and the courtyard, first I
released myself from the ram, and then I released
my companions.

καρπαλίμως δὲ τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα,
 πίονα δημῶ,
 πολλὰ περιτροπέοντες ἐλαύνομεν, ὄφρ' ἐπὶ
 νῆα 9.465
ἰκόμεθ'· ἀσπάσιοι δὲ φίλοις ἐτάροισι
φάνημεν,
 οἱ φύγομεν θάνατον· τοὺς δὲ στενάχοντο
 γοῶντες.
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶων, ἀνά δ' ὄφρῦσι νεῦον
 ἐκάστω,
 κλαίειν· ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσα θοῶς καλλίτριχα
 μῆλα
 πόλλ' ἐν νηὶ β[αλόντας ἐπαπλεῖν ἀλμυρὸν
 ὕδωρ. 9.470
 οἱ δ' αἰψ' εἴσβα[ινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον·
 ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλα τύπτου
 ἔρετμοῖς.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε
 βοήσας,
 καὶ τότε' ἐγὼ Κύκλωπα προσηύδων
 κερτομίοισι·
 “Κύκλωψ, οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἀνάλκιδος
 ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρους 9.475
ἔδμεναι ἐν σπηῖ γλαφυρῶ κρατερῆφι
 βίηφι.
 καὶ λίην σέ γ' ἔμελλε κιχήσεσθαι κακὰ ἔργα,
 σχέτλι', ἐπεὶ ξείνους οὐχ ἄζεο σῶ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
 ἐσθέμεναι· τῶ σε Ζεὺς τίσατο καὶ θεοὶ
 ἄλλοι.”
 ὥς ἐφάμην, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα χολώσατο κηρόθι
 μᾶλλον· 9.480
 And swiftly we drove off the long-stepping, rich
 with fat sheep, looking around us often, until we
 reached the ship; and we, who had escaped
 death, **appeared as welcome to our dear
 companions**, but they wept and groaned over the
 others. But I would not permit them to weep,
 and I nodded upwards with my brows to each
 man. But I ordered them swiftly to toss onto the
 ship the many fine-fleeced flocks, and to sail the
 salt sea. So they quickly embarked and sat down
 on the benches, and sitting in order they beat the
 gray ocean with oars. But when I was as far
 distant as a shouting man can shout, just then I
 spoke to the Cyclops with mocking words: “O
 Cyclops, you did not intend **to eat** the the
 companions of a spiritless man in the hollow
 cave through strong force. Your evil deeds were
 destined to rebound on yourself, cruel one, when
 you did not shrink from eating **guests** in your
 own home; and so Zeus and the other gods
 exacted a penalty from you.” Thus I spoke, and
 then he grew angrier in his heart; and he broke
 off a peak of a massive mountain and threw it,

καρπαλίμως δὲ τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα,
 πίονα δημῶι,
 πολλὰ περιτροπέοντες ἐλαύνομεν, ὄφρ'
 ἐπὶ νῆα 9.465
ἰκόμεθασι]μ[
 [ἡμεῖς] οἱ φύγ[ομεν θάνατον· τοὺς δὲ
 στενάχοντο γοῶντες.
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶων, ἀνά δ' ὄφρῦσι νεῦον
 ἐκάστωι,
 < mgs κλαίειν· ἀλλ' [ἐκέλευσα θοῶς
 καλλίτριχα μῆλα
 πόλλ' ἐν νηὶ β[αλόντας ἐπαπλεῖν ἀλμυρὸν
 ὕδωρ. 9.470
 οἱ δ' αἰψ' εἴσβα[ινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον·
 ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλα τύπτου
 ἔρετμοῖς.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον [ἀπῆν, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε
 βοήσας,
 καὶ τότε' ἐγὼ Κύκλωπα προσηύδων
 κερτομίοισι·
 “Κύκλωψ, οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἀνάλκιδος
 ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρους 9.475
ἔσθέμεν ἐν σπηῖ γλαφυρῶι κρατερῆφι
 βίηφι.

η Μ. 2

καὶ λί[α]ν ση· γ' [ἔμελλε κιχήσεσθαι κακὰ
 ἔργα,
 σχέτλι', ἐπεὶ κε [ἔσθέμεναι· τῶ [σε Ζεὺς τίσατο καὶ θεοὶ
 ἄλλοι.”
 ὥς ἐφάμην, ὃ δ' [ἔπειτα χολώσατο κηρόθι
 μᾶλλον· 9.480
 And swiftly we drove off the long-stepping, rich
 with fat sheep, looking around us often, until we
 reached the ship; and we, who had escaped
 death..., but they wept and groaned over the
 others. But I would not permit them to weep,
 and I nodded upwards with my brows to each
 man. But I ordered them swiftly [to toss onto the
 ship] the many fine-fleeced flocks, and to sail the
 salt sea. So they quickly embarked and sat down
 on the benches, and sitting in order they beat the
 gray ocean with oars. But when I was as far
 distant as a shouting man can shout, just then I
 spoke to the Cyclops with mocking words: “O
 Cyclops, you did not intend **to eat** the the
 companions of a spiritless man in the hollow
 cave through strong force. Your evil deeds were
 destined to rebound on yourself, cruel one, when
 ...; and so Zeus and the other gods exacted a
 penalty from you.” Thus I spoke, and then he
 grew angrier in his heart;

ἦκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφήν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο,

κάδ δ' ἔβαλε προπάροιθε νεὸς

κυανοπρώροιο

“ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα

θέσφαθ' ἰκάνει.

ἔσκε τις ἐνθάδε μάντις ἀνὴρ ἡὺς τε μέγας

τε,

Τήλεμος Εὐρυμίδης, ὃς μαντοσύνη

ἐκέκαστο

καὶ μαντευόμενος κατεγήρα Κυκλώπεσσι·

9.510

ὅς μοι ἔφη τάδε πάντα τελευτήσεσθαι

ὀπίσσω,

χειρῶν ἐξ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμαρτήσεσθαι

ὀπωπῆς.

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν

ἐδέγμην

ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον

ἀλκήν·

νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὔτιδανὸς καὶ

ἄκικος

9.515

ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωσεν, ἐπεὶ μ'

ἔδαμάσσατο οἴνω.

ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια

θείω,

πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνω δόμεναι κλυτὸν

ἐννοσίγαιον·

τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάις εἰμί, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς

εὔχεται εἶναι.

and he broke off a peak of a massive mountain and threw it, and it struck in front of the dark prowed ship ...“Why, indeed a prophecy spoken long ago has come upon me. There was a certain excellent and mighty prophet here, Telemus son of Eurymus and he reached old age prophesying among the Cyclopes, who told me all these things would be fulfilled in the future, that I would lose my sight at the hands of Odysseus. But I had always expected some tall and handsome man to come here, garbed in great courage; but now, although little and worthless and feeble, **he has blinded me** in my eye, when **he had subdued me** with wine. But come here, O Odysseus, so that I may set beside you guest-gifts, and urge the **glorious earthshaker** to speed you on your way; for I am his son, and he declares that he is my father.

ἦκε δὲ ἀπορρήξας κορυφήν ὄρεος

μεγάλοιο,

κάδ δ' ἔβαλεν π[ροπάροιθε νεὸς

κυανοπρώροιο

[“ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα

θέσφαθ' ἰκάν]ει.

9.507

[ἔσκε τις ἐνθάδε μάντις] ἀνὴρ ἡὺς τε μέγας

τε,

[Τήλεμος Εὐρυμίδης, ὃς] μαντοσύνη

ἐκέκαστο

[καὶ μαντευόμενος κα]τεγήρα

Κυκλώπεσσι·

9.510

[ὅς μοι ἔφη τάδε πάντα] τελευτήσεσθαι

ὀπίσσω,

[χειρῶν ἐξ Ὀδυσῆος

αντα Μ. 1

ἀμα]ρτή[εσθαι] ὀπωπῆς.

[ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα φῶτα μέγαν] καὶ καλὸν

ἐδέγμην

[ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι, μεγά]λην ἐπιειμένον

ἀλκήν·

[νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν ὀλίγος τε καὶ] οὔτιδανὸς καὶ

ἄκικος

9.515

ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωσας, ἐπεὶ με

ἔδαμάσσατο οἴνωι.

[ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἵν]α τοι πὰρ

ξείνια θείω,

ὄν Μ. 1

[πομπήν τ' ὀ]τρ[ύνω δόμε]ναι κλυτ[ῶι]

ον Μ. 1

ἐννοσίγαι[ῶι]·

[τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ π]αίς εἰμί, [πα]τήρ δ' ἐμὸς

εὔχεται εἶναι,

and he broke off a peak of a massive mountain and threw it, and it struck in front of the dark prowed ship ...“Why, indeed a prophecy spoken long ago has come upon me. There was a certain excellent and mighty prophet here, Telemus son of Eurymus and he reached old age prophesying among the Cyclopes, who told me all these things would be fulfilled in the future, that I would lose my sight at the hands of Odysseus. But I had always expected some tall and handsome man to come here, garbed in great courage; but now, although little and worthless and feeble, **you have blinded me** in my eye, when **you had subdued me** with wine. But come here, O Odysseus, so that I may set beside you guest-gifts, and urge the **glorious earthshaker** to speed you on your way; for I am his son, and he declares that he is my father,

αὐτὸς δ', αἶ κ' ἐθέλησ', ἰήσεται, οὐδέ τις
ἄλλος 9.520
οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν
ἀνθρώπων."

**ὧς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μιν
ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον·**

αἶ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην

εὐνιν ποιήσας πέμψαι δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω,
ὧς οὐκ ὀφθαλμόν γ' ἰήσεται οὐδ'
ἔνοσίχθων." 9.525
ὧς ἐφάμην, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα Ποσειδάωνι ἀνακτι

εὔχετο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς οὐρανὸν
ἀστερόεντα·
"κλυθι, Ποσειδαον γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα·

εἰ ἔτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεται
εἶναι,
δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσεῖα πτολιπόρθιον οἶκαδ'
ικέσθαι, 9.530
**[υἱὸν Λαέρτew, Ἰθάκη ἐνὶ οἰκί'
ἔχοντα.]**

**ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ
ικέσθαι**
οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
But you yourself, if you wish, heal me, not
anyone else either of the blessed gods or of
mortal men." **Thus he spoke, and I answered
him:** "Would that I could make you bereft of
soul and lifespan, just as not even the
earthshaker will heal your eye." Thus I spoke,
and then he prayed to Lord Poseidon, stretching
his hands to starry heaven: "Listen, O Poseidon,
dark-haired earth-bearer; if I am your offspring,
and you declare that you are my father, grant that
city-sacking Odysseus does not reach home, **son
of Laertes, whose home is on Ithaca. But** if it
is his fate to see his friends and to reach his well-
built home and his own homeland,

**[ὧς καὶ ἐμοί] τάδε πάν[τα]
τελευτήσεσθαι ἔφασκε. 9.519a**

[αὐτὸς δ', αἶ] κ' ἐθέλη, ἰή[σεται], οὐδέ τις
ἄλλος 9.520
[οὔτε θεῶν] μακάρων ο[ὔτε θ]νητῶν
ἀνθρώπων."
ὧς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μιν ἀμειβόμενος
προσέειπον· M. 2

**[ὧς ἔφατ', ἀλλ' οὐ πείθην [ἐμο]ν
μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
[ἀλλά μιν ἀφο]ρρον προ[σέφη]ν
κεκοτητότι θυμῶι· 9.522a**

["αἶ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός] σε
δυναίμην
[εὐνιν ποιήσας πέμψαι δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω,
ὧς οὐκ ὀφθαλμόν γ' ἰήσεται οὐδ'
ἔ]νοσίχθων." 9.525
[ὧς ἐφάμην, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα Ποσειδάωνι]
ἀνακτι
[εὔχετο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς ο]ὔρανὸν
ἀστερόεντα·
["κλυθι, Ποσειδαον γαιήοχε κυανοχ]αῖτα·
εἰ ἔτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεται
εἶναι, 9.529

ἠ M. 2
δὸς μοι Ὀδυσσεῖα π[τολιπόρθιον οἶκαδ']
ικέσθαι. 9.530

**εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλ[ους τ' ἰδέειν
καὶ ἰκέσθαι 9.532**
οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν [ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
**who says he will bring all these things to pass
for me. But you yourself, if you wish, heal me,
not anyone else either of the blessed gods or of
mortal men." Thus he spoke, but he did not
persuade my great-hearted spirit, but I
answered him in turn with a spirit that
cherished wrath:** "Would that I could make you
bereft of soul and lifespan, just as not even the
earthshaker will heal your eye." Thus I spoke,
and then he prayed to Lord Poseidon, stretching
his hands to starry heaven: "Listen, O Poseidon,
dark-haired earth-bearer; if I am your offspring,
and you declare that you are my father, grant for
me that city-sacking Odysseus reach home. **And
so, if it is his fate to see his friends and to reach
his well-built home and his own homeland,**

ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας
 ἑταίρους,
 νηὸς ἐπὶ ἄλλοτρῆς, εὐροὶ δ' ἐν πῆματα
 οἴκῳ." 9.535
 ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε
 κυανοχαίτης.
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἔξαυτις πολὺ μείζονα λαῶν
 ἀείρας

ἦκ' ἐπιδινήσας, ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον·

κὰδ δ' ἔβαλεν μετόπισθε νεὸς
 κυανοπρώροιο
 τυτθόν, ἐδεύησεν δ' οἴηιον ἄκρον
 ἰκέσθαι. 9.540

ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα κατερχομένης
 ὑπὸ πέτρης·

τὴν δὲ πρόσω φέρε κῦμα, θέμωσε δὲ
 χέρσον ἰκέσθαι.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ', ἔνθα
 περ ἄλλαι

νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ μένον ἄθροαι, ἀμφὶ δ'
 ἑταῖροι

εἶατ' ὄδυρόμενοι, ἡμέας ποτιδέγμενοι αἰεὶ,
 9.545

νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλοσμεν ἐν
 ψαμάθοισιν,

ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι
 θαλάσσης.

μῆλα δὲ Κύκλωπος γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς
 ἐλόντες

may he come home late, miserably, having lost
 all his comrades, on a ship belonging to another,
 and may he find an instance of evil in his home."
 Thus he spoke, praying, and the dark-haired one
 heard him. And he lifted up a far greater stone,
 whirled it round and threw it, and put his
 strength into it very greatly; he threw it a little
behind the dark-prowed ship, **and it fell short
 of the tip of the steering oar. And the sea
 washed up under the stone as it came down;**
 and a wave bore the ship forward, and carried it
to reach dry land. But when we reached the
 island, then indeed the other well-benched ships
remained collected together, and my
 companions sat around grieving, always waiting
 for us, then we **came to that place and beached
 the ship on the sands, and we stepped out onto
 the sea's beach.** And we took from the hollow
 ship the Cyclops' flocks

ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἄπο π[άντας
 ἑταίρους,
 νηὸς ἐπὶ ἄλλοτρῆς, εὐροὶ δ' ἐμ πῆ[ματα
 οἴκῳ." 9.535

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε
 κυ[ανοχαίτης.

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἔξαυτις πολὺ μείζονα λα[αν
 ἀείρας

ἐξ ἀύλης ἀνελὼν ὄθι οἱ θυρεὸς πα .
 οσ ε[.] .[9.537a

ιδινης M. 1

ἦκε π[εριστρέψ]ας, ἐπέρεισε δὲ (δε) ἴν'
 ἀπ[έλεθρον·

ἐξοπίσω M. 1

κὰδ δ' ἔβαλ[εν προπάροισι] νεὸς
 κυαν[οπρώροιο 9.539

Λ mgs τὴν δὲ πρόσω φέρε κῦμα, θέμωσε δὲ
 νηοσ[9.542

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα, ἔνθα
 π[ερ ἄλλαι

νῆες ἐύ[σσε]λμοὶ μένον ἡμέας, ἀμφὶ δ'
 ἑτα[ῖροι

εἶατο ὄ[δ]υρόμενοι, ἡμέας ποτιδέγμενο[ι
 αἰεὶ, 9.545

νεῖα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλάσαντες ἐκέλοσμεν ἐν
 [ψαμάθοισιν,

μῆλα δὲ Κύκλωπος κοίλης ἐγ νηὸς
 ἐλόντ[ες 9.548

may he come home late, miserably, having lost
 all his comrades, on a ship belonging to another,
 and may he find an instance of evil in his home."
 Thus he spoke, praying, and the dark-haired one
 heard him. And he lifted up a far greater stone,

**picking it up from the enclosure where his
 doorstone ... whirled it round and threw it, and
 put his strength into it very greatly; he threw it a
 little in front of the dark-prowed ship, ... and a
 wave bore the ship forward, and carried it... But
 when we reached the island, then indeed the
 other well-benched ships awaited us, and my
 companions sat around grieving, always waiting
 for us, then we propelled the ship to that place
 and beached it on the sands.** And we took
 from the hollow ship the Cyclops' flocks

δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι
ἴσῃς.

ἀρνειὸν δ' ἐμοὶ οἶφ' εὐκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι

9.550

μήλων δαιομένων δόσαν ἔξοχα· τὸν δ' ἐπὶ
θινὶ

Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεΐ Κρονίδῃ, ὃς πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει,

ρέξας μηρὶ' ἕκαιον. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο
ἱρῶν,

ἀλλ' ὄ γε μερμήριζεν, ὅπως ἀπολοίατο
πᾶσαι

νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρήρηες ἑταῖροι.

9.555

ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἥλιον
καταδύντα

ἡμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ
ἡδύ·

ἡμος δ' ἥλιος κατέδου καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε,

δὴ τότε κοιμήθημεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.

ἡμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος

Ἡώς, 9.560

δὴ τότ' ἐγὼν ἐτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας
ἐκέλευσα

αὐτούς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια
λῦσαι.

οἱ δ' αἴψ' εἴσβαινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι κάθιζον,

ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλα τύπτον
ἐρετμοῖς.

and divided them, so that no one might go defrauded of an equal share. But my well-greaved companions gave the ram to me alone, preeminent over the flocks that had been divided; and I sacrificed him on the beach to Zeus of the dark cloud, son of Kronos, who rules all, and burned the thigh pieces. But he did not pay attention to my sacrifices, but was pondering how they might be destroyed, all the well-benched ships and my faithful companions. So then for quite all the day to the setting sun we sat feasting on endless meat and sweet wine; and when the sun set and darkness came, then we went to bed on the sea beach. And when rosy-fingered early-born Dawn appeared, then I woke my companions and ordered them to go on board and to release the stern cables. And they went on board quickly and sat down on the benches, and sitting in order they beat the gray sea with their oars.

δασσάμεθα, ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος
[κίοι ἴσῃς.

ἀρνειὸν δ' ἐμοὶ οἶφω εὐκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι

9.550

μήλων δαιομένων δόσαν ἔξοχα· τὸν δ' ἐπὶ
θινὶ

Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεΐ Κρονίδῃ, ὃς πᾶσιν
ἀνάσσει,

ρέξας ἱερὰ καῖον· ὁ δ' οὐκ [ἐμπάζετο]
δῶρων,

ἀλλ' ὄ γε μερμήριζεν, ὅπως ἀπολοίατο
πᾶσαι

νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρ[ήρηες] ἑταῖροι.

9.555

[ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἥλιον
κα]ταδ[ύν]τα

[ἡ]μέθ[α] δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθ[υ]
ἡδύ·

[ἡ]μος δ' ἥλιος κα[τέ]δου καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας
ἦ]λθευ,

[δὴ τό]τε κοιμήθημεν [ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι
θαλάσ]σης.

[ἡ]μος δ[ὲ] ἠριγένει[α] ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος

Ἡώς, 9.560

[δὴ τότ'] ἐγὼν ἐτάροισιν [ἐποτρύ]νας
ἐκέλε]υσα

[αὐτούς] τε ἐμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια
λῦ]σαι.

[οἱ] [δ' αἴ]ψ' εἴσβαινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι
κ]αθίζον,

mgx ἐξῆς δὲ ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλα [τ]ύπτον
ἐ[ρε]τμοῖς.

and divided them, so that no one might go defrauded of an equal share. But my well-greaved companions gave the ram to me alone, preeminent over the flocks that had been divided; and I sacrificed him on the beach to Zeus of the dark cloud, son of Kronos, who rules all, and burned the thigh pieces. son of Kronos, who rules all, and burned the sacrifice. But he did not pay attention to my gifts, but pondered how they might all be destroyed, all the well-benched ships and my faithful companions. So then for quite all the day to the setting sun we sat feasting on endless meat and sweet wine; and when the sun set and darkness came, then we went to bed on the sea beach. And when rosy-fingered early-born Dawn appeared, then I woke my companions and ordered them to go on board and to release the stern cables. And they went on board quickly and sat down on the benches, and sitting in order they beat the gray sea with their oars.

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι
 ἦτορ, 9.565
 ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτοιο, φίλους ὀλέσαντες
 ἑταίρους.
 Αἰολίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ'
 ἔναιεν 10.1
 Αἴολος Ἰπποτάδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι
 θεοῖσι,
 πλωτῆ ἐνὶ νήσῳ· πᾶσαν δέ τέ μιν πέρι
 τεῖχος
 χάλκεον ἄρρηκτον, λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε
 πέτρη.
 τοῦ καὶ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροις
 γεγάασιν, 10.5
 ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ' υἱεῖς ἠβώνοντες.
 ἔνθ' ὅ γε θυγατέρας πόρην υἰάσιν εἶναι
 ἀκοίτις.
 οἱ δ' αἰεὶ παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητέρι
 κεδνῇ
 δαίνυνται· παρὰ δέ σφιν ὄνειάτα μυρία
 κεῖται,
 κνισῆεν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐλῆ,
 10.10
 ἦματα· νύκτας δ' αὖτε παρ' αἰδοίης
 ἀλόχοισιν
 εὐδουσ' ἐν τε τάπησι καὶ ἐν τρητοῖσι
 λέχεσσι.
 καὶ μὲν τῶν ἰκόμεσθα πόλιν καὶ δώματα
 καλά.
 μῆνα δὲ πάντα φίλει με καὶ ἐξερέεινεν
 ἕκαστα,
 Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον
 Ἀχαιῶν· 10.15
 From there we sailed forth grieved in our hearts,
 pleased to have escaped from death, although
 deprived of our dear companions. And we
 reached the island of Aeolia, and there dwelled
 Aeolus son of Ippotas, dear to the immortal
 gods, on a floating island; and **all** around it is an
 unbreakable bronze wall bronze, unbreakable,
 and the cliff runs up sheer. There are twelve of
 his children in the **halls**, six daughters, and six
 flourishing sons. And he gave his daughters to
 his sons to be their wives; and they always
 feasted beside their dear father and loving
 mother; and before them lie countless dishes, and
 the house, full of the savor of roasting meat,
 resounds around the courtyard by day; and by
 night beside their honored wives they sleep on
 blankets and on perforated beds. And we
 reached their city and lovely homes. And for an
 entire month he entertained me hospitably and
 asked us about each thing, Ilium and the ships of
 the Argives and the return of the Achaeans;

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν
 ἀκ[αχ]ήμενοι ἦ[τ]ορ, 9.565
 mgs ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτοιο, φίλους
 ὀλί[ε]σαντες ἑ[τ]αίρους.
 Αἰολίην δὲ εἰς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα [ἔ]νθα δ'
 ἔ[ναι]εν 10.1
 Αἴολος Ἰπποτάδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι
 θε[οῖσι]ν,
 πλωτῆ ἐνὶ νήσῳ· πάντι δ' ἄρα μιν πέρι
 τεῖ[χο]ς
 χάλκεον ἄρρηκτον, λισσὴ δὲ ἀναδέδρομε
 [πέτ]ρη.
 τοῦ καὶ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐν μεγάρῳ
 γεγ[ά]ασιν, 10.5
 ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ' υἱεῖς ἠβώνοντες.
 ἔνθ' ὅ γε θυγατέρας πόρην υἰάσιν εἶναι
 ἀκοίτις.
 οἱ δὲ αἰεὶ παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητέρι
 κεδνῇ
 δαίνυνται· παρὰ δέ σφιν ὄνειάτα μυρία
 κεῖται,
 κνισῆεν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται
 ἄλμη, 10.10
 ἦματα· νύκτας δὲ αὖτε παρ' αἰδοίης
 ἀ[λόχοισι]ν
 εὐδουσ' ἐν τε τάπησι[] καὶ ἐν ποητοῖσι
 λέχε[σσι].
 καὶ μὲν τῶν ἰκόμεσ[θ]α πόλιν καὶ δώματα
 καλά.
 μῆνα δὲ πάντ' ἐφίλει με καὶ ἐξερέεινε ἕκαστα;
 Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον
 Ἀχαιῶν· 10.15
 From there we sailed forth grieved in our hearts,
 pleased to have escaped from death, although
 deprived of our dear companions. And we
 reached the island of Aeolia, and there dwelled
 Aeolus son of Ippotas, dear to the immortal gods,
 on a floating island; and **on every side** [?]
 around it is a wall, bronze, unbreakable, and the
 cliff runs up sheer. There are twelve of his
 children in the **hall**, six daughters, and six
 flourishing sons. And he gave his daughters to
 his sons to be their wives; and they always
 feasted beside their dear father and loving
 mother; and before them lie countless dishes, and
 the house, full of the savor of roasting meat,
 resounds around the **sea** by day; and by night
 beside their honored wives they sleep on
 blankets and on perforated beds. And for an
 entire month he entertained me hospitably and
 asked us about each thing, Ilium and the ships of
 the Argives and the return of the Achaeans;

καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῶ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν
κατέλεξα.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼν ὁδὸν ἤτεον ἠδ'
ἐκέλευον

πεμπέμεν, οὐδέ τι κεῖνος ἀνήνατο,
τεῦχε δὲ πομπήν.
δῶκε δέ μοι ἐκδείρας ἀσκὸν βοῶς
ἐννεώροιο,
ἔνθα δὲ βυκτᾶων ἀνέμων κατέδησε
κέλευθα· 10.20
κεῖνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε
Κρονίων,
ἦ μὲν πανέμεναι ἠδ' ὀρνύμεν, ὄν κ' ἐθέλησι.

νῆϊ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇ κατέδει μέρμιθι φαινηῇ

ἀργυρέῃ, ἵνα μή τι παραπνεύσῃ ὀλίγον
περ'
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ πνοιῆν ζεφύρου προέηκεν
ἄῆναι, 10.25
ὄφρα φέροι νῆάς τε καὶ αὐτούς· οὐδ' ἄρ'
ἔμελλεν

ἐκτελείειν· αὐτῶν γὰρ ἀπωλόμεθ'
ἀφραδίησιν.
ἐννήμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε
καὶ ἡμαρ,
τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἤδη ἀνεφαίνετο πατρὶς
ἄρουρα,
καὶ δὴ πυρπολέοντας ἐλεύσσομεν ἐγγύς
έόντας. 10.30

and I told him all in the proper manner. But when I asked and bid him to send me on my way, he did not deny me anything, and he prepared my departure. And he stripped and gave me the hide of a nine-year-old bull, and in it he bound the paths of the roaring winds; for the son of Cronos made him dispenser of the winds, both to stop them and to rouse what ever one he wishes. And in my hollow ship he secured it with a shining cord, so that not even some small part might slip past; and for me he sent for the breath of the west wind to blow, so that it might convey our ships and ourselves. But he was not destined to bring this to fulfillment; for we were destroyed by our own folly. For nine days we sailed by night and day alike, and already on the tenth day our native land appeared, and indeed, we were so near that we saw those attending to their fires.

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῶι πᾶσαν ἀληθείην
κατέλεξα.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼν ὁδὸν ἤτεον ἠδὲ
θ Μ. 1

κέλευον
πέμπειν, οὐδ' ἔτι' ἐκεῖνος ἀναίνετο,
δῶκε δὲ πομπήν.
προφρονέως δείρας ἀσκὸν βοῶς
ἐννεώροιο
ἔνθα δὲ βυκτᾶων ἀνέμων κατέδησε
κελεύθους· 10.20
κεῖνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε
Κρονίων,
τὸν μὲν πανέμεναι, τὸν δὲ ὀρνύμεν ὄν κ'
ἐθέλησι.

νῆϊ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇ κατέδει μέρμιθι φαινηῇ
ηι Μ. 2
ἀργυρέῃ, ἵνα μή τι παραπνεύσ[αι] ὀλίγον
περ'

/ mgs αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Ζεφύροιο πνοῆν
προέηκεν ἄῆναι, 10.25
ὄφρα φέροι νῆάς τε καὶ αὐτούς· οὐδ' ἄρα
ἔμελλον

πω Μ. 2
ἐκτελείειν· αὐτῶν γὰρ ἀφραδίησιν
ἀφραδίησιν.
ἐννή[μα]ρ φερόμεσθα ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ
ἡμαρ,
τῇ δεκάτῃ[ι] δ' ἤδη κατεφαίνετο πατρὶς
ἄρουρα,
καὶ δὴ πυρπολέοντας ἐλεύσσομεν ἐγγύθ'
έόντας. 10.30

but I told him the whole truth. But when I asked and bid him to send me on my way, he no longer denied me anything, and he gave me my departure. Readily he stripped [and gave me] the hide of a nine-year-old bull, and in it he bound the paths of the roaring winds, for the son of Cronos made him dispenser of the winds, to stop one and to rouse another, what ever one he wishes. And in my hollow ship he secured it with a shining cord, so that not even some small part might slip past; and for me he sent for the breath of the west wind to blow, so that it might convey our ships and ourselves. But he was not destined to bring this to fulfillment; for we lost ourselves by our own folly. For nine days we were carried by night and day alike, and already on the tenth day our native land came in sight, and indeed, we were so near that we saw those attending to their fires.

ἐνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἐπέλλαβε
 κεκμηῶτα·
 αἰεὶ γὰρ πόδα νηὸς ἐνώμων, οὐδέ τω
 ἄλλω
 δῶχ' ἐτάρων, ἵνα θᾶσσον ἰκοίμεθα
 πατρίδα γαῖαν·
 οἱ δ' ἔταροι ἐπέεσσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἀγόρευον
 καὶ ἦ' ἔφασαν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον
 οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι, 10.35
 δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλοο μεγαλήτορος
 Ἴπποτάδαο.
 ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·

ὦ πόποι, ὡς ὅδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιός
 ἐστίν
 ἀνθρώποις, ὅτεών κε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν
 ἴκηται.
 πολλὰ ἦεν ἐκ Τροίης ἄγεται κειμήλια καλὰ
 10.40

ληΐδος· ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτε ὁμῆν ὁδὸν
 ἐκτελέσαντες
 Then sweet sleep seized me, when I had grown
 tired For I had constantly tended the lower
 corner of the ship's sail and I would not give it
 another of my companions, in order that we
 might come more swiftly to our native land.
 And my companions talked to each other in
 words and said that I was carrying god and silver
 homewards, gifts from great-hearted Aeolus the
 son of Hippotas. And thus someone would say
 as he looked at his neighbor: "O my, how this
 man here is dear and honored by all men,
 whenever he comes to someone's city and land.
 He is bringing many beautiful heirlooms from
 Troy, from the booty; and we having followed to
 the end the same road

ἐνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἐπέλλαβε
 κεκμηῶτα·
 αἰεὶ γὰρ πόδα νηὸς ἐνώμων, οὐδέ τω
 ἄλλω
 δῶκα ἐτάρων, ἵνα θᾶσσον ἰκοίμεθα
 πατρίδ[α γαῖαν·
 οἱ δε ἔταροι ἐπέεσσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἀ[γόρευον
 /ms καὶ ἦ' ἔφασαν χρυσόν τε καὶ [ἄργυρον
 οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι, 10.35
 δῶρα παρ' Αἰ[ό]λου ἡμε[γαλήτορος
 Ἴπποτάδαο.
 ὧ[δ]ε δέ τις ε[ἶ]πεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον
 ἄλλον·

ὦ πόποι, ὡς ὅδε πᾶσι φίλος κα[ὶ] τίμιός
 ἐστίν
 [ἀνθ]ρώποις, ὅτεών κε πόλιν κ[αὶ] γαῖαν
 ἴκηται.
 [πο]λλὰ μὲν ἐκ Τρώϊης ἄγ[ε]ται κειμήλια
 καλὰ 10.40
 [ληΐ]δος· ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτε ὁμῆν ὁδὸν
 [ἐκτελέσαντες

Then sweet sleep seized me, when I had grown
 tired For I had constantly tended the lower
 corner of the ship's sail and I would not give it
 another of my companions, in order that we
 might come more swiftly to our native land.
 And my companions talked to each other in
 words and said that I was carrying god and silver
 homewards, gifts from great-hearted Aeolus the
 son of Hippotas. And thus someone would say
 as he looked at his neighbor: "O my, how this
 man here is dear and honored by all men,
 whenever he comes to someone's city and land.
 He is bringing many beautiful heirlooms from
 Troy, from the booty; and we having followed to
 the end the same road

οἴκαδε νισόμεθα κενεὰς σὺν χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

καὶ νῦν οἱ τὰ γε δῶκε χαριζόμενος
φιλότητι

Αἴολος. ἀλλ' ἄγε θᾶσσον ἰδόμεθα, ὅττι
τάδ' ἐστίν,
ὅσος τις χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσκῶ
ἔνεστιν.” 10.45

ὣς ἔφασαν, βουλή δὲ κακὴ νίκησεν
ἐταίρων·

ἀσκὸν μὲν λῦσαν, ἄνεμοι δ' ἐκ πάντες
ὄρουσαν,
τοὺς δ' αἴψ' ἀρπάξασα φέρεν πόντονδε
θύελλα
κλαίοντας, γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος. αὐτὰρ
ἐγὼ γε

ἐγρόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα μερμήριξα,
10.50

ἢ ἐπεσῶν ἐκ νηὸς ἀποφθίμην ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
ἢ ἀκέων τλαίην καὶ ἔτι ζωοῖσι μετεῖην.
come how with empty hands. And now Aeolus
rejoicing in friendship has given these things to
him. But come, let us look rather quickly at
what is inside, how much silver and gold is in
the bag. Thus he spoke, and my companions'
evil plan won the day, and they loosened the bag
and all the winds rushed out, and a storm
immediately caught them and bore them out to
sea weeping, away from their homeland. But I
awakened and considered in my blameless spirit,
whether I should throw myself from the ship and
die in the sea, or suffer **silently** and still remain
among the living.

[οἴκα]δε νισόμεθα κενεὰς σ[ὺν] χεῖρας
ἔχοντες.

[καὶ ν]ῦν οἱ τὰ γε δῶκε χαριζ[ό]μενος
φιλότητι

[Αἴολ]ος. ἀλλ' ἄγε θᾶσσον ἰδῶ[με]θα, ὅ[ττι]
τάδ' ἐστίν,
[ὅσ]ος τις χρυσός τε καὶ [ἄργ]υρος ἀσκῶ
ἔνεστιν.” 10.45

ὦ[ς] ἔφ[α]σαν, βουλή δὲ κακὴ νίκησ[εν]
ἐταίρων·

[ἀσκὸν] ἦ ἐν λῦσαν, ἄνεμοι δ' ἐκ [πάντες]
ὄρουσαν,
[τοὺς] δ' αἴψ' ἀρπάξασα φέρεν π[όντον]δε
θύελλα
[κλαίο]ντας, γαίης ἄπο πατρίδ[ος]. αὐτὰρ
ἐγὼ γε

[ἐγρό]μενος κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμ[ονα]
μερμήριξα, 10.50

[ἢ ἐ]πεσῶν ἐκ νηὸς ἀποφθίμη[ν] ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
[ἢ σῖ]γα τλαίην καὶ ἔτι ζωοῖσι μετεῖην.
come how with empty hands. And now Aeolus
rejoicing in friendship has given these things to
him. But come, let us look rather quickly at
what is inside, how much silver and gold is in
the bag. Thus he spoke, and my companions'
evil plan won the day, and they loosened the bag
and all the winds rushed out, and a storm
immediately caught them and bore them out to
sea weeping, away from their homeland. But I
awakened and considered in my blameless spirit,
whether I should throw myself from the ship and
die in the sea, or suffer **silently** and still remain
among the living

ἀλλ' ἔτλην καὶ ἔμεινα, καλυψάμενος δ' ἐνὶ
νηὶ 10.53
κείμην. αἶ δ' ἐφέροντο κακῆ ἀνέμοιο θυέλλῃ

αὐτίς ἐπ' Αἰολίην νῆσον, στενάχοντο δ'
ἑταῖροι. 10.55

ἐνθα δ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου βῆμεν καὶ
ἀφυσσάμεθ' ὕδωρ·
αἶψα δὲ δεῖπνον ἔλοντο θοῆς παρὰ
νηυσὶν ἑταῖροι.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ
ποτῆτος,

δὴ τότε ἔγώ κήρυκά τ' ὀπασσάμενος καὶ
ἑταῖρον,
βῆν εἰς Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δῶματα· τὸν δ'
ἐκίχανον 10.60
δαινύμενον παρὰ ἧ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ οἴσι
τέκεσιν.

ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δῶμα παρὰ σταθμοῖσιν ἐπ'
οὔδοῦ
ἐζόμεθ'· οἱ δ' ἀνά θυμὸν ἐθάμβεον ἔκ τ'
ἔρέοντο

“πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε
δαίμων;
ἦ μὲν σ' ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέμπομεν, ὄφρ' ἂν
ἴκηαι 10.65

πατρίδα σὴν καὶ δῶμα, καὶ εἴ πού τοι
φίλον ἐστίν.”

But I suffered and endured, and, covering myself, I lay down in the ship. But the ships were carried by an evil wind storm once more to the island of Aeolia, and my companions groaned. **Then we went to shore and drew water; and my companions immediately took their main meat beside the swift ships. But when we had partaken of food and drink, then I, accompanied by a herald and a companion, went to the glorious palace of Aeolus; and I came upon him feasting beside his wife and children. And when we came into his house we sat down on the threshold beside the doorposts. But they marveled in their hearts and questioned us: “How have you come here, Odysseus? What wicked spirit attacked you? Surely we sent you away with care for your well-being, so that you might reach your native land and home, and wherever you wanted.”**

[ἀλλ'] ἔτλην καὶ ἔμεινα, καλυψάμ[ενος δ' ἐνὶ
νηῖ 10.53
κείμη]ν· αἶ δ' [ἐφέρο]ντο κακῆ ἀνέ[μοιο
θυέλλῃ

[αὐτίς] ἐπ' Αἰο[λίην ν]ῆσον, στενάχο[ντο δ'
ἑταῖροι. 10.55

[ἀλλ' ὅ]τε δὴ τ[ῆν νῆ]σον ἰκάνομεν[

[δὴ τότε] ἔγώ [κήρυκ]ά ἄμ' ὀπασσάμ[ενος
καὶ ἑταῖρον, 10.59

[βῆν εἰς Αἰόλου κλυ]τὰ δῶματα· [τὸν δ'
ἐκίχανον 10.60

[δαινύμενον πα]ρὰ ἧ τ' [ἀλόχῳ καὶ οἴσι
τέκεσιν.

ἐλθόντ[ες δ' ἐς δῶμ]α παρὰ [σ]ταθμοῖσιν
ἐπ' οὔδ[ο]ῦ

ἐζόμε[θα]· οἱ δ' [ἀνά θ]υμὸν ἐθάμβεον ἔκ τ'
ἔρέτνον·

“πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε
δαίμων;

καὶ μὴν σε ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέμπομεν, ὄφρα
ἴκοιο 10.65

πατρίδα σὴν καὶ δῶμα, καὶ εἴ πού σοι
φίλοι εἰσίν.”

But I suffered and endured, and, covering myself, I lay down in the ship. But the ships were carried by an evil wind storm once more to the island of Aeolia, and my companions groaned. **But when we had reached the island, then I, accompanied by a herald and a companion, went to the glorious palace of Aeolus; and I came upon him feasting beside his wife and children. And when we came into his house we sat down on the threshold beside the doorposts. But they marveled in their hearts and questioned us: “How have you come here, Odysseus? What wicked spirit attacked you? And indeed we sent you away with care for your well-being so that you might reach your native land and home, and wherever you have friends.**

ὥς ἔφαν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μετεφώνεον
 ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·
 “ἄσάν μ’ ἔταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τε
 ὕπνος
 σχέτλιος. ἀλλ’ ἀκέσασθε, φίλοι·
 δύναμις γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν.
 ὥς ἐφάμην μαλακοῖσι καταπτόμενος
 ἐπέεσσιν·
 οἱ δ’ ἄνεω ἐγένοντο· πατὴρ δ’ ἠμείβετο
 μύθῳ·
 “ἔρρ’ ἐκ νήσου θᾶσσον, ἐλέγχιστε
 ζωνόντων·
 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομίζεμεν οὐδ’
 ἀποπέμπειν
 ἄνδρα τόν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται
 μακάρεσσιν.
 ἔρρ’, ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπεχθόμενος
 τόδ’ ἰκάνεις.” 10.75
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπε δόμων βαρέα
 στενάχοντα.
 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι
 ἦτορ·
 τεύρετο δ’ ἀνδρῶν θυμὸς ὑπ’ εἰρεσίης
 ἀλεγεινῆς
 ἠμετέρη ματίη, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι φαίνεται
 πομπή.
 ἔξημαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ
 ἡμαρ· 10.80
 ἔβδομάτη δ’ ἰκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ
 πτολίεθρον,

Thus they spoke, and I spoke among them, grieved at heart: “My wicked companions harmed me and pitiless sleep along with them. But heal me, o friends; for the power is yours.” Thus I spoke addressing them with gentle words. but they were silent; and the father answered with a speech: “Go from our island quite quickly, most deserving of reproach among living things; for it would not be lawful for me to entertain you hospitably nor to send on his way that man who is hated by the blessed gods. Go, since you reached this place hated by the immortals.” Speaking thus, he sent me away from his palace, groaning heavily. Thence we sailed forth, grieved at heart. And the men’s spirits were worn by painful rowing through our own ill-judged action, since a conveying wind no longer appeared. For six days we sailed both night and day, but on the seventh day we reached the steep city of Lamos,

ὥς φάσαν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ προσεφώνεον
 μειλιχίοισιν·
 “ἔβλαψάν με ἔταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσι
 τε
 ὕπνος Μ. 1
 οἶνος 10.68

οἱ δ’ ἄνεω ἐγένοντο· πατὴρ δὲ ἠμείβετο
 μύθῳ· 10.71
 “ἔρρ’ ἐγ νήσου θᾶσσον, ἐλέγχιστε
 ζωνόντων·
 [ο]ὐ γάρ ἐμοὶ θέμις ἐστὶ κομίζειν οὐδὲ
 ἀποπέμπειν
 ἄνδρα τόν ὅς τε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται
 μα[κ]άρεσσιν. 10.74

msg ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπε δόμων μεγάλα
 [στ]ενάχο[ν]τα. 10.76
 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι
 ἦτορ· 10.77

[ἐ]ξημαρ δὲ ἐπλοῦμεν ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ
 ἡμαρ· 10.80
 [ἐ]βδομάτη δὲ ἰκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ
 πτολίεθρον,

Thus they spoke, and I answered with conciliatory words: “My wicked companions harmed me and wine along with them. But they were silent; and the father answered with a speech: “Go from our island quite quickly, most deserving of reproach among living things; for it would not be lawful for me to entertain you hospitably nor to send on his way that man who is hated by the blessed gods.” Speaking thus, he sent me away from his palace, groaning greatly. Thence we sailed forth, grieved at heart. For six days we sailed both night and day, but on the seventh day we reached the steep city of Lamos,

Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, ὄθι ποιμένα
 ποιμὴν
 ἠπύει εἰσελάων, ὁ δέ τ' ἐξελάων
 ὑπακούει.
 ἔνθα κ' ἄυπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο
 μισθοὺς,
 τὸν μὲν βουκολέων, τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα
 νομεύων· 10.85
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι
 κέλευθοι.
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἦλθομεν, ὄν περὶ
 πέτρῃ
 ἠλίβατος τετύχηκε διαμπερὲς
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
 ἀκταὶ δὲ προβλήτες ἐναντία ἀλλήλησιν
 ἐν στόματι προύχουσιν, ἀραιὴ δ' εἰσοδός
 ἐστιν, 10.90
 ἔνθ' οἳ γ' εἴσω πάντες ἔχον νέας
 ἀμφιελίσσας.
 αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἔντοσθεν λιμένος κοίλοιο δέδεντο
 πλησίαι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποτ' ἀέξετο κῦμά γ' ἐν
 αὐτῶ,
 οὔτε μέγ' οὔτ' ὀλίγον, λευκὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ
 γαλήνῃ.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἶος σχέθον ἔξω νῆα
 μέλαιναν, 10.95

αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ, πέτρης ἐκ πείσματα
 δῆσας.

Lastrygonian Telepylos, where a herdsman going
in calls to a herdsman, and he answers as he
 drives his sheep **out**. There a man who does not
 sleep can earn double wages, one herding cattle,
 one pasturing silvery-white flocks. For the roads
 of night and day are close to each other. Then
 when we came into the glorious harbor, which a
 high cliff encloses continuously on both sides,
 and two outgutting promontories face towards
 the mouth, and there is a narrow way in, there
 inside they all had their easily directed ships.
 They were fastened close together inside the
 hollow harbor; for a wave never swelled in it, not
 a big one nor a little one, and there was a white
 calm on it. but I alone kept my black ship
 outside, there on the margin, binding it to the
 rock with cables.

Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, ὄθι ποιμένα
 ποιμὴν
 [ἠ]πύει ἐξελάων, ὁ δέ τ' εἰσελάων
 ὑπακούει.
 [ἔ]νθα κ' ἄυπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο
 μισθοὺς,
 [τὸ]ν μὲν βο[υ]κολέων, τὸν δὲ ἄργυφα
 μῆλα νομεύων· 10.85
 [ἐ]γγὺς γὰρ ν[υ]κτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι
 κέλευθοι.
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἦλθομεν, ὄν περὶ
 πέτρῃ
 ἠ[λί]βατος τετύχηκε διαμπερὲς
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
 ἀκ[τ]αὶ δὲ προβλήτες ἐναντία ἀλλήλησιν
 ἐν στ[ό]ματι προύχουσιν, ἀραιὴ δ' εἰσοδός
 ἐστιν, 10.90
 / *mgs* ἔνθ' οἳ γ' [εἴ]σω πάντες ἔχον νέας
 ἀμφιελίσσας.
 // *mgs* αἱ μὲν [ἄρ'] ἔντοσθεν λιμένος κοίλοιο
 δέδεντο
 / *mgs* πλησίαι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποτ' ἀέξετο
 κῦμά γ' ἐν αὐτῶι,
 οὔτε μ[έ]γ' οὔτ' ὀλίγον, λευκὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ
 γαλήνῃ.
 αὐτ[ἄρ] ἐγὼ οἶος σχέθον ἔξω νῆα μέλαιναν,
 10.95

αὐ[τ]οῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ, πέτρης ἐκ πείσματα
 δῆσας·

Lastrygonian Telepylos, where a herdsman going
out calls to a herdsman, and he answers as he
 drives his sheep **in**. There a man who does not
 sleep can earn double wages, one herding cattle,
 one pasturing silvery-white flocks. For the roads
 of night and day are close to each other. Then
 when we came into the glorious harbor, which a
 high cliff encloses continuously on both sides,
 and two outgutting promontories face towards
 the mouth, and there is a narrow way in, there
 inside they all had their easily directed ships.
 They were fastened close together inside the
 hollow harbor; for a wave never swelled in it, not
 a big one nor a little one, and there was a white
 calm on it. but I alone kept my black ship
 outside, there on the margin, binding it to the
 rock with cables.

Appendix Four: Additional Variants in *Odyssey Papyrus 31*

[[τότ' αὐτ]]όν, “him at that time,” for μιν ἔνδον, “him inside,” line 9.216

The papyrus reading does not seem totally nonsensical, but the vulgate reading seems preferable because of the significance of “inside” vs. “outside” in the Cyclops episode.

τόν]δε, “this,” for τόν γε, “it at any rate,” line 9.241

West observes that τόν]δε is not usually employed for someone or something that is not present. That seems a suggestive comment in light of Bonifazi’s view of Homer as a process of shared visualization, in which that which is not present becomes present, but I would not wish to build too much on one small variant.

ἀμησά]το, “he collected,” for ἀμησάμενος, “having collected,” line 9.247

The asyndeton in the papyrus line does not seem desirable.

ὄφρ' ἐπὶ δ.[/ πίνουσι αἰ[νυμένος, “so he could drink it, having taken it,” for ὄφρα οἱ εἶη / πίνειν αἰνυμένω, “so he have it for taking and drinking,” line 9.249

West suggests that the line was varied to avoid repeating οἱ εἶη. The two lines are very similar otherwise, so perhaps that is right.

ἔ]ειπα, “...spoke,” for καὶ τότε δὴ μιν ἔπεσσι προσηύδων μελιχίοισι, “even then I addressed him with pleasing words,” 9.363

In this variant reading a very Homeric speech introduction was replaced by a line that used a slightly post-Homer verb, first attested in Solon, as West notes.

σποδὸν ...πολ]λήν for σποδοῦ ...πολλῆς, “plentiful ash,” line 9.375

An unusual construction in the Vulgate has been replaced with a more common one in the papyrus text.

χα[for περὶ δ' ἴαχε πέτρῃ, “and the rock re-echoed it,” line 9.395

χάνων, “gaping,” has been suggested as a supplement by Von der Mühl.

.....αλαμ ..δ τ . λ for “ὦ φίλοι, Οὐτίς με κτείνει δόλω οὐδὲ βίηφι.” / οἱ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενοι ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον, “Friends, Nobody is killing me by craft, not by force / And they, replying, spoke winged words,” lines 9.408-409

While the papyrus reading is very poorly preserved here, we can at least cite 9.408-409 as another example of this papyrus’ tendency to compress, since the illegible line appeared to take the place of two vulgate lines.

[ἀλλ' εὐ]χου σύ γ' ἔπειτα Ποσειδάων[ι ἄνακτι. / [τοῦ] γὰρ δὴ πάτις ἐσσί, πατήρ δὲ σὸς εὐ]χεται εἶναι for ἀλλὰ σύ γ' εὐ]χεο πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι, “But you, then, pray to Lord Poseidon. For you are his child, and he claims to be your father,” 9.412-412a

The papyrus text really wants to emphasize the family connection between Polyphemus and Poseidon. In light of the interest shown in Polyphemus by the Hellenistic poets, perhaps we may interpret this interest in his parentage as an interest in his life outside of Homer.

χερσὶ ψηλαφῶν, ἀπὸ μὲν λίθον εἶλε θυράων / αὐτὸς δ' εἶνι θύρῃσι καθέζετο
 χεῖρε πετάσας, “feeling about with his hands, took the doorstone, and stretching out
 his hands put it in the doorway,” omitted lines 9.416-417

This papyrus is fond of omitting lines, but these are fairly desirable lines for telling the story of the escape. Plus verse 9.537a mentions the doorstone, perhaps the copyist considered that enough. Perhaps also, since they appeared at the bottom of a column they appeared in the text originally, but were not recovered with the rest of the fragments.

γένηται **for** γένοιτο, “might turn out,” in the papyrus text, line 9.420

The subjunctive mood of the papyrus text seems especially vivid in this context, suggesting the urgency of the escape.

ἔησαν **for** ἦσαν, “there were,” line 9.425

This reading eliminates the need to scan οἶες as three syllables. This fits with one of the strongest tendencies in the South Slavic bard Nikola Vuljnović’s written ‘resinging’ of the *Wedding of Mustajbey’s Son Bećirbey*.²²⁵ On the analogy of his ‘correction’ of hypometrical lines, in which the ‘missing’ syllables are filled in with instrumental music in performance, it would appear that a copyist with a feel for formulaic language tends to make the meter hyper-correct.²²⁶

ὁμὰ φρονέεις, “think like thoughts,” **for** ὁμοφρονέοις, “sympathize with me,” line 9.456

West observes that the verb needs to be in the optative mood, as it is in the vulgate.

νοον, “mind,” **for** μένος, “anger,” line 9.457

μένος seems like the more vivid word and therefore the stronger reading here.

τε **for** κε, line 9.459

As at line 10.83, there is little to choose between the papyrus and vulgate readings.

ἴκόμεθασ|μ| **for** ἴκόμεθ'· ἀσπάσιοι δὲ φίλοις ἐτάροισι φάνημεν, “we reached [the ship]; and we appeared as welcome to our dear companions,” line 9.466

The scanty traces of this variant make it difficult to analyze, especially since most of the papyrus reading has been crossed out.

²²⁵ Foley 2004. I overview the changes Vuljnović makes to the text in chapter 1.

²²⁶ Foley 2004

ἐσθέμεν **for** ἔδμεναι, “to eat,” line 9.476

The papyrus reading, ἐσθέμεν, is a form that is absent from the vulgate tradition, although, as West notes, it could be an elided ἐσθέμεναι.

λί[α]ν **for** λίην, “surely,” line 9.477

West identifies reading this as a “vulgarisation.”

κε[**for** ξείνους, “guests,” line 9.478

West hypothesizes that the papyrus reading was κείνους, “those people.” As a less specific word, it certainly would be a weaker reading.

ἀλάωσας... ἔδαμάσσο, “you have blinded me...you have subdued me,” **for**

ἀλάωσεν... ἔδαμάσσατο, “he has blinded me...he has subdued me,” 9.516.

This variant occurs in the medieval manuscripts also.

[ὄς καὶ ἐμοί] τάδε πάν[τα] τελευτήσεσθαι ἔφασκε, “who says he will bring all these things to pass for me,” 9.519a

An emphasis on the powerful family connections of Polyphemus would seem to be a theme with some of the plus verses in this papyrus

ον M. 1 ον M. 1

κλυτ[ῶι] ἐννοσίγα[ῶι] **for** κλυτὸν ἐννοσίγαιον, “glorious earthshaker,” line 9.518

This is a scribal error.

[ὡς ἔφατ', ἀλλ' οὐ πειῖθεν [ἐμο]ν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·

[ἀλλά μιν ἄφο]ρρον προ[οσέφη]ν κεκοτηότι θυμῶι, “Thus he spoke, but he did not persuade my great-heard spirit, but I answered him in turn with a spirit that cherished wrath: **for** ὡς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον, “Thus he spoke, and I answered him,” lines 9.522-522a

This much more colorful speech introduction in the papyrus is reminiscent of some of the variants in *Iliad papyrus 12*.

Omitted line 9.531: υἱὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκη ἐνὶ οἰκί' ἔχοντα, “son of Laertes, whose home is on Ithaca.”

This line is not well attested in the medieval tradition either.

εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι, “and so, if” **for** ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ, “but if,” line 9.532

This reading is an example of a fairly common tendency in these papyri, which is to use ἄρα in an apparent attempt to avoid hiatus.

πάντι δ' ἄρα, “and on every side,” **for** πᾶσαν δέ τέ, “and all,” line 10.3

As West observes, πάντι is a somewhat more common expression than πᾶσαν.

σιῖγα **for** ἀκέων, “silently,” line 10.52

σιῖγα is not the usual form in the vulgate text of Homer, although it is the form used by Pindar and Sophocles.

καὶ μὴν σε, “and indeed,” **for** ἤ μέν, “surely,” line 10.65

μὴν is another illustration of the modernizing tendency of these papyri.

ὄφρα ἴκοιο **for** ὄφρ' ἄν ἴκηαι, “so that you might reach,” line 10.65

Many vulgate manuscripts also have this variant.

φίλοι εἰσὶν **for** φίλον ἐστίν, line 10.66

“Wherever you have friends” the papyrus reading of the line, does seem more limiting and perhaps awkward than “wherever you want,” which is the vulgate reading. However, given that Aeolus is about to withdraw his patronage from Odysseus here, there is a certain possible rudeness in the papyrus reading that would be enjoyable, i.e. I gave you the means to go “wherever you have friends” because it isn't here.

ἐξελάων... εἰσελάων, “going in...going out,” **for** εἰσελάων... ἐξελάων, “going out...going in,” line 10.83

The papyrus and vulgate readings are interchangeable.

VITA

Molly Herbert hails from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She holds Bachelor of Arts degrees in Classics and English from the University of Missouri and a Master of Arts in Classics from the University of Washington. In 2009 she earned a Doctor of Philosophy in Classics from the University of Washington.