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Conventional scenes of hospitality in Homer's "Odyssey"

Reece, Steve Taylor, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles, 1990

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Los Angeles

Conventional Scenes of Hospitality in Homer's *Odyssey*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Classics

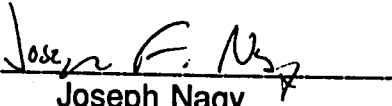
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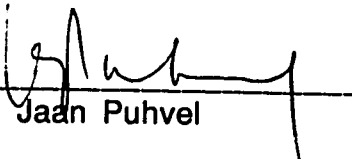
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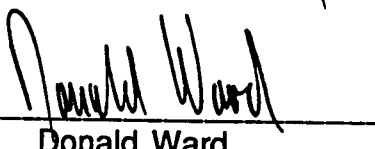
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The dissertation of Steve Taylor Reece is approved.


Ann Bergren


Joseph Nagy


Jaan Puhvel


Donald Ward


Richard Janko, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

1990

DEDICATION

The modern teacher, like the ancient Homeric bard, is a receptacle and guardian of a rich oral tradition. And like the bard, the teacher passes this tradition on to the next generation, and it in turn to the next. I have been particularly fortunate in having a succession of teachers who generously and skillfully passed this tradition on to me, and it is to them that I dedicate this work. To: WD, FA, AW, HB, AM, GC, RB, DE, RL, PR, FB, MC, SL, PL, CS, OT, DB, SG, JP, MH, AB, RJ.

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VITA

- July 22, 1959 Born, Elizabethton, Tennessee
- 1982 B.A., Classics, University of Hawaii
- 1982 Phi Beta Kappa
- 1982-4 Teaching Assistant, University of Hawaii
- 1984 M.A., Classics, University of Hawaii
- 1984-5 University Fellowship, U.C.L.A.
- 1985-90 Teaching Assistant, Fellow, U.C.L.A.
- 1987 Regents Fellowship, U.C.L.A.
- 1988 Lord Fellowship, American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- 1988 C.Phil., Classics, U.C.L.A.
- 1987-9 Instructor, U.C.L.A.
- 1939-90 Departmental Fellowship, U.C.L.A.
- 1991 Visiting Lecturer, U.C.L.A.

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Reece, S. "Homeric Influence in Stesichorus' *Nosioi*," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 25 (1988) 1-8.

-----, review of A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey: Volume II* (Oxford 1989) in *Favonius* 3 (1989). (5 pages)

-----, review of A. Heubeck, S. West and J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey: Volume I* (Oxford 1988) in *Favonius* 3 (1989). (5 pages)

-----, review of Irene J. F. De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam 1987) in *Favonius* 2 (1988) 69-72.

-----, review of J. M. Bremer, I. J. F. De Jong and J. Kalff, *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry* (Amsterdam 1988) in *Favonius* 2 (1988) 63-9.

-----, review of Mark W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore 1987) in *Favonius* 1 (1987) 50-2.

-----, "Traces of Homer's Vernacular in a Non-Traditional Setting." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in San Francisco, CA on December 27th, 1990.

-----, "Odysseus' Stay in Eumæus' Hut as a Type-Scene of Hospitality." Paper presented at the University of Chicago on October 18th, 1990.

-----, "Type-Scenes of Homeric Hospitality." Paper presented at the University of California, Los Angeles on October 8th, 1990.

-----, "Story and Presentation in *Odyssey* 9." Paper presented at the University of Texas, Austin on January 19th, 1990.

-----, "*Odyssey* 15.113-19: A Model for Stesichorus fr. 209?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in Boston, MA on December 29th, 1989.

-----, "Tradition and Innovation in Homer's Cyclopeia." Paper presented at the University of California, Los Angeles on November 27th, 1989.

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February 26th, 1986.

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Southwestern Regional Meeting, at Biola University, La Mirada,
California on June 8th, 1985.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Conventional Scenes of Hospitality in Homer's *Odyssey*

by

Steve Taylor Reece

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1990

Professor Richard Janko, Chair

This is a study of the rituals of ξενία (*xenia*), "hospitality", in Homer's *Odyssey*. More fundamentally, this is a study of how oral poetry works; it is an analysis of conventional elements in Homeric hospitality scenes, on the level of the formulaic diction of which each verse is composed, on the level of the rigidly constructed type-scenes through which frequently recurring activities are described, and on the level of the larger and more flexible themes by which the story as a whole is narrated. The Homeric hospitality scene is a composite of many smaller type-scenes, including, among others, arrival, reception, seating, feasting, identification, bedding down, bathing, gift-giving, and departure, all composed of highly formulaic diction and arranged in a relatively fixed order.

There are eighteen such hospitality scenes in the verses which have been transmitted under the name "Homer": four in the *Iliad*, twelve in the *Odyssey*, two in the *Hymns*; and there are some thirty-eight conventional elements which occur repeatedly in these scenes: the visitor meets a maiden at a well or a young man on a road, who directs him to his destination; upon arrival a description is given of the residence and its inhabitants; the visitor confronts a dog at the door; etc.

An awareness of the conventional elements which underlie the Homeric hospitality scene provides the modern reader, an audience unfamiliar with the linguistic, poetic, and mythic acculturation of Homer's contemporary audience, a device by which to elucidate and appreciate the operation of Homer's individual work against the backdrop of his inherited material. Such an awareness is essential in order for a modern audience to appreciate the nuances and connotations of the formulaic diction; in order to recognize significant sequences and patterns in their various combinations; in order to detect allusions, irony, parody, humor, and foreshadowing; and, in general, in order to distinguish between what is deliberately conventional and generic and what is innovative and unique.

In this work the following hospitality scenes of the *Odyssey* are analyzed in detail: Athena's visit to Ithaca, Telemachus' visit to Pylos and Sparta, Odysseus among the Phaeacians, Odysseus and the Cyclops, Odysseus in Eumaeus' hut, and Odysseus' homecoming.

I. Conventional Elements of Homeric Hospitality Scenes.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε,
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Zeus is the protector of suppliants and guests,
Zeus Xeinios, who attends to revered guests.
(Od. 9.270-1)

I. Introduction.

This is a book about the rituals of ξενία (xenia)--"hospitality", or, perhaps more precisely, "guest-host friendship"--in Homer. But it is only accidentally so; it could just as well be about sacrifice, or assembly, or arming, or any of a number of frequently recurring actions in Homer. This book is really about how oral poetry works; it is an analysis of conventional elements in Homeric hospitality scenes, on the level of the formulaic diction of which each verse is composed, on the level of the rigidly constructed type-scenes through which frequently recurring activities are described, and on the level of the larger and more flexible themes by which the story as a whole is narrated. Now of course conventional elements are not a feature of oral poetry exclusively; every art-form relies to some degree on conventional patterns to fill in the background and inform each particular instantiation. But Homeric poetry, because of the fundamentally oral nature of its composition, performance, and transmission, is exceptionally rich in conventional elements: the poet relied upon preformulated diction in his extemporaneous composition of the very rigid and demanding dactylic hexameter

verse, upon conventional sequences of details and events in his framing of scenes, upon inherited patterns in his building of the overall narrative structure. It is only by becoming immersed in these conventions that we as a modern audience, oriented more toward written literature than oral performance, can approach the experience of Homer's contemporary audience and respond intuitively to the poet's employment and manipulation of these inherited elements. In a sense, then, this book is an attempt to bridge the gap, widened by time and culture and language, between us and Homer's contemporary audience.

Today we normally read Homer's poetry rather than listen to it performed aloud, and when we read it we confront a language which is very foreign to us, without a feeling for the nuances of the diction. Moreover, we read from eclectic editions of the Homeric texts which cannot claim to replicate with any verisimilitude the original performances of the epics. Our experience, then, is a very artificial one. But, ironically, it has not been through attempts to reenact oral performances, but rather through tedious scholarly research of an even more artificial kind, that we have come to a greater appreciation of the oral nature of the Homeric poems. On the level of the individual verse, we owe a great debt to the work of Milman Parry and his successors on the nature of Homeric diction and the mechanisms of oral verse composition.¹ On the level of the larger building blocks of Homeric poetry: the type-

¹ A. M. Parry (ed.), The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry (Oxford, 1971).

scenes, the larger motifs and themes, and the narrative patterns which arch over the entire epics, all of which are as formulaic and typical as Homeric diction, we owe an equally great debt to the earliest scholar of Homeric type-scenes, Walter Arend, who did much more than plot their recurring elements on grids; he showed how these elements were adapted by the poet to fit their particular contexts through elaboration, curtailment, negation, and omission.² It will be apparent in my analysis of the conventional elements of Homeric hospitality scenes how much I am indebted to Parry, Arend, and their successors. In particular I should mention three others: Albert Lord, who showed that the practice of resorting to such type-scenes, or "themes", as he called them, was not unique to Homer, but was a characteristic of many unrelated traditions of oral poetry;³ Bernard Fenik, whose two monographs on typical elements in the Iliad and Odyssey have become in many ways models for my work on typical elements in Homeric hospitality scenes;⁴ Mark Edwards, whose perceptive observations on typical elements, both on the level of diction and on the level of broader themes and story patterns, and whose ability to articulate these

² W. Arend, Die typischen Szenen bei Homer (Berlin, 1933).

³ A. B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1960).

⁴ B. Fenik, "Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad," Hermes Einzelschriften 21 (Wiesbaden, 1968); "Studies in the Odyssey," Hermes Einzelschriften 30 (Wiesbaden, 1974).

observations into a constructive theory of oral poetics, have been an inspiration for my own work.⁵

II. The Homeric Hospitality Scene.

By "hospitality scene" I mean everything which occurs from the time a visitor approaches someone's house to the time he leaves. As such, it is really a composite of many smaller type-scenes, including, among others, arrival, reception, seating, feasting, identification, bedding down, bathing, gift-giving, and departure, all composed of highly formulaic diction and arranged in a relatively fixed order. I count eighteen such hospitality scenes in the verses which have come down to us under the name "Homer": four in the Iliad, twelve in the Odyssey, two in the Hymns; and I have isolated thirty-eight conventional elements which occur repeatedly in these scenes:⁶

⁵ M. W. Edwards, "Type-Scenes and Homeric Hospitality," TAPA 105 (1975) 51-72; "Conventions and Individuality in Iliad 1," HSCP 84 (1980) 1-28; Homer: Poet of the Iliad (Baltimore, London, 1987).

For bibliography on type-scenes, one may consult J. B. Hainsworth, "Homer," Greece and Rome: New Surveys no. 3 (Oxford, 1969) under "Theme". An updated and expanded bibliography by M. W. Edwards will soon appear in the journal Oral Tradition.

⁶ There are a few more very short hospitality scenes in Homer of just a few verses (e.g. Od. 3.488-90; 15.186-8), but these do not add much to my grid of conventional elements.

Some of the scenes which I have included in my analysis of hospitality scenes could just as well, perhaps better, be categorized as messenger scenes (Athena and Telemachus, Hermes and Calypso, the embassy to Achilles) or supplication scenes (Odysseus and the Phaeacians, Odysseus and Polyphemus, Priam and

- I** Maiden at the well/Youth on the road
- II** Arrival at the destination
- III** Description of the surroundings
 - a** Of the residence
 - b** Of (the activities of) the person sought
 - c** Of (the activities of) the others
- IV** Dog at the door
- V** Waiting at the threshold
- VI** Supplication
- VII** Reception
 - a** Host catches sight of the visitor
 - b** Host hesitates to offer hospitality
 - c** Host rises from his seat
 - d** Host approaches the visitor
 - e** Host attends to the visitor's horses
 - f** Host takes the visitor by the hand
 - g** Host bids the visitor welcome
 - h** Host takes the visitor's spear
 - i** Host leads the visitor in
- VIII** Seat
- IX** Feast
 - a** Preparation
 - b** Consumption
 - c** Conclusion

Achilles); but in each of these scenes, conventional elements of hospitality intrude and even become pervasive. In the embassy to Achilles, for example, Achilles transforms a messenger scene into a scene of hospitality when he rises from his seat (**VIIc**), greets the visitors as friends (**VIIg**), leads them in (**VIIIi**), and serves them a feast (**IX**). Similarly, when Priam, in order to ransom the body of his son, approaches Achilles as a suppliant, Achilles initially pushes Priam away from his knees and soon thereafter takes him by the hand (**VIIIf**), offers him a seat (**VIII**), serves him a meal (**IX**), and even provides a bed in the portico (**XVII**). The shifts on a formal level from messenger scene, or suppliant scene, to hospitality scene, mirror the activity on the contextual level of Achilles' generous elevation of messengers and suppliants to the status of revered guests.

X	After-dinner drink
XI	Identification
a	Host questions the visitor
b	Visitor reveals his identity
XII	Exchange of information
XIII	Entertainment
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep
XVII	Bed
XVIII	Bath
XIX	Host detains the visitor
XX	Guest-gifts
XXI	Departure meal
XXII	Departure libation
XXIII	Farewell blessing
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination

This grid is of course a highly artificial abstraction. If Homer were to see it, he would perhaps not even recognize it as a pattern which underlies his hospitality scenes. In practice he shows great flexibility in his narration of hospitality scenes, from the three-verse description of Diocles' hospitality toward Telemachus and Pisistratus in Pherae (3.488-90) to the multi-book description of the Phaeacians' hospitality toward Odysseus in Scheria (5.388-13.187). No hospitality scene in Homer contains every element on this grid of conventions; in fact no hospitality scene in Homer is exactly identical to any other hospitality scene. Yet many of these elements on the grid can be found in each hospitality scene, and, perhaps more importantly, the sequence into which these elements fall seems to underlie every hospitality scene. This grid, then, is a description of conventional elements commonly shared by the

eighteen hospitality scenes in Homer.⁷ It provides us, as an audience unfamiliar with the linguistic, poetic, and mythic acculturation of Homer's contemporary audience, a device by which to elucidate and appreciate the operation of Homer's individual work against that backdrop of inherited conventions.

Homer's audience was well versed in the conventions of epic poetry, and Homer relied upon their familiarity with the backdrop of conventions in order to communicate with them. Such a familiarity is essential in order for the audience to appreciate the nuances and connotations of the formulaic diction; in order to recognize significant sequences and patterns in their various combinations; in order to detect allusions, irony, parody, humor, and foreshadowing; and, in general, in order to distinguish between what is deliberately conventional and generic and what is innovative and unique.

⁷ Almost all these conventional elements occur at least twice in Homer, most of them several times. But a simple enumeration of occurrences should not be the only criterion whereby to judge conventionality. A conventional element may happen to occur only once in the surviving Homeric corpus. The motif of hospitality extended to horses (VIIe), for example, occurs just once in Homer, in Sparta, but this is because visitors arrive by horse and chariot just once in the surviving corpus. There is no reason to think that it was unique in epic verse; comparable scenes of "horse hospitality" occur in the *Iliad*, although not in hospitality scenes (II. 8.432-5; 13.34-8), and there is no reason to doubt that if more epic had survived, the motif would prove to be a regular element of hospitality scenes. All this also holds true for the motif of departure omen and interpretation (XXIV), which happens to occur just once in surviving hospitality scenes.

The main barrier to our appreciation, as a modern audience, of the artistry of Homer is our ignorance of the backdrop of conventions against which he is working. It is the duty of the Homeric scholar to overcome, and to help others overcome, the wide gap which separates us linguistically and culturally from Homer, with the help of lexica and concordances, charts of formulaic phrases, parallel verses and scenes, comparative collections of myths and folktales, and a thorough immersion in the diction and narrative patterns of the texts which have survived from this period, including the Homeric Hymns, the epic fragments, and Hesiod, while always keeping in mind the salutary caution that this is but a small portion of the corpus of poetry with which Homer's audience was familiar. In this admittedly artificial and pedantic way, we may learn to share, albeit obscurely, in that tacit and subliminal level of communication between Homer and his contemporary audience.

The following analysis of individual Homeric hospitality scenes against the backdrop of conventions reveals many artistic, yet seldom appreciated, manipulations of conventional elements in the Odyssey, often of great importance to the underlying themes of the epic:

(Chapter 2) The scene of Athena's visit to Ithaca--in its simplest form merely a messenger scene--is accommodated to the framework of a theoxeny, in which a divinity comes to earth to test the hospitality of mortals and is rejected by some, usually the rich and greedy, and is hospitably received by others, usually the

impoverished but generous. This framework of a theoxeny increases the suspense regarding the reception Athena will receive in Ithaca, and it serves to accentuate the contrast between Telemachus' proper, indeed generous, hospitality, and the suitors' blatant disregard for the stranger, a theme developed more fully later in the epic upon Odysseus' return. This contrast is articulated at every level of Homer's diction, from the short formulaic phrases to the more extensive elements of the conventional type-scene. Thus the poet draws the contrast between Telemachus and the suitors on the level of form as well as content.

(Chapters 3 and 4) Consideration of the hospitality which Telemachus receives from Nestor in Pylos and Menelaus in Sparta reveals an underlying flaw in these otherwise proper, indeed paradigmatic, hosts: both Nestor and Menelaus are overzealous in their hospitality, detaining Telemachus, and thus threatening to become obstacles to his "return home" (νόστος). This threat of obstruction ties the experience of Telemachus thematically with that of his father: both son and father must sagaciously extricate themselves from the hands of overbearing hosts who have become obstructions to their "homecomings" (νόστοι).

(Chapter 5) Close attention to the deviations of the Phaeacians from the usual conventions of hospitality reveals a curious ambivalence toward visitors. Scheria is not simply a realm of safety and hospitality for Odysseus; it poses some of the same obstacles to his return as those which he has just confronted

during his wanderings, and it poses some of the same dangers as those which he will soon confront in Ithaca. The ambiguity of the Phaeacians' hospitality thus connects this episode thematically both to what precedes and to what will follow.

(Chapter 6) An analysis of Polyphemus' treatment of Odysseus and his men as guests against the backdrop of conventional elements of hospitality accentuates the cynical parody which pervades this episode. Perhaps most memorable are Polyphemus' perversions of the rituals of feasting (IX)--rather than offering a feast to his guests, he makes a feast of them--and of gift-giving (XX)--his gift to Odysseus is his offer to eat him last. But the Cyclops also perverts other conventional elements of hospitality: the formal request for a guest's identity (XIa), the offer of escort to the guest's next destination (XXV), the departure libation (XXII), and the farewell blessing upon departure (XXIII).

(Chapter 7) Eumaeus' hospitality toward the disguised Odysseus follows the pattern of the conventional hospitality scene and includes almost all the conventional elements. But slight manipulations of these elements emphasize the highly proper, exceptionally generous, and intensely personal nature of Eumaeus' hospitality: he assures his guest that he will not interrogate him until after he has eaten; he offers the portion of honor, the chine, to his guest; he provides his guest a bed by the hearth, while he himself sleeps outside; he gives his guest a goat-skin from his own bed as a seat, his own cup to drink from, and his own cloak as a blanket. Yet, in order to accommodate the uniquely humble and

unheroic setting of this scene--a swineherd's hut rather than a king's palace--the poet has had to modify much of the inherited diction of the conventional hospitality scene. Interestingly, it is precisely at these points of modification that a high concentration of late linguistic forms occur, revealing their secondary and derivative nature. In the absence of inherited, preformulated diction in which to describe the humble hospitality of a swineherd, Homer relied more than usual upon his own linguistic vernacular.

(Chapter 8) The final hospitality scene of the Odyssey, Odysseus' homecoming and reception by the suitors, the nominal masters of the house, is also structured architecturally upon the conventional scene of hospitality. But in almost every instantiation, the conventional elements deviate from those of a proper hospitality scene. For example, the suitors turn the very implements of hospitality (footstools, and a hoof from the meat basket) into weapons to hurl at the guest, and they offer the guest "escort" (XXV), not to his desired destination, but as a slave to the wicked king Echetus. The suitors' many breaches of convention on the level of form mirror their actual breaches of conduct and reflect the inversion of conventional social structure on Ithaca as a whole, where host and guest have virtually exchanged positions.

III. Descriptive Synopses of Conventional Elements of Homeric Hospitality Scenes.

I. Maiden at the well/Youth on the road.

Four times in the Odyssey a newly arrived stranger encounters a young maiden at a fountain, well, or river, who is kind to him and directs him to the city or palace. The shipwrecked Odysseus meets Nausicaa washing clothes at a river; in this very elaborate version of the motif, the princess assists him and directs him to her father's palace (6.110-322). A shorter doublet of this episode occurs soon thereafter as Odysseus approaches the city, where he meets Athena, disguised as a young girl carrying a water jar, who directs him to Alcinous' palace (7.18-81). A less auspicious version of the motif is Odysseus' men's meeting with the daughter of the Laestrygonian king, who is drawing water at a spring; she too directs the men to her father's palace, but with a less fortunate outcome (10.103-11). A fourth attestation in the Odyssey occurs in Eumaeus' tale about how Phoenician traders met a Sidonian slave girl from his father's house washing clothes at the beach; an erotic encounter with one of the men leads to her aiding them in looting the palace and kidnapping Eumaeus (15.415ff.). A version of this motif is also attested in the Hymn to Demeter (98-183): Demeter encounters the daughters of Celeos by the spring Parthenion, where they have come to draw water, and is led by them to the palace.⁸

This motif must have had its basis in historical reality; the town well was one of the few places in Archaic Greece where a

⁸ On the traditional nature of this scene, see N. J. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford, 1974) 179-80, 339-43.

young man might encounter an unmarried maiden. It is often the site of abduction, both in Greek myth and in art. But the motif is not restricted to the Greek world; it is a universal folktale which knows no geographical bounds.⁹

Four times in the Odyssey there occurs a male counterpart to this motif, in which a young man, twice the son of a king, gives aid to a newly arrived stranger and directs him to the palace. Hermes, likening himself to a young man, meets up with Odysseus on his way to Circe's palace and instructs him on how to conduct himself there (10.274-306). Athena, in the form of a young man, is the first to meet the newly arrived Odysseus on Ithaca, and she instructs him on how to regain his wife and palace, advising him to go first to the hut of the swineherd Eumaeus (13.221-440). The son of Pheidon, king of the Thesprotians, comes to the aid of the shipwrecked Odysseus and leads him to his father's palace (14.314-20). In a rather contorted version of this motif, the abusive goatherd Melanthius encounters Odysseus en route to his palace at the spring of the nymphs, but instead of directing him to the palace he warns him to stay away (17.204-53). A version of this motif is also attested in the Iliad (24.334-467), where Hermes, in the form of a young man, meets Priam, who is on his way to recover Hector's body, and escorts him to Achilles' camp.

⁹ S. Thompson, Motif Index of Folk Literature (Copenhagen, 1955-8) N715.1. For attestations in the Old Testament--Rebekah (Gen. 24:10-61), Rachel (Gen. 29.1-20), Zipporah (Exodus 2:15b-21)--see R. Alter, The Art of Biblical Narrative (New York, 1981) 51-62.

II. Arrival at the destination.

A hospitality scene is initiated by the arrival of a visitor at his destination. Whether this destination be an island, a harbor, a city, a palace, or even a cave, the visitor's arrival is almost always signified by a form of the verb *ικνέομαι*: *ΐκετο* (5.57 etc.), *ΐκοντο* (3.388 etc.), *ΐξον* (3.5 etc.), *ικόμεσθα* (10.13 etc.), *ικέσθην* (II. 9.185), *ΐκανεν* (H.Aphr. 68), *ἀφίκετο* (5.55 etc.), *ἀφίκοντο* (II. 24.448), *ἀφικόμεθα* (9.181 etc.), *ἀφίκανε* (H.Aphr. 75). Rarely a form of *εΐμι* (*ἦϊεν* 5.57, *ἦϊα* 10.309, *ΐε* 7.82), *ἔρχομαι* (*ἐρχομένω* 17.261, *ἦλθε* [II.18.381], *ἦλθομεν* 10.87), or *βαίνω* (*βῆν* 10.60, *προσέβη* 14.1) is used; *κίεν* (II. 24.471), *ἐδύσετο* (17.336), and *εΐρον* (10.210) each occur once.

IIIa-c. Description of the surroundings.

Upon a visitor's arrival at his destination there almost always occurs a description of the physical residence and of the activities of the inhabitants, or at least of their appearance.

a. Of the residence.

Often the sight of the residence inspires awe in the visitor, as do Menelaus' and Alcinous' palaces and Calypso's and Polyphemus' caves: *ιδόντες θαύμαζον* (4.43-4), *τάρπησαν ὀρώμενοι ὀφθαλμοΐσιν*

(4.47), σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα (4.75), θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθείη φρεσὶν ἦσιν (5.74), σταῖς θηεῖτο (5.75, 7.133), θηήσατο θυμῷ (5.76, 7.134).

Whether the residence be a swineherd's hut, a god's palace, or a warrior's tent, it is typically described with a structure in which a series of adjectives describing the building is followed by a relative clause acknowledging the builder (14.5-10; Il. 18.369-71; 24.448-50; cf. Od. 24.205-7).

b-c. Of (the activities of) the person sought and others.

The visitor commonly "catches sight" of the inhabitant(s)--εὔρε, εὔρον, εὔρομεν (1.106; 4.3; 7.136; 9.217; 10.113; 14.5; Il. 9.186; 11.771; 18.372; 24.473; H.Aphr. 76), alternatively τέτμεν (5.58), ἔτετμεν (5.81), ἐκίχανον (10.60), ἄκουον (10.221), γινώσκω (17.269)-- who is usually involved in the activities of the banquet: sacrifice, libation, feast preparation, eating and drinking, lyre and song.

An account of the inhabitant(s) is often given, even when he is not home: Odysseus is down at the shore weeping (5.81-4), Polyphemus is out herding cattle (9.216-17), Eumaeus' fellow workers are attending to the pigs (14.24-8; 16.3), Anchises' companions are grazing the cows (H.Aphr. 78-80). A particularly striking example of Homer's tendency to adhere to the conventional schema is his substitution, in the face of Polyphemus' absence from his cave upon Odysseus' arrival, of a description not of what Polyphemus is doing but of what he usually does, and his

substitution, in view of the absence of companions, of a remark on the Cyclops' notorious isolation from society (9.187-92).

IV. Dog at the door.

Often a newly arrived stranger confronts a guard-dog at the door. This motif occurs six times in the Odyssey in a variety of forms, each occurrence adding by its unique properties a special aura and significance to its respective scene. The immortal gold and silver dogs, the work of Hephaestus, which guard the palace of the Phaeacian king Alcinous, hint at the supernatural qualities of the inhabitants and contribute to the extravagant splendor of the palace, which inspires the newly arrived Odysseus with awe (7.91-4). The eery reception of Odysseus' men by the enchanted wolves and mountain lions surrounding Circe's palace, which fawn upon the men and wag their tails at them like dogs greeting their master, foreshadows the danger of enchantment which awaits them in the palace (10.212-19). The four dogs of Eumaeus, which, like wild beasts (14.21), attack Odysseus and force him to sit helplessly on the ground, even as he arrives "at his own steading" ($\hat{\omega}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\hat{\omega}$ 14.32), presage his treatment at the hands of the suitors in his own home and symbolize the initial helplessness of the returned master (14.21-2, 29-32). Later, upon the arrival of Telemachus, these same dogs do not bark but welcome a master whom they recognize with fawning and tail-wagging (16.4-10). Then, in a rather humorous finale to this series, these same dogs, upon the arrival of

Athena, cower, with a whimper, to the other side of the steading (16.162-3). The culmination of this progression of receptions of strangers by dogs at the door is Odysseus' reception by his old dog Argus (17.291-327). It is a powerful scene. The old, flea-bitten dog, neglected by the household, lying in dung outside the door, is a sympathetic representation of his master: Odysseus too will be abused and neglected.¹⁰ A version of this motif of the guard-dog at the door is also attested in the Hymn to Aphrodite (68-74): Aphrodite is met by wolves, lions, bears, and leopards, which fawn around her upon her arrival at Anchises' hut on mount Ida. This motif is invoked even in a description of the kingdom of the Underworld, where the dog Cerberus greets those who are "received at" (H.Dem. 9 Πολυδέκτης = Hades the "All-Receiver") the "home of Hades" (εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι, εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους, etc.).

V. Waiting at the threshold.

The area in front of the "doorway" (ἐν προθύροισι, εἰνὶ θύρῃσι, πὰρ σταθμῷ), and specifically the "threshold" itself (οὐδός), has both a symbolic and practical function in Homeric hospitality scenes, as it no doubt did in the historic society which underlies the epics. It is the physical boundary between the worlds of the "outsider" and "insider", and by crossing this physical boundary the visitor places

¹⁰ M. W. Edwards (1987) 76-7, in a discussion of type-scenes and expansions, attributes this varied usage of a common motif to the original genius of the poet. I agree.

himself under the protection of the master of the house. Typically the visitor remains at the doorway for some time, waiting for the master to notice him and either offer hospitality or send him elsewhere.¹¹ If the visitor is a social equal, coming as a "messenger" (ἄγγελος) or a "guest" (ξεῖνος), he "stands" at the doorway: στή . . . ἐπὶ προθύροις . . . οὐδοῦ ἐπ' αὐλείου (1.103-4), ἐν προθύροισι δόμων . . . στήσαν (4.20-2), ἔνθα στάς (5.75), ἰσταμένῳ, πρὶν χάλκεον οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι (7.83), ἔνθα στάς . . . ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο δώματος εἴσω (7.133-5), ἔσταν δ' ἐν προθύροισι (10.220), ἔστην δ' εἰνὶ θύρησι . . . ἔνθα στάς (10.310-11), ἔστη ἐνὶ προθύροισι (16.12), στήτην ἐρχομένῳ (17.261), στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο (II. 9.193), στήμεν ἐνὶ προθύροισι (II. 11.777), ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσί (H.Dem. 188), στή δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε (H.Aphr. 81). If the visitor is a social inferior, coming as a "beggar" (πτωχός) or a "suppliant" (ικέτης), he "sits" at the doorway in a posture which symbolizes his submission and helplessness: παρὰ σταθμοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐδοῦ ἐζόμεθ' (10.62-3), ἔζετο . . . ἔνθα κεν ᾗ παρ σταθμῶ (14.31-2), ἴζε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυράων, κλινάμενος σταθμῶ (17.339-40).

Homer sometimes modifies and adapts this conventional element of waiting at the threshold to emphasize the theme of a particular scene. Odysseus and his men disregard the sanctity of the threshold by entering Polyphemus' cave uninvited (9.216-18); appropriately Polyphemus places a huge rock upon this very

¹¹ No visitor in Homer is actually sent away, but Eteoneus raises the possibility of sending Telemachus and Pisistratus to someone else for hospitality upon their arrival in Sparta (4.28-9).

threshold (9.240-3), as though to make inaccessible what had previously been too accessible. The goddess Demeter's presence at the doorway of Celeus' palace takes on the form of a divine epiphany, as she fills the doorway with her greatness and radiance (H.Dem. 188-9). Upon his homecoming Odysseus not only waits at the threshold of his own palace but maintains a permanent position there (17.339-41; 20.257-9); his ambiguous status--whether master or beggar, "insider" or "outsider"--is thus visualized by his position in this liminal space.

VI. Supplication.

In three hospitality scenes--Odysseus and the Phaeacians, Odysseus and Polyphemus, Priam and Achilles--the visitor is in such dire straits that he approaches his host initially not as a guest but as a suppliant, assuming the standard position of the suppliant by prostrating himself and clasping the knees of his host, a type of physical contact which entailed a powerful ritual sanctity: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀρήτης βάλε γούνασι χεῖρας (7.141), σά τε γούναθ' ἰκάνω (7.147), τὰ σὰ γούνα ἰκόμεθ' (9.266-7), χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα (Il. 24.478).¹² Both Alcinous and Achilles generously

¹² The full range of physical gestures in a proper supplication--prostration, clasping (even kissing) the knees, taking hold of the chin--can best be seen in Thetis' supplication of Zeus (Il. 1.498-527; 8.370-2). On the physical gestures of supplication, and on the relationship between suppliance in Greek literature and its reality as a historical institution, see J. P. Gould, "Hiketēia," JHS 93 (1973) 74-103.

elevate their suppliants to the level of guests by taking them by the hand and lifting them up (χειρὸς ἐλὼν . . . ὤρσεν 7.168-9, χειρὸς ἀνίστη ll. 24.515; cf. 14.319), seating them upon a seat of honor (ἐπὶ θρόνου εἶσε 7.169, ἔζευ ἐπὶ θρόνου ll. 24.522), and thereafter treating them in a manner appropriate to guests rather than suppliants. Polyphemus, who does not care for Zeus (9.272-8), the "protector of suppliants and guests" (ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε 9.270), shows no such consideration.

VIIa-i. Reception.

A host's reception of a visitor follows a conventional scheme: the host catches sight of the visitor, hesitates at first to offer hospitality, but then rises from his seat, approaches him, attends to his horses, takes him by the hand, bids him welcome, relieves him of his spear, and leads him into the house. This scheme is quite flexible: no hospitality scene includes the entire range of elements, some hospitality scenes contain none of them, and some elements are attested only once or twice. But the elements which are included in hospitality scenes are generally arranged in this sequence.

a. Host catches sight of the visitor.

It is often the youngest son of the master of the house who first notices a visitor and rises to greet him: Telemachus in Ithaca

(1.113; 17.328), Pisistratus in Pylos (4.36), Achilles in Phthia (II. 11.777). The actual sighting of the visitor is usually signified by a form of the verb ὀράω: πολὺ πρῶτος ἶδε (1.113), εἴσιδ' (1.118), ἶδον (3.34; 14.29), ἶδετο (4.22), ἰδοῦσα (5.78), ἰδόντες, θαύμαζον δ' ὀρόωντες (7.144-5), ἶδε (II. 9.195; 18.382), θάμβησεν ἰδῶν (II. 24.483), ὀρόων (H.Aphr. 84); occasionally it is signified by ταφών (16.12; II. 9.193; 11.777).

Homer often manipulates this conventional element with great artistic effect. While Telemachus is "by far the first to notice" (πολὺ πρῶτος ἶδε 1.113) Athena-Mentes standing at the door, the suitors remain oblivious to her presence; this contrast draws attention to the wide gulf which separates the proper and improper hosts. In Sparta it is not the host but the official herald of the palace who notices Telemachus and Pisistratus at the door (4.22-3); this herald embodies the extravagant, but somewhat impersonal, hospitality which awaits these guests in Sparta. At Eumaeus' hut it is not Eumaeus but the dogs who first notice the visitor (ἶδον 14.29); the danger they pose to Odysseus foreshadows the danger he will soon face from the "dogs" in his own palace, as Odysseus himself calls the suitors (κύνες 22.35). The description of Metaneira's first sight of Demeter at the door is expanded to include the great fear which overcomes her (H.Dem. 190); this anticipates the divine epiphany of the goddess.

b. Host hesitates to offer hospitality.

Telemachus, a paradigm of a proper host, is anxious that his guest not suffer the indignity of waiting for a long time at the door (νεμεσσήθη δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ ξεῖνον δηθὰ θύρησιν ἐφεστάμεν 1.119-20). But this is exactly what happens in two other hospitality scenes. In Sparta Menelaus' herald Eteoneus sees Telemachus and Pisistratus at the door, but, instead of hastening to them and leading them in, he goes to consult with Menelaus as to whether they should offer the visitors hospitality or send them elsewhere. Menelaus angrily rebukes him and orders him to lead the visitors in (4.24-36). Similarly, in Scheria Alcinous and Arete fail to respond to their suppliant Odysseus, who is sitting in the ashes of the hearth, until the old hero Echeneus, "after some time" (ὄψέ 7.155), reprimands them for their inhospitality and bids them to provide a seat and a meal, and to offer a libation to Zeus, who looks after suppliants (7.153-66).

The immediate context of these two scenes provides both groups sufficient motivation for their hesitation to offer hospitality: the Spartans are in the midst of a wedding celebration; the Phaeacians are simply incapacitated by their surprise at the sudden appearance of a stranger. Outside the immediate context, too, there appears to be some motivation: the Spartans had previously been violated by their most notorious guest, Paris, who seized his host's wife;¹³ the Phaeacians had been fated to suffer punishment at the hands of Poseidon for their hospitable provision of an escort for strangers

¹³ This is the explanation given by the scholiast to 4.26.

(13.170-83). But the Spartans' and Phaeacians' ambivalence toward strangers, and the Phaeacians' reputed intolerance of foreigners generally (7.32-3), is perhaps also a reflection of the basic ambivalence of archaic Greek society toward strangers, a dubious class who could prove to be either friendly or hostile. This ambivalence is encapsulated in the term ξείνος, which has a broad semantic range, from "a guest-friend from a foreign country, who is to be treated with all the respect of an 'insider' (a φίλος)," to "a potentially hostile stranger, who is outside one's own social group (a non-φίλος)".¹⁴

c. Host rises from his seat.

When a host catches sight of a visitor at the door, he "rises" from his seat in order to welcome him. The verb is usually ἀνόρουσε (16.12; II. 9.193; 11.777), alternatively ἀνέστη (II. 9.195). In two instances the hosts appear to yield their own seats to visitors, Metaneira out of fear of the goddess Demeter (εἶξε δέ οἱ

¹⁴ On the semantic range of ξείνος, see H. Kakridis, La notion de l'amitié et de l'hospitalité chez Homère (Thessaloniki, 1963) 87-105. A similar ambivalence toward strangers is reflected in the etymologically related Latin hostis and hospes. On this ambivalence in an Indo-European context, see E. Benveniste, Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes (Paris, 1969) 65-101.

κλισμοῖο H.Dem. 191), Achilles out of respect for the aged Priam (ἀπὸ θρόνου ὤρτο Il. 24.515, cf. 522, 553, 597).¹⁵

d. Host approaches the visitor.

Since it is improper to let a visitor linger at the door, a proper host approaches him "quickly": βῆ δ' ἰθὺς προθύροιο (1.119), μεγάροιο διέσσυτο (4.37), αἶψ' ἐξελοῦσα (10.230, 312), ὦκα . . . ἔσσυτ' ἀνά πρόθυρον (14.33-4).

e. Host attends to the visitor's horses.

There is only one attestation in Homeric hospitality scenes of hospitality being extended to horses: Menelaus' generous accommodation of Telemachus' and Pisistratus' horses in Sparta (4.39-42). But this element should not be regarded as unconventional; its uniqueness is due simply to the rarity of arrivals by chariot in hospitality scenes. Comparable scenes of attending to horses, although not in hospitality scenes, are fairly common in the Iliad (cf. especially 8.432-5; 13.34-8; also 5.368-9, 775-7; 8.49-50, 440-1).

¹⁵ R. M. Frazer, "The Κλισμός of Achilles, Iliad 24.596-98," GRBS 12 (1971) 295-301, notes the delicate point of etiquette involved in Achilles giving up his royal θρόνος to Priam and taking a lesser κλισμός for himself.

f. Host takes the visitor by the hand.

A host first makes physical contact with a visitor by "grasping" (αἰρέω) one or both his hands--only the right hand is specified, never the left: χεῖρ' ἔλε δεξιτερήν (1.121), ἀμφοτέρων ἔλε χεῖρα (3.37), χεῖρὸς ἐλών (7.168; Il. 11.778), ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χεῖρί (Il. 18.384, 423).

Homer manipulates this conventional element in several scenes. Eumaeus, in his joy at seeing his master Telemachus, "kisses both his hands" (κύσσε . . . χεῖρας τ' ἀμφοτέρας 16.15-16). Achilles, after pushing Priam away from his knees (Il. 24.508), "lifts him up by the hand" (χεῖρὸς ἀνίστη Il. 24.515;), signifying by this gesture his elevation of Priam's status from suppliant to guest (cf. 14.319). Anchises "seizes Aphrodite by the hand" (λάβε χεῖρα H.Aphr. 155), a gesture more descriptive of a man leading a maiden to bed.

g. Host bids the visitor welcome.

Sometimes a host greets a visitor with a formal welcoming speech. The content of the speech varies, but it is almost always introduced with the greeting χαῖρε: χαῖρε ξεῖνε (1.123), χαίρετον (3.60; Il. 9.197), χαῖρε γύναι (H.Dem. 213), χαῖρε ἄνασσ' (H.Aphr. 92).

h. Host takes the visitor's spear.

In two hospitality scenes, Athena-Mentes in Ithaca and Telemachus and Eumaeus, the host relieves the visitor of his spear

before he enters the house: ἐδέξατο χάλκεον ἔγχος (1.121; 16.40; cf. 15.282). This gesture perhaps had its origin in the historic society underlying the epics, where it served the practical function of disarming a potentially dangerous stranger. In the hospitality scene in Ithaca this element is elaborated to emphasize Telemachus' generous and personal hospitality toward Athena-Mentes: he places her spear in his father's own spear stand (1.127-9).

i. Host leads the visitor in.

Finally a host "leads" (ἄγω, ἡγέομαι) a visitor into the house, and the visitor "follows" (ἔπομαι): ἡγεῖθ', ἡ δ' ἔσπετο (1.125), εἰσῆγον (4.43), ἔπεο προτέρω ([5.91]; ll. 18.387), ἔποντο (10.231), εἰσαγαγοῦσα (10.233, 314), ἐπόμην (10.313), ἔπεο (14.45), ἡγήσατο (14.48), εἰσαγαγών (14.49), προτέρω ἄγε (ll. 9.199), ἐς δ' ἄγε (ll. 11.778), πρόσω ἄγε (ll. 18.388). This gesture of escorting a stranger from the outside, over the threshold, and into the house, symbolizes a reciprocal contract between the two: the visitor agrees to submit to the host's authority; the host agrees to protect the visitor while in his house. It is notable, then, that whereas Eumaeus "leads" (ἡγήσατο, εἰσαγαγών 14.48-9) the disguised Odysseus into his hut, when Telemachus, his recognized master, arrives soon thereafter, he does not "lead" him in; Telemachus simply enters the swineherd's hut of his own accord (εἴσελθε 16.25, ἔεν 16.41).

VIII. Seat.

Once inside the house, a host's first provision for a visitor is a seat. A proper host offers a seat at the place of honor: Telemachus apparently offers to Athena-Mentes his own seat (1.130-2), as does Achilles to Priam (II. 24.515, 522, 553, 597) and Metaneira to Demeter (H.Dem. 191); in Pylos Pisistratus seats Telemachus beside his father Nestor and his brother Thrasymedes (3.36-9); in Sparta Telemachus and Pisistratus are seated beside Menelaus (4.51); in Scheria Alcinous makes room for Odysseus in the place of his own son Laodamas (7.169-71, cf. 7.468).

Several different formulae are used to describe the seating of visitors. Sometimes a simple invitation to sit suffices: ἐδριάασθαι ἄνωγον (3.35; II. 11.778; H.Dem. 191). The actual seating is signified by a form of the verbs: ἔζομαι, ἵζω, ἰδρύω, εἶσα, and καθεῖσα (1.130, 145; 3.37, 389; 4.51; 5.86; 7.169, 469; 10.233, 314, 366; 14.49; 15.134; II. 9.200; 18.389; 24.522, 553). A rather longer formulaic expression occurs with some variety: ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε (1.145; 3.389; cf. 24.385), alternatively modified to ἐξέσθην δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε (15.134) and εἶσεν δ' εἰσαγαγοῦσα κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε (10.233). The most elaborate formula for seating is a two-verse formula, with some variation in the first verse, which adds a description of a footstool (1.130-1; 10.314-[15] = 366-7; II. 18.389-90):

αὐτήν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγων, ὑπὸ λίτα πετάσας,

καλὸν δαιδάλεον· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

εἶσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγοῦσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου,
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου,
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

Niceties of etiquette may be observed by paying attention to the types of seats offered to visitors: θρόνος, κλισμός, and δίφρος. The θρόνος, a chair with upright back and arm-rests, is usually reserved for gods and nobles (gods: 5.86, 195; Il. 8.199, 442; 14.238; 15.124, 142; 18.389, 422; 20.62; H.Ap. 9; nobles: 6.308; 7.95; 8.422; 16.408; 17.32; 18.157; 20.150; 21.139, 166; 22.23; 23.164; Il. 11.645; 24.515), also for guests who are invited to take the seat of honor (1.130; 4.51; 5.86, 195; 7.162, 169; 8.65, 469; 10.314, 352, 354, 366; Il. 18.389; 24.522, 533), but it is never used by women. The κλισμός, a chair with a reclined back, is used by men when feasting or relaxing (17.90; Il. 9.200; 11.623; 24.597) and also by women (4.136; 17.97; H.Dem. 191, 193). The δίφρος, a stool, is used especially by subordinates and servants (17.330; 19.97, 101, 506; 20.259; 21.243; Il. 24.578; H.Dem. 198).¹⁶

¹⁶ On the distinction between these types of seats, see Athenaeus, Deipnosophists 192e-f; S. Laser, "Hausrat," Archaeologia Homérica II Kap. P (Göttingen, 1968) 34-56.

It is indicative of Telemachus' generous hospitality that he offers a θρόνος to Athena-Mentes, with a "footstool" (θρῆνυς) for her feet, while he takes a κλισμός for himself (1.130-2). Achilles likewise shows proper etiquette by offering his θρόνος to Priam (II. 24.515, 522, 553) and taking for himself a κλισμός (II. 24.597); meanwhile Priam's herald is made to sit on a δίφρος (II. 24.578). Metaneira offers her own κλισμός to Demeter, but the goddess prefers a seat more in line with her disguise as a humble servant woman, so she accepts only a δίφρος (H.Dem. 191, 198). Odysseus' own elevation in stature upon his homecoming from beggar to master is visualized concretely by his change in seats from δίφρος (19.97, 101, 506; 20.259; 21.243, 420) to θρόνος (23.164).

IXa-c. Feast.

The sharing of a feast is one of the most intimate means by which a stranger is welcomed into a home, for the banquet is the primary locus for participation in xenia; significantly the term ξείνια, ξεινήϊα can refer specifically to the food offered to a guest (4.33; [5.91]; II. 11.779-80; 18.387, 408). Homer economically constructed his story so that a visitor often arrives at someone's house precisely at a time of feasting, either during the feast's preparation or during its actual consumption; thus the visitor may be immediately and effortlessly accommodated.

a. Preparation.

Great attention is given to the details of the preparation of feasts. The epic diction is very rich in formulae to describe feast-preparation, from the simple τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα (8.61; 16.478; 24.384; ll. 1.467; 2.430; 7.319) to the elaborate and variously described preparation of a banquet in conjunction with a sacrifice (e.g. 3.418-63, 470-2; 14.418-52; 20.250-5; ll. 1.457-66; 2.419-29; 9.206-20; 24.621-6). The most distinctive description of feast-preparation for the entertainment of guests is a formulaic five-verse block which details the duties of the handmaid, who provides water for hand-washing and a table, and the housekeeper, who serves bread and other food (1.136-40 = 4.52-6; 7.172-6; [10.368-72]; 15.135-[9]; 17.91-5):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

An addendum of two or three verses is sometimes attached to this five-verse block, which adds the duties of a carver, who serves platters of meat, and a herald, who pours the wine (1.141-3; [4.57-8] = 1.141-2; 15.140-1):

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας

παντοίων, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κύπελλα,
κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπόχετο οἰνοχοεύων.

παρ δὲ Βοηθοΐδης κρέα δαίετο καὶ νέμε μοίρας·
οἰνοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

A truly generous host may "bestow great honor" (γεραίρω 14.437, 441; Il. 7.321) upon his guest by relinquishing his own "designated portion" (γέρας 4.66), the fatty "chine" (νῶτον) of the cow, pig, sheep, or goat (4.65-6; 8.474-83; 14.437-41; Il. 7.321-2; 9.206-8).

b. Consumption.

Whereas the preparation of the feast is generally described in great detail, the actual consumption of the food merits only a simple, one-verse formula. In the Odyssey by far the most common is: οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειθαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον (1.149; 4.67, 218; 5.200; 8.71, 484; 14.453; 15.142; 16.54; 17.98; 20.256; Il. 9.91, 221; 24.627). In the Iliad the most common is: δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδέυετο δαιτὸς εἴσης (16.479; 19.425; Il. 1.468, 602; 2.431; 7.320; 23.56). The first-person dialogue of Odysseus' apologoi necessitates a modification: ἡμεθα, δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἠδύ (9.162, 557; 10.184, 468, [477]; 12.30). A few shorter formulaic phrases sometimes suffice to describe consumption: δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα (3.66; 13.26; 20.280; Il. 24.802), δαίνυνθ'

ἐζόμενοι (3.471), πῖνε καὶ ἦσθε (5.94; 6.249; 7.177), κρέα τ' ἦσθιε πῖνέ τε οἶνον (14.109).

c. Conclusion.

The feasting is concluded with a one-verse formula which also functions as a transition to the post-feast activities: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο (1.150; 3.67, 473; 4.68; 8.72, 485; 12.308; 14.454; 15.143, 303, 501; 16.55, 480; 17.99; ll. 1.469; 2.432; 7.323; 9.92, 222; 23.57; 24.628), alternatively, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δείπνησε καὶ ἦραρε θυμὸν ἐδωδῆ (5.95; 14.111), αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος (5.201), πλησάμενος δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος (17.603), οἱ σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν (14.46). The first-person dialogue of Odysseus' apologoi and of Nestor's story necessitates a modification: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτήτος (9.87; 10.58), and αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος (ll. 11.780).

Homer freely modifies the conventional formulae of feasting to accommodate the particular circumstances of each scene. Most apparent, perhaps, are his modifications of the conventional formulae for sacrificing cows in order to accommodate Eumaeus' sacrifice of a pig (contrast 14.75 and e.g. 3.462, 14.418-56 and e.g. ll. 1.447-74), and his modifications of the conventional formulae for the serving of the feast in order to take into account the absence of meat-carvers, heralds, and servant girls in Eumaeus' hut (contrast 16.49-52 and e.g. 1.141-3, 147). Sometimes Homer manipulates the conventional formulae with great poetic effect.

The elaborate description of the feast-preparation for Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, using the conventional five-verse block and addendum (1.136-43), is a startling contrast to the three-verse potpourri which describes the serving of the suitors (1.146-[8]); the juxtaposition of these two remarkably different descriptions of feast-preparation serves to contrast Telemachus' generous reception of Athena-Mentes with his reluctant tolerance of the suitors. In describing Polyphemus' and the Laestrygonian Antiphates' treatment of their guests, Homer perverts the typical banquet scene, creating a sort of parody on a formal level, by applying the conventional diction of the banquet to their cannibalistic feast: ἐτάροις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλε (9.288; contrast e.g. 1.149), ὀπλίσσατο δόρπον or ὀπλίσσατο δεῖπνον (2.20; 9.291, 311, 344; 10.116; contrast e.g. 16.453; 24.360).

X. After-dinner drink.

Immediately after the feast either the host or the guest may fill a cup with wine and propose a toast. This wine-drinking is distinct from the general eating and drinking of the feast (**IXb**), and it is separate from the libation which is occasionally shared between host and guest (**XV**). This formal element of an after-dinner drink takes many shapes: after the feast in Achilles' tent, Odysseus fills a cup of wine and salutes his host (ll. 9.224); after the feast in Odysseus' palace, Telemachus fills a cup with wine for the disguised Odysseus and seats him among the suitors for a time of

drinking (20.260-2); after the feast in Eumaeus' hut, Eumaeus demonstrates the personal nature of his hospitality by refilling his own cup with wine and offering it to his disguised guest Odysseus (14.112-13); in the Cyclopeia, a parody of proper hospitality, after Polyphemus' cannibalistic feast, Odysseus offers to the Cyclops the wine of Maron, which inebriates him and facilitates his blinding (9.345-61).

XIa-b. Identification.

The revelation of a guest's identity is perhaps the most critical element in the development of a relationship of xenia, for it is the vital link which guarantees the host reciprocal hospitality as a guest in the future (cf. 9.16-18). It is understandable, then, that the manner in which a guest's name is requested and revealed takes on an almost ritualistic formality.

a. Host questions the visitor.

A proper host requests his guest's name and inquires into his business only after providing him a meal; the stranger is to remain anonymous throughout the meal.¹⁷ This point of etiquette may be

¹⁷ For comparative material evidencing this rule, see J. T. Kakridis, "Griechische Mahlzeits- und Gastlichkeitsbräuche," in J. Cobet, R. Leimbach, and A. B. Neschke-Hentschke (edd.), Dialogus. Für Harald Patzer zum 65. Geburtstag von seinen Freunden und Schülern (Wiesbaden, 1975) 13-21.

observed in the hospitality of Telemachus (1.123-4; 16.54-9), Nestor (3.69-70), Menelaus (4.60-2), Arete (7.230-9), Eumaeus (14.45-7), Achilles (II. 9.221ff.), Charis and Hephaestus (II. 18.385ff.), and Metaneira (H.Dem. 206ff.). The most paradigmatic hosts set their guests at ease upon arrival by explicitly assuring them that they will not inquire into their identity or business until after the meal: Telemachus (1.123-4), Menelaus (4.60-2), and Eumaeus (14.45-7). Blame is attached to those who breach this convention: Hermes disregards Calypso's premature questions until after they have eaten (5.85-96); Odysseus gently reprimands Alcinous for probing into his identity before his belly is thoroughly satisfied (7.199-206, 215-21); Polyphemus' role as a paradigm of perverted hospitality is reinforced by his demand for his guests' identity upon first setting eye on them (9.251-5).

The most routine formula of inquiry entails a request for information about a stranger's homeland and parentage: τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (1.170; 10.325; 14.187; 15.264; 19.105; 24.298; cf. 7.238; H.Dem. 113). This question may be elaborated to include an inquiry into the stranger's means of transportation and his business in the land (1.171-7; 14.188-90; 24.299-301; H.Dem. 114-17). When more than one stranger is present, and their means of transportation is suspected of being by ship, a different formula is used: ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα; (3.71; 9.252; H.Ap. 452). This question too may be expanded to include an inquiry into the strangers' business (3.72-4; 9.253-5; H.Ap. 453-5). The host often expresses great concern that the

stranger answer truthfully and accurately: ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον (1.169; 8.572; 24.287); καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ (1.174; 14.186; 24.297).

b. Visitor reveals his identity.

In turn, the stranger's revelation of his identity and business is often preceded by his assurance that his information will be true and accurate: τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω (1.179; 14.192; cf. 15.266; 16.61); τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω (24.303); sometimes simply by καταλέξω (3.80; 9.14; 16.226), μυθήσομαι (9.16; H.Dem. 120), or ἐρέω (7.243; 15.402; 19.171). The information provided may include the stranger's name, parentage, homeland, means of transportation, and business (1.180-93; 3.81-101; 9.19-38, 259-71, 366-7, 504-5; 14.199-359; 15.403-84; 19.172-202; 24.304-14; H.Dem. 122-44; H.Aphr. 109-42). A prudent stranger will impose a sense of obligation on his host by strategically mentioning his relationship of xenia with a relative: Athena-Mentes claims to Telemachus that she is a xenos of his father (1.187-8), and the disguised Odysseus claims to Laertes that he is a xenos of Odysseus, having once entertained him and given him gifts (24.265-79).

Homer demonstrates great flexibility and innovation by manipulating the formal elements of identification to accommodate each individual scene. In Arete's interrogation of Odysseus the formulaic τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆς; is

replaced by τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἶματ' ἔδωκεν; (7.238), reinforcing the theme of clothing in this scene. Odysseus' revelation of his name, normally a form of counter-gift for a host's hospitality, proves to be a curse in the Cyclopeia: his false name Οὔτις tricks the Cyclops (9.364ff); his revelation of his real name upon departure is framed as a taunt (9.502-5). The longest interrogation of a visitor in Homer is Alcinous' questioning of Odysseus (8.548-86); Odysseus' response is correspondingly lengthy, comprising the four-book apologoi (9.1-11.330; 11.385-12.453).

Because gods can always recognize each other (5.79-80), there is no place for the formal element of identification in scenes of divine hospitality. Homer replaces the usual request for a stranger's identity with a request that the visiting deity state his business (5.87-90 ~ Il. 18.424-7). The usual revelation of the stranger's identity is correspondingly replaced by the god's explanation for his visit (5.97-115; Il. 18.429-61).

Since one of the key themes of the Odyssey is that of recognition, and particularly the self-recognition of Telemachus and Odysseus, both of whom have difficulties coming to terms with their own identities (cf. 1.215-16), it is appropriate that their self-revelation as guests be occasionally replaced by an identification of them by their hosts. Sometimes this is a conscious act by the host, as in Helen's and Menelaus' identification of Telemachus (4.138-54), or in Circe's identification of Odysseus (10.325-35). Sometimes the identification is inadvertent:

Demodocus sings of Odysseus' exploits to the unknown stranger (8.73-82, 499-520); Eumaeus tells stories of Odysseus to his disguised guest (14.115-47); Penelope speaks of Odysseus to the disguised beggar (19.124-63); Penelope, Eurycleia, and Philoetius all remark on the similarities between the disguised beggar and Odysseus (19.357-81; 20.191-207).

XII. Exchange of information.

Information is as valuable a commodity as treasured guest-gifts. Sometimes it is the host who provides specific information to an inquisitive visitor; other times it is the visitor who provides news from abroad to a curious host, as though in exchange for his material hospitality. This reciprocal exchange of information normally follows the feast and may include news, messages, instructions and advice, prophecies, and, very often, stories.

This exchange of information is often laden with irony in the Odyssey because of the hosts' frequent failure to recognize the disguised Odysseus: Eumaeus informs the disguised Odysseus about the identity of his master (14.115-47) and fills him in on his supposed status (14.42-4, 133-6), and Odysseus in turn prophecies his own return (14.149-64, 321-33); Penelope tells the disguised Odysseus about her longing for her husband, whom she presumes dead (19.124-61), and Odysseus in turn tells a story about entertaining Odysseus in Crete (19.172-248) and prophecies his return and the death of the suitors (19.269-307, 555-8, 583-7);

the disguised Odysseus claims to Laertes, who craves information about his son, that he once entertained him in Alybas (24.266-314).

XIII. Entertainment.

The after-dinner entertainment takes many forms. Song and dance are common accoutrements of the feast: *μολπή τ' ὄρχηστὺς τε· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός* (1.152; cf. 8.246-65; 17.605-6), but in the grandest palaces the entertainment may also include exhibitions of athletic contests (boxing, wrestling, leaping, running, discus), or of a special type of dancing while throwing balls or doing gymnastics, as in Scheria and Sparta (8.100-31, 370-80; cf. 4.18-19). But by far the most prevalent form of entertainment after the feast is the telling of stories, sometimes by a professional bard to the accompaniment of a "lyre" (*κίθαρις, φόρμιγξ* 1.151-5, 325-7; 8.43-7, 62-70, 73-82, 241-369, 486-520; 13.27-8; 17.358-9, 605-6), sometimes by the host himself (3.102-98, 247-312; 4.76-112, 212-89, 347-586; 15.383-494), sometimes by the guest (9.1-12.453; 10.14-16; 14.191-359, 462-506; 18.428-30). The favorite topics of story-telling are the events of the Trojan war and the adventures of the "returns" (*νόστοι*) in its aftermath (1.325-7; 3.102-98, 247-312; 4.76-112, 212-89, 347-586; 8.73-82, 486-520; 9.1-12.453; 10.14-16; 14.462-506), a sort of self-advertisement, perhaps, by Homer of his own repertoire.

Homer's handling of this element of after-dinner entertainment often emphasizes the primary theme of vengeance underlying the

Odyssey. In Ithaca the bard Phemius is made to sing "under compulsion" (ἀνάγκη 1.154) by the suitors. Ironically, Phemius sings about the wrath of Athena, even as the goddess, in disguise as Athena-Mentes, is sitting in the corner conversing with Telemachus, and Phemius' song is about the "return" (νόστος) of the Achaeans, a subject of pressing concern to the suitors, who hope that the return of Odysseus will not be accomplished (1.325-7). The suitors' perverse hospitality toward the disguised Odysseus is demonstrated by their deriving amusement from a boxing match between him and the local beggar Iros for the right to beg in the palace (18.1-111), the "guest" in effect providing the after-dinner entertainment; athletic contests had functioned properly as a part of the after-dinner entertainment in Scheria (8.100-31), but not here in Ithaca. But the suitors' perversity is appropriately avenged. In their final feast Odysseus himself provides the entertainment: "the singing and the lyre" (μολπή καὶ φόρμιγγι 21.430), a vivid allusion to the bow with which he exacts retribution.

XIV. Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host.

A visitor abroad usually lacks the resources with which to compensate a host for his material provisions. He may reciprocate for the moment by providing news from abroad or entertainment by way of story-telling, and he may provide the means for his host to gain reciprocal hospitality in the future by revealing his name and country. He may also reciprocate for material provisions by

pronouncing a blessing upon his host; often it is explicitly the graciousness of the host's hospitality which inspires such a blessing (7.148-50; 14.51-4, 439-41; 15.340-2; 17.353-5; H.Dem. 135-7, 224-5). The guest typically prays that his host be blessed with "glory" (κῶδος 3.55-9), with "the affection of Zeus" (φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο 14.439-41; 15.340-2), with "material wealth" (ὄλβια 7.148-50; ὄλβιον 17.353-5; ἐσθλά H.Dem. 224-5), with a "prosperous and blessed posterity" (παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος κτήματ'; τέκνα τεκέσθαι 7.148-50; H.Dem. 135-7), or, rather generally, with "whatever he might desire" (ὅττι μάλιστ' ἐθέλεις 14.51-4; οἱ πάντα γένοιτο ὅσα φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοινᾶ 17.353-5). Sometimes the guest invokes the gods generally (7.148-50; 14.51-4; H.Dem. 135-7, 224-5), sometimes Zeus specifically (14.51-4, 439-41; 15.340-2; 17.353-5), appropriately so, since he is the patron of suppliants and guests (6.206-8; 9.270-1, 477-9; 14.56-9, 283-4, 388-9).

Just as a guest may pronounce a blessing upon a gracious host, so may he pronounce a curse upon an ungracious one. When Antinous demonstrates his perverted hospitality by casting a footstool, an instrument of kind reception in normal circumstances, at the newly arrived Odysseus, he responds with a curse which is essentially a negation of the guest's usual prayer for a prosperous and blessed posterity: "If there are gods and 'Furies' (ἐρινύες) for beggars, may death come upon Antinous before marriage." (17.475-6).

XV. Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice.

Perhaps the most symbolically powerful gesture of a host's willingness to incorporate a stranger into the community, to transform an "outsider" into an "insider", is an invitation to participate in the community's religious rituals. Shared participation in libations and sacrifices is a mark of the most generous hospitality: Nestor is particularly accommodating to Athena-Mentor and Telemachus upon their arrival, encouraging them to participate in the sacrifices, libations, and prayers of the Pylian community (3.40-67, 338-42, 390-4, 418-63); Alcinous invites the newly arrived Odysseus to share in a libation to Zeus, "who protects revered suppliants" (ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ 7.179-84); Eumaeus includes Odysseus in all his sacrifices and libations, humble though they be (14.407-48; 16.452-4); Amphinomus, who alone of the suitors shows proper respect toward guests, allows Odysseus to share in a libation (18.151-2); Achilles honors those who have come to him as mere messengers by inviting them to share in a sacrifice and meal (II. 9.219-20).

XVI. Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep.

The most hospitable hosts are so generous in their provisions of food, drink, and entertainment, especially in the form of stories, perhaps even to the point of being overbearing, that a guest often has to alert them that it is time for bed. The loquacious Nestor, having spent the entire day until the setting of the sun telling stories, is finally interrupted by Athena-Mentor, who encourages

him to put an end to the sacrifice "so that we might think of sleep, for it is the hour for such" (ὄφρα . . . κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ὥρη 3.333-4). After Helen and Menelaus have entertained their guests throughout the evening with food and wine and stories about Troy, Telemachus, in his first words to his hosts in Sparta says, "Come, lead us to bed, so that we might even now lie down and delight in sweet sleep." (ἀλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνήν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῷ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες 4.294-5). When Odysseus wishes to rest from the narration of his adventures to his Phaeacian hosts, he alerts them that "it is the hour for sleep" (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρη εὔδειν 11.330-1), but Alcinous, who is anxious for more stories, refutes him: "This night is unspeakably long; not yet is it the hour for sleep in the hall." (νῦξ δ' ἦδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὥρη εὔδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ· 11.373-4). Eumaeus, who is enjoying immensely his exchange of tales with Odysseus, encourages his guest to remain awake into the night: "These nights are immense" (αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι 15.392), he says, "You should not lie down before it is time; much sleep is a vexatious thing (οὐδέ τί σε χρεῖ, πρὶν ὥρη, καταλέχθαι· ἀνίη καὶ πολὺς ὑπνος. 15.393-4). When at last Odysseus is reunited with his wife, he requests, "Let us go to bed, wife, so that even now we might lie down and take delight in sweet sleep." (λέκτρονδ' ἴομεν, γύναι, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῷ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντε. 23.254-5). Penelope assures him that he may go to bed whenever he wishes, but then procrastinates, wanting to hear more from her husband about the prophecy of Teiresias. Priam uses similar language, when, having tasted food and wine for the first

time since his son's death, and having spent the evening conversing with Achilles, he at last asks his host to let him sleep: "Lay me down quickly, god-born one, so that even now we might lie down and take delight in sweet sleep." (λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῶ ὑπο γλυκερῶ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες· Ἰ. 24.635-6).

XVII. Bed.

A bed for the guest is normally placed in the "portico" immediately outside the front door of the house (ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ 3.399; 4.297; 7.336, 345; Ἰ. 24.644; ἐν προδόμῳ 4.302; 20.1, 143; Ἰ. 24.673); meanwhile the host retreats to the "innermost room" of the house (μυχῶ 3.402; 4.304; 7.346; Ἰ. 9.663; 24.675), where he sleeps beside his wife or concubine (3.403; 4.305; 7.347; Ἰ. 9.664-8; 24.676).

The description of the bedding itself receives various degrees of elaboration. Although the general picture of Nestor's hospitality in Pylos as relatively humble is reinforced by the simple description of Telemachus' bed--τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν (4.399)--the personal nature of his hospitality is demonstrated by the provision of his own youngest son as Telemachus' bedmate in the portico (3.400-1). The material hospitality in Sparta is more lavish but less personal: Helen orders the servants to place a bed in the portico, to throw upon it beautiful, purple rugs, to spread blankets above, and to put woolen mantles on top (4.296-9). The bed provided for Odysseus by the Phaeacians is equally elaborate (7.336-9 = 4.297-300), but the

bedding scene is further augmented by an official announcement that the bed is ready (7.342). Achilles' wealth and generous hospitality, even in the harsh conditions of the battlefield, is accentuated by Homer's use of the structure and formulae of the typical bedding scene of the palace to describe his provision of a bed for Phoenix and for Priam in his shelter (Il. 9.617-22, 658-68; 24.643-55, 671-6; note that Il. 24.644-7 = Od. 4.297-300, 7.336-9; Il. 24.673 = Od. 4.302).

Manipulations of the bedding scene for great poetic effect may be observed in the scenes of Odysseus' homecoming. Although the humbleness of Eumaeus' hospitality is accentuated by the substitution of sheep and goat skins for the usual rugs and blankets (14.519), his graciousness and loyalty is revealed by a reversal of the geography of the normal bedding scene: Eumaeus provides for Odysseus, the guest, a bed inside next to the fire, while he himself, the host, sleeps outside in the shelter of a hollow rock (14.518-33). Upon Odysseus' arrival at his own home, the geographical location of his bed has strong symbolic value: at first Melantheo suggests that he go away and sleep in a public lounging place for beggars (18.327-9); when Penelope acknowledges him as a guest, she offers a bed in the portico (19.317-19, 598-9; 20.1); once Odysseus has gained the upper hand against the suitors and has reestablished himself as master, he reclaims the bedroom in the innermost part of the house (23.295). His spatial progression from outside the house, to its periphery in the portico, to its innermost room, is symbolic of his elevation from beggar to guest to master.

XVIII. Bath.

The provision of a bath for a guest is a normal part of proper hospitality, usually in conjunction with the preparation for a feast (1.310; 3.464-8; 4.48-50; 6.210-35; 8.426-7, 433-7, 449-57; 10.358-65, 449-51; 17.87-9; 19.317, 320, 343-60, 386-8, 503-7; 23.153-63). Usually the bath is provided well after the initial reception of the guest, sometimes even on the second day of the visit; rarely it is offered to the guest immediately upon arrival (4.48-50; cf. 6.210-35; 17.87-90). It is usually the servant women who administer the bath (δμοφαί; ἀμφίπολοι; ταμίη; 4.49; 6.209; 8.454; 10.348; 17.88; 19.317; 23.154; cf. 24.366), occasionally the mistress of the house (4.252; 5.264; 10.449 [Helen, Calypso, and Circe]), once the unmarried princess (3.464-5 [Nestor's daughter Polycaste]).

A typical Homeric bath entails heating water in a "tripod" (τρίπος); the attendant pours water from this tripod upon the guest, who is seated in a "bathtub" (ἀσάμινθος) (cf. 8.426, 433-7; 10.358-63). The attendant then "washes" the guest and "anoints him with olive oil" (λοῦσέν τε καὶ ἔχρισεν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ 3.466; cf. 4.49, 252; 8.454; 10.364, 450; 17.88; 23.154; 24.366). Finally, the attendant provides a fresh change of clothing (ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ

χιτῶνα 3.467; cf. 4.50; 6.214; 8.455; 10.365, 451; 17.89; 23.155; 24.367).¹⁸

The quality of the bath is often indicative of the quality of the host's hospitality. In Sparta the guests are offered a bath immediately upon arrival, perhaps an indication of the resources available to Menelaus, who can afford to keep a bath continuously heated in anticipation of the arrival of guests (4.48-50). In Pylos the guest waits until the next day before a bath is offered, but the personal nature of Nestor's hospitality is demonstrated by the provision of his own unmarried daughter as bath attendant (3.464-8).

The transformative function of the bath is a key to the theme of disguise and recognition in the Odyssey. Often the guest rises from the bath with an enhanced appearance, sometimes "looking like a god" (δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος; θεοῖσιν ἔοικε; ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄντην; 3.468; 6.243; 23.163; cf. 24.371), causing those who see him to "marvel" (θηεῖτο; θαύμαζε; 6.237; 8.459; cf. 24.370). Odysseus rightly fears that a bath will destroy his disguise and reveal his true identity; hence, he opts for a foot-bath (19.317, 320, 343-60,

¹⁸ Many of the elements of the Homeric bath are attested in the Linear B tablets: the tripod (ti-ri-po = τρίπος on the Pylos Ta series), the bath itself (a-sa-mi-to = ἀσάμινθος on Knossos Ws 8497), the employment of bath attendants of both sexes (re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo = λοετροχόοι on Pylos Ab 27 [553], Ad 676, Aa 783), oil and cloaks reserved for guests (ke-se-ni-wi-jo, describing oil, on Pylos Fr 1231; pa-we-a ke-se-nu-wi-ja = φάρεα ξείνια on Knossos Ld 573). The discovery of a clay bathtub (a-sa-mi-to = ἀσάμινθος) in the so-called palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos also evokes the Homeric bath.

386-8, 503-7). His eventual restoration as master of the house is symbolically realized later through the transformative function of a proper bath (23.153-63).

XIX. Host detains the visitor.

Menelaus, an apparent model of hospitable behavior, advises his guest Telemachus (15.69-74):

νεμεσσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ
ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλήσιν,
ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν· ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα.
ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι
ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.
χρῆ ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

I would be indignant at another man
who, receiving guests, acted excessively hospitable
or excessively hostile; all things are better in due measure.
It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not
want to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.
One must grant hospitality to a guest who is present and grant
conveyance to a guest who wants to leave.

But generous hospitality often borders dangerously upon forced
detention, and the host's frequently reiterated invitation to "stay"

([ἐπι] μείναι) is often met by the guest's plea "not be be detained" (μὴ ... [κατ] ἔρῳκε) (cf. 1.309-13, 315; 3.343-55; 4.587-8, 593-608; 7.311-15; 9.303-5, 313-14, 340, 417-19, 517; 10.14-16, 467-74, 489; 11.338-41, 350-2; 13.28-35; 15.64-91, 199-201, 209-14, 335-6, 346; 16.82; 17.16-21; ll. 9.617-19; 24.682-8).

In the Odyssey such hospitality threatens to obstruct the "homecomings" (νόστοι) of both Telemachus and Odysseus. Menelaus himself uses all the resources at his disposal to detain Telemachus in Sparta for as long as possible: the attraction of his stories, which delight Telemachus and tempt him to forget about home and to stay in Sparta indefinitely (4.595-8); his offer of guest-gifts, horses and chariots, which are only useful if Telemachus forsakes his homecoming and remains on the broad Lacedaemonian plain (4.600-8); the temptation of the wealth to be collected on Menelaus' proposed leisurely tour through Hellas (15.75-85); Menelaus' scrupulous attention to the formalities of feasting, gift-giving, libation, farewell speeches, and the interpretation of an omen, in an attempt to delay his guest's inevitable departure (15.92-181). Telemachus expressly chooses to by-pass Pylos altogether on his return home for fear that he will confront such obstructive hospitality in Nestor (15.195-219). This threat of detention is mirrored in the experiences of Telemachus' father, whose return home is constantly obstructed by elements associated with hospitality: the food of the Lotus Eaters and of Circe, the songs of the Sirens, the "guest-gift" of Polyphemus, and the beds of Circe and Calypso. These shared experiences of father

and son create a sympathetic harmony between the two and reinforce the centrality of the theme of obstructed homecoming in the Odyssey.

XX. Guest-gifts.

"Gifts" (ξεινήϊα, δῶρα, δωτίνη) are given by a host to a guest, never vice versa, as a material symbol of their bond of friendship. In return the host expects the guest to "remember" him (μεμνημένος 4.592; 8.431; μιμνήσεται 15.54; μνήμα 15.126), and, as a purely practical consideration, to "reciprocate" with an equally valuable gift sometime in the future (ἀμοιβῆς 1.318; ἀμειψάμενος 24.285), for it is the "custom" that guest-gifts be exchanged back and forth (θέμις 9.267-8; 24.285-6), and gifts which fail to elicit counter-gifts are said to be given "in vain" (ἐτώσια 24.283).¹⁹

¹⁹ Homeric gift-giving surely reflects a historical custom of gift-exchange, perhaps of the tenth and ninth centuries--so M. Finley, "Marriage, Sale and Gift in the Homeric World," RIDA 3rd Ser., 2 (1955) 167-94; World of Odysseus (New York, 1965, rev. 1978) 58-164--or perhaps it better reflects the institutions of the society contemporaneous with the poet--see J. N. Coldstream, "Gift Exchange in the Eighth Century B. C.," in R. Hägg (ed.), The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B. C.: Tradition and Innovation (Stockholm, 1983) 201-7; but for a salutary deemphasis of an underlying historical institution of gift-exchange, see J. T. Hooker, "Gifts in Homer," BICS 36 (1989) 79-90. It is probably a genetically Indo-European institution--see E. Benveniste (1969) 65-101--although it is an equally prevalent custom in unrelated primitive and archaic societies; cf. M. Mauss' monograph, "Le don, forme primitive de l'échange," L'Année sociologique (1924).

On the role of gift giving in ancient Greek myth and literature, see J. P. Gould (1973) 90-101; J. Nagy, "The Deceptive Gift in Greek

This most prized type of guest-gift is "treasure which can be stored up" (κειμήλια). When Telemachus wishes to detain Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, he promises her the best kind of gift he can think of: "treasure . . . such as dear xeinoi give to xeinoi" (κειμήλιον . . . οἶα φίλοι ξεῖνοι ξείνοισι διδοῦσι 1.312-13). When Menelaus offers to Telemachus a gift of horses and a chariot, he refuses them and says, "let it be treasure" (κειμήλιον ἔστω 4.600). A gift of κειμήλια may include actual talents of gold (χρυσοῖο τάλαντον 8.393; cf. 8.440; 9.202; 13.11; 24.274), but it usually denotes items made of precious metals--bronze, silver, gold--such as weapons and armour (ἄορ 8.403-5; 19.241; ξίφος 8.406; 16.80; 21.34, 341; ἔγχος 21.34; ἄκων 21.340; τόξον 21.31; τεύχεα II. 6.230; ζωστήρ II. 6.219; θώρηξ II.11.19; κυνέη II. 10.261), or various household utensils (κρητήρ 4.615; 9.203; 15.103; 24.275; ἄλεισον 8.430-1; δέπας 15.102; II. 6.220; τρίπος 13.13; λέβης 13.13); but it may also denote items of clothing (πέπλος 15.105-8; χλαῖνα 15.338; 16.79; 21.339; 24.276; χίτων 8.392, 425, 441; 15.338; 16.79; 19.241-2; 21.339; 24.277; φᾶρος 8.392, 425, 441; 24.277; ἐσθῆτα 8.440; εἵματα 13.10; τάπησ 24.276; πέδιλα 16.80; 21.341).

Special value is attached to gifts which have a "history" behind them (i.e. have been passed down as gifts from someone else): Menelaus gives to Telemachus a krater which he had received from Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians (4.613-19); Iphitus gives to Odysseus a bow which he had received from Eurytus (21.31-3);

Mythology," *Arethusa* 14.2 (1981) 191-204; W. Donlan, "The Politics of Generosity in Homer," *Helios* 9.2 (1982) 1-15; "Reciprocities in Homer," *CW* 75.3 (1982) 137-75.

Priam gives to Achilles a cup which he had received from Thracian men (II. 24.233-7); the helmet which Meriones gives to Odysseus is traced back through four previous exchanges (II. 10.260-71).

Homer manipulates this typical element of gift-giving to produce poignant parody on two occasions in the Odyssey. Polyphemus' cynical "guest-gift" (ξεινήϊον 9.370) to Odysseus is the privilege of being eaten last of the men. The suitor Ctesippus offers an equally cynical "guest-gift" (ξείνιον 20.296): a pelting with an ox-hoof from the meat basket. Ctesippus', and the suitors', demonstrated disregard for the human institution of xenia thus places them on the same level of savagery as the Cyclops.

XXI. Departure meal.

The didactic Menelaus advises Telemachus shortly before his departure that "it is an honor and a glory and a benefit, having dined, to go on a boundless trek" (ἀμώτερον κῦδος τε καὶ ἀγλαΐη καὶ ὄνειρα δειπνήσαντας ἔμεν πολλὴν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν. 15.78-9); and in practice the provision of a meal for a departing guest appears to be a typical element. Yet this element plays a part in only the two most extensive hospitality scenes of the Odyssey: Telemachus' departure from Sparta (15.92-8, 133-43) and Odysseus' departure from Scheria 13.23-7). Elsewhere the departure of the guest is not elaborated, or, as in Ithaca and Pylos, the hospitality scene is curtailed long before a proper departure scene can occur.

XXII. Departure libation.

The pouring of a libation is a regular element in departure scenes (cf. ll. 6.258-62; 9.171-7; 24.283-6). A libation specifically before a guest's departure plays a part in the two most extensive hospitality scenes of the Odyssey: Telemachus' departure from Sparta (15.147-50) and Odysseus' departure from Scheria (13.50-6). A libation is also performed upon Odysseus' and Aias' departure from Achilles' tent (ll. 9.656-7).

Homer's handling of the typical element of libation in these three scenes of guest departure is indicative of his practice of adapting conventional elements to their context. Upon Odysseus' and Aias' departure from Achilles' tent, the libation is mentioned cursorily, almost mechanically, reflecting the impatience of both guests and host to put an end to the visit. In an effective character sketch of the overly hospitable, even obstructive, Menelaus, Homer pictures him running after Telemachus and Pisistratus in order to perform a final libation even as they are driving away on their chariot. Befitting the Phaeacians' extravagant hospitality, their libation upon Odysseus' departure from Scheria is the most elaborately described.

XXIII. Farewell blessing.

In the two most extensive hospitality scenes in the Odyssey, Telemachus in Sparta and Odysseus in Scheria, the hosts and guests

exchange reciprocal blessings upon departure. The host introduces his blessing by wishing his guest a farewell (χαίρε 8.408, 461; 15.128,151), and then he prays specifically that his guest will enjoy a safe return to his family and homeland: "May Zeus accomplish your return home." (νόστον . . . Ζεὺς τελέσειεν 15.111-12); "May you fare well and return to to your well built home and to your fatherland." (σὺ δὲ μοι χαίρων ἀφίκοιο οἶκον ἐϋκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. 15.128-9); "May the gods grant that you see your wife and come to your homeland, since you have suffered woes away from your loved ones for a long time." (σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ ἄλοχον ἰδέειν καὶ πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι δοῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὴ δηθὰ φίλων ἄπο πῆματα πάσχεις. 8.410-11). The guest in turn echoes the host's farewell (χαίρε 8.413; 13.39, 59), concurs with the prayer for his safe return (8.465-6; 13.38-43), and then pronounces a reciprocal blessing upon his host: "May the gods grant you wealth" (θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν 8.413); "May you, remaining here, take pleasure in your wedded wives and children, and may the gods grant you every excellence, and may there not be any evil for the city." (ὕμεῖς δ' ἀῖθι μένοντες ἐϋφραίνετε γυναῖκας κουριδίας καὶ τέκνα· θεοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν παντοίην, καὶ μὴ τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη. 13.44-6); "Take delight in your house and in your children and people and in your king Alcinous." (σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῶδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ παῖσιν τε καὶ λαοῖσιν καὶ Ἄλκινώφω βασιλῆϊ. 13.61-2).

Homer parodies the structure and diction of the typical departure blessing in the Cyclopeia, where Polyphemus curses rather than blesses his "guest", praying that he "not arrive home" (δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι 9.530), but that if he is

fated "to see his loved ones and come to his well built home and to his fatherland" (φίλους ιδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἔην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν 9.532-3), that he "arrive late and bad off" (ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι 9.534), and that "he find troubles at home" (εὔροι δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ 9.535). This negation of the diction of the conventional blessing reflects the Cyclops' negation of the civilizing institution of xenia generally.

XXIV. Departure omen and interpretation.

It was perhaps traditional, both historically and in Homer's poetic cosmos, to seek a favorable omen before setting out on a journey (cf. Il. 24.290-321). In scenes of guest departure, a proper omen and interpretation occurs only once in the surviving epic corpus, in Telemachus' departure from Sparta. Just as Telemachus and Pisistratus prepare to depart, an eagle flies by on their right side carrying a goose in its talons. Helen interprets this omen favorably as a sign of Odysseus' return and vengeance upon the suitors (15.160-81).

In a rather parodic inversion, Odysseus suffers an unfavorable omen upon his departure from the land of the Cyclopes. Having divided up the spoils from the Cyclops' cave, Odysseus sacrifices his portion, Polyphemus' favorite ram, to Zeus (9.550-3). Although the sacrifice is intended to honor Zeus as protector of guests, since he has helped Odysseus avenge Polyphemus' violations of hospitality, Zeus refuses to accept the sacrifice (ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο

ἱρῶν 9.553), apparently because the stolen ram is symbolic of Odysseus' violations of hospitality as a guest. It is with this unfavorable omen, then, that Odysseus proceeds on a journey which will prove disastrous.

XXV. Escort to visitor's next destination.

"Escort" (πομπή) to a visitor's next destination is the last obligation of a host to his guest. This obligation is fulfilled in various ways. Sometimes the host simply provides directions to the destination (10.508-40; 12.25-7). Sometimes supplies of food for the journey are provided: bread, wine, and cooked meats (3.479-80; 12.301-2; 13.69). Divinities may raise a favorable wind for the traveler (10.17-26; 10.507; 11.6-8; 12.148-50). But the most generous hosts escort their guests personally: Eumaeus himself acts as Odysseus' guide to the city (17.194, 201-3); Nestor offers Telemachus horses and a chariot, and his own sons as "guides" (πομπῆες), for his journey to Sparta (3.324-6, 368-70, 474-86); the Phaeacians, who are famous for delivering their guests safely and speedily by ship to even distant destinations (πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἀπάντων 8.566 = 13.174; cf. 7.191-8, 317-28; 8.30-8, 555-71), gather a select crew to accompany Odysseus to Ithaca (13.4-6, 47-52, 63-125).

The suitors, who are notorious for their perversions of various elements of hospitality, are eager to offer "escort" (πομπή) to Odysseus, but it is not the proper πομπή to the guest's desired

destination, such as that for which the Phaeacians are deservedly praised; to the suitors πομπή means "to expel by force" from the house (ἐκπέμψασθε θύραζε 20.361; δώματος ἐκπέμψησι 18.336) or "to send as a slave" to Egypt, Cyprus, or Sicily (17.448; πέμψωμεν 20.382-3) or, worse yet, to king Echetus (πέμψομεν 21.307-9), who is notorious for cutting off the noses, ears, and genitals of his victims (18.84-7).

IV. Schematic Synopses of Conventional Elements of Homeric Hospitality Scenes.

Athena-Mentes in Ithaca
(Od. 1.103-324)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	1.114-17
c	Of (the activities of) the others	1.106-12
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	1.103-4
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	1.113, 118
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	1.119-20
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	1.121
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	1.122-4
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	1.121, 127-9
i	Host leads the visitor in	1.125
VIII	Seat	1.130-2, 145
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	1.136-43, 146-[8]
b	Consumption	1.149
c	Conclusion	1.150
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	1.169-77
b	Visitor reveals his identity	1.178-93
XII	Exchange of information	1.194-305
XIII	Entertainment	1.151-5, 325-7
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	1.310
XIX	Host detains the visitor	1.309-13, 315
XX	Guest-gifts	1.311-13, 316-18
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Telemachus in Pylos
(Od. 3.4-485; 15.193-214)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	3.4-5, 31, 388; 15.193
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	3.32
c	Of (the activities of) the others	3.5-9, 32-3
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	3.34
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	3.34, 36
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	3.37
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	3.35, 41-50
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	3.35, 37-9, 389, 415-16, 469
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	3.65-6, 470
b	Consumption	3.66, 471-2
c	Conclusion	3.67, 473
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	3.68-74
b	Visitor reveals his identity	3.79-101
XII	Exchange of information	3.102-328
XIII	Entertainment	3.102-98, 247-312
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	3.55-9
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	3.40-67, 338-42, 390-4, 418-63
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	3.330-6
XVII	Bed	3.396-403
XVIII	Bath	3.464-8
XIX	Host detains the visitor	3.343-55; 15.199-201, 209-14
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	3.324-6, 368-70, 474-86

Telemachus in Sparta
(Od. 4.1-624; 15.1-184)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	4.1-2
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	4.43-7, 71-5
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	4.3-14
c	Of (the activities of) the others	4.15-19
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	4.20-2
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	4.22-3
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	4.24-36
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	4.37-8
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	4.39-42
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	4.59-64
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	4.43
VIII	Seat	4.51; 15.134
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	4.52-8 ([57-8]), 65-6; 15.135-41
b	Consumption	4.67; 15.142
c	Conclusion	4.68, 218; 15.143
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	4.138-54
b	Visitor reveals his identity	4.155-67
XII	Exchange of information	4.168-211, 311-586
XIII	Entertainment	4.76-112, 212-89, 347-586
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	4.294-5
XVII	Bed	4.296-305
XVIII	Bath	4.48-50
XIX	Host detains the visitor	4.587-8, 593-608; 15.64-91
XX	Guest-gifts	4.589-619; 15.48-55, 75-6, 99-132 ([113-19])
XXI	Departure meal	15.76-9, 92-8, 133-43
XXII	Departure libation	15.147-50
XXIII	Farewell blessing	15.111-12, 128-9, 150-9
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	15.160-81
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	4.589; 15.64-74

Hermes and Calypso
(Od. 5.55-148)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	5.55-8
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	5.59-61, 63-76
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	5.57-8, 61-2
c	Of (the activities of) the others	5.81-4
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	5.75-6
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	5.77-8
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	[5.91]
VIII	Seat	5.86
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	5.92-3
b	Consumption	5.94
c	Conclusion	5.95
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	5.85-90
b	Visitor reveals his identity	5.96-104
XII	Exchange of information	5.105-47
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Odysseus and the Phaeacians
(Od. 5.388-13.187)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	6.110-322; 7.18-81
II	Arrival at the destination	7.46, 81-2
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	7.48-9, 84-135
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	
c	Of (the activities of) the others	7.49-77, 136-8
IV	Dog at the door	7.91-4
V	Waiting at the threshold	7.82-3, 133-5
VI	Supplication	7.142-54
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	7.144-5
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	7.153-66
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	7.168
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	7.169-71; 8.469
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	7.172-6; 8.38-43, 57-61, 470
b	Consumption	7.177; 8.71, 484
c	Conclusion	8.72, 485
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	7.236-9; 8.548-86
b	Visitor reveals his identity	7.240-97; 9.1-11.330; 11.385-12.453
XII	Exchange of information	7.240-328
XIII	Entertainment	8.43-7, 62-70, 73-82, 100-31, 241-380, 486-520; 9.1-11.330; 11.385-12.453; 13.27-8
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	7.148-50
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	7.179-84
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	11.330-2, 373-84
XVII	Bed	7.335-47
XVIII	Bath	8.426-7, 433-7, 449-57
XIX	Host detains the visitor	7.311-15; 11.338-41, 350-2; 13.28-35
XX	Guest-gifts	8.389-432, 438-48; 11.336-61; 13.7-22
XXI	Departure meal	13.23-7
XXII	Departure libation	13.50-6
XXIII	Farewell blessing	8.406-15, 460-8; 13.36-46, 56-62
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	7.191-8, 226-7, 317-28; 8.30-8, 48-55, 555-71; 11.332, 352-3; 13.4-6, 47-52, 63-125; 16.227-30

Odysseus and Polyphemus
(Od. 9.105-564)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	9.181, 216
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	9.182-6, 218-23
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	9.187-92, 216-7
c	Of (the activities of) the others	9.188-9
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	9.266-71
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	9.308-11, 341-4
b	Consumption	9.288-93
c	Conclusion	9.296-7
X	After-dinner drink	9.345-61
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	9.251-5, 355-6
b	Visitor reveals his identity	9.258-66, 364-7, 504-5
XII	Exchange of information	9.272-86
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	9.306, 436
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	9.303-5, 313-14, 340, 417-19, 517
XX	Guest-gifts	9.229, 266-8, 355-6, 364-70, 517
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	9.458-60
XXIII	Farewell blessing	9.522-35
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	9.550-5
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	9.349-50, 518

Odysseus and Aeolus
(Od. 10.1-76)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	10.1, 13, 60
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	10.3-4
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	
c	Of (the activities of) the others	10.5-12, 60-1
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	10.62-3
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	
b	Visitor reveals his identity	
XII	Exchange of information	10.14-16
XIII	Entertainment	10.14-16
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	10.14-16
XX	Guest-gifts	10.19-20, 35-45
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	10.17-26, 72-6

Odysseus and the Laestrygonians
(Od. 10.80-132)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	10.103-11
II	Arrival at the destination	10.81-2, 87, 112
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	10.81-99
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	10.112-13
c	Of (the activities of) the others	
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	10.116
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	
b	Visitor reveals his identity	
XII	Exchange of information	
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Odysseus and Circe
(Od. 10.133-11.12; 12.1-152)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	10.274-306
II	Arrival at the destination	10.135, 210, 308-9; 12.2-3
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	10.194-7, 210-19; 12.3-4
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	10.135-9, 221-3
c	Of (the activities of) the others	
IV	Dog at the door	10.212-19
V	Waiting at the threshold	10.220, 310-11
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	10.230, 312
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	10.231, 233, 313-14
VIII	Seat	10.233, 314-[15], 366-7
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	10.234-6, 316-17, 352-7, [368-72]; 12.18-19, 23-4
b	Consumption	10.375-6, 452, 460, 467-8, [476-7]; 12.29-30
c	Conclusion	10.237, 318
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	10.325-9
b	Visitor reveals his identity	10.330-2
XII	Exchange of information	10.487-540; 12.36-141
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	10.333-5, [478-9]
XVIII	Bath	10.358-65, 449-51
XIX	Host detains the visitor	10.467-74, 489
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	10.482-6, 500-40, 542, 571-4; 11.6-8; 12.25-7, 148-50, 301-2

Odysseus and Eumaeus
(Od. 13.221-14.533; 15.301-494; 16.452-17.25; 17.182-203)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	13.221-440
II	Arrival at the destination	14.1-4
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	14.5-22
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	14.5, 23-4
c	Of (the activities of) the others	14.24-8
IV	Dog at the door	14.21-2, 29-32
V	Waiting at the threshold	14.30-2
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	14.29
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	14.30, 33-4
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	14.45, 48-9
VIII	Seat	14.49-51
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	14.72-81, 426-52; 16.453, 478
b	Consumption	14.109-10, 453; 15.301-2; 16.479
c	Conclusion	14.46, 111, 454; 15.303; 16.480
X	After-dinner drink	14.112-13
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	14.47, 185-90
b	Visitor reveals his identity	14.191-359
XII	Exchange of information	14.36-44, 55-71, 81-108, 114-84, 321-33, 360-406; 15.347-79
XIII	Entertainment	14.191-359, 462-506; 15.383-494
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	14.51-4, 439-41; 15.340-2,
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	14.407-48; 16.452-4
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	15.392-402
XVII	Bed	14.518-33; 16.481
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	15.335-6, 346; 17.16-21
XX	Guest-gifts	[14.516]; 15.338; 17.195-6, 199
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	[14.517]; 15.310-11, 339; 17.10, 22-3, 194, 201-3

Telemachus and Eumaeus
(Od. 15.555-16.155)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	15.555
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	15.556-7
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	16.1-2
c	Of (the activities of) the others	16.3
IV	Dog at the door	16.4-10
V	Waiting at the threshold	16.11-12
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	16.12
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	16.12
d	Host approaches the visitor	16.14
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	16.15-16
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	16.22-9
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	16.40
i	Host leads the visitor in	16.25-6, 41
VIII	Seat	16.42-8
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	16.49-53
b	Consumption	16.54
c	Conclusion	16.55
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	16.56-9
b	Visitor reveals his identity	16.60-7
XII	Exchange of information	16.30-9, 90-153
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	16.82
XX	Guest-gifts	16.79-80, 83-4
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	16.81

Odysseus' Homecoming
(Od. 17.204-23.348)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	17.204-53
II	Arrival at the destination	17.260-1, 336
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	17.263-8
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	
c	Of (the activities of) the others	17.261-3, 269-71
IV	Dog at the door	17.291-327
V	Waiting at the threshold	17.261, 339-41
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	17.339-41, 356-8; 19.97-8, 100-2, 321-2; 20.257-9; 23.164-5
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	17.342-52, 356-7; 20.250-5, 279-83
b	Consumption	17.358; 20.256, 280
c	Conclusion	17.359
X	After-dinner drink	20.260-2
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	17.368; 19.103-5, 162-3
b	Visitor reveals his identity	17.369-73, 380-7, 419-44, 522-3; 19.164-202
XII	Exchange of information	17.508-11; 18.129-50; 19.96-307, 535-87; 23.260-84, 300-43
XIII	Entertainment	17.358-9, 605-6; 18.1-111; 21.428-30
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	17.353-5, 475-6
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	18.151-2
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	23.254-62
XVII	Bed	18.326-9; 19.317-19, 337-42; 19.594-20.6; 20.138-43; 23.289-96
XVIII	Bath	19.317, 320, 343-60, 386-8, 503-7; 23.153-63
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	20.296-302; 21.339-41; 22.290-1
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	17.448; 18.336; 19.312-16; 20.382-3; 21.307-9 ((308?)), 342

The Embassy to Achilles
(Il. 9.185-668)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	9.185
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	9.186-9
c	Of (the activities of) the others	9.190-1
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	9.192-3
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	9.193, 195
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	9.193-5
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	9.196-8
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	9.199
VIII	Seat	9.200
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	9.201-20
b	Consumption	9.221
c	Conclusion	9.222
X	After-dinner drink	9.224
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	
b	Visitor reveals his identity	
XII	Exchange of information	9.225-655
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	9.219-20
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	9.617-22, 658-68
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	9.617-19
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	9.656-7
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Nestor and Odysseus in Phthia
(II. 11.769-82)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	11.769-70
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	
c	Of (the activities of) the others	11.771-6
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	11.776-7
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	11.777
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	11.777
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	11.778
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	11.778
VIII	Seat	11.778
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	11.779
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	11.780
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	
b	Visitor reveals his identity	
XII	Exchange of information	11.781-2
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Thetis and Hephaestus
(II. 18.369-19.3)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	18.369, [381?]
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	18.370-1
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	18.372-80
c	Of (the activities of) the others	18.373-9
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	18.382-3
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	18.384, 423
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	18.387-8
VIII	Seat	18.389-90
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	18.387, 408
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	18.385-6, 424-7
b	Visitor reveals his identity	18.428-61
XII	Exchange of information	
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	18.468-19.3
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Priam and Achilles
(II. 24.334-694)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	24.334-467
II	Arrival at the destination	24.443, 448, 471
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	24.449-56
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	
c	Of (the activities of) the others	24.444, 472-6
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	24.477--9
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	24.483-4
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	24.515
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	24.515
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	24.522, 553
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	24.601, 618-26
b	Consumption	24.627
c	Conclusion	24.628
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	
b	Visitor reveals his identity	
XII	Exchange of information	24.485-506, 522-70, 596-617, 656-70
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	24.634-42
XVII	Bed	24.643-55, 671-6
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	24.682-8
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	24.677-94

Demeter in the Home of Celeos
(H.Dem. 98-230)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	98-183
II	Arrival at the destination	184-5
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	185-7
c	Of (the activities of) the others	
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	188-9
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	190
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	191
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	212-15
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	
VIII	Seat	191-201
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	206-10
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	112-17
b	Visitor reveals his identity	118-34
XII	Exchange of information	
XIII	Entertainment	202-5
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	135-7, 224-5
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Aphrodite and Anchises
(H.Aphr. 68-291)

I	Maiden at the well/Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	68-9, 75
III	Description of the surroundings . . .	
a	Of the residence	
b	Of (the activities of) the person sought	76-80
c	Of (the activities of) the others	78-9
IV	Dog at the door	68-74
V	Waiting at the threshold	81
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception . . .	
a	Host catches sight of the visitor	84-5
b	Host hesitates to offer hospitality	
c	Host rises from his seat	
d	Host approaches the visitor	
e	Host attends to the visitor's horses	
f	Host takes the visitor by the hand	155
g	Host bids the visitor welcome	92-106
h	Host takes the visitor's spear	
i	Host leads the visitor in	155-6
VIII	Seat	
IX	Feast . . .	
a	Preparation	
b	Consumption	
c	Conclusion	
X	After-dinner drink	
XI	Identification . . .	
a	Host questions the visitor	92-99
b	Visitor reveals his identity	107-42
XII	Exchange of information	191-290
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	126-7, 155-67
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

V. The Problem of Concordance Interpolations.

Anyone who wishes to treat the Homeric epics as orally generated and orally performed poems must face squarely the fact that they have been transmitted for more than two and a half millennia in written form, largely by scribes and scholars who appreciated even less than we do today the mechanisms of oral poetry. The poems have thereby suffered excisions, accretions, and various other changes, sometimes through the accidents which are a normal part of the process of transmission, other times through the conscious and purposeful manipulation of human hands.

It is my view that the tightly knit structures of both epics, and the absence in our inherited texts of any fundamental deviations in their overall plots, argue against any large scale post-Homeric omissions or additions; yet, changes on a smaller scale, the inevitable result of a long textual, and at times possibly oral, transmission, are to be expected. There is little we can do to detect changes in the text, whether from rhapsodic embellishment or curtailment, or from scribal expansion or omission, before the standardization of the text by Aristarchus in the second century B.C.; and we should note, as a reminder of our ignorance and as a caution to any generalizations we might wish to make, the considerable variations attested in early quotations of Homer and in the Ptolemaic papyri.²⁰

²⁰ On the early quotations of Homer, see M. van der Valk, Researches in the Text and Scholia of the Iliad II (Leiden, 1964) 264-369; Textual Criticism of the Odyssey (Leiden, 1949) 278-85;

There is much more that we can do, however, about the considerable post-Aristarchean interpolations which have made

T. W. Allen, Homer: the Origins and Transmission (Oxford, 1924, repr. 1969) 249-70. On the pre-Aristarchean papyri, see S. West, The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer (Cologne, Opladen, 1967); T. W. Allen (1924, repr. 1969) 271-301.

Regarding the reliability of the early transmission of the texts, we can take some comfort in Aristarchus' exceptional caution as an editor; while he did omit verses from the already heavily interpolated texts which he inherited, he almost always did so on the basis of external, documentary evidence, omitting only those verses which were absent from a majority of manuscripts (see M. J. Apthorp, The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer (Heidelberg, 1980) 47-125). Aristarchus, like his Alexandrian predecessors, did frequently "athetize" verses on internal grounds (i.e. he left the verse in the text, but with an obelus marked in the left column to indicate some doubt as to authenticity). He did not understand the oral nature of the poetry and therefore objected to the repetition of identical verses, athetizing on this basis; he also athetized on stylistic grounds, because of incongruities, because he was offended by certain religious points, or because he considered a verse inappropriate. Such atheteses, far from being evidence of interpolation, are in fact a testimony to a verse's authenticity; for at least one can be sure that such verses are ancient, since the Alexandrians read them in their manuscripts. On this point, see R. Janko, "The text and transmission of the Iliad," in The Iliad: A Commentary Vol. IV (Cambridge, forthcoming).

Our basis for suspecting pre-Aristarchean interpolation, then, is not the atheteses, but the record of the scholia regarding the readings of various pre-Aristarchean authorities. To this record we may apply the same criteria which we apply to post-Aristarchean interpolations; namely, that weakness of attestation in pre-Aristarchean editions constitutes grounds for suspicion. There are two added difficulties, however: (1) rather than having the manuscripts ourselves, we are relying on the report of the scholia; (2) pre-Aristarchean critics, unlike post-Aristarchean copyists, did in fact omit verses on internal grounds; hence, we must take into account possible motivations for their omission of weakly attested verses.

their way into our inherited texts. We have inherited more manuscripts of Homer than of any other ancient text except the New Testament; and although this plethora of manuscripts multiplies the variants, resulting in many complexities, this very multiplicity at the same time furnishes a sound basis on which to evaluate the authenticity of variant readings. We have been particularly fortunate in the last century to add to our manuscripts the evidence of many early papyri, the discovery of which has substantially increased our knowledge of the state of the Homeric text at various periods. The accumulated evidence suggests that interpolations are a real and prevalent problem in the post-Aristarchean period. But these are not generally difficult to identify: I have based my evaluation of weakly attested lines on the criteria established by G. M. Bolling and refined by M. J. Apthorp,²¹ acknowledging the clearly demonstrated tendency that in the transmission of Homer's epics, as in the transmission of other sacred or highly regarded texts, accretion and not deletion is the normal habit of copyists. The manuscript tradition of Homer, therefore, not only retained all of Aristarchus' vulgate text but also acquired a fair amount of new material. The proof of this is in the consistent correlation between weakly attested verses in later manuscripts and the absence of these verses in earlier papyri. These observations led Bolling to the conclusion that the numerus versuum of the Aristarchean text could be reconstructed by

²¹ G. M. Bolling, The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer (Oxford, 1925, repr. 1968) 3-30; M. J. Apthorp (1980b) 35-125.

omitting all weakly attested verses from the vulgate which show no sign of surface corruption. This conclusion appears to me fundamentally sound; consequently in my work I have generally regarded weakly attested verses, particularly those absent in early manuscripts, and those to which there are no Aristarchean scholia attached, as interpolations, unless there is a possibility of a copyist's error evidenced by homoeoarchon, homoeomeson, or homoeoteleuton. Occasionally, though, I have considered other than mechanical reasons for the omission of a verse, attempting to guess at possible contextual motivation for omission; hence, while sometimes retaining suspected verses for consideration, I have tried not to make such verses a mainstay of my arguments.

Whenever we make general statements or construct elaborate theories about the intentions of Homer as a historical poet, about the nature of an original oral performance, about the resonance of repeated formulae or the thematic echoes between reiterated type-scenes, we should keep an eye on the apparatus of our modern editions, lest we base our theories about Homer upon late scribal additions. We should not regard our inherited texts, and the modern editions in which they are most readily accessible, as identical to a Homeric performance. The Wolfian vulgate, from which perhaps the most popular edition today, Allen's Oxford edition, differs but little--the Oxford edition adds Qd. 18.111a and omits ll. 8.548, 550-2; 9.458-61; 11.543--has achieved such a sacred status that many scholars naively accept this, or other modern eclectic editions, as canonical, without any acknowledgement of manuscript

problems. In fact, some 76 weakly attested verses still reside in the Oxford Iliad, some 94 in the Oxford Odyssey,²² and these late scribal interpolations are frequently marshaled as evidence in identifying verbal echoes or in tracing thematic patterns, or even in support of a particular theory of oral poetics.²³

At first glance, the interpolation of some 170 verses out of a corpus of 27,803 total verses in the epics might not appear to present a serious problem. But unfortunately for treatments of

²² So M. J. Apthorp (1980b) xvii.

²³ A few representative examples will suffice:

C. Brown, "Odysseus and Polyphemos: The Name and the Curse," Comparative Literature 18 (1966) 193-202, in arguing that in order to be successful a formal curse must repeat the name and address of the object of the curse, relies heavily in his argument upon Od. 9.531, Polyphemos' repetition of Odysseus' father's name and his address in Ithaca. But this verse is surely a concordance interpolation (from Od. 9.505); it is attested in only two very late manuscripts (P3 and P7).

E. Block, "Clothing Makes the Man: A Pattern in the Odyssey," TAPA 115 (1985) 1-11, in tracing the theme of clothing requested by, and offered to, Odysseus, marshals as evidence two interpolated verses (Od. 14.154, 516; see Block, 5-6), and by thus choosing to follow the Oxford text, even against overwhelming manuscript evidence of interpolation, causes the theme to appear more pervasive in this scene than it should.

W. C. Scott, "A Repeated Episode at Odyssey 1.125-48," TAPA 102 (1971) 541-51, in analyzing the scene of feasting in Ithaca, with frequent recourse to parallel scenes of feasting in the Odyssey, fails to recognize that Od. 1.148; 4.57-8; 10.368-72; 15.139; and 21.270 are all very likely concordance interpolations. This failure casts some doubt upon his resulting theory of the nature of oral composition and performance.

For further examples of failures to recognize interpolated verses, see M. J. Apthorp (1980b) 195-227.

type-scenes and themes, such as my analysis of conventional elements in hospitality scenes, these interpolations are concentrated in the most conventional passages of the poems, for it is here that a scribe, incorrectly construing an absence of a verse in a shorter than normal version of a type-scene as an omission, is most likely to interpolate the verse from a parallel passage (i.e. a "concordance interpolation"). Consequently almost every hospitality scene in the Odyssey, because of the largely conventional nature, contains serious manuscript problems.

This problem of concordance interpolations faces us squarely, for example, in the first feasting scene of the Odyssey. I will expand on the manuscript problems of these feasting scenes as an illustration of the problem of concordance interpolations as a whole.

The typical five-verse block which describes the preparation of a feast occurs six times in our inherited text (1.136-40; 4.52-6; 7.172-6; 10.368-72; 15.135-9; 17.91-5):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

A handmaid brought water and poured it from an ewer,
a beautiful, golden one, into a silver basin,

to wash with; and set out beside them a polished table.

A respected housekeeper brought bread and set it beside them, adding many dishes, gracious with her provisions.

But four of the scenes in which this five-verse block occurs have suffered various degrees of interpolation. The entire scene of Circe's feast-preparation is a concordance interpolation (10.368-72), and the addendum to the feast-preparation scene in Sparta appears to be interpolated (4.57-8). In two other scenes the textual problems are complicated owing to a confusion in antiquity over the meaning of εἶδατα (misconstrued as "left-over meat"), and whether it can appropriately be served in conjunction with freshly cut meat (1.139-40; 15.139).²⁴

The disagreement over the meaning of εἶδατα goes at least as far back as Aristarchus. The HMQ scholia to 4.55-6 relate his suspicion of 1.139-40: εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τὰ περὶ τῆς ταμίας παράκειται· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ξενίεσθαι παρὰ Τηλεμάχῳ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. ἐπεισεληλύθασι γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μενέλαον, ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ πάρεστιν ὁ Μέντης. Apparently the problem entailed a misunderstanding of εἶδατα to mean "left-over meat", appropriate in the feast at Sparta, where Telemachus and Pisistratus arrive mid-meal, but inappropriate in Ithaca, where Athena-Mentes arrives at the beginning of the preparation of the feast. This misunderstanding of εἶδατα led

²⁴ In 4.57-8 and 15.139 there is some difficulty in determining whether the textual problems are a result of simple concordance interpolation or of a lexical misconception.

Athenaeus too (Deipnosophists 193b) to suspect 4.55-7 (and perhaps 1.139-41): διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐφεξῆς τιθέντες τούτους τοὺς στίχους· (quotes 4.55-7 = 1.139-41) εἰ γὰρ εἶδατα παρέθηκεν ἡ ταμίη, δῆλον ὡς κρεάτων λείψανα τυγχάνοντα, τὸν δαιτρὸν οὐκ ἔδει παρεισφέρειν. διόπερ τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ. What is more important here than Athenaeus' bungled textual criticism is that, whereas Aristarchus gives no indication that he suspected 1.139-40 on external grounds, we may infer from Athenaeus' words (διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ) that he (or his source) knew of some manuscripts which did not have 4.57 (and perhaps 1.141). The absence of 4.57-8 in many medieval manuscripts attests to its spuriousness, raising suspicion that Athenaeus' source probably noted that 4.57-8 were missing in some manuscripts and present in others (a result of simple concordance interpolation) and attributed this weakness of attestation to falsely deduced internal evidence. The authenticity of 1.141-2, on the other hand, remains unquestionable. S. West²⁵ surprisingly perpetuates Athenaeus' definition of εἶδατα as "left-over meat" and purports to solve the perceived inconcinnity in 1.139-42 by doing away with the ταμίη (1.139-40), like Aristarchus entirely on internal grounds. But surely the the omission of 1.139 by L4 is a mistake, for the omission of the single verse leaves 1.140 "stranded".

My own view is fairly simple: that εἶδατα is a generic word for food and does not necessarily mean "left-over" food. After all, do

²⁵ A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth, A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey Vol. I (Oxford, 1988) 1.139-40n.

the Lotus-eaters enjoy "flowery left-overs" (ἄνθινον εἶδαρ Od 9.84)? Do the horses of the gods eat "ambrosial left-overs" (ἀμβρόσιον εἶδαρ Il. 5.369; 13.35)? The serving of εἶδατα with fresh meat, as at 1.140-1 and 15.139-40, would not strike a Homeric audience as incongruous, and the fact that both εἶδατα and the cutting of the meat by a δαιτρός occur in the first feasting scene of the Odyssey only serves to show that the poet was elaborating this scene a little more than some of the others.

My conclusions about the authenticity of the six occurrences in the Odyssey of this five-verse block (and of some of the verses which immediately follow this block) are as follows:

1.136-43: All verses are authentic. The omission of 1.139 by L4 is a mistake. Both ancient and modern objections to 1.139-41 on internal grounds are the result of a misunderstanding of εἶδατα.

4.52-8: Athenaeus' objection to 4.57 (and presumably 4.58) on internal grounds is ill-founded, but in his report he incidentally betrays that manuscripts at his (or his source's) disposal did not contain 4.57-8. Many medieval manuscripts, including L8, omit the verses, and there are no scholia attached to them. They are probably post-Aristarchean concordance interpolations (from 1.141-2); yet, it is with some tentativeness that I regard these verses as spurious, since an influential pre-Aristarchean edition may have omitted them on the same internal grounds that aroused Athenaeus' suspicion of 4.57-8 and Aristarchus' suspicion of 1.139-40.

7.172-6: All verses are authentic.

10.368-72: The entire passage is absent in the oldest manuscripts: Π8 (i-ii A.D.) and L4; in Allen's families e, f, i, j, k; in Pal., T, and Z; it is in the margins of Allen's families e and j; it is bracketed in P3, V4, and Br. Further, there are no scholia attached to any of these verses, and Eustathius does not mention them in his commentary. The entire scene is clearly a post-Aristarchean concordance interpolation.

15.135-41: All medieval manuscripts except Allen's families d, f, g, and h omit 15.139, and there are no scholia attached to the verse, strongly suggesting that it is a post-Aristarchean interpolation. Yet, I am reluctant to strike off the last verse of a five-verse block which has maintained its integrity in every other case, especially since 15.139 is a clause dependent both grammatically and contextually on 15.138. Moreover, the same falsely deduced argument against 1.139-41 could account for the suspicion attached to 15.139; namely, that since Boethoides (=Eteoneus) is carving fresh meat at 15.140, the "left-overs" (εἶδατα) at 15.139 do not make sense. 15.135-41 are structurally similar to 1.136-43: after the five-verse block, someone carves and distributes meat, and then someone else passes around the wine. I think the addendum to the five-verse block was a conventional element with which the poet could elaborate the scene. Thus, despite manuscript evidence to the contrary, I tentatively regard 15.139 as authentic.

17.91-5: All verses are authentic.

In sum, when we consider the transmission of the Homeric epics, we face a problem which everyone who works on Homer must confront; namely, that we can never be absolutely certain of the authenticity of our inherited texts; everything we say must be prefixed by an imaginary asterisk denoting that our conclusions are conditional. But these difficulties should not cause us to give up on saying anything meaningful about Homer, nor should they necessarily compel us to take cover behind the protective shield of literary theories which claim to consider only the text "as we have it." My goal in the following analysis of conventional elements in hospitality scenes is to base my conclusions on as early and as reliable a text as the resources available permit; beyond this I can do nothing better than to be admittedly tentative about conclusions based on problematic verses, while studiously shunning all the forms of dogmatism for which Homeric scholarship has become so notorious.

As a practical matter, in my analysis which follows I have continued to cite, and even to quote, verses of dubious authenticity. But I have identified all such verses as possible interpolations by placing them within brackets, and I have avoided using these verses in support of my arguments.

II. Ithaca (Od. 1.103-324).

καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι,
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας,
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

Even the gods, likening themselves to guests from abroad,
taking on all forms, frequent the cities,
observing both the violence and the orderliness of men.
(Od. 17.485-7).

I. Introduction.

The first scene of hospitality in the Odyssey is Athena's visit to the palace in Ithaca, disguised as Mentès, a guest-friend of Odysseus. Though the simple purpose of her visit, as expressed in the council of the gods (1.80-95), is to encourage the disheartened Telemachus and to set into motion his journey to Sparta and Pylos, this scene is complicated and enriched, and its tension heightened, by its drawing upon the common folktale motif in which a god in disguise visits the house of mortals in order to test their hospitality. This type of theoxeny appears in folktales universally,¹ it is well attested in Greek and Roman myth generally,² and it is an often reiterated motif in the Odyssey itself:

¹ S. Thompson, Motif Index, K1811, Q1.1, Q45.

² The motif occurs in its most standard form in Jupiter's and Mercury's visit to Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, Met. 8.611-724), Jupiter's visit to Lycaon (Ovid, Met. 1.211-41), Zeus' and Apollo's visit to Macello (Nonnus, Dionysiaca 18.35; scholia to Ovid, Ibis 475; Servius on Aeneid 6.618), and Jupiter's, Neptune's, and Mercury's visit to Hyrieus (Ovid, Fasti 5.495-536). On the possibility of Greek antecedents to the tale of Baucis and

the Phaeacians suspect Odysseus of being a god in disguise (7.199-206); Telemachus, in awe at his father's sudden change in appearance, fears that he is a god (16.178-9); the suitors raise the possibility that the newly arrived beggar may be a god in disguise, come to observe the conduct of men (17.485-7). The accommodation of the scene of Athena-Mentes' visit to Ithaca--in its simplest form merely a messenger scene--into the framework of a theoxeny increases the audience's anticipation regarding the reception she will receive, and it serves to accentuate the contrast between Telemachus' proper, indeed generous, hospitality, and the suitors' blatant disregard for the stranger (a theme developed more fully later in the epic). Telemachus passes the divine test; the suitors do not.³ This contrast is articulated at every level of the Homeric diction, from the short formulaic phrases to the more extensive elements of the conventional type-scene. Thus the poet

Philemon, see L. Malten, "Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Sagenforschung," Hermes 74 (1939) 176-206; J. Fontenrose, "Philemon, Lot, and Lycaon," University of California Publications in Classical Philology 13 (1945) 93-119; A. S. Hollis, Ovid, Metamorphoses. Book VIII (Oxford, 1970, repr. 1985) 106-12; for Greek antecedents to the tale of Jupiter and Lycaon, see Apollodorus 3.8.1-2 and Eratosthenes, Catasterismi 8. For an exhaustive list of the various types of theoxenies in Greek and Roman myth, see A. P. Burnett, "Pentheus and Dionysus: Host and Guest," CP 65 (1970) 24-5, n. 8. For Odysseus' return home as a theoxeny, see Ch. 8.

³ The suitors' disregard of Athena-Mentes here anticipates their treatment of Odysseus upon his arrival. Both scenes are molded into the framework of a theoxeny. Cf. Ch. 8.

draws the contrast between Telemachus and the suitors on the level of form as well as content.

II. Commentary.

Athena-Mentes arrives in Ithaca and stands for a long time at the threshold of the courtyard (V) (1.103-4, cf. 119-20). A description of the residence, which commonly occurs in guest-arrival scene (IIIa), is entirely omitted here. A description of the palace in Ithaca is reserved for the return of Odysseus himself, who describes in touching detail the home from which he has been too long absent (17.263-8). Here the poet has chosen instead to focus attention upon the suitors, giving a full description of their activities (IIIc). Completely oblivious to the arrival of the stranger, they remain seated on the skins of oxen which they have slaughtered, playing games while they await the beginning of a feast (1.106-12).⁴ Here in his first portrayal of the suitors, the poet draws attention to the most improper aspect of their behavior: their consumption of Odysseus' and Telemachus' livelihood. The simple relative clause "which they themselves slaughtered" (οὓς

⁴ Athenaeus claims to have read in a work of Apion of Alexandria, who had in turn heard from Cteson of Ithaca, that the suitors were playing a game of lots in order to determine who would win Penelope's hand (Deipnosophists 1.16e-17b). This is an absurd conjecture, of course, but it draws a captivating picture of the boldness of the suitors--a boldness which the Odyssey itself portrays.

ἔκτανον αὐτοί 1.108) poignantly encapsulates their outrageous behavior.

Though deep in contemplation, Telemachus is the first to notice Athena-Mentes (**VIIa**), and he hastens to greet her (**VIIId**), indignant that a stranger should be suffered to stand so long at the door (1.113-20). It is a Homeric convention that the youngest son of the master of a house be the first to notice and greet a guest: Nestor's youngest son Pisistratus is the first to greet Telemachus in Pylos (4.36); the young Achilles is the first to notice and greet Nestor and Odysseus when they visit Phthia (**II**. 11.777); Telemachus is the first to notice Eumaeus upon his arrival at the palace (17.328). In this scene Telemachus' attention to the newly arrived Athena-Mentes is a striking contrast to the suitors' obliviousness: he is "by far the first" (πολὸν πρῶτος 1.113) to notice the stranger.

Telemachus' greeting is a very proper and conventional one. He takes the stranger by the right hand (**VIIIf**), relieves her of her spear (**VIIh**), and bids her welcome (**VIIg**), saying (1.123-4):

Χαῖρε, ξεῖνε, παρ' ἄμμι φιλήσεται;⁵ αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
δείπνου πασσάμενος μυθήσεται ὅττεό σε χρή.

"Greetings, stranger, you will be welcomed by us; but when

⁵ The significance of the verb is that the stranger, a ξεῖνος ("outsider"), will be treated as a φίλος ("insider"). This also appears to be the significance of the related phrases: ξεῖνε φίλ' (1.158; 19.350); φίλοι ξεῖνοι (1.313); ξείνων φιλίων (19.351; 24.268). Cf. Lydian *bilis*, "one's own", as a possible cognate of φίλος.

you have partaken of the meal, you will tell us what you need."

This greeting exemplifies an important precept of proper etiquette: a meal must precede any mention of business (*χρή* 1.124), and even any inquiry into the stranger's identity.⁶

But Telemachus' hospitality is not merely conventional and adequate. He lavishes special attention upon his guest, placing her spear against a pillar, in a stand among Odysseus' own spears (1.127-9). This gesture of relieving a guest of a spear, though not a regular element in the surviving corpus of Homer, nonetheless appears to be a conventional motif. It serves the practical function of disarming a potentially dangerous stranger, and it also demonstrates the host's role as master of that particular domain. In response to Theoclymenus' supplication, Telemachus invites him on board his ship and shrewdly relieves him of his spear (15.282-3). In a scene devoid of any potential danger, Eumaeus welcomes Telemachus at his hut and, asserting his mastery in that place, relieves him of his spear (16.40). But upon Telemachus' arrival at his own home, in the absence of a proper master of the house, he

⁶ Cf. the observation of this point of etiquette by Nestor (3.69-70), Menelaus (4.60-2), Arete (7.230-9), Eumaeus (14.45-7), Telemachus (16.54-9), Achilles (*Il.* 9.221ff.), Charis and Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.385ff.), and Metaneira (*H. Dem.* 206ff.); for breaches of this rule, cf. the Cyclops (9.251-5), Calypso (5.85-96: here Hermes disregards her questions until after they have eaten), Alcinous (7.199-206, 215-21: here, although having been served a feast, Odysseus expresses reluctance to start conversing until his belly is thoroughly satisfied).

puts away his spear himself (17.29). In this scene, then, Telemachus' gesture of taking Athena-Mentes' spear serves the practical function of disarming an unknown stranger, and it asserts his authority in the house. But the gesture is here elaborated to emphasize Telemachus' role as a proper, indeed an exceptional, host, special attention being given to the touching detail of Telemachus' placement of the spear into his father's own spear stand.

Telemachus' provision of a seat for his guest is also exceptionally generous (VIII). He seats her on a θρόνος, the most formal and honorable type of the various Homeric chairs. Upon it he spreads a beautifully crafted cover, providing a footstool (θρῆνυς) for her feet, while he himself sits down on the humbler κλισμός (1.125-32).⁷

The contrast between the behavior of Telemachus and that of the suitors is sharpened in the feasting scene which follows. Lest his guest become annoyed at the uproar of the suitors and lose her appetite, Telemachus seats Athena-Mentes "apart from the other suitors" (ἔκτοθεν ἄλλων μνηστήρων 1.132-3). This phrase conveys

⁷ Cf. *Il.* 24.468ff., where Achilles displays proper etiquette by offering his θρόνος to Priam (515, 522, 553), taking for himself the more lowly κλισμός (597); Priam's herald is made to sit on the δίφρος (578), the most humble of the three seats. See R. M. Frazer (1971) 295-301.

Telemachus' exceptional manners here have been noted since antiquity. The scholiasts (on 1.130) praise his speech, his manners, his taking of the guest's spear, and his offer to the stranger of his own seat.

both the spatial and moral distance which separates the two groups, for while Telemachus and Athena-Mentes diligently observe the rituals which define the reciprocal nature of the relationship of xenia, the suitors demonstrate by their behavior--and the poet demonstrates by his formal description of their behavior--that they enjoy this reciprocal relationship neither with Telemachus nor with the newly arrived stranger. The quiet conversation in the corner of the hall between Telemachus and his guest represents the only glimmer of civilization in the topsy-turvy realm of Ithaca.

Whereas Telemachus displays proper etiquette toward his guest by leading her into the house, relieving her of her spear, and seating her on an elaborately decorated θρόνος, the suitors display no such etiquette, but remain oblivious to the guest's arrival. Nor does Telemachus extend such a courtesy to them. They simply enter the palace and seat themselves of their own accord (1.144-5):

Ἔς δ' ἦλθον μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε.

The arrogant suitors came in. Then they
sat down in order on seats and on armchairs.

The preparation of the feast (IXa), while understood to be simultaneously enjoyed by all participants, is narrated as two consecutive events. By his formal presentation of the feast-

preparation in two separate narratives, the poet indicates that while Telemachus and Athena-Mentes are participating in the ritual of proper xenia, the suitors are merely consuming yet another meal at the expense of their unwilling host.⁸ For the preparation of Telemachus' and Athena-Mentes' feast is narrated first, and it is described at great length: a handmaid brings water for washing their hands and sets a table beside them, a housekeeper serves bread and other food, a carver serves platters of meat, and a herald pours their wine (1.136-43). More importantly, the poet uses here a conventional block of formulaic verses which almost always appear together as a unit in the *Odyssey* (1.136-40 = 4.52-6; 7.172-6; [10.368-72]; 15.135-[9]; 17.91-5):⁹

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεΐη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,

⁸ Consecutive narration of simultaneous events is a common enough technique in Homeric epic, but something more sophisticated seems to be occurring in this scene. William C. Scott (1971) 541-51, notes the differences between the two scenes with regard to their length and elaboration, and their variation in the use of repeated verses. He suggests that these are deliberate devices on the part of the oral poet to show the different treatment which Athena-Mentes and the suitors receive.

⁹ For the manuscript problems of 10.368-72 and 15.139, see Ch. 1. No theories about the nature of oral composition and performance should rely on these apparently late additions to the Homeric text.

εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

A handmaid brought water and poured it from an ewer,
a beautiful, golden one, into a silver basin,
to wash with; and set out beside them a polished table.
A respected housekeeper brought bread and set it beside them,
adding many dishes, gracious with her provisions.

The consecutively narrated description of the suitors' feast-preparation, on the other hand, is much less fully elaborated, and it does not draw upon the formulae of the conventional feast-preparation type-scene (1.146-[8]):

τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν,
σίτον δὲ δμῶαί παρενήγεον ἐν κανέοισι,
[κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστεψαντο ποτοῖο.]¹⁰

¹⁰ A strong case, based on external grounds, can be made against the authenticity of 1.148 (as well as 1.148a νόμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν). 1.148 is absent in the two oldest manuscripts to contain this passage (Π106 = Pack 1024 and L4), as well as three others (L6, R5, R6). Further, in other manuscripts this verse is found in different places (after 146, 147, 148a, and 149), suggesting that it was originally a verse found in the margin and was later inserted at different points in the text. The internal evidence is strong too: there is nothing in the passage to provoke a copyist's error; the verse is a likely candidate for concordance interpolation (1.148 = 3.339; 21.271; ll. 1.470; 9.175); elsewhere the verse is used only of libation scenes in a religious context, and so appears somewhat inappropriate here; a motivation for its interpolation may be surmised in a perceived need for a mention of drinks, given verse 1.150, though in fact the mixing of the suitors' wine has already occurred at 1.110; elsewhere 1.148 is always

Heralds poured water upon their hands,
and servant girls heaped up bread in baskets,
[and young boys filled up mixing bowls to the brim with wine.]

Verses 1.146 and [1.148] are not the normal introduction to a feasting scene, but to a libation scene (cf. 3.338-9; 21.270-1; *Il.* 9.174-5), and verse 1.147, which interrupts the progress of the libation sequence, is unattested elsewhere in Homer (although it is clearly conventional: a modification of this verse appears in the description of Eumaeus' meal-preparation 16.51).¹¹

An audience steeped in the conventions of Homeric oral poetry would not fail to perceive the connotation. The potpourri of verses which serves to describe the preparation of the suitors' feast would seem abrupt, perhaps a bit jarring, in the face of the elaborately wrought description of the serving of Telemachus and Athena-Mentes. An experienced audience had no doubt heard the

followed by 1.148a (3.339-40; 21.271-2), indicating that the two verses should be taken as a pair and stand or fall together--hence, the case against 1.148a, which is very strong, strengthens the case against 1.148. I regard both verses as interpolations.

¹¹ W. Arend (1933) 71-2, notes the similarity of these verses to a conventional libation scene.

The scholia to 15.138 contrast the action of the ταμίη and that of the δμωαί: "The δμωαί heap up bread because of the suitors' profligacy and greediness." But whether or not Homer intended this distinction is put in some doubt by his use of the same verb to describe the serving of Odysseus, Telemachus, and Eumaeus (παρενήνεεν 16.51).

conventional feast-preparation type-scene numerous times, and, immediately realizing the conventional nature of the serving of Telemachus and Athena-Mentes, would have anticipated the subsequent verses as soon as the first verse was uttered, comfortably assured that Telemachus was conducting himself properly as host. In each case in the Odyssey where this conventional block of verses is used, exceptional hospitality is being offered: Menelaus' extravagant hospitality (4.52-6; 15.135-9); Alcinous' belated, but generous, hospitality (7.172-6); Circe's propitiatory banquet ([10.368-72]); Penelope's welcome of Telemachus at his homecoming (17.91-5). The recollection of scenes like these would have colored the audience's perception of this scene, reassuring them that Telemachus was conducting himself properly.

Verse 1.149, which describes the actual consumption of the feast (**IXb**), raises a pertinent question (1.149):

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνειάθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.

They stretched forth their hands to the food which was spread out ready.

Does this verse refer just to the suitors or to both groups? The ambiguity here appears deliberate, for it complements the effect created by the consecutive narration of the two feast-preparations. In effect, the poet has portrayed, on the level of form as well as on

the level of content, a situation in which Telemachus, Athena-Mentes, and the suitors partake physically of the same food, but without allowing them to partake in the intimacy of a shared feast.

After the feast the suitors turn their attention to another conventional element of hospitality: "song and dance, the delights of the banquet" (XIII) (1.152). Just as Demodocus provides entertainment among the Phaeacians, so does Phemius among the Ithacans: the conventional diction used here to describe the herald bringing the lyre to the bard, and the bard striking up a song, is very close to the diction in the scene with Demodocus (cf. 1.153-5 and 8.261-2, 266). But the situation in Ithaca is anything but usual; this element of the banquet is perverted by the suitors, who force the bard Phemius to play and sing "under compulsion" (ἀνάγκη, 1.154). The abnormality of this situation is further accentuated by the fact that the guest, Athena-Mentes, takes no part in the song and dance, but continues to sit apart with Telemachus. Phemius, unlike Demodocus, does not perform for the guest but for the suitors. It is perhaps with some irony that the poet has portrayed a scene in which the disguised Athena is relating to Telemachus the imminent "return" (νόστος) of Odysseus (1.195-205), while in the background Phemius is entertaining the enraptured suitors with songs about the bitter "return" which Athena had inflicted upon the other Achaeans (1.325-7).

In accordance with proper etiquette, Telemachus requests his guest's identity only after the completion of the feast (XIa). His formal request is expressed in conventional diction (1.170-3: 170 =

10.325; 14.187; 15.264; 19.105; 24.298; cf. 7.238; H.Dem. 113;
1.171-3 = 14.188-90; cf. 16.57-9, in each of these three instances
being used of the questioning of strangers exclusively on the island
of Ithaca):¹²

τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;
ὀπποίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο· πῶς δέ σε ναῦται
ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο;

¹² Verses 1.171-3, Telemachus' questions to Athena-Mentes, and 1.185-6, her corresponding answers, were suspected in antiquity. Aristarchus probably placed an obelus and asterisk by 1.171-3, since the scholia note that he placed an asterisk by 14.188-90, which he evidently believed to be the source of this passage. According to the scholia to 1.171-3, he thought the passage more appropriate in the episode with Eumaeus and Odysseus, and the scholia to 14.188-90 tell why: ὅτι νῦν ὡς πρὸς ῥάκεσιν ἠμφιεσμένον ὀρθῶς λέγονται· ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνῶν ὁμοιωθεῖσαν Μέντη καὶ βασιλικὴν ἔχουσαν στολὴν οὐ πάνυ. (i.e. these are the types of questions one asks of a beggar, not of a prince; the scholia to 16.57-9 reassert this). Objection to the verses' appropriateness, as well as the common objection to repeated verses, may very well account for the omission of 1.171-3 in some pre-Aristarchean manuscripts, as the scholia to 1.171-3 report. 1.185-6 were understandably athetized by Aristophanes and Aristarchus, since they respond to 1.171-3. The scholia to 1.185-6 report that some editions did not contain these verses.

The evidence of the scholia, then, raises the possibility of pre-Aristarchean interpolation. Yet, the scholia suggest that these verses were omitted on internal grounds which strike one familiar with the nature of oral poetry as unreliable. Further, while 1.185 could have been interpolated from elsewhere in the Odyssey (24.308), 1.186 is unique.

I favor the authenticity of all these verses, though with sufficient tentativeness to avoid making them an important part of my argument.

οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν οἴομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι.

What men are you from? Where are your city and parents?
Upon what sort of ship did you come, and how did the sailors
bring you to Ithaca? Who did they claim to be?
For I do not think that you came here on foot.

But the addendum to his questions (1.175-7), in which he asks specifically whether Athena-Mentes is a xenos of his father Odysseus, is unique, and therefore worthy of closer attention. Telemachus is clearly concerned about his obligation to this stranger; if Athena-Mentes is a xenos of his father, he too shares the relationship, with all its benefits and obligations.¹³

Accordingly, in her answer (XIb) Athena-Mentes perspicaciously stresses her relationship of xenia with Odysseus: she claims to be a xenos of Odysseus through their fathers (1.187-8):

ξεῖνοι δ' ἀλλήλων πατρῴιοι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

¹³ One of the most striking aspects of the institution of xenia is its inheritability. A vivid illustration occurs in Iliad 6.119-236, where the opposing warriors, Glaucus and Diomedes, discover that their grandfathers, Bellerophon and Oeneus, had been xenoi and had exchanged gifts--gifts which Diomedes, for his part, still possesses. In a dramatic scene Glaucus and Diomedes decide not to fight but to renew their inherited relationship by exchanging gifts themselves, demonstrating that the institution of xenia transcends even political loyalties. Cf. Od. 4.104-12, 169-80; 15.195-8.

We claim to be hereditary guest-friends of each other from long ago.

She supports this claim by demonstrating her awareness of Laertes' and Odysseus' circumstances (1.189-205) and by remarking on Odysseus' and Telemachus' similarity in physical appearance (1.208-9). She makes a point of the frequent contact she and Odysseus had enjoyed (θαμὰ τοῖον ἐμισγόμεθ' ἀλλήλοισι 1.209), directing Telemachus' attention to a specific occasion on which Odysseus had been offered hospitality, including a gift, by her father (1.257-64).

But at the same time as Athena-Mentes is recapitulating her relationship of xenia with Odysseus, she is cultivating a similar relationship with Telemachus himself. By providing news of Odysseus' whereabouts (1.195-9), a prophecy of his imminent return (1.200-5), and advice regarding the resolution of the situation in Ithaca (1.269-302), she is already reciprocating for Telemachus' hospitality. News, messages, instructions and advice, prophecies, and stories are integral elements in the exchange of information between guest and host, and they often function, as here, as a form of reciprocity for the host's material hospitality (XII).

Athena-Mentes' zealous disclosure of her relationship with Odysseus gives rise to an ironic, and rather pathetic, scene: she apparently knows Odysseus better than does his own son.

Telemachus has never seen him, and he is even uncertain about his true parentage (1.215-16). Her request for his identity (1.206-7), then, is not merely a frivolous departure from convention, in which it is normally only the host who demands the identity of his guest; it is rather a poignant commentary on an unusual and pathetic situation: Telemachus is unsure of his own identity, and his guest, who can at least observe the physical similarities between father and son (1.207-9), is better qualified to make a judgement as to his identity than he is.

At this point in the narrative, Athena-Mentes' sudden announcement that she will return to her ship (1.303-4) threatens to bring this hospitality scene to an abrupt and unexpected end. In a fully narrated hospitality scene, a bed (XVII), a bath (XVIII), a presentation of guest-gifts (XX), and an offer of conveyance to the next destination (XXV) would still await the guest. But Athena-Mentes' unexpected announcement precludes the fulfillment of these rituals, and the conscientious Telemachus is justly concerned lest he be unable to fulfill all the obligations of a proper host. He protests that she should remain until he can offer a bath and a guest-gift: a "precious" and "very beautiful" one (τιμῆεν, μάλα καλόν 1.312), which will be a "treasure" (κειμήλιον 1.312).

The poet must extricate himself from a delicate situation here. On the one hand, Athena-Mentes' purpose in coming to Ithaca has been achieved, and there is nothing to be gained by extending the scene further; as a simple messenger scene, it is complete. Moreover, as a divinity, Athena-Mentes cannot continue to

participate in the exclusively human institution of xenia: acceptance of a bath would be awkward; acceptance of a guest-gift would result in an unacceptable obligation to her human host. The gods do not normally participate in the banquets of men, nor in the human ritual of gift-exchange; their relationship to man is a vertical rather than a horizontal one; they get their share of the banquet through sacrifice and their share of gifts through offerings, for which they reciprocate with blessings.¹⁴ On the other hand, a blatant refusal of Telemachus' gift would be a serious breach of proper etiquette. In the Homeric world, a refusal to accept a gift would signal a refusal to participate in any relationship which entailed reciprocal obligation. Such a refusal would put a halt to the flow of the economy; it would be comparable, on a social level, to a refusal to marry, or to give one's

¹⁴ This vertical relationship is clearly defined in the myth of Prometheus (Hesiod, Theog. 535-57). After the intervention of Prometheus, the gods no longer endured the feasts of men, taking their share of the banquet in the form of sacrifice (cf. Il. 4.48-9 = 24.69-70). The only incident in Homer of a mortal and an undisguised god feasting together is the meal shared by Odysseus and the nymph Calypso, and in this case an explicit contrast is drawn between the human food of Odysseus and the nectar and ambrosia of the goddess (Od. 5.196-9). The Ethiopians and Phaeacians, with whom the gods do share in the banquet undisguised, have super-human status (Il. 1.425; 23.205-7; Od. 1.22-6; 7.201-3). Cf. J. P. Vernant, "Sacrifice et alimentation humaine. A propos du Prométhée d'Hésiode," Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, III.VII.3, 1977) 910-12; S. Saïd, "Les crimes des prétendants, la maison d'Ulysse et les festins de l'Odyssée." Études de littérature ancienne (Paris, 1979) 17-18.

daughters in marriage.¹⁵ The poet delicately skirts these difficulties by having Athena-Mentes postpone the gift rather than refuse it. She tells Telemachus that she will fetch it on her homeward journey, and she advises him to make it a gift "worthy of a reciprocal exchange" (σοὶ δ' ἄξιον ἔσται ἀμοιβῆς 1.318).

¹⁵ See M. Finley (1955) 167-94; (1965, rev. 1978) 58-164; J. P. Gould (1973) 90-101.

III. Pylos (Od. 3.4-485; 15.193-214).

οὐ θὴν δὴ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσεύος φίλος υἱὸς
νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκριόφιν καταλέξεται, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ γε
ζῶω, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισι λίπωνται,
ξεῖνους ξεινίζειν, ὅς τις κ' ἐμὰ δῶμαθ' ἵκηται.

By no means will the dear son of this man Odysseus
spend the night on the deck of his ship, so long as I live,
and so long as children are left in my halls
to grant hospitality to guests who come to my house.
(Od. 3.352-5).

I. Introduction.

In sharp contrast to the anarchy in Ithaca, where the suitors entirely disregard the rituals of hospitality, Telemachus finds in Pylos a stable and well ordered society, whose ruler takes great pride in scrupulously observing every detail of these rituals. Nestor is exceptionally pious: sacrifices, libations, and prayers abound in this scene, and they are a essential ingredients of Nestor's expression of hospitality toward his guests, often substituting for the conventional elements of feast preparation and consumption in more secular hospitality scenes. Nestor's hospitality is also warm and intensely personal, although his provisions for his guests are somewhat simple; this is a contrast to the extravagant, but less personal, hospitality soon to be offered by Menelaus in Sparta. In many respects the hospitality that Telemachus receives in Pylos and thereafter in Sparta function as paradigms of proper hospitality with which all other scenes of hospitality in the Odyssey can be compared or contrasted; they are

the standard by which the perversions and inversions of hospitality in subsequent scenes, particularly in Odysseus' wanderings, can be recognized. As part of his overall design of the monumental Odyssey--a chronological hysteron proteron, in which the travels of Telemachus are narrated before the chronologically earlier wanderings of Odysseus--Homer has artistically, and informatively, placed these models of proper hospitality early in the epic.

This, at least, is the apparent situation; in fact, under closer scrutiny, the behavior of both Nestor and Menelaus proves to be less than exemplary because of the very zealousness of their hospitality. Both hosts become so possessive of their guest that they try to detain him, becoming potential obstacles to his return home. It would appear that Homer has marked their otherwise immaculate hospitality with this blemish in order to create a sympathetic harmony between Telemachus and his father: both son and father are abroad at the same time, experiencing adventures in exotic surroundings, both ultimately desiring a "return home" (νόστος), but confronting obstacles to it. While Odysseus confronts Lotus-Eaters and Sirens, who would detain him with food and song, and goddesses and witches, who detain him with their charms, Telemachus confronts a more innocent, but no less effective, obstacle: his hosts' excessive hospitality obstructs his expeditious return home. This aspect of their hospitality is not immediately apparent, but it becomes clear at the return of the narrative to Telemachus in Book 15, only after the theme of the detention of

guests has become familiar from the adventures of Odysseus. This is a deliberate design, I believe, of a poet who had a good handle on the material of the entire epic.

II. Commentary.

It is remarkable that both the description of Telemachus' and Athena-Mentor's arrival at Pylos and the description of the activities of the Pylians--both conventional elements of a typical scene of hospitality (II, IIIc)--are narrated not once but twice. First they "arrive" (ἰξον 3.5) on their ship at the shores of Pylos, where the Pylians are performing a sacrifice (3.5-9); then they "arrive" (ἰξον 3.31) on foot at a gathering of Pylians, where Nestor is sitting with his sons and companions, preparing a feast (3.32-3). On the level of content, these two "arrivals" are to be understood as one and the same; on the level of form, this double narration serves to draw attention first to the general populace of Pylians, and then to focus attention upon Nestor and his family, who, being the objects of Telemachus' quest, are of primary importance.

The description of the reception of the strangers is analogous. When the gathered Pylians catch sight of the strangers (VIIa), first the entire company approaches en masse (VII d) (ἄθροοι ἦλθον ἅπαντες 3.34), greets them with their hands (VII g) (3.35), and bids them to sit (VIII) (3.35);¹ then Pisistratus, Nestor's youngest son,²

¹ This communal reception is a stark contrast to the reception in Ithaca, where Telemachus alone greets Athena-Mentes, the suitors

approaches "first" (VIIId) (πρῶτος 3.36), takes them by the hand (VIIIf) (3.37), and seats them in the place of honor beside his brother and father (VIIf) (3.36-9). The two descriptions refer to the same reception, of course, but the narratives are formally distinct, the double narration serving further to focus attention on Pisistratus, who will prove to be Telemachus' most intimate companion. By means of this device of double narration, of both the strangers' arrival and reception, the poet has created an aesthetic visual effect, slowly focusing attention, as though through a zoom lens, first on the general populace of Pylians, then on a smaller group comprised of Nestor and his family, and finally on Pisistratus himself. This device of narrative focusing signifies, on the level of form, the incorporation of these strangers into the social group; in the final picture they are intimately surrounded by their accommodating hosts, seated in the place of honor next to the ruler of the land.

The incorporation of these strangers into the social group is powerfully expressed by Pisistratus' invitation to participate in the performance of religious rituals: sacrifice, libation, and prayer (XV) (3.40-64). Such an incorporation of "outsiders" (ξέῖνοι) into the "household" (οἶκος) is the raison d'être of the institution of

remaining oblivious to the stranger's arrival; here in Pylos the entire community shares in the hospitality.

² For the convention of the youngest son of the master of the house being the first to notice and greet a guest, compare Telemachus (1.113; 17.328) and the young Achilles (II. 11.777).

xenia, and here it is achieved through shared participation in the Pylians' favorite pastime.

The prevalence of religious rituals in this scene is even more striking when one observes that scenes of sacrifice and libation are functional replacements for the more usual scenes of feast preparation and consumption. In a normal hospitality scene, after the reception (VII) and seating (VIII) of a guest, a description of feast preparation ensues (IXa). But here in Pylos a long description of sacrifice, libation, and prayer intervenes (3.40-64), overshadowing the subsequent description of feasting (3.65-7): the guests are given "portions of entrails" (σπλάγχων μοίρας 3.40) to taste instead of bread and meat, and the wine which is offered is designated for libations rather than for drinking. The description of the feast which follows is very short, its preparation, consumption, and conclusion comprising only three verses (IXa-b-c) (3.65-7):

οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὤπτησαν κρέ' ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐρύσαντο,
μοίρας δασσάμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαίτα.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,
.....

When they had roasted the outer flesh and unskewered it,
dividing up the portions, they partook of the glorious feast.
But when they had cast aside their desire for food and drink,
.....

Moreover, verses 3.65-6 are not the ones normally used to describe the preparation and consumption of feasts. All their attestations in Homer occur in the context of sacrifice (3.65 = 3.470; 20.279; 3.66 = 20.280). Verse 3.67, the normal conclusion for a feast of any kind (22x Homer), is the only formal element found elsewhere in Homer attached to secular feasting scenes.

A comparable situation occurs upon the arrival of the Pylians and their guest to Nestor's palace. They all enter the palace and take their seats (3.389):

ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε,

....

They sat down in order on seats and armchairs,

....

In every other occurrence of this formula in Homer, a scene of feasting ensues (1.145; 10.233; 15.134; 24.385), but not here; instead Nestor administers a libation and prayer to Athena (3.390-4).

The final feasting scene in Pylos on the following day follows a similar pattern: the description of the preparation and performance of the sacrifice is greatly elaborated (3.418-63) at the expense of the feast itself, which is very simply described (3.470-3).

In sum, religious rituals are the most conspicuous of the typical elements in this scene. Nowhere else in the Odyssey are so many sacrifices, libations, and prayers described, and in such elaborate detail (3.5-9, 40-64, 332-42, 380-4, 390-5, 418-63). Moreover, on a formal level, they have in some instances actually replaced the typical descriptions of the feast. What feasting does occur in Pylos is always done in conjunction with sacrifice, what drinking with libation. This is a stark contrast to Sparta, where no sacrifices are performed,³ and to Ithaca, where the suitors' feasting and drinking conspicuously lack a religious dimension.⁴

It is only after the sacrifice, libations, and prayers have been completed, and after all have had their fill of the subsequent feast, that Nestor, proper host that he is, inquires into his guests' identity (XIa) (3.69-74):

Νῦν δὴ κάλλιον ἔστι μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι
 ξείνους, οἳ τινές εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς.
 ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὕγρα κέλευθα;
 ἤ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε
 οἶά τε ληϊστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται

³ E. Bethe, Homer II (Leipzig, 1922) 31, makes a poignant contrast: "Nestor der Patriarch, Menelaos der Weltmann."

⁴ In the suitors' orgy of feasting and drinking, sacrifice and libation are absent. See P. Vidal-Naquet, "Valeurs religieuses et mythiques de la terre et du sacrifice dans l'Odyssée," Annales E.S.C. 25 (1970) 1291; S. Saïd (1979) 32-41.

ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες;⁵

Now it is better to inquire and ask
guests who they are, when they have taken delight in food.
O strangers, who are you? From where do you sail the
watery ways?

Are you on some business or do you wander aimlessly,
like pirates, who wander over the sea,
risking their lives, bringing evil to foreigners?

Nestor's questions may strike a modern reader as a blatant discourtesy, but this formula is apparently a fairly routine inquiry into the business of guests (3.71-4 = 9.252-5; H.Ap. 452-5). But the formula also suggests that the rituals of hospitality were so hallowed that a proper host like Nestor would be obliged to offer

⁵ Verses 3.72-4 and the parallel verses at 9.253-5 (= H.Ap. 453-5) fell under suspicion in antiquity. According to the scholia on 3.71-4, Aristophanes thought the questions inappropriate in the mouth of the Cyclops (9.253-5) because the Cyclops "would not be such a chatterbox"; hence, he thought 9.253-5 interpolated from 3.72-4. Aristarchus took the opposite view: that the questions were less appropriate in the mouth of Nestor because "Telemachus would not appear to be a pirate". Both scholars' judgements are based on internal, and therefore highly subjective, grounds; there is no external manuscript evidence against either passage. A further argument for the authenticity of 3.72, at least, is Telemachus' direct response to the question at 3.82, a verse whose authenticity was not questioned by the Alexandrians.

hospitality to his guests regardless of who they were, even to pirates.⁶

But Telemachus is not a pirate. He is the son of Odysseus, a faithful companion and guest-friend of Nestor (3.126-9; cf. 352-5). Like Athena-Mentes in Ithaca (1.178-212), Telemachus perspicaciously refers to this relationship, identifying himself as the son of Odysseus and mentioning Odysseus' friendship with and past favors to Nestor (3.83-5, 98-101). Since xenia is an inheritable relationship, Nestor and Telemachus are now xenoi, and Nestor begins to regard his guest no longer as an "outsider", a potentially hostile stranger, but as an "insider": henceforth Nestor addresses him as φίλος (3.103, 184, 199, 211, 313, 352, 375).

Nestor's attitude toward his guests is well expressed by his outburst when Telemachus and Athena-Mentor make as if to depart for their ship for the night (3.346-55):

Ζεὺς τό γ' ἀλεξήσειε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
ὡς ὑμεῖς παρ' ἐμεῖο θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κίοιτε
ὡς τέ τευ ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ,

⁶ The critical difference between Nestor's and Polyphemus' interrogation of their guests is not the content of their questions, which are identical (3.71-4 = 9.252-5), but the position of the interrogation in the sequence of events: Nestor, as is proper, questions his guests only after the completion of the feast (cf. 1.123-4; 4.60-2; 7.230-9; 14.45-7; 16.54-9; II. 9.221ff.; 18.385ff.; H.Dem. 206ff.); Polyphemus rudely interrogates his guests immediately upon arrival (cf. 5.85-96; 7.199-206, 215-21). See Ch. 6.

ὦ οὐ τι χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα πόλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
οὔτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐνεύδειν.
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ πάρα μὲν χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλά.
οὐ θην δὴ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσεύος φίλος υἱὸς
νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκριόφιν καταλέξεται, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ γε
ζῶω, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισι λήπωνται,
ξείνους ξεινίζειν, ὅς τις κ' ἐμὰ δῶμαθ' ἵκηται.

May Zeus and the other immortal gods prevent this:
that you go away from me to your ship,
as though from someone altogether without clothing or poor,
in whose house there are neither mantles nor many blankets,
neither for himself nor for his guests to sleep softly in.
But I do have mantles and lovely blankets.
By no means will the dear son of this man Odysseus
spend the night on the deck of his ship, so long as I live,
and so long as children are left in my halls
to grant hospitality to guests who come to my house.

A number of traits, both of Nestor's behavior and of the rituals of hospitality in general, are revealed in this speech. For the first time in the Odyssey, Zeus' special interest in hospitality is expressed, for it is Zeus in particular whom Nestor invokes (3.346). It is the most powerful god who oversees this most vital institution of human civilization; Zeus Xeinios is protector of

suppliants and strangers (9.270-1; cf. 6.206-8; 9.477-9; 14.56-9, 283-4, 388-9):

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε,
ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὄπηδῆι.

It is Zeus Xenios, the protector of suppliants and guests,
who attends to honored guests.

Nestor also emphasizes in his speech an aspect of xenia which was previously touched upon by Athena-Mentes during her visit to Ithaca: the inheritability of the relationship of xenia. Nestor declares that, not only as long as he lives, but as long as his sons inhabit his house, xenoi will be offered xenia (3.352-5). His declaration proves to be prophetic, since Telemachus and Pisistratus later claim a relationship of xenia with each other based on their own shared experiences as well as on their fathers' relationship (15.196-8).

Somewhat unexpected is Nestor's emphasis in this speech on his financial resources. Perhaps he assumes that his moral rectitude has already been established by his proper reception of his guests and by his pious observance of religious rites, and he can conceive of no reason for his guests' desire to leave other than that they think him poor. To counter this he vehemently claims that he possesses sufficient clothing and bedding to make them

comfortable.⁷ But in fact the general impression of Nestor and Pylos is not of a rich king in a luxurious dwelling, as is the case of Menelaus in Sparta. Although Nestor has demonstrated, and will continue to demonstrate, a scrupulous adherence to the rituals of hospitality, his provisions for his guests are not extravagant, particularly in contrast to Menelaus' lavish hospitality. Yet his reception continues to be characterized by a warmth and personal affection which is largely lacking in Sparta.

Scrupulous adherence to the rituals of hospitality by Nestor, and by the Pylians generally, has resulted in what may be usefully regarded as a paradigm of proper hospitality. The Pylians' initial reception of their guests is exemplary: they catch sight of them immediately (VIIa), rush to them (VII d), take them by the hand (VII f), greet them (VII g), and offer them seats in the place of honor next to Nestor himself (VIII) (3.34-9). They incorporate these guests into their community through shared participation in sacrifice, libation, prayer, and feast (IX, XV) (3.40-66). As is proper, Nestor does not inquire into his guests' identity until after they have satisfied their appetites (XI a) (3.67-74). In the exchange of information which follows the feast (XII), Nestor offers both good entertainment and sound advice, relating stories about the "returns" (νόστοι) of various Iliadic heroes (XIII) (3.102-

⁷ The historical custom of providing mantles for guests is attested in the Linear B tablets. Knossos Ld 573 runs: e-ru-ta-ra-pi pa-we-a | ke-se-nu-wi-ja re-u-ko-nu-ka, ideogram for mantle, 35 (ἐρυθρᾶφι φάρεα ξείνια λευκ[όνυχα?], "thirty-five mantles for guests with white [borders?] and with red [somethings]").

98, 253-312), and exhorting Telemachus to be brave like Orestes (3.199-200), and to hasten to Sparta in search of additional news (3.313-23). When the Pylians and their guest return to the palace, Nestor provides for Telemachus the usual sleeping accommodations for a guest: a bed in the portico (XVII) (ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ 3.399; cf. 4.297; 7.345; ὀ. 24.644). On the next day, Telemachus is given a bath, anointed with oil, and provided a fresh change of clothing (XVIII), and then he is seated at the place of honor beside Nestor (VIII), where he partakes of another feast (IX) (3.464-72). Finally, Nestor provides his guest "conveyance" (πομπή) to his next destination: horses, chariot, and supplies for the journey (XXV) (3.475-85). The only conventional element of hospitality conspicuously absent from this scene is a presentation of guest-gifts upon departure (XX); presumably Nestor expects to meet this obligation upon Telemachus' return.

But as scrupulous as is Nestor's attention to the details of xenia, his provisions for his guests are relatively simple, particularly in comparison with the luxurious accommodations to be provided by Menelaus in Sparta. In Sparta heralds, servants, and handmaids attend to the guests; in Pylos these duties fall upon members of Nestor's own family. In Sparta the description of the palace upon the guests' arrival is greatly elaborated (4.43-6); in Pylos a description of the palace is almost entirely lacking (3.388). In Sparta the preparation and consumption of two lavish feasts are described at length (4.52-68; 15.135-44); in Pylos the description of the serving of food is secondary to the description of sacrifice

(3.65-7, 470-3). In Sparta the description of a luxurious bed for Telemachus is greatly elaborated (4.296-301); in Pylos a very simple bed is described (3.399). In Sparta Telemachus receives precious guest-gifts of gold and silver (4.613-19; 15.102-29); in Pylos, as events turn out, he receives nothing.⁸

Yet, what Nestor lacks in wealth and luxury he makes up for in warmth and personal affection. In Sparta the guests are received rather coldly by a herald (4.22ff.); in Pylos they are warmly greeted by Nestor's own relatives and sons (3.31ff.). In Sparta the housemaids bathe the guests (4.48-50); in Pylos Nestor's own youngest daughter Polycaste performs this duty (3.464-8).⁹ In Sparta servants perform most of the tasks of the feast (4.52-8; 15.92-8, 135-41); in Pylos Nestor and his sons prepare food and serve wine (3.32-3, 390-4). There is in Sparta no one to correspond to Nestor's youngest son Pisistratus, who becomes

⁸ Some of the simplicity in this scene is due to the Pylians' circumstances: they are sacrificing on a beach rather than feasting in a palace. Hence, a simple seat on fleeces in the sand replaces the more elaborate thrones of palaces (3.38). This may also account for the omission of the usual description of the palace, the later arrival at Nestor's palace being secondary in this scene.

⁹ It is usually the slave women who administer the bath (4.49; 6.209; 8.454; 10.348; 17.88; 19.317; 23.154; cf. 24.366), occasionally the mistress of the house (4.252; 5.264; 10.449). It is very special treatment to have an unmarried daughter of the king bathe a stranger; the only remotely comparable scene in Homer is when Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera, bathes her brother Ares on Olympus (II. 5.905).

Telemachus' closest companion and personal guide (3.36ff., 400-1, 415-16, 481-5).

Yet, for all its paradigmatic qualities, Nestor's hospitality is marked by a blemish: his wish to detain his guest in Pylos, ultimately even against his will. This theme of detention (**XIX**) is first observed, though in a completely positive light, in Athena-Mentor's advice to Nestor that he should put an end to the day's activities and allow his guests to go to bed (3.331-6). At the same time that this is a compliment to Nestor's abilities as a storyteller--his stories of various νόστοι have occupied an entire day--it is also a characterization of him as an overly garrulous and confining person.¹⁰

The theme of detention is next observed, again in a positive light, in Nestor's response to his guests' imminent departure. When Athena-Mentor and Telemachus make as if to go back to their ship for the night, Nestor "detains" (κατέρυκε 3.345) them in order to offer them more comfortable accommodations in his own home. This gesture can be understood simply as a sign of generous hospitality; yet, the verb κατέρυκε is pregnant with meaning in the Odyssey, being most immediately associated with Calypso's

¹⁰ Typically a tired guest interrupts the activities of the evening by asking to be allowed to sleep (**XVI**): so Athena-Mentes asks Nestor (3.333-4), Telemachus asks Menelaus (4.294-5), Odysseus asks the Phaeacians (11.330-1, 373-4), Odysseus asks Penelope (23.254-5), and Priam asks Achilles (II. 24.635-6). It is always the host rather than the guest who wishes to stay up (cf., in addition to the above, Eumaeus at 15.390-402, Penelope at 19.509-11). Only once in Homer does a host unasked urge a guest to go to bed (Arete at 7.334-43).

treatment of Odysseus, whom she "detains" against his will (κατερύκει 1.55; 23.334; cf. 1.197; 4.498, 552). The verb is also attested in a very revealing speech by Menelaus upon Telemachus' imminent departure from Sparta (15.68-74):

Τηλέμαχ', οὐ τί σ' ἐγώ γε πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἐρύξω
ἴμενον νόστοιο; νεμεσσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλω
ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλήσιν,
ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν· ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα.
ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι
ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.
χρῆ ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

Telemachus, I will not detain you here for long,
since you are desirous for your return home; I would be indignant
at another man
who, receiving guests, acted excessively hospitable
or excessively hostile; all things are better in due measure.
It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not want
to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.
One must grant hospitality to a guest who is present and grant
conveyance to a guest who wants to leave.

But this theme of detention is not fully developed until
Telemachus returns to Pylos on his journey home in Book 15. After
his too lengthy stay in Sparta, Telemachus is in a hurry to return

home and asks Pisistratus to assist him in avoiding a meeting with his father (15.199-201):

μή με παρ᾽ ἄγε νῆα, διοτρεφές, ἀλλὰ λίπ' αὐτοῦ,
μή μ' ὁ γέρων ἀέκοντα κατάσχη ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
ἰέμενος φιλέειν· ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὼ θάσσον ἰκέσθαι.

Do not lead me past the ship, Zeus-nourished, but leave me
there,
lest the old man detain me unwilling in his house
in his desire to grant hospitality. But I must go quickly.

Pisistratus complies with Telemachus' request, realizing the threat his father poses to his expeditious return (15.209-14):

σπουδῇ νῦν ἀνάβαινε κέλευέ τε πάντας ἐταίρους,
πρὶν ἐμὲ οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε γέροντι.
εἶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·
οἶος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος, οὗ σε μεθήσει,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καλέων δεῦρ' εἴσεται, οὐδέ ἔφημι
ἄψ ἰέναι κενεόν· μάλα γὰρ κεχολώσεται ἔμπης.

Embark now in haste and urge on all your companions
before I go home and report to the old man.
For well do I know this in my mind and heart,
how overweening his heart is; he will not let you go,

but he will come here himself to summon you, and I do not think he will go back empty-handed, for he will be extremely angry.

Nestor is finally revealed as an overbearing host. What was in Book 3 a somewhat humorous trait of a garrulous old man has in Book 15 developed into a serious obstacle to Telemachus' return. Telemachus is so fearful of detention that he even forgoes the expected guest-gifts in order to accomplish his νόστος surreptitiously. Nestor's own son calls his father 'overweening' (ὑπέρβιος 15.212), a word elsewhere applied in the Odyssey only to the suitors' activities (7x) and to Odysseus' men when they eat the cattle of Helios (12.379). Nestor's overly zealous, and consequently obstructive, hospitality is a fault, and, at least by the standards of Menelaus' didactic speech to Telemachus, it is deserving of "blame" (κακόν 15.72).

This late revelation of a blemish in Nestor's hospitality serves a function in the interplay of themes in the larger structure of the Odyssey. By placing this scene, as well as the scene of Telemachus' difficult departure from Sparta, after the narration of the wanderings of Odysseus, Homer has created a sympathetic harmony between father and son. By Book 15 the ubiquitous obstacles to Odysseus' return have become a familiar theme; now there arise similar obstacles to Telemachus' return. Nestor and Menelaus are as potentially effective obstacles to Telemachus' νόστος as Calypso and Circe are to Odysseus'. Telemachus plans to sneak away from Sparta (15.44-55), and in fact does so from Pylos.

Both father and son, who are abroad at the same time, the one in a world of monsters and witches, the other in a world of ancient Iliadic heroes, overcome obstacles to achieve their νόστοι, arriving in Ithaca at about the same time, to be reunited after twenty years in the lowly hut of the swineherd Eumaeus.

IV. Sparta (Od. 4.1-624; 15.1-184).

ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα.
ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι
ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσόμενον κατερύκει.

All things are better in due measure.
It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not
want to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.
(Od. 15.71-3)

I. Introduction.

Accompanied by Pisistratus, Telemachus next seeks the hospitality of Menelaus in Sparta. This hospitality scene, one of the longest and most elaborate in the Odyssey, and one which in many ways functions as a paradigm of proper hospitality, occupies most of Book 4 as well as the beginning of Book 15. Like the scene in Pylos, it is interrupted by the long ten-book narration of Odysseus' homecoming. This involved narrative structure was no doubt an innovation of Homer, and one which has elicited much admiration. But as ingenious and sophisticated as was Homer's innovation in enveloping the narrative of Odysseus' "Return" (Books 5-14) within the narrative of Telemachus' adventures (i.e. the "Telemachy"; Books 1-4, 15.1-184), the synchronization of these narratives created some inconcinnities, for the amount of time which elapses in the two narratives is different. According to the account of sunsets, dawns, and the passing of days, the narrative leaves Telemachus as a guest of Menelaus in Sparta on the 6th day of the action of the epic (4.624) and returns to him on the dawn of

the 36th day (15.1).¹ Is the audience to understand that Telemachus has spent a month in Sparta? Or is it to understand that time has been at a standstill for Telemachus during Odysseus' homecoming and that, when Homer turns his narrative back to Sparta in Book 15, it is the day after the events narrated in Book 4?

The scholarly debate on this problem of chronology has centered on the question of whether time is understood to stop in one place (e.g. Telemachus in Sparta) when the narrative shifts to another (e.g. Odysseus on his travels from Ogygia to Ithaca), or whether time is understood to continue at a relatively similar rate in both places. In view of the variety of ways in which Homer indicates

¹ See E. Delebecque, Télémaque et la structure de l'Odyssee (Aix-en-Provence, 1958) 31-41, chart opposite 12, and B. Hellwig, Raum und Zeit im homerischen Epos (Hildesheim, 1964) 42-4, who agree in their chronologies, except that Delebecque puts an end to the Odyssey at 23.296, and so calculates a total of 40 days instead of Hellwig's 41. W. B. Stanford, The Odyssey of Homer (London, 1947-8, 2nd ed. 1958-9) x-xii, 15.1ff.n., on the other hand, calculates that Athena reaches Sparta on the dawn of the 35th day in order to avoid the inconsistency of Telemachus spending two nights on his voyage home while Odysseus spends one night with Eumaeus. But this view creates more problems than it solves, since this would entail Athena arriving in Sparta (15.1) before she has departed from Ithaca (13.439-40)! This view would also unravel Homer's intricate weaving together of the "Return" and the "Telemachy", whereby he leaves Odysseus sleeping at night in Ithaca at the end of Book 14, and finds Telemachus sleeping at night in Sparta at the beginning of Book 15. Homer's clever synchronization of the two narratives would be destroyed by Stanford's calculation, since it assumes that for Telemachus it is one night earlier than for Odysseus.

the chronological relationship of different scenes, the apparent confidence with which scholars have taken one side or the other in this debate seems to me unjustified.² It has been realized for a long time that Homer often narrates simultaneous events as if they had occurred successively, that he does not retrace his steps when picking up a second thread of the narrative; hence, that while the events of scene A are being narrated, the audience is to understand that nothing is happening, that time is at a standstill, in scene B, and vice versa.³ This appears to be the case in Iliad 15.143-261,

² Favoring a long stay by Telemachus in Sparta are C. Rothe, Die Odyssee als Dichtung (Paderborn, 1914) 119; A. Shewan, "Telemachus in Sparta," CJ 22 (1926) 31-7; W. J. Woodhouse, The Composition of Homer's Odyssey (Oxford, 1930) 15-16, 163-4; F. Focke, Die Odyssee (Stuttgart, Berlin, 1943) 1-24; A. Heubeck, Der Odyssee-Dichter und die Ilias (Erlangen, 1954) 58-63; E. Delebecque (1958) 18-30; H. Eisenberger, Studien zur Odyssee (Wiesbaden, 1973) 84-7, 92; M. J. Apthorp, "The Obstacles to Telemachus' Return," CJ 74 (1980) 1-22.

Those who argue that the Homeric concept of time is such that Telemachus' stay in Sparta may be regarded as a short one include H. Fränkel, "Die Zeitauffassung in der frühgriechischen Literatur," (1931), reprinted in Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens (Munich, 1960) 1-22; U. Hölscher, "Untersuchungen zur Form der Odyssee," Hermes Einzelschriften 6 (Berlin, 1939) 1-3; D. L. Page, The Homeric Odyssey (Oxford, 1955) 64-7, 77-9; N. Austin, "Telemachos Polymechnanos," California Studies in Classical Antiquity 2 (1969) 48-52; H. Erbse, Beiträge zum Verständnis der Odyssee (Berlin, New York, 1972) 39-41; A. Hoekstra, in A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey Vol II (Oxford, 1989) 15.1-3n.

³ The seminal work is T. Zielinski, "Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos," Philologus Supplementband 8 (1899-1901) 407-49, who attributes this type of narration to a primitive conception of time which could not embrace two actions at once.

where the simultaneous dispatches of Iris to Poseidon and Apollo to Hector are narrated as if the events occurred successively, and in Odyssey 1.80-95; 5.28-42, where the simultaneous dispatches of Athena to Telemachus and Hermes to Odysseus are narrated successively, as if Athena's duties were accomplished (Books 1-4) before Hermes set out (Book 5). In each case time appears to be suspended for one party (Apollo, Hermes) while it continues for the other (Iris, Athena), and vice versa.

These two examples of narrating simultaneous events as if they occurred successively have often been marshalled as evidence against a long stay by Telemachus in Sparta, since, by using them as criteria, time should be understood to be suspended in Sparta while the events of Odysseus' homecoming are narrated.⁴ But it seems to me that the chronological relationship between the "Telemachy" and the "Return" is essentially different from these two examples. Homer does not indicate at 15.1 that the events to follow are to be understood as simultaneous with the events preceding (i.e. the "Return"), as he does in Iliad 15.220ff. by narrating a second dispatch, and in Odyssey 5.1ff. by narrating a second council of the gods and a second dispatch. On the contrary, Homer indicates that the events to follow are to be understood as occurring simultaneously with the events involving Odysseus at home in Ithaca, leaving a temporal vacuum of about a month during which Telemachus has been lingering in Sparta.

⁴ See, for example, D. L. Page (1955) 65-7.

Moreover, this method of narrating simultaneous events (in which time is understood to be suspended in one place while continuing in another) is not the only, nor even the most common, method found in the epics. Very often Homer does narrate simultaneous events as if they occupy the same time simply by using the common adverb "meanwhile" (τόφρα; e.g. Il. 4.220-1; 13.81-4; 15.343-5, 390-4; Od. 3.301-3, 464-5; 8.438-40; 23.288-90; 24.365-7).⁵ In these cases time appears to continue at a relatively equal rate in both scenes.

Very often, too, Homer narrates a change of scene paratactically, sometimes abruptly (even in mid-verse), without a connecting adverb (e.g. Il. 3.448-50; 16.1-2, 101-2; Od. 4.624-5; 6.1-3; 13.185-9; 17.166-9; 20.240-2). It is left to the audience to determine the chronological relationship of the two scenes. Usually this poses no difficulties, and though the chronological relationship is usually of little or no concern, it is generally understood that time goes forward in both scenes at a similar rate. This is manifestly clear on the many occasions when a switch is made from scene A to scene B and back to scene A again; time continues in scene A even when the narrative shifts to scene B (e.g. Il. 3.116-245; 6.116-237; 9.656-69; 11.611-44; 15.405-16.2; 17.700-18.2; 18.148-369; Od. 2.337-4.625; 15.296-497; 15.547-16.323).

⁵ See S. E. Bassett's salutary corrective of Zielinski in The Poetry of Homer (Berkeley, 1938) 34-9.

The joining of the two major narratives of the Odyssey in Book 15, the "Telemachy" and the "Return", appears to me to be of this last type. The narrative simply leaves Odysseus in Ithaca at the end of Book 14 and then describes Athena's arrival in Sparta at the beginning of Book 15. In the rather minor actions in the examples listed above, the question of how much time has elapsed in the transition is rarely a matter for concern. It simply does not matter. The only example which approaches the magnitude of the change in Book 15 is the change of narrative from Ithaca to Pylos-Sparta and back to Ithaca again (Od. 2.337-4.625). Using it as a criterion, it would seem to support the impression of a long stay by Telemachus in Sparta, for time has clearly elapsed in Ithaca while Telemachus is abroad.⁶

The narration of Odysseus' homecoming has taken an extraordinarily long time--the events of thirty days narrated in ten books--placing some stress upon Homer's usual methods and creating a potential for a certain amount of bewilderment on the part of the audience. Additional stress is created by Homer's desire to synchronize the chronologies of the narratives of Odysseus and Telemachus precisely at the point at which they join. He does this by leaving Odysseus asleep at night in Ithaca (14.523) and returning to Telemachus asleep at night in Sparta (15.5), as though it were the same night. This effectively prevents the audience from regarding the narrative of Book 15.1ff. as recording

⁶ See E. Delebecque (1958) 42-55; M. J. Apthorp (1980a) 3-4.

the events of the day after the events narrated in Book 4. The audience is left with the impression that Telemachus' stay in Sparta has been a lengthy one.

What do these questions of chronology have to do with the theme of hospitality? It seems to me that Homer has anticipated the potential for bewilderment on the part of his audience about the chronological relationship of the "Telemachy" and the "Return", and has prepared the way since the beginning of Book 4 by making a long stay by Telemachus in Sparta plausible. Homer has made a point of describing the attractiveness of Sparta: the splendor of the palace (4.43-7, 71-5); the escape from the harsh realities of Ithaca (4.164-7, 317-21) provided by Helen's drug (4.220-6) and Menelaus' stories (4.595-8). When the narrative leaves Telemachus in Sparta and switches back to the suitors in Ithaca (4.625), Telemachus' intentions are left unclear; although he ostensibly refuses Menelaus' invitation to remain in Sparta for awhile (4.587-8, 594, 598-9), he expresses a desire to stay "even for a year" (*εἰς ἔνιαυτόν* 4.595), listening to Menelaus' stories (4.595-8). When the narrative returns to Telemachus in Sparta ten books, and thirty days, later, the audience is not overly surprised to find him lingering there.

Homer most effectively makes a long stay in Sparta plausible by the development of the theme of guest-detention. This theme is seen in embryonic form early in Book 4, and is clearly developed later in Book 15. Just as Telemachus is attracted to Sparta, so is Menelaus, who has just lost his only legitimate child to marriage,

overjoyed at the prospect of granting hospitality to the son of a former comrade (4.60-4, 169-70). The potential for the detention of his guest is first indicated in Menelaus' expression of his wish that he had settled Odysseus and Telemachus near him in Argos, where they would have delighted in each other's company until they died (4.171-80). Menelaus' expression of jealousy of Nestor, with his abundance of sons (4.209-11), is a further indication of his attraction to Telemachus: Menelaus is now childless, and Telemachus is thought fatherless. The attraction of Helen's drug and Menelaus' stories, and therefore their potential as obstacles to Telemachus' return home, are parallel to the attractions/obstacles to Odysseus of the drugs of the Lotus Eaters and Circe, and the songs of the Sirens. The similarities between the experiences of father and son, and the echoes in the formulaic language which describes these experiences, suggest that Telemachus' return, like his father's, will be fraught with obstacles. At the end of Book 4, just before the narrative leaves Telemachus in Sparta, Menelaus invites Telemachus to stay for "eleven or twelve days" (4.588), and offers him guest-gifts designed to prevent rather than facilitate his return home (4.589-92, 600-8). When the narrative returns to Telemachus in Book 15, this theme of guest-detention becomes even more pronounced. Menelaus seems entirely unable to appreciate Telemachus' anxiety to leave, ignoring his repeated pleas for a speedy return (15.65-6, 88-91), and instead performing in minute detail all the rituals involved in a formal leave-taking: gift-giving, feasting, libation, and farewell speeches. He even

tries to persuade Telemachus, one last time, to stay and take a trip through Hellas and Argos with him (15.80-5). It is no wonder that upon hearing Athena's message Telemachus had intended to sneak away from Sparta without a formal farewell (15.44-55), an intention which is realized in the case of his departure from Nestor in Pylos (15.195-214).

From a simple and practical point of view, this theme of guest-detention is Homer's answer to the chronological problems imposed by the joining of the two major narratives. But this is only a partial explanation for the development of the theme. A more important, and more artistic, motivation is its function as one of many parallels between the experiences of Telemachus in Sparta and the experiences of Odysseus during his return. These shared experiences create a sympathetic harmony between father and son, and help to join the two narratives thematically.⁷ Both father and son are wandering far from home, encountering strangers, to whom they cautiously reveal their identities. They meet various attractions and dangers, both of which create obstacles to their

⁷ On the common experiences of father and son, see E. Seitz, Die Stellung der 'Telemachie' im Aufbau der Odyssee (Marburg, dissertation, 1950) 131-7; G. P. Rose, "The Quest of Telemachus," TAPA 98 (1967) 391-8; K. Rüter, "Odysseeinterpretationen," Hypomnemata 19 (Göttingen, 1969) 141-2, 238-40; B. Fenik (1974) 5-60; N. Austin, Archery at the Dark of the Moon (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1975) 181-200; B. B. Powell, "Composition by Theme in the Odyssey," Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 81 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1977) 50-6. M. J. Apthorp (1980a) 12-22, treats more specifically the common obstacles to both of their returns.

expeditious homecomings. In the scenes of hospitality these attractions and dangers take on the form of a temptation of the guest to stay and, ultimately, of a forceful detention of the guest. Both father and son experience temptation and detention as they are entertained, predominately by powerful women hosts; both are tempted by the delights of food, drink, drugs, stories, and song to forget their homecoming and enjoy an easy life far from the troubles of Ithaca; both must be reminded of their homecoming; and both sagaciously extricate themselves from the lavish entertainment of their hosts, overcoming the temptation to remain secure in a blissful but unreal utopia. When their hosts become overbearing or forceful, this theme of temptation progresses into a theme of guest-detention. Both father and son, though unwilling, suffer detention at the hands of overbearing hosts. Homer has created a sympathetic harmony between father and son by means of these thematic analogues; moreover, he has made this sympathetic harmony very acute by cleverly arranging his narrative so that Odysseus is telling the stories of former obstacles to his return (Books 9-12), and is experiencing present obstacles to his return (in Scheria), at the same time as Telemachus is experiencing similar obstacles in Sparta. Telemachus is stranded in Sparta for ten books with good reason!

This theme of guest-detention, and its contribution to the development of a sympathetic harmony between father and son in the two major threads of the Odyssey, is certainly not the only, nor perhaps even the most important, theme in the scene of hospitality

in Sparta. I emphasize it only because it seems to me a relatively neglected one, and because it shines a curiously illuminating light on the controversial question of Homeric chronology. There are many other interesting themes and problems in this scene of hospitality which will be addressed in detail in the commentary which follows: the various manipulations of the conventional elements of scenes of hospitality; the paradigmatic quality of Menelaus' hospitality; the comparison of the hospitality in Sparta with that in Pylos, which immediately precedes, and that of Odysseus in Scheria, which immediately follows; the motif of the slow anagnorisis of the guest; and the function of this scene in the overall structure of the epic.

II. Commentary.

(4.1-19) Homer creates a very revealing first impression of Sparta which anticipates themes to be worked out later in the scene. It is an impression of immense wealth and splendor, yet at the same time one of melancholy and sterility--all is not well in the land of the Lacedaemonians. They are celebrating a double wedding of Menelaus' daughter Hermione and son Megapenthes, replete with neighbors and kin as guests, and a bard and tumblers as entertainment. But it is a sad occasion too, for Menelaus' only legitimate child is being sent far away to Neoptolemus' kingdom,

and Helen is unable to bear him any more children (4.12-14).⁸ For this reason the wedding is marked by a sense of sadness and loss as well as celebration, resembling in a curious way its polar opposite, a funeral.⁹ In spite of its splendor, Sparta appears at first glance a bitter-sweet place.

(4.20-36) Sparta lacks the warm affection of Nestor and his brood in Pylos. In Sparta it is not, as in Pylos, or even as in Ithaca, a family member who first sees the guests and rises to greet them (**VIIa, c, d**) (3.36ff., 1.113ff., cf. Achilles in *Il.* 11.777ff.); it is the official herald of the palace, Eteoneus. And, quite unexpectedly, rather than "going to" his guests (**VIIId**), "standing near them, and addressing them with winged words" (**VIIlg**), as Telemachus does in Ithaca (βῆ δ' ἰθὺς . . . ἐγγύθι δὲ σταῖς . . . ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα 1.119-22), Eteoneus' actions, while described in the same formulaic language, are curiously inverted: he "goes" (βῆ δ' ἴμεν 4.24), "stands near" (ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος 4.25), and "addresses with winged words" (ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα 4.25), but it is not the guests to whom these actions are directed, but his master Menelaus; he leaves Telemachus and Pisistratus standing in the doorway while he consults with his master as to whether they should be granted hospitality or sent elsewhere (**VIIb**). This is remarkably rude

⁸ Homer makes a point of the fact that Menelaus' bastard son Megapenthes ("Much Grief") was born of a slave.

⁹ This is perhaps related to the historical reality of Archaic Greece, where the marriage of a daughter was, from a parent's perspective, tantamount to her funeral, since it involved her loss--her removal to another's "household" (οἶκος).

behavior, especially in view of Telemachus' earlier expression of indignation that his own guest should be left standing for a long time in the doorway (1.119-20). It is a very strange behavior too, the motivation for which is difficult to decipher. Does the herald hesitate to greet the guests because of the special circumstances of the wedding celebration?¹⁰ Is his hesitation due to the notorious results of a previous experience with a guest in Sparta (i.e. Paris)?¹¹ Or is the herald's hesitation a poetic device, designed to create an opportunity to display Menelaus' indignation at his servant's lack of hospitality, Eteoneus' impropriety acting as a foil for Menelaus' magnanimous hospitality? This seems to be the effect intended here, for to Eteoneus' question as to whether they should accept the guests or send them elsewhere, Menelaus answers "very indignantly" (μέγ' ὀχθήσας 4.30), calling him a "fool" (νήπιος 4.31), who speaks like a "child" (παῖς 4.32), that just as they had received "much hospitality" (ξεινήια πολλά 4.33) during their travels, so should they offer it to these guests.

Menelaus' instructions to Eteoneus initiate one of the longest and most elaborate scenes of hospitality in the Odyssey, and one which is paradigmatic of proper hospitality in many respects. This scene contains all the conventional elements of the two previous scenes, but extends the ritual to its proper conclusion of gift-

¹⁰ So S. West, in A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth (1988) 4.20ff.n.

¹¹ So scholia to 4.26.

giving and formal leave-taking, adding some unique elements as well. Moreover, it elaborates these conventional elements far more than did the previous two scenes.

(4.37-43) Before Telemachus and Pisistratus are ushered into the palace, Eteoneus and a retinue of attendants look after the needs of the horses. This is one of only two incidents of "horse-hospitality" in Homer (**VIIe**) (cf. ll. 8.432-5).¹² It is analogous to scenes of human hospitality and corresponds closely to the hospitality offered subsequently to Telemachus and Pisistratus: the unyoking of the horses corresponds to the change of clothing offered to the human guests (4.39, 50), the leading of the horses to the manger to the seating of the human guests (4.40, 51), the description of the horses' meal of emmer and white barley to the description of the human feast (4.41, 52-66). Even the leaning of the chariots against the wall is somewhat analogous to the leaning of a human guest's spear against a pillar or wall (4.42; 1.127-9; cf. 17.29; ll. 13.260-1). Only on Olympus are horses provided for as generously (ll. 8.432-5).

(4.43-7) A description of the residence is a conventional element in arrival scenes (**IIIa**) (5.57-76; 7.81-102, 133-4; 9.218-23; 10.210-11; 14.5-22; 17.264-8; ll. 6.242-50, 313-17; 18.369-71; 24.448-56). Telemachus and Pisistratus marvel at how

¹² The simple stopping, unyoking, and feeding of horses is a typical scene (ll. 5.368-9, 775-7; 8.49-50, 440-1), but only ll. 13.34-8, the description of Poseidon's tending of his own horses, approaches the elaborated form of these two scenes.

Menelaus' palace "gleams like the sun or the moon" (4.45), and "take great delight in looking at it" (4.47). This conventional element continues, after a brief interruption for the bath and meal, at 4.71-5, where Telemachus remarks on the splendor of the bronze, gold, amber, silver, and ivory, comparing Menelaus' palace to the home of Zeus on Olympus. Elsewhere in the Odyssey only the splendor of Alcinous' palace in Scheria matches this description (7.81-135: 7.84 = 4.45; 7.85 ≈ 4.46; 7.134 ≈ 4.47).

(4.48-50) The bath, anointing, and provision of fresh clothing, which follow the arrival scene, are also conventional elements of hospitality (**XVIII**), but this is one of very few occasions in Homer on which the guests are offered a bath immediately upon arrival.¹³ Elsewhere the bath occurs later, sometimes even on the following day (1.310; 3.464-7; 8.454-6; 10.364-5, 449-51; 19.317). The availability of a bath upon arrival in this scene points to the exceptional quality of Menelaus' hospitality; his ability to maintain a heated bath continuously is also a reflection of his high standard of living.¹⁴

(4.51-68) After the bath the guests are led to the seat of honor beside the master of the house (**VIII**) (4.51; cf. 1.130-2;

¹³ Upon Odysseus' arrival in Scheria, Nausicaa's handmaids provide him with oil and bid him to bathe himself in the river (6.214-16); upon Telemachus' and Theoclymenus' arrival at the palace in Ithaca, they are bathed by the servants (17.87-90).

¹⁴ So S. West, in A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth (1988) 1.310n.

3.37-9, 469; 7.169-71).¹⁵ There ensues the familiar block of formulaic verses describing the preparation and serving of the meal (IXa) (4.52-6 = 1.136-40; 7.172-6; [10.368-72]; 15.135-[9]; 17.91-5):¹⁶

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόω ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

A handmaid brought water and poured it from an ewer,
a beautiful, golden one, into a silver basin,
to wash with; and set out beside them a polished table.

¹⁵ The wedding celebrations have been entirely forgotten; they are never again mentioned. This has disturbed some readers. Diodorus the Aristophanean regarded the wedding scene as spurious (Athenaeus, Deipnosophists 180e). Modern scholars have recognized the infelicity of such wholesale expurgation based solely on internal evidence, and, by regarding the inherited text here as genuine, have come to appreciate the artistic shift, brought about by the arrival of the two guests, from a wedding scene to a funeral scene (i.e. that of Odysseus), from an epithalamium to a dirge, from a ritual involving "insiders" (φίλοι) to one involving "outsiders" (ξεῖνοι); see A. L. T. Bergren, "Helen's 'Good Drug': Odyssey IV 1-305" in S. Kresic (ed.), Contemporary Literary Hermeneutics and Interpretation of Classical Texts (Ottawa, 1981) 203-5.

¹⁶ The addendum to this block of verses, 4.57-8, is probably a concordance interpolation. On the manuscript problems of this type-scene generally, see Ch. 1.

A respected housekeeper brought bread and set it beside them, adding many dishes, gracious with her provisions.

As is proper, Menelaus assures his guests that he will inquire into their identity only after they eat (**XIa**) (4.60-4; cf. 1.123-4; 3.69-70; 7.230-9; 14.45-7; 16.54-9; II. 9.221ff.; 18.385ff.; H.Dem. 206ff.), and he shows special graciousness by offering them the fatty chine of the cow, which was his own "portion" (γέρας 4.66; cf. 8.474-83; 14.437-41; II. 7.321-2; 9.206-8). The consumption and conclusion of the feast are described by the same formulaic verses which were used in the preceding two hospitality scenes (**IXb-c**) (4.67-8 = 1.149-50; 4.68 = 3.67):

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειάθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.
ἀντὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο

...

They put forth their hands to the food lying ready before them.
But when they had cast off desire of drink and food,

...

(4.69-167) But whereas in the two previous scenes the feast was followed by an inquiry into the guests' identity (**XIa**) (1.169-77; 3.69-74), in this scene the identification of the guest is considerably delayed, its details being slowly worked out while Telemachus expresses further amazement at the splendor of

Menelaus' palace (4.71-5), while Menelaus tells the tale of his own "return home" (νόστος) and of the fates of other Iliadic heroes (4.78-112), while Telemachus weeps for his father (4.113-6), and while Helen makes her grand entrance (4.120-37). Only then is the question of Telemachus' identity addressed, first by Helen's suspicions (4.138-46), then by Menelaus' (4.147-54), and finally by Pisistratus' confirmation of these suspicions (4.155-67); Telemachus plays the role of the silent stranger throughout the scene. The complexity and length of Telemachus' anagnorisis here (4.60-157) is remarkable in view of the relative simplicity of the two previous identification scenes (1.169ff.; 3.69ff.).¹⁷

The delayed anagnorisis here facilitates the continuation of the theme of Telemachus' physical resemblance to his father (cf. 1.206-12; 3.120-5). For, rather than Telemachus identifying himself, as is the norm in the simple type-scene of guest-identification (**XIb**), he is identified by Helen and Menelaus, who remark on his physical likeness to Odysseus. This is of great psychological importance to Telemachus, whose journey abroad is in many ways educative, particularly with regard to his own identity; he had earlier expressed doubt about being the son of

¹⁷ The ancients were impressed by the novelty of this scene: the scholia to 4.69 contrast the "common" (κοινός) pattern of identification, as in the episode at Pylos, with the "novel" (καινός) pattern here; Eustathius (1487, 15ff.) attributes the difference between the two scenes to "Homer's being fond of variety" (πολυσχήμων).

Odysseus, whom, after all, he has never seen (1.213-20).¹⁸ Helen and Menelaus can, and do, provide confirmation of his identity. Thus, as do many other themes in the Odyssey, this theme of self-recognition provides a link between the experiences of father and son, for Odysseus too is often recognized or referred to by his hosts even before he tells them his name: Demodocus sings of Odysseus' exploits to the unknown stranger (8.73-82, 499-520); Circe recognizes Odysseus because of his cleverness (10.330); Eumaeus, the swineherd, tells stories about Odysseus to his disguised guest (14.115-47); Penelope speaks about Odysseus to the disguised beggar (19.124-63), and she even remarks on the beggar's physical likeness to Odysseus (19.357-60), as does Eurycleia (19.361-81); Philoeteus, the goatherd, is also reminded of Odysseus when he sees the beggar (20.191-207). Thus Odysseus' hosts, like Telemachus' in this scene, provide confirmation of his identity, a confirmation for which Odysseus is yearning as intently

¹⁸ Of the various reasons for Telemachus' journey to Pylos and Sparta, its educative function and its contribution to the boy's maturation are the most frequently cited: J. A. Scott, "The Journey Made by Telemachus and Its Influence on the Action of the Odyssey," CJ 13 (1917) 420-8; W. J. Woodhouse (1930) 210-12; K. Reinhardt, Von Werken und Formen (Godesberg, 1948) 47; C. M. H. Millar and J. W. S. Carmichael, "The Growth of Telemachus," Greece & Rome 1 (1954) 58-64; E. Delebecque (1958) 137; G. S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer (Cambridge, 1962) 359; H. C. Clarke, "Telemachus and the Telemacheia," AJP 84 (1963) 129-45; F. Klingner, "Über die vier ersten Bücher der Odyssee," in Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur (Zürich, Stuttgart, 1964) 39-79; N. Austin (1975) 181-200.

as is his son, for his "return home" (νόστος) is a metaphor for his psychological return to self-recognition.¹⁹ Recognition by his hosts confirms to him that he is no longer "No-man" (Οὐτις 9.366), but is in fact Odysseus.

Another result of Telemachus' delayed anagnorisis is the delightful irony it produces, particularly in Menelaus' speeches. First, Menelaus compliments the lineage of his guests (4.62-4), not realizing how noble and well known (to him) their lineage actually is. Next, after telling briefly of his own return from Troy, and of his own troubles, he remarks that his guests "will have heard these things from your fathers" (4.94-5)--not true, at least in Telemachus' case; conversely, Menelaus himself will tell Telemachus shortly about the troubles of his father. Finally, in the most ironic speech of all, Menelaus declares his close relationship with, and his indebtedness to, Odysseus, as well as his extreme grief over Odysseus' fate, even mentioning in passing the grief of Laertes, Penelope, and Telemachus himself (4.104-12). Thus Menelaus unknowingly, and therefore without any possibility of guile, builds a bond of friendship, based on the inheritability of xenia, with Telemachus. By means of his delayed anagnorisis, Telemachus finds in Menelaus a trustworthy host, just as Odysseus, by means of his disguise, finds in Eumaeus a trusted servant (13.397ff.). Most ironic, of course, is Menelaus' mention of Telemachus himself (4.112), a situation with many parallels in the

¹⁹ See D. Frame, The Myth of Return in Early Greek Epic (New Haven, 1978).

experiences of his father (8.73ff., 492ff.; 14.37ff., 165ff.; 19.124ff., 357-60). In the pathetic culmination of this scene-- pathos is often the outcome of irony--Menelaus' mental image of Telemachus grieving at home incites Telemachus to begin weeping in reality.

In a scene with many parallels to this one, that of Odysseus in Scheria, Homer constructs a similar situation of delayed anagnorisis, leading to a similar profusion of irony.²⁰ The details leading up to the guests' identification in the two scenes are so similar that the former may be said to foreshadow the latter, or the latter to echo the former. In both scenes the usual spontaneous reception of guests is replaced by an initial hesitation to grant hospitality, in Sparta by the herald Eteoneus, in Scheria by Alcinous himself (**VIIb**) (4.22-9; 7.153-4). But in both scenes the agents of this impropriety are quickly reprimanded (4.30-6; 7.155-66), and the guests are hospitably received (4.37-68; 7.167-84). In both scenes the guests are amazed at the splendor of the palaces, which glitter with the brilliance of gold, silver, and bronze (4.43-7, 71-5; 7.81-135). Homer uses the same simile to describe their splendor (4.45-6 ≈ 7.84-5):

²⁰ The similarities between the two scenes have long been recognized. See the scholia to 4.113; 8.43, 489, 492; Eustathius 1489, 35ff.; U. Hölscher (1939) 66ff.; E. Seitz (1950) 132; K. Rüter (1969) 238-40; B. Fenik (1974) 20-8; N. Austin (1975) 179-200; B. Powell (1977) 30-2, 52-3; M. J. Apthorp (1980a) 12-22; N. J. Richardson, "Recognition Scenes in the Odyssey," Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar IV (1983) 223-5.

ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἢ σελήνης
δῶμα καθ' ὑπερεφές Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.
(μεγαλήτορος Ἄλκινόοιο.)

For there was a gleam like that of the sun or moon
beneath the high-roofed house of glorious Menelaus.
(of great-hearted Alcinous.)

Finally, in both scenes the anagnorisis of the guest is delayed, resulting in dramatic irony. Just as Telemachus, at Menelaus' mention of him and of his father's troubles, begins to weep and cover his eyes with his purple cloak (4.113-6), so does Odysseus, at Demodocus' story about his troubles, weep and cover his eyes with his purple cloak (8.83-92, 521-31). Just as Telemachus' weeping is observed by Menelaus, leading him to suspect his guest's identity (4.116-9, 147-54), so is Odysseus' weeping observed by Alcinous, leading him to inquire into his guest's identity (8.93-5, 532-86). Homer has artistically linked the two scenes, creating a sympathetic harmony between father and son, as they share common experiences at the hands of their respective hosts.

(4.168-82) With the confirmation of Telemachus' identity (4.157), his relationship of xenia with Menelaus, inherited through his father, is established. Menelaus makes this clear in his welcoming speech: "Surely the son of a φίλος has come to my house" (4.169-70). Menelaus also implies his indebtedness to Odysseus, hence to Telemachus, by recalling Odysseus' service to him: "(Odysseus), who endured many trials on my behalf" (4.170). He claims further that if Odysseus had returned, he would have

"granted him hospitality" (φιλησέμεν 4.171) above the other Argives, and he would have even emptied one of his cities in the Peloponnese to accommodate the wholesale resettlement of Odysseus and all his people from Ithaca (4.174-7). Settled thus nearby each other, they would have frequently "come in contact" (ἐμισγόμεθα 4.178), and they would have lived out their lives "befriending each other and delighting in each other's company" (φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε 4.179). Such a wholesale resettlement of a population is unprecedented in the epics--Agamemnon's offer to Achilles of seven cities in the Peloponnese does not entail Achilles' move there (II. 9.149-56)--and one might reasonably pause to wonder whether or not Odysseus would have been altogether happy about the prospect of moving all his possessions, family, and people, from Ithaca to the Peloponnese in order to fraternize with Menelaus; fortunately this possibility is presented as an unfulfilled condition and so is never realized. Menelaus' offer could be understood simply as a hyperbolic demonstration of his affection for Odysseus, but it takes on added significance later in Telemachus' visit, when Menelaus persists in making every effort to persuade Telemachus to stay in Sparta, at least for a while (4.587-8, 599; 15.75-85), and Telemachus expresses the temptation to stay even for a year (4.595-6). The now childless Menelaus, living only with his sterile wife and his memories of a glorious past to comfort him, begins, even in the early stages of this scene, to reveal a desire to detain Telemachus in Sparta. If he cannot resettle Odysseus there, he can perhaps

resettle his son. Thus the theme of detention is activated very early in the scene (XIX).

(4.183-215) This theme of detention is raised again in a subtle way in the conversation which follows. In response to Pisistratus' polite request to put a stop to the weeping, this time by the entire group, Menelaus praises him for his wise words and remarks, with a perceptible tone of jealousy, on Nestor's fortune in his birth, in his marriage, and in his fine sons, surrounded by whom he will grow old comfortably in his house (4.204-11)--a stark contrast to Menelaus himself, who has been particularly unfortunate both in his marriage and in his offspring.

(4.216-39) This theme of detention receives further attention, after the resumption of the meal, in Helen's provision of a grief-soothing drug, accompanied by delightful stories (XIII). Though apparently innocuous in itself, the provision of drugs and stories, especially by a woman, takes on a sinister quality when viewed in the light of Odyssean parallels. Just as powerful, even divine, women play the role of host to Odysseus (Circe, Calypso, Arete), so here the semi-divine Helen takes over from her husband the responsibility of entertaining the guest. Just as the fruit of the lotus causes Odysseus' men to "forget" (λαθέσθαι 9.97) their homecoming, and Circe's "drugs" (φάρμακα 10.236) cause Odysseus men to "forget" (λαθοίατο 10.236) their fatherland, so does Helen's "drug" (φάρμακα 4.220) bring about "forgetfulness" (ἐπίληθον 4.221). Admittedly, Helen's drug, unlike Circe's, is a "good" one (ἔσθλά 4.228) rather than a "baneful" one (λυγρά 10.236), since it effects

the "cessation of grief and anger" (νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε 4.221) and the "forgetfulness of all misfortune" (κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἀπάντων 4.221), and since its effect is "ephemeral" (ἐφημέριος 4.223), but there is still something sinister about a drug that will allow a man to endure tearlessly the death of his mother and father, and the murder of his own brother or son (4.224-6). Helen's provision of stories for her guest brings to mind another Odyssean parallel: the songs of the Sirens. Helen invites her guests to "take delight" (τέρπεσθε 4.239) in her stories about the suffering of the Greeks at Troy, just as Odysseus "takes delight" (τερπόμενος 12.52; τερψάμενος 12.188) in the songs of the Sirens, which also recount the suffering of the Greeks at Troy (12.189-90). One begins to wonder if this enchantress Helen, with her exotic drugs and delightful stories, presents as great an obstacle to the homecoming of Telemachus as the Lotus-Eaters, Circe, and the Sirens do to Odysseus' homecoming.

(4.240-64) In her story Helen recounts how she recognized and befriended Odysseus--just as she is now recognizing and befriending Telemachus--when he came, disguised as a beggar, to spy on the Trojans. Her self-portrait is designed to impress her guest and to endear herself to him. She depicts herself as more clever even than Odysseus, for the only person more clever than the master of disguise is the one who is able to see through that disguise. She also establishes a relationship of xenia with Telemachus by emphasizing how she befriended his father (cf. 1.187-9; 4.104-12, 169-80), bathing, anointing, and clothing him,

as is proper for a host. She claims that Odysseus confided in her the plans of the Greeks, that she aided him in his escape back to the ships, and that she rejoiced in his killing the Trojans, since she had had a change of heart and wanted to return home to her husband and fatherland. Aphrodite, she claims, was the cause of her delusion.

(4.265-89) In Menelaus' story of the wooden horse, which immediately follows--a doublet of Helen's story, even beginning with the same formulaic verse (242 ≈ 272)--he debunks her portrayal of herself.²¹ The only point of agreement is that she must have been under the spell of some divinity. In answer to her claim of sympathy with the Greeks, he tells about how she disguised her voice to sound like the wives of the Greeks hidden in the horse and called to them by name, and he pointedly mentions that Deiphobus, the Trojan whom she had married after Paris' death, accompanied her.²² In answer to her claim that she was

²¹ The juxtaposition of these two apparently contradictory stories has elicited much commentary. See further W. Nestle, "Odysseeinterpretationen," Hermes 77 (1942) 73; W. S. Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," CJ 54 (1958) 2-11; J. T. Kakridis, "Helena und Odysseus" in Homer Revisited (Lund, 1971) 25-53; C. Barck, "Menelaos bei Homer," WS (1971) 23-6; R. Schmiel, "Telemachus in Sparta," TAPA 103 (1972) 463-72; R. Dupont-Roc and A. Le Boulluec, "Le charme du récit" in Écriture et Théorie Poétiques (Paris, 1976) 30-9; Ø. Andersen, "Odysseus and the Wooden Horse," SO 52 (1977) 5-18; A. L. T. Bergren (1981) 201-14; S. D. Olson, "The Stories of Helen and Menelaus," AJP 110 (1989) 387-94.

²² The scholia to 8.517 attribute the story of the marriage of Helen and Deiphobus to the Epic Cycle (οἱ μεταγενέστεροι). Proclus mentions the marriage in his summary of the Ilias Parva of Lesches. But the

more clever than Odysseus, he points out that this time Odysseus saw through her disguise and prevented the men from betraying their positions. He makes no direct reply to her claim that she had offered xenia to Odysseus, but one begins to wonder if this too is not part of her fabrication, the "things suited to the occasion" (ἐοικότα 4.239), which she promised to tell. The inherent implausibility of a princess bathing and entertaining a vagrant beggar becomes more striking after Menelaus' counter-story. The overall result of this pair of stories is that one is left somewhat less comfortable about Helen's relationship with Telemachus, for if she was a threat to Odysseus, as Menelaus claims, rather than a proper host, as she claims, so might she be to Odysseus' son.

(4.290-5) Having taken upon themselves the duties of the bard, Menelaus and Helen have provided the evening's entertainment with stories about Troy (XIII). But Telemachus' response to their storytelling is curt. Having remained silent throughout the evening, his first words to his hosts in Sparta are a request to be allowed to go to bed (XVI). He is not cheered by stories about Odysseus' cleverness, since it has not saved him. "But come," he says, "send us off to bed so that we can delight ourselves with sweet sleep" (4.294-5). Wearied by stories which have brought him only tears and pain, Telemachus would rather "take delight in sweet sleep" (ὑπνῶ ὑπο γλυκερῶ ταρπόμεθα 4.295) than to follow Helen's suggestion to "take delight in stories" (μύθοις τέρπεσθε 4.239).

Odyssey itself seems to already assume the marriage, both here and also at 8.517-20.

(4.296-305) The provision of a bed (XVII) for Telemachus is described by a type-scene which recurs twice in the Odyssey (Telemachus at Pylos 3.397-403; Odysseus at Scheria 7.335-47) and twice in the Iliad (Phoenix at Achilles' hut 9.658-68; Priam at Achilles' hut 24.643-76).²³ While the basic structure of the type-scene is the same in all five occurrences--a bed is provided in the portico for the guest while the master sleeps inside with his wife/concubine--none is identical in every detail. Homer expands, curtails, and otherwise refashions the details of the scenes to fit the situation. Here in Sparta the type-scene is expanded and elaborated more than the scene in Pylos. Whereas in Pylos Nestor himself had provided a bed, as well as his own son as a bedmate (3.400-1), here Helen relegates the duty of making the bed to the women servants, and it is a herald who leads the guests to bed. Whereas the bed in Pylos had been described with the barest of details (τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν 3.399), here the description of the bedding occupies three verses (4.297-9). In both scenes the masters of the house lie down in the innermost rooms with their wives, but whereas Nestor's wife had remained anonymous, Helen is described by a full verse of epithets (4.305). Homer has manipulated the elements of the type-scene so as to portray a picture of a considerably more elaborate, yet somewhat less personal, hospitality in Sparta than in Pylos.

²³ Eumaeus' provision of a bed for Odysseus (14.518-33) and Penelope's offer of a bed for Odysseus in disguise (19.317-19) are fundamentally different in diction and structure.

(4.306-31) Not until the next morning does Menelaus ask Telemachus specifically about the purpose of his visit. Telemachus had arrived in Sparta in the evening: a time for feasting and stories, not for business, which is conducted in the morning (cf. 2.1ff.; 8.1ff.). Telemachus responds by describing his troubles at home and by supplicating Menelaus, begging for news of his father, just as he had supplicated Nestor earlier in Pylos (4.322-31 = 3.92-101). The situation would seem to call for Menelaus to come to Telemachus' aid: the suitors had suspected that Telemachus was going to Sparta for this purpose (2.325-7); Pisistratus had told Menelaus earlier that Telemachus had come to get his counsel "either for word or for action" (ἔπος . . . ἔργον 4.163); here (4.316-31), although asking explicitly only for news of his father, Telemachus presents a dismal picture of his troubles at home and appositely reminds Menelaus of Odysseus' favors to him in Troy "both in word and action" (ἔπος . . . ἔργον 4.329)--the very favors which resulted in Odysseus' present troubles--implying that Menelaus should reciprocate in kind.²⁴ From the perspective of the epic's structure as a whole, it is true that the vengeance motif to be worked out later leaves no room for Menelaus' intervention. Yet, in the immediate context, Menelaus' failure to help Telemachus

²⁴ On Menelaus' failure to intervene in the affairs on Ithaca, see scholia to 4.163, 167. Telemachus had earlier raised the question of Menelaus' failure to intervene in the treacherous murder of his brother (3.248-52). Perhaps this characterization of Menelaus was the inspiration for Euripides' characterization of him in his Orestes (esp. 682ff.), where he refuses to come to the aid of his nephew.

resolve the situation in Ithaca, preferring instead to encourage Telemachus to stay in Sparta, reflects badly on his behavior as a xenos of Odysseus, hence of Telemachus.

(4.332-586) Although Menelaus expresses much indignation at the suitors in Ithaca and predicts their death upon Odysseus' return, not only does he fail to offer physical aid (ἔργον), but he is even unable to give an adequate answer (ἔπος) to Telemachus' request for news of his father. Instead of relating the tale of the νόστος of Odysseus, he tells at great length of his own νόστος (4.351-586), and even those of Agamemnon and Aias, but he has only the scantiest information about Odysseus: that, bereft of companions, he is unwillingly detained on Calypso's island (4.555-60). Again, from the perspective of the epic's overall structure, Menelaus' inability to provide adequate information about Odysseus, and the substitution of his own, Agamemnon's, and Aias' νόστοι for Odysseus', is easily explained by noting Homer's intention of having Odysseus tell of his own νόστος later (Books 9-12). Moreover, the tales of the νόστοι of the various heroes were of great interest to Homer's audience, and this scene provided an excellent opportunity to complement Nestor's tales. But in the immediate context, one wonders if Homer is not depicting Menelaus' own audience, Telemachus, who professes to enjoy the stories (4.597-8), as somewhat put off by their length, since Menelaus is unable to provide adequate news of his father.

(4.587-619) Menelaus' stories could go on forever. At the end of his long account of his νόστος, Menelaus invites Telemachus to

remain in Sparta "for eleven or twelve days" (4.588), and Telemachus responds that he could stay "for a year", without even thinking of home, so much does he delight in Menelaus' stories (4.595-8). He appears ambivalent, struggling between his sense of duty and his desire for his own return home, on the one hand, and the considerable attractions of Sparta, on the other. In a remarkable exchange of speeches, the theme of guest-detention becomes very pronounced.

Menelaus had ended the story of his νόστος by relating how the gods had granted him a swift journey back home (τοί ὤκα φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπεμψαν 4.586). But he is not willing to grant his guest the same favor. Rather, he encourages Telemachus to "stay" (ἐπίμεινον 4.587)--a verb used elsewhere in the Odyssey of detaining a guest against his will (1.309; 11.351; cf. μείνε 4.733)--in his house for "eleven or twelve more days" (i.e. "for some time"),²⁵ promising to send him on his way thereafter with glorious guest-gifts (XX). But even the guest-gifts which he promises are designed to detain Telemachus in Sparta: three horses, a chariot, and a libation cup (4.590-1). The gifts of horses and chariot are not only inappropriate for Telemachus' situation; they are even deceptive. For, as Telemachus shrewdly points out, these gifts are suitable on the broad Lacedaemonian plain, but they are entirely useless on rocky Ithaca (4.600-8). And these are precisely Menelaus' intentions: the gifts are symbolic of his attempt either to resettle

²⁵ On this expression, see F. Focke (1943) 3-4.

Telemachus in Sparta--a desire which he has already expressed (4.174-7)--or at least to detain him on the plain of Lacedaemonia for a time--a suggestion which he later makes explicitly (15.80-5).

Telemachus understands Menelaus' intentions and immediately pleads with him not to "detain" him for a long time (μη δὴ με πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔρῳκε 4.594; cf. σὺ δέ με χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔρύκεις 4.599). The verb ἐρύκω is pregnant with meaning in the Odyssey, being the term frequently applied to Calypso's detention of Odysseus (1.14; 9.29; cf. κατερύκω 1.55, 197; 4.498, 552; 23.334). Telemachus assures Menelaus of his own desire to stay (4.595-8), attributing his anxiety to leave to his concern for his men, who are awaiting him in Pylos (4.598-9). But Telemachus' response to Menelaus' offer of guest-gifts is startling: he refuses them, and he requests "treasure" as a substitute (κειμήλιον 4.600); he will not take horses back to Ithaca, a land suitable only for goats (4.601-8).²⁶

According to the standards of Homeric society, and, consequently, according to the typical elements of the traditional type-scene of hospitality, this refusal of guest-gifts is an anomalous, indeed unique, behavior; it therefore deserves special notice. Just as Telemachus will later attempt to leave Sparta surreptitiously, without collecting Menelaus' guest-gifts (15.44-55), and just as he will thereafter avoid Pylos entirely on his journey home, in his haste depriving Nestor of an opportunity to fulfill his obligation of

²⁶ The scholia to 4.602 and Eustathius 1510, 50ff. compare Odysseus' yielding of the Thracian steeds to Diomedes at the end of Iliad 10.

guest-gifts (15.195-219), so here he refuses inappropriate guest-gifts so as to expedite his return home.

Yet, as startling as is Telemachus' refusal, it is treated by Menelaus as an appropriate response to his offer of inappropriate gifts. To Telemachus' request for a substitute gift of "treasure" (κειμήλιον), the type of gift generally preferred (cf. 1.309-13), Menelaus good-naturedly assents and offers him the "most beautiful and honorable" (κάλλιστον καὶ τιμηέστατον 4.614) treasure in his possession: a krater of silver and gold, the work of Hephaestus, which had been given to him as a guest-gift by Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians (4.613-19). This is a gift worthy of his guest: one which Telemachus can in turn pass on to someone else if he wishes. Such is the nature of gift exchange in Homeric society; gifts with a "history" have extraordinary value (cf. Il. 10.260-71; 24. 233-7; Od. 9.196-215; 21.31-3; Stesichorus fr. 234 PMG).

(4.620-4) At this juncture in the Odyssey, the narrative abruptly shifts back to Ithaca, where the suitors are entertaining themselves in the house of Odysseus, and it does not return to Telemachus in Sparta until Book 15, the interval being occupied by ten books describing Odysseus' return home. In Book 4 (620-4) we leave Telemachus and Menelaus speaking to each other as they await the preparation of yet another feast, and in Book 15 (4-6) we return to Telemachus in bed at night in the portico of Menelaus' palace. According to the narrative of Books 5-14, Odysseus' return has taken about a month. When we return to Telemachus in Book 15, are we to understand that he has lingered in Sparta for an equal

time? Or are we to understand the night in Book 15 to be the night following the feast in Book 4? As mentioned above, it seems to me that Homer was sensitive to the chronological problem and tried to avoid any bewilderment on the part of his audience by leaving Telemachus' future unclear in Book 4. This is effected by the development of the theme of guest-detention (XIX), largely through the progression of Menelaus' overbearing hospitality, even from the beginning of the scene in Sparta. By the time the narrative shifts back to Ithaca, a long stay by Telemachus in Sparta seems quite plausible.

(15.1-42) The scene of Athena's arrival in Sparta at the beginning of Book 15 in order to urge Telemachus to depart does nothing to destroy this impression. She comes (15.3):

νόστου ὑπομνήσουσα καὶ ὄτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι.

in order to remind (Telemachus) of his homecoming, and to urge (him) to go.

Telemachus, like his father, is to have a νόστος, and Athena must "remind" (ὑπομνήσουσα 15.3) him of it, just as Odysseus' men must "remind" (μιμνήσκεο 10.472) Odysseus of his fatherland after having dallied with Circe for a year (10.467-71). The verbal echo suggests that Telemachus has spent an unacceptable length of time in Sparta: longer than a day and a half, in any event, as those who regard 15.1ff. as describing the night following the events of 4.624

must believe (see n. 2). Athena must "urge him on" (ὄτρυνέουσα 15.3; cf. ὄτρυνε 15.14), another verb used numerous times of Odysseus' delayed νόστος (1.85; 7.151; 8.30; 9.518; 11.357).

In her admonition to Telemachus, Athena echoes the warning that Nestor had given him in Pylos (15.10-13 ≈ 3.313-16):

Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι καλὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησαι, 15.10
(καὶ σύ, φίλος, μὴ δηθὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησο) 3.313
κτήματά τε προλιπὼν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν σοῖσι δόμοισιν 15.11 = 3.314
οὔτω ὑπερφιάλους· μὴ τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσι 15.12 = 3.315
κτήματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τηυσίην ὁδὸν ἔλθης. 15.13 = 3.316

Telemachus, no longer is it good to wander far from home
(As for you, friend, do not for long wander far from home)
leaving behind your possessions, and in your house
such violent men, lest they divide and devour all
your possessions, and you go on a vain journey.

Again, the implication is that Telemachus has stayed away too long, neglecting to follow Nestor's advice.

Athena's description of the situation back in Ithaca also suggests a rather long absence by Telemachus. She warns that the situation has changed considerably since he left: Penelope is on the verge of changing her mind and complying with the wish of her father and brothers to marry Eurymachus (15.15-23). Even if Athena's warning consists of a lie, as appears to be the case, in order for the lie to be believable, if only to Telemachus, a rather

long stay must be understood. Telemachus' immediate concern for his mother upon returning to Ithaca shows that Athena's description of this scenario has thoroughly persuaded him. He asks Eumaeus whether his mother is still at home, or whether someone has already married her, leaving the bed of Odysseus empty and gathering spiders' webs (16.33-5).²⁷

(15.43-55) Athena's message incites Telemachus to immediate action. As soon as she is gone, he wakens Pisistratus and urges him to harness the horses for departure. Telemachus' surreptitious departure is apparently intended to avoid any further obstruction by Menelaus, just as his later bypassing of Pylos is intended to avoid any obstruction by Nestor. Though Telemachus' intentions are understandable, this surreptitious departure is not only entirely improper by the standards of Homeric manners, but it does not even accord with Athena's advice, which had been to ask Menelaus for a hasty return (15.14-15). Pisistratus reminds him that not only is it impossible to drive by night, but that proper conduct requires that he await the gift-giving (XX), the formal farewell (XXIII), and the host's escort to his next destination (XXV), quoting a proverbial expression (15.54-5):

τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μινῆσκειται ἤματα πάντα

²⁷ On Athena's message to Telemachus in Sparta, see further C. Rothe (1914) 119; A. Shewan (1926) 32-3; F. Focke (1943) 2, 10, 20, 58; A. Heubeck (1954) 62-3; E. Delebecque (1959) 26-7; M. J. Apthorp (1980a) 5-8.

ἄνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου, ὅς κεν φιλότητα παράσχη.

For a guest remembers forever
the guest-receiving man, who provides hospitality.

(15.56-66) Telemachus assents; but as soon as it is morning, he approaches Menelaus and asks him in the most urgent terms to send him home (15.65-6):

ἤδη νῦν μ' ἀπόπεμπε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν·
ἤδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

Now, at last, send me back to my dear fatherland,
for my heart already desires to return home.

Telemachus' words, ἤδη νῦν . . . ἤδη, imply that he has been in Sparta for some time and is now anxious to leave. We may well compare the exhortation of Odysseus' men, who, after a year on Circe's island, plead with Odysseus to remember his fatherland (10.472):

Δαιμόνι', ἤδη νῦν μιμνήσκειο πατρίδος αἴης

Strange man, now, at last, remember your fatherland.²⁸

²⁸ See further A. Shewan (1926) 394 and M. J. Apthorp (1980a) 6, who also compare ἤδη νῦν at II. 1.456.

(15.67-74) In response to Telemachus' urgent request, Menelaus waxes eloquent with a lesson on the proper duties of a host (15.68-74):

Τηλέμαχ', οὐ τί σ' ἐγώ γε πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἐρύξω
ἶμενον νόστοιο· νεμεσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ
ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλήσιν,
ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν· ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα.
ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι
ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.
χρῆ ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

Telemachus, I will not detain you here for long,
since you are desirous for your return home; I would be
indignant at another man
who, receiving guests, acted excessively hospitable
or excessively hostile; all things are better in due measure.
It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not
want to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.
One must grant hospitality to a guest who is present and grant
conveyance to a guest who wants to leave.

This is a proverbial expression (cf. Hesiod, Erga 327ff.) of proper conduct for a host, but it is ironic in this context. For the hospitality which Telemachus receives in Sparta is not "in due measure". He has experienced to some extent both "excessive

hostility", in his initial reception by Eteoneus, and "excessive hospitality", in Menelaus' constant obstructions to his expeditious return. Menelaus has "detained" him despite his expressed "eagerness to leave" (4.594, 599). Even the length of Menelaus' speech here forms an ironic contrast with his professed intention to expedite Telemachus' return (15.68).

(15.75-85) Menelaus' subsequent speech shows his failure both to appreciate the urgency of his guest's request and to regard the very instructions which he himself has spoken. "Wait," he says, "until I bring you beautiful gifts and place them on the chariot . . . until I tell the women to prepare a feast in the house . . . and if you wish to take a trip through Hellas, I will harness the horses for you, so that I myself might accompany you, and I will guide you to the cities of men, and no one will send us away empty-handed, but everyone will give something to carry off: tripods, caldrons, mules, goblets" (paraphrase of 15.75-85). Not only do Menelaus' proposals impose further delays upon Telemachus' return, but Menelaus even offers an "escort" (πομπή) in the wrong direction, a tour through the "cities of men" in Hellas. This proposed tour is reminiscent of Menelaus' seven-year tour during his own νόστος (4.81-91), both being designed to accumulate treasure in the form of guest-gifts.

(15.86-91) Menelaus' tour in search of treasure had prevented him from avenging his brother's murder at the hands of a lawless suitor, Aegisthus. Telemachus' response to Menelaus' proposal is therefore well advised. He answers tersely, reiterating his desire to return home (15.88):

βούλομαι ἤδη νείσθαι ἐφ' ἡμέτερ' . . .

I wish to return home at once . . .

He punctuates his speech with the emphatic ἤδη for the third time (cf. 15.65-6) and pointedly implies that the possessions which he has left unattended at home are of greater concern to him than the acquisition of more (15.88-91). Verse 15.88 is not a conventional phrase; it is notable that Homer has resorted to a linguistically late and very rare contraction of νέεσθαι, the only example in the surviving epos of a metrically necessary contraction of this verb, in order to accommodate the repeated ἤδη. This suggests that this is not merely a repetition of the common type found in formulaic verses; it suggests rather that Homer made a conscious decision to repeat ἤδη (15.65, 66, 88) in order to dramatically emphasize Telemachus' urgency to extricate himself from his overbearing host.

(15.92-132) Unaffected by Telemachus' urgency, Menelaus, as planned, bids his wife and the maidservants to prepare a feast in the house (**XXI**) and bids Eteoneus to start a fire and roast the meat. Menelaus, Helen, and Megapenthes go to the store-room of the palace to fetch guest-gifts for Telemachus (**XX**), Menelaus fetching a double-handled goblet, Megapenthes a silver krater, and Helen a peplos for Telemachus' future wife. The goblet is presumably the one which Menelaus had promised in Book 4

(4.591).²⁹ The krater too (15.103-4) appears to be the same one promised by Menelaus and described in detail in Book 4 (4.613-19). The promise of these gifts in Book 4 anticipates the presentation of them in Book 15, providing a thematic bridge over the long, ten-book interval.

Some time during the transmission of the Homeric text, someone thought that a stronger connection between Book 4 and Book 15 could be made by repeating the long description of the krater in 4.613-19; or perhaps someone merely wanted to make it clear that the krater presented to Telemachus in Book 15 was the same one promised in Book 4. Consequently, verses 15.113-19 have made their way into the inherited text. The manuscript evidence provides conclusive proof, however, that 15.113-19 are interpolated.³⁰

²⁹ Whereas *δέπας* is used here (15.102) and *ἄλεισον* in Book 4.591, the two terms are semantically interchangeable, their use being determined by the meter (e.g. 3.50-1).

³⁰ The verses are absent in Allen's families **b** and **i** and in manuscripts H3 and L5. More significantly, they are apparently absent in Π28 (Pack2 1106, 3rd-4th c.), which, though fragmentary in this portion of the text, reveals by comparison with the average number of verses per page that in the codex several verses (surely 15.113-19) are lacking between 15.91 and 15.127; see further A. S. Hunt, Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library I (Manchester, 1911) 114, 170. The verses are also apparently absent in P. Amh. II 18 (Pack2 1211, 1st-2nd c.), which, while containing very thorough scholia on the epic diction of Od. 15, appears to neglect entirely to gloss any words between 15.109, perhaps even 15.111 (see M. J. Apthorp (1980b) 201-2) and 15.121, though many words in this hiatus are ripe for exegesis; see further B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, The Amherst Papyri II (London, 1901) 9-16. It is somewhat less significant, but notable nonetheless,

If we omit verses 15.113-19, the gift-giving scene takes on a slightly different color and a different symmetry. For just as, in the fetching of the gifts from the store-room, the description of Menelaus' goblet and Megapenthes' krater are very simple, while the

that Dindorf's collection of scholia, though generally scanty in the later books of the Odyssey, fails to remark on any verses of this passage. In sum, while the earliest manuscript to include the passage dates from the 10th-11th c. (L4), two manuscripts from the 1st-4th c., as well as the scholia generally, testify to its absence at a very early stage of transmission. The manuscript evidence strongly suggests that Aristarchus did not include these verses in his edition. They show every sign of being a post-Aristarchean interpolation: a concordance passage is available at 4.613-19; the manuscript evidence against the passage is extensive enough in itself to reduce almost to nothing the possibility of post-Aristarchean excision or accidental omission; there are no homoeographic grounds for suspecting accidental omission; moreover, the probability of an accidental omission coinciding exactly with a concordance passage (i.e. 4.613-19) is extremely minute. We may be quite confident that the seven verses were interpolated, probably in order to make clear that the krater given to Telemachus in Book 15 was the same one promised him in Book 4.

The evidence of Stesichorus fr. 209 PMG, a lyric adaption of Telemachus' departure scene, which, after describing the omen and its interpretation by Helen, continues in the second column to describe what appears to be a parting gift for Telemachus of a gold and silver object, casts little doubt on the view that Od. 15.113-19 is an interpolation. Stesichorus demonstrates so much freedom in his adaption of other details of the Odyssean scene that we need not infer from his description of a silver and gold guest-gift that he is modelling it on his knowledge of these verses. Stesichorus may be elaborating the simple description of the krater in 15.103-4 on the basis of his recollection of the longer description of it in 4.613-19 (though the gift is definitely not a krater in Stesichorus, since it is modified by a feminine adjective); or he may be freely inventing the details; see further S. Reece, "Homeric Influence in Stesichorus' Nostoi," BASP 25 (1988) 1-8.

description of Helen's peplos is elaborated--she made it herself; it is the most beautiful and the largest; it shines like a star; it lies at the bottom of the chest (i.e. is the most valuable)³¹--so, in the description of the presentation of the gifts to Telemachus (15.111-30, omitting 15.113-19), is the presentation of Menelaus' and Megapenthes' gifts simply described, while Helen's is elaborated by a five-verse speech. The overall impression produced by this symmetry is that, just as Helen took over from her hesitant husband the responsibility of greeting and entertaining their guest (4.120ff.), and just as she will soon thwart Menelaus' attempt to interpret the bird-omen by anticipating him with her own interpretation (15.167ff.), so here the presentation of Helen's gift rather overshadows that of Menelaus. Like Arete in Scheria, she, not her husband, is the dominant figure in the scene.

The entire gift-giving scene has been very formal and proper. The gifts are not only appropriate; they are the most valuable that Menelaus and Helen can provide: Menelaus' "most beautiful" treasure (κάλλιστον 4.614), which was, in turn, a guest-gift to him; Helen's "most beautiful" possession (κάλλιστος 15.107), which she had made with her own hands. The speeches which accompany the gift-giving are also formal. Menelaus prays that Zeus (patron of guests) will accomplish a return for Telemachus (15.111-12), and Helen wishes him a bon voyage (XXIII) (15.128-9).

³¹ Cf. the description of the peplos which Hecabe selects for Athena in II. 6.288-95.

(15.133-43) The description of the final feast in Sparta ensues (**XXI**), narrated by means of the same conventional elements used in the first feast (4.51-68), with only slight elaboration: the seating (**VIII**) (15.134); the formulaic five-verse block describing the meal preparation (**IXa**) (15.135-[9]),³² here followed by the unique addenda describing the distribution of the meat by Eteoneus, Menelaus' attendant, and the pouring of the wine by Megapenthes, Menelaus' son (15.140-1); the consumption of the food (**IXb**) (15.142); and the conclusion of the feast (**IXc**) (15.143).

(15.144-84) Immediately following the meal, Telemachus and Pisistratus harness the horses, climb onto the chariot, and drive out the front doorway (15.145-6):

ἵππους τε ζεύγνυντ' ἀνά θ' ἄρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον,
ἐκ δ' ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου.

They harnessed the horses and mounted the well-wrought
chariot,

and drove out the doorway and the resounding portico.

Telemachus has finally departed, at last overcoming the final obstacle to his return; or so it would seem, especially to an audience accustomed to these formulaic verses, which elsewhere

³² For the possibility that verse 15.139 is an interpolation, see Ch. 1.

always signal an actual departure (15.145-6 = 3.492-[3]³³ = 15.190-1; cf. Il. 24.322ff.). The audience would expect the following verses to describe the speedy passage to their next destination (as in 3.494-4.2; 15.192-3). But instead Menelaus is described running after Telemachus and Pisistratus, holding a goblet of wine in his hand, in order to pour a libation before they leave (**XXII**). While the two guests remain in the chariot (somewhat awkwardly, it seems to me), a series of actions takes place (15.150-81): Menelaus stands in front of their horses and exchanges farewell speeches with them (**XXIII**); suddenly an omen appears (**XXIV**): an eagle, clutching a goose in its claws; while Menelaus considers what to make of the omen, Helen interrupts, taking control of the situation, just as she did in the recognition scene and in the gift-giving scene, and she offers a favorable interpretation; Telemachus responds gratefully to her interpretation. Not until verse 15.182, thirty-six verses after Telemachus and Pisistratus have mounted the chariot and driven out the doorway, do they actually depart.

This awkward sequence of events results from a displacement of the conventional elements of a departure scene: Homer has narrated the mounting of the chariot and the driving away (15.145-6) too early in the scene. The two-verse formula should have followed the libation (**XXII**), farewell speeches (**XXIII**), omen, and interpretation (**XXIV**); it should have come immediately before

³³ Verse 3.493 is absent in most manuscripts, including two early papyri (Π3 and P. Köln 40); it is probably an interpolation.

verse 15.182, when the actual departure occurs. One may well compare Priam's departure scene (Il. 24.281-323), where the sequence is: harnessing of the horses (24.281-2), libation and conversation (24.283-307), prayer (24.308-13), omen (24.314-21), mounting the chariot (24.322), and driving off (24.323).

This awkwardness in Telemachus' departure scene has been variously explained. A. Hoekstra³⁴ attributes the inconsistency to the effects of oral composition, regarding the scene as "a rather carelessly abbreviated version of a traditional theme of leave-taking." D. Gunn³⁵ too regards the scene as a poor rendering by an oral poet of a traditional theme, and he sees the poet's failure to go back and correct his slip as evidence for his view of an oral dictated text. M. Edwards³⁶ explains the awkwardness of the scene as a result of the poet's attempt to combine and compress into one episode more type-scenes than he could comfortably handle: type-scenes of gift-giving, chariot-departure, individual libation, greeting, and omen. Whereas in the departure of Priam from Troy (Il. 24.228ff.), and of Odysseus from Scheria (Od. 13.10ff.), the successive type-scenes are given due weight and are gracefully interwoven, here they are not, resulting in a certain amount of awkwardness.

³⁴ A. Hoekstra, Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes (Amsterdam, 1965) 117, f.n. 3.

³⁵ D. Gunn, "Narrative Inconsistency and the Oral Dictated Text in the Homeric Epic," AJP 91 (1970) 192-203.

³⁶ M. W. Edwards (1975) 51-72.

The underlying assumption of Hoekstra, Gunn, and Edwards is that the awkwardness of this sequence was unintentional: either the result of a momentary slip, or of the inability of the poet to handle the material skillfully. I agree with Edward's explanation of the mechanics which produced this awkwardness, but, in view of the pervasiveness of the theme of guest-detention which we have been tracing throughout Telemachus' visit to Sparta, I suggest that the manipulation of the normal sequence of events here was a deliberate device used by the poet in order to represent, precisely by the chaotic juxtaposition of type-scenes, the frantic behavior of Menelaus, who is desperately trying to juggle gift-giving, libation, leave-taking, and interpretation of the omen, in an attempt to delay the inevitable departure of his guest. This breach of convention on the level of form informs the corresponding breach of convention on the level of content. The theme of detention is being reinforced one last time by rearranging the typical sequence so as to picture Menelaus clinging to his guests even as they depart. In adapting this view--that Homer demonstrates in this passage a better handle on the tools of his trade than the three oralists mentioned above appear to concede--I am in general agreement with G. P. Rose's³⁷ view that the poet had a purpose in altering the conventional and logical order of events, namely to put a "final, convincing touch on an amusing tension that has developed between Telemachus' impetuous eagerness to return home and Menelaus'

³⁷ G. P. Rose, "Odyssey 15.143-82: A Narrative Inconsistency?," TAPA 102 (1971) 509-14.

persistent failure to incorporate this in his mind." But I am inclined to regard this "tension" with a little less humor.

V. The Phaeacians (Od. 5.388-13.187).

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαίαν ἰκάνω;
ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεينوι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Ah me, what mortals' land have I come to this time?
Are they violent and savage and unjust,
or are they kind to strangers, and their mind god-fearing?
(Od. 6. 119-21)

I. Introduction

Scheria provides for Odysseus a transition between the fantastic world of his wanderings and the real world of his return to Ithaca; it is both a geographical and a psychological boundary between the two worlds. The gods have determined that once he reaches the land of the Phaeacians he will have escaped the wrath of Poseidon; he will be honored as a god among the Phaeacians, who will bestow abundant gifts upon him and ensure his safe return home. In short, he will have escaped death and achieved his "return" (νόστος 5.29-42, 286-90, 339-50, 382-7). In Scheria he is entertained lavishly: bathed, clothed, seated in the place of honor, feasted, entertained by the songs of the bard and the spectacle of the dance, loaded down with guest-gifts, and personally escorted home. It would seem that after ten years of struggle he has at last reached an oasis of tranquility from which his return home is finally secure. As one scholar has recently viewed the situation: "In the kindness of Odysseus' reception by the Phaeacians, the joyful vitality and curiosity he finds among them, their assurance

of his return, and their generous giving of gifts, they appear as a neutralization of the dangers he has met in the outlandish world between the Ciconians and Scheria. . . . They stand between Odysseus' great exertions on both sides of reality and provide a calm vantage point in the midst of his grim efforts. The calm and perfect safety Odysseus finds among the Phaeacians are prefigured in the complete shelter from the wind, sun, and rain provided by the olive thicket. . . . He has reached a haven where uncertainty and hostility are suspended."¹

But is this an accurate description of the scenario painted by Homer? I find the situation encountered by Odysseus in Scheria and the hospitality granted him by the Phaeacians much more ambiguous and difficult to evaluate. The text of the Odyssey itself appears to present contrary views of the hospitality of the Phaeacians. Their attitude and behavior toward strangers appears ambivalent and their actions are often inexplicable.

II. The Hospitality of the Phaeacians.

On the one hand, the Phaeacian episode appears to be a paradigm of proper hospitality. Even before Odysseus reaches Scheria, Zeus tells Hermes that Odysseus will enjoy good hospitality while among the Phaeacians and a safe return home thereafter (5.36-42). The hospitality which Odysseus will receive upon his arrival at the

¹ C. Segal, "The Phaeacians and the Symbolism of Odysseus' Return," Arion 1.4 (1962) 22, 23, 59, n. 10.

Phaeacian palace is prefigured by his safe arrival upon the Phaeacian land, which is a welcome sight to the storm-tossed Odysseus at the moment of his greatest peril (5.398). The natural elements of the land symbolically provide the shipwrecked sailor, naked and helpless, with safety and hospitality: the river, to whom Odysseus prays as suppliant, rescues him from the sea (5.445-53); he greets the land with a kiss (5.463); the woods and shrubs shelter him from the wind, sun, and rain (5.475-82); the abundance of leaves provides a generous bed upon which he finds respite from his hard labors and falls asleep (5.482-6.2).

When Odysseus awakens in this strange land, he asks himself the conventional question (6.120-1 = 9.175-6; 13.201-2):

ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξενοι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Are these men violent and savage and unjust,
or are they kind to strangers, and their mind god-fearing?

But as he awakens to the shouts of young girls at play along the beach (6.115-25), there appears to be little danger that, here in his first encounter with humans since he lost his crew eight years earlier (6.125), he will encounter the violence and savagery to which he has become accustomed. In response to his supplication, Nausicaa receives him courteously and hospitably with kind words of greeting: "But now, since it is to our city and land that you have

come, you will lack neither clothing nor anything else which is fitting for the much-enduring suppliant (6.191-3). . . . But since this is a miserable wanderer who has come here, we must attend to him, for all strangers and beggars are from Zeus (6.206-8)."

Nausicaa proceeds to provide for the stranger the basic elements of hospitality: a bath in the river, fresh clothing, food and drink; these rather simple provisions on the beach prefigure, just as Odysseus' initial arrival upon the land did, the much more elaborate provisions to come in the palace.

The hospitality provided Odysseus in the palace spans the entire spectrum of the typical hospitality scene: the elaborate description of the palace upon Odysseus' arrival, with its glittering gold, silver and bronze, which recalls the splendor of Menelaus' palace in Sparta (**IIIa**) (7.81-135: 7.84 = 4.45; 7.85 ≈ 4.46; 7.134 ≈ 4.47); the seating of the guest in the place of honor next to the king (**VIII**) (7.168-71); the preparation and serving of the feast (**IXa**) (7.172-6); the interrogation of the guest (**XIa**) (7.237-9) and the subsequent exchange of stories (**XII**) (7.240-97); the provision of a bed for the night (**XVII**) (7.335-47); the reiteration of feasts (**IX**), songs and entertainment (**XIII**), and a bath (**XVIII**) on the next day (8.1-586); the reiterated offer of ever-increasing guest-gifts (**XX**) (8.389-432; 11.336-61; 13.7-22); and finally the safe "escort" (πομπή) to Odysseus' home in Ithaca, even in the face of certain punishment by Poseidon (**XXV**) (8.564-71; 13.172-8). The Phaeacians scrupulously live out Alcinous' boast to his guest (8.248-9):

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαῖς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροὶ τε
εἵματά τ' ἔξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

Always dear to us are the feast, the lyre, dances,
changes of clothing, warm baths, and beds.

The Phaeacians, it would seem, are specialists in all aspects of good hospitality. It is no wonder that a long line of commentators, beginning from antiquity, has ascribed to them the title "most kind to strangers".²

III. The Inhospitability of the Phaeacians.

It comes as somewhat of a surprise, then, that even before Odysseus reaches the palace, he is warned twice, once by Nausicaa and once by Athena, in the guise of a young Phaeacian girl, to be prepared for a less than kindly reception by the Phaeacians. A hint of potential hostility by the Phaeacians is first observed in Nausicaa's request that Odysseus not follow her all the way home, lest the townspeople, who are "very overbearing" (μάλα ὑπερφίαλοι 6.274)--a word often associated with the suitors in Ithaca (21x *Od.*)--rebuke her for bringing a stranger home (6.273-84). By itself, Nausicaa's concern might be attributed solely to the

² Scholia to 7.32: φιλοξενώτατοι; Heraclides Ponticus, quoted in scholia to 13.119: φιλοξενία; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 7.90: φιλανθρωπία.

embarrassment of a young girl at the thought of taking a man home with her, but this does not account for Athena's added precaution of covering Odysseus with a mist, "lest", as the narrator tells us, "one of the high-spirited Phaeacians, accosting him, insult him and ask who he is"³ (7.14-17; κερτομέοι implies hostility--again it is a word often associated with the suitors in Ithaca: 16.87; 18.350; 20.263). Finally, Athena, disguised as a young girl, appears to Odysseus and warns him to keep quiet and not look anyone in the eye or ask anyone anything (7.30-1), since the Phaeacians have little tolerance for strangers (7.32-3):

οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἶδε μάλ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται,
οὐδ' ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ' ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ.

For they do not at all tolerate strangers,
nor are they fond of welcoming those from abroad.

This ambivalence of the Phaeacians toward strangers is puzzling. If we pay any attention to these warnings, we cannot easily remark that "Odysseus has reached a haven where uncertainty and hostility are suspended".⁴ In fact uncertainty

³ It is a serious indiscretion to ask a stranger's name before feeding him (cf. 1.123-4; 3.69-70; 4.60-2; 14.45-7; 16.54-9; ll. 9.221ff.; 18.385ff.; H.Dem. 206ff.). The Cyclops Polyphemus, who is the paradigm of improper conduct, does exactly that (9.252-5).

⁴ C. Segal (1962) 22, 23, 59, n. 10.

abounds, and the potential for hostility appears very real. Perhaps Scheria is not meant to be understood as a safe haven for Odysseus. Perhaps there are dangers lurking here as potent as the dangers posed by the Cyclopes or the Laestrygonians. Perhaps Odysseus will experience temptations here as seductive as those of Circe or Calypso. A closer analysis of the text with a view to the deviations of the Phaeacians from normal hospitable behavior may cast some light on these ambiguities.⁵

As elaborate as is the hospitality offered by the Phaeacians, as a group they commit an extraordinary number of faux pas in the course of their treatment of Odysseus. Why does Nausicaa, the object of Odysseus' initial supplication, fail to lead him to the palace, a failure for which Alcinous himself faults her (7.299-301)?⁶ What explanation is there for Arete's and Alcinous' failure to greet promptly the stranger, who sits in the ashes at the hearth for "a long time" (ὄψέ 7.155) in a position of supplication, an

⁵ This is an analysis which, incidentally, the reader/hearer is prepared to do after being "educated" in the mechanisms of xenia by the three preceding hospitality scenes of the Telemachy. In the analysis which follows, I am indebted to G. P. Rose, "The Unfriendly Phaeacians," TAPA 100 (1969) 387-406, who marshals from the text the evidence for Phaeacian inhospitality. Though I find some of Rose's examples tendentious--as does G. J. De Vries, "Phaeacian Manners," Mnemosyne 30.2 (1977) 113-21--this does not invalidate his challenge to the commonly accepted view of Scheria as a realm of safety and hospitality.

⁶ It is a Homeric convention for the one who is encountered first by a guest, often the child of the king, to take upon himself the guest's welfare: cf. Telemachus (1.113ff.), Pisistratus (3.36ff.), the young Achilles (II. 11.777ff.).

indiscretion for which Echeneus must reprimand them (7.153-66)? Is there any significance to Alcinous' probing into Odysseus' identity even before he is finished eating (7.186-206), an impropriety which appears to arouse Odysseus' indignation (7.208-25)?⁷ What accounts for the indiscretion of the king's son, Laodamas, in challenging a guest to participate in athletic contests (8.145-51), a challenge which Odysseus regards as a cruel taunt and an imposition upon himself as guest and suppliant (8.153-7)?⁸ Why does Alcinous fail to shield his guest from the rudeness and violence of Euryalos, who publicly abuses and belittles Odysseus (8.158-64), angering him and leading to a dangerous confrontation (8.165-233)? Is it significant that the Phaeacians bungle in the treatment of their guest: the songs of Demodocus, intended for his entertainment, instead twice bring him to tears (8.83-95, 521-34), and the exhibition of contests; again intended for his enjoyment,

⁷ Arete, by contrast, waits until Odysseus is finished eating and the tables are cleared before questioning him (7.230-9).

⁸ J. P. Gould (1973) 95, sums up the status of a suppliant, and by extension of a guest, as follows: "Supplication involves a form of self-abasement which constitutes an inversion of the normal patterns of behaviour. A normal face to face encounter between two men who are not φίλοι involves, in ancient Greek society, a transaction of challenge and counter-challenge in a context of competing claims to τιμή. The ritual of supplication, on the other hand, puts the new arrival 'out of play' in terms of the normal 'game' of competition, precisely because the suppliant's behavior is an inversion of normal expected behavior. Before the game of challenge and counter-challenge can commence the suppliant 'surrenders': the match is now a 'walk-over' and the other 'competitor' must now play according to a new set of rules."

leads instead to harsh words and discomfort on both sides? And, finally, why must such extreme measures be taken to guard Odysseus' gifts from his Phaeacian crew (8.443-8)? In light of these apparent indiscretions, one perhaps ought to go back and reconsider Odysseus' question upon arrival in this strange land (6.120-1):

ἦ ῥ' οἵ γ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξενοι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Are these men violent and savage and unjust,
or are they kind to strangers, and their mind god-fearing?

In addition to these apparent indiscretions, which create an ambiguity as to whether these Phaeacians are "hospitable" or "inhospitable" (φιλόξενοι or ἄξενοι), there arise a number of oddities in this hospitality scene in general. What is the motivation for the general secrecy surrounding Odysseus' arrival at the palace (7.30-42)? Why do the Phaeacians allow their guest to remain incognito for so long, even letting him go to bed for the night unidentified? Why is Arete's importance as an object of supplication for Odysseus so elaborately built up (6.303-15; 7.53-77), only to have her play such an insignificant role in the reception and entertainment of the guest? Why is Alcinous so absurdly eager to offer his daughter and part of his kingdom to an entirely unknown stranger (7.311-15)? What accounts for the unprecedented and

peculiar nature of the Phaeacians' guest-gifts to Odysseus: a collection of contributions from the nobility (8.387-95; 11.336-53; 13.7-23)? How is one to explain Odysseus' distribution of the chine, the portion of honor, to Demodocus and his request for a particular song (8.474-98), a rather presumptuous overstepping of his role as guest, as he takes upon himself the duties and privileges of his host, the king?⁹

IV. Theories to Account for the Ambiguity of the Phaeacians' Hospitality.

It appears that the Odyssey presents two different conceptions of the Phaeacians, one in which they are the saviors of shipwrecked sailors, to whom they afford hospitality and a safe return home, and another in which they are socially inept, or even stubbornly asocial, isolated as they are from other men, and therefore wary of, and even hostile to, strangers. This ambiguity has troubled readers of the Odyssey since antiquity, and many ingenious attempts have been made to reconcile the two conceptions.

Some ancient commentators attempted to reconcile the difference by drawing a distinction between the "rudeness" (ἀηδής) of the Phaeacian commoners, "the nautical crowd" (ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος), and the "hospitality" (φιλοξένοι) of the "royalty" (βασιλεῖς).¹⁰ Others

⁹ It is normally the host and ruler of the house who grants the honored portion of chine (4.65-6; 14.437; ll. 7.371-2; 9.706) and orders a song to be sung (1.151-4, 337-44; 8.43-5, 98-9, 254-5, 537; 22.330-3, 345-53; 23.133-6).

¹⁰ Scholia to 7.32.

record similarly that "the leaders" (οἱ ἄρχοντες) were "philanthropic" (φιλόανθρωποι), unlike their subjects.¹¹ Another remarks upon the "inhospitality" (κακοξενία) of the "commoners" (δῆμος) and the "hospitality" (φιλοξενία) of the "nobility" (ἄριστοι).¹² But such a distinction is not clearly made in the Odyssey; on the contrary, most of the indignities suffered by Odysseus occur at the hands of the king and queen and the Phaeacian nobles.

A few discrepancies and oddities in the behavior of the Phaeacians toward their guest have been ingeniously explained by the Analysts. In order to account for Arete's failure to respond promptly to Odysseus' supplication, Schadewaldt¹³ took 7.159-238, the interval during which Echeneus reprimands the king for his treatment of the stranger and Alcinous seats and offers food to Odysseus while making a speech to the assembled Phaeacian nobles, as an expansion by "poet B", whose contribution to the poem consisted largely of scenes of eating, drinking, and conversing.¹⁴ In order to account for Odysseus' rather uncomfortable and extended state of incognito, brought about by his failure to identify

¹¹ Scholia to 7.16.

¹² Eustathius 1566, 7-9.

¹³ W. Schadewaldt, "Kleiderdinge: Zur Analyse der Odyssee," Hermes 87 (1959) 13-26.

¹⁴ See also P. von der Mühl, "Odyssee," RE Supplementband vii. coll. 718ff.

himself when questioned by Arete (7.237-9), Kirchhoff¹⁵ concluded that in the original poem Odysseus did in fact identify himself immediately, introducing the apologoi in response to Arete's question. Hence, in Kirchhoff's view, all of Book 7 from verse 7.243 on should be deleted. In a less radical excision, Schwartz¹⁶ attributed 7.298-316, Alcinous' rather overhasty offer of his daughter to the stranger, to the ubiquitous "poet B". In order to account for Arete's failure to live up to the expectations created of her as an object of supplication by Nausicaa's and Athena's speeches to Odysseus, Merkelbach¹⁷ concluded that here again we are faced with interference by "poet B". In general, this approach addresses very few of the problems regarding the ambiguity of the Phaeacians' hospitality, and even those which it does attempt to answer remain unsolved by its methods. In the face of new discoveries about the nature of oral poetry and the genesis of the Homeric text generally, this naive approach to Homer, based as it is on an assumption of strict verisimilitude in poetry, has proven unproductive.

Another explanation, put forward very briefly by Finley and in more detail by H. Kakridis,¹⁸ for the apparent ambivalence of the Phaeacians toward Odysseus--the fact that their initial fear and

¹⁵ A. Kirchhoff, Die homerische Odyssee (Berlin, 1879) 279ff.

¹⁶ E. Schwartz, Die Odyssee (Munich, 1924) 23.

¹⁷ R. Merkelbach, Untersuchungen zur Odyssee (Munich, 1951) 161.

¹⁸ M. Finley (1965, rev. 1978) 116-17; H. Kakridis (1963) 87-105.

suspicion of Odysseus give way to a kind and luxurious welcome-- is the view that their hospitality is simply a model of the basic ambivalence of the heroic world toward strangers. The term ξείνος has a broad semantic range, from "a potentially hostile stranger who is outside one's own group (i.e. a non-φίλος)" to "a friend from a foreign country who is to be treated as an insider (i.e. a φίλος)". The Phaeacians, as might be expected in a world where there is so much anxiety about newly arrived strangers, are simply moving slowly from one pole to the other within this semantic range. Indeed it is revealing to trace Odysseus' gradual incorporation into Phaeacian society: from the level of a lowly "suppliant" (ἰκέτης) sitting in the ashes at the hearth (7.139-54), he is raised to the level of "guest" (ξείνος), when Alcinous, after an initial pause, takes him by the hand, raises him up, and seats him at the place of honor next to himself--the seat previously occupied by his own son (7.167-71). The ritual handwashing, the serving of food and drink, and the libation which follow serve symbolically to reinforce Odysseus' incorporation into the social group (7.172-85).¹⁹ This incorporation quickly culminates in Alcinous' rather hasty invitation to Odysseus to marry his daughter and become his son-in-law (7.311-15), i.e. an invitation to move from the status of an "outsider" (ξείνος) to an "insider" (φίλος). Though Odysseus refuses the offer, he is henceforth treated as an "insider" (φίλος), ever increasing in heroic stature as he dominates the athletic contests

¹⁹ For an analysis of this scene see J. P. Gould (1973) 78-9.

(8.186-233) and even takes over the king's role and presides over the feast (8.469-98). It is true, then, that Odysseus moves from one pole to the other within the semantic range of the term ξείνος-- though it could be argued that this is due rather to his own heroic abilities than to Phaeacian charity. Yet it seems to me unproductive, and even incorrect, to define the Phaeacians' hospitality, as Finley and Kakridis do, simply as a model of the normal ambivalence of the Greeks toward strangers. Such ambivalence is, after all, not the norm in the Odyssey: none of the three earlier episodes of good hospitality (Ithaca, Pylos, Sparta) is characterized by the great number of indiscretions and oddities which one encounters in the Phaeacian episode. Further, the Phaeacians do not simply move from one pole of fear and suspicion to the other pole of lavish entertainment; rather, they oscillate back and forth between the two poles, some of the most serious indiscretions occurring toward the end of the episode. The Phaeacians, therefore, appear to me to be rather more exceptional than normal.

A more far-reaching and productive approach to the problems posed by the Phaeacian ambivalence toward strangers has been offered by those who have viewed the discrepancies in the behavior of the Phaeacians as resulting from a contamination of two or more traditions. Of the many suggestions offered as to the nature of these traditions, one in particular appears to me to explain many of the inconcinnities in the Phaeacians' behavior toward their guest:

van Leeuwen,²⁰ noting that in the Phaeacian episode, Odysseus-- who is in our version of the Odyssey a married man seeking a return to his wife--takes on the role of a wooer of the king's daughter, has suggested that underlying the inherited version was an "Odyssey" in which Odysseus was actually a suitor for Nausicaa's hand, that he was tested as a rival suitor by the Phaeacians, and that he won and eventually married the princess. Van Leeuwen traces the source of this earlier version back to the tale of Jason and Medea.²¹ Indeed the similarities between Nausicaa and Medea are remarkable: both are unmarried princesses, who live in fabulous lands at the edge of the civilized world; both come to the aid of a newly arrived Greek hero, who must overcome many obstacles in that land; both become romantically involved with the stranger (though Nausicaa remains only potentially a bride). Yet, in spite of all these similarities, it is a very tricky matter to attempt to trace the direction of influence between two preliterate

²⁰ J. van Leeuwen, "Homerica," Mnemosyne 39 (1911) 19-30. This article has been reprinted and expanded in Commentationes Homericae (Leiden, 1911). For an addendum in support of van Leeuwen's article, see W. R. Paton, CR 26 (1912) 215-16.

²¹ The idea that an Argonautic tradition influenced the Odyssey is as old as Homer himself (Od. 12.61-72). Homeric scholars have for over a century ascribed various parts of the Odyssey to this tradition: cf. especially A. Kirchhoff (1879) 287-90; K. Meuli, Odyssee und Argonautika (Berlin, 1921). And for a more recent view, which is tempered by the realization that all these traditions experienced a long transmission in oral form, see G. Crane, "Calypso: Backgrounds and Conventions of the Odyssey," Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 191 (Frankfurt am Main, 1988) 135-66.

traditions--during the oral transmission of the Odyssean and Argonautic traditions, the two probably interacted, with influence going in both directions--and it is an equally tricky matter to reconstruct hypothetical earlier versions of the Odyssey.

What is indisputable, though, is that the Odyssey as we know it contains an amalgam of older folktales, and familiarity with these folktales often helps disentangle otherwise irresolvable problems in the inherited text. Woodhouse,²² in a modification of Van Leeuwen's views, suggested that underlying our episode of Odysseus among the Phaeacians is a common folktale about a castaway who comes on the scene incognito in a wretched guise and is revealed as a prince when he defeats all rivals to the hand of the king's daughter. This motif is clearly discernible in the Phaeacian episode. It begins explicitly with Athena's advice to Nausicaa to wash her clothes, since she is being wooed by all the Phaeacians, and her wedding is close at hand (6.25-40). Nausicaa herself realizes the imminence of her marriage, as does her father (6.66-7). Therefore, when a shipwrecked and naked stranger accosts her as she plays with her handmaidens on the beach, the momentum of the tale is ostensibly moving toward the marriage of the couple.²³ In Odysseus' first speech to Nausicaa, he

²² W. J. Woodhouse (1930) 54-65.

²³ Two other attestations of this motif in the Odyssey have an erotic undercurrent: Odysseus' men's meeting with the Laestrygonian princess, who is drawing water from a well (10.103-11), and the Phoenician traders' meeting with the Sidonian slave girl, who is washing clothes at the beach (15.415ff.). It is a universal folktale motif. Compare, for example, the remarkably

compliments her beauty and exclaims that whoever leads her away as wife will be a lucky man indeed (6.158-9). Then he pronounces a blessing on her: "May the gods grant you whatever you desire in your heart; may they grant you a husband and a home and noble harmony of mind. For there is nothing better than when a husband and wife have a home, harmonizing in their thoughts." (6.180-4). Though the briny and weather-beaten stranger does not impress Nausicaa initially, Athena quickly endows Odysseus with a radiant grace and good looks, causing Nausicaa to whisper to her handmaidens: "If only such a man as he would be called my husband, dwelling here, and it would please him to remain here". (6.244-5). The princess even anticipates the jealousy with which the Phaeacians will greet this rival suitor. She warns Odysseus to follow her to the palace at a distance, lest some commoner see them together and say: "Who is this large and handsome stranger who follows Nausicaa? Where did she find him? Now he will be her husband. . . . It is better that she has gone out and found a husband from elsewhere, for she dishonors the Phaeacians throughout the town, who woo her many

similar story of the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah: an unknown stranger (Isaac's servant) accosts the maiden Rebekah while she is drawing water at the village well; she offers him water and directs him to her father's house, where her marriage to Isaac is arranged (Genesis 24.10-61). For other attestations of the folktale motif of a hero finding a maiden at a fountain, well or river, see S. Thompson, Motif-Index, N715.1.

and noble." (6.276-7, 282-4).²⁴ Of common mind is Nausicaa's father, who, even before the stranger has identified himself, offers him his daughter and a share of his kingdom: "Oh that you, remaining here, would take my daughter and be called my son-in-law. I would give you a home and possessions, if willingly you were to remain." (7.313-15).²⁵

We also encounter a number of less clear vestiges in the Phaeacian episode of an underlying motif of a strange suitor to the hand of the princess. The general secrecy surrounding Odysseus' arrival at the palace and his extended state of incognito, something which is not adequately motivated by the story in its inherited form, is explicable when understood as the normal situation for the unknown stranger in the folktale. Athena's warning that the Phaeacians have no tolerance for strangers (7.32-3) is understandable if Odysseus is seen as a potential rival for the hand of the princess, and hence a threat to the local suitors.²⁶ Arete's

²⁴ W. J. Woodhouse (1930) 57-8, analyzes Nausicaa's entire speech (6.255-315), noting how her mind runs on the thought of marriage, and how she hints broadly of her admiration for Odysseus, her availability for marriage, her noble background and wide-spread desirability.

²⁵ "Alcinous' prayer is bizarre (ἄτοπος)," quotes a scholium to 7.311, "since Alcinous does not know who he is and without testing him prays to receive him as companion and make him his son-in-law." According to another scholium on the same passage, Aristarchus too expressed amazement at Alcinous' behavior and doubted that verses 7.311-16 were genuine.

²⁶ J. Pitt-Rivers, "The Law of Hospitality," in The Fate of Shechem (Cambridge, 1977) 106-7, reprinted from "La loi de l'hospitalité, Les Temps Modernes 22.4 (June, 1967) no. 253, mentions a modern

extraordinary status can perhaps partially be attributed to her role as the potential bride's mother in the folktale.

The entire scene of the contests, too, can be illuminated in the light of this underlying folktale. It is entirely unmotivated in a scene of simple hospitality, as in our inherited text, that a guest be required to "accomplish many feats with which the Phaeacians test him" (8.22-3), and that he be challenged, especially by the king's son, who is his host, to take part in contests (8.145-51).²⁷ It is a serious breach of proper hospitality that a Phaeacian noble, Euryalus, should taunt the guest, and that Alcinous should fail to shield his guest from this rude behavior (8.158-64). But if we understand this scene as a residue of the underlying folktale of a strange suitor to the hand of the princess, the Phaeacians' behavior becomes explicable. In the folktale the contest is the arena for the suitors--the "young and noble aristocrats" in our tale (8.110; cf.

analogy to this behavior of the Phaeacians. In rural villages of Spain, where extraordinary hospitality is the norm, there is one class of strangers toward whom hostility is shown: the young man who comes courting a local girl. He is either driven away by stoning or ducked into the village fountain. But if he survives this ordeal and perseveres with his suit he is allowed to do so unmolested.

²⁷ The only other incidents in Homer of guests participating in contests with their hosts are Tydeus' contest with the Cadmeans upon his notoriously hostile visit (*Il.* 4.385-400; 5.800-808) and Odysseus' own contest with his nominal hosts, the suitors, upon his arrival home. Guests, like suppliants, should be exempt from participation in agonistic relationships; they are "out of play" in terms of the normal "game" of competition; see J. P. Gould (1973) 95.

6.284)--to vie for the hand of the princess. Euryalus in the underlying tale is a local suitor, who quite naturally speaks slightingly of a rival suitor's pedigree: "You are not an athlete but a merchant"; i.e. "you are not an aristocrat, not a legitimate contender for the hand of the princess" (8.158-64). But Odysseus' subsequent throw with the discus (8.186-198) proves that he is in fact an athlete, and it wins for him not only the contest but, at least in the underlying motif, the hand of the princess.

The activities which follow the contest in our inherited text would quite naturally follow the determination of the winning suitor of the folktale. The singing, dancing, acrobatics, and especially the song of Ares and Aphrodite, a marriage "hymn" (8.429), are perhaps more appropriate to the setting of a wedding feast than to a hospitality scene (8.250-384)--the closest parallel in the Odyssey is the scene in Sparta (4.1-19), which is also a wedding feast. Odysseus himself presides over the feast, distributing the choice portion of the meat to the bard and asking him to sing a particular song (8.470-98). This is an odd way for a guest to conduct himself, but Odysseus' taking upon himself the duties of the host is perfectly understandable in the light of the underlying folktale: he is merely presiding at his own wedding feast.

Finally, the peculiar nature of the Phaeacians' guest-gifts, a collection of treasure from the nobles of the land (8.387-95)--unprecedented in other scenes of hospitality--is well adapted to a tale in which these nobles would have been rival suitors. These

gifts are closely associated with the contests, and Odysseus might be said to have won them by virtue of his discus-throw. This reflects the underlying folktale, in which the gifts were the bride-prices of suitors competing for the hand of the princess. It is compatible with the folktale that all this treasure is laid at the feet of the queen (8.417-20), the bride's mother, who shows extreme concern for its safety, since it is her daughter's bride-price. She packs it away carefully in a chest and has the successful suitor tie it with a special knot (8.438-48). The treasure is later placed on a ship, which lies at anchor in the harbor, ready to take the newly married couple to the groom's home (13.66-76).

In sum, this theory of an underlying folktale of a strange suitor to the hand of the princess unravels many of the problems in the Phaeacian episode and illuminates much which was previously obscure. It accounts for most of the oddities delineated above in the Phaeacians' behavior toward their guest and explains the accumulation of faux pas in the course of their entertainment of the stranger.

However, this theory of an underlying folktale could be subverted, at least in part, by a different, though not mutually exclusive, theory, which accounts for the many inexplicable elements in the Phaeacian episode by regarding it as somehow patterned on the episode of Odysseus' arrival in Ithaca.²⁸

²⁸ M. Lang, "Homer and Oral Techniques," Hesperia 38 (1969) 159-68, presents this theory in its clearest and most succinct, and as far as I am aware in its earliest, form.

Nausicaa's warning to Odysseus that the Phaeacians are "very overbearing" (μάλα ὑπερφίαλοι 6.274) and will blame her for preferring a newly arrived stranger to the "many and noble" (πολλές τε καὶ ἐσθλοί 6.284) Phaeacian suitors, echoes the situation in Ithaca, where Penelope is beset by "many and noble" (πολλές τε καὶ ἐσθλοί 22.204) suitors, who are notoriously "overbearing" (ὑπερφίαλοι)--a word commonly associated with the Ithacan suitors (21x Od.). Athena's warning to Odysseus that the Phaeacians do not tolerate strangers (7.32-3), and that some Phaeacian will accost him on the road and "insult him" (κερτομέοι 7.17), echoes the general treatment of Odysseus by the suitors in Ithaca (κερτομέωσιν 16.87; cf. 18.350; 20.263), and specifically by Melanthius, who accosts Odysseus on the road and taunts him (17.212-32; cf. κερτομίοισι 20.177). The secrecy surrounding Odysseus' arrival at the Phaeacian palace--Athena covers him with a mist (7.14-15) and tells him to be quiet and not look anyone in the eye (7.30-1)--echoes Athena's transformation of Odysseus in Ithaca into a miserable beggar (13.429-38; 16.454-9; 17.201-3). But while this initial secrecy, and Odysseus' extended state of incognito, make perfect sense in Ithaca, where the suitors pose a danger to the returning master of the house, they remain unmotivated, indeed awkward, in Scheria, where Odysseus is simply a shipwrecked sailor seeking an escort home.

Since the secrecy motif is used, it is necessary to have a guide for Odysseus; hence, Nausicaa is modelled on Telemachus. The

similarities in their roles are notable: both are children of ruling families in unusually female-oriented environments; both are on the brink of adulthood; Athena sends a dream to both, instigating their meetings with Odysseus (6.13-40; 15.1-42); Odysseus appears to both as suppliant and is transformed in their presence into a god-like appearance by Athena (6.229-45; 16.172-85); both give clothing to Odysseus (6.214; 16.79); both give an account of the situation in the palace (6.303-15; 16.241-57); both precede him into town (6.295-9; 17.1-25).²⁹

Perhaps one can go so far as to say that Arete's unusual importance in the Phaeacian episode, often explained as a vestige of a primitive matriarchal society,³⁰ or as a reflection of the special role of women in ritual supplication,³¹ can more economically and plausibly be attributed to her debt to Penelope as a model: both episodes present a picture of a helpless suppliant addressing a powerful queen as the two sit by a fire (6.303-12;

²⁹ See further D. Belmont, "Telemachus and Nausicaa: A Study of Youth," *CJ* 63 (1967) 1-9. Belmont emphasizes the artistic motivation for such doublets and does not comment on the clues provided by the doublet to the genesis of the poem.

³⁰ For a recent restatement of this popular 19th century view, see K. Hirvonen, Matriarchal Survivals and Certain Trends in Homer's Female Characters (Helsinki, 1968) especially 105-11. But see M. Finley's objections to this view, (1965, rev. 1978) 103-4.

³¹ J. Pitt-Rivers, "Women and Sanctuary in the Mediterranean," in The Fate of Shechem (Cambridge, 1977) 113-25, reprinted from Échanges et Communications v. 2 (Paris, 1970) 862-75; J. Bremmer, "Gelon's Wife and the Carthaginian Ambassadors," Mnemosyne 33 (1980) 366-8.

7.139-54; 17.553-73; 19.55-64, 97-105, 505-8). Conversely, Alcinous' rather ineffective and even comical role would then be due to the absence of a strong male ruler in Ithaca. Yet Penelope also seems to color the character of Nausicaa, both characters being objects of marriage/re-marriage to this newly arrived stranger; hence, the description of Athena's beautification of Odysseus in the presence of Nausicaa echoes verbatim, simile and all, the description of Athena's beautification of Odysseus in the presence of Penelope (6.230-5 = 23.157-62), and the description of Nausicaa standing at the door of the megaron, looking at Odysseus as he rises from his bath, echoes the description of Penelope whenever she enters the megaron in Ithaca (8.458 = 1.333; 16.415; 18.209; 21.64), all the scenes having an erotic undercurrent.

Two more specific echoes deserve passing consideration. The description of Odysseus' plight in Scheria often sounds like an echo of his situation in Ithaca: his generally miserable condition and particularly his specific complaints to Alcinous about the shamelessness of his belly seem more appropriate to his role as a beggar in Ithaca than to his role as an honored guest in Scheria (7.208-25; 17.468-76). Another specific echo, though a rather faint and contorted one, is the importance of an item of clothing as a token of identity in the scenes which lead up to Odysseus' recognition in both episodes (7.233-9; 19.215-48).

But perhaps the most compelling evidence that the Phaeacian episode is patterned upon the Ithacan is the awkwardness of the scene in which the Phaeacians make trial of Odysseus in contests.

The rudeness of Euryalus' taunt and Odysseus' participation in the contests are completely unmotivated in what should be a hospitality scene. But Euryalus' remarks closely echo those of Antinous and Eurymachus in Ithaca (8.159-64; 21.288-311, 321-9), and Odysseus' unexpected show of strength in the discus and his boast to the Phaeacians that he is second to none, except Philoctetes, in the bow (8.215-28) is an eerie echo of the contest of the bow, and the subsequent slaughter of the suitors, in Ithaca. In Scheria Odysseus boasts that he would be first to strike his man in a crowd of enemies (8.216-17); this is exactly what happens in Ithaca, where Odysseus steers his first arrow through the crowd of enemies into the throat of Antinous (22.1-16).

Finally, the festivities in Scheria following the contests echo the events in Ithaca following the contest of the bow and the slaughter of the suitors. Just as the "wedding" festivities of song and dance follow the contests in Scheria (8.249ff.), so does a "wedding" song and dance follow the contest in Ithaca (23.142-5). Just as Odysseus presides over the "wedding" feast in Scheria (8.469-98), so does he, the master returned home at last, preside over the "wedding" in Ithaca (23.129-51). Demodocus' "wedding hymn" in Scheria (8.266-366), in which Hephaestus, Aphrodite's legitimate husband, returns home to find Ares sleeping with his wife, echoes the real story in Ithaca of the return of a legitimate husband back home to his courted wife.³²

³² G. P. Rose, The Song of Ares and Aphrodite: Recurrent Motifs in Homer's Odyssey (University of California, Berkeley, dissertation,

V. Methodological Considerations.

In sum, it does not seem at all implausible that the Ithacan episode, which is after all the central episode of the Odyssey, should have influenced the Phaeacian episode. This is a theory that has, in some form or another, achieved fairly wide acceptance.³³ Yet this theory poses many potential difficulties: How is one to determine with certainty in which direction the influence has gone? How can one be sure that the two episodes are not independently patterned on a third episode, or on a folktale external to Homer's epics? How far can one take this method in analyzing details of an episode: e.g. are the golden dogs outside the door of Alcinoos' palace modelled on the dog Argos in Ithaca?³⁴ Is Nausicaa's nurse Eurymedusa modelled on Telemachus' nurse

1969), traces seventeen parallel motifs between the song of Ares and Aphrodite and Odysseus' return home to Ithaca.

³³ B. Fenik occasionally comes close to this view; see especially (1974) 7-60. N. Austin (1975) 179-238, sees the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope as the most important scene in the Odyssey, so pivotal that it generates a family of allomorphs: Arete in Scheria, Helen in Sparta. T. Krischer, "Phäaken und Odyssee," Hermes 113 (1985) 9-21, rejects Woodhouse's view of an underlying folktale in favor of this theory--unnecessarily in my opinion, since the two theories are not mutually exclusive.

³⁴ So M. Lang (1969) 164.

Eurycleia?³⁵ Clearly this method is open to abuse. Hence, some scholars, such as Fenik and Hainsworth,³⁶ while noting the similarities between these two scenes, as well as between other scenes, have minimized the influence between one and the other, rather regarding both as allomorphs of a general narrative pattern or theme.

My own view is that we can use this theory of one scene influencing another productively, though we should do so with great caution, for Homer provides ample evidence of general narrative patterns, themes, and character-types being applied independently to two or more particular instances. The narrative pattern of a typical hospitality scene, for example, is reiterated in a similar, though never a strictly identical, form throughout the epic. Favorite themes appear repeatedly: the unknown or disguised stranger, grief over a missing family member or friend, the ubiquitous presence of a dog at the door. Character doublets are also common: Eurycleia - Eurynome, Circe - Calypso, Eumaeus - Philoetius. Indeed these types of repetitions are as pervasive on the narrative level as repeated epithets, formulae, and verses are

³⁵ D. Belmont (1967) 7-8, notes their similarity in name, function, and background. One might just as reasonably wonder if Euryalus is modelled on Eurymachus.

³⁶ See B. Fenik's criticism of Lang in (1974) 55, n. 76; J. B. Hainsworth, in A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth (1988) 290-1: "It is unnecessary and probably misleading to suggest that either of these episodes is modelled on the other." This also appears to be D. Belmont's view in (1967) 1-9, though he never states it as such.

on a dictional level; they are a fundamental feature of the Homeric style, evidently derived from its essentially oral nature. The appearance of a repetition, then, should not compel us to ask which of the two is the model, nor should it send us off in a frantic search for the original in an earlier version of the "Odyssey" or in an early folktale. The search for a model for every repetition is a vain enterprise, and even when a suitable model is available, comparison of the two is often unproductive.

Yet repetitions can sometimes be profitably analyzed by trying to identify the model: when a narrative pattern is exceptionally awkward; when a theme is particularly inappropriate to the situation; when a character is remarkably one-dimensional and obviously derivative. Sometimes that model is external to Homer. Just as one may, on a dictional level, account for an irregularity in a formula by recreating its pre-Homeric form--e.g. the "ι" of ἀμφιβρότης and the first "α" of ἀνδροτήτα both fail to make position in the formulae ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης and ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην, pointing back to a pre-Mycenaean origin for these formulae (i.e. when syllabic "r" still existed)--so may one, on a narrative level, search for pre-Homeric models for a narrative pattern, a theme, or a character type--e.g. the Neoanalytic view that the Patrocleia is modelled upon a pre-Homeric "Memnonis". This is what Van Leeuwen and Woodhouse have done by explaining the oddities of the Phaeacian episode as derived from an earlier version of the "Odyssey" or from an early folktale about a strange suitor to the hand of a princess.

But sometimes one need look no further than Homer for the model of a repetition. Just as, on a dictional level, a formula may be derivative--"with stout hand" (χειρί παχείη), appropriate in the Iliad's predominately martial context, is somewhat uncomfortably applied to Penelope (Od. 21.6)--so, on a narrative level, a narrative pattern, a theme, or a character type may be derivative--thus the narrative sequence in which a wounded warrior is carried "groaning heavily" (βαρέα στενάχοντα) from the field by his comrades (8.334; 13.538) is inappropriately applied to Hypsenor (13.423), who is apparently already dead (13.411); thus the theme of secrecy and incognito, which is so pervasive throughout the Odyssey, is somewhat bathetically extended to Odysseus' reunion with his father; similarly, the somewhat one-dimensional and colorless Calypso is apparently modelled upon Circe, her more interesting and fully-elaborated doublet. This is essentially the view of Lang, Austin, and Krischer,³⁷ who see the narrative pattern of Odysseus' arrival home in Ithaca, the motif of his disguise, the theme of his vengeance upon the suitors, and his (re-) marriage to the queen, as a model which is somewhat inappropriately applied to the Phaeacian episode.

In my view the two theories are not mutually exclusive. Indeed the Phaeacian episode does appear to be modelled on the Ithacan episode. But since the Ithacan episode itself is clearly a version of the old folktale--an unknown stranger arriving in a sorry state,

³⁷ M. Lang (1969) 159-68; N. Austin (1975) 179-238; T. Krischer (1985) 9-21.

who proves to be a prince (king) after defeating all the rivals to the hand of the princess (queen) and thereafter marrying (re-marrying) her--is not the Phaeacian episode derived, though perhaps to some degree at second hand, from that very folktale? Are not both theories, then, equally correct, the folktale motif being ingrained in the poet's mind as a "form" which generally molds the story, the importance and centrality of the Ithacan episode generating a family of more specific allomorphs in the Scherian?

VI. The Aesthetics of the Phaeacian Episode.

Having determined, then, that the Phaeacian episode is the result of some kind of contamination of motifs--that of an idyllic paradise whose inhabitants succor a shipwrecked sailor and grant him conveyance home with a motif of the arrival of an unknown suitor to the hand of a princess--one may very well ask next whether this contamination of motifs is successful or not from an artistic point of view. Just as one may evaluate, on a dictional level, whether formulae, epithets, or type-scenes, which have been taken from one context and imposed upon another, are adeptly or ineptly adapted to their new context--Penelope's handling of a door key with her "stout hand" (*χειρί παχείη* Od. 21.6), Aegisthus' epithet "blameless" (*ἀμύμων* Od. 1.29), and Eumaeus' chopping of firewood with "pitiless bronze" (*νηλέϊ χαλκῷ* Od. 14.418) may strike a literate audience as ineptly adapted formulae--so may one ask, on a

narrative level, whether a motif or theme incorporated into a scene from elsewhere is successfully adapted or not--critics often object to the theme of secrecy and incognito extended to the scene of Odysseus' reunion with his father (Od. 24.214-348). Is the Phaeacian episode a clumsy amalgam of motifs by an inept bard, an accidental mishandling of traditional material and techniques, an unfortunate victim of intrusive foreign elements, or is it an artistic and purposeful joining of motifs, which contributes to large-scale thematic development and enhances and enlivens the narrative?

My own view is that, while a few awkward situations result from the contamination of motifs--e.g. Alcinous' absurdly hasty offer of his daughter to a perfect stranger, and the equally hasty and abrupt dismissal of Nausicaa from the scene once her usefulness is over--the overall effect upon the Phaeacian episode is to transform what could have been a rather boring and methodical hospitality scene into one of the most intriguing episodes of the Odyssey. Scheria could have been simply a transition point in the epic, a place of respite for Odysseus between the harrowing adventures of the apologoi and his ominous arrival in Ithaca. The Phaeacians could have been simply the hospitable providers of conveyance home for Odysseus. But by incorporating the motif of the unknown suitor to the hand of the princess into the episode, the poet has added considerable intrigue to the narrative and has adeptly connected the episode to what has preceded in the apologoi and to what is to come in Ithaca.

Just as Circe and Calypso have posed obstacles to Odysseus' return in the past, tempting him to remain with them and become their husband rather than seek a reunion with Penelope (e.g. 9.29-32),³⁸ so does Nausicaa, in the Phaeacian episode, pose a potential obstacle to Odysseus' return: he is tempted to marry her and remain in Scheria (αὐτόθι μίμνειν 6.245; αἰθεὶ μένων 7.314). Though Odysseus' ultimate return home to Penelope is never really in doubt, the audience of the tale is able to suspend this knowledge and enjoy Nausicaa's performance as Odysseus' last temptation. The entire episode is colored and enlivened by the possibility that Odysseus will never leave Scheria; even up to the time of his departure he is to be found staring impatiently at the sun, wishing for it to set and longing for his return home (13.28-35)--a scene hauntingly reminiscent of our first view of Odysseus, still in Calypso's grasp on Ogygia, staring longingly over the sea (5.81-5). Thus Scheria, far from being "a haven where uncertainty and hostility are suspended",³⁹ may better be described as the last obstacle to Odysseus' return; like the other islands of his wanderings, Scheria is potentially obstructive and therefore potentially dangerous.

³⁸ Both temptresses are partly successful. Odysseus' long stay with Calypso, and the narrator's remark that, now in Odysseus' seventh year in Ogygia, "the nymph no longer pleased him" (οὐκέτι 5.153), suggest that Odysseus was not always so unhappy with her. Odysseus happily stays with Circe for a full year before his companions approach him and convince him to "remember his fatherland" (10.467-74).

³⁹ C. Segal (1962) 22, 23, 59, n. 10.

The Phaeacian episode is also adeptly connected, by the incorporation of the motif of the unknown suitor for the hand of the princess, to what follows in Ithaca. Many details of the Phaeacian episode foreshadow what is to occur in the second half of the Odyssey: Nausicaa's and Athena's warnings about overbearing Phaeacians who will taunt Odysseus foreshadow the action of the suitors' in Ithaca; the secrecy surrounding Odysseus' arrival at the palace in Scheria foreshadows his disguise as a beggar in Ithaca; Odysseus' unexpected show of strength in the Phaeacian contests foreshadows his participation in the contest of the bow in Ithaca; Demodocus' song about the unforeseen return home of a legitimate husband to his courted wife foreshadows Odysseus' long-awaited return home to his beleaguered wife; and, in general, the underlying motif of the newly arrived suitor's marriage to Nausicaa foreshadows Odysseus' (re-) marriage to Penelope.

This contamination of motifs in the Phaeacian episode is, in my view, not a clumsy and accidental amalgam, but rather an artistic and purposeful joining of motifs; it is a successful artistic device which connects the Phaeacian episode thematically with Odysseus' previous adventures and at the same time foreshadows the adventures which await him in Ithaca.

VI. Polyphemus (Od. 9.105-564).

οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν.

For the Cyclopes do not heed aegis-bearing Zeus.
(Od. 9.275)

I. Introduction.

Books 9-12 of the Odyssey, commonly referred to as the "apologoi", contain Odysseus' own account to his Phaeacian hosts of his wanderings from the time he left Troy up to his arrival in Ogygia. Though these stories are generically different from the material of the rest of the Odyssey, being derived from inherited folktales and deep-sea yarns, Homer has concealed many of the fantastic elements of the inherited material and endowed many of these folktale characters with human qualities: Aeolus, the wind god, lives in a city; the Laestrygonians, man-eating ogres, hold assemblies in an agora; Circe, the witch, resides in a palace with servants to assist her. One of the most persistent of human institutions to be found in the apologoi, even among these folktale characters, is the ritual of xenia. As in the first eight books of the Odyssey, hospitality continues to function as a leitmotif throughout the tales of Odysseus' wanderings. The reiterated tale about a wandering hero in an exotic land is naturally conducive to this theme of hospitality, so it is not surprising that many of the conventional elements of hospitality scenes, which we have become so familiar with in the first eight books of the Odyssey,

continue to occur in the apologoi in some form or another: the arrival of a stranger at an unknown land (II); the stranger's apprehension over whether the inhabitant(s) will be hostile or hospitable; the stranger's reception by the inhabitant(s) (VII), including the provision of food (IX), song (XIII), bath and fresh clothes (XVIII), bed (XVII), and guest-gifts (XX); the question of whether the inhabitant(s) will provide "conveyance" (πομπή) to the stranger's next destination (XXV).

What is remarkable, of course, is that while the first eight books of the Odyssey have demonstrated the proper function of these elements in normal scenes of human hospitality, the apologoi by contrast portray the guest being abused by these very elements. Every hospitality scene of the apologoi is tainted by deviations from and perversions of the elements of the normal hospitality type-scene (food, song, guest-gifts, bed, etc.): the food of the Lotus Eaters causes Odysseus' men to forget their homecoming (9.94-7); Circe offers the men a meal mixed with a drug which causes them to forget their homeland (10.234-6); among the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians the guests, rather than being offered food, actually become the food of their hosts (9.288-93; 10.115-6); the song of the Sirens, like the food of the Lotus Eaters, causes those who hear it to forget their homecoming (12.41-6); the guest-gift of Polyphemus--the privilege of being eaten last (9.369-70)--is a cynical parody of the normal ritual; even the guest-gift of the hospitable Aeolus--the bag of winds (10.19-22)--ultimately drives Odysseus and his men away from their long-sought homeland

(10.47-9); the overly zealous hospitality of Odysseus' two female hosts, Circe and Calypso, and specifically the attraction of their beds (5.154-5; 9.29-32; 10.347, 467-74), delay the hero's timely arrival home. In short, Odysseus' hosts are either blatantly hostile and violent, bringing death and destruction, or else they are overly zealous in their hospitality, jeopardizing his return home. There is no middle ground. Surely Menelaus, who expresses his indignation both at hosts who are overly hospitable and at ones who are overly hostile, would find much to disapprove of in the apologoi (15.69-74):

νεμεσσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλω
ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλέησιν,
ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν· ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα.
ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι
ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.
χρὴ ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

I would be indignant at another man
who, receiving guests, acted excessively hospitable
or excessively hostile; all things are better in due measure.
It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not
want to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.
One must grant hospitality to a guest who is present and
grant conveyance to a guest who wants to leave.

I have chosen to concentrate my analysis of hospitality in the apologoi on the Cyclopeia. In many ways it is the centerpiece of the apologoi: it is a relatively long account--the first adventure to be told in detail--and it is thematically important, since it is the blinding of Polyphemus which leads to the wrath of Poseidon and the subsequent ten-year wandering of Odysseus. Most important for my purposes, the theme of hospitality--or, more precisely, the parody of the theme of hospitality--is woven through this episode from beginning to end: Odysseus' expressed intention of testing the Cyclops' hospitality and acquiring guest-gifts (9.174-6, 228-9, 266-71); the impiety of the Cyclops toward Zeus, protector of guests (9.270-8); the typical request for and presentation of the guest's name (XI) (9.252-66, 355-67, 504-5); the preparation and consumption of feasts (IX) (9.288-97, 308-11, 341-4), followed by an after-dinner drink (X) (9.345-61); the provision of guest-gifts (XX) (9.355-6, 364-70, 517); the offer of conveyance to the next destination (XXV) (9.350, 518); the departure libation (XXII) (9.458-60); the formal speeches by guest and host upon departure (XXIII) (9.523-35); the omen upon departure (XXIV) (9.550-5).

I have also chosen to concentrate on the Cyclopeia because this episode, more than any other, or perhaps just more clearly than any other, demonstrates Homer's ability to innovate at every level of the narrative in his use of inherited material: the folktales which make up the story; the narrative patterns and type-scenes which are the scaffolding of the story; the formulaic diction in which language the story is told. On the level of the story itself we are

in the rare situation of being able to reconstruct the material which Homer inherited by comparing the over two-hundred mostly independent attestations of this widely distributed folktale. By comparing the common elements of these folktales to Homer's version of the tale, we are able to recognize Homer's innovations to his inherited material. On the level of Homer's presentation of the story--and by "story" I mean content (i.e. "what is told"); by "presentation" I mean form (i.e. "how it is told": the narrative patterns, type-scenes, and formulaic diction in which language the story is related)--we are equally prepared to isolate Homer's innovations, for the structure and diction of the typical hospitality scene are perhaps more familiar to the audience of the Odyssey by this point in the epic than those of any other type-scene. The first four hospitality scenes of the Odyssey: Athena-Mentes in Ithaca; Telemachus in Pylos; Telemachus in Sparta; Odysseus in Scheria; have thoroughly steeped the audience in the conventional elements of hospitality, and by this point in the narrative the audience is prepared to recognize and appreciate deviations from these norms. Homer clearly relies upon the previous experience of his audience in the Cyclopeia, creating what might usefully be termed a parody of a hospitality scene by employing the structure and diction of the normal hospitality scene but presenting them in altered and abnormal ways. Hence, breaches of literary convention on a formal level inform the breaches of social convention on the level of the story.

In this analysis of Homer's innovations in the Cyclopeia, I have found it particularly critical to distinguish between these two levels of "story" and "presentation"; for, while innovations of an inherited story are common to all genres of literature, written and oral, innovations of a story's presentation (the conventional patterns and diction through which the story is related) are much more closely associated with oral poetry, and especially with the highly formalized epic art-language. If Homer's Odyssey had been entirely lost in transmission, and all we knew of it was a prose version such as we have, for example, in Apollodorus' summary of the epic, we would still be able to distinguish Homer's innovations of his inherited material on the level of story, but his innovations on the level of the story's presentation--his rearrangement of type-scene elements and his alteration of conventional diction--would have been obliterated.

I have also found that greater clarity and precision can be achieved in my analysis by avoiding as often as possible the term "tradition"; for on the level of story the term "tradition" would apply to the inherited folktale, while on the level of presentation the term would apply exclusively to the inherited epic "art-language" (Kunstsprache). On the level of story I have chosen to refer to Homer's manipulations as "innovations of inherited material" in order to distinguish this from Homer's manipulations on the level of presentation, which I have chosen to call "deviations from the norm". Although by "norm" I mean essentially what is commonly understood by "tradition", both terms referring to the

inherited, highly formulaic, often repeated, almost generic patterns and phrases which characterize the epic art-language, the use of "norm" will preempt the objection that I am setting Homer up against his tradition. I regard Homer as very much a part of the tradition, and I believe his innovations of and additions to the tradition were not fundamentally different from those of other bards. It might even be said, without contradiction, that the tradition itself was innovative. But in order to prevent the confusion inherent in such an oxymoron, I have tried to avoid the term whenever possible.

II. Story.

That the theme of hospitality is woven through the entire episode of Homer's Cyclopeia is particularly remarkable because it plays no part in any other version of this widely distributed folktale, a tale which is attested in more than two-hundred versions, from Iceland in the west to Russia in the east, from Lappland in the north to Africa in the south. These versions are largely independent of Homer's Cyclopeia and therefore provide a clue as to what is inherited and what is innovative in Homer's version.¹

¹ For a review of scholarship on the issue of whether these folktales are derived from Homer or are independent representations of a folktale shared by Homer, see J. Glenn, "The Polyphemus Folktale and Homer's Kyklopeia," *TAPA* 102 (1971) 135-44. Since W. Grimm's essay, "Die Sage von Polyphem," Abhandlungen der Königl. Akad. der Wiss. (Berlin, 1857) 23-4 (=

It has long been recognized that Homer has combined at least two independent folktales in his version: a) the story of a hero who blinds a man-eating ogre, escapes with the help of the ogre's sheep, and, very often, is almost recaptured by the ogre with the help of a magic ring or ax; b) the story of a hero who injures an ogre or devil and avoids harm by giving his name as "Myself" (or very rarely as "Nobody").² It has also been generally noted that Homer has characterized his hero as exceptionally resourceful (Odysseus' deception about the whereabouts of his men and his ruse to get the

Kleinere Schrift. 4 (Gütersloh, 1887) 454-5), the communis opinio has leaned heavily on the side of the independence of these folktales. The clearest evidence of their independence is the fact that, with just two possible exceptions, only Homer's Cyclopeia combines two separate motifs (types "a" and "b" below). If Homer's version was the original tale from which all the other versions were derived, it would be impossible to account for the clean dissection of the two motifs in these later versions.

² Only two other versions combine the two folktales: 1) A Lapp version, recorded by J. C. Poestion in Lappländische Märchen (Vienna, 1886) 122-6, and translated into English by J. G. Frazer (ed.), Apollodorus: the Library (London and New York, 1921) 423-6. But the remarkably close resemblances to the Homeric version suggest that this is not an independent attestation. Cf. O. Hackman, Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung (Helsinki, 1904) 36; D. L. Page (1955) 18, n. 6; J. Glenn (1971) 138 n. 21, 143-4. 2) A Modern Greek version, recorded by I. G. Valavánis in the periodical Astír tou Pontou 1 (1884) 135 (cf. the almost identical version of the folktale on 72), and translated into English by R. M. Dawkins, More Greek Folktales (Oxford, 1955) 19-21. Dawkins (p. 14) argues that it is a genuine survival, independent of Homer. This is not impossible, but the independent synthesis of an otherwise unparalleled combination of folktales seems too remarkable a coincidence.

Cyclops drunk), and he has characterized his ogre as exceptionally contemptuous of the gods--thus placing the opposition of Polyphemus and Odysseus into a theological context--but at the same time as somewhat pathetic (Polyphemus' conversation with his favorite ram). It has also been observed that, as is his usual procedure when working with inherited material, Homer has here suppressed or entirely obliterated many of the supernatural elements of the folktales, most notably the magic ring.³

Some of Homer's innovations appear to be designed to connect the Cyclopeia to the overarching themes of the Odyssey: Goat Island, off the coast of the land of the Cyclopes, has been invented in order to facilitate the adaption of the folktale to the theme of the sea-faring wanderer, whose fleet must somehow be preserved for later adventures; Polyphemus is made to be the son of Poseidon in order to adapt the folktale to the overarching Odyssean theme of the curse; the name "Nobody" (Οὐτις 9.366) has been substituted for the inherited "Myself"⁴ in order to make possible the pun with

³ On Homer's suppression of supernatural elements generally, see J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," JHS 97 (1977) 39-53. On Homer's innovations to this specific inherited folktale, see J. Glenn (1971) 179-81.

⁴ As noted above the trick of the name is foreign to the Polyphemus-type folktale (type "a"), the only exceptions other than the Odyssey itself being the two versions mentioned in n. 2, which appear to be dependent on Homer. Of the ninety-seven attestations listed in Hackman (n. 2) of the folktale in which a trick name is used (type "b"), only one (Hackman #128) uses "Nobody" rather than "Myself".

"Wiliness" (μήτις 9.405-14), which connects this scene thematically to Odysseus as the man of "many wiles" (πολύμητις 68x Od.) in the rest of the Odyssey.⁵

Homer has made even more extensive innovations of his inherited material in order to connect the Cyclopeia to the theme of hospitality, a leitmotif in the rest of the Odyssey. Homer presents a uniquely Greek, and uniquely Odyssean, version of the folktale by highlighting, as elsewhere in the epic, this theme of hospitality. Of the over two-hundred versions of the folktale, only in Homer's version is the hero motivated to visit the ogre by his curiosity as to whether he is friendly to guests (9.173-6; cf. 6.120-1; 13.201-2) and by his desire to acquire guest-gifts (9.228-9, 266-71); in most versions of the folktale the victims are innocent travelers who accidentally meet up with the ogre.⁶ Only in Homer's version is the impiety of the ogre toward the gods--specifically toward Zeus, protector of guests, in Homer--so explicitly articulated and so thematically important (9.266-78).⁷

⁵ On the pun itself, see A. J. Podlecki, "Guest-Gifts and Nobodies in Odyssey 9," Phoenix 15 (1961) 129-31. On the thematic connection to the rest of the Odyssey, see S. Schein, "Odysseus and Polyphemus in the Odyssey," GRBS 11 (1970) 77-81.

⁶ Alternatively the hero intentionally seeks out the ogre in order to kill him (Frazer #36), steal his treasure (Frazer #1, #20, #21), rescue a maiden (Hackman #31, #41), the king's daughter (Frazer #14, Hackman #84), or his own wife (Hackman #15). See J. Glenn (1971) 151-2.

⁷ The motif of impiety toward the gods occurs in some Christian and Muslim versions (Frazer #21, Germain "a" and "d" in G. Germain,

Only in Homer's version do the hero and the ogre exchange gifts: Odysseus deceptively gives to Polyphemus a powerful wine, which inebriates him and facilitates his blinding (9.347-50);⁸ Polyphemus gives an equally deceptive counter-gift: the privilege of being eaten last (9.369-70).⁹ Lastly, the giving of Odysseus' real name upon departure (an inversion of the traditional name-giving upon a guest's arrival) and the subsequent curse of

Genèse de l'Odyssée (Paris, 1954)), but these are clearly late accretions to the original folktale. See J. Glenn (1971) 157-8.

It should be noted here that Homer is refashioning not only the widely distributed folktale of the man-eating ogre but also the earlier Greek concept of who the Cyclopes were. When he inserted the folktale of the ogre into his story of Odysseus' return, Homer decided to apply the name "Cyclops" to this ogre, but there is little evidence that the Greek Cyclopes were the barbarous, impious, creatures of the Odyssey. According to Hesiod the Cyclopes are personified storm elements--Arges, Brontes, Steropes--who supply Zeus with the thunderbolt and are master craftsmen (Theog. 139-46). Perhaps this explains the inconcinnity of the description of the Cyclopes as carefree inhabitants of a golden-age paradise who trust in the immortals at 9.107-11 with their description as contemptuous of the gods at 9.273-8. See R. Mondi, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktale, Tradition, and Theme," TAPA 113 (1983) 17-38.

⁸ The motif of getting an ogre drunk and overcoming him is common (see S. Thompson, Motif Index, G.521), but it is not generally found in the folktale of the blinding of a man-eating ogre. Drunkenness plays a minor part in only two versions (Frazer #23, #26). See J. Glenn (1971) 161-2.

⁹ A delay in eating the hero does occur, though under different circumstances, in a few versions of the folktale (Frazer #6, #12 (which, as mentioned in n. 2, appears to be derived from Homer), Hackman #114). See J. Glenn (1971) 163-4.

Polyphemus (a parody of the conventional blessing upon a guest's departure) are not regular elements of the folktale.¹⁰

It would appear, then, that Homer himself is the source of those elements of the Cyclopeia which pertain to the theme of hospitality. But Homer has not only added new elements which are foreign to the inherited folktale; he has also made alterations in some of the inherited elements in order to accommodate them to the theme of hospitality. The trick of the name "Nobody" ("Myself" in the folktale) is presented in the context of a typical hospitality scene: Polyphemus asks for Odysseus' name "in order that he might give him guest-gifts" (9.356).¹¹ In a rather more daring manipulation of the traditional folktale, Homer has replaced the usual ending of the folktale--the ogre, in order to recapture the escaped hero, offers him a magic ring or ax, which either forces the hero to return to the ogre or else guides the ogre to him by making him shout "Here I am"¹²--with Polyphemus' presumably deceptive offer of guest-gifts and conveyance home if Odysseus

¹⁰ The hero gives his real name in only four versions (Frazer #33, #36, Hackman #110, #194); a curse by the ogre is unattested outside of Homer. See J. Glenn (1971) 174-7. On the thematic relationship between the name-giving and the subsequent curse, see C. S. Brown (1966) 193-202.

¹¹ For a discussion on how the $\text{O}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\iota\varsigma$ theme is interwoven with and facilitated by the guest-gift theme, see A. J. Podlecki (1961) 125-33.

¹² A ring is used in eighteen versions of the folktale, an ax in fifteen, a staff in two, a sword in two, and a white stone in one. See J. Glenn (1971) 177-9.

will only come back (9.517-18).¹³ The inherited detail of a hero who is magically forced to shout "Here I am" has left vestiges in Homer's version in Odysseus' reckless shouting at the Cyclops when he thinks that he is out of his throwing range. This element of shouting has been accommodated to the theme of hospitality: Odysseus' first shout contains his condemnation of Polyphemus' perverted hospitality (9.475-9):

Κύκλωψ, οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἀνάγκιδος ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρους
ἔδμεναι ἐν σπηϊ γλαφυρῷ κρατερῆφι βίηφι.
καὶ λίην σέ γ' ἔμελλε κιχήσεσθαι κακὰ ἔργα,
σχέτλι', ἐπεὶ ξείνους οὐκ ἄζεο σῶ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
ἔσθέμεναι· τῶ σε Ζεὺς τίσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

Cyclops, you were not destined to eat the companions of a
strengthless man
in your hollow cave with your powerful might.
But it was destined that your evil deeds catch up with you,
wretch, since you did not shrink from eating guests in your
house. Therefore Zeus and the other gods have punished you.

¹³ So D. L. Page (1955) 19, n. 15. Others have seen vestiges of the magic-ring ending of the folktale in other parts of the Homeric version: in the rocks which Polyphemus throws at Odysseus' ship (so A. B. Cook, *Zeus II pt. 2* (Cambridge, 1925) 989, n. 5 and L. Röhrich, "Die mittelalterlichen Redaktionen des Polyphem-Märchens (AT 1137) und ihr Verhältnis zur ausserhomerischen Tradition," *Fabula* 5 (1962) 65); in the curse of Polyphemus (so C. S. Brown (1966) 201-2).

Odysseus' second shout contains, at last, his formal identification (Od. 9.502-5):

Κύκλωψ, αἴ κέν τις σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὀφθαλμοῦ εἴρηται ἀεικελίην ἀλαωτύν,
φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι,
υἶὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἰκί᾽ ἔχοντα.

Cyclops, if anyone of mortal men asks you
about the unseemly blindness of your eye,
say that Odysseus, sacker of cities, blinded you,
the son of Laertes, who has a home in Ithaca.

In sum, Homer has transformed the inherited folktale of the blinding of a one-eyed ogre into a hospitality scene--or rather a parody of one--by introducing many typical elements of hospitality: the acquisition of gifts by a guest; the impiety of the host toward Zeus, protector of guests; the exchange of gifts, albeit deceptive gifts, by guest and host; the presentation of the guest's name, lineage and home, albeit presented at his departure rather than upon arrival; the element of the curse--replacing the typical blessing--upon departure; the appearance of an omen upon departure.

III. Presentation.

Homer's innovations of his inherited material have thus far been discussed strictly on the level of story. More interesting, perhaps, and certainly more revealing of Homer's methods as an oral poet working within the structures of the epic genre, are his innovations on the level of the story's presentation: the conventional patterns, type-scenes, and formulae through which the story is related. The perversions of the normal human ritual of hospitality on the level of story--symbolized most vividly by the ogre's feasting upon his guests--have an analogue on the level of presentation in the perversions of the type-scene elements and formulae through which the story is told: i.e. the refashioning of what is conventional and inherited into something innovative and unique. A comparison of the presentation of the Cyclopeia with the conventional elements of a normal hospitality scene will demonstrate how the parody works on the level of form as well as on the level of content.

Using the typical patterns and diction of the normal arrival scene, Homer describes how Odysseus and his men "arrive" (ἀφικόμεθα) at the land of the Cyclopes (II) (9.181). There follows the typical description of the inhabitant's residence, in this case a cave (IIIa) (9.182-6), and the description of the activities of the inhabitant, in this case a description of what Polyphemus customarily does, since he is absent (IIIb) (9.187-92); the familiar description of the activities of those who accompany the inhabitant is conspicuously omitted, the text thereby drawing

attention to Polyphemus' isolation (IIIc) (9.188-9). The arrival at the cave itself follows the same pattern, but with a more striking deviation from the norm. Odysseus and his men "arrive" (ἀφικόμεθα) at the cave (II) (9.216), but they do not find the inhabitant within (IIIb) (οὐδέ μιν ἔνδον εὔρομεν 9.216-7). Such negations of typical elements of type-scenes are always significant in Homer: one may profitably compare the negation of the same typical element in Hector's visitation scene with Andromache (II. 6.369-71) and in Hermes' messenger scene with Calypso (Od. 5.50, 55, 81). In both cases the negation of the type-scene element is remarkable: Andromache is not to be found weaving at home, like Helen (II. 3.125ff.), nor dallying in the bedroom, like Paris (II. 6.321)--she is standing on the city wall lamenting (II. 6.372-3); Odysseus is not to be found comfortably situated in Calypso's cave--he is sitting on the shore weeping for his unattainable homecoming (Od. 5.81ff.). The significance of the negation of this type-scene element in the Cyclopeia is magnified when one considers that this is the only hospitality scene in Homer in which the host is not to be found at home.¹⁴

The negation of this single element of the type-scene--not finding the host at home--prevents the sequence of events which normally follows. Instead of standing at the threshold (V) and

¹⁴ Such negations of typical elements have been recognized as characteristic Homeric devices since antiquity: see the scholium to II. 6.371 (ἐκκλίνων τὸ ὁμοειδές); Eustathius 647, 47; W. Arend (1933) 15-16, 33-4, 48-9, 51, 55, 62, 71, 90, 93, 100, 103, makes many perceptive comments about such Negierung des Typischen.

waiting for the host to catch sight of them, rise from his seat, approach them, take them by the hand, bid them welcome, and lead them into the house (**VIIa, c, d, f, g, i**), Odysseus and his men enter the cave uninvited and take a look around (9.218). There is no host to invite them to take part in sacrifice (**XV**), as Nestor does in Pylos (Od. 3.31-66), or to offer them seats and a meal (**VIII, IX**), so Odysseus and his men start a fire and perform a sacrifice themselves; then making a meal of their host's cheeses (9.231-2), these "guests", in an ironic inversion of the norm, sit down within and wait for their "host" to arrive (9.232-3).

Polyphemus arrives home, drives his sheep into the cave, blocks the entrance to the cave with a huge rock, prepares his meal, starts a fire, and only then catches sight of his guests (9.251). Upon seeing them he immediately asks (9.252-5):

Ἦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρά κέλευθα;
ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἢ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε
οἶά τε ληϊστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται
ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες;

O strangers, who are you? From where do you sail the watery
ways?

Are you on some business, or do you wander aimlessly,
like pirates, who wander over the sea,
risking their lives, bringing evil to foreigners?

There is nothing particularly remarkable about Polyphemos' question. It is not necessarily a hostile interrogation; the hospitable Nestor uses the same four-verse block in questioning Telemachus when he visits Pylos (3.71-4; cf. H.Ap. 452-5). It is not the content of the question but the position of it in the sequence of typical elements that make up the scene that is remarkable, that Polyphemos would inquire into his guests' identity upon first sight (**XIa**), even before offering them a meal (**IX**). In the hospitality scene in Pylos Nestor questions his guests only after offering them food (3.65-8), and he prefaces his question by saying (3.69-70):

Νῦν δὴ κάλλιον ἐστὶ μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι
ξείνους, οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς.

Now it is better to inquire and to ask
strangers who they are, after have taken delight in food.

It is notable that in the four scenes of hospitality preceding the Polyphemos episode (Ithaca, Pylos, Sparta, Scheria), the hosts have scrupulously observed the custom that a guest should be fed before being interrogated. Polyphemos has turned the conventional type-scene of hospitality on its head by interrogating his guests upon first seeing them.

Odysseus' response--that they are Achaeans returning from Troy (9.259-66)--adequately answers the Cyclops' question. Notably

absent, however, is any mention of Odysseus' name, lineage, and homeland. This is the usual place for a guest to identify himself (XIb) (cf. 1.179-81; 3.79-85), but Homer chooses not to reveal his hero's name yet, both in order to make possible the later Οὐτις ("Nobody") trick and, in conjunction with the other inversions of the normal hospitality scene, in order to have Odysseus reveal his name, lineage, and homeland upon departure, at the end rather than at the beginning of the scene.

In the second half of his response to the Cyclops' questions--his supplication of Polyphemus--Odysseus lays claim to the rights of suppliants and guests, pointedly, but rather pathetically, advising the Cyclops that Zeus himself is the protector of suppliants and guests (VI) (9.266-71):

ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε κιχανόμενοι τὰ σὰ γούνα
ικόμεθ', εἴ τι πόροις ξεινήϊον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως
δοίης δωτήνην, ἣ τε ξείνων θέμις ἐστίν.
ἄλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεοῦς· ἰκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν.
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε,
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

We have arrived and come to your knees,
to see if perchance you might grant a guest-gift or otherwise
give a gift, which is the custom of guest-friends.
But revere the gods, mighty one. We are your suppliants.
And Zeus is the protector of suppliants and guests,

Zeus Xeinios, who attends to revered guests.

This reference to Zeus as protector of suppliants and guests is an appeal to the cultural norms of Greek society.¹⁵ What is not normal, however, is the Cyclops' response to Odysseus' supplication (9.273-8):

νήπιός εἰς, ὦ ξεῖν', ἦ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας,
ὅς με θεοῦς κέλεαι ἢ δειδίμεν ἢ ἀλέασθαι·
οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν
οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰμεν.
οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ Διὸς ἔχθος ἀλευάμενος πεφιδοίμην
οὔτε σεῦ οὔθ' ἐτάρων, εἰ μὴ θυμός με κελεύοι.

You are a fool, stranger, or you have come from afar;
you who bid me to fear or shrink from the gods.
For the Cyclopes do not heed aegis-bearing Zeus
nor the blessed gods, since we are much stronger.
And I would not, shrinking from the hatred of Zeus,
spare you or your companions unless my spirit should bid me.

This response clearly places Polyphemus outside the bounds of normal heroic society. Odysseus can no longer expect his host to observe the Greek laws of hospitality. He has shown himself to be

¹⁵ Cf. Nausicaa's reception of Odysseus, in which she mentions Zeus' interest in suppliants and guests (6.206-8).

"violent, savage, and unjust" (ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι 9.175), certainly not "friendly to strangers" (φιλόξεينوι 9.176).

Polyphemus proceeds to commit the ultimate outrage against his guests. Instead of offering them a meal, he makes a meal of them: he snatches up two of Odysseus' men and devours them. This is surely the darkest form of parody. Its parodic value is apparent on the level of story. But even a prose version of the Odyssey, like Apollodorus', would retain this sense of parody on the level of story. What is more interesting about Homer, as an oral poet working in the epic genre, is his presentation, i.e. the structure and diction of Polyphemus' feasting scene; for the perversion of normal civilized behavior on the level of story is mirrored on the level of its presentation by the perversion of the structure and diction associated with a typical banqueting scene. Homer uses the structure and diction of the normal, peaceful, banqueting scene, but alters it to describe Polyphemus' cannibalistic feast. The tension between the familiar conventional diction (the "norm") and Homer's innovations here (his "deviations from that norm") accentuates the utter perversity of this scene.

The normal banqueting scene is very often described by the combination of verses (e.g. 1.149-50; 11x Homer in this combination; cf. Hesiod fr. 112.4):

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειάθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.
ἀντὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,
...

They stretched forth their hands to the food which was
spread out ready.

But when they had cast off their desire for drink and food,
...

Although Polyphemus' feasting scene (9.288-98) is modelled structurally upon this skeleton of the normal banqueting scene, it has been expanded and altered to accentuate the gory details of this unique feast. The first verse of the conventional combination of verses is modified here to accommodate this unique context: it is not normal food, but rather Odysseus' companions, which are the objects of the feast (9.288):¹⁶

ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀναίξας ἐτάροις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλε

But he leaped up and stretched forth his hands upon my
companions.

Only after the insertion of two similes--a poetic device more often associated with scenes of war than of banqueting (the men are like puppies (9.289), Polyphemus like a lion (9.292))--and a description

¹⁶ The correspondences between these verses have rarely been noted: cf. Eustathius 1630, 20; W. Arend (1933) 75; D. Belmont, Early Greek Guest-Friendship and its Role in Homer's Odyssey (Princeton, dissertation, 1962) 169.

of the dire condition of Odysseus' men, symbolized by their entreaty to Zeus, protector of guests (9.294-5), is the feast scene brought to an end with an expanded and modified form of the second verse of the usual combination of verses (9.296-7):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Κύκλωψ μεγάλην ἐμπλήσατο νηδὺν
ἀνδρόμεα κρέ' ἔδων καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρητον γάλα πίνων,

...

But when the Cyclops had filled his great belly,
eating human meat and drinking unmixed milk,

...

Here, instead of the simple nouns "food" (ἐδητύος 1.150, etc.) and drink (πόσιος 1.150, etc.), Homer has enlivened the action by employing the corresponding verb forms and by describing the grotesque nature of the food and drink.¹⁷

Moreover, the formula used in this scene to describe Polyphemus' preparation of his feast after tearing his victims limb from limb, ὀπλίσσατο δόρπον (9.291), appears to be drawn from the diction of normal meal-preparation scenes. Although the exact phrase ὀπλίσσατο δόρπον (9.291 = 2.20; 9.344) and its metrical equivalent ὀπλίσσατο δείπνον (9.311; 10.116) are employed in the surviving epos only to describe the cannibalistic feasts of the

¹⁷ On the correspondences between these verses, see W. Arend (1933) 75.

Cyclops and the Laestrygonians, many similar phrases are attested in normal meal-preparation scenes: δόρπον ἐφοπλίσσαντες (Il. 23.55); δόρπα τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα (Il. 8.503; 9.66); δόρπον θ' ὀπλισάμεσθα (Od. 4.429, 574; 12.292); δόρπον ἐπισταδὸν ὀπλίζοντο (Od. 16.453); δεῖπνον ἐφοπλίσσαι (Od. 19.419); δεῖπνον ἐφοπλίσσωσι (Od. 24.360).

Finally, it appears that the formula used in this scene to describe the brains of Polyphemus' unfortunate victims flowing to the ground, χαμάδις ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν (9.290), is a slight adaption of a formula commonly used in libation scenes, as when Achilles pours a libation of wine at the funeral of Patroclus: χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν (Il. 23.220).¹⁸

In sum, in this uniquely grotesque feasting scene Homer has borrowed the structures and formulae normally employed in the context of peaceful and civilized banquet, meal preparation, and libation scenes, altered them, and employed them in a unique context of barbarous cannibalism. He has taken the diction of peace and applied it to a scene of violence. This perversion on the

¹⁸ This correspondence is noted by W. Arend (1933) 75. But, since this formula occurs only twice in the surviving epos, one must necessarily be less confident than, for example, in the case of the often repeated χεῖρας ἴαλλον that the primary use of this formula is in the context of libation scenes. The primary context of this formula is obfuscated further by the use of segments of it to describe the falling of leaves (χαμάδις χέε Il. 6.147), the flowing of tears (χαμάδις ῥέε Il. 17.438), and the spilling of a dying soldier's blood on the ground (ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν Il. 13.655; 21.119). Yet I suspect that the primary use of the formula was in the context of libation (Il. 23.220; 7.480), as is hinted by the simile at Il. 3.300, where the primary sense of libation of wine is extended to the spilling of brains.

level of presentation mirrors and accentuates the perversion of the situation in the story, creating parody of form as well as of content.

The post-feast activities found in normal hospitality scenes obviously have no place in the Cyclopeia: the questioning of the guests has already occurred (XIa); songs and stories would be entirely out of place (XIII), as would the preparation of the guests' beds (XVII). But what replaces these typical elements, specifically the normal preparation of a bed for the guest, is notably ironic. Polyphemus, the "host", stretches out and falls asleep in the cave while his "guests" remain awake (9.306 = 436):

ὥς τότε μὲν στενάχοντες ἐμείναμεν Ἥῳ δῖαν.

So then groaning we awaited the divine dawn.

This verse appears to be closely modelled on a formula normally employed in more comfortable situations (9.151; 12.7):¹⁹

ἔνθα δ' ἀποβρίξαντες ἐμείναμεν Ἥῳ δῖαν.

And then having fallen asleep we awaited the divine dawn.

¹⁹ On the correspondences between these verses, see W. Arend (1933) 100.

In harmony with the overarching sense of parody in the feasting scene, Homer has altered the usual formula for sleeping, actually inverting it into a formula for not sleeping, thus accentuating the plight of Odysseus and his men.

The following two days which Odysseus and his men spend with the Cyclops are filled with parodies of the normal hospitality scene. The feasting, libation, gift-giving, and name-giving of the normal hospitality scene are all presented in perverted forms. It might be said that, just as a new formula for sleeping--or more precisely for not sleeping--has been substituted for the normal one, so has an entirely new type-scene of meal preparation been composed as a substitute for the normal scene of meal preparation. In its normal form the oft-repeated scene of meal preparation is (1.136-40 = 4.52-6; 7.172-6; [10.368-72]; 15.135-[9]; 17.91-5):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.
σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

A handmaid brought water and poured it from an ewer,
a beautiful, golden one, into a silver basin,
to wash with; and set out beside them a polished table.
A respected housekeeper brought bread and set it beside
them,

adding many dishes, gracious with her provisions.

In the Cyclopeia Polyphemus' repeated preparation of his human feast is described twice almost verbatim, and these two descriptions are themselves consolidations of various formulae in Polyphemus' first feasting scene (9.308-11 ≈ 341-4; cf. 244-5, 250-1, 289, 291):

καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ ἤμελγε κλυτὰ μῆλα,
πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, καὶ ὑπ' ἔμβρυον ἦκεν ἐκάστη.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σπεῦσε πονησάμενος τὰ ἄῤῥα,
σὺν δ' ὅ γε δὴ αὖτε δύο μάρψας ὀπλίσσατο δεῖπνον.

And then he kindled a fire and milked his famous flocks,
everything in order, and he put a young one under each dam.
But when he had hastened to tend to his tasks,
he again snatched two men together and prepared his meal.

The predictable rhythm of the normal type-scene of meal preparation has been replaced by a rhythm with an entirely different beat.

This cacophonous rhythm continues in a remarkable scene (9.345-70), in which three conventional elements of hospitality: the after-dinner drink (X), gift-giving (XX), and name-giving (XIb), are all mixed together in a striking parody of the norm. In an unprecedented twist, it is Odysseus, the guest, who provides a

libation of wine for his host (9.349).²⁰ But it is offered to the Cyclops as a trick: this strong brew will inebriate him and facilitate his blinding. Polyphemus is so delighted by the wine that he asks Odysseus to tell him his name in order that he might give him a guest-gift (9.355-6).²¹ But these two elements of hospitality become perversions of the norm too. In a deceitful exchange, Odysseus gives his name as "Nobody" (Οὐτις 9.366-7), a deception which will later prevent Polyphemus' fellow Cyclopes from coming to his aid. Odysseus will withhold his real name until his departure. Polyphemus' cynical response is to offer Odysseus a deceptive guest-gift--the dubious privilege of being eaten last (9.369-70):²²

Οὐτιν ἐγὼ πύματον ἔδομαι μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πρόσθεν· τὸ δέ τοι ξεινήϊον ἔσται.

I will eat Outis last of his companions,
and the others before him. This will be my guest-gift to you.

²⁰ On the uniqueness of this action, see D. Belmont (1962) 171, n. 118.

²¹ Cf. Scheria, where Odysseus gives his name to Alcinoos in order that they might be guest-friends (8.550-6; 9.16-18).

²² Cf. Ctesippus' cynical "guest-gift" to Odysseus of an ox-hoof (20.288-302). In exchange Philoetius gives Ctesippus a "guest-gift" of a spear in the chest (22.285-91).

As the later Greek literary critic Demetrius observed,²³ it is the very playfulness of Polyphemus--his gift to eat Odysseus last--that makes this scene so forceful and the Cyclops so repulsive. The utter perversion of the normal ritual of hospitality, which we have been tracing throughout this episode, reaches its climax here. Polyphemus has clearly shown himself to be violent, savage, and lawless (cf. 9.175, 215, 428). It is without reservation that Odysseus proceeds to plot his destruction.

In the blinding scene which follows, Homer abandons altogether the diction of hospitality and peace--even the parody of it--and resorts to the diction of hostility and war, employing elements characteristic of Iliadic scenes of a warrior's aristeia: the arming of a hero (9.375-6); the exhortation to his men (9.376-7); the divinely inspired courage (9.381); similes describing the violent action (9.384-8, 391-4).²⁴ Perhaps Odysseus' later taunts at his vanquished foe (9.502-5, 523-5) should also be seen in this light.

Odysseus regards his violence against the Cyclops as a justified response to the violations of hospitality which he and his men have suffered. He sees himself as a righteous avenger upon one who has dishonored Zeus Xenios (9.475-9). Ironically the Cyclopes themselves inadvertently hit upon this truth when they advise the blinded Polyphemus as follows (9.410-11):

²³ On Style 130, 152.

²⁴ Cf. A. Heubeck, in A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth (1989) 9.375-94n.

εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τις σε βιάζεται οἶον ἔοντα,
νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι,

If nobody is harming you, who are alone,
it is impossible to escape the disease of great Zeus.

Polyphemus has offended Zeus Xenios and is suffering the bitter consequences.

The scene of Odysseus' departure from the land of the Cyclopes brings the parody of the normal elements of a hospitality scene to a close. When Odysseus thinks that he has successfully gotten beyond Polyphemus' throwing range, he finally identifies himself (9.504-5):

φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πολυπόρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι
υἶὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκῃ ἔνι οἰκί' ἔχοντα.

Say that Odysseus, sacker of cities, blinded you,
the son of Laertes, who has a home in Ithaca.

His identification contains all the formal elements of the conventional identification: name, lineage, and homeland (XIb) (cf. 9.19-21). It is remarkable, then, not for its content but for its position in the hospitality scene--upon the departure rather than the arrival of the guest. As such it is a fitting parallel to

Polyphemus' request for identification at the beginning of the scene (9.282-5); for, as we noted there, it is not the content of Polyphemus' question but its position, immediately upon seeing his guests rather than after a meal, that is remarkable.

The conventional elements in a departure scene of "guest-gifts" (XX) (ξείνια) and "conveyance" (XXV) (πομπή) are also parodied. But it is only after Odysseus is out of reach that Polyphemus, in a vain attempt to lure him back, offers him guest-gifts and conveyance (9.517-19):

ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἵνα τοι παρ ξείνια θείω,
πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνω δόμεναι κλυτὸν ἐννοσίγαιον·
τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάϊς εἰμί, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς εὖχεται εἶναι.

But come here, Odysseus, in order that I might provide you
with guest-gifts
and urge the famed earth-shaker to give you conveyance;
for I am his son, and he claims to be my father.

The deceptiveness of Polyphemus' offer is clear if one recalls that this is apparently Homer's substitution for the sequel in the inherited folktale in which the ogre, in a vain attempt to recapture the escaped hero, offers him a magic ring or ax, which either draws the hero back or else leads the ogre to the hero.

Finally, in place of the usual exchange of blessings upon the departure of a guest (XXIII), Homer substitutes in this scene an exchange of curses. First Odysseus curses Polyphemus (9.523-4):

αἶ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην
εὖνιν ποιήσας πέμψαι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω.

Would that I were able to make you bereft of soul and life
and send you to the home of Hades.

This is a striking contrast to Odysseus' pronouncement at his departure from Scheria of a blessing upon his Phaeacian hosts (13.59-62):

Χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ βασίλεια, διαμπερές, εἰς ὃ κε γῆρας
ἔλθῃ καὶ θάνατος, τά τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ νέομαι· σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῶδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
παισὶ τε καὶ λαοῖσι καὶ Ἄλκινόῳ βασιλῆϊ.

May you constantly fare well, my queen, until old age
and death comes, which are inevitable for men.
But I am going. Rejoice in your house
and children and people and in Alcinous your king.

In return Polyphemus invokes Poseidon and pronounces a curse on Odysseus (9.530-5):

δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πολίπορθον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι
[υἷὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἔχοντα.]²⁵
ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι
οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν
ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
νηὸς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίας, εὖροι δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ.

Grant that Odysseus, sacker of cities, not go homeward,
[the son of Laertes, who has a home in Ithaca.]
But if it is his fate to see his loved ones and come
to his well built home and to his fatherland,
may he arrive late and bad off, having lost all his companions,
upon a foreign ship, and may he find troubles at home.

A comparison of this diction with the diction of conventional blessings shows Polyphemus' curse to be a negation of the normal blessing pronounced by a host upon a guest's departure (XXIII) (Euryalus to Odysseus 8.410-11; Helen to Odysseus 15.128-9; cf. 15.111-12):

σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ ἄλοχον ἰδέειν καὶ πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι
δοῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὴ δηθὰ φίλων ἅπο πῆματα πάσχεις.

²⁵ Verse 9.531 is absent in all except two very late manuscripts (P3, P7); it is probably interpolated from 9.505.

May the gods grant that you see your wife and come to your
homeland,
since you have suffered woes away from your loved ones for a
long time.

σὺ δὲ μοι χαίρων ἀφίκοιο
οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

May you fare well and return
to to your well built home and to your fatherland.

In retrospect one can see that, from his premature request for his guests' identity upon their arrival to his curse upon their departure, Polyphemus has perverted the normal diction of the hospitality scene and generally turned the type-scene upon its head. But perhaps it is not Polyphemus alone who is guilty of violating hospitality; for hospitality is a reciprocal relationship and requires a set behavior by both host and guest. Odysseus' and his men's behavior as guests has not been exactly exemplary. They have entered their host's house uninvited, helped themselves to his food, given him a deceptive gift of wine, which inebriates him and enables them to blind him, stolen his sheep, and escaped to their ship.²⁶

²⁶ D. Belmont (1962) 168, 172, stresses the violations of Odysseus and his men as guests and points to this as the cause of Polyphemus' curse and the consequent ten-year wandering.

The reciprocal violations of hospitality by both host and guests are strikingly symbolized by the function of the "threshold" (οὐδός) in this episode. The threshold, being the physical boundary between the outside, where the visitor is merely a stranger, and the inside, where he is a guest of the inhabitant, is a ritually symbolic place. It is where visitors normally stand and wait to be seen by the master of the house. In this episode, though, the threshold has been violated. Odysseus and his men have crossed it uninvited and invaded the habitation of the Cyclops (9.216-18). It is somewhat appropriate, then, that Polyphemus forcefully detains his guests within the cave by placing a huge rock upon the threshold (9.240-3), as though to make inaccessible what had previously been too accessible. This motif of the violation of the threshold reaches its climax in Polyphemus' wish expressed to his ram (9.458-60):

τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε διὰ σπέος ἄλλυδις ἄλλη
θεινομένου ραίοιτο πρὸς οὔδει, κὰδ δέ κ' ἐμὸν κῆρ
λωφήσειε κακῶν, τά μοι οὔτιδανὸς πόρεν Οὔτις.

Then his brains, in all directions throughout the cave,
would be dashed upon the threshold, once he has been struck,
and my heart
would be relieved of the ills which worthless Outis brought
to me.

Polyphemus' wish is a symbolically pregnant substitute for the normal libation upon a guest's departure (XXII).

It is perhaps this perception of reciprocal violations by both guests and host that explains a curious development in the story after Odysseus' departure. Odysseus and his men divide up the spoils from the Cyclops' cave, and Odysseus sacrifices his portion, Polyphemus' favorite ram, to Zeus (9.550-3). The sacrifice is intended to honor Zeus as protector of guests (cf. 9.270-1, 478-9), since he has helped Odysseus avenge the violation of hospitality by the Cyclops. But, quite remarkably, Odysseus receives an omen unfavorable to his voyage (XXIV): Zeus does not accept the sacrifice (ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρῶν 9.553). The stolen ram is symbolic of the violation of hospitality by the guests too, and in his function as Zeus Xenios he cannot accept this perverted offering. Instead he devises destruction for Odysseus' men (9.554-5).

VII. Eumaeus the Swineherd (Od. 13.221-14.533; 15.301-494; 15.555-16.155; 16.452-17.25; 17.182-203).

ξείν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔσθ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
ξείνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες
ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε
γίγνεται ἡμετέρη· ἡ γὰρ δμῶων δίκη ἐστὶν
αἰεὶ δειδιότων, ὅτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἄνακτες
οἱ νέοι.

Stranger, it is not right, even if one worse off than you were to come,
for me to dishonor a stranger. For from Zeus are all
strangers and beggars. But humble and friendly
is our gift. For it is the way of slaves
always to fear, whenever masters hold power over them
who are young.
(Od. 14.56-61).

I. The Hospitality of Eumaeus.

When Odysseus finally reaches Ithaca, not recognizing his long-sought homeland, he ironically asks himself a question which has become something of a topos in the Odyssey (13.200-2; cf. 6.119-21; 9.174-6):

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τέων αὐτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἰκάνω;
ἢ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὑβρισταὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἢ εὖ φιλόξενοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Oh my! To the land of what mortals have I come this time?
Are they violent and savage and unjust,
or are they kind to strangers and have a god-fearing mind?

As events unfold, both prove to be true. First Odysseus visits Eumaeus the swineherd, who shows him proper and generous, albeit

humble, hospitality, and who proves to be a model of piety toward the gods; then he confronts the suitors, who have overstepped all boundaries of propriety and become paradigms of hubristic behavior. The scene of kind hospitality in Eumaeus' hut is a foil to the scene of cruel inhospitality in the palace, much as the warm reception by Telemachus of Athena, disguised as Mentis (1.103-324), was a foil to the cold indifference shown her by the suitors. The motif of the returned master is not unlike that of the disguised god, both involving the testing of loyalty and hospitality. Odysseus "makes trial" (πειρητίζων 14.459; 15.304) of the swineherd, who passes the test and receives his reward (21.213-16; cf. 14.624); the suitors, though well aware of the gods' habit of disguising themselves as visitors (17.483-7), fail to show the disguised Odysseus proper respect and receive their just deserts. As in Ovid's tale of Baucis and Philemon (Met. 8.611-724), it is the humble but generous host who gets the reward, while those with the means to provide even extravagant hospitality prove inhospitable and are consequently punished.

One may justifiably question whether Odysseus' visit to Eumaeus' hut is really a scene of xenia, since both in Homer's poetic cosmos and no doubt also in historical Greek society, xenia was a relationship between those of equal social status.¹ Here the visitor is a beggar and suppliant, not a proper xenos, as, for example, in the case of Telemachus in his travels to Pylos and

¹ So D. Belmont (1962) 38-41, 156-9.

Sparta. Complications and ambiguities arise from Odysseus' assumption of a disguise, a device which overturns and obfuscates all social distinctions and produces the rich ironies of a scene in which a master is given hospitality by his servant. But whatever were the historical realities from which the theme of hospitality in Homer was derived, Odysseus' stay in Eumaeus' hut is manifestly a hospitality scene in terms of the pattern upon which it is built and the diction in which it is expressed. We find here almost all the formal elements of the conventional hospitality type-scene: Odysseus happens upon a young man (actually Athena in disguise) on the beach, who directs him to Eumaeus' hut (I) (13.221-440); he "finds" (εἶδρ') Eumaeus sitting at the entrance of his hut making leather sandals (IIIb) (14.5, 23-4); Eumaeus' residence is described in detail, using a typical structure (IIIa) (14.5-22);² Odysseus confronts dogs at the entrance (IV) (14.21-2, 29-32) and is forced to sit on the ground (V) (14.30-1); Eumaeus hastens to his guest and bids him enter (VIId) (14.33-45), leads him into his house (VIIIi) and seats him (VIII) (14.48-51), and prepares a meal for him and invites him to eat (IXa) (14.72-81); at the conclusion of the meal (IXc) (14.109-11), the two drink wine (X) and exchange news and information (XII) (14.112-84); not until the meal is over does Eumaeus issue a formal request for his guest's identity (XIa)

² In this typical structure a series of adjectives describing the house is followed by a relative clause acknowledging the builder; cf. Od. 24.205-7; Il. 18.369-71; 24.448-50. See W. Arend (1933) 36, 48.

(14.185-90); Odysseus obliges his host by telling about his part in the expedition against Troy and its aftermath, the topic of choice between visitors and their hosts (**XIb, XIII**) (14.191-359); a second, more elaborate meal follows, preceded by a formal sacrifice (**XV**) (14.407-56), after which the guest again tells a tale of Troy (**XIII**) (14.462-506); finally, at the end of the day, a bed is provided for the guest (**XVII**) (14.518-24). Even the formal elements of guest-gifts (**XX**) and safe conduct (**XXV**) (πομπή) are to be found in this scene, though in an appropriately humble form: Eumaeus' provision of a staff upon his guest's departure serves as his guest-gift, and his escort to the city serves as his πομπή (17.182-203); he delegates to Telemachus the responsibility for further provisions: clothes (15.338; 16.79 = 17.550), a sword and shoes (16.80), and safe conduct to wherever he wishes to go next (15.339 ~ 16.81). In sum, of all the formal elements which comprise a typical hospitality scene, only one is conspicuously absent here: the provision of a bath for the guest (**XVIII**).

But Eumaeus' hospitality is not just a perfunctory fulfillment of obligations; it is highly proper, exceptionally generous, and intensely personal. Eumaeus' propriety is demonstrated by his explicit assurance to his guest that he will not interrogate him until he has been satiated with food and wine (14.45-7; cf. 1.123-4; 4.60-2). His generosity is signaled by his offer of the chine, the portion of honor, to his guest (14.437-8; cf. 4.65; 8.475; II. 7.321; 9.207), and by his provision of a bed by the hearth for his guest, while he himself sleeps outside (14.518-33). The personal nature

of his hospitality is accentuated throughout the scene: he offers a goat-skin from his own bed as a seat for his guest (14.50-1), he shares wine from his own cup (14.112-3), he offers his own cloak as a blanket (14.520-2). Rightly does Odysseus "rejoice" at the conduct of his faithful servant (χαίρει δ' Ὀδυσσεύς 14.51, 526; χαίρει δὲ θυμῷ 14.113; cf. κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἄνακτος 14.438).

Yet this is not a typical hospitality scene. It does not take place in the heroic setting of a king's palace, but in the lowly hut of a swineherd. Even in his initial welcome of his guest, Eumaeus apologizes for the meanness of his accommodations (14.58-59):

δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε
γίγνεται ἡμετέρη·

But humble and friendly
is our gift.

Indeed the formal elements of this hospitality scene have been freely modified to reflect the humble circumstances of the swineherd. Many of Eumaeus' provisions are unprecedented in Homer: he provides a goat-skin stretched over some brushwood as a seat (14.49-51) and skins of sheep and goats as a bed (14.518-19); the rustic κισσύβιον (14.78; 16.52) and σκύφος (14.112) replace the traditional κρητήρ and δέπας as mixing and drinking vessels (cf. e.g. *Il.* 3.295; 9.224); he provides for the feast two young piglets (χοῖροι 14.73), again apologizing for offering only a "slave's portion" (τά τε δμώεσσι πάρεστι 14.80), while the fatted pigs are reserved for the

suitors (14.81). In sharp contrast to palace scenes, with their entourage of heralds, handmaids, meat-carvers, stewards, and various attendants, Eumaeus has but a single servant, Mesaulius (14.449). Eumaeus performs almost all the duties of the host himself, welcoming and seating the guest (14.33-51), cooking and distributing the food (14.72-7), mixing and serving the wine (14.78-9), performing most of the sacrificial duties (14.418-38), making the bed (14.518-22), and conducting the guest to his next destination (17.182-203). It is perhaps in the highly ritualized sacrifice scene (14.418-38) that the departures from tradition are most apparent (contrast the sacrifices in 3.430-74; II. 1.446-74; 2.402-33). The traditional ox or cow has been replaced by a pig, the sacrificial victim is clubbed with a piece of left-over firewood rather than slaughtered with an axe or knife, and it is dedicated at the hearth rather than at an altar. Many formal elements are omitted altogether: the ritual handwashing, the throwing of barley, the lifting of hands in prayer, the dedication of the thigh-bones, the pouring of wine on the burning sacrifice, and the tasting of the entrails. Even the objects of sacrifice, Hermes and the nymphs, are uniquely appropriate to this context in view of Hermes' role as patron of herdsmen.

II. Formulae and Diction.

The inherited epic art-language, as rich as it was in ornamental epithets and formulaic phrases with which to describe duels on the

battlefield, sacrifices of hecatombs, royal feasts in the palace, and other such heroic settings, appears to have been stricken by poverty when required to describe a non-heroic character or situation. Faced with such a non-heroic character or situation, the poet sometimes resorted to the usual, heroic diction anyway, inevitably producing descriptions and collocations which strike a literate reader as inappropriate and awkward: thus Odysseus' cowherd Philoetius is called "chief of men" (ἄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν 20.185, 254), the beggar Irus' mother is called "revered mother" (πότνια μήτηρ 18.5), and Antilochus' horses are called "swift-footed", even when they are slow and lose the race (ἵπποι ὠκύποδες II. 23.303-4, cf. 310). But at other times the poet seems to stray away from the inherited diction when describing a non-heroic character or situation: thus the long description of Thersites, that ugly and vulgar Achaean of dubious social status, is noticeably lacking in conventional diction (II. 2.212-19). It is in the non-heroic parts of the epic where we can expect to find the most extensive innovation and modification of the inherited diction and consequently the most extensive use of late linguistic forms. G. P. Shipp's analysis³ of Homeric diction demonstrates the concentration of late linguistic forms in similes, for example. But, contra Shipp, these recent forms are not to be attributed exclusively to the late development of the extended simile as a poetic device; surely the non-heroic context of many of these similes (fishing, cooking, reaping, etc.),

³ G. P. Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1972).

for which there existed no rich corpus of preformulated diction, also contributed to the concentration therein of late linguistic forms. An illuminating illustration of the concentration of late linguistic forms in non-heroic, or in this case anti-heroic, parts of the epic may be observed in Eumaeus' criticism of the lifestyle of the traditional Iliadic warrior (14.85-6):

καὶ μὲν δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαίης
ἀλλοτρίας βῶσιν καὶ σφι Ζεὺς ληΐδα δῶη

...

Even hostile and lawless men, who go against
a foreign land, and to them Zeus grants booty

...

In these two verses, remarkable for their violent enjambment, there occur a contracted form of the subjunctive (βῶσιν) and nu-mobile making position (βῶσιν καί).⁴ These late linguistic forms provide external evidence for the lateness of this non-heroic sentiment.

The scene of Eumaeus' hospitality is set in a swineherd's hut rather than a king's palace. This non-heroic setting presented special challenges for a poet whose inherited diction was not primarily designed to describe such circumstances. Even a modern

⁴ Cf. A. Hoekstra (1989) 14.86n.

reader, if immersed in the mechanics of Homeric diction, will sense that the poet does not resort as happily or as readily to his preformulated, inherited diction in this scene as elsewhere in the epic. The poet goes about the business of narrating the scene in two ways:

i) He relies heavily upon the inherited diction anyway.

Sometimes this produces no notable inconcinnities; there is nothing remarkable, for example, in the swineherd's running "with swift feet" (ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι 14.33), although the phrase is perhaps a bit more comfortable in the context of a running warrior (cf. Il. 6.505; 17.190; 21.247; 22.138; 23.749). Nor is there any difficulty in his enquiring of his guest's identity with the conventional phrase (14.187; cf. Od. 1.170; 10.325; 15.264; 19.105; 24.298):

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;

What men are you from? Where are your city and parents?

But sometimes the poet's apparent disregard for the particular context of this scene results in descriptions and collocations which strike the literate reader as rather inappropriate and awkward: Eumaeus is a "divine swineherd" (δῖος ὑφορβός 18x), a "leader of men" (ἄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν 6x), who hopes for a "much-wooded wife" (πολυμνήστην 14.64), and cuts firewood with "pitiless bronze" (νηλέϊ χαλκῷ 14.418). These epithets result from the application of heroic diction to a non-heroic context.

ii) The poet modifies the inherited diction in various degrees to accommodate the humble circumstances of this particular scene. Often this entailed, in the absence of contextually appropriate preformulated diction, the poet's turning to his own vernacular. Consequently, these modifications often result in a concentration of late linguistic forms, indicating their derivative nature.

i. Conventional Diction.

Sometimes the poet applies inherited diction designed for heroic circumstances to a non-heroic scene. The degree to which the resulting phrases are considered inappropriate is of course largely a subjective matter; a preliterate audience may have been oblivious to phrases and collocations which strike a modern reader, who is oriented more toward a self-conscious, literary style, as inappropriate and awkward.

The epithets applied to the swineherd are particularly notable. "Divine swineherd" (δῖος ὑφορβός 18x; cf. δῖ' Εὐμαίε 4x) is simply an example of the use of a generic epithet to fill out a certain part of the hexameter verse, usually the space between the bucolic diaeresis and verse-end (δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, δῖος Ὀρέστης, etc.).⁵ But the transference of this generic epithet, elsewhere used to describe heroes, to a non-heroic figure is striking. That the epithet is used to refer purposely and specifically to Eumaeus'

⁵ On δῖος as a generic epithet, see M. Parry in A. M. Parry (ed.) (Oxford, 1971) 149-50.

noble birth (cf. 15.412-14) is doubtful, for Philoetius the cowherd and Eurycleia the nurse also receive this epithet (21.240; 20.147).

"Swineherd, leader of men" (συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν 6x) is a similar use of a generic epithet to fill out a part of the hexameter verse, here the space between the trochaic caesura and verse-end (Πολίτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν; cf. Πεισίστρατος ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, Ἄστιος ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν). Since antiquity, this epithet has been thought by some to refer to Eumaeus' noble birth or to his position of responsibility over other slaves.⁶ But, with a view to the mechanics of the verse, this epithet, like δῖος, appears to be another case of the transference of an epithet originally designed for heroes to a non-heroic character; its application also to Philoetius the cowherd (20.185, 254) makes untenable the view that its application to Eumaeus is purposeful.

The use of apostrophe to address the swineherd is a related phenomenon (Εὐμαίε συβῶτα 16x). The ancients attributed apostrophe, which is used in the *Iliad* to address Patroclus, Menelaus, Melanippus, Achilles, and Apollo, to the poet's striving for pathetic effect or to his special affection for the addressee.⁷

⁶ So scholium to 14.22; Eustathius 1748, 1-3.

⁷ Scholium to *Il.* 16.787 (τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ περιπαθές); cf. scholium to *Il.* 4.127a, Eustathius 453, 11; 1096, 49; 1750, 29. This view is followed by many commentators today: see A. M. Parry, "Language and Characterization in Homer," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 1-22; E. Block, "The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil," *TAPA* 112 (1982) 7-22; G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary Vol. I* (Cambridge, 1985) 4.127n.; J. Russo, *Omero, Odissea, libri xvii-xx* (Rome, 1985) 17.272n.

This may be true, but in the case of Eumaeus one may justifiably question whether pathos or affection is intended in all sixteen occurrences. Metrical and formulaic concerns seem to be at work as well: since Homer did not inherit for Eumaeus, a non-heroic character, an extensive system of epithets in the various cases with which to describe him, as he did with other characters, he relied heavily upon a vocative formula which filled the space between the hepthemimeral caesura and verse-end following a consonant (usually προσέφης 15x). Conceivably προσέφης Εὔμαιε συβῶτα was influenced by προσέφης Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ (3x Iliad), both vocative phrases referring to an animal with which the respective characters were associated.⁸

"Much-wooed" (πολυμνήστην 14.64), of Eumaeus' prospective wife, is similar to δῖος and ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν of Eumaeus. The epithet, contextually appropriate in its application to the queen Penelope (4.770; 23.149), is somewhat jarring in its transference to a swineherd's wife.

"City-sacker" (πολιπόρθω 14.447; cf. 18.356), used of Odysseus even in his disguise as a beggar, is less remarkable. It is a case of extending an epithet which is generally true and appropriate to a particular context in which it is not, as in the case of Lycurgus,

⁸ On metrical motivations for apostrophe, see V. J. Matthews, "Metrical Reasons for Apostrophe in Homer," Liverpool Classical Monthly 5 (1980) 93-9. On the apostrophe of Eumaeus as modelled on the apostrophe of the Iliad, see A. Hoekstra (1965) 138-40; (1989) 14.55n.; N. Yamagata, "The Apostrophe in Homer as Part of the Oral Technique," BICS 36 (1989) 91-103.

who is called "man-slaying" (ἀνδροφόνουτο Il. 6.134) even when he is attacking women, or as in the description of the moon as "brilliant" (φαιεινήν Il. 8.555) even when the stars are shining around it.

Aristarchus explained such contextual illogicalities by pointing to Homer's tendency to speak of things "not at the moment, but in general" (οὐ τότε ἀλλὰ καθόλου scholium to Il. 8.555), or "not at the moment, but by nature" (οὐ τότε ἀλλὰ φύσει scholium to Od. 6.74).

This is in a slightly different category from δῖος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν and πολυμνήστην.

The elaborate description of Eumaeus' house uses many formulaic phrases which are remarkable in a description of a swineherd's hut. It has an "entrance chamber" (ἐνὶ προδόμῳ 14.5); the phrase is used 7x of palaces in Homer, 1x of Achilles' shelter on the Trojan plain (Il. 24.673). "It has been built high, in a conspicuous place" (ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο, περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ 14.6); cf. the use of the identical verse to describe Telemachus' bedroom at the palace (1.426), and also περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ of Circe's palace (10.211, 253). It is "beautiful and large" (καλὴ τε μεγάλη τε 14.7); elsewhere this combination is used only to describe women (13.289; 15.418; 16.158). It is built with "quarried stones" (ῥυτοῖσιν λαέσσι 14.10); this phrase occurs elsewhere only of the marvelous agora of the Phaeacians (6.267). Similar is the description of Telemachus "stepping over the stone threshold" of the swineherd's hut upon his arrival (ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδόν 16.41); this phrase is used elsewhere only of the temple of Apollo and of Odysseus' palace (8.80; 19.30; 23.88). In sum, the description of

Eumaeus' hut leaves one with a sense that the diction employed was not primarily designed for this type of scene.

Three inherited phrases are employed in a remarkable manner in Eumaeus' sacrifice scene (14.418-38). First, in preparation for the sacrifice, Eumaeus cuts firewood "with pitiless bronze" (νηλέϊ χαλκῷ 14.418), a transference of a formula more happily employed in the heroic contexts of wounded warriors or slaughtered animals (Il. 3.292; 4.348; 5.330; 12.427; 13.501, 553; 16.345, 561, 761; 17.376; 19.266; Od. 10.532; 11.545). Second, the victim is a "five-year old" pig (πενταετήρον 14.419), a transference of a formula more appropriately used of the heroic sacrifice of an ox or cow (19.420; Il. 2.413; 7.315). A "five-year old" pig would be an entirely inappropriate sacrificial victim, and it would not make good eating either; Odysseus and Eumaeus had eaten young "piglets" earlier (χοίρων 14.73-82), but the most suitable age for the slaughter of a pig seems to be indicated by the "one-year old pig" which comprises the later feast with Telemachus (σὺν ἐνιαύσιον 16.452-4).⁹ Third, when the sacrificial victim dies in this scene, its spirit is said to leave it (τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχή 14.426), a phrase usually

⁹ Merrill Burbrink of The National Pork Council tells me that modern-day, pen-fed pigs are best for roasting at 100-120 lbs. (3 1/2-4 months; cf. the χοίρων of 14.73-82), and that their highest market price is at 230-250 lbs. (6 months; cf. the one-year old pig at 16.452-4). A five-year old pig is good for nothing but the sausage factory. Modern-day, stall-fed cows reach their highest market price much later, at 18-24 months, and a five-year old cow, though perhaps tough, is still edible as a roast. In countries such as Australia and Brazil, where cattle are grazed rather than stall-fed, it is not unusual to roast 3- to 4-year old cows.

employed in the context of a fallen warrior (II. 5.696; cf. 16.453; Od. 14.134; 18.91), but somewhat unhappily transferred to a pig.¹⁰ Thus in the sacrifice scene, as in the description of Eumaeus' hut and in the epithets applied to the swineherd, we see the poet transferring heroic diction to a non-heroic setting, here with rather unfortunate results.

Some have used the term "parody" of this phenomenon and have regarded the Eumaeus scene as something of a farce. D. B. Munro points to the description of Eumaeus' pig-sties (14.13-16) as a parody of the description of Priam's palace (II. 6.244-9), citing the shared use of the words πεντήκοντα and πλησίον ἀλλήλων; he points to the description of Eumaeus' "five-year old" pig (πενταέτηρον 14.419) as a parody of Achilles' sacrifice of a "five-year old" cow (πενταέτηρον II. 2.403); he cites the epithet "barking" (ὕλακόμωροι 14.29) of Eumaeus' dogs as a parody of the heroic epithets ἐγχεσίμωρος and ἰόμωρος.¹¹ V. Bérard applies the term "parodie" to the depiction of Eumaeus as "leader of men" (ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν).¹² D. Stewart defines the apostrophe of Eumaeus (Εὐμαίε συβῶτα) as a sort of proletarian parody of the Iliadic Πατρόκλεες ἱπεεῦ.¹³ D.

¹⁰ Nowhere else in Homer is an animal endowed with a ψυχή, although a θυμός is said to leave a sacrificial victim at Od. 3.455, and the serpent Typhon has a θυμός at H.Ap. 361.

¹¹ D. B. Munro, Homer's Odyssey: Books XIII to XXIV (Oxford, 1901) 14.13-16n.; 14.29n.; 14.419n.; cf. also 329, 331.

¹² V. Bérard, La résurrection d'Homère: Le drame épique (Paris, 1930) vol. 2, 144-5.

¹³ D. Stewart, The Disguised Guest, (Lewisburg, 1976) 95.

Belmont calls the whole scene of Eumaeus' hospitality "a gently humorous farce."¹⁴ F. Williams defines the entire scene as a parody of Homeric formal welcomes, the customary noble host and his attendants, as in Pylos and Sparta for example, being replaced here by the mock-royalty of the "noble" (δῖος) swineherd and his "attendants", the dogs.¹⁵

But parody, inasmuch as it is a self-conscious and intentional imitation for comic effect, does not seem to me a particularly apt term for the scene of Eumaeus' hospitality. Firstly, I do not perceive anything comical in the depiction of Eumaeus or his hospitality toward Odysseus. Homer portrays Eumaeus as loyal, generous, and pious; he is one of the most sympathetic characters of the Odyssey, not a mock-heroic object of humor. Moreover, if Milman Parry's work on the nature of traditional Homeric diction has taught us anything, it is that the favorite pastime of 19th century scholars of isolating exemplum from imitatio is not often profitable. Identical or similar phrases and verses in Homer are identical or similar not because one is modelled on the other but because they are independent attestations of a common reservoir of traditional diction. Hence to say that a specific phrase in Homer is an imitation of, or a parody of, another specific phrase is to wrongly apply a form of literary criticism, based on a concept of a

¹⁴ D. Belmont (1962) 157.

¹⁵ F. Williams, "Odysseus' Homecoming as a Parody of Homeric Formal Welcomes," CW 79.6 (1986) 395-7.

fixed text, to an orally generated, unfixed tradition. In my view the notable inconcinnities in this scene, which have struck some as parodic, are not the product of self-conscious or intentional imitation, but are simply the result of heroic diction being applied rather loosely to a non-heroic setting.

ii. Modification.

Sometimes Homer modifies the inherited diction to accommodate the humble circumstances of this particular scene. Often these modifications reveal late linguistic forms drawn from the poet's own vernacular, a strong indication of their derivative nature.¹⁶

¹⁶ There are a number of linguistic criteria which could be applied to the epic diction, and to this scene specifically. One could note, for example, the high incidence of hapax legomena--and indeed it is very high in this scene--but I do not find this a clear indication of date of composition because of the small amount--a sample really--of the epic corpus which has survived. Innovations in morphology and syntax provide a clearer picture. I have found four criteria especially useful in analyzing this scene: the use of nu-mobile, the neglect of digamma, the incidence of irresolvable contraction, and the use of the definite article.

We know from inscriptions that nu-mobile in the dative plural and in third-person verb forms was a marked characteristic of Attic-Ionic; in verb forms it is wholly unknown in the older inscriptions of other dialects, and where found is a sure sign of koine influence. Now, nu-mobile is common enough in Homeric verse, but it is not profitable to consider verses where nu-mobile is used merely to obviate hiatus--nu-mobile in this case is no sure sign of the lateness of the verse; it could have been added to even a very ancient verse during a later stage, even during the post-Homeric transmission of the epic, since it does not disrupt the scansion. It is worthwhile, though, to consider those verses in which nu-mobile makes a naturally light syllable heavy by position before a following consonant; for in these cases the nu-mobile is an organic part of the verse--remove it and you disrupt the scansion. These verses could only have been composed during the latest period of the epic tradition, the Ionic period, not during the earlier Aeolic or Mainland stages.

In Ionic digamma was lost at an early period. Observation of digamma in Homer--for example, where it is metrically necessary to make a preceding light syllable heavy by position--points to the relative antiquity of the verse. Conversely, neglect of digamma--for example, where a preceding light closed syllable is maintained before a word which begins with prevocalic digamma--points to the relative lateness of the verse.

Irresolvable vowel contraction is another linguistic element worth noting, since generally speaking contraction of vowels became increasingly common with the disappearance of the intervocalic glide and digamma. The o-stem genitive singular is an instructive case: we see in Homer the ancient $-οιο$, which goes back to Mycenaean; we see cases of contracted $-ου$ which can be resolved into $-οι'$ (with elision), or into $-οο$, a transitional form, or $ο'$ (with elision); and we see cases of contracted $-ου$ which cannot be resolved. Verses which contain this irresolvable $-ου$ as an organic part of the verse must be of relatively late composition.

The history of $ὁ, ἡ, τὸ$ as first a demonstrative and relative pronoun, and only much later evolving into the definite article, places it in the category of linguistic criteria which may give a clue as to the relative date of composition of a verse. A high concentration in a passage of $ὁ, ἡ, τὸ$ used as a definite article would point to a late date of composition.

The clearest example of such modification is in a verse describing Eumaeus cooking two piglets (14.75):

εὔσε τε μίστυλλέν τε καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρεν.

He singed them and cut them up and pierced them with spits.

This is a modification of a verse frequently used to describe the cooking of an ox or cow (Il. 1.465; 2.428; Od. 3.462; 12.365; but of a pig at 14.430):

μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν.

They cut up the other pieces and pierced them with spits.¹⁷

Here the inherited verse has been modified to accommodate the cooking of pigs by adding the verb "singe" (εὔσε), a word used exclusively of pigs in Homer (Il. 9.468; 23.33; Od. 2.300; 14.426). The collocation of verbs joined by τε has resulted in the

¹⁷ This, in turn, appears to be a modification of a very ancient verse (Il. 7.317; 24.623; Od. 19.422): μίστυλλον τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πεῖρᾶν τ' ὀβελοῖσιν; note the lack of augment and the absence of nu-mobile to obviate hiatus here, in contrast to Il. 1.465, etc., which has augment, nu-mobile to obviate hiatus, and a use of τὰ approaching its use as a definite article.

linguistically late nu-mobile making position, a clear indication of the verse's derivative nature.¹⁸

Another clear example of modification occurs in the description of the swineherd serving a meal to Odysseus and his recently arrived son (16.49-52):

τοῖσιν δ' ἀὖ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκε συβώτης
ὀπταλέων, ἅ ῥα τῆ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες,
σίτον δ' ἔσσυμένως παρενήνεεν ἐν κανέοισιν,
ἐν δ' ἄρα κισσυβίῳ κίρνη μελιθεῖα οἶνον·

The swineherd placed platters of meat beside them,
roasted meat, which they had left over from eating before,
and he hastily heaped up bread in baskets,
and in an ivy bowl he mixed honey-sweet wine.

This appears to be a modification of the more conventional description of the serving of a feast in a palace (1.141-3, 147; 1.141-2 = [4.57-8]):

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας
παντοίων, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κύπελλα,
κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπόχετο οἰνοχοεύων.

...

¹⁸ See A. Hoekstra (1965) 62, n. 3.

σίτον δὲ δμῳαὶ παρενήνεον ἐν κανέοισι

A meat-carver lifted up and set out platters of meat of all kinds, and beside them he placed golden cups, a herald went back and forth pouring wine for them.

...

Handmaids heaped up bread in baskets.

In the humble circumstances of the swineherd's hut, Eumaeus takes on the duties of meat-carver (δαιτρός), herald (κῆρυξ), and handmaids (δμῳαί); hence, the pronoun τοῖσιν (16.49) replaces δαιτρός (1.141), and the adverb ἐσσυμένως (16.51) replaces δμῳαί (1.147). "Roasted meats" (ὄπταλέων 16.50) left over from a previous meal replace the "meats of all kinds" (παντοίων 1.142) of the palace scene; an "ivy bowl" (κισσυβίῳ 16.52) replaces the "golden cups" (χρύσεια κύπελλα 1.142) as a receptacle for wine. This replacement of δαιτρός by τοῖσιν has resulted in nu-mobile making position (τοῖσιν δ'), and the assumption of the duties of the δμῳαί by Eumaeus himself, with the consequent shift of the verb παρενήνεον to its singular form, has resulted in a nu-mobile used to obviate hiatus (παρενήνεεν ἐν).¹⁹ Again, these late linguistic forms are clear indications of the derivative nature of these modifications.

¹⁹ Nu-mobile used to obviate hiatus is not a clear indication of late composition because its removal does not affect the scansion, and also because we simply do not know much about the regulation of hiatus in early epic verse--I suspect that hiatus was much more common in the early period than the surviving epic corpus suggests. But in this verse the hiatus would be so jarring--παρενήνεε ἐν--that

The description of Eumaeus' provision of a seat for Odysseus upon his arrival is extensively modified (14.49-51):

εἶσεν δ' εἰσαγαγών, ῥῶπας δ' ὑπέχευε δασείας,
ἐστόρεσεν δ' ἐπὶ δέρμα ἰονθάδος ἀγρίου αἰγός,
αὐτοῦ ἐνεύναιον, μέγα καὶ δασύ.

He led him in and sat him down, and heaped thick brush
underneath,
and stretched out upon it the skin of a hairy, wild goat,
his own bedding, great and shaggy.

This appears to be a loose adaption of a more conventional seating scene. One may profitably compare (10.314-15 = 366-7):

εἶσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγοῦσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου,
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσὶν ἦεν·

She led me in and sat me upon a silver-studded throne,
beautiful and well-crafted; and under my feet was a foot-stool.

or (1.130-1):

αὐτὴν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγων, ὑπὸ λίτα πετάσσας,

I cannot imagine that this verse was composed before nu-mobile became a part of the linguistic vernacular.

καλὸν δαιδάλεον· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

He led her in and sat her on a throne, having spread linen
underneath,
beautiful and well-crafted; and under her feet was a foot-stool.

But the description of Eumaeus' seat is not normal: δασύς as an adjective occurs only here in Homer; ἰονθάς is a hapax; ἐνεύνατος is attested elsewhere only once (Od. 16.35). The relative lateness of the modification is indicated by nu-mobile making position twice (εἶσεν δ', ἐστόρεσεν δ').

The scene of Eumaeus' sacrifice and the subsequent feast (14.418-56) follows the same pattern as the usual sacrifice and feasting scenes (cf. Il. 1.447-74; 2.402-33; Od. 3.418-74), and it is described with some of the same formulaic diction (14.419, 422, 423, 427, 430-1, 437, 453-4), but the extension to a sacrifice of a pig of typical elements designed to describe the sacrifice of a cow required some remarkable modifications.

A simple modification is seen in the description of the slaughter of the pig (14.426):

τοὶ δὲ σφάζαν τε καὶ εὔσαν·

They slaughtered and singed it.

The usual phrase employed in the sacrifice of a cow or ox is (Od. 12.359 = Il. 1.459 = 2.422):

καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν

They slaughtered and flayed it.

Clearly the verb εἶσαν was considered more appropriate in a pig sacrifice.

A rather more complicated example is the modification of one of the most common typical elements of sacrifice scenes: the placing of raw pieces of flesh upon the fat-encased thigh-bones (Od. 3.456-8; cf. 12.360-1; Il. 1.460-1; 2.423-4):

αἶψ' ἄρα μιν διέχευαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐκ μηρία τάμνον
πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, κατὰ τε κνίση ἐκάλυψαν
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.

Immediately they cut it up, and quickly they cut out the thigh-
bones

all in due order, and they hid them in fat

making a double fold, and upon them they placed pieces of flesh.

Compare the description of Eumaeus' sacrifice (14.427-8):

αἶψα δέ μιν διέχευαν· ὁ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,

πάντων ἀρχόμενος μελέων, ἐς πίονα δημόν.

Immediately they cut it up. The swineherd placed pieces of
flesh,
beginning with all the limbs, upon the rich fat.

The description of cutting up the victim (αἶψα δέ μιν διέχευαν) is conventional (cf. 3.456; 19.421; Il. 7.316), but the usual cutting out of the thigh-bones is entirely omitted, perhaps because the ritual is for some reason inappropriate in the case of a pig.²⁰ Instead Eumaeus sets pieces of raw flesh from various parts of the carcass onto some fat and throws it into the fire (14.431). This modification has produced the remarkable verb form ὠμοθετεῖτο (cf. ὠμοθέτησαν), which, in addition to being inexplicably imperfect and middle, has a linguistically late irresolvable contraction.

Finally, it is worth noting that the special offering to Hermes and the nymphs, particularly apt here in view of Hermes' role as patron of herdsmen, is unprecedented in Homer (14.434-6):

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑπταχα πάντα διεμοιρᾶτο δαΐζων·
τὴν μὲν ἴαν νόμφησι καὶ Ἑρμῆι, Μαιάδος υἱεῖ,
θήκεν ἐπευξάμενος,

²⁰ The offering of the thigh-bones of various animals (bulls, cows, sheep, goats, kids, a ram) is common in Homer, but in spite of frequent descriptions of the sacrifice or cooking of pigs (Il. 9.208; 19.197, 250-75; 23.32-3; Od. 11.131; 14.72-7; 16.454; 17.181; 20.251; 23.278; 24.215), this ritual is never a part of them.

Dividing it all into seven portions, he distributed it.
One portion to the nymphs and to Hermes, son of Maia,
he gave with a prayer.

The lateness and unconventional nature of this offering is confirmed by the concentration of three irresolvable contractions (διεμοιράτο, Ἑρμῆ, υἱεῖ).²¹

It appears, then, that Homer did not inherit a rich corpus of preformulated diction for describing the circumstances of swineherds. When he resorted to the inherited diction anyway, inconcinnities often resulted, since the diction was created for rather more heroic settings. When he modified the inherited diction to accommodate it to the humble circumstances of a swineherd, this process of modification often produced late linguistic forms drawn from the poet's own vernacular; thereby the secondary and derivative nature of these modifications is revealed.

²¹ Where υἱεῖ occurs elsewhere in Homer it can almost always be resolved to its uncontracted form υἱεῖι, but not here at the end of the verse. As for Ἑρμῆ, E-ma-a₂ (for Hermahai) was the Mycenaean form; *Ἑρμάηα would have been the Aeolic form; Ἑρμέηη was the uncontracted Ionic form; the usual form in Homer Ἑρμείηη was a metrically necessary compromise between the two--a cretic cannot be accommodated in epic verse; the contracted form here Ἑρμῆη was later Ionic and must have been from the poet's own vernacular. This contracted form is generally used in the Hymns, and it is the only form used in H.Herm. (31x); see R. Janko, Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns (Cambridge, 1982) 133-4.

Not surprisingly, the incidence of hapax legomena, both of vocabulary and of inflectional forms, in verses describing Eumaeus' hospitality seems very high, and many of these involve late linguistic forms (irresolvable contraction in ὀλίγου 14.37, ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἄνακτος 14.40, ὠμοθετεῖτο 14.427, διεμοιρᾶτο 14.434, Ἑρμῆ 14.435, βίотου 14.527; neglect of digamma in χαμαιιουνάδες ἐρχατόωντο 14.15, ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἄνακτος 14.40; the definite article in τὸ μέλαν δρυός 14.12, τὸν ἄριστον 14.19, cf. 108, 414, οἱ τρεῖς 14.26, οἱ νέοι 14.61).

Moreover, the concentration of late linguistic forms generally in this scene is remarkable. In the one-hundred and seventeen verses (14.5-82, 418-56) which describe the essence of Eumaeus' hospitality toward Odysseus--Odysseus' arrival, the description of the house, Eumaeus' greeting, the seating of the guest, the preparation and serving of the first meal, the sacrifice, the preparation, serving, and eating of the second meal--the following late forms occur: nu-mobile makes position twelve times; digamma is neglected four times (five if ἀκτῆ at 14.429 is from φάγνυμι); irresolvable contraction occurs eleven times, three of which involve the late contraction of the genitive singular in -ου (twelve and four if ἀκτῆ at 14.429 is from φάγνυμι); ὁ, ἡ, τό are used as definite articles four times, and in seven more instances they come very close to their use as definite articles.

Admittedly, it is hazardous, given the small sample (117 verses), to make generalizations based on a statistical comparisons with other samples of epic text; yet it may be

illuminating to compare the frequency of these same late linguistic forms in a more heroic scene of hospitality than that of Eumaeus, in a description of a king's palace rather than a swineherd's hut, and in a more conventional scene of a sacrifice of a cow rather than a pig. As comparanda I shall use the scene of Telemachus' reception and entertainment of Athena-Mentes (1.103-50), the description of Priam's palace (II. 6.242-50), and two Iliadic scenes of cow sacrifice (II. 1.446-74; 2.402-33), a total of one-hundred and eighteen verses. In this roughly equivalent number of verses, nu-mobile makes position five times (vs. twelve), digamma is neglected once (vs. four; five if ἀκτῆ at 14.429 is from φάγνυμι), irresolvable contraction occurs eleven times, three of which are in the genitive singular -ου (about the same frequency as in the Eumaeus passages), and ὁ, ἡ, τὸ are used as definite articles three times (vs. four), while in three more instances they come very close to their use as definite articles (vs. seven). The comparatively high frequency of nu-mobile making position and neglect of digamma in the non-heroic Eumaeus passages seems worthy of note.

It may also be illuminating to compare the frequency of the late linguistic forms in the Eumaeus passages to their frequency in the Iliad and Odyssey as a whole. Nu-mobile makes position 559 times in the 15,693 verses of the Iliad (3.56%) and 451 times in the 12,110 verses of the Odyssey (3.72%); the frequency in the Eumaeus passages is nearly three times as high ($12/117 = 10.23\%$). Digamma is neglected 312 times in the Iliad (1.99%) and 303 times

in the Odyssey (2.10%); the frequency of neglect in the Eumaeus passages is substantially higher (4/117 = 3.42%; 5/117 = 4.27% if ἀκτῆ at 14.429 is from φάγνυμι). Irresolvable contraction in the genitive singular -ου occurs 375 times in the Iliad (2.40%) and 348 times in the Odyssey (2.87%); the frequency in the Eumaeus passages is roughly equivalent (3/117 = 2.56%; 4/117 = 3.42% if ἀκτῆ at 14.429 is from φάγνυμι). The use of ὁ, ἡ, τό as definite article occurs 218 times in the Iliad (1.39%) and 171 times in the Odyssey (1.41%); its frequency in the Eumaeus passages is much higher (4/117 = 3.42%).²² Again, the comparatively higher frequency in the Eumaeus passages of nu-mobile making position and neglect of digamma, as well as the occurrence of the definite article, is worthy of note. The relative frequency (per hundred verses) of late linguistic forms in the Iliad, Odyssey, the selected "heroic" scenes (118 verses), and the Eumaeus scene (117 verses) may be observed schematically as follows:

Nu-mobile makes position

<u>Iliad</u>	3.56%
<u>Odyssey</u>	3.72%
Heroic Scenes	4.25%
Eumaeus Scene	10.23%

²² The statistics for neglect of digamma, contraction in the genitive singular -ου, and nu-mobile making position are derived from R. Janko (1982) 201, 207-8, 217-18; those for the definite article are derived from A. Stummer, Über den Artikel bei Homer (Schweinfurt, 1886) 1-63. Stummer's figures are put in proper perspective by J. A. Scott, The Unity of Homer (Berkeley, 1921, repr. New York, 1965) 89-92.

Digamma neglected

<u>Iliad</u>	1.99%
<u>Odyssey</u>	2.10%
Heroic Scenes	0.85%
Eumaeus Scene	4.27%

Irresolvable contraction in the genitive -ου

<u>Iliad</u>	2.40%
<u>Odyssey</u>	2.87%
Heroic Scenes	2.54%
Eumaeus Scene	3.42%

ὁ, ἡ, τὸ as definite article

<u>Iliad</u>	1.39%
<u>Odyssey</u>	1.41%
Heroic Scenes	2.54%
Eumaeus Scene	3.42%

In sum, a typological and formulaic analysis of the scene of hospitality in Eumaeus' hut shows that it is built architecturally upon the conventional scene of hospitality, and it even uses many of the formulaic phrases in which the conventional elements were expressed. However, because of the unheroic circumstances of this scene--a swineherd's hut rather than a palace; a sacrifice of a pig rather than a cow, etc.--some of the conventional elements of the

scene, and the formulaic phrases in which they were usually expressed, were heavily modified. A linguistic analysis of these modifications reveals a higher than normal concentration of late forms, pointing to the secondary and derivative nature of these verses. But this does not in any way suggest that these verses were composed later than the rest of the Odyssey. It only confirms what one suspects intuitively when reading the Eumaeus scene for the first time: that faced with the need to adapt his inherited diction when describing a non-heroic setting, Homer relied more than usual upon his own linguistic vernacular.

VIII. Odysseus' Homecoming (Od. 17.204-23.348).

ἀλλά τις ἀθανάτων κτεῖνε μνηστήρας ἀγαυούς,
ὔβριν ἀγασσάμενος θυμαλγέα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.
οὐ τίνα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·
τῷ δι' ἀτασθαλίας ἔπαθον κακόν·

But one of the gods has killed the proud suitors,
angered at their heart-grieving violence and evil deeds.
For they honored no one of men upon the earth,
neither an evil nor a good man, whoever approached them.
Therefore through their folly they have suffered evil.
(Od. 23.63-7)

I. Odysseus' Homecoming as a Hospitality Scene.

The final hospitality scene of the Odyssey, occupying the last third of the epic (Books 17-23), is Odysseus' arrival at his own home and his reception by the suitors, who, though themselves guests in the house, have taken upon themselves the role of master.

One may object that this is not properly a hospitality scene, since Odysseus is not actually a "guest" (ξεῖνος) in search of a reception at someone else's house, but a returning hero, a "master" (ἄναξ), who seeks to test the loyalty of those in his own house. But while it may be true that Odysseus is in reality the ἄναξ, his disguise as a ξεῖνος creates a guest-host relationship between himself and the suitors; in the Homeric world people are defined by their roles. Odysseus' vengeance against the suitors, then, is justified not only because they have committed a personal affront by courting his wife, devouring his possessions, and threatening his son, but also because they have shown their disregard for, indeed

perversion of, a fundamental institution of civilized society by displaying abusive behavior toward him as a guest.

On the other hand, one may object that this is not properly a hospitality scene because the relationship of xenia can only exist between social equals, and Odysseus is not a ξείνος but a "beggar" (πτωχός).¹ But the distinction between ξείνος and πτωχός is a blurred one in any case, often depending solely upon the vagaries of circumstance, and here the distinction is blurred further by the ambiguity of Odysseus' disguise. Odysseus seems to fluctuate between the two positions, depending upon through whose eyes he is seen: Melanthius, Antinous, and Eurymachus, or Eumaeus, Telemachus, and Penelope. The diction of this scene is divided when referring to Odysseus: ξείνος is by far the more frequent appellation (61x),² but πτωχός is not uncommon (12x).³ The ambiguity of the demarcation between these terms generally is suggested by Zeus' equally zealous patronage of both groups (14.56-8).⁴

¹ So D. Belmont (1962) 38-47.

² 17.345, 350, 371, 382, 398, 478, 501, 508, 544, 553, 584, 586; 18.38, 61, 112, 122, 222, 223, 233, 327, 357; 19.27, 66, 94, 99, 104, 124, 215, 253, 309, 325, 333, 350, 351, 379, 509, 560, 589; 20.129, 166, 178, 191, 199, 236, 293, 295, 305, 324, 360, 374, 382; 21.288, 292, 313, 314, 334, 349, 424; 22.27; 23.28; 24.281.

³ 17.220, 337, 366, 377, 475; 18.41, 49, 403; 19.74; 21.292, 327; 24.157.

⁴ For a parallel ambiguity of demarcation between the terms ξείνος and ἰκέτης, see J. P. Gould (1973) 92. Although Odysseus is referred

This ambiguity of status and identity created by Odysseus' slow progression and elevation from anonymous beggar to respected guest to self-declared master is one of the most carefully developed themes in what has often been perceived as a rather long drawn-out denouement to the epic. This slow progression over the course of seven books (17-23) from *πτωχός* to *ξεῖνος* to *ἄναξ* is powerfully and symbolically portrayed by the focus of the text upon physical objects associated with the ritual of *xenia*. Perhaps the clearest portrayal of Odysseus' progression can be observed in the use of various implements of hospitality: chairs, tables, and beds.

When Odysseus first arrives at the palace he sits down on the threshold and leans against a pillar (17.339-41); in lieu of a table, he places the food provided by Telemachus upon his "ugly satchel" (*ἀεικελίας ἐπὶ πήρης* 17.357). This is where Odysseus remains until his interview with Penelope, who, while seating herself upon an ivory and silver "arm-chair" (*κλισίη*) with a "footstool" (*θρηῆνυς*) for her feet (19.55-7), offers to him the less distinguished "stool" (*δίφορος* 19.97, 101). But his false story--that he is of noble birth, the brother of Idomeneus, who was a *ξεῖνος* of Odysseus, and that he had himself once offered hospitality to Odysseus in Crete (19.172-202, 221-48)--convinces Penelope to regard him, who was previously merely an "object of pity" (*ἐλεεινός* 19.253), as an "insider" (*φίλος* 19.254) and an "object of honor" (*αἰδοῖος* 19.254). His story, and Penelope's reciprocal generosity, have elevated him

to as a *ἰκέτης* during his stay with Eumaeus (14.511; 16.67), this term is not used of him after he arrives at the palace.

from *πτωχός* to *ξεῖνος*; properly, she promises him the seat of honor beside Telemachus at the next day's feasting (i.e. presumably on a *κλισμός* or *θρόνος* 19.321-2). But this promise is never fulfilled; the humble *δίφρος* continues to be his seat throughout the period of his disguise as a *πτωχός* (19.506; 20.259 (with a "lowly table" *ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν*); 21.243, 420). It is not until after the slaughter of the suitors, when Odysseus has been bathed, anointed, clothed, and beautified by Athena, that he, now revealed as the *ἄναξ* of the house, finally takes his proper place upon the *θρόνος* (23.153-65). The elevation in his physical position from *οὐδός* to *δίφρος* to *θρόνος*, then, roughly corresponds to his elevation in status from *πτωχός* to *ξεῖνος* to *ἄναξ*.⁵

This elevation is also symbolized by the different types and locations of beds offered to Odysseus. As a *πτωχός*, Odysseus is

⁵ *θρόνος* at 21.434 may refer to Odysseus' chair; if so, the shift from *δίφρος* to *θρόνος* is extremely abrupt, and it comes symbolically at a critical juncture in the narrative: after the stringing of the bow. At 21.420 Odysseus strings the bow and shoots the arrow through the axes while sitting on a *δίφρος*, but at 21.434, when Telemachus, having armed himself, comes to the support of his father and stands near him, the chair (the same one?) is called a *θρόνος*. The trial of the bow has transformed Odysseus from beggar to master; hence the change in appellation for his chair. For this interpretation, see G. W. Houston, "θρόνος, Δίφρος, and Odysseus' Change from Beggar to Avenger," *CP* 70 (1975) 212-14. But perhaps *θρόνος* at 21.434 is meant to refer to Telemachus' own chair rather than Odysseus'. In support of this view is Telemachus' position in the room when the fighting starts: he is apparently on the opposite side of the hall to Odysseus, for he kills Amphinomos, who is facing Odysseus, from behind, and only then joins his father (22.89-100).

abused by Melantho, who rebukes him for loitering around the palace rather than sleeping at the smithy or at some other public lounging place for beggars (18.327-9). After Penelope acknowledges him as a ξείνος, she offers him a bed in the customary place for guests: on the "portico" (πρόδομος) at the periphery of the house (19.317-19, 598-9; 20.1). Once Odysseus has gained the upper hand against the suitors, his successful response to Penelope's trial of the marriage bed becomes his rite of passage to the "bedroom" (θάλαμος 23.295), the location of which in the "innermost part of the house" (μυχὸς δόμου cf. 3.402; 4.304; 7.346) is symbolic as well as functional. Odysseus' spatial progression from outside the house to the periphery of the house to the innermost chamber of the house corresponds exactly to his elevation from πτωχός to ξείνος to ἄναξ.

Not all the references to physical objects of hospitality can be so neatly diagrammed to illustrate Odysseus' progression and elevation from πτωχός to ξείνος to ἄναξ. Whether Odysseus is to be considered primarily a πτωχός, a ξείνος, or an ἄναξ is often left ambiguous; he is ever in a state of transition. Yet, Odysseus' homecoming can be profitably analyzed as a hospitality scene, for architecturally it is built upon the formal elements of a typical scene: a visitor meets someone at a well as he approaches the city (I); he arrives at the palace (II), which is described in detail (IIIa), along with the activities of those within (IIIb-c); he waits at the threshold of the palace for someone to notice him (V); he is met by a guard-dog at the door (IV); the master of the house provides him

with a seat (VIII) and food (IXa); after the feast he is questioned about his identity (XIa); entertainment is provided (XIII); a bath and a fresh change of clothes are offered (XVIII); a bed is prepared (XVII); later, guest-gifts are presented (XX); finally, he is offered conveyance to his next destination (XXV). All these typical elements are present in this scene, but in almost every case they occur with notable deviations from what might be considered a normal or proper hospitality scene. These breaches of convention on the level of form mirror the suitors' actual breaches of conduct and reflect the inversion of conventional social structure on Ithaca as a whole, where host and guest have virtually exchanged positions, the visiting suitors taking the position of the master of the house, while the master is forced to visit his own home as a beggar.

II. Perversions of the Conventional Elements of Homeric Hospitality Scenes.

A motif common to folktale which has found its way into Greek epic is that of the newly arrived stranger meeting a maiden at a fountain, well, or river, who is kind to him and directs him to the city or palace (I).⁶ Three times in the Odyssey there occurs a male counterpart to this motif, in which a young man gives aid to a newly arrived stranger and directs him to the palace: Hermes,

⁶ S. Thompson, Motif Index, N715.1. This motif occurs four times in the Odyssey (6.110-322; 7.18-81; 10.103-11; 15.415ff.); a version of it also occurs in the Hymn to Demeter 98-183.

likening himself to a young man, meets up with Odysseus on his way to Circe's palace and instructs him on how to conduct himself there (10.274-306); Athena, in the form of a young man, is the first to meet the newly arrived Odysseus on Ithaca, and she instructs him on how to successfully regain his wife and palace (13.221-440); the son of Pheidon, king of the Thesprotians, comes to the aid of the shipwrecked Odysseus and leads him to his father's palace (14.314-20).⁷

A rather dim vestige of both these versions of the motif occurs upon Odysseus' approach to his own palace. En route to the palace he comes to the beautiful spring of the nymphs (17.204-53), but instead of a princess or maiden, he is met by the abusive goatherd Melanthius, who regards him as a "vexatious beggar" and "defiler of feasts" (πτωχὸν ἀνηρόν, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντήρα 17.220) rather than as a xenos. And instead of directing him to the palace, Melanthius warns him to stay away, lest his head and ribs be worn out by the footstools flung at him (17.231-2). Thus, even before Odysseus arrives at the palace, he has had a foretaste of the inhospitable behavior that awaits him.

It is typical in an arrival scene for a visitor to stand for a moment at the threshold of the palace and marvel at the surroundings (V); meanwhile the palace and the activities of those within are often described (IIIa-c). Typically the visitor waits

⁷ A version of this motif also occurs in the Iliad (24.334-467): Hermes, in the form of a young man, meets Priam on his way to recover Hector's body and escorts him to Achilles' camp.

for someone within, usually the master or the master's son, to catch sight of him and welcome him (VIIa, c, d, f, g, i). This pattern recurs upon Odysseus' arrival at the palace, but with some notable manipulations. As Odysseus and Eumaeus stand outside the palace doors, it is Odysseus himself who describes in touching detail the home from which he has been long absent, and to which he returns not yet as a master but as a lowly beggar (17.264-8). As is often the situation, these visitors have arrived at a time of feasting and singing (17.269-71), but in this scene the feasting of the suitors is tantamount to pillaging, and the bard is made to sing under constraint (22.350-3). Eumaeus warns Odysseus of the danger: he must not tarry too long outside lest someone pelt him or strike him (17.278-9). But Odysseus, well versed as he is in his role as beggar, assures Eumaeus that he is familiar with blows and pelts (17.283), and when he enters he does not stand at the threshold as a visiting xenos would (V); he sits down on the threshold and leans against a doorpost, assuming the posture of a beggar (17.336-41).

A welcome for the visitor comes not from the master or the master's son within the house but from the old, flea-bitten dog Argus, who is lying on a pile of dung outside the door (17.291-327). The motif of the guard-dog at the door is quite common in arrival scenes (IV), and it has assumed a variety of forms in the Odyssey (7.91-4; 10.212-19; 14.21-2, 29-32; 16.4-10, 162-3). Odysseus' reception by Argus in this scene is the culmination of a series of receptions of visitors by dogs at the door. It is a powerful scene.

The old, flea-bitten dog, neglected by the household, lying in dung outside the door, is a sympathetic representation of his master: Odysseus too will be abused and neglected. But at the same time Argus, who alone of all Ithaca's inhabitants recognizes Odysseus spontaneously, offers a glimmer of hope that others too--old and humble servants such as Eurycleia, Eumaeus, Philoetius, and the anonymous barley-grinder--will acknowledge Odysseus as master.⁸

In a typical hospitality scene the host greets the newly arrived visitor (VIIa, c, d, f, g), leads him into the hall (VIII), provides a seat in the place of honor next to the master (VIII), and offers him a choice portion of the feast (IXa). These elements are present in this scene but again in a perverted form. The suitors themselves, as in their earlier reception of Athena-Mentes (1.103ff.), are oblivious to the stranger, and when they finally do acknowledge his

⁸ G. P. Rose, "Odysseus' Barking Heart," TAPA 109 (1979) 215-30, traces the references to dogs throughout the scene of Odysseus' homecoming, noting that each reference shows progressively greater control over the situation by Odysseus. At Eumaeus' hut he is a helpless suppliant. At the door to the palace he is recognized as master. A third dog is depicted on the brooch which Odysseus wore when he left for Troy--the one the beggar describes to Penelope as a sign that he is telling the truth (19.228-31); this dog is strangling a fawn, surely a foreshadowing of what Odysseus, who is now identified with the dog, will do to the suitors. Corresponding to this is a fourth reference to a dog, this time in a simile, in which Odysseus, in anger at seeing the maid servants of the house going off to bed with the suitors, is described as a bitch barking at an unknown man, desirous to fight in order to protect her brood (20.14-16). Now Odysseus, rather than being the object of attack by watch dogs, is himself the watch dog; the helpless and threatened stranger has become the powerful and threatening master.

presence, rather than providing him with a proper seat and a share of the food, they use these very implements of hospitality-- footstools (17.462; 18.394) and a hoof from the meat basket (20.299)--as weapons to hurl at him. Telemachus for his part plays along with Odysseus' disguise as a beggar by letting him remain seated on the floor, with an ugly satchel for a table, throughout most of this scene (17.339-41, 356-8). It is not until his interview with Penelope that he is offered even the humble δίφρος (19.97, 101), the customary stool for servants; this, along with a "lowly table" (ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν 20.259), remains his seat until the slaughter of the suitors. As for the provision of food, the disguised master of the house, rather than being honored with the chine, which is his prerogative, is forced to resort to begging for scraps from the suitors (17.345-7, 365-6, etc.). Among the suitors, Antinous is notoriously niggardly; he will not even give a piece of bread, albeit from someone else's provisions (17.455-7).

In the wake of the feasting there typically follows the questioning of the visitor (XIa). But because of the dangerous situation in Ithaca, Odysseus cannot risk identifying himself. In response to the suitors' indirect query (XIb) (17.368), he lies that he is a slave of Demeter (17.419-44), and in response to Penelope's proper and conventional request for his identity (19.105, 162-3), he replies reluctantly (19.116, 166-7), again with a falsehood, that he is Aethon from Crete (19.172-202).

The provision of entertainment for a visitor is a regular element in hospitality scenes (XIII). Usually this is in the form of a song

by a bard or mutual story-telling by the host and guest. In Scheria Odysseus is entertained by the spectacle of athletic games: running, wrestling, jumping, discus, and boxing (8.100-31). Here in Ithaca Odysseus suffers an inversion of this typical element: he himself is forced to provide the entertainment, much to the glee of the suitors, by participating in a boxing match with Iros (18.1-111). The master is ironically lowered to the status of a rival of the local beggar for the privilege of begging for scraps in his own home. Yet, seen from another perspective, this humbling contest foreshadows the defeat of the suitors at these very hands. Later Telemachus perspicaciously prays that, just as Iros was subdued, so may the suitors be subdued (18.233-42).

Visitors are typically provided with a bath (XVIII), given by the handmaids or the lord's daughter, and a change of clothing either immediately upon arrival or on the next day. A bath and change of clothing would destroy Odysseus' disguise, however, and would possibly lead to his recognition; therefore he refuses Penelope's offer of a washing from the handmaids and her promise of a proper bath and anointing on the next day (19.317-20), preferring instead a footwash from his old nurse Eurycleia (19.343-8).⁹ The provision

⁹ Odysseus' refusal to be washed by the handmaids here recalls his refusal to be washed by Nausicaa's handmaids at the river in Scheria (6.218-22). The prudent Odysseus is reluctant to expose himself in both potentially dangerous situations. The parallel refusals suggest that Odysseus is still in a no less perilous position, in fact is no more at home, in Ithaca than in Scheria. So C. Segal, "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return," La Parola del Passato 40 (1967) 329-32. For an entirely different view of the scene in Scheria--that Odysseus refuses a bath from the handmaids

of clothing is a theme reiterated throughout the scene:¹⁰ it is first promised by Eumaeus (14.395-6; 15.337-9), then by Telemachus (16.78-9), then by Penelope (17.549-50, 556-7; 21.338-9), and finally by Eurycleia (22.487-9), but its provision is conditional upon the truth of the beggar's prediction that Odysseus will return (14.395-6; 17.549-50). Ironically, he does receive the clothing, along with a proper bath and anointing, only after he has been recognized as Odysseus (23.153-5).

The provision of a bed on the portico is an indispensable element of a hospitality scene (XVII); its preparation is usually described in great detail. But in this scene there is even some doubt as to whether the visitor will be accommodated; Melantho suggests that he go away and sleep at the smithy or at some other public place (18.327-9). Even when Penelope offers him a bed on the portico, with proper bedding and blankets (19.317-19, 598-9; 20.1), he refuses, as with her offer of a bath, choosing instead to lie upon the raw hide of an ox with fleeces of sheep for blankets (19.337-42; 20.1-4, 138-42); Eurynome throws a cloak on top of him as he sleeps (20.4, 143). This is a symbolically powerful image: Odysseus plots the death of the suitors while he lies between the

in order to help Nausicaa save face in view of their disobedience to her command to bathe him--see P. V. Jones, "Odyssey 6.209-23: The Instructions to Bathe," Mnemosyne 42 (1989) 349-64.

¹⁰ On the development of the theme of clothing in this scene, see E. Block (1985) 1-11.

skins of the cattle which they have wantonly slaughtered (20.3, cf. 1.108).

Another indispensable element of proper hospitality is the provision of a guest-gift (XX). In a brutal perversion and parody of this custom, the suitor Ctesippus offers as a guest-gift a cow-hoof from the meat basket, which he hurls at Odysseus (20.299-302).¹¹ This travesty of hospitality puts the suitors on the level of the uncivilized Cyclops, who offers an equally parodic guest-gift to Odysseus, the privilege of being eaten last (9.369-70). Like the Cyclops, Ctesippus is punished with a reciprocal guest-gift, a spear in the chest from the hand of the cowherd Philoetius (22.285-91).

The final duty of a proper host is to provide his guest "safe conduct" (πομπή) to his next destination (XXV). Penelope herself laments that in the absence of Odysseus there is no hope of πομπή for the beggar (19.312-16). The suitors on the other hand would eagerly offer πομπή to Odysseus, but it is not the proper "conveyance" to the guest's desired destination, such as that for which the Phaeacians are deservedly praised (16.227-8; cf. 8.566 = 13.174); πομπή means something very different to the suitors: "to expel" the guest by force from the house (ἐκπέμψασθε θύραζε 20.361; δώματος ἐκπέμψησι 18.336) or to throw him into a ship and "send" him as a slave to Egypt, Cyprus, or Sicily (17.448; πέμψωμεν 20.382-3) or, worse yet, to king Echetus (πέμψομεν 21.307-9), who is

¹¹ This "gift" of an ox-hoof is perhaps intended to parody specifically the typical offer of chine to an honored guest.

notorious for cutting off the noses, ears, and genitals of his victims (18.84-7).

III. The Perverted Hospitality of the Suitors.

The most blatant deviation from the typical hospitality scene is the heavily ironic inversion of the guest-host relationship: the one-hundred and eight suitors, who should in reality be the guests of the house, have overstepped all bounds of propriety and taken upon themselves the role of master of the house, controlling access to the material wealth, lording it over the household servants, and taking responsibility for the reception of guests (or lack thereof).

The Odyssey is rich in vocabulary describing the transgressions and general moral bankruptcy of the suitors. They are described as "sinners" (ἀλείτται 20.121), a word used by Homer only of the suitors and of Paris (II. 3.28), another notorious violator of hospitality, who stole his host's wife while a guest in his house. They and their actions are described in terms that specify outrageous excess (ὑβρις, λώβη, ὑπερβασία, ἀτάσθαλος, ὑπερφίαλος, ὑπερηνορέων, ὑπέρβιος) and shamelessness (ἀεικής, ἀναιδής, αἴσχος). They fear neither the righteous indignation of men (22.40; cf. 1.228; 2.64, 198-9) nor the punishment of the gods (14.82-4; 22.39; cf. 2.66-7, 201). Their veritable orgy of feasting and drinking is noticeably lacking in the religious dimension of sacrifice and libation: Amphinomus alone, the most virtuous of the suitors, initiates a proper libation (18.418-28); Antinous initiates a libation which astonishingly

omits the most critical element, the libation itself (21.263-73), and his proposal of a sacrifice to Apollo is never accomplished (21.265-8). The suitors have appropriated what belongs to the gods; in their world "to libate" (σπένδειν, λείβειν) and "to sacrifice" (ιερεύειν) have come to mean merely "to drink" and "to feast".¹²

The suitors' lack of regard for both religious and secular institutions puts them on the same level of civilization as the savage Cyclops (cf. e.g. 9.215 ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εἶ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας). The text itself draws a number of parallels between the two. Upon reaching Ithaca, Odysseus, not recognizing his homeland, asks himself the same question he had asked in the land of the Cyclopes (13.200-2; cf. 6.119-21; 9.174-6):

ὦ μοι ἐγώ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἰκάνω;
ἢ ῥ' οἴ γ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξενοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Oh my! To the land of what mortals have I come this time?
Are they violent and savage and unjust,
or are they kind to strangers and have a god-fearing mind?

¹² For the absence of sacrifice among the suitors, see P. Vidal-Naquet (1970) 1291. For the text's manifestation of the suitors' omission of sacrifice and libation at a linguistic and structural level, see S. Saïd (1979) 32-41.

Odysseus encounters someone "kind to strangers" (φιλόξεινος) in Eumaeus; then he confronts in the suitors men who are "violent, savage, and unjust" (ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι). The Cyclops is presented in these same terms (9.175).

Both the suitors and the Cyclops, in blatant disregard of Zeus, the patron of guests and suppliants, deny Odysseus the fundamental rights of a guest, regarding him rather as something to be sold abroad in the case of the suitors, and something to be eaten in the case of the Cyclops. Both pervert specific elements of hospitality: Ctesippus' offer of a cynical guest-gift, a pelting with an ox-hoof (20.296-300), parallels the cruel guest-gift of the Cyclops, the prerogative of being eaten last (9.369-70); both are in turn reviled and punished for their improper guest-gifts (9.474-9; 22.285-91).¹³ Both the suitors and the Cyclops are notorious for their attempts to hit Odysseus with objects (9.481-6, 537-42; 17.462-3; 18-394-7; 20.299-302). Both are also notorious for their acts of devouring, of Odysseus' house in the case of the suitors (βιβρώσκω 2.203; δαρδάπτω 14.92; 16.315; ἔδω 1.160, 375; 14.377, 417; 18.280; 21.332; ἐσθίω 4.318; κατέδω 17.378; φάγω 15.12)¹⁴, of Odysseus' men in the case of the Cyclops.

¹³ The parallels between Ctesippus and Polyphemus have been generally noted. See S. Saïd (1979) 31-2 and D. Levine, "Odysseus' Smiles: Odyssey 20.301, 22.371, 23.111," TAPA 114 (1984) 4. But the parallel can be drawn more largely to include the suitors as a group.

¹⁴ On the imagery of the suitors as devourers, see F. Bader, "L'art de la fugue dans l'Odyssee," REG 89 (1976) 20 and S. Saïd (1979) 10.

Odysseus' vengeance upon both is parallel in its poetic justice. Antinous, the worst violator of hospitality, is killed with an arrow in the throat while he is drinking wine. There appears to be a trace here of the folktale motif upon which the Cyclopeia is based: an ogre is made drunk with wine and killed.¹⁵ The "human blood" (αἵματος ἀνδρομέοιο 22.19) which flows from Antinous' neck and defiles the food recalls the only other use of this adjective ἀνδρόμεος in the Odyssey to describe the Cyclops' human feast (9.297, 347, 374). In both cases vengeance is wreaked upon the violators of hospitality by means, appropriately enough, of a guest-gift: Odysseus kills the suitors with a bow which was a guest-gift from Iphitus (21.31-41); he incapacitates the Cyclops with some wine which was a guest-gift from Maron (9.196-211).

The transgressions of the suitors and their consequent punishment, then, recall those of the Cyclops. A clear connection between the two is made by Odysseus himself when, angered as he watches from the portico the rendezvous of his maidservants and the suitors, he reminds himself that he had endured worse things at the hands of the Cyclops (20.18-21):

τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κόντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,
 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι μένος ἄσχετος ἦσθιε Κύκλωψ
 ἰφθίμους ἐτάρους· σὺ δ' ἐτόλμας, ὄφρα σε μῆτις
 ἐξάγαγ' ἐξ ἄντροιο οἰόμενον θανέεσθαι.

¹⁵ S. Thompson, Motif Index, K871; B. B. Powell (1977) 45, n. 101, points out this parallel.

Endure, my heart! You once endured something even more
shameful
on that day when the Cyclops, with irresistible fury, was
devouring my
mighty companions. But you endured, until your williness
brought you, expecting to die, out of the cave.

But while such savage behavior is to be expected of a one-eyed ogre, it is reprehensible of the suitors, for they are humans, who are supposed to participate in these essential institutions of civilization. But they do not: just as they fail to give a proper portion of the feast to the gods in the form of libation and sacrifice, so do they fail to observe the rituals of hospitality generally (οὐ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον . . . ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο 22.414-15; 23.65-6; ξείνους στυφελίζομένους 16.108; 20.318; ἀτέμβειν ξείνους 20.294-5; 21.312-13) and the status of Odysseus as guest specifically (ὁ ξείνος τὸν πάντες ἀτίμων 23.28; ξείνον ἀεικισθήμεναι 18.222; μήτε τι τὸν ξείνον στυφελίζετε 18.416; 20.324).

The behavior of three of the most notorious violators of hospitality is particularly reprehensible because they owe a special debt of gratitude to the household of Odysseus: Antinous, Eurymachus, and Melanthe, all of whom fail to reciprocate for past favors. Odysseus had protected Antinous' father when he came to Ithaca as a suppliant (16.424-30), he had nurtured Eurymachus upon his own lap (16.442-4), and Penelope had reared Melanthe as though

she were her own child (18.322-3). This failure to reciprocate--an essential ingredient in a relationship of proper xenia--makes their abuse of Odysseus particularly heinous. They, along with another suitor Ctesippus, are guilty of the most concrete demonstration of the violation of hospitality, an act which becomes a motif reiterated in the denouement of the Odyssey: the constant threat of pelting Odysseus, ironically with some implement normally associated with hospitality.

This motif first occurs in Odysseus' premonition while still in Eumaeus' hut that when he gets to the palace he will be "pelted with missiles" (βέλεσιν βάλλωσι 16.277). His premonition is validated by two warnings he receives even before entering the palace. First Melanthius warns him at the spring that if he goes to the house of Odysseus he will "be pelted" (βαλλομένοιο) on the head and ribs with many "footstools" (σφέλα 17.230-2). Then, upon approaching the palace, Eumaeus warns him not to tarry at the door, lest someone "pelt" (βάλη) him or "drive him off" (έλάση), to which Odysseus reassures him that he knows all about "blows" (πληγέων) and "pelts" (βολάων 17.278-83).

These warnings are well founded: a series of three casts at the hands of the suitors awaits Odysseus in the palace. First Antinous pelts him on the right shoulder with a "footstool" (θρηῆνον 17.462); then Eurymachus throws a "footstool" (σφέλας 18.394) at him but hits the wine steward on the right hand instead; finally Ctesippus hurls an "ox-foot" (βοός πόδα 20.299) at him but misses and hits the

wall. This series of three incidents, spread over four books, has elicited much commentary.

Naturally, the Analysts, from Wilamowitz to Merkelbach, have held the latter two passages under suspicion: Wilamowitz regarded Eurymachus' and Ctesippus' casts as poor imitations of Antinous' and attributed them to an interpolator;¹⁶ Von der Mühl regarded Ctesippus' cast as a rather trivial imitation of Antinous' and Eurymachus' by the hand of a different poet ("B");¹⁷ Merkelbach attributed Antinous' and Eurymachus' casts to different hands ("A" and "R").¹⁸

But even in the heyday of analytical criticism, Cauer questioned whether the subtle variations in the characterization of the three suitors should not be attributed to one and the same poet.¹⁹ This has become the communis opinio, especially since the advent of oral criticism. Stanford noted several subtle variations between the episodes: in the first Odysseus provokes the attack, in the second Eurymachus, in the third there is no provocation; after the first cast Telemachus keeps quiet, after the second he protests, after the third he protests more strongly; after the first cast the suitors sympathize with Odysseus, after the second they blame

¹⁶ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Homerische Untersuchungen (Berlin, 1884) 28-48.

¹⁷ P. von der Mühl, "Odyssee," RE Supplementband vii. coll. 752.

¹⁸ R. Merkelbach (1951) 78-82.

¹⁹ P. Cauer, Grundfragen der Homerkritik (Leipzig, 1909) 490-1.

him, after the third there is a discussion about the suitors' rights.²⁰ Fenik praises the artistry of the sequence, observing that as in each episode Telemachus' reaction grows more forceful, the effectiveness of the cast itself decreases.²¹

Indeed one positive result of this series of casts is its effect upon Telemachus, who appears to mature as a man and as a host partly as a result of witnessing these abuses of his guest. After Antinous' cast, Telemachus remains silent, plotting evil for the suitors, but failing to defend his guest (17.489-91, 568). After Eurymachus' cast, he rebukes the suitors, albeit mildly, and bids them to leave the palace (18.406-7); he is confirmed by Amphinomus as the rightful host of Odysseus (18.420-1). After Ctesippus' cast, he threatens him with death and orders the suitors to refrain from any further improper behavior, thus asserting his new-found manhood and mastery of the house (20.304-19).²²

The symbolic value of this sequence of episodes as a portrayal of the complete perversion of the ritual of hospitality by the

²⁰ W. B. Stanford (London, 1947-8, 2nd ed. 1958-9) 17.462ff.n.

²¹ B. Fenik (1974) 180-7. In quite another vein, F. Focke (1943) 346, noted that the number "three" is often associated with death in Homer (here the death of the suitors); W. J. Woodhouse (1930) 79, attributed this three-fold action, and the high frequency of such triplicates in the Odyssey generally, to the importance of the number "three" in folktale.

²² On Telemachus' increasing confidence as man and host, see B. Fenik (1974) 185-7; S. Murnaghan, Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey (Princeton, 1987) 105-6, n. 20.

suitors deserves further comment. It should be noted that the objects with which Odysseus is pelted are all closely associated with the feast, hence with the primary locus of hospitality: Antinous and Eurymachus throw footstools, Ctesippus a hoof from the meat basket--in a fourth episode Melantho threatens to pelt Odysseus with a "firebrand" (δαλῶ βεβλημένος 19.69), again an implement associated, by its connection to the fire and the hearth, with hospitality. The descriptions of the three casts by the suitors are articulated to stress the theme of perverted hospitality. The most blatant case is Ctesippus' ox-hoof, which is presented as a cynical "guest-gift" (ξείνιον 20.296). But Antinous' footstool too is described in terms of a "gift" (17.400, 404, 407-10, 415, 417): while the other suitors "give" (ἔδωσαν) the beggar food, Antinous "gives him over to pain" (ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν) by pelting him (17.503-4, 567). Eurymachus' cast too stresses the theme of perverted hospitality: he misses Odysseus but hits the wine steward, whose pitcher falls clanging to the ground, while he groans and falls "backward into the dust" (ὑπίστος ἐν κονίησι 18.398). This formulaic phrase signifies on a formal level the inversion of peace and war that is implicit on the contextual level, for it is a formula more happily employed of a dying soldier on the Iliadic battle field (Il. 4.522; 13.548; 15.434; 16.289) than of a wine steward at a feast within the confines of a megaron. The act of pelting a guest with the implements of hospitality has transformed a hospitality scene

into a hostility scene, introducing strife into the feast, or, as the suitors themselves describe it, ἔρις into the δαίς (18.403-4).²³

IV. Odysseus' Reciprocation.

The poetic justice of Odysseus' reciprocation reemphasizes the theme of perverted hospitality. Just as Antinous "pelted" (βάλε 17.462) him on the right shoulder with a footstool, so does he "pelt" (βάλεν 22.15) Antinous with an arrow through the throat. This is the fulfillment of the prayer which Penelope offered when she heard that Odysseus had been "pelted" (βλημένου 17.493) by Antinous in the megaron (17.494):

αἴθ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων.

Thus may bow-famed Apollo pelt you yourself.

Just as Eurymachus profaned the implements of the feast when he tried to "pelt" (βάλε 18.396) Odysseus: the "footstool" (σφέλας) which he throws, the "wine steward" (οἰνοχόος) who rolls groaning in the dust, the "pitcher" (πρόχοος) of wine which falls clanging to the ground (18.394-8); so does he profane implements of the feast

²³ F. Bader (1976) 33-4, observes how the succession of casts with utensils has transformed the theme of hospitality into one of hostility. S. Saïd (1979) 31-2, notes that the use of utensils of the feast as weapons introduces warfare into the banquet, causing two opposite poles of the Homeric world to meet.

when Odysseus "pelts" (βάλε 22.82) him with his arrow: he himself falls upon a "table" (τράπεζα), knocking the "food" (εἶδατα) and his "cup" (δέπας) to the ground; then he too falls to the ground, kicking at his "chair" (θρόνος) with his feet (22.81-8). Just as Ctesippus gave Odysseus a cynical "guest-gift" (ξείνιον 20.296) of a "pelting" (βέλος 20.305) with an ox-hoof, so does Philoetius, the cowherd (ironic?)²⁴, give Ctesippus a "guest-gift" (ξεινήϊον) of a "pelting" (βεβλήκει) in the chest with his spear (22.285-91).

This series of three exchanges warns that violators of hospitality should expect the same demonstration of reciprocity as that practiced by proper guests and hosts; they should expect to be paid back in the same coin. Just as the suitors have violated their guest by pelting him with implements of hospitality, so does this guest exact retribution from them by using implements associated with hospitality. We shall see that the imagery of the suitors' slaughter pictures Odysseus as a bard, who entertains the suitors at their final feast with his lyre. This bard, who is providing the entertainment of the feast with his lyre, is in reality the avenger bringing slaughter to the suitors with his bow.

The earlier allusions to the newly arrived stranger as a bard are somewhat faint, but they become increasingly stronger until the culmination of this theme in the scene of the stringing of the bow. The first allusion is Eumaeus' implication, in his response to Antinous' complaint that he has brought a useless beggar to the

²⁴ So W. J. Woodhouse (1930) 175, n. 9; W. B. Stanford (1948, 1958-9) 22.285ff.n.

palace, that the stranger is some sort of "public worker" (δημιοεργός)--a prophet, a doctor, a carpenter, or a bard; for no one would invite a useless beggar to a feast (17.382-7). The second allusion is Odysseus' claim that he is able to spread Antinous' "fame" (κλέος) throughout the land--the essential function of a bard (17.418). A third allusion occurs when Penelope inquires about the stranger: Eumaeus praises his story-telling ability (μυθεῖται, θέλγοιτο, ἔθελγε 17.514-21) and compares him to "a bard who has learned his craft from the gods" (ἀοιδὸν . . . ὅς τε θεῶν ἔξ // ἀείδη δεδαώς 17.518-19). The culmination of this theme occurs in the scene of Odysseus' stringing of the bow, which is described by a simile (21.406-9):

ὡς ὅτ' ἀνήρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς
 ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέφ' περὶ κόλλοπι χορδῆν,
 ἄψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὖστρεφές ἔντερον οἴος,
 ὡς ἄρ' ἄτερ σπουδῆς τάνυσεν μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύς.

As when a man skilled in the lyre and in song
 easily stretches a string over a new peg,
 fastening on both sides the well-twisted gut of sheep,
 thus without effort did Odysseus stretch the great bow.

Then Odysseus tests the string with his right hand (21.411):

ἦ δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισε, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν.

It sang beautifully, like the voice of a swallow.

Odysseus, then, is the bard/avenger, who entertains with his lyre/bow at the feast. The feast itself symbolizes the slaughter of the suitors; this too is an image that has been developed for some time and reaches its culmination in the scene of the stringing of the bow. These suitors, who have both metaphorically and literally "devoured" (βιβρώσκω 2.203; δαρδάπτω 14.92; 16.315; ἔδω 1.160, 375; 14.377, 417; 18.280; 21.332; ἐσθίω 4.318; κατέδω 17.378; φάγω 15.12) the house of Odysseus with their continuous orgy of feasting, now enjoy a final feast prepared for them by Odysseus himself. This final feast is well anticipated, first by a lone loyal maidservant, who, on the dawn of the fateful day, prays to Zeus that the suitors may on this day have their final feast (20.112-19), then more dramatically by the macabre scene in which the suitors break out into hysterical laughter and begin to eat "meat dripping with blood" (αἰμοφόρυκτα κρέα 20.348). This bloody feast is a foretaste of their slaughter at the hands of Odysseus, when, as Theoclymenus prophesies, the hall will be sprinkled with their own blood (20.354).

The slaughter of the suitors is twice explicitly and once implicitly referred to as a feast prepared by Odysseus. As the suitors are preparing what is to be their final meal, the narrator makes the cynical comment (20.392-4):

δόρπου δ' οὐκ ἄν πως ἀχαρίστερον ἄλλο γένοιτο,
οἶον δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε θεὰ καὶ καρτερός ἀνὴρ
θησέμεναι·

No other meal could be more joyless
than the one which the goddess and the strong man were soon
to set out.

Then, as Antinous contemplates the possibility of stringing the bow, the narrator remarks that he will himself be the first "to taste" (γεύεσθαι) of the arrow from the hands of Odysseus (21.96-100). Finally, in the culmination of this theme, when Odysseus has strung the bow and successfully shot through the axes, he declares (21.428-30):

νῦν δ' ὥρη καὶ δόρπον Ἀχαιοῖσιν τετυκέσθαι
ἐν φάει, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλως ἐψιάσθαι
μολπῇ καὶ φόρμιγγι· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός.

Now is the hour for a meal to be prepared for the Achaeans
in the light, but then to make merry in other ways
with singing and the lyre; for these are the ornaments of the
feast.

In the slaughter which ensues, Odysseus is the bard/avenger, who serves up this final feast/slaughter, providing the "entertainment"

with his lyre/bow. Appropriately, it is a feast in honor of Apollo, lord of the bow; the anticipated sacrifice of a hecatomb (20.276-8) comprises the one-hundred and eight suitors themselves.

The suitors, who have perverted the institution of hospitality, are punished in their own coin.²⁵ Just as they have pelted a guest with implements of hospitality, so are they pelted by a "bard" at a "feast" with a "lyre", which was in fact a guest-gift to Odysseus from Iphitus. Those who had called the guest a "defiler of feasts" (δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντήρες 17.377; cf. 17.220) now themselves defile the feast with their spilt blood: Antinous, who is appropriately shot in the throat while drinking wine, drops his cup, kicks the table away with his foot, and spills the food on the ground, thus defiling the bread and meat (22.8-21); Eurymachus' death is similarly described (22.81-8). Just as the suitors have "destroyed" Odysseus' livelihood "without compensation" (νήποινον ὀλέσθαι 1.377 = 2.142) so are they "destroyed without compensation" (νήποινοι ὄλοισθε 1.380 = 2.145). These are truly the "acts of requital" (παλίντιτα ἔργα 1.379 = 2.144) for which Telemachus had earnestly prayed to Zeus.

V. Odysseus' Return as a Theoxeny.

Some readers of the Odyssey have reacted with distaste at what they perceive to be an overly severe punishment exacted upon the

²⁵ Eustathius 1926, 59-64 notes that Philoetius' cynical taunt of Ctesippus, τοὔτό τοι ἀντὶ ποδὸς ξεινήϊον, later became a maxim for returning evil for evil.

suitors by an overly vindictive Odysseus.²⁶ This, I believe, results from an overemphasis of Odysseus' role as a human avenger, seeking retribution for a personal affront, and a failure to acknowledge his role as a guardian of society and an instrument of divine justice, dispensing rewards upon those who prove loyal and hospitable, punishment upon those who have subverted the basic institutions which define civilization: marriage, inheritance, property, the agora, sacrifice, supliancy, and, most pertinent here, xenia.

The denouement of the Odyssey takes on the form of a theoxeny: a disguised god comes to the homes of mortals in order to test their hospitality; some, usually the poor and humble, treat the god well and are rewarded; others, usually the rich and powerful, treat him ill and are punished. This is a universal folktale motif;²⁷ it is also well attested in Greek and Roman myth.

²⁶ C. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) 305-8, sees the "massacre" of the suitors as based on "the creed of the primitive clan", and is troubled by the "orgy of blood vengeance" which "peers through the moral scheme." H. Levy, "The Odyssean Suitors and the Host-Guest Relationship," TAPA 94 (1963) 145-53, attributes the slaughter to the influence of a folktale from Redfield's "little tradition"--R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago, 1956) 70--in which unjust guests (here the suitors) outstay their welcome and impoverish their host. In the context of this "little tradition", Levy believes, a massacre would be sufficiently motivated and justified, however anomalous it seems alongside the courtly code of the Homeric warrior.

²⁷ S. Thompson, Motif Index, K1811, Q.1.1, Q45.

The most well known attestation of this type of theoxeny is the tale of Baucis and Philemon as told by Ovid (Met. 8.611-724)--a tale which surely had Greek antecedents.²⁸ In Ovid's version Jupiter and Mercury, disguised as mortals, having been denied a proper reception at thousands of homes, are finally received at the humble cottage of Baucis and Philemon, a morally upright, though poor, old couple. As a reward for their generous, albeit humble, hospitality, they are made priests of Apollo and granted a favor by the gods; their neighbors, who had rejected the gods, are destroyed in a flood. In an identical type of theoxeny, also told by Ovid (Met. 1.211-41), but with certain Greek antecedents²⁹, Jupiter comes to earth, disguised as a mortal, in order to test men. Lycaon abuses his guest, setting human flesh before him to eat and planning to kill him as he sleeps. He is punished by being turned into a wolf. Two less well known attestations are the tales of Macello, who entertains Zeus and Apollo and is rewarded by being spared, while all her countrymen are destroyed (Nonnus, Dionysiaca 18.35; scholia to Ovid, Ibis 475; Servius on Aeneid 6.618), and of Hyrieus, a humble old man who entertains Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury,

²⁸ On both the Greek and Near Eastern antecedents of the tale of Baucis and Philemon, see L. Malten (1939) 176-206; J. Fontenrose (1945) 93-119; A. S. Hollis (1970, repr. 1985) 106-12.

²⁹ Both Apollodorus (3.8.1-2) and Eratosthenes (Catasterismi 8) indicate that the tale of Lycaon is at least as old as Hesiod. For an exhaustive list of citations of the tale, see J. Fontenrose (1945) 98, n. 17.

while they are traveling incognito, to the best of his limited ability and is consequently rewarded (Ovid, Fasti 5.495-536).

The tale of Demeter's reception by Metaneira and her daughters, as told in the Hymn to Demeter (98ff.), is of a similar type. Demeter does not come specifically to make a test of mortals, but she does come in disguise, and she is granted hospitality; for their kind reception her hosts are rewarded both by her services as a nurse and by the institution of the Eleusinian rites. There is also some element of testing involved in the tale, since Metaneira can be said to fail for doubting the goddess and pulling her son out of the fire.

A related type of theoxeny is that of a divinity who, though not specifically coming to test hospitality, seeks a reception or acceptance of his rites by a mortal. The wanderings of Dionysus chronicle a long series of mortals who either accept the god and are rewarded or reject him and are punished: Lycurgus, Oeneus, Pentheus, Amphiclyon, Erigone, Pegasus, Brongos, Eleuther, Falernus, Semachus, Staphylos.³⁰

Famous heroes too participate in some aspects of theoxeny. Theseus is hospitably received by Hecale, a poor, old woman, when he takes refuge in her hut during a storm; in return he institutes the Hecalesian festival in her honor (Callimachus, Hecale; Plutarch, Life of Theseus 14). Heracles is hospitably received in the hut of

³⁰ For an exhaustive list, with citations, of theoxenies of various types: gods in the service of mortals, gods in exile, gods on quests, gods on tours of inspection; see A. P. Burnett (1970) 24-5, n. 8.

an old man Molochus, for which Molochus receives a gift of a mule (Callimachus, Aetia frs. 54-9).

The denouement of the Odyssey follows a similar pattern, taking on the form of a theoxeny: Odysseus, who is in many respects like a god, takes on the disguise of a beggar and visits, first the hut of Eumaeus, then his palace in Ithaca, in order to "make a test" of the inhabitants (πειράω 14.459-61; 15.304-6; 16.304-20; 17.360-4). Like Baucis and Philemon, Eumaeus, though poor, offers generous hospitality to the guest in his hut; in return Odysseus pronounces a blessing upon him (14.53-4) and later rewards him with a wife, property, and status equal to his own son (21.214-16). The suitors, like Baucis' and Philemon's countrymen, abuse the guest and consequently suffer righteous, even divine, punishment.

Telemachus is the first to identify Odysseus as a god. Odysseus' revelation of himself to his son is presented in the form of a divine epiphany. Athena supernaturally transforms him so that he is younger and stouter to look at, and, quite naturally, Telemachus is struck with awe at his change in appearance (16.178-9):

θάμβησε δέ μιν φίλος υἱός,
ταρβήσας δ' ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὄμματα μὴ θεὸς εἴη.

His son marveled at him
and cast his eyes in the other direction, for fear that he was a
god.

Telemachus' reaction here is remarkably similar to Anchises' reaction at the epiphany of Aphrodite (H.Aphr. 182):

τάρβησέν τε καὶ ὄσσε παρακλιδὸν ἔτραπεν ἄλλη.

He feared and turned his eyes aside in another direction.

Just as Anchises recognizes Aphrodite as a god and pleads for mercy (H.Aphr. 185-90), so does Telemachus assume that Odysseus is a god and plead for mercy (16.183-5):

ἦ μάλα τις θεός ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν·
ἀλλ' ἴληθ', ἵνα τοι κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρὰ
ἠδὲ χρύσεια δῶρα, τετυγμένα· φείδευ δ' ἡμέων.

Surely you are one of the gods who possess the broad heaven.
But be gracious, in order that we might offer to you pleasing
sacrifices
and well-wrought, golden gifts. And spare us.

And just as Aphrodite had denied that she was a god upon her arrival at Anchises' hut (H.Aphr. 109-10):

οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησιν εἴσκεις;
ἀλλὰ καταθνητή γε . . .

I am not a god. Why do you liken me to the immortals?

But I am a mortal . . .

so does Odysseus, in very similar language, deny his divinity
(16.187-8):

οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν εἴσκεις;

ἀλλὰ πατήρ τεός εἰμι.

I am not a god. Why do you liken me to the immortals?

But I am your father.

The supernatural transformation of Odysseus and the awe which it inspires in Telemachus are elements more naturally associated with a divine epiphany than a human recognition scene.³¹ Seen in the context of a theoxeny, Telemachus' considerable fear at the transformation of the stranger takes on a new light: he realizes that he has not been able to provide this "disguised god" with proper hospitality (16.70-2) and so fears divine punishment, hence his plea to spare him (φείδω δ' ἡμέων 16.185).³²

³¹ For a list of the typical elements of divine epiphanies, see N. J. Richardson (1974) 208. For a comparison of Demeter's epiphany in the Homeric Hymn to Odysseus' "epiphany" to Nausicaa in Phaeacia and to Telemachus in Ithaca, see C. Sowa, Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns (Chicago: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1984) 250-61.

³² So E. Kearns, "The Return of Odysseus: A Homeric Theoxeny," CQ 76 (1982) 5-6.

The suitors too raise the possibility that the beggar might be a god in disguise who has come to test their conduct. In response to Antinous' pelting of the beggar, they admonish him (17.485-7):

καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εὐικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας,
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

Even the gods, likening themselves to guests from abroad,
taking on all forms, frequent the cities,
observing both the violence and the orderliness of men.

To their doom, the suitors do not heed their own warning. When the "disguised god" does finally reveal himself by displaying his extraordinary power to string the bow, he casts off his disguise, and, just as Demeter's partial epiphany at the "threshold" (οὐδόν H.Dem. 188) of Celeos' palace causes "pale fear" to "sieve" Metaneira (χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν H.Dem. 190), so does Odysseus' "epiphany" at the "threshold" (οὐδόν 22.2) of his own palace cause "pale fear" to "sieve" the suitors (χλωρὸν δέος εἶλε 22.42). Like a god, angered at abusive treatment, he dispenses appropriate punishment.

What, then, is the cumulative effect of Odysseus' return home taking on the form of a theoxeny? Quite an important one, it seems to me, for it places Odysseus' actions against the suitors on an entirely different moral plane. In this "theoxeny" Odysseus is not presented simply as a vindictive hero wasting the lives of his

countrymen in order to reciprocate for a personal affront. The denouement of the Odyssey is not primarily concerned with revenge; it is concerned with justice and the restoration of the basic institutions of civilized society. Odysseus, as an instrument of divine justice, is the one who has the divine apparatus behind him. Throughout the epic a series of omens and portents favor, indeed demand, the slaughter of the suitors: bird omens (2.146-76; 15.160-78, 525-34 (cf. 17.152-61); 20.242-6), Zeus' thunder (20.98-121; 21.413-15); Penelope's dream (19.535-58); the suitors' hysteria (20.345-57); even Telemachus' sneeze (7.540-7). Among the gods Athena, who is practically Odysseus' alter ego, has devised slaughter for the suitors from the beginning; she conspires regularly with Odysseus in order to accomplish it and actively assists in the fighting.³³ Zeus too manifestly supports Odysseus' slaughter of the suitors,³⁴ as do the gods generally (1.253-69; 22.413-16; 23.63-7). Even the suitors realize in retrospect that their destruction was the work of the gods (24.164, 182, 443-9).

The suitors' crimes, then, are not mere personal abuses; they are crimes against the institutions of civilized society, and, by extension, against the gods who watch over these institutions. In turn, Odysseus' response to the suitors' crimes is not that of a vindictive hero reciprocating for a personal affront, but rather that

³³ See 1.294-6; 2.281-4; 5.23-4; 13.303, 372-81, 386-96; 16.168-71, 233-4, 260-9, 282, 298; 18.346-8; 19.2, 33-53; 20.42, 284-6, 393-4; 22.256, 297-301; 24.479-80.

³⁴ See 1.378-80 = 2.143-5; 16.260-9; 17.50-1, 59-60; 20.42, 98-121; 21.413-15; 24.164.

of a morally upright king, who, as an instrument of divine justice, purges wickedness, reasserts moral integrity, and reestablishes those institutions which keep society functional. Unlike a triumphant Iliadic warrior, Odysseus refuses to exult over the fallen bodies of the suitors; instead he remarks impassively that it was the gods who subdued them for their wickedness (22.411-16). This is a sentiment consistent with the view of justice in the Odyssey as a whole, where the poet proclaims in his prologue (1.7), and Zeus reiterates shortly thereafter (1.32-4), that the wickedness of men is the cause of their destruction.

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