

Chapter 1

The Conventions of the Homeric  
Hospitality Scene

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε,  
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὄπηδει.

[Zeus is the protector of suppliants and guests,  
Zeus Xéinios, who attends to revered guests.]  
—(Od. 9.270-71)

In the hospitality scene, I include everything that occurs from the moment a visitor approaches someone's house until the moment he departs. 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 in highly formulaic diction and arranged in a relatively fixed order. I count eighteen such hospitality scenes in the verses that have come down to us under the name "Homer": twelve in the *Odyssey* (Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, Telemachus in Pylos, Telemachus in Sparta, Hermes and Calypso, Odysseus and the Phaeacians, Odysseus and Polyphemus, Odysseus and Aeolus, Odysseus and the Laestrygonians, Odysseus and Circe, Odysseus and Eumaeus, Telemachus and Eumaeus, Odysseus' homecoming); four in the *Iliad* (the embassy to Achilles, Nestor and Odysseus in Phthia, Thetis and Hephaestus, Priam and Achilles); and two in the *Hymns* (Demeter in the home of Celeos, Aphrodite and Anchises). In addition to these, a few minor hospitality scenes scattered throughout Homer are considered in this study (e.g., *Od.* 3.488-90; 15.186-88; *Il.* 6.171-77), but since they are too short to contribute much of importance to my analysis, I give them less formal treatment.

Some of the scenes that I have included in my analysis could just as well, perhaps better, be categorized as messenger scenes (Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, Hermes and Calypso, the embassy to Achilles) or supplication

scenes (Odysseus and the Phaeacians, Odysseus and Polyphemus, Priam and Achilles). Many conventional elements, such as arrival, seating, feasting, sacrifice, and libation, are not tied exclusively to the hospitality scene; they are more fluid and can be found attached to various kinds of scenes. I include messenger and supplication scenes in my treatment of hospitality scenes because conventional elements of hospitality intrude and even become pervasive in each of them (see Appendix). In the embassy to Achilles (*Il.* 9.185-668), for example, the messenger scene is transformed into a scene of hospitality when Achilles rises from his seat, greets the visitors as friends, leads them in, and serves them a feast. Similarly, when Priam approaches Achilles as a suppliant in order to ransom the body of his son (*Il.* 24.334-694), Achilles first pushes him away from his knees and then takes him by the hand, offers him a seat, serves him a meal, and even provides him a bed in the portico. The shifts on a formal level from messenger or supplication 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.

As a tool for defining the conventional background against which each individual instance of hospitality may be viewed, I have constructed a grid of thirty-eight elements that occur repeatedly in the eighteen hospitality scenes under consideration:

- 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
- h. Host takes the visitor
- i. Host leads the visitor
- 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
- XIII. Entertainment
- XIV. Visitor pronounces a blessing
- XV. Visitor shares in a libation
- XVI. Visitor asks to be allowed to stay
- 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 invocation
- XXV. Escort to visitor's next destination

This grid is of course a highly artificial construct, one by which the modern reader may be tempted to see the backdrop of inherited conventions behind the explicit analysis; Homer himself did not think of the composition of his hospitality scenes as prescriptive, not prescriptive; in practice the narrator's narration of these scenes, from the first hospitality toward Telemachus and the multi-book description of the embassy to Achilles in Scheria (5.388-13.187). No element on this grid; in fact, no element is exactly identical to any other. Yet

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- 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
- 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, a mechanical device by which the modern reader may by conscious effort shed some light on the backdrop of inherited conventions. Homer's audience needed no such explicit analysis; Homer himself did not consciously rely on it as a pattern for the composition of his hospitality scenes. The grid is merely descriptive, not prescriptive; in practice Homer shows great flexibility in his narration of these 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; in fact, no hospitality scene in Homer is exactly identical to any other. Yet many of these elements on the grid

are to be found in each hospitality scene, and perhaps more important, the sequence into which these elements fall seems to underlie every scene. This grid, then, reveals the "syntax" of the standard Homeric hospitality scene and provides us, an audience unfamiliar with the linguistic, poetic, and mythic acculturation of Homer's contemporary audience, with a device by which to elucidate and appreciate the operation of Homer's individual work against its backdrop of inherited conventions.<sup>1</sup>

Homer's audience was well versed in the conventions of epic poetry, and Homer relied on this familiarity in order to communicate with them. Such a familiarity is essential in order for an audience to appreciate the nuances and connotations of the formulaic diction; recognize significant sequences and patterns in their various combinations; detect allusions, irony, parody, humor, and foreshadowing; and, in general, distinguish between what is deliberately conventional and generic and what is innovative and unique. It is precisely this tension, between the conventional and the innovative, between the generic and the context-specific, between the background of tradition and the foreground of a particular performance, that defines the aesthetics of Homeric poetry.

The main barrier to our appreciation of the artistry of Homer is our ignorance, as a modern audience, of the backdrop of conventions against which he is working; because of our lack of proper experience with other performances, we are simply not well educated enough in the oral poetic tradition to be an effective audience. The Homeric scholar, then, must overcome, and help others overcome, the wide gap that separates us linguistically and culturally from Homer's audience, using 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 epic poetry that has survived from this period, including the Homeric Hymns, the epic frag-

1. Almost all the 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 for judging 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 only once in Homer (*Od.* 4.39-42), but this is because visitors arrive by horse and chariot only once in the surviving corpus. There is no reason to think that this scene was unique in epic verse; similar scenes of "horse hospitality" occur in the *Iliad*, although not in hospitality scenes (*Il.* 8.432-35; 13.34-38). And there is no reason to doubt that the motif would prove to be a regular element of hospitality scenes if more epic poetry had survived. All this also holds true for the motif of the departure omen and interpretation (XXIV), which happens to occur only once in surviving hospitality scenes (*Od.* 15.160-81).

ments, and Hesiod, while always kept that this is but a small portion of the Homeric audience was familiar. In this way, we may learn to share, albeit on a level of communication between Homer and we may thereby aspire to become a reasonably competent audience.<sup>2</sup>

The conventions of the Homeric schematized in this introductory chapter, an individual hospitality scene from the background of these conventions; hence, diachronic. These analyses reveal many transformations of conventional elements of the *Odyssey*, some of which are of themes of the epic whole. Finally, the hospitality in the *Odyssey* interact with other elements of this individual epic, anticipating one another; hence, the perspective

The terms *synchronic* and *diachronic* are in opposition between the static and the dynamic, but insofar as the formulae, the traditional patterns of Greek epic poetry function as the syntax of the oral poet, the tension between the opposition and balance between the viewed as a particular event and the traditional against its traditional background. These are other; they are simply different perspectives, for example, diachronic perspective, for example, as independent allomorphs of a conventional perspective observes how these same elements interact within the epic—an epic that a particular historic performance by these perspectives cannot be separated,

2. On the challenge inherent in an oral tradition, see 185-212. Foley has maintained a fine balance between the traditions of oral poetry while still appreciating these traditions; cf. Foley 1986, 1988, 1990.

3. De Saussure 1959, 79-100.

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ments, and Hesiod, while always keeping in mind the salutary caution that this is but a small portion of the corpus of epic 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, and we may thereby aspire to become, even in this highly literate age, a reasonably competent audience.<sup>2</sup>

The conventions of the Homeric hospitality scene are described and schematized in this introductory chapter. Chapters 2-8 each analyze how an individual hospitality scene from the *Odyssey* functions against the background of these conventions; hence, the perspective is largely diachronic. These analyses reveal many artistic, yet seldom appreciated, transformations of conventional elements in the major hospitality scenes of the *Odyssey*, some of which are of great importance to the underlying themes of the epic whole. Finally, chapter 9 examines how the scenes of hospitality in the *Odyssey* interact with one another within the bounds of this individual epic, anticipating, echoing, and variously informing one another; hence, the perspective is largely synchronic.

The terms *synchronic* and *diachronic* were first coined to describe the opposition between the static and evolutionary aspects of linguistics,<sup>3</sup> but insofar as the formulae, the type-scenes, and the larger narrative patterns of Greek epic poetry function as the diction, the grammar, and the syntax of the oral poet, the terms are equally useful for describing the opposition and balance between a performance of Homer when viewed as a particular event and that same performance when viewed against its traditional background. These viewpoints do not exclude each other; they are simply different perspectives on the same material: the diachronic perspective, for example, sees motifs repeated within an epic as independent allomorphs of a common ancestor, while the synchronic perspective observes how these same repeated motifs interact with each other within the epic—an epic that presumably reflects, however dimly, a particular historic performance before a live audience. While the two perspectives cannot be separated, and while indeed they complement

2. On the challenge inherent in an oral tradition for a literate audience, see Foley 1987, 185-212. Foley has maintained a fine balance in articulating a common aesthetic for various traditions of oral poetry while still appreciating the significant generic differences between these traditions; cf. Foley 1986, 1988, 1990.

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each other and depend upon each other for meaning, my emphasis in chapters 2–8 is primarily diachronic; in chapter 9, primarily synchronic.<sup>4</sup>

The scene of Athena's visit to Ithaca (see chap. 2), in its simplest form merely a messenger scene, is molded into 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 hospitably received by others, usually the impoverished but generous. This framework of a theoxeny increases the suspense surrounding the reception of Athena in Ithaca, and it serves to accentuate the contrast between Telemachus' generous hospitality and the suitors' blatant disregard for the stranger, a theme more fully developed 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 larger 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.

Consideration of the hospitality that Telemachus receives from Nestor in Pylos (chap. 3) and Menelaus in Sparta (chap. 4) 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 (*vóσtoς*). This threat of obstruction ties the experience of Telemachus thematically to that of his father: both son and father must sagaciously extricate themselves from the hands of overbearing hosts who have become obstacles to their homecomings (*vόστοι*).

Close attention to the deviations of the Phaeacians from the usual conventions of hospitality (chap. 5) reveals a curious ambivalence toward visitors. Scheria is not simply a realm of safety and hospitality for Odysseus; it poses obstacles to his return similar to those that he has recently confronted during his wanderings, and it poses dangers similar to those that 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.

An analysis of Polyphemus' treatment of Odysseus and his men as guests against the backdrop of conventional elements of hospitality (chap. 6) accentuates the cynical parody that colors 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

4. With good results, Foley (1990, esp. 1–19, 235–39, 386–87) applies the terms *synchronic* and *diachronic* to various comparative oral traditions.

them—and of gift giving (XX)—him last. But the Cyclops also perverts conventional elements of hospitality: the offering of a guest's identity (XIa), the departure libation (XXII), the departure (XXIII), and the offer of a guest's life (XXV), all of which add to the pa-

Eumaeus' hospitality toward the stranger follows the pattern of the conventional scene, but almost all the conventional elements of these elements emphasize the highly and intensely personal nature of Eumaeus' hospitality. Eumaeus offers his guest that he will not interrogate him, he offers the portion of honor, the chief of honor, he offers his guest a bed by the hearth, while he himself gives his guest a goatskin from his own house, he offers his guest a cup to drink from (X), and his own order to accommodate the uniquely personal scene—a swineherd's hut rather than a palace—has simplified much of the inherited diction of the conventional scene. Remarkably, it is precisely at these points of concentration of late linguistic forms that the secondary and derivative nature of the conventional and preformulated diction in which the swineherd, Homer relied more than usual. This raises the possibility that the scene, though undoubtedly a staple of popular poetry, were not part of the epic tradition in the medium of dactylic hexameter verse.

The final hospitality scene of the epic, the offering and reception by the suitors (see chap. 2) upon the conventional scene of hospitality, the suitors invert the conventional scene: they turn the very implements of hospitality and the contents of the meat basket into gifts to the guest, and they offer the guest "escape" as a destination but as a slave to the wicked suitors. These breaches of convention on the level of conduct in the topsy-turvy world of the epic have virtually exchanged positions

for meaning, my emphasis in chapter 9, primarily synchronic.<sup>4</sup> (see chap. 2), in its simplest form is integrated into the framework of a parody of the hospitality of the rich and greedy, and hospitable but generous. This sense surrounding the reception accentuates the contrast between the suitors' blatant disregard for the guest later in the epic, upon Odysseus' every level of Homer's diction, and the larger elements of the conventional contrast between Telemachus and Nestor as content.

Telemachus receives from Nestor (chap. 4) reveals an underlying paradigmatic, hosts: both Nestor's hospitality, detaining Telemachus until his return home (νόστος). The reception of Telemachus thematically suggests that the host must sagaciously extricate the guest from hosts who have become obstacles.

The Phaeacians from the usual sense of a curious ambivalence toward the guest of safety and hospitality for the guest similar to those that he has experienced, and it poses dangers similar to those on Ithaca. The ambiguity of the reception episode thematically both to

the reception of Odysseus and his men as a parody of the conventional elements of hospitality that colors this episode. Perhaps the perversion of the rituals of feasting and the reception of guests, he makes a feast of

35–39, 386–87) applies the terms *syn-*traditions.

them—and of gift giving (XX)—his gift to Odysseus is his offer to eat him last. But the Cyclops also perverts some of the less conspicuous conventional elements of hospitality: the formal request for a guest's identity (XIa), the departure libation (XXII), the farewell blessing upon departure (XXIII), and the offer of escort to the guest's next destination (XXV), all of which add to the parody of the scene.

Eumaeus' hospitality toward the disguised Odysseus (see chap. 7) follows the pattern of the conventional hospitality scene and includes almost all the conventional elements. Slight innovations in the details 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 (XIa); he offers the portion of honor, the chine, to his guest (IX); he provides his guest a bed by the hearth, while he himself sleeps outside (XVII); he gives his guest a goatskin from his own bed as a seat (VIII), his own cup to drink from (X), and his own cloak as a blanket (XVII). 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 modified much of the inherited diction of the conventional hospitality scene. Remarkably, it is precisely at these points of modification that a high concentration of late linguistic forms can be detected, revealing the secondary and derivative nature of this scene. In the absence of inherited, preformulated diction in which to describe the humble hospitality of a swineherd, Homer relied more than usual on his own linguistic vernacular. This raises the possibility that such tales of swineherd hospitality, though undoubtedly a staple of popular folktale from the earliest times, were not part of the epic tradition passed down to Homer through the medium of dactylic hexameter verse.

The final hospitality scene of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' homecoming and reception by the suitors (see chap. 8), is also structured architecturally upon the conventional scene of hospitality. But in almost every instance, the suitors invert the conventional elements of the proper hospitality scene: they turn the very implements of hospitality—footstools (VIII) and the contents of the meat basket (IX)—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 in the topsy-turvy world of Ithaca, where host and guest have virtually exchanged positions.

### Descriptive Synopses of Conventions of Hospitality

The following detailed descriptions of each of the thirty-eight conventional elements that make up the Homeric hospitality scene, both in their standard forms and in their various transformations, were elicited largely from the eighteen scenes of hospitality under consideration. A schema of each of these eighteen scenes of hospitality may be seen in synoptic form in the Appendix.

#### I. Maiden at the Well/Youth on the Road

Four times in the *Odyssey*, a newly arrived stranger encounters at a fountain, well, or river a young maiden who is kind to him and directs him to the city or palace. The various occurrences of this motif seem to inform one another, and in this case, the earlier occurrences seem to provide the pattern—on a linguistic level the diction, grammar, and syntax—in a standard form whereby later transformations of the motif may be appreciated for their emotional and aesthetic value. First, 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). Second, in a shorter doublet of this episode that occurs soon thereafter, Odysseus approaches the city and meets Athena, who, disguised as a young girl carrying a water jar, directs him to Alcinous' palace (7.18–81). Third, in a less auspicious version of the motif, Odysseus' men meet 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). And fourth, Eumaeus tells a 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 (15.415–84). A version of this motif also occurs 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.<sup>5</sup>

This motif must have had its basis in historical reality; the town well was one of the few places in archaic Greece where a young man might encounter an unmarried maiden. It is often the site of abduction, both in

5. On the traditional nature of this scene, see Richardson 1974, 179–80, 339–43.

Greek myth and in art. But the motif is a universal tale that knows no geographical boundaries. Four times in the *Odyssey*, the motif, in which a young man, twin newly arrived stranger and directs himself to a young man, meets Odysseus and instructs him about how to reach Athena, in the form of a young newly arrived Odysseus on Ithaca, and sends his wife and palace, advising him to meet Eumaeus (13.221–440). The son of Odysseus comes to the aid of the shipwrecked Odysseus at his father's palace (14.314–20). In a rather abusive goatherd Melanthius at the spring of the nymph Penelope's palace, he warns him to stay away from the palace. This motif also occurs in the *Iliad* (24.334–40). A young man, meets Priam, who is the king of Troy, and escorts him to Achilles' camp.

#### II. Arrival at

A hospitality scene is initiated by the arrival of the visitor. Whether this destination is an island or a cave, the visitor's arrival is almost always marked by the verb ἰκνέομαι: ἴκετο (5.57, etc.), ἰκόμεθα (10.13, etc.), ἴξε (II. 10.103–11), ἀφίκετο (5.55, etc. 9.181, etc.), ἀφίκανε (H.Aphr. 10.309; ἴε 7.82), ἐρχομαι (ἐρχομαι 10.87), or βαίνω (βῆν 10.60; πῆν 10.60), and εὔροτο (17.336), and εὔρον (10.103–11).

#### IIIa-c. Descriptio

Upon a visitor's arrival at his destination, the physical residence and the appearance of the visitor are described at least of their appearance.

6. Thompson 1955–58, N715.1. For occurrences of this motif, see Zippori (Gen. 29:1–20), Rachel (Gen. 29:1–20), Zippori (Gen. 29:1–20), Rachel (Gen. 29:1–20), Zippori (Gen. 29:1–20).



## Conventions of Hospitality

Each of the thirty-eight conventional hospitality scenes, both in their original form and in their transformations, were elicited for consideration. A number of other hospitality scenes may be seen in

### Arrival on the Road

A newly arrived stranger encounters at a point where a host who is kind to him and directs him to his destination. Occurrences of this motif seem to be more common than the earlier occurrences seem to be. In the earlier occurrences, the diction, grammar, and other transformations of the motif seem to be less aesthetically valuable. First, the host is washing clothes at a river; in this scene, the princess assists him and directs him to her palace. Second, in a shorter doublet of scenes, Odysseus approaches the city of Ithaca with a young girl carrying a water jar, etc. (11.11). Third, in a less auspicious scene, the host meets with the daughter of the host at a spring; she too directs him to her palace. A less fortunate outcome (10.103–107) shows how Phoenician traders meet with the host while washing clothes at the beach; the host then leads to her aiding them in their journey (15.415–84). A version of the motif (98–183): Demeter encouraging Parthenion, where they have access to the palace.<sup>5</sup>

In the historical reality; the town well known to be the place where a young man might be found on 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 tale that knows no geographical bounds.<sup>6</sup>

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 Odysseus on his way to Circe's palace and instructs him about 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 about 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 also occurs 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.

### II. Arrival at the Destination

A hospitality scene is initiated by the arrival of a visitor at his destination. Whether this destination is 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 *ἰκνέομαι*: *ἴκετο* (5.57, etc.), *ἴκοντο* (3.388, etc.), *ἴξον* (3.5, etc.), *ἰκόμεσθα* (10.13, etc.), *ἴξε* (*Il.* 6.172), *ἰκέσθην* (*Il.* 9.185), *ἴκανεν* (*H.Aphr.* 68), *ἄφίκετο* (5.55, etc.), *ἄφίκοντο* (*Il.* 24.448), *ἄφικόμεθα* (9.181, etc.), *ἄφίκανε* (*H.Aphr.* 75). Rarely a form of *εἶμι* (*ἦϊεν* 5.57; *ἦϊα* 10.309; *ἦε* 7.82), *ἔρχομαι* (*ἐρχομένω* 17.261; *ἦλθε* [*Il.* 18.381]; *ἦλθομεν* 10.87), or *βαίνω* (*βῆν* 10.60; *προσέβη* 14.1) is used; *κίεν* (*Il.* 24.471), *ἔδύσετο* (17.336), and *εὔρον* (10.210) each occur once.

### IIIa-c. Description of the Surroundings

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

6. Thompson 1955–58, N715.1. For occurrences in the Old Testament—Rebekah (*Gen.* 24:10–61), Rachel (*Gen.* 29:1–20), Zipporah (*Exod.* 2:15b–21)—see Alter 1981, 51–62.

*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: ἰδόντες θαύμαζον (4.43–44); τάρπησαν ὀρώμενοι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν (4.47); σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα (4.75); θηήσαιο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθεῖη φρεσὶν ἦσιν (5.74); στάς θηεῖτο (5.75, 7.133); θηήσατο θυμῷ (5.76, 7.134). Whether the residence is a swineherd's hut, a god's palace, or a warrior's tent, it is typically described in a syntactic 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”—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)—of the inhabitant(s), 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 (5.81–84), Polyphemus is out herding cattle (9.216–17), Eumaeus' fellow workers are attending to the pigs (14.24–28; 16.3), and 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 further 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 five times in the *Odyssey* in a variety of forms, the unique properties of each occurrence providing a special aura and significance to the respective scene. The immortal gold and silver dogs, the work of Hephaestus, that 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 of Odysseus with awe (7.91–94). The enchanted wolves and mounds which fawn on the men and wag their master, foreshadows the dogs in the palace (10.212–19). The fawning beasts (14.21), attack Odysseus' ground, even as he arrives “at his presage his treatment at the hands symbolize the initial helplessness (32).<sup>7</sup> Later, upon the arrival of Telemachus but with fawning and tail-wagging dogs recognize (16.4–10). Then, in a rather different way, the same dogs, upon the arrival of Odysseus on the other side of the steading (16.162–163) and the nature of receptions of strangers by dogs symbolize his old dog Argus (17.291–327). The bidden dog, neglected by the household, is a sympathetic representation of the visitor and neglected.<sup>8</sup>

## V. Waiting

The area in front of the door (ἔξω τῆς οἴκου, and specifically the threshold, ὀρθρῶς), and specifically the threshold, has a symbolic and practical function in the house. It is a boundary between the worlds of the visitor and the host. It did in the historic society that the visitor crosses this boundary, the visitor is in the world of the master of the house. Typically, the visitor waits for some time, waiting for the master to grant him hospitality or send him elsewhere.

7. Note that Odysseus himself later

8. Edwards (1987a, 76–77; 1987b, 1987c) identifies the various variations of type-scenes, attributes this motif to the genius of the poet; I agree. For a full discussion of the dog, house, and master in the *Odyssey*, see Edwards.

9. No visitor in Homer is actually sent away by the host. The only visitor sending Telemachus and Pisistratus to Sparta (4.28–29).

in the visitor, as do Menelaus' Polyphemos' caves: ἰδόντες ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν (4.47); σέβας ὄν καὶ τερφεῖή φρεσὶν ἦσιν ὁ θυμῷ (5.76, 7.134). Whether in the palace, or a warrior's tent, it is the place in which a series of adjectives in a relative clause acknowledging the visitor's status (5.78-80; cf. *Od.* 24.205-7).

#### *Sight and Others*

—εὔρε, εὔρον, εὔρομεν (1.106; 11.771; 18.372; 24.473; *H.Aphr.* 5.81), ἐκίχανον (10.60), ἄκουον (10.60), inhabitant(s), who is usually a woman: sacrifice, libation, feast preparation. An account of the inhabitant's home: Odysseus is down at the house as he is out herding cattle (9.216-18; 10.216-18; 16.3), and the cows (*H.Aphr.* 78-80). A woman's tendency to adhere to the conventional face of Polyphemos' absence, and his further subordination, of a description not of what she usually does, and his further subordination, of a remark on the part of the visitor (9.187-92).

#### *The Door*

Placing a guard dog at the door. This is done in a variety of forms, the unique presence of a special aura and significance of the gold and silver dogs, the work of the Phaeacian king Alcinous, hint at the inhabitants and contribute to the

extravagant splendor of the palace, which inspires the newly arrived Odysseus with awe (7.91-94). The eerie reception of Odysseus' men by the enchanted wolves and mountain lions surrounding Circe's palace, which fawn on the men and wag their tails at them like dogs greeting their master, foreshadows the danger of enchantment that 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" (ὧ παρ σταθμῷ 14.32), presage his treatment at the hands of the suitors in his own home and symbolize the initial helplessness of the returned master (14.21-22, 29-32).<sup>7</sup> Later, upon the arrival of Telemachus, these same dogs do not bark but with fawning and tail-wagging welcome a master whom they recognize (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 (16.162-63). 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.<sup>8</sup>

#### V. Waiting at the Threshold

The area in front of the doorway (ἐν προθύροισι, εἰνὶ θύρῃσι, παρ σταθμῷ), and specifically the threshold (οὐδός) itself, has both a symbolic and practical function in Homeric hospitality scenes, as it no doubt did in the historic society that 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 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.<sup>9</sup> If the visitor is a social equal, coming

7. Note that Odysseus himself later addresses the suitors as "dogs" (ὧ κύνες 22.35).

8. Edwards (1987a, 76-77; 1987b, 54), in his discussion of expansions and transformations of type-scenes, attributes this varied usage of a common motif to the original genius of the poet; I agree. For a fuller exposition of the thematic relationship between dog, house, and master in the *Odyssey*, see Beck 1991.

9. 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 (4.28-29).



ἄνους), he stands at the doorway: ἄλκιου (1.103-4); ἐν προθύροις ἴς (5.75); ἵσταμένω, πρὶν χάλ- . . . ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο δώματος ὑροις (10.220); ἔστην δ' εἰνὶ ἐνὶ προθύροις (16.12); στήτην αὐτοῖο (*Il.* 9.193); στήμεν ἐνὶ τοσί (*H.Dem.* 188); στή δ' αὐτοῦ

is a social inferior, coming as a helplessness: παρὰ σταθομοῖσιν ἐνθα κεν ᾧ παρ σταθμῶ (14.31-ε θυράων, κλινάμενος σταθμῶ conventional element of waiting at visualizes the setting of a particular the sanctity of the threshold by 9.216-18); appropriately Polyphemus threshold (9.240-43), as though to been too accessible. The goddess Celeos' palace takes on the form doorway with her greatness and homecoming, Odysseus not only place but maintains a permanent ; his ambiguous status—whether is thus visualized by his position

cation

and the Phaeacians, Odysseus and visitor is in such dire straits that guest but as a suppliant, assuming by prostrating himself and clasping al contact that entailed a powerful βάλε γούνασι χεῖρας (7.141); σά οὔνα ἰκόμεθ' (9.266-67); χερσὶν

<sup>10</sup> Both Alcinoos and Achilles gen-

proper supplication—prostration, clasping

erously elevate their suppliants to the level of guests by taking them by the hand and lifting them up (χειρὸς ἔλων . . . ᾠρσεν 7.168-69; χειρὸς ἀνίστη *Il.* 24.515; cf. *Od.* 14.319), seating them on a seat of honor (ἐπὶ θρόνου εἴσε 7.169; ἔξευ ἐπὶ θρόνου *Il.* 24.522), and thereafter treating them in a manner appropriate to guests rather than suppliants. Polyphemus, who does not care for Zeus (9.272-78), the “protector of suppliants and guests” (ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε 9.270), shows no such consideration.

### VIIa-i. Reception

A host's reception of a visitor follows a conventional sequence: the host catches sight of the visitor, hesitates at first to offer hospitality, 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. As usual Homer shows great flexibility: no hospitality scene includes the entire range of elements, some hospitality scenes contain none of them, and some elements occur only once or twice. But the elements that do occur generally follow 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 (3.36), Achilles in Phthia (*Il.* 11.777). The actual sighting of the visitor is usually signified by a form of the verb ὀράω: πολὺ πρῶτος ἴδε (1.113), εἴσιδ' (1.118), ἴδον (3.34; 14.29), ἴδετο (4.22), ἴδοῦσα (5.78), ἰδόντες, θαύμαζον δ' ὀρόωντες (7.144-45), ἴδε (*Il.* 9.195; 18.382), θάμβησεν ἰδῶν (*Il.* 24.483), ὀρόων (*H.Aphr.* 84); occasionally it is signified by ταφῶν (16.12; *Il.* 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 ἴδε 1.113) Athena-Mentes standing at the door, the suitors remain oblivious to her presence; this contrast draws attention to the wide gulf that separates the proper and improper hosts. In Sparta, not the host but

(even kissing) the knees, and taking hold of the chin—can best be seen in Thetis' supplication of Zeus (*Il.* 1.498-527; 8.370-72). On the physical gestures of supplication, and on the relationship between suppliance in Greek literature and its reality as a historical institution, see Gould 1973.

the official herald of the palace notices Telemachus and Pisistratus at the door (4.22–23); this herald embodies the extravagant, but somewhat impersonal, hospitality that awaits these guests in Sparta. At Eumaeus' hut, not Eumaeus but the dogs first notice the visitor (ἴδον 14.29); the danger they pose to Odysseus foreshadows the danger he will soon face from the "dogs" (ὦ κύνες) in his own palace, as Odysseus himself calls the suitors (22.35). The description of Metaneira's first sight of Demeter at the door is expanded to include the great fear that 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 ξείνον 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 both these scenes provides sufficient excuse for hesitation: the Spartans are in the middle of a wedding celebration; the Phaeacians are simply incapacitated by their surprise at the sudden appearance of a stranger in their midst. Outside the immediate context, too, there appears to be some motive for hesitation: the Spartans' hospitality had previously been violated by their most notorious guest, Paris, who had seized his host's wife;<sup>11</sup> the Phaeacians had been fated to suffer punishment at the hands of Poseidon for their hospitable provision of an escort for strangers (13.170–83). But the Spartans' and Phaeacians' ambivalence toward strangers, and the Phaeacians' reputed intolerance of foreigners generally (7.32–33), is perhaps also a reflection of the basic

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

ambivalence of archaic Greek society who could prove to be either friend or foe. This ambivalence is encapsulated in the term ξείνος, which means "a guest-friend from a foreign country" (a φίλος), but also "a guest who is outside one's own social group" (a ξένος).

*c. Host Rises from his Seat*

When a host catches sight of a visitor in order to welcome him; the verb is ἵκετο (11.777), alternatively ἀνέστη (*Il.* 5.597). In the case of the goddess Demeter (εἶξε δέ οἱ κλισίῃσιν ἄπο θρόνου 553, 597).<sup>13</sup>

*d. Host Approaches the Visitor*

Since it is improper to let a visitor approach him quickly: βῆ δ' ἰθὺς αὐτὸν (4.37); αἶψ' ἐξελθοῦσα (10.233–34) (14.33–34).

*e. Host Attends to the Visitor's Horse*

In Homeric hospitality scenes, there is a special concern with the horse being extended to horses—Menelaus' and Pisistratus' horses in particular should not be regarded as unconventional to the rarity of arrivals by chariot. Comparable scenes of attending to horses are fairly common in the *Iliad* (cf. 5.368–69, 775–77; 8.49–50, 440–41).

12. On the semantic range of ξείνος, see Frazer (1971). The ambivalence toward strangers is reflected in the etymology of this term. On this ambivalence in an Indo-European context, see Frazer (1971).

13. R.M. Frazer (1971) notes the delicate balance between the host's respect for his royal θρόνος to Priam and taking a

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scholiast to 4.26.

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).<sup>12</sup>

### 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; *Il.* 9.193; 11.777), alternatively ἀνέστη (*Il.* 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 κλισμοῖο *H.Dem.* 191), Achilles out of respect for the aged Priam (ἀπό θρόνου ὦρτο *Il.* 24.515; cf. *Il.* 24.522, 553, 597).<sup>13</sup>

### 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' ἐξελθοῦσα (10.230, 312); ὤκα . . . ἔσσυτ' ἀνὰ πρόθυρον (14.33-34).

### e. Host Attends to the Visitor's Horses

In Homeric hospitality scenes, there is only one occurrence 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 Homeric hospitality scenes. Comparable scenes of attending to horses, although not in hospitality scenes, are fairly common in the *Iliad* (cf. especially 8.432-35; 13.34-38; also 5.368-69, 775-77; 8.49-50, 440-41).

12. On the semantic range of ξείνος, see H. Kakridis 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 Benveniste 1969, 65-101.

13. R.M. Frazer (1971) 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 of his hands—only the right hand is specified, never the left: χεῖρ' ἔλε δεξιτερὴν (1.121); ἀμφοτέρων ἔλε χεῖρα (3.37); χειρὸς ἑλών (7.168; *Il.* 11.778); ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ (*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” (χειρὸς ἀνίστη *Il.* 24.515), signifying by this gesture his elevation of Priam's status from suppliant to guest (cf. *Od.* 14.319). Anchises “seizes Aphrodite by the hand” (λάβε χεῖρα *H.Aphr.* 155), a gesture evocative of a seduction scene, in which a man is 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 usually introduced with the greeting χαῖρε followed by a vocative: χαῖρε ξεῖνε (1.123), χαῖρετον (4.60; *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 (1.127–29).

*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); εἰσηγον (4.43); ἔπεο προτέρω ([5.91]; *Il.* 18.387); ἔποντο (10.231); εἰσαγαγούσα (10.233, 314); ἐπόμην (10.313); ἔπεο (14.45); ἡγήσατο (14.48); εἰσα-

γαγών (14.49); προτέρω ἄγε (*Il.* 9 ἄγε (*Il.* 18.388). This gesture of es over the threshold, and into the ho between the two: the visitor agrees host agrees to protect the visitor w that whereas Eumaeus “leads” (ἡγ guised Odysseus into his hut, whe arrives soon thereafter, he does not the swineherd's hut of his own acc

## VIII

Once inside the house, a host's fir proper host offers a seat at the pl offers to Athena-Mentes his own Priam (*Il.* 24.515, 522, 553, 597) 191); in Pylos, Pisistratus seats Tel his brother Thrasymedes (3.36–39); are seated beside Menelaus (4.51); Odysseus at the place of his own

Several different formulae are u Sometimes a simple invitation to s *Il.* 11.778; *H.Dem.* 191). The actu verbs ἔζομαι, ἴζω, ἰδρῶω, εἶσα, an 5.86; 7.169, 469; 10.233, 314, 366; 553). A rather longer formulaic ἔξειης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε alternatively modified to ἐξέσθην ους τε (15.134) and εἶσεν δ' εἶσα τε (10.233). The most elaborate ex mula, with some variation in the a footstool (1.130–31; 10.314–[15]

αὐτήν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγε καλὸν δαιδάλεον ὑπὸ δὲ θρι

εἶσε δὲ μ' εἰσαγαγούσα ἐπὶ ε καλοῦ δαιδάλεου ὑπὸ δὲ θρι



a visitor by grasping (αἰρέω) at hand is specified, never the ἔρων ἔλε χεῖρα (3.37); χειρὸς χεῖρί (Il. 18.384, 423). al element in several scenes. r Telemachus, “kisses both his 16.15–16). Achilles, after push- 8), “lifts him up by the hand” y this gesture his elevation of f. *Od.* 14.319). Anchises “seizes *Aphr.* 155), a gesture evocative leading a maiden to bed.

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γαγών (14.49); προτέρω ἄγε (*Il.* 9.199); ἐς δ’ ἄγε (*Il.* 11.778); πρόσω ἄγε (*Il.* 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 14.48–49) 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 (1.130–32), as does Achilles to Priam (*Il.* 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 (3.36–39); in Sparta, Telemachus and Pisistratus are seated beside Menelaus (4.51); in Scheria, Alcinous makes room for Odysseus at 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: ἐδριάσθαι ἄνωγον (3.35; *Il.* 11.778; *H.Dem.* 191). The actual seating is signified by a form of the verbs ἔζομαι, ἴζω, 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; *Il.* 9.200; 18.389; 24.522, 553). A rather longer formulaic expression occurs with some variety: ἐξέφης 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 expression for seating is a two-verse formula, with some variation in the first verse, which adds a description of a footstool (1.130–31; 10.314–[15] = 366–67; *Il.* 18.389–90):

αὐτήν δ’ ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγων, ὑπὸ λίτα πετάσσας,  
καλὸν δαιδάλεον ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

εἶσε δέ μ’ εἰσαγαγοῦσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου,  
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου,  
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

Niceties of etiquette may be observed in the types of seats offered to visitors: θρόνος, κλισμός, and δίφρος. The θρόνος, a chair with upright back and armrests, 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) and 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 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).<sup>14</sup>

It is indicative of Telemachus' generous hospitality that he offers Athena-Mentes a θρόνος with a footstool (θρήνυς) for her feet, while he takes a κλισμός for himself (1.130-32). Achilles likewise shows proper etiquette by offering his θρόνος to Priam (*Il.* 24.515, 522, 553) and taking for himself a κλισμός (*Il.* 24.597); meanwhile, Priam's herald is made to sit on a δίφρος (*Il.* 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). Upon his homecoming, Odysseus' own elevation in stature from beggar to master is visualized concretely by his change in seats from a δίφρος (19.97, 101, 506; 20.259; 21.243, 420) to a 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 may specifically denote the food offered to a guest (4.33; [5.91]; *Il.* 11.779-80; 18.387, 408). Homer economically constructed his tale so that a visitor usually arrives at someone's house precisely at a time of feasting, either

14. On the distinction between these types of seats, see Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 192c-f; Laser 1968, 34-56.

during the feast's preparation a visitor may be immediately an

#### a. Preparation

Great attention is given to the epic diction is very rich in fact from the simple τετύκοντό τ (2.430; 7.319) to the elaborate banquet in conjunction with a 52; 20.250-55; *Il.* 1.457-66; 2 distinctive description of feast 1 is a formulaic five-verse block who provides water for hands who serves bread and other food 72]; 15.135-[39]; 17.91-95):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προ-  
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυ-  
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστή-  
σιτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη πα-  
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χι-

An addendum of two or three lines for the carver, who serves platters of food is sometimes attached to this (15.140-41):

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακα  
παντοίων, παρὰ δὲ σφί-  
κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἔ-

παρ δὲ Βοηθοῖδης κρέα  
οἰνοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου

A truly generous host may be seen in Menelaus (11.441; *Il.* 7.321) on his guest by (γέρας 4.66), the fatty "chir" (4.65-66; 8.474-83; 14.437-4)

ἄργυροῦλου,  
σὶν ἦεν.

n the types of seats offered to  
ie θρόνος, a chair with upright  
r gods and nobles (gods 5.86,  
18.389, 422; 20.62; *H.Ap.* 9;  
18.157; 20.150; 21.139, 166;  
guests who are invited to take  
7.162, 169; 8.65, 469; 10.314,  
ut it is never used by women.  
, is used by men when feasting  
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59; 21.243; *Il.* 24.578; *H.Dem.*

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l (θρήνυς) for her feet, while  
Achilles likewise shows proper  
m (*Il.* 24.515, 522, 553) and  
meanwhile, Priam's herald is  
neira offers her own κλισμός  
more in line with her disguise  
s only a δίφρος (*H.Dem.* 191,  
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20) to a θρόνος (23.164).

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structed his tale so that a visitor  
ly at a time of feasting, either

, see Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 192c–

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 for describing feast preparation, from the simple τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα (8.61; 16.478; 24.384; *Il.* 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, 470–72; 14.418–52; 20.250–55; *Il.* 1.457–66; 2.419–29; 9.206–20; 24.621–26). The most distinctive description of feast preparation for the entertainment of guests is a formulaic five-verse block that details the duties of the handmaid, who provides water for handwashing and a table, and the housekeeper, who serves bread and other food (1.136–40 = 4.52–56; 7.172–76; [10.368–72]; 15.135–[39]; 17.91–95):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόω ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἄργυρέοιο 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, which adds the duties of a carver, who serves platters of meat, and a herald, who pours the wine, is sometimes attached to this five-verse block (1.141–43 (cf. [4.57–58]); 15.140–41):

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας  
παντοίων, παρὰ δὲ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κύπελλα,  
κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπώχετο οἰνοχοεῶν.

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) on his guest by relinquishing his own “designated portion” (γέρας 4.66), the fatty “chine” (νῶτον) of the cow, pig, sheep, or goat (4.65–66; 8.474–83; 14.437–41; *Il.* 7.321–22; 9.206–8).

*b. Consumption*

The preparation of the feast is generally described in great detail, but the actual consumption of the food merits only a simple, one-verse formula. In the *Odyssey*, the most common by far is οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνειάθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον (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 ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἴσης (16.479; 19.425; *Il.* 1.468, 602; 2.431; 7.320; 23.56). The first-person dialogue of Odysseus' *Apologoi* requires the 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' ἦσθε πῖνέ τε οἶνον (14.109).

*c. Conclusion*

The feasting is concluded with a one-verse formula that 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; *Il.* 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), or σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν (14.46). The first-person dialogues of Odysseus' *Apologoi* and of Nestor's story require the modifications αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτήτος (9.87; 10.58) and αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος (*Il.* 11.780).

Homer freely modifies the conventional formulae of feasting to accommodate the particular circumstances of each scene. Most conspicuous, perhaps, are his modifications of the formulae for sacrificing cows in order to accommodate Eumaeus' sacrifice of a pig (cf. 14.75 and, e.g., 3.462; 14.418–56 and, e.g., *Il.* 1.447–74) and his modifications of the 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 (cf. 16.49–52 and, e.g., 1.141–43, 147). Sometimes Homer manipulates these conventional formulae with great poetic effect. The elaborate description of the feast preparation for Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, using the conven-

tional five-verse block and adden to the three-verse potpourri that (1.146–[48]); the juxtaposition of tions of feast preparation serves to tion of Athena-Mentes with his describing Polyphemos' and the L their guests, Homer perverts the parody on a formal level, by applying banquet to their cannibalistic feast cf. 1.149), ὀπλίσσατο δόρπον or 344; 10.116; cf. 16.453; 24.360).

X. After-

Immediately after the feast, either with wine and propose a toast. The general eating and drinking of the libation that is occasionally This formal element of an after-the feast in Achilles' tent, Odysseus host (*Il.* 9.224); after the feast in cup with wine for the disguised suitors for a time of drinking (20 hut, Eumaeus demonstrates the refilling his own cup with wine Odysseus (14.112–13); after Poly Cyclopeia, a parody of proper host the wine of Maron, which inebriates (9.345–61).

XIa-b.

The revelation of a guest's identity in the development of a relationship guarantees the host reciprocal hospitality (9.16–18). It is understandable, therefore, that a guest's name is requested and revealed ta

tional five-verse block and addendum (1.136-43), is a striking contrast to the three-verse potpourri that describes the serving of the suitors (1.146-[48]); 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 black parody on a formal level, by applying the conventional diction of the banquet to their cannibalistic feast: *ἐτάροις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλε* (9.288; cf. 1.149), *ὀπλίσσατο δόρπον* or *ὀπλίσσατο δεῖπνον* (2.20; 9.291, 311, 344; 10.116; cf. 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 that 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 (*Il.* 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 (20.260-62); 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); after Polyphemus' cannibalistic feast in the Cyclopeia, a parody of proper hospitality, 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 that 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.<sup>15</sup> This point of etiquette may be observed in the hospitality of Telemachus (1.123–24; 16.54–59), Nestor (3.69–70), Menelaus (4.60–62), Arete (7.230–39), Eumaeus (14.45–47), the ruler of Lycia (*Il.* 6.171–77), Achilles (*Il.* 9.221–24), Charis and Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.385–87), and Metaneira (*H.Dem.* 206–12). The most paradigmatic hosts—Telemachus (1.123–24), Menelaus (4.60–62), and Eumaeus (14.45–47)—set their guests at ease on arrival by explicitly assuring them that they will not inquire into their identity or business until after the meal. 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); and Polyphemus' role as a paradigm of perverted hospitality is reinforced by his demand for his guests' identity upon first setting eye on them (9.251–55).

The most routine formula of inquiry entails a request for information about a stranger's homeland and parentage: τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἦδὲ 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 business in the land (1.171–77; 14.188–90; 24.299–301; *H.Dem.* 114–17). When more than one stranger is present, and their means of transportation is assumed to be by ship, a different formula is used: ὦ ξείνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρά κέλευθα; (3.71; 9.252; *H.Ap.* 452). This question too may be expanded to include an inquiry into the strangers' business (3.72–74; 9.253–55; *H.Ap.* 453–55). 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); καὶ 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 assurances that this information will be true and accurate:

15. For comparative material evidencing this rule, see J.T. Kakridis 1975, 13–21.

τοιγάρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἀτάσθαλα  
15.266; 16.61); τοιγάρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἀτάσθαλα  
(24.303); sometimes simply by καὶ ἀτρεκέως εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἀτάσθαλα  
(9.16; *H.Dem.* 120), or ἐρέω (7.230–39). The information provided may include the stranger's means of transportation, and business in the land (1.171–77; 14.188–90; 24.299–301; *H.Aphr.* 109–42). A particular obligation on his host by strangers is the obligation of *xenia* with a relative: Athena-Menelaus' obligation to Menelaus as a *xenos* of his father (1.187–88), and Odysseus' obligation to Laertes that he is a *xenos* of his father (19.105–106) and that he has given him gifts (24.265–79).

Homer demonstrates great flexibility in the formal elements of identification in the scene. In Arete's interrogation of Odysseus (7.230–39), the revelation of his real name at the end of the scene. The longest interrogation of a visitor is that of Odysseus (8.548–86); Odysseus' identification comprising the four-book Apollonian scene.

Because gods can always replace the formal element of identification. Homer replaces the usual request that the visiting deity state his name with the usual revelation of the stranger's identity by the god's explanation for his presence.

Since one of the key themes of the *Iliad* and particularly the self-recognition of whom have difficulties coming to the city (cf. 1.215–16), it is appropriate that this is occasionally replaced by an identification of Telemachus (4.171–172) and Odysseus (10.325–35). Sometimes this

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, 366-67, 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 (1.187-88), and the disguised Odysseus claims to Laertes that he is a *xenos* of his son, 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 εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἦδὲ τοκῆες; is replaced by τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἶματ' ἔδωκεν; (7.238), reinforcing the theme of clothing central to 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 Οὐτίς tricks the Cyclops (9.364-414); his revelation of his real name at departure is framed as a taunt (9.502-5). The longest interrogation of a visitor in Homer is Alcinoos' 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.* 18.424-27). 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 Menelaos' identification of Telemachus (4.138-54) or Circe's identification of Odysseus (10.325-35). Sometimes the identification is inadvertent: Demo-

e and inquires into his business  
ranger is to remain anonymous  
uette may be observed in the hos-  
59), Nestor (3.69-70), Menelaus  
14.45-47), the ruler of Lycia (*Il.*  
; and Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.385-87),  
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ntion: Hermes disregards Calyp-  
y have eaten (5.85-96); Odysseus  
into his identity before his belly  
21); and Polyphemus' role as a  
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entails a request for information  
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4; 14.186; 24.297).

his identity and business is often  
mation will be true and accurate:

s rule, see J.T. Kakridis 1975, 13-21.



docus 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 the host provides specific information to an inquisitive visitor; other times the visitor provides news from abroad to a curious host, as though in exchange for material hospitality. This reciprocal exchange of information normally follows the feast and may include news, messages, instructions and advice, prophecies, and, very often, stories.

In the *Odyssey*, the exchange of information is often laden with irony because the hosts frequently fail to recognize the disguised Odysseus. Eumaeus informs the disguised Odysseus of the identity of his master (14.115-47) and fills him in on his supposed status (14.42-44, 133-36), 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, 555-58, 583-87). And 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 γὰρ 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 a special type of dancing while simultaneously throwing balls and performing gymnastic feats, as in Scheria and Sparta (8.100-131, 370-80; cf. 4.18-19). But by

far the most prevalent form of stories, sometimes by a prof a lyre (*κίθαρις, φόρμιγξ* 1.151-369, 486-520; 13.27-28; 17.358-98, 247-312; 4.76-112, 212-89, 3 the guest (9.1-12.453; 10.14-16 favorite topics of storytelling and adventures of the returns (*νόσ* 3.102-98, 247-312; 4.76-112, 2. 12.453; 10.14-16; 14.462-506), own repertoire.

Homer's handling of after-dinner primary theme of vengeance and bard Phemius is made to sing the suitors. Ironically, Phemius as the goddess, in disguise as M with Telemachus; and Phemius the Achaeans, a subject of pre that the return of Odysseus with suitors' perverse hospitality to strated by their deriving amusement and the local beggar Irus for the "guest" in effect providing contests had functioned properly in Scheria (8.100-131), but iversity is appropriately avenged himself provides the entertainment (*καὶ φόρμιγγι* 21.430), a vivid a retribution.

### XIV. Visitor Pronouncements

A visitor abroad usually lacks a host for his material provisions by providing news from abroad and he may provide the means in the future by revealing his name for material provisions by pronouncements.



the unknown stranger (8.73-82, Odysseus to his disguised guest Philoetius all remark on the beggar and Odysseus (19.357-81;

#### Information

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information is often laden with news to recognize the disguised Odysseus of the identity of his guest in his supposed status (14.42-44, in recognition of his own return (14.149-64, in recognition of Odysseus about her longing for her husband (19.124-61), and Odysseus in recognition of Odysseus in Crete (19.172-248) in recognition of the suitors (19.269-307, in recognition of Odysseus claims to Laertes, who had once entertained him in

#### Entertainment

in many forms. Song and dance are common (μολπὴ τ' ὄρχηστὺς τε τὰ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν; 17.605-6)—but in the grandest feasts include exhibitions of athletic contests (boxing, discus) or a special type of entertainment with juggling balls and performing gymnastic stunts (18.1-131, 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, φόρμιγγις 1.151-55, 325-27; 8.43-47, 62-70, 73-82, 241-369, 486-520; 13.27-28; 17.358-59, 605-6), sometimes by the host (3.102-98, 247-312; 4.76-112, 212-89, 347-586; 15.383-494), and sometimes by the guest (9.1-12.453; 10.14-16; 14.191-359, 462-506; 18.428-30). The favorite topics of storytelling are the events of the Trojan war and the adventures of the returns (νόστοι) in the war's aftermath (1.325-27; 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), perhaps Homer's advertisement of his own repertoire.

Homer's handling 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 Mentis, 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 (1.325-27). The suitors' perverse hospitality toward the disguised Odysseus is demonstrated by their deriving amusement from a boxing match between him and the local beggar Irus 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 part of the after-dinner entertainment in Scheria (8.100-131), but not here in Ithaca. The suitors' perversity is appropriately avenged, for in their final feast, Odysseus himself provides the entertainment: "the singing and the lyre" (μολπὴ 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 storytelling, 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 on his host; often the

graciousness of the host's hospitality inspires such a blessing (7.148–50; 14.51–54, 439–41; 15.340–42; 17.353–55; *H.Dem.* 135–37, 224–25). The guest typically prays that his host be blessed with “glory” (κῦδος 3.55–59), with “the affection of Zeus” (φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο 14.439–41; 15.340–42), with “material wealth” (δλβια 7.148–50; δλβιον 17.353–55; ἐσθλά *H.Dem.* 224–25), with a “prosperous and blessed posterity” (παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος κτήματ’; τέκνα τεκέσθαι 7.148–50; *H.Dem.* 135–37), or rather generally, with “whatever he might desire” (ὅττι μάλιστ’ ἐθέλεις 14.51–54; οἱ πάντα γένοιτο ὅσα φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοιῶ 17.353–55). Sometimes the guest invokes the gods generally (7.148–50; 14.51–54; *H.Dem.* 135–37, 224–25), sometimes Zeus specifically (14.51–54, 439–41; 15.340–42; 17.353–55)—and appropriately so, since he is the patron of suppliants and guests (6.206–8; 9.270–71, 477–79; 14.56–59, 283–84, 388–89).

Just as a guest may pronounce a blessing on a gracious host, so he may pronounce a curse on 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 that is essentially a negation of the guest's usual prayer for a prosperous and blessed posterity: “If there are gods and Furies [ἔρινύες] for beggars, may death come upon Antinous before marriage.” (17.475–76).

#### 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 on their arrival, encouraging them to participate in the sacrifices, libations, and prayers of the Pylian community (3.40–67, 338–42, 390–94, 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; 16.452–54). Amphinomus, who alone of the suitors shows proper respect toward guests, allows Odysseus to share in a libation (18.151–52). And

Achilles honors those who have  
ing them to share in a sacrifice

#### XVI. Visitor Asks

The most hospitable hosts are  
drink, and entertainment, espec  
to the point of being overbeari  
that it is time for bed. The lo  
day until the setting of the sun  
Athena-Mentor, who encourage  
that we may think of sleep, for  
μεδώμεθα’ τοῖο γὰρ ὄρη 3.33  
entertained their guests throug  
stories about Troy, Telemachus,  
says, “Come, lead us to bed,  
delight in sweet sleep” (ἀλλ’ ἄ  
ἦδη ὑπνω ὑπο γλυκερῶ ταρ  
Odysseus wishes to rest from  
Phaeacian hosts, he alerts the  
καὶ ὄρη εὔδειν 11.330–31), b  
stories, denies him: “This nig  
hour for sleep in the hall” (νῦ  
πω ὄρη εὔδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ  
immensely his exchange of tale  
remain awake into the night:  
νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι 15.392), he  
it is time; much sleep is a vexa  
καταλέχθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολὺς ἔ  
is reunited with his wife, he r  
even now we may lie down an  
τομεν, γύναι, ὄφρα καὶ ἦδη  
ηθέντε. 23.254–55). Penelope a  
he wishes but then delays him,  
of Teiresias. Priam uses simila  
wine for the first time since his  
conversing with Achilles, he a  
me down quickly, god-born on

Achilles honors those who have come to him as mere messengers by inviting them to share in a sacrifice and meal (*Il.* 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 may think of sleep, for it is the hour for such” (ἄφρα . . . κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα τοῖο γὰρ ὥρη 3.333–34). After Helen and Menelaus have entertained their guests throughout the evening with food, wine, and stories about Troy, Telemachus, in his first words to his hosts in Sparta, says, “Come, lead us to bed, so that we may even now lie down and delight in sweet sleep” (ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’ εἰς εὐνήν τράπεθ’ ἡμέας, ἄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῶ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες. 4.294–95). 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 11.330–31), but Alcinous, who is anxious for more stories, denies him: “This night is unspeakably long; not yet is it the hour for sleep in the hall” (νῦξ δ’ ἤδε μάλα μακρῆ ἀθέσφατος οὐδέ πω ὥρη εὔδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ 11.373–74). 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 χρῆ, πρὶν ὥρη, καταλέχθαι ἀνὴ καὶ πολὺς ὑπνος. 15.393–94). When at last Odysseus is reunited with his wife, he requests, “Let us go to bed, wife, so that even now we may lie down and take delight in sweet sleep” (λέκτρονδ’ ἴσμεν, γύναι, ἄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῶ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες. 23.254–55). Penelope assures him that he may go to bed whenever he wishes but then delays him, wanting to hear more 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 may lie down and

pires such a blessing (7.148–50; *H.Dem.* 135–37, 224–25). The blessed with “glory” (κῦδος 3.55–6; Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο 14.439–41; ἄφρα 7.148–50; ὄλβιον 17.353–55; “prosperous and blessed posterity” 1.101–2; τέκνα τεκέσθαι 7.148–50; “whatever he might desire” 1.101–2; πάντα γένοιτο ὅσα φρεσὶν ἦσι 1.101–2). Nestor invokes the gods generally (1.101–25), sometimes Zeus specifically (1.101–25)—and appropriately so, for the guests (6.206–8; 9.270–71, 477–

ing on a gracious host, so he is a gracious one. When Antinous demagogues a footstool, an instrument of war, at the newly arrived Odysseus, it is essentially a negation of the guest’s request for rest: “If there are gods above, may they come upon Antinous before

#### Libation or Sacrifice

The gesture of a host’s willingness to entertain, to transform an outsider into a member of the community’s religious rituals, and to perform sacrifices is a mark of the most hospitable and accommodating to Athena. Nestor encourages them to participate in the sacrifices of the Pylian community (3.40–41). Nestor invites the newly arrived Odysseus to partake of the sacrifices revered suppliants” (ὄς θ’ ἔσθω 3.41). Eumaeus includes Odysseus in the sacrifices though they be (14.407–48); when the suitors shows proper respect to Odysseus in a libation (18.151–52). And

take delight in sweet sleep" (λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνῶ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες. *Il.* 24.635–36).

### 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; *Il.* 24.644; ἐν προδόμῳ 4.302; 20.1, 143; *Il.* 24.673); meanwhile, the host retreats to the innermost room of the house (μυχῶ 3.402; 4.304; 7.346; *Il.* 9.663; 24.675), where he sleeps beside his wife or concubine (3.403; 4.305; 7.347; *Il.* 9.664–68; 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 (3.400–401). The material hospitality in Sparta is more lavish but less personal: Helen orders the servants to place a bed in the portico, to throw on it beautiful, purple rugs, to spread blankets above, and to put woolen mantles on top (4.296–99). The bed provided for Odysseus by the Phaeacians is equally elaborate (7.336–39 = 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 environment of the battlefield, are 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 Priam in his shelter (*Il.* 9.617–22, 658–68; 24.643–55, 671–76; note that *Il.* 24.644–47 = *Od.* 4.297–300, 7.336–39; *Il.* 24.673 = *Od.* 4.302).

Manipulations of the bedding scene for poetic effect may be observed in the scenes of Odysseus' homecoming. Although the humbleness of Eumaeus' hospitality is accentuated by the substitution of sheepskins and goatskins 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 acquires great symbolic value: at first Melanthe suggests that he go away and sleep in a public lounging place for beggars (18.327–29); then Penelope acknowledges him as a

guest and offers a bed in the portico. Odysseus has gained the upper hand, established himself as master, he has moved to the upper part of the house (23.295). His position has moved to its periphery in the portico, to the upper elevation from beggar to guest

The provision of a bath for a guest is usually in conjunction with the provision of a bed (4.48–50; 6.210–35; 8.426–27, 433–34; 19.89; 19.317, 320, 343–60, 386–88). The bath is provided well after the initial reception, on the second day of the visit; rather than on arrival (4.48–50; cf. 6.210–35). The women who administer the bath are usually the women of the house (Helen 4.252; Calypso 7.100). An unmarried princess (Nestor's daughter) is also mentioned (Nestor's daughter 4.252).

A typical Homeric bath attendant is the attendant who pours water from a jar into a bathtub (ἀσάμινθος; cf. 4.48–50). The attendant then washes the guest and anoints him with oil (ἔχρισεν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ 3.466; cf. 4.48–50; 24.366). Finally, the attendant provides a bed (δὲ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλεν ἵππῳ 10.365, 451; 17.89; 23.155; 24.366). The provision to be offered casually is the participation of a member of the household.

The quality of the bath is a measure of the hospitality. In Sparta, the guest

16. Many of the elements of the Homeric bath are attested in the Linear B tablets. The tripod (ti-ri-po = τρίπους on the Pylos tablet on Knossos Ws 8497), the employment of women (wo = λουτροχόοι on Pylos Ab 27 [55] describing guests (ke-se-ni-wi-jo, describing oil. ξείνια on Knossos Ld 573). The clay jar (so-called palace of Nestor at Ano E

guest and offers a bed in the portico (19.317–19, 598–99; 20.1); and 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; 3.464–68; 4.48–50; 6.210–35; 8.426–27, 433–37, 449–57; 10.358–65, 449–51; 17.87–89; 19.317, 320, 343–60, 386–88, 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 on arrival (4.48–50; cf. 6.210–35; 17.87–90). It is usually the servant women who administer the bath (δμῳαί; 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 (Helen 4.252; Calypso 5.264; Circe 10.449), and once the unmarried princess (Nestor's daughter Polycaste 3.464–65).

A typical Homeric bath entails heating water in a tripod (τρίπους); the attendant pours water from this tripod upon the guest, who is seated in a bathtub (ἀσάμινθος; cf. 8.426, 433–37; 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 δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα 3.467; cf. 4.50; 6.214; 8.455; 10.365, 451; 17.89; 23.155; 24.367).<sup>16</sup> Hence the Homeric bath is not a provision to be offered casually; it requires the active and intimate participation of a member of the host's household.

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 on

16. Many of the elements of the Homeric bath are attested in the Linear B tablets: the tripod (ti-ri-po = τρίπους 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), and 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 ἔξινια on Knossos Ld 573). The clay bathtub (a-sa-mi-to = ἀσάμινθος) uncovered in the so-called palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos also evokes the Homeric bath.

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 (3.464-68).

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 ὁμοίος 3.468; 23.163; θεοῖσιν ἔοικε 6.243; cf. ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄντην 24.371), causing those who see him to "marvel" (θηεῖτο 6.237; θαύμαζε 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 footbath (19.317, 320, 343-60, 386-88, 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, ὃς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλέησιν,  
 ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν ἄμεινω δ' αἰσιμα πάντα.  
 ἴσον τοι κακὸν ἔσθ', ὃς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι  
 ξεῖνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὃς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.  
 χρὴ ξεῖνον 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 on forced detention, and the host's frequently reiterated invitation to stay ([ἐπι] μείναι) is

often met by the guest's plea  
 cf. 1.309-13, 315; 3.343-55; 4.5  
 14, 340, 417-19, 517; 10.14-16,  
 35; 15.64-91, 199-201, 209-14,  
 19; 24.682-88).

In the *Odyssey*, such hospital  
 (νόστοι) of both Telemachus :  
 Sparta for as long as possible  
 disposal: his stories, which deli  
 about home and stay in Sparta  
 and a chariot as guest-gifts, gift  
 were to abandon his homecom  
 on the broad Lacedaemonian  
 wealth to be collected on his  
 (15.75-85); and his scrupulous  
 gift giving, libation, farewell sp  
 all of which delay his guest's ine  
 expressly chooses to bypass Pyl  
 that he will confront such obst  
 This threat of detention is m  
 Odysseus, whose return home i  
 ciated with hospitality: the fo  
 songs of the Sirens, the "gues  
 Circe and Calypso. These shar  
 sympathetic harmony between  
 theme of obstructed homecom

Χ  
 Gifts (ξεινήια, δῶρα, δωτίνη  
 vice versa, as a material symb  
 the host expects the guest to r  
 μνησκεται 15.54; μνήμα 15  
 ation, to reciprocate with an ec  
 (ἀμοιβῆς 1.318; ἀμειψάμενος  
 24.285-86) that guest-gifts be  
 fail to elicit counter-gifts are s

17. Homeric gift giving surely refle

often met by the guest's plea not to be detained (μη . . . [κατ] ἔρυκε; cf. 1.309-13, 315; 3.343-55; 4.587-88, 593-608; 7.311-15; 9.303-5, 313-14, 340, 417-19, 517; 10.14-16, 467-74, 489; 11.338-41, 350-52; 13.28-35; 15.64-91, 199-201, 209-14, 335-36, 346; 16.82; 17.16-21; *Il.* 9.617-19; 24.682-88).

In the *Odyssey*, such hospitality threatens to obstruct the homecomings (νόστοι) of both Telemachus and Odysseus. To detain Telemachus in Sparta for as long as possible, Menelaus uses all the resources at his disposal: his stories, which delight Telemachus and tempt him to forget about home and stay in Sparta indefinitely (4.595-98); his offer of horses and a chariot as guest-gifts, gifts that would be useful only if Telemachus were to abandon his homecoming to rocky Ithaca and remain instead on the broad Lacedaemonian plain (4.600-608); the temptation of the wealth to be collected on his proposed leisurely tour through Hellas (15.75-85); and his scrupulous attention to the formalities of feasting, gift giving, libation, farewell speeches, and the interpretation of an omen, all of which delay his guest's inevitable departure (15.92-181). Telemachus expressly chooses to bypass 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 his father Odysseus, 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, δωτήνη) are offered 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; μμνήσκειται 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). It is the custom (θέμις 9.267-68; 24.285-86) that guest-gifts be exchanged back and forth, and gifts that fail to elicit counter-gifts are said to be given in vain (ἔτῳσια 24.283).<sup>17</sup>

17. Homeric gift giving surely reflects a historical custom of gift exchange, perhaps of

resources available to Menelaus, inuently heated in anticipation of Pylos, the guest waits until the next day. The personal nature of Nestor's hospitality is of his own unmarried daughter

The bath is a key to the theme of hospitality. Often the guest rises from the bath, sometimes "looking like a god" (23.163; θεοῖσιν ἔοικε 6.243; cf. 24.371), causing those who see him to be amazed (3.459; cf. 24.370). Odysseus rightly disguises and reveals his true identity; Menelaus (320, 343-60, 386-88, 503-7). His house is symbolically realized later as a proper bath (23.153-63).

to the Visitor

pitiable behavior, advises his guest

λλω  
 ν φιλέησιν,  
 ἴσιμα πάντα.  
 θέλοντα νέεσθαι  
 ον κατερύκει.  
 οντα δὲ πέμπειν.

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 st to leave who does not  
 who is eager to leave.  
 est who is present and grant  
 ts to leave.]

dangerously on forced detention,  
 nvitation to stay ([ἐπι] μείναι) is



The most prized type of guest-gift is treasure that 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 . . . οἷα φίλοι ξεῖνοι ξείνοισι διδοῦσι 1.312-13). When Menelaus offers Telemachus a gift of horses and a chariot, Telemachus refuses them and insists, "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 armor (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; θώραξ *II.* 11.19; κυνέη *II.* 10.261) or various household utensils (κρητήρ 4.615; 9.203; 15.103; 24.275; ἄλεισον 8.430-31; τρίπους 13.13; λέβης 13.13; δέπας 15.102; *II.* 6.220). 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; 19.241-42; 21.339; 24.277; φᾶρος 8.392, 425, 441; 24.277; ἐσθήτα 8.440; εἵματα 13.10; τάπησ 24.276; πέδιλα 16.80; 21.341).

Special value is attached to gifts that have a history behind them (i.e., gifts that have been passed down from someone else): Menelaus gives Telemachus a krater that he had received from Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians (4.613-19); Iphitus gives Odysseus a bow that he had received from Eurytus (21.31-33); Priam gives Achilles a cup that he had received from Thracian men (*II.* 24.233-37); and the helmet that Meriones gives 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 as an equally cynical guest-gift (ξείνιον 20.296) a pelting with an ox-hoof from the meat basket. This blatant disregard for the civilizing institution of *xenia* places Ctesippus and the suitors on the same level of savagery as the Cyclops.

the tenth and ninth centuries—so Finley 1955; Finley [1965] 1978, 58-164. Or perhaps it better reflects the institutions of the society contemporaneous with the poet—so Coldstream 1983, 201-7. For a salutary deemphasis of an underlying historical institution of gift exchange, see Hooker 1989. Gift giving is probably a genetically Indo-European institution—so Benveniste 1969, 65-101—although it is an equally prevalent custom in unrelated primitive and archaic societies—so Mauss 1924.

On the role of gift giving in ancient Greek myth and literature, see Gould 1973, 90-101; Nagy 1981; Donlan 1982a; Donlan 1982b.

XXI.

The didactic Menelaus advises that "it is an honor and a glc a boundless trek" (ἀμφοτέρων νῆσαντας ἴμεν πολλὴν ἐπ' ἀπ the provision of a meal for a element. Yet this element pla: hospitality scenes of the *Ody*: (15.92-98, 133-43) and *Ody*: Elsewhere the departure of th and Pylos, the hospitality scer ture scene can occur.

XXII. I

The pouring of a libation is a *II.* 6.258-62; 9.171-77; 24.283- departure plays a part in the the *Odyssey*: Telemachus' dep seus' departure from Scheria upon Odysseus' and Aias' de:

Homer's handling of the t scenes of guest departure is i: ventional elements to their cor: from Achilles' tent, the libatic ically, reflecting the impatienc to the visit. In an effective c even obstructive, Menelaus, E achus and Pisistratus in order are driving away on their cha: hospitality, their libation upon most elaborately described.

XXIII

In the two most extensive hos in Sparta and Odysseus in Sc: rocal blessings on departure.



## 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" (ἀμφότερον κῦδος τε καὶ ἀγλαΐη καὶ δνειαρ δειπνήσαντας ἴμεν πολλὴν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν. 15.78-79); 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 (15.92-98, 133-43) and Odysseus' departure from Scheria (13.23-27). 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. *Il.* 6.258-62; 9.171-77; 24.283-86). 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 (13.50-56). A libation is also performed upon Odysseus' and Aias' departure from Achilles' tent (*Il.* 9.656-57).

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 on departure. The host introduces his blessing by wishing

it is treasure that can be stored up to detain Athena-Mentes in Ithaca, he can think of: "treasure . . . such ἥλιον . . . οἷα φίλοι ξείνοι ξείνοισι offers Telemachus a gift of horses em and insists, "let it be treasure" εἰμήλια may include actual talents f. 8.440; 9.202; 13.11; 24.274), but sious metals—bronze, silver, gold—403-5; 19.241; ξίφος 8.406; 16.80; 40; τόξον 21.31; τεύχεα *Il.* 6.230; νέη *Il.* 10.261) or various household 24.275; ἄλεισον 8.430-31; τρίπους (. 6.220). It may also denote items ἵνα 15.338; 16.79; 21.339; 24.276; ; 19.241-42; 21.339; 24.277; φᾶρος 440; εἶματα 13.10; τάπησ 24.276;

that have a history behind them (i.e., from someone else): Menelaus gives a shield from Phaedimus, king of the Odysseus a bow that he had received from Achilles a cup that he had received and the helmet that Meriones gives from previous exchanges (*Il.* 10.260-71). The element of gift giving to produce the *Odyssey*. Polyphemus' cynical offer is the privilege of being eaten and offers as an equally cynical guest-an ox-hoof from the meat basket. The institution of *xenia* places Ctevel of savagery as the Cyclops.

; Finley [1965] 1978, 58-164. Or perhaps it contemporaneous with the poet—so Coldstream an underlying historical institution of gift by a genetically Indo-European institution—usually prevalent custom in unrelated primitive

myth and literature, see Gould 1973, 90-101;

his guest a farewell (χαίρε 8.408, 461; 15.128, 151), 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 δέ μοι χαίρων ἀφίκοιο οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. 15.128-29); "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 (8.465-66; 13.38-43), 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" (ὕμεις δ' αὐθι μένοντες εὐφραίνοιτε γθναϊκας κουριδίας καὶ τέκνα θεοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν παντοίην, καὶ μὴ τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη. 13.44-46); "Take delight in your house and in your children and people and in your king Alcinous" (σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ παισὶ τε καὶ λαοῖσι καὶ Ἀλκινόῳ βασιλῆϊ. 13.61-62).

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 πολίπορθον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι 9.530), and that if he is fated "to see his loved ones and come to his well built home and to his fatherland" (φίλους ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν 9.532-33), that "he arrive late and badly off" (ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι 9.534), and that "he find troubles at home" (εὗροι 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 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, **geance** on the suitors (15.160-8). In a rather parodic inversion **as he** departs from the land c **spoils** from the Cyclops' cave, **phemus'** favorite ram, to Zeu **intended** to honor Zeus as pi **Odysseus** avenge Polyphemus' **accept** the sacrifice (ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμ **the** stolen ram is symbolic of **guest**. It is with this unfavorable **on a** journey that will prove di

#### XXV. Escort to

**Escort** (πομπή) to a visitor's n **host** to his guest. This obligatic **the** host simply provides directi **27**). Sometimes supplies of fo **wine**, and cooked meats (3.479- **a** favorable wind for the travel **But** the most generous hosts **himself** acts as Odysseus' guide **Telemachus** horses and a chari **for** his journey to Sparta (3.3 **who** are famous for delivering **even** to distant destinations (π **13.174**; cf. 7.191-98, 317-28; 8 **accompany** Odysseus to Ithaca

The suitors, who are notorious **of** hospitality, are eager to off **not** the proper πομπή to the g **the** Phaeacians are deservedly p **expel** by force" from the house **ἐκπέμψῃσι** 18.336) or "to sen **(17.448**; πέμψωμεν 20.382-83) **21.307-9**), who is notorious fo **of** his victims (18.84-87).

1; 15.128, 151), then he prays for return to his family and homeland: "return to to your well built home χαίρων ἀφίκοιο οἶκον ἔυκτίμενον 29); "May the gods grant that you eland, since you have suffered woes g time" (σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ ἀλοχον ἰδέειν δηθὰ φίλων ἄπο πήματα πάσχεις. s the host's farewell (χαίρει 8.413; or his safe return (8.465-66; 13.38- ssing upon his host: "May the gods δοῖεν 8.413); "May you, remaining ives and children, and may the gods there not be any evil for the city" ε γθναϊκας κουριδίας και τέκνα και μη τι κακόν μεταδήμιον εἴη. ise and in your children and people έρπεο τῶδ' ἐν οἴκῳ παισὶ τε και 1-62). d diction of the typical departure yphemus curses rather than blesses ive home (δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτο- that if he is fated "to see his loved ne and to his fatherland" (φίλους και ἔην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν 9.532- ff" (ὄψε κακῶς ἔλθοι 9.534), and οι δ' ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ 9.535). This tional blessing reflects the Cyclops' of *xenia* generally.

#### in and Interpretation

and in Homer's poetic cosmos, to g out on a journey (cf. *Il.* 24.290- a proper omen and interpretation : corpus—in Telemachus' departure d Pisistratus prepare to depart, an rying a goose in its talons. Helen

interprets this omen favorably, as a sign of Odysseus' return and vengeance on the suitors (15.160-81).

In a rather parodic inversion, Odysseus suffers an unfavorable omen as he departs from the land of the Cyclopes. Having divided up the spoils from the Cyclopes' cave, Odysseus sacrifices his portion, Polyphemus' favorite ram, to Zeus (9.550-53). 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 ἱρώων 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 that 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; 12.25-27). 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 (πομπήες) for his journey to Sparta (3.324-26, 368-70, 474-86); the Phaeacians, who are famous for delivering their guests safely and speedily by ship even to distant destinations (πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἀπάντων 8.566 = 13.174; cf. 7.191-98, 317-28; 8.30-38, 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 inversions 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, 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, Sicily (17.448; πέμψωμεν 20.382-83), or, worse yet, king Echetus (πέμψωμεν 21.307-9), who is notorious for cutting off the noses, ears, and genitals of his victims (18.84-87).

### 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 that are a normal part of the process of transmission, other times through conscious and purposeful manipulation by human hands.

In my view, the tightly knit and balanced structures of both epics and the remarkable homogeneity in the massive body of our inherited texts, lacking as they do any substantial variations in the overall plots of the tales, 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 perhaps oral, transmission, are to be expected. There is little we can do to detect changes in the text, whether from rhapsodic embellishment and curtailment or from scribal expansion and omission, before the standardization of the text by Aristarchus in the second century B.C.; and we should take note, as a reminder of our ignorance and as a caution to any generalizations we might wish to make, of the considerable textual variants attested in early quotations of Homer and in the Ptolemaic papyri.<sup>18</sup>

We can take some comfort in Aristarchus' exceptional caution as an editor; while he did omit verses from the already heavily interpolated texts that he inherited, he almost always did so on the basis of external, documentary evidence, omitting only those verses that were absent from a majority of manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> Like his Alexandrian predecessors, he 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, freely *athetizing* on these grounds; he also *athetized* on stylistic grounds, because of incongruities, because he was offended by certain religious

18. On the early quotations of Homer, see van der Valk 1964, 264-369; van der Valk 1949, 278-85; Allen [1924] 1969, 249-70. On the pre-Aristarchean papyri, see S. West 1967; Allen [1924] 1969, 271-301.

19. Apthorp 1980a, 47-125.

points, or because he considers *atheteses*, far from being evidence a testimony of authenticity; at are ancient, since the Alexandr

Our basis for suspecting pre not the *atheteses* but the record various pre-Aristarchean autho same criterion that is producti polations—namely, that weakne tions constitutes grounds for su however: (1) rather than having ing on the report of the scholia; Aristarchean copyists, did in fa we must take into account poss attested verses.

We can do much more about polations that have made their inherited more manuscripts of except the New Testament; an multiplies the variants, resulti tiplicity furnishes a sound basis variant readings. In the last cer to add to our manuscripts the covery of which has substantia of the Homeric text at various gests that interpolations are a Aristarchean period. But these have based my evaluation of w lished by G.M. Bolling and rel edge the clearly demonstrated Homer's epics, as in the transn texts, accretion, not deletion, is script tradition of Homer, there vulgate text but acquired a fai this is in the consistent corre later manuscripts and the absen observations led Bolling to the

20. On this point, see Janko 1992.

21. Bolling [1925] 1968, 3-30; Apt

### rdance Interpolations

Homeric epics as orally generated and primarily the fact that they have been for a half millennia in written form, are appreciated even less than we do today. The poems have thereby suffered other changes, sometimes through the process of transmission, and purposeful manipulation by human

balanced structures of both epics and the massive body of our inherited textual variations in the overall plots and scale post-Homeric omissions or accretions, the inevitable result of a long process of transmission, are to be expected. Changes in the text, whether from scribal error or from scribal expansion and contraction of the text by Aristarchus in the margins, take note, as a reminder of our generalizations we might wish to consider variants attested in early quotations from papyri.<sup>18</sup>

Aristarchus' exceptional caution as an editor of the already heavily interpolated text says did so on the basis of external evidence, those verses that were absent from the Alexandrian predecessors, he did not delete on grounds (i.e., he left the verse in the left column to indicate some degree of doubt. To understand the oral nature of the text, the repetition of identical verses, freely so interpolated on stylistic grounds, and the fact that it was offended by certain religious

van der Valk 1964, 264-369; van der Valk 1968, 3-30; the pre-Aristarchean papyri, see S. West

points, or because he considered a verse inappropriate. But such *atheteses*, far from being evidence of a verse's inauthenticity, are ironically a testimony of authenticity; at least one can be certain that such verses are ancient, since the Alexandrians read them in their manuscripts.<sup>20</sup>

Our basis for suspecting pre-Aristarchean interpolation, therefore, 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 criterion that is productively applied 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 themselves, 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 motives for their omission of weakly attested verses.

We can do much more about the considerable post-Aristarchean interpolations that have made 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 furnishes a sound basis on which to evaluate the authenticity of variant readings. In the last century, we have been particularly fortunate 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 verses on the criteria established by G.M. Bolling and refined by M.J. Apthorp,<sup>21</sup> which acknowledge the clearly demonstrated tendency that in the transmission of Homer's epics, as in the transmission of other sacred or highly regarded texts, accretion, not deletion, is the normal habit of copyists. The manuscript tradition of Homer, therefore, not only retained all of Aristarchus' *vulgate* text but 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

20. On this point, see Janko 1992, 20-29.

21. Bolling [1925] 1968, 3-30; Apthorp 1980a, 35-125.

the Aristarchean text could be reconstructed by omitting from the vulgate all weakly attested verses that show no sign of surface corruption. This conclusion appears fundamentally sound; consequently 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 reasons other than mechanical ones for the omission of a verse, attempting to guess at possible contextual motives 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, or 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 on 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 *Od.* 18.111a and omits *Il.* 8.548, 550-52; 9.458-61; 11.543—has achieved such sacred status that many scholars naively accept this (or other modern eclectic editions) as canonical, without any acknowledgment of manuscript problems. In fact, some seventy-six weakly attested verses still reside in the Oxford *Iliad*, some ninety-four in the Oxford *Odyssey*,<sup>22</sup> and these late scribal interpolations are frequently marshaled as evidence in identifying verbal echoes, tracing thematic patterns, or supporting a particular theory of oral poetics.<sup>23</sup>

22. Apthorp 1980a, xvii.

23. A few representative examples will suffice:

Brown (1966), arguing that in order to be successful a formal curse must repeat the name and address of the object of the curse, relies heavily on *Od.* 9.531, Polyphemus' 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 (P<sup>3</sup> and P<sup>7</sup>).

Block (1985), 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). By thus choosing to follow the Oxford text, even against overwhelming manuscript evidence of

At first glance, the interpolations in the total verses in the epics might not seem to be. But to the detriment of treatment, my analysis of conventional elements and interpolations are concentrated in the feasting scenes, for it is here that a scribe is most likely to interpolate the text. I make a concordance interpolation of the feast preparation scene in the *Odyssey*, because it contains serious manuscript problems.

This problem of concordance interpolation is particularly acute in the feasting scenes of the *Odyssey*. Block describes the preparation of a feast in *Od.* 1.136-40; 4.52-56; 7.172-76; 10.368-72; 15.139; and 21.270.

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχέουσα  
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέου  
νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν  
σῖτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέχειν  
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χάριον

[A handmaid brought water in a beautiful, golden one, intended to wash with; and set out bread. A respected housekeeper brought out adding many dishes, graciously.]

Four of the scenes in which there are various degrees of interpolation are the feast preparation scene in *Il.* 1.58. In two other scenes, the text is

interpolation, Block causes the theme to be repeated. W.C. Scott (1971), analyzing the scene to parallel scenes of feasting in the *Odyssey* (10.368-72, 15.139, and 21.270) casts some doubt on his resulting theory. For further examples of failures to recognize interpolations, see Block 195-227.



At first glance, the interpolation of some 170 verses out of 27,803 total verses in the epics might not appear to present a serious problem. But to the detriment of treatments of 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., to make a *concordance interpolation*). Consequently almost every hospitality scene in the *Odyssey*, because of its largely conventional nature, contains serious manuscript problems.

This problem of concordance interpolations is critical, for example, in the feasting scenes of the *Odyssey*. The typical five-verse block that describes the preparation of a feast occurs six times in our inherited text (1.136-40; 4.52-56; 7.172-76; 10.368-72; 15.135-39; 17.91-95):

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
καλῆ χρυσεῖη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,  
νίψασθαι' παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.  
σίτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμῆ παρεθήκε φέρουσα,  
εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαρίζομένη 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.]

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 (4.57-58). In two other scenes, the textual problems are complicated owing to

interpolation. Block causes the theme to appear more pervasive in this scene than it should.

W.C. Scott (1971), analyzing the scenes of feasting in Ithaca, with frequent recourse to parallel scenes of feasting in the *Odyssey*, fails to recognize that *Od.* 1.148, 4.57-58, 10.368-72, 15.139, and 21.270 are all very likely concordance interpolations. This failure casts some doubt on his resulting theory of the nature of oral composition and performance.

For further examples of failures to recognize interpolated verses, see Aphthorp 1980a, 195-227.

ected by omitting from the vulgate sign of surface corruption. This and; consequently I have generally ilarly those absent in early manu- io Aristarchean scholia attached, ssibility of a copyist's error evi- zson, or *homoeoteleuton*. Occa- sions other than mechanical ones g to guess at possible contextual etimes retaining suspected verses make such verses a mainstay of

its or construct elaborate theories storical poet, about the nature of it the resonance of repeated for- reiterated type-scenes, we should modern editions, lest we base our additions. We should not regard editions in which they are most ionic performance. The Wolfian st popular edition today, Allen's Oxford edition adds *Od.* 18.111a 11.543—has achieved such sacred pt this (or other modern eclectic nowledge of manuscript prob- attested verses still reside in the Oxford *Odyssey*,<sup>22</sup> and these late rshaled as evidence in identifying s, or supporting a particular the-

e:  
uccessful a formal curse must repeat the elies heavily on *Od.* 9.531, Polyphemus' ldress in Ithaca. But this verse is surely a attested in only two very late manuscripts

requested by, and offered to, Odysseus, *Od.* 14.154, 516; see Block, 5-6). By thus st overwhelming manuscript evidence of

a confusion in antiquity over the meaning of εἶδατα (misconstrued as "leftover meat") and whether it can appropriately be served in conjunction with freshly cut meat (1.139–40; 15.139).<sup>24</sup>

The disagreement over the meaning of εἶδατα goes at least as far back as Aristarchus. The HMQ scholia to 4.55–56 relate Aristarchus' suspicion of 1.139–40: εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τὰ περὶ τῆς ταμίας παράκειται· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ξενίζεσθαι παρὰ Τηλεμάχῳ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. ἐπεισεληλύθασιν γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μενέλαον, ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ πάρεσθιν ὁ Μέντης. Apparently the problem entailed a misunderstanding of εἶδατα to mean "leftover meat," which would be appropriate in Sparta, where Telemachus and Pisistratus arrive after the initial feast has been served, but inappropriate in Ithaca, where Athena-Mentes arrives at the beginning of the preparation of the feast. This misunderstanding of εἶδατα led Athenaeus too (*Deipnosophists* 193b) to suspect 4.55–57 (and perhaps 1.139–41): διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐφεξῆς τιθέντες τούτους τοὺς στίχους [quotes 4.55–57 = 1.139–41] εἰ γὰρ εἶδατα παρέθηκεν ἢ ταμίη, δῆλον ὡς κρεάτων λείψανα τυγχάνοντα, τὸν δαιτρὸν οὐκ ἔδει παρεισφέρειν. διόπερ τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ. 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 that did not have 4.57 (and perhaps 1.141). The absence of 4.57–58 in many medieval manuscripts suggests their spuriousness, raising suspicion that Athenaeus' source probably noted that 4.57–58 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 1.141–42, on the other hand, remains unquestionable. S. West surprisingly perpetuates Athenaeus' definition of εἶδατα as "leftover 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.<sup>25</sup> But surely the omission of 1.139 by L<sup>4</sup> is a mistake, for the omission of the single verse leaves 1.140 stranded.

My own, fairly simple view is that εἶδατα is a generic word for food and does not necessarily mean leftover food. After all, do the Lotus-

24. In 4.57–58 and 15.139, there is some difficulty in determining whether the textual problems result from simple concordance interpolation or from a lexical misconception.

25. S. West, in Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988, 1.139–40n.

eaters enjoy "flowery leftovers" of the gods eat "ambrosial leftovers." The serving of εἶδατα with fresh meat would not strike a Homeric audience. Both εἶδατα and the cutting of meat in the feasting scene of the *Odyssey* are elaborating this scene a little more. My conclusions about the authenticity of the *Odyssey* of this five-verse block (after this block) follow.

(1.136–43). All verses are authentic. The mistake. Both ancient and modern grounds are the result of a mis-

(4.52–58). Athenaeus' objection on external grounds is ill-founded, but in many medieval manuscripts at his (or his source's) expense. Many medieval manuscripts, in fact, have no scholia attached to them. The concordance interpolations (from 1.139–40) that I regard these verses as spurious. The edition may have omitted them on the grounds of Athenaeus' suspicion of 4.57–58.

(7.172–76). All verses are authentic.

(10.368–72). The entire passage is authentic. (1–2 A.D.) and L<sup>4</sup> in Allen's edition. It is in the margins of Allen's edition. and Br. Further, there are no scholia and Eustathius does not mention the scene is clearly a post-Aristarchus-

(15.135–41). All medieval manuscripts omit 15.139, and there are no scholia suggesting that it is a post-Aristarchus-verse to strike off the last verse of a block. integrity in every other case, especially



meaning of εἶδατα (misconstrued as can appropriately be served in con- 139-40; 15.139).<sup>24</sup>

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aters enjoy "flowery leftovers" (ἄνθινον εἶδαρ *Od.* 9.84)? Do the horses of the gods eat "ambrosial leftovers" (ἄμβρόσιον εἶδαρ *Il.* 5.369; 13.35)? The serving of εἶδατα with fresh meat, as at 1.140-41 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 immediately after this block) follow.

(1.136-43). All verses are authentic. The omission of 1.139 by L<sup>4</sup> is a mistake. Both ancient and modern objections to 1.139-41 on internal grounds are the result of a misunderstanding of εἶδατα.

(4.52-58). 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 4.57-58. Many medieval manuscripts, including L<sup>8</sup>, omit the verses, and there are no scholia attached to them. They are probably post-Aristarchean concordance interpolations (from 1.141-42); 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 4.57-58 and Aristarchus' suspicion of 1.139-40.

(7.172-76). All verses are authentic.

(10.368-72). The entire passage is absent in the oldest manuscripts—Π<sup>8</sup> (1-2 A.D.) and L<sup>4</sup> in Allen's families e, f, i, j, k, and in Pal., T, and Z. It is in the margins of Allen's families e and j. It is bracketed in P<sup>3</sup>, V<sup>4</sup>, 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 that 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 "leftovers" (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, 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.

(17.91-95). All verses are authentic.

In sum, when we consider the transmission of the Homeric epics, we face a problem that 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 affixed by an imaginary asterisk denoting that our conclusions are conditional. But these difficulties should not cause us to abandon hope of saying anything meaningful about Homer, nor should they necessarily compel us to take cover behind the protective shield of literary theories that claim to consider only the text "as we have it." In the following analyses of Homeric hospitality scenes, I base my conclusions on as early and as reliable a text as the resources available permit; beyond this I can do little more than be admittedly tentative about conclusions based on problematic verses, while studiously avoiding all the forms of dogmatism for which Homeric scholarship has become so notorious.

## Ithaca (C)

καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐξ  
παντοίοι τελέθοντες, ἐξ  
ἀνθρώπων ὄβριν τε καὶ

[Even the gods, likening  
taking on all forms, fre  
observing both the viole

In the first scene of hospitality  
Mentes, a guest-friend of Ody:  
the simple purpose of her visit  
(1.80-95), is to encourage the  
motion his journey to Sparta  
enriched, and its tension heig  
folktale motif in which a god  
order to test their hospitality. 7  
universally,<sup>1</sup> is well attested in  
is an often reiterated motif in t  
Odysseus of being a god in dis  
his father's sudden change in a  
79); and the suitors raise the

1. Thompson 1955-58, K1811, Q1.

2. The motif occurs in its most star  
and Philemon (Ovid *Met.* 8.611-724),  
and Apollo's visit to Macello (Nonnus  
on *Aeneid* 6.618), and Jupiter's, Nep  
5.495-536). On the possibility of Gree  
see Malten 1939; Fontenrose 1945; H  
the tale of Jupiter and Lycaon, see A  
For a complete list of the various ty  
Burnett 1970, 24-25n.8. On Odysseus

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# The Stranger's Welcome

Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of  
the Homeric Hospitality Scene

STEVE REECE

*Ann Arbor*

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