## EURYMACHUS' QUESTION AT ODYSSEY 1. 409

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τὸν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου πάϊς, ἀντίον ηὔδα· ''Τηλέμαχ', ἢ τοι ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, ὄς τις ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ 'Ιθάκῃ βασιλεύσει Άχαιῶν·	400
κτήματα δ' αὐτὸς ἔχοις καὶ δώμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις. μὴ γὰρ ὄ γ' ἔλθοι ἀνήρ, ὄς τίς σ' ἀέκοντα βίηφι	
κτήματ' ἀπορραίσει', 'Ιθάκης ἔτι ναιεταούσης.	
άλλ' έθέλω σε, φέριστε, περὶ ξείνοιο έρέσθαι,	405
όππόθεν οὖτος ἀνήρ· ποίης δ' έξ εὕχεται εἶναι	
γαίης; ποῦ δέ νύ οἱ γενεὴ καὶ πατρὶς ἄρουρα;	
ηέ τιν' άγγελίην πατρός φέρει έρχομένοιο,	
η έὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος ἐελδόμενος τόδ' ἰκάνει;	
οἷον ἀναΐξας ἄφαρ οἵχεται, οὐδ' ὑπέμεινε	410
γνώμεναι· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακῷ εἰς ὧπα ἐώκει."	
τον δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα·	
"Εὐρύμαχ', ή τοι νόστος ἀπώλετο πατρὸς ἐμοῖο·	
ουτ' ουν άγγελίη έτι πείθομαι, ει ποθεν έλθοι,	
οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάζομαι, ἥν τινα μήτηρ	415
ές μέγαρον καλέσασα θεοπρόπον έξερέηται.	
ξείνος δ' οὖτος ἐμὸς πατρώϊος ἐκ Τάφου ἐστί,	
Μέντης δ' Άγχιάλοιο δαϊφρονος εὔχεται εἶναι	
υίός, ἀτὰρ Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισιν ἀνάσσει."	

In the first book of the Odyssey Athena visits Telemachus in the form of Mentes and inspires him to take control of his life. After she leaves, the suitors marvel at Telemachus' new spirit; and one of them, Eurymachus, asks him to identify his guest. Was this guest a messenger from Odysseus, or did he come for some other reason? I translate Eurymachus' question and Telemachus' answer  $(Od.\ 1.\ 399-419,$  quoted above) as follows—with the exception of the phrase  $\epsilon \delta \nu \alpha \vartheta \tau \sigma \vartheta \chi \rho \epsilon \tilde{\iota} o s \epsilon \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$  in verse 409, whose correct interpretation is the subject of this paper:

And Eurymachus, the son of Polybus, answered him: "Telemachus, truly this lies on the knees of the gods, who of the Achaeans shall rule in seagirt Ithaca. But may you for your part keep safe your possessions and be ruler over your house. May no one come to wrest your possessions from you, overmastering you violently, so long as Ithaca exists. But I want, good sir, to ask you about your guest. Where is he from? From what land does he claim to be? Where are his people

and native fields? Does he bring some message from your returning father, or does he come on this visit ἐἐν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος ἐελδόμενος? How quickly he is up and away, and did not wait for us to make his acquaintance. Certainly he has a by no means ignoble appearance." And the thoughtful Telemachus answered him: "Eurymachus, truly my father will never return. Therefore I no longer believe any message no matter what its source, nor take to heart any prophecy my mother asks of a prophet, having summoned him into our hall. This man is my family's guest friend from Taphos, and boasts himself to be Mentes, the son of wise Anchialus, and so is king of the oar-loving Taphians."

The word χρεῖος is usually taken to mean "business" (sometimes "debt" or "need"), and the phrase έὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος ἐελδόμενος translated "desiring business of his own." Eurymachus is thus made to ask, "Did your guest come either as a messenger or as one 'desiring business of his own'?" To which Telemachus replies, "I pay attention neither to any messenger nor to any prophet my mother calls into our hall; this

was my guest friend Mentes. It seems that the "neither . . . nor"  $(o\vec{v}\tau\epsilon . . . o\vec{v}\tau\epsilon)$  of Telemachus' answer should correlate with the "either . . . or"  $(\mathring{\eta} \acute{\epsilon} . . . \mathring{\eta})$  of Eurymachus' question, but this is impossible if the usual interpretation of  $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{o}\nu$   $\alpha\hat{v}\tau\hat{o}\hat{v}$ χρείος ἐελδόμενος is correct. Telemachus' answer amounts to a denial that his guest was either a messenger or a prophet; with regard to a messenger, the response does correlate with the first part of Eurymachus' question. But we are surprised by the denial that the guest was a prophet, as there is nothing in Eurymachus' question, according to the usual interpretation of έον αὐτοῦ χρεῖος ἐελδόμενος, that prepares us for it.

I know of no other instance in Homer in which an answerer makes such a gratuitous denial; denials in answers like Telemachus' always correspond to the wrong guesses of questioners. Two well-known examples come readily to mind. At II. 6. 378 ff., Hector asks the maidservants, "Has Andromache gone to visit her sisters-in-law or to the temple of Athena to pray?" To this question one of them replies, "She has gone neither to visit her sisters-in-law nor to the temple of Athena to pray, but to Troy's high tower." And at Od. 11. 172 f., Odysseus in the Underworld asks his mother, among other things, "Did you die of a long and painful illness, or was your death blessed and swift?" She replies (198 ff.), "My death was not blessed and swift, nor did I die of a long and painful illness, but my spirit was destroyed with yearning for you."

Furthermore, we can cite an example with marked similarities to the conversation of Eurymachus and Telemachus. In the assembly of the Ithacans at the beginning of *Odyssey* 2, the old man Aegyptius opens proceedings by asking of whoever has called them together (30 ff.), "Has he heard some message from the returning

army (ἢέ τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυεν  $\epsilon$ ρχομ $\epsilon$ νοιο; cf. Od. 1. 408), or does he have some other public business to state?" Telemachus, who has called them together, replies (42 ff.), "I have heard no message from the returning army ( $o\ddot{v}\tau\epsilon \tau \iota \nu$ '  $\dot{a}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda \dot{i}\eta\nu$ στρατοῦ ἔκλυον ἐρχομένοιο; cf. Od. 1. 414), nor do I have any other public business to state, but rather εμον αὐτοῦ χρεῖος." (We shall have to give special consideration to the use of  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  here when we come to discuss the meaning of this word.) I think that the conversation of Aegyptius and Telemachus has probably influenced that of Eurymachus and Telemachus. But if this is so, it seems all the more surprising for the latter not to conform to the type of question and answer that the former exemplifies. The answerer should reject, point by point, the wrong guesses of his questioner before telling him the truth, and should offer no gratuitous denials. We naturally expect, without supposing any special influence, that Telemachus' answer to Eurymachus ought to follow this rule; but we are necessarily disappointed if the usual interpretation of  $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{o}\nu$   $\alpha\dot{v}\tau o\hat{v}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}os$ ἐελδόμενος, "desiring business of his own," is correct.

I suggest, however, a new and very different interpretation for  $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{o}\nu$   $\alpha\hat{v}\tau\hat{o}\hat{v}$ χρείος ἐελδόμενος: "being desired for a prophecy of his own." This interpretation requires (1) that  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath} o s$  mean "prophecy" instead of "business" (or "debt" or "need"); (2) that  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma \delta$  be passive instead of middle; and (3) that  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} os$  be an adverbial accusative instead of a direct object. If I am right, Telemachus' remark about prophecy does have its antecedent in Eurymachus' question. Eurymachus asks, "Was your guest a messenger from Odysseus, or did he come 'being desired for a prophecy of his own'?" Telemachus replies, "I pay no attention to any messenger, nor to any prophet my mother calls into our hall; this was my guest friend Mentes." The phrase "prophecy of his own" seems difficult, but I think we shall find that it makes good sense.

There are ten other occurrences of  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  ( $\chi \rho \epsilon os$ ) in Homer besides the one at Od. 1, 409. Eight of them seem best translated "debt." In Iliad 11 Nestor uses  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath} os$  three times in his description of the successful cattle-raid he and his Pylians made against the Epeans of Elis, who had earlier plundered the Pylians and were therefore indebted to them:  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \circ \hat{j} \circ \hat$ έν "Ηλιδι δίη (686); Έπειοὶ χρεῖος ὄφειλον (688); and χρείος μέγ' ὀφείλετ' ἐν "Ηλιδι  $\delta i\eta$  (698). Similarly, at *Od.* 21. 17 we are told how Odysseus went after a debt that the whole people of the Messenians owed him for having stolen some of his flocks from Ithaca:  $\hat{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}os$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}$  $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}$  of  $\pi\hat{\alpha}_{S}$   $\delta\hat{\eta}\mu_{OS}$   $\ddot{o}\phi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ . At Od. 3. 367, Athena-Mentor excuses herself from Nestor's further hospitality by saying that she must be off the next morning to the Cauconians, where a debt is owing to her  $(\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \acute{o}_S \mu o i \acute{o} \acute{\phi} \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \epsilon \tau \alpha i)$ ; she apparently expects him to think that the Cauconians have raided her property and that she is honor-bound to seek compensation. Again, in Odyssey 8, in the song of Demodocus about the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite,  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \circ s$  is used twice ( $\chi \rho \epsilon \circ s$ , 353;  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \circ s$ , 355) of the debt that Ares must pay the cuckolded Hephaestus; and we have a synonym, μοιχάγρια, in the expression μοιγάγρι' οφέλλει (332), "he owes the

1. Ael. NA 8. 5 mentions Polydamas as a prophet along with Tiresias. According to Schol. A ad II. 12. 211 (Dindorf, I, 424), and Eust. ad II. 12. 228 (p. 859. 15, Stallbaum), Polydamas' father Panthous, who was an interpreter of the Delphic oracle, taught him the art of prophecy.

penalty for having been caught in adultery."

The last example of  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} o s$  meaning "debt" occurs at Il. 13.745 f., where Polydamas tells Hector, "I fear the Achaeans may weigh out the debt of yesterday" (δείδω μὴ τὸ χθιζὸν ἀποστήσωνται  $A\chi\alpha\iota oi/\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}os$ ). Yesterday the Trojans had advanced victoriously into Achaean territory; today it may be the turn of the Achaeans to do the same against the Trojans. The earlier victory of the Trojans thus seems comparable to the cattle-raids of the Epeans, et al., and to Ares' trespassing on Hephaestus' home, in all of which instances the perpetrators incur a  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o_S$ . What is especially interesting, however, is that Polydamas' warning seems to have a prophetic ring, which reminds one of his speech at Il. 12. 211 ff., where he interprets the omen of the eagle and the serpent.1 Moreover, the verb  $\alpha \pi \sigma \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \omega \nu \tau \alpha \iota$ , which apparently means "weigh out," seems to allude to scales, as Schol. T and Eustathius note;<sup>2</sup> and Björck suggests, independently of our Polydamas-passage, that early Greek prophets used scales in their predictions.<sup>3</sup> The  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  at II. 13. 745 f. can only be translated "debt." But Polydamas seems to be speaking with the acumen of a prophet, as he does in Iliad 12; and he seems to allude to scales, which may have been used for prophetic as well as business purposes. We shall be arguing that  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  ( $\chi \rho \epsilon os$ ) means "prophecy" elsewhere in Homer, and that early Greek

two men on a chariot is depicted on a Mycenaean vase from Enkomi. Björck, following S. Eitrem, "Schicksalsmächte," Symb. Osl., XIII (1934), 57, n. 1, thinks that this figure represents a prophet taking the omens for men who are about to set out on a journey; but M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion³ (Munich, 1967), pp. 366 f. and pl. 25. 1, thinks that it represents Zeus, though (p. 367, n. 1) "mit meiner Deutung stimmt wohl überein, wenn das Schicksalswägen einem Divinationsverfahren nachgebildet ist, wie G. B. Björck meint." B. C. Dietrich, "The Judgment of Zeus," RhM, CVIII (1964), 122 ff., dismisses all interpretations of the Enkomi vase as being too conjectural; see esp. p. 124, n. 143, for his criticisms of Björck.

<sup>2.</sup> Schol. T (Maass, II, 52) ad II. 13. 745; Eust. ad II. 13. 745, p. 958. 20. See also A. R. Sodano, ed., Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum liber I (Naples, 1970), pp. 118 f. MS authority favors ἀποτίσωνται pot ἀποστήσωνται; but, as Leaf notes on II. 13. 745, the lengthening of the ο in ἀποτίσωνται is "intolerably harsh, and there seems to be no choice but to accept the variant ἀποστήσωνται."

<sup>3.</sup> G. Björck, "Die Schicksalswaage," Eranos, XLIII (1945), 58 ff. A male figure holding a pair of scales in front of

prophets thought of their prophecies as debts to be paid in the future. I should like to believe that these prophets used scales in determining their prophecies, and that Polydamas' words reflect this procedure.

In the eleventh book of the Odyssey, Odysseus goes to the Underworld to consult the prophet Tiresias and is told, we might note, among other things, that he and his men are headed for disaster if they plunder the cattle of the Sun. At Od. 11. 479 f., he describes his mission as follows: ηλθον Τειρεσίαο κατά χρέος, εἴ τινα βουλην /  $\epsilon$ ίποι, "I have come κατὰ χρέος of Tiresias, if he might say some counsel." Ebeling interprets this  $\chi \rho \epsilon \sigma s$  as oraculum, consultatio;4 the translation "debt" is clearly impossible. Others take it to mean "need" or "business." 5 I am convinced that it means "prophecy," and would translate  $T\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ ο κατὰ χρέος "for the prophecy of Tiresias." The χρέος here is apparently connected with  $\chi \rho \epsilon i \omega \nu (\chi \rho \epsilon \omega \nu)$ , "prophesying," and χρησόμενος, "to consult"; the phrase  $\psi v \chi \hat{\eta} \chi \rho \eta \sigma \delta \mu \epsilon v \sigma s$  (-ov, -ovs) Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο, "to consult the soul of Theban Tiresias," occurs four times in the *Odyssey*.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, I think that the use of  $\chi \rho \acute{e}os$  in close association with  $\beta o \nu \lambda \dot{\eta}$  at Od. 11. 479 f. is a reason for connecting it with  $\chi \rho \epsilon i \omega \nu$  and χρησόμενος, for βουλή appears with χρείων and  $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \delta \mu \epsilon v o s$ , with reference to the

oracle of Apollo, at Od. 8. 79 ff. and at Hymn. Hom. Ap. 252 f. and 292 f. That χρείος (χρέος) can mean both "prophecy" and "debt" is confirmed by an examination of the words  $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu \delta s$ ,  $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \iota s$ , and  $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \tau \eta s$ , which seem closely related to  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ . The word χρησμός usually means "prophecy," but Hesychius gives another meaning: τιμωρία, "retribution," "penalty." Similarly  $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \iota s$  means both "prophecy" and "loan," 8 and  $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau \eta s$  means both "prophet" and "debtor" or "creditor," that is, "he who has to do with a debt." A prophet is thus someone who has to do with debts: he is a spokesman for the justice of the gods; he announces what retribution will be exacted, what debt must be paid. Ebeling suggests consultatio as an alternate to oraculum; and LSJ, comparing Τειρεσία  $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$ , suggests that the  $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \chi \rho \dot{\epsilon} \sigma s$  at Od. 11. 479 means "to consult." I think, however, that the parallels of χρησμός and  $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \iota \varsigma$ , which never mean "consultation," are strong reasons for not taking  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  $(\chi \rho \epsilon \sigma_s)$  to mean "consultation." Moreover, the translation "consultation" is not, I believe, fairly to be derived from χρησόμενος. Although χρησόμενος seems best translated "to consult," I have found no word for "consultation" that is connected with the same root. The only words I have found for "consultation" in Greek are  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta \mu \alpha$ , έπερώτησις, and πύστις. 11

birth in the course of time, because it must. In Anaximander's phrase  $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\tau\dot{\sigma}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\dot{\omega}\nu$  we have the most impersonal Greek formula for Fate."

H. Ebeling, Lexicon Homericum (Leipzig, 1885), s.v. χρεῖος.

<sup>5.</sup> Ameis-Hentze on Od. 11. 479: χρέος = Bedürfnis. Merry-Riddell on Od. 11. 479 are more cautious: "κατὰ χρέος, generally rendered 'on business with,' as κατὰ πρῆξεν Od. 3. 72, or 'in need of.' But perhaps, because of the frequent phrase ψυχῆ χρησόμενος, we ought to translate 'for consulting with.' "In later literature (Hymn. Hom. Merc. 138; Ap. Rhod. Argon. 3. 189, 4. 530; and Arat. Phaen. 343) κατὰ χρέος apparently means "according to necessity," "duly." We might also take note of the κατὰ τὸ χρεών in Anaximander Frag. 1D.-K., on which C. H. Kahn, Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology (New York, 1960), p. 180, comments: "The phrase κατὰ τὸ χρεών may contain a secondary allusion to the idea of retribution as a debt, since χρέος, χρέως, 'debt', is of course from the same root. But the primary force of χρεών combines the ideas of right and necessity: death succeeds to

<sup>6.</sup> Od. 10. 492, 565; 11. 165; and 23. 323.

<sup>7.</sup> Hsch. s.v. χρησμός; reported by LSJ, Suppl., s.v. χρησμός (B). The following oracles in H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, II (Oxford, 1956), are concerned with vengeance: Nos. 17, 51, 74, 81, 93, 108, 136, 139, 150, 201, 236, and 365.

<sup>8.</sup> LSJ, s.v. χρησις II and III; and Suppl., s.v. χρησις II.

<sup>9.</sup> LSJ, s.v. χρήστης. On χρήστης meaning "creditor" and "debtor" see esp. Harp. s.v. χρῆσται.

<sup>10.</sup> LSJ, s.v.  $\chi\rho\epsilon\sigma$  III. See also Merry-Riddell (n. 5 above) on Od. 11. 479.

<sup>11.</sup> The corresponding verbs are  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \dot{\alpha} \omega$  and  $\pi \nu \nu \theta \dot{\alpha} \nu \omega \omega \omega$ . At *Od.* 1. 416  $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \rho \dot{\epsilon} \omega \omega$ , "ask of," is used of Penelope's consultations.

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We have finally to discuss the important  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{i} os$  that occurs in Telemachus' answer to Aegyptius at Od. 2. 42 ff.

οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυον ἐρχομένοιο, ην χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἴπω, ὅτε πρότερός γε πυθοίμην, οὔτε τι δήμιον ἄλλο πιφαύσκομαι οὐδ' ἀγορεύω, ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, ὅ μοι κακὸν ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ— 45 δοιά· τὸ μὲν πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα, ὅς ποτ' ἐν ὑμῖν τοίσδεσσιν βασίλευε, πατήρ δ' ὧς ήπιος ἡεν· νῦν δ' αὖ καὶ πολὺ μεῖζον, ὅ δὴ τάχα οἶκον ἄπαντα πάγχυ διαρραίσει, βίοτον δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν ὀλέσσει.

Neither have I heard any message from the returning army, which I might tell you truly, having learned of it first, nor do I have any other public business to reveal and announce, but rather  $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\dot{\rho}\nu$   $\alpha\dot{v}\tau o\hat{v}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}os$ ; for an evil has fallen upon my house, a twofold evil: first, I have lost my noble father, who was king over you gathered here and gentle to you like a father; but now a much greater evil has befallen my house that soon will entirely demolish it and utterly destroy every bit of my property.

Telemachus has assembled the Ithacans in order to declare a " $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o s$  of my own." Two evils have fallen upon his house, the loss of his father and the reveling of the suitors that threatens to destroy all of his property. It is clear that he mentions the first of these evils only as the precondition of the second, which he describes as being much greater. He knows that if Odysseus were at home the suitors would not dare to destroy his property: his cattle, sheep, goats, and wine (55 ff.). His speech seems on the whole a rather weak performance, since he apparently wavers between a desire to be bold and a feeling of helplessness, and breaks off finally in an angry burst of tears. The suitor Antinous then tries to justify the prolonged reveling of the suitors by blaming Penelope. Whereupon Telemachus, after a brief but decisive rejection of this plea, pronounces, at Od. 2. 138 ff., the following words:

ύμέτερος δ' εἰ μὲν θυμὸς νεμεσίζεται αὐτῶν, ἔξιτέ μοι μεγάρων, ἄλλας δ' ἀλεγύνετε δαῖτας ὑμὰ κτήματ' ἔδοντες ἀμειβόμενοι κατὰ οἴκους. εἰ δ' ὑμῖν δοκέει τόδε λωΐτερον καὶ ἄμεινον

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ξμμεναι, ἀνδρὸς ένὸς βίστον νήποινον ὀλέσθαι κείρετ'· ἐγὰ δὲ θεοὺς ἐπιβώσομαι αἰὲν ἐόντας, αἴ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς δῷσι παλίντιτα ἔργα γενέσθαι. νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὅλοισθε."

If you have any shame of these things in your hearts, get out of my hall and attend other banquets, devouring your own property as you visit in each other's homes. If, however, this seems preferable and better  $(\lambda\omega\hat{\tau}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu \kappa\alpha\hat{\iota} \ \check{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\nu)$  to you, to destroy the livelihood of one man without giving compensation  $(\nu\hat{\eta}\pi\sigma\nu\sigma\nu)$ , then tear away. But I shall call upon the everlasting gods, if Zeus may

grant works of requital ( $\pi\alpha\lambda'\nu\tau\iota\tau\alpha$   $\xi\rho\gamma\alpha$ ). Then

would you perish in my house without right to be

given compensation (νήποινοι).

Immediately, in answer to these words, Zeus sends the omen of the eagles, which the prophet Halitherses then interprets to portend the arrival of Odysseus and the slaying of the suitors—an interpretation that meets with scorn from Eurymachus. Telemachus rests his case (210 f.): "I no longer ask these things of you, nor speak of them, for now the gods and all the Achaeans know them."

I think that Telamachus' words at Od. 2. 139-45 are the expression of his  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ , for they also appear—the very same words—at Od. 1. 374–80, where he tells the suitors why he is calling a meeting of the assembly. "Tomorrow let us all convene and hold a session of the assembly," he tells them at Od. 1. 372-74, "in order that I may command you to get out of my hall: attend other banquets . . ." The rest, Od. 1. 375-80, is word for word the same as Od. 2. 140-45, quoted above. We expect Telemachus to repeat these (or very similar) words in the assembly, and so he finally does, after holding us in suspense with his first weak-kneed speech which ends in tears. He boldly commands the suitors to get out of his hall. He underscores the injustice of their continuing to revel at his expense by a play on the word νήποινος, first in an active sense, "not giving compensation," then in a passive sense, "not to be given compensation," and

also by the expression  $\pi\alpha\lambda i\nu\tau\iota\tau\alpha$   $\ell\rho\gamma\alpha$ , "works of requital." His demand has the sharp religious bite of the man who speaks in righteous indignation. We can compare νήποινος with ἀνάποινον in the prophecy of Calchas at II. 1. 99, and  $\pi\alpha\lambda'\nu\tau\iota\tau\alpha$   $\ell\rho\gamma\alpha$ with the  $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \tau \alpha \epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha$  in Penelope's prayer to Zeus at Od. 17. 60. As for the pleonasm λωΐτερον καὶ ἄμεινον, which I translate "preferable and better," Shipp notes that it is "clearly an adaptation for the metre of the λώϊον καὶ ἄμεινον which is a technical phrase in the language of oracles."12 Although this phrase sometimes appears in the oracles themselves, it is typically used, as shown by Shipp's references, in the consultations of oracles. The person consulting an oracle asks whether it is "preferable and better" to do this or that. Telemachus concludes his speech to the suitors by saying, "If you think it 'preferable and better' to destroy my property, I shall appeal to Zeus." He makes what is in effect an appeal to Zeus, which Zeus answers with the omen of the eagles. He knows that the validity of his case depends upon the will of Zeus. We cannot, however, translate the  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  at Od. 2.45 as "consultation": Telemachus does not call the Ithacans to assembly in order to consult Zeus, but rather to state his demand against the suitors for just compensation. His  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o s$  is a demand for compensation that he rightly believes is sanctioned by Zeus and therefore destined to be paid. There are good examples in the orators of  $\chi \rho \epsilon \sigma$  meaning "demand for payment." In Demosthenes (49. 42), for instance, a son tells how his father bequeathed him a legacy in  $\chi \rho \dot{\epsilon} \alpha$ , "demands on debtors for future payment," that is, "uncollected debts," "credits." 13 A debt, from the creditor's point of view, is a

We are now ready to consider the  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ at Od. 1. 409. We have argued that elsewhere in Homer  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  should be translated either "debt (=just demand)" or "prophecy," which are closely associated ideas, and that the translations "business" and "need" are colorless and inadequate substitutes. The  $\epsilon \mu \dot{\rho} \nu \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau o \hat{\nu} \chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o s$  at Od. 2. 45 is authority for translating the εδν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος at *Od.* 1. 409 not "business" (or need) of his own" but "debt (=just demand) of his own."14 And the reference to Tiresias at Od. 11. 479 is authority for translating our phrase not "business (or need) of his own" but "prophecy of his own." Supposing a Homeric audience to be given this choice, why would they interpret the  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  at Od. 1. 409 to mean "prophecy" instead of "debt"? I think they would be led to this interpretation by the emphasis placed upon Athena's inspiration of Telemachus in *Odyssey* 1. She actually speaks to him as a prophet at Od. 1. 200 ff. (αὐτὰρ νῦν τοι ἐγὰ μαντεύσομαι . . .) and predicts the return of Odysseus. After her departure Telemachus shows himself to his mother and the suitors as the spirited. self-assertive master of the house. He sends the amazed Penelope back to her women's quarters, and announces to the suitors a convening of the assembly at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of stating his just demand. The suitors are surprised that he speaks so boldly. Antinous sarcastically remarks (1. 384 f.), "Truly the gods themselves teach you to speak

demand for payment. Accordingly, we must discard the usual jejune translations of  $\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}os$  at Od.~2.~45, "business" and "need." I suggest "just (or righteous) demand," but even this seems barely adequate.

<sup>12.</sup> G. P. Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge, 1972), p. 318 and n. 1. We can add Xen. An. 7. 6. 44 and Lac. 8. 5 to the references in Shipp's note.

<sup>13.</sup> For other examples of  $\chi\rho\epsilon\sigma$  meaning Forderung, cf. Thalheim, s.v.  $\chi\rho\epsilon\sigma$  b, RE, III (1899), 2448. 55 ff.

<sup>14.</sup> Two translators who eschew the weak "business" in favor of the more specific and vigorous "debt" are George Chapman ("Or for dues / Of moneys to him made he fit repaire?") and Alexander Pope ("Did he some loan of ancient right require . . . ?").

brashly and boldly." Then, after a brief altercation between Antinous and Telemachus on the subject of the kingship in Ithaca, we come to Eurymachus' speech. Eurymachus apparently believes that the guest may be the cause of Telemachus' inspired behavior. He asks, "Was your guest a messenger from the returning Odysseus?" Such a messenger would explain Telemachus' inspiration. 15 "Or was he a ——?" A prophet, certainly. A prophet is the very embodiment of inspiration and is able, by his prophecy of a better future, to instill a new spirit in those who are downcast. (Someone seeking the payment of a debt usually produces just the opposite effect: he tends to be a dispiriting influence.) I submit that a Homeric audience, impressed by the inspiration of Telemachus and the amazement it causes in Penelope and the suitors, would feel compelled to interpret the  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  at Od. 1. 409 as "prophecy" instead of "debt."

The phrase "debt (=just demand) of one's own" is easy to understand. But how are we to understand "prophecy of one's own"? Why of one's own here? I think we can find the answer to this question by comparing the conversation of Eurymachus and Telemachus with that of Aegyptius and Telemachus. Aegyptius asks, "What public business does the convener of this assembly wish to state?" Telemachus replies, "I have no public business to state, but rather 'a

just demand of my own' (ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o_{S}$ )." He uses the words  $\hat{\epsilon} \mu \hat{o} \nu \alpha \hat{v} \tau o \hat{v}$ to distinguish his private, personal  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ from any public business. I suggest that the similar words έδν αὐτοῦ in Eurymachus' question serve a similar purpose. Eurymachus asks, "Did your guest bring some message from Odysseus, or did he come with 'a prophecy of his own' ( $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\delta}\nu$   $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau o\hat{\upsilon}$  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} o_{S}$ )?" He uses  $\epsilon \hat{o} \nu \alpha \vec{v} \tau o \hat{v}$  to contrast the prophecy that the prophet gets from within himself with the message that the messenger gets from somebody else. 16 The prophet's inspiration is the same as the poet's which is described by the bard Phemius at *Od.* 22. 347 f.: αὐτοδίδακτος δ' ειμί, θεος δε μοι εν φρεσὶν οἴμας | παν- $\tau o i \alpha s$   $\epsilon v \epsilon \phi v \sigma \epsilon v$ . The prophet like the poet is αὐτοδίδακτος, "self-taught" or perhaps better "spontaneously taught," and this is another way of saying that the gods inspire him.  $^{17}$   $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{o}\nu$   $\alpha\dot{v}\tau o\hat{v}$  at Od.~1.~409 thus emphasizes that the prophet's message is god-inspired in contrast to messages that come from strictly human sources. I submit that a Homeric audience would feel this contrastive force of  $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{o}\nu$   $\alpha\hat{v}\tau\hat{o}\hat{v}$ , and would not take  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath} os$  to mean "debt," since they would see no significant contrast between the ideas of debt and message.

The syntax of the proposed interpretation of  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os \hat{\epsilon} \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu os$ , "being desired for a prophecy," is difficult. We must take  $\hat{\epsilon} \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu os$  in a passive sense and  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ 

<sup>15.</sup> So Ameis-Hentze-Cauer on Od. 1. 408: "Die erste Möglichkeit wird durch Telemachs überraschende Haltung nahe gelegt."

<sup>16.</sup> We can further compare Od. 4. 643 f.: 'Ιβάκης εξαίρετοι  $\eta$  έοὶ αὐτοῦ | θῆτές τε δμῶές τε, where the έοὶ αὐτοῦ is used to contrast Telemachus' servants with the best men of Ithaca. My argument for the contrastive force of έον αὐτοῦ at Od. 1. 409 is not affected if the πατρός in  $\eta$ έ τιν' ἀγγελίην πατρός φέρει έρχομένοιο at Od. 1. 408 is taken, as it often is (so LfgrE, s.v. ἀγγελίη 1, 50. 56 ff.), to mean "concerning your father": the message of a prophet is still being contrasted with the message that comes from a human source, this source perhaps being the messenger himself who, like Eurylochus at Od. 10. 244 f., has only witnessed what he reports. But πατρός is better taken to mean "from your father." It seems to go with φέρει as well as with φέγει we can compare the

words of Iris at II. 15. 174 f.: ἀγγελίην τινά τοι, γαιήσχε, κυανοχαίτα, | ήλθον δεύρο φέρουσα παραὶ Διὸς αΙγιόχοιο. Also, στρατοῦ in ἡέ τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυεν ἐρχομένοιο (Od. 2.  $30 \cong 2$ . 42), a verse very similar to Od. 1. 408, should be translated not "concerning the army" but "from the army." We can compare the Φθίης ἔξ at II. 16. 13: ἡέ τιν' ἀγγελίην Φθίης ἔξ ἔκλυες οἰος.

<sup>17.</sup> See M. L. West, Hesiod: Theogony (Oxford, 1966), p. 166, n. 32 and pp. 182 f., n. 83, on the common inspiration of prophets and poets; Parke and Wormell, op. cit. (n. 7), I, 15 f., n. 37, on the presence of inspirational prophecy in Homer. On αὐτοδίδακτος = "god-inspired" at Od. 22. 347 f., see M. P. Nilsson, Homer and Mycenae (London, 1933; repr. New York, 1968), p. 207, and E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley, 1951), p. 10.

as an adverbial accusative. Two general considerations, for which I use Jankuhn<sup>18</sup> and Shipp,19 should predispose us to the possibility that  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$  is a passive. First, all of our passages illustrating  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$ are late (they contain late forms), and passives tend to occur in late passages. Second, although passives are infrequent in Homer, several undisputed examples occur in our  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath} o_s$ -passages.<sup>20</sup> We can thus believe that Eurymachus' speech might easily yield a passive. Jankuhn does not include  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \delta \delta \mu \alpha i$  among the verbs for which he detects passives in Homer, and he would presumably consider the  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda$ - $\delta \epsilon \sigma \theta \omega$  at *II*. 16. 494 to be intransitive:  $\nu \hat{v} \nu$ τοι ἐελδέσθω πόλεμος κακός. Others, however, take it as a passive, and they are probably right, though this is an instance where it seems hard to make a clear decision between passive and intransitive.<sup>21</sup> At any rate, the  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \delta \theta \omega$  at II. 16. 494 should again predispose us to the possibility that  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$  at Od. 1. 409 is passive.

 $\pi o v \ \epsilon \delta \omega \delta \hat{\eta} s$ ), and  $Erga \ 381 \ (\sigma o i \ \delta' \ \epsilon i$ πλούτου θυμός  $\epsilon \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \delta \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ ). Chantraine, however, thinks that  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \omega \omega$  sometimes (not at Il. 23. 122) takes a neuter word like  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath} os$  as direct object.<sup>23</sup> He cites what he considers to be two other examples of this construction. We find at II. 5. 481,  $\kappa \dot{\alpha} \delta$ δὲ κτήματα πολλά, τά τ' ἔλδεται ὅς κ'  $\epsilon \pi i \delta \epsilon v \eta s$ ; and at *Od.* 23. 5 f.,  $\delta \phi \rho \alpha i \delta \eta \alpha i$ όφθαλμοῖσι τεοῖσι τὰ τ' ἔλδεαι. But it is possible, I believe, to explain the accusatives in these examples as the direct objects of easily understood complementary infinitives. At II. 5. 481 the infinitive  $\kappa \tau \hat{\alpha} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$ is easy to supply from  $\kappa \tau \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ . We might note that there are two other ellipses of verbs in this verse: κάδ stands for κατέ- $\lambda \iota \pi o \nu$ , and  $\epsilon \eta \sigma \iota$  must be understood after  $\delta s \kappa'$ . Likewise at *Od.* 23. 5 f. the infinitive  $i\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is easily supplied from  $i\delta\eta\alpha\iota$  $\partial \phi \theta \alpha \lambda \mu o i \sigma i \tau \epsilon o i \sigma i$ . And we can cite the following examples of complementary infinitives used with  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \delta \mu \alpha i$ :  $\epsilon \delta \nu \alpha i$  at II. 13. 638,  $i\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  (!) at Od. 4. 162,  $\epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota$  and  $i \delta \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$  (!) at Od. 5. 219 f., and  $i\kappa\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  at Od. 15. 66. There is thus no sure evidence that εέλδομαι takes an accusative of the direct object in Homer, and I suggest that a Homeric audience, expecting the genitive with  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \delta \mu \alpha \iota$  and being given χρεῖος ἐελδόμενος, would treat ἐελδόμενος passively.

My second argument is that elsewhere in Homer, when someone arrives, the participle  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu o s$  is not used to describe him as desiring something, but rather to

<sup>18.</sup> H. Jankuhn, Die passive Bedeutung medialer Formen untersucht an der Sprache Homers (Göttingen, 1969).

<sup>19.</sup> Shipp, op. cit. (n. 12), investigates late linguistic features in Homer.

<sup>20.</sup> Jankuhn, op. cit. (n. 18), recognizes the following passives:  $\delta\eta i\delta\omega\nu\tau o$ , II. 13. 675 (introduction to Polydamaspassage);  $\delta\sigma\theta\epsilon i\eta$ , Od. 2. 78 (Telemachus' speech); and  $\pi\iota\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon i\varsigma$ , Od. 8. 336 (song of Demodocus). Shipp, in his review of Jankuhn, Gnomon, XLIV (1972), 119, would add  $\beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\nu o i\partial\tau\dot{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu o i\tau$ , which occurs at II. 11. 659 (Nestor's Elean war) and II. 13. 764 (sequel to Polydamas-passage).

<sup>21.</sup> Ebeling, LSJ, Leaf, and Ameis-Hentze take  $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  as a passive. I should like to treat  $\tau \sigma\iota$  as a dative of agent and translate  $\nu \bar{\nu}\nu$   $\tau \sigma\iota$   $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$   $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\mu\sigmas$   $\kappa\alpha\kappa\delta s$  as "now let

grievous war be desired by you." An example of a translation that takes  $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  intransitively is Andrew Lang's: "now let baneful war be dear to thee."

<sup>22.</sup> I think we can rule out the possibility that  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma$  is intransitive, since Eurymachus is asking for an explanation of the guest's arrival. The guest must have come either because he desired something or because he was desired by someone for something. Eurymachus is not asking, "Was your guest a person who is desirable if someone should happen to want to hear a prophecy?"

<sup>23.</sup> P. Chantraine, Grammaire Homérique, II (Paris, 1953), 46 and 54. So too E. Schwyzer and A. Debrunner, Griechische Grammatik, II (Munich, 1950), 105.

describe other persons as desiring his arrival. This is well illustrated by the simile at Il. 7. 4 ff.: "As god gives a fair breeze to sailors desiring (ναύτησιν ἐελδομένοι- $\sigma \iota \nu$ ) it, when they are wearied from beating the sea with their well-polished oars and their limbs are exhausted with toil, so these two [Alexander and Hector] appeared for the Trojans desiring (Τρώεσσιν ἐελδομένοισι) them." We can also cite Od. 21. 209, where Odysseus tells Eumaeus and Philoetius, "I know that I come for you desiring me" (γιγνώσκω δ' ώς σφῶϊν έελδομένοισιν ίκάνω); and Od. 24. 400, where Dolius tells Odysseus, "Dear one, since you have returned for us desiring you greatly . . ." ( $\hat{\omega}$   $\phi i\lambda$ ',  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon \hat{\iota}$   $\nu \acute{o}\sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha s$   $\hat{\epsilon}\epsilon \lambda \delta o$ μένοισι μάλ' ημ $\hat{i}$ ν . . .).<sup>24</sup> I think that the poet of Od. 1. 409 probably has this use of ἐελδόμενος in mind, and that he is thinking of Telemachus' guest as coming for someone who desires his arrival. This is so, however, only if  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$  is passive. The above arguments for ἐελδόμενος as a passive in accordance with my interpretation of Eurymachus' question are confirmed by Telemachus' remark about prophecy. Eurymachus asks, "Or does he come on this visit being desired (ἐελδόμενος) for a prophecy of his own?" And Telemachus replies, "I do not heed any prophecy my mother asks of a prophet, having summoned ( $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ ) him into our hall." The active participle  $\kappa \alpha \lambda \epsilon \sigma \alpha \sigma \alpha$ , "having summoned," answers to the passive participle ἐελδόμενος, "being desired." Prophets do come into his hall, Telemachus admits, being desired by Penelope: she summons and supplies the agent, Penelope.

If  $\epsilon \epsilon \lambda \delta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$  is passive,  $\chi \rho \epsilon \delta \sigma s$  must be what I call, for lack of a better term, an adverbial accusative. We might perhaps

classify it as an accusative of respect, for accusatives of respect frequently occur with intransitive and passive participles; but they usually designate the part affected, as at Od. 10. 247: κῆρ ἄχεϊ μεγάλω βεβο- $\lambda \eta \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu o s$ , "being struck with great grief in his heart." I suggest that we can best explain our  $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} os$  as being similar to the retained accusatives which are used with the passive participles of verbs of asking and demanding. We have, at LXX Wi. 15. 8, an example of this construction with χρ ϵος meaning "debt": τον της ψυχης $\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\theta\epsilon$  is  $\chi\rho\epsilon$  os, "having been asked for the debt of his soul" (i.e., having been asked by God for his life which was lent him). With it we can compare Hdt. 8. 111, αίτηθέντες πρός Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα, "having been asked by Themistocles for the tribute money"; and Thuc. 8. 5. 5, ύπὸ βασιλέως . . . πεπραγμένος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  $\dot{\epsilon}$ αυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους, "being demanded by the king for the tribute of his province." Our "being desired for a prophecy" seems very similar to "having been asked for the debt." But if, as we have argued,  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta \omega \alpha i$ —unlike verbs of asking and demanding that usually take a double accusative<sup>25</sup> does not take an accusative of the direct object in Homer, we cannot legitimately call  $\chi \rho \in \hat{l}os$  a retained accusative, and must, I think, be satisfied with the general term adverbial accusative.

I conclude that the proposed interpretation of *Od.* 1. 409 has much to recommend it. Its syntax, though difficult, seems unavoidable. The gain in meaning it gives us over the usual interpretation is great. Eurymachus' question becomes much more significant and pointed, and Telemachus' remark about prophecy is no longer gratuitous.<sup>26</sup>

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θεόδματον χρέος) and Pyth. 9. 103 f. (έμὲ δ' ὧν τις ἀοιδᾶν / δίψαν ἀκειόμενον πράσσει χρέος).

<sup>24.</sup> We might also note that at Od. 12. 438 f. Odysseus' mast and keel, which Charybdis has sucked down, come up again for him desiring them:  $\epsilon\epsilon \lambda \delta o \mu \epsilon \nu \phi \delta \epsilon \mu o \iota \hbar \lambda \theta o \nu$ .

<sup>25.</sup> πράσσω is used in this construction with χρέος meaning "debt" at Pind. Ol. 3. 6 f. (στέφανοι | πράσσοντί με τοῦτο

<sup>26.</sup> I wish to thank Joe Park Poe for criticizing a draft of this paper.