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Samuel Butler e l'Autrice dell'Odissea

Con un saggio storico-critico di Renato Lo Schiavo

Presentazione di Margherita Giacalone

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"*The Authoress of the Odyssey*"

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Samuel Butler: l'appassionato viaggiatore del tempo tra la Londra vittoriana e la Sicilia "arcaica"

A coloro che si chiedono oggi chi sia stato Samuel Butler, potremmo rispondere che è stato, in estrema sintesi, un uomo fuori del suo tempo: figlio di un pastore anglicano, cresciuto nel clima culturale della Londra vittoriana, si è sempre trovato a disagio con le regole sociali e il perbenismo apparente e, per certi versi, ipocrita della società inglese della seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Non stupiscono, quindi, i suoi difficili rapporti con la figura paterna, l'aperta critica all'ambiente culturale che lo circondava e i suoi corrosivi giudizi sulla società del tempo. Nel 1859 si trasferì in Nuova Zelanda per allevare pecore: un uomo costantemente in fuga per una, diremo, congenita irrequietezza d'animo.

Anche la sua attività letteraria risente di questa sua tendenza alla sperimentazione e alla provocazione. Le sue prime opere prendono di mira la religione e gli atteggiamenti bigotti della società londinese (*The fair Haven* 1865, *Erewhon,* 1872 e *Così muore la carne*, uscito postumo nel 1903).

Innamorato della cultura greca e del mondo antico segue le orme del sue eroe preferito: Odisseo. L'amore per la lingua e la cultura greca, che apprese da autodidatta, lo spinge a lasciare Londra e raggiungere la Sicilia. Nel 1892 lo ritroviamo a Trapani che elegge quasi come una seconda patria. Nel suo lungo soggiorno in questo estremo lembo occidentale della Sicilia trova modo di sviluppare la sua teoria sulla genesi dell'Odissea che da anni lo appassiona o piuttosto l'ossessiona. La sua teoria che tanto ai contemporanei quanto alle generazioni successive sembrò "strampalata" va maturando a mano a mano che esplora il territorio trapanese. Nella civiltà di quella Sicilia agreste e patriarcale di fine Ottocento, che ai suoi occhi di londinese, doveva apparire per molti versi ancora "arcaica" trova gli spunti necessari per far coincidere di volta in volta i luoghi descritti da Omero con altrettanti luoghi della nostra terra. Le fotografie che da documentarista "ante litteram", tra il 1892 e il 1897, andò scattando durante le sue esplorazioni del territorio lo dimostrano. Percorre tutta la provincia di Trapani, isole comprese, ma non sono i paesaggi a interessarlo o la natura dei luoghi quanto le persone che vi abitano: ritrae le donne impegnate nei lavori domestici oppure nella cura dei figli, gli uomini scuri e induriti dal lavoro nei campi.

In anticipo, anche in questo rispetto ai suoi tempi, Butler con *The Authoress of Odissey*, sembra voler affermare la centralità della figura femminile nella società sia antica che moderna. La sensibilità, la preminenza dei sentimenti sulle azioni, la morbidezza di fondo presente in alcuni passi dell'Odissea, le diverse figure femminili – tutte importanti e protagoniste – che accompagnano Odisseo nel suo viaggio (Calipso, Circe, Nausicaa, la regina Arete e l'amata moglie Penelope) convincono il nostro autore che il poema non è frutto dell'opera di un uomo bensì di una giovane donna: una poetessa che viveva in questa parte remota della Sicilia.

A Trapani Butler incontrò dei sinceri amici. Soprattutto strinse un rapporto profondo di amicizia con un giovanissimo letterato locale, Giuseppe Pagoto. Trovò anche dei nemici o, per meglio dire, degli antagonisti. Non si può fare a meno di ricordare tra questi il canonico Fortunato Mondello, direttore della Biblioteca Fardelliana. Butler visitò la biblioteca civica il 3 Agosto 1892 e fece la conoscenza con il suo austero direttore. Il buon canonico Mondello era un onesto scrittore di storia locale, uomo dotato di buon senso e di una buona cultura fondata sulla lettura e lo studio dei classici, appassionato di arte, non aveva, però, quell'apertura mentale necessaria per capire ed apprezzare la personalità e le "*stranezze letterarie*" di Samuel Butler.

La teoria di Butler dovette sicuramente sembrargli un'eresia vera e propria e lo attaccò con ironia e a volte con un pizzico di acrimonia attraverso le pagine di un periodico locale "Il Lambruschini". Mondello, nel suo breve saggio *L'Odissea e Butler*, pubblicato nel settembre del 1892 (n.9), esprime un giudizio particolarmente severo su Butler, ritenendo solo un cumulo di fandonie - *La verità nulla menzogna frodi* (citazione del Canto XX dell'Inferno di Dante) - la teoria butleriana sul'origine dell'Odissea a Trapani. Ma l'ultima parola l'ebbe Butler: infatti dopo la sua morte, avvenuta a Londra il 18 giugno 1902 il suo esecutore testamentario, l'amico Henry Festing Jones venne a Trapani nel 1903 per consegnare nelle mani del Sindaco della Città, Nunzio Aula, il manoscritto originale di *The Authoress of Odyssey*, dando compimento all'ultimo desiderio di Butler e cioè che la sua opera fosse per sempre conservata proprio a Trapani, luogo della sua genesi. E a chi toccò il compito di accogliere, conservare nella sua Biblioteca e tramandare ai posteri l'opera di Butler? Proprio al canonico Mondello. Il destino certe volte si fa beffe degli uomini.

Oggi desideriamo completare il percorso già iniziato nel 2017 con un Convegno internazionale di studi "*Geographies and Anthropologies into the Odyssey*", proseguito nel 2019 con la mostra fotografica "*L'Artista sotto il velo: Samuel Butler a Trapani: foto 1809-1897*" e con il Convegno di studi *"L'Ulisse di Clifford's Inn: Samuel Butler alla scoperta della Sicilia",* con un ulteriore doveroso omaggio a un letterato che ha dato lustro alla nostra città, pubblicando il manoscritto autografo di *The Authoress of Odyssey*.

Si coglie l'occasione per ringraziare per la preziosa collaborazione il St. John's College di Cambridge.

Un ringraziamento particolare, infine, al prof. Renato Lo Schiavo che da anni si è impegnato – ne sono la riprova le sue numerose frequentazioni del St. John's College e del British Library ove si conservano lettere e documenti di Butler – con passione e infinita pazienza nello studio e nella redazione dell'edizione critica del manoscritto.

Margherita Giacalone

Direttore della Biblioteca Fardelliana

L'ULISSE DI CLIFFORD'S INN

SAGGIO STORICO-CRITICO *di Renato Lo Schiavo*

Questo lavoro non sarebbe stato possibile se non avessi goduto della fiducia e della disponibilità di chi mi ha messo nelle migliori condizioni di studio. Ringrazio dal profondo del cuore Margherita Giacalone, Direttore della Biblioteca Fardelliana di Trapani, ed il personale tutto, che da decenni mi supportano e soprattutto onorano di una disponibilità ed un affetto che è raro trovare. Non è piaggeria: grazie alla loro fiducia, la Biblioteca è per me come una casa – manca solo una brandina. Altrettanto dico della cortesia e della disponibilità della Biblioteca del St. John's College di Cambridge, che nelle persone di Mark Nicholls (oggi Bibliotecario Capo), Kathryn Mc Kee (Direttrice delle Collezioni Speciali), Rebecca Watts (Assistente ai Progetti) e Jonathan Harrison (precedente Direttore delle Collezioni Speciali) è sempre stata prodiga di assistenza nelle mie ricerche.

Ringrazio inoltre e saluto affettuosamente gli alunni con i quali venti anni fa ho condotto un esame del manoscritto butleriano, che allora era rimasto incompiuto e che adesso in qualche modo è arrivato in porto. A loro in particolare (purtroppo qualcuno non c'è più) e a tutti i compagni di viaggio (alunni, colleghi docenti, dirigenti, personale di segreteria e collaboratori scolastici), i quali hanno reso straordinariamente belli i miei quarant'anni di carriera nel Liceo Ximenes di Trapani, che ho avuto l'onore ed il piacere di frequentare sotto la guida di grandi maestri di dottrina e di vita, dedico questo lavoro.

Trapani: Giovane donna alla fontana (20/08/1893)

This work would not have been possible if I had not enjoyed the trust and availability of those who put me in the best conditions of study. I thank from the bottom of my heart Margherita Giacalone, Director of the Fardelliana Library in Trapani, and all the staff, who for decades have supported and above all honoured me with an availability and affection that is rare to find. It is not flattery: thanks to their trust, the Library is like a home to me - only a cot is missing.

The same goes for the courtesy and helpfulness of the Library of St. John's College in Cambridge: Mark Nicholls (Chief Librarian), Kathryn Mc Kee (Director of Special Collections), Rebecca Watts (Project Assistant) and Jonathan Harrison (previous Director of Special Collections) have always been lavish in my research.

I thank and warmly greet the students with whom twenty years ago I undertook a thorough examination of the Butlerian manuscript, which had remained unfinished then and which now somehow reaches the end. I dedicate this work to them (unfortunately someone is no longer among us) and to all my travel companions (students, colleagues, managers, secretarial staff and all kinds of school collaborators): they have gifted an incomparable loveliness my 40-year career at Trapani's Ximenes High School, the school I had the honour and pleasure of attending under the guidance of great teachers in doctrine and life.

Renato Lo Schiavo

I: LA TEORIA DELL'ORIGINE SICILIANA DELL'*ODISSEA*

I.1: BREVE PROFILO BUTLERIANO

Samuel Butler nacque il 4 dicembre 1835 a Langar, un piccolissimo villaggio del Nottinghamshire nell'Inghilterra centrale, da una famiglia di tradizioni ecclesiastiche: suo padre Thomas, sacerdote anglicano, poco dopo la nascita di Samuel ebbe la rettoria della canonica di Shrewsbury, una cittadina dello Shroposhire al confine con il Galles; lì il giovane Samuel frequentò la scuola di cui era stato rettore suo nonno, poi vescovo di Lichfield e Coventry, il quale aveva avuto come alunno Charles Darwin. Alla figura del nonno, morto lo stesso giorno in cui egli compiva quattro anni, Samuel dedicò *The Life and letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, headmaster of Shrewsbury school* (1896).

Destinato a prendere anch'egli i voti, nel 1859, in seguito ad una crisi spirituale a poche settimane dall'ordinazione, Samuel Butler si trasferì in Nuova Zelanda, ad allevare pecore in un cottage sperduto. Lì Butler poté coltivare le sue passioni, musica e pittura, e conobbe le teorie darwiniane, dapprima entusiasmandosene e poi distaccandosene per seguire una sua via personale, che avrebbe più tardi esposto nei volumi *Life and Habit* (1878), *Evolution, old and new* (1879), *Unconscious Memory* (1880) e *Luck or Cunning?* (1887).

Dalla vita avventurosa in Nuova Zelanda era nato il romanzo *Erewhon* (1872), mirabile esempio di satira dell'Inghilterra vittoriana; subito dopo Butler scrisse *Così muore la carne*, in cui egli dipinge un affresco che percorre cinque generazioni. Il romanzo però uscì solo postumo, nel 1903, per via dei forti riferimenti autobiografici e familiari.

Nei suoi scritti non manca il tema della critica alla religione; nel 1873 egli pubblicò (sotto pseudonimo) *The fair Haven*, in apparenza uno scritto di apologetica, con il quale Butler, fingendo di volerla confutare, intendeva dimostrare la tesi che la resurrezione di Cristo era in realtà solo un caso di morte apparente. Alla nascita di una religione è dedicato anche il suo ultimo scritto, il romanzo *Ritorno ad Erewhon*, pubblicato nel 1901, l'anno prima della sua morte, avvenuta il 18 giugno 1902.

Butler considerava l'Italia sua seconda patria; ad essa ed alla sua arte dedicò *Alpi e santuari del Piemonte e del Canton Ticino* (1881) ed *Ex voto* (1888), uno dei primi studi dedicati al magnifico complesso del Sacro Monte di Varallo Sesia in provincia di Novara, oggi Patrimonio dell'Umanità tutelato dall'UNESCO.

Anche nel campo della critica letteraria Butler fu decisamente eretico; se con *L'Autrice dell'Odissea* si propose di dimostrare che quel poema era stato in realtà scritto a Trapani da una donna, in *Shakespeare's Sonnets Reconsidered* (1899) egli affermò che i *Sonetti* di Shakespeare, se disposti in un certo ordine, rivelano una storia di amore omosessuale.

Butler fu anche pittore e musicista (in questo campo si ricordano i due Oratori Musicali *Narcissus*, del 1888, e *Ulysses*, pubblicato nel 1904, postumo); di particolare interesse sono le fotografie che egli scattò per quasi quarant'anni in Inghilterra e nei paesi da lui visitati.

Anche se considerato un autore 'minore', Butler ha goduto di una certa fama, specialmente postuma; e se *Erewhon* e *Così muore la carne* non sono usciti praticamente mai dal catalogo degli editori inglesi ed italiani, anche altre sue opere – tra cui appunto *L'Autrice dell'Odissea* – sono state tradotte in varie lingue e periodicamente riproposte.

I.2: GENESI DELLA TEORIA

Nel 1876 Butler conobbe Henry Festing Jones (più giovane di lui di sedici anni), che in breve divenne il suo *alter ego* e gli fu compagno nei viaggi e nelle avventure culturali: insieme ogni anno venivano in Italia, insieme prendevano lezioni di pittura e di musica. Dalla collaborazione dei due amici era nato il libro *Alpi e santuari del Piemonte e del Canton Ticino* (1881) – ma la firma era solo quella di Butler – e poi *Ex voto* (1888), nel quale Butler si proponeva di dimostrare una scala di genialità artistiche decisamente eretica (il semisconosciuto pittore Tabachetti superiore a Michelangelo).

Subito dopo *Alpi e Santuari* Butler e Jones si erano dedicati alla musica, componendo l'oratorio *Narcissus* (pubblicato poi nel giugno del 1888); finito questo, erano alla ricerca di un nuovo tema su cui cimentarsi, cercandolo nella mitologia greca. Finalmente ne trovarono uno che parve ben acconcio ai loro propositi.

Il 3 giugno 1886 Butler scrisse alla sorella: "Narcissus's *successor is to be called Ulysses and is this time a serious work, dealing with the wanderings of the real Ulysses and treating the subject much as* Hercules *or* Semele *were treated. We think we could get some sailor choruses and some Circe and pig choruses and the Sirens, and then Penelope and her loom all afford scope. I made up my mind about it when I read Charles Lamb's translation of parts of the* Odyssey *in Ainger's book, but please don't say anything about it.* [*Il successore di* Narcissus *si deve chiamare* Ulysses*: e questa volta è un lavoro serio legato ai viaggi del vero Ulisse, con un soggetto da trattare più o meno come Haendel ha trattato* Hercules *o* Semele*. Noi pensiamo di mettervi alcuni cori di marinai, alcuni cori di Circe e dei maiali, delle Sirene, quindi di Penelope e della sua tela. Me ne è venuta l'idea quando ho letto la traduzione di Charles Lamb di parti dell'*Odissea *nel libro di Ainger, ma per favore non dirne niente*]".

Cominciò così un'avventura che avrebbe stravolto l'ultimo periodo della vita di Butler, facendogli iniziare un decennio di studio 'matto e disperatissimo'. La citazione leopardiana è pertinente, perché, come scrive Jones nella *Prefazione* alla 2ª edizione di *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, è stato proprio il superlavoro condotto sull'*Odissea* a minare gravemente la salute di Butler: "*It can be said that the last ten years of his life have been overshadowed by the Odyssey, which has dominated his thoughts – and not only his thoughts, his letters were full of them and it was difficult to get him to talk about anything else. I have no doubt that this perpetual concern – I might even say obsession – tended to shorten his life* [*Si può dire che gli ultimi dieci anni della sua vita sono stati oscurati dall'*Odissea*, che ha dominato i suoi pensieri – e non solo i suoi pensieri, le sue lettere ne erano piene ed era difficile convincerlo a parlare di qualsiasi altra cosa. Non ho dubbi sul fatto che questa preoccupazione perpetua – potrei anche dire ossessione – tendesse ad abbreviare la sua vita*]".

Jones è convinto che in realtà Butler non avesse letto per intero il libro del Canonico Ainger – amico di famiglia di sua sorella – e si fosse limitato solo ad una rapida scorsa; il diavolo però ci mise lo zampino e gli fece venire voglia di fare meglio di Lamb, autore che gli stava antipatico da quando qualcuno aveva scritto che "*Charles Lamb was, like Mr. Darwin, a master of happy simplicity* [*Charles Lamb, come il signor Darwin, era un maestro di felice semplicità*]".

Per documentarsi meglio, Butler lesse alcuni testi, fra cui lo *Smith's Dictionary*, dalla cui voce '*Penelope*'[1] trasse la notizia che nell'antichità giravano versioni del comportamento di Penelope molto diverse da quella adottata dall'autrice dell'*Odissea*. Dai frammenti della *Telegonia* (un poema del ciclo epico che narrava l'uccisione di Ulisse da parte di Telegono, il figlio avuto da Circe) si poteva ricavare che Ulisse non viveva più con Penelope, e Butler dedusse che Ulisse probabilmente avesse divorziato da lei per via di un comportamento poco fedele.

Nell'estate di quell'anno si verificò un episodio apparentemente banale, ma che io reputo invece di grande importanza per gli sviluppi futuri della teoria: un giorno il suo colto amico Richard Garnett, che lavorava al British Museum, dove ogni giorno Butler si recava dalle 10,30 alle 13,30 per studiare e scrivere, gli chiese se avesse in vista una nuova composizione musicale e su quale argomento. Mettendosi una faccia da santarellino ("*demurely*", scrive Jones) Butler gli rispose "*La donna sorpresa in adulterio*". A Garnett la risposta non piacque affatto[2]. Ho la netta convinzione che quella scena abbia fatto nascere in Butler il piacere di uno scandalo omerico.

Se l'idea dell'*Ulisse* per il momento si fermò lì, perché nel dicembre di quell'anno, dopo la morte di suo padre, Butler era entrato in possesso delle carte del nonno e dopo la loro lettura si era messo a scrivere la vita dell'avo, l'interesse per il mondo omerico non si fermò, come testimoniano alcune lettere a Jones del 1889, in cui si parla anche di archeologia in relazione alle mura 'ciclopiche' di alcune città toscane.

Nei primi mesi del 1891 Butler e Jones decidono di avviare la composizione dell'U*lysses*, e siccome Butler era impegnato a scrivere la biografia del nonno, fu Jones ad occuparsi della scelta degli episodi dell'*Odissea* da arrangiare per canzoni e cori, servendosi, data la '*pochezza*' del suo greco, del libro di Charles Lamb "*The adventures of Ulysses*"[3]. I due amici dovevano collaborare nello scrivere le parole, ma poi finiva per scriverle quasi tutte Butler, come peraltro era avvenuto anche per il "*Narcissus*". Di tanto in tanto Butler dava un'occhiata anche al testo greco originale, per assicurarsi che Lamb non fuorviasse Jones, venendone così affascinato ma anche avvertendo che qualcosa gli sfuggiva, che dietro alle parole "*così luminose e trasparenti*" vi fosse "*una sorta di oscurità da penetrare per riuscire a comprendere davvero i sentimenti del poeta*".

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[1] W. Smyth: *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology* – London, Taylor, Walton & Maberly, and Murray, 1849, vol. III p. 183.

[2] H.F. Jones: *Samuel Butler, a Memoir* – London, MacMillan and Co., 1919, vol. II p. 38.

[3] La prima edizione è: London, Juvenile Library, 1808; ce ne furono poi numerose altre.

Nasce quindi la coordinata del 'mistero', cui è correlata quella della 'scoperta': insieme esse impronteranno questa storia. Infatti Butler a quel punto si mise in testa di svelare il mistero e per prima cosa tradusse il poema in prosa.

L'interesse di Butler per il lato 'odisseico' di Omero peraltro rimontava ad almeno otto o dieci anni prima, come una sorta di 'autodifesa' da quanti cercavano di farlo appassionare a Dante, Virgilio e Tennyson. Il percorso di arrivo all'*Odissea* passa per la musica e l'archeologia, ma la molla di fondo è prettamente umanistica: "*l'arte m'interessa solo in quanto rivela l'artista*".

Arrivato all'episodio dei Feaci, Butler si convince che l'autore descriva le scene dal vero, e quando giunge a quello di Circe gli viene come un lampo: l'autore non era un vecchio cieco che viveva in mezzo alla servitù ma una giovane donna. Grazie a Jones sappiamo esattamente quando questo è avvenuto: su una lettera a lui indirizzata dall'amico il 9 agosto 1891, Butler annotò queste parole: "*è stato nei pochi giorni in cui mi trovavo a Chiavenna (all'Hotel Grotta Crimée) che io ho escogitato* [Butler usa l'espressione '*hit upon*'] *la paternità femminile dell'Odissea. Non sono riuscito a scoprire che era stata scritta a Trapani fino al gennaio 1892*". La nota di Butler sulla lettera dell'amico è chiaramente posteriore, ma fissa precisamente il momento (ed il luogo: un Hotel della bella Chiavenna, in provincia di Sondrio) della scoperta della 'femminilità' dell'*Odissea* alla fine di luglio-inizio di agosto 1891 e ci dice che la localizzazione a Trapani rimonta a sei mesi dopo.

Jones ci dice inoltre una cosa interessante: dopo aver riferito della scoperta della 'paternità femminile' dell'*Odissea*, egli cita una frase che Butler amava ripetere ("*tutti gli uomini sennati sono della stessa opinione riguardo alle donne, ma nessun uomo sennato dice mai quale sia*"), specificando che se l'amico fosse stato un uomo sennato, si sarebbe preso cura di non divulgare la sua opinione. Di conseguenza Butler "*doveva aver avuto un'alta opinione delle donne, altrimenti non avrebbe creduto che l'*Odissea *fosse stata scritta da una di loro*"; anzi, per Jones non c'è dubbio che nella formazione della teoria Butler sia stato influenzato dalla sua amicizia con Miss Ann Savage, iniziata subito dopo il ritorno di Butler dalla Nuova Zelanda, nel 1865, e durata per vent'anni fino alla improvvisa morte di lei. Per Butler era fuori questione la possibilità di rimpiazzarla, ragion per cui la scoperta di uno spirito femminile alla base dell'*Odissea* probabilmente costituiva per lui una sorta di nuovo dialogo con l'amica deceduta sei anni prima (e chi conosce quanta importanza abbia avuto Miss Savage per Butler, ben capisce cosa questa nuova possibilità di dialogo significasse per lui).

Ecco dunque come il tema delle 'femminilità' impronti di sé prepotentemente la questione: la 'donna' non è solo l'autrice del poema, è il senso ed il ruolo che ella riveste nel mondo. L'occhio non è rivolto unicamente all'universo dell'*Odissea*: siamo in pieno periodo di rivendicazioni femministe, il privato si mescola col pubblico, la classicità con l'attualità.

All'inizio di gennaio del 1892 Butler stava completando la revisione della sua traduzione in prosa dell'*Odissea*; arrivato all'episodio della trasformazione in scoglio della nave dei Feaci al ritorno da Itaca, si sentì sicuro che quello era un posto descritto dal vero e stilò una lista dei dettagli di Scheria rilevabili nel poema, pensando di verificare con l'ausilio delle mappe dell'Ammiragliato i posti che più vi si attagliavano.

È lo stesso Butler a dirci che andò a colpo sicuro: aveva letto nell'opera del Colonnello Mure "*Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*" che l'episodio del Ciclope andava localizzato vicino il capo Lilibeo; pertanto prese per prima la carta relativa alla cuspide nordoccidentale della Sicilia; scorrendola notò lo scoglio a forma di nave all'imboccatura del porto di Trapani e rimase incuriosito dal suo nome, Malconsiglio.

Non gli restava che una cosa da fare: scrivere al Sindaco di Trapani.

I.3: PERCHÈ TRAPANI?

Gli ultimi dieci anni della vita di Samuel Butler furono contrassegnati dallo stretto rapporto con la Sicilia.

Nata forse per caso, forse per desiderio di provocare o più probabilmente per una voglia profondamente connaturata di reinventare sé stesso sotto diverse identità, la teoria dell'Origine Siciliana dell'*Odissea*, cresciuta nei primissimi giorni di quell'anno, trova la sua chiave di volta nel febbraio del 1892, quando Butler scrive al Sindaco di Trapani per avere informazioni a proposito di leggende relative ad uno scoglio di forma allungata, simile quasi ad una nave pietrificata, posto proprio all'imboccatura del porto della città siciliana. Certamente quel nome tanto strano – Malconsiglio – pareva fatto apposta per incuriosire.

Se ci si perdona la parareminiscenza manzoniana, il benemerito Sindaco (mi pare giusto ricordarne il nome: Tommaso Piazza) fece ben più che l'atto di cortesia di una risposta: passò la missiva ad un consigliere comunale, Emmanuele Biaggini, il quale in chiusura di una lettera di ben dieci facciate rivolse a Butler un caldissimo invito a venire in Sicilia.

Butler aveva 57 anni e qualche acciacco, ma uno spirito sempre pronto a mettersi in gioco: malgrado qualche amico lo sconsigliasse, egli non esitò a mettersi in viaggio ed il 2 agosto 1892 arrivò a Trapani. Egli era stato preceduto dalla pubblicazione su "*Il Lambruschini*", un *periodico scolastico* che dall'anno precedente era edito a Trapani con cadenza mensile, della traduzione di due suoi articoli usciti in Inghilterra pochi mesi prima e che nella città siciliana avevano destato sensazione e qualche polemica.

Butler si trovò quindi ad avere, prima ancora di toccare la terra sicula, un fiero avversario nella persona dell'allora Direttore della Biblioteca Fardelliana, il canonico Fortunato Mondello, il quale sostanzialmente pensava che quella dell'inglese fosse una sorta di omerica impostura e che pertanto spettasse a lui, nella duplice qualità di bibliotecario e di sacerdote – e soprattutto di trapanese – di ergersi a difensore dell'ortodossia. Giusto perché non ci fossero dubbi in merito, a chiusura dell'articolo con cui poneva fine alla sua polemica con l'inglese, Mondello appose una citazione dantesca: *La verità nulla menzogna frodi* (*Inferno*, XX, 99). Forse Mondello scelse questo verso come epigrafe perché pronunciato dal Virgilio dantesco per negare che le origini della sua Mantova fossero diverse da quelle da lui esposte nei versi immediatamente precedenti, peraltro paradossalmente in parziale contrasto da quanto scritto dal Virgilio storico nell'*Eneide* (X, 196-198). Insomma, un modo elegante per dare dell'impostore a Butler (il *canto XX* è infatti dedicato ad astrologi, falsi profeti e compagnia bella).

Butler e Mondello erano sostanzialmente l'uno per l'altro che ciò che ciascuno aveva rischiato di essere ed aveva fatto di tutto per non essere. Uno di quegli specchi che rinvia non l'immagine esteriore, quella ci si costruisce con cura minuziosa, ma quella intima, quella che si fa di tutto per negare. Inutile dire che i due si odiarono subito e che a tale sentimento mai vennero meno.

Alle polemiche ed agli avversari del resto Butler era abituato, anzi si era cercato le une e gli altri in forza di quell'atteggiamento, non certo raro, tipico di chi ritiene di ricevere prove eclatanti della propria esistenza quando suscita la reazione stizzita degli altri, specialmente di coloro che sono delle 'autorità'. Chi conosce la biografia di Butler non avrà problemi a ricollegarsi al suo problematico rapporto coi genitori e sicuramente non gli sfuggirà che il titolo di 'canonico' accomunava Fortunato Mondello a Thomas Butler, padre del nostro Samuel.

Quello che però probabilmente Butler non si aspettava era di trovare non solo qualche sostenitore, ma anche e soprattutto più di un amico. Amico nel vero senso della parola, mosso non solo da rispetto per il sapere, l'intelligenza e l'arguzia di quell'uomo così lontano (lontano non solo per provenienza geografica), ma proprio da autentico, genuino affetto.

Butler tornò in Sicilia quasi ogni anno dei successivi dieci che visse, anche dopo che nel 1897 aveva pubblicato il libro con cui dava compiuto conto della sua teoria che l'*Odissea* fosse stata scritta a Trapani da una donna. Non vi tornò per cercare ulteriori riscontri (lo aveva già abbondantemente fatto per cinque anni), ma proprio perché anche lui aveva piacere di rivedere coloro che si definivano suoi amici – qualcuno anche con troppa invadenza, diciamo la verità.

C'era chi lui qualche volta avrebbe volentieri strozzato, ma che alla fine se non proprio simpatico gli stava comunque non del tutto antipatico, e c'era chi gli era caro come un figlio. Se anzi c'è una cosa che la Sicilia ha dato a Butler, e che mai egli avrebbe pensato di provare, era un sentimento molto simile a quello della paternità, parola ed esperienza che lui in tutti i modi aveva scrupolosamente evitato fino ad allora.

Sono infatti convinto che senza l'esperienza siciliana "*Erewhon revisited*" non sarebbe mai stato scritto: Giuseppe Pagoto in Sicilia ed Hans Faesch in Svizzera furono i due figli, il biondo ed il bruno, che mai e poi mai egli avrebbe immaginato di far diventare i protagonisti di un suo libro se non avesse vissuto l'esperienza di guardare alle vicende di quei due giovani cercando di comprendere l'operato dei loro genitori. In una lettera a Pagoto, Butler arrivò al punto di scrivere che suo padre, il canonico Thomas Butler, era stato a modo suo una brava persona, anche se non proprio capace di comprendere fino in fondo un figlio dallo spirito più poetico di quanto non fosse il suo. Incredibile ma vero.

The Authoress of the Odyssey, uscito a Londra nel novembre 1897 e di cui si presenta qui la riproduzione fotografica del manoscritto originale, è il libro che riassume ed espone in forma organica quanto Butler aveva pubblicato in una serie di articoli su riviste italiane ed inglesi dal 1892 in poi.

Il libro vendette circa 200 copie (tutto sommato, non male, per gli standard butleriani e per l'argomento in sé); malgrado vi fosse un certo interesse per una traduzione italiana, alcune incomprensioni e qualche puntiglio di troppo impedirono che la si facesse mentre l'autore era in vita, e dopo la sua morte gli entusiasmi si raffreddarono abbastanza rapidamente.

Alla morte di Butler in realtà non c'erano disposizioni testamentarie precise sulla sorte delle sue carte; furono i suoi due amici più prossimi, Henry Festing Jones e Robert Streatfield a decidere di distribuirle a chi in qualche

modo aveva contribuito alla loro redazione: nel caso di *The Authoress*, indubbiamente la destinazione non poteva che essere Trapani.

Fu così che l'anno successivo alla morte dell'amico, Henry Festing Jones intraprese un lungo viaggio che lo portò a consegnare alcuni manoscritti butleriani a Varallo Sesia, ad Acireale e a Trapani. Di questo viaggio Jones ha lasciato un resoconto che fu il suo primo scritto autonomo, il "*Diary of a Jouney through North Italy to Sicily*", che ci racconta le vicende legate a queste donazioni.

Dopo aver consegnato a Varallo Sesia il manoscritto di *Ex Voto*, il volume butleriano dedicato allo splendido Sacro Monte della cittadina novarese, ed i manoscritti delle sue traduzioni omeriche all'Accademia degli Zelanti di Acireale, di cui il 26 marzo 1893 era stato nominato socio corrispondente (nella stessa tornata in cui lo furono Luigi Capuana e Giovanni Verga), ai primi del maggio 1903 Jones arrivò a Trapani per adempiere all'ultimo atto del suo pellegrinaggio, la donazione del manoscritto originale di *The Authoress of the Odyssey* al Comune di Trapani.

Se c'è cosa che – si può esserne graniticamente certi – un siciliano vorrà a tutti i costi evitare, quella è una cattiva figura. Poteva dunque il Sindaco Nunzio Aula esser da meno del suo predecessore Tommaso Piazza nel rispettare l'illustre amico inglese, tanto più che questi aveva voluto "*che venisse donato alla sua cara Trapani insieme all'ultimo affettuoso addio il manoscritto dell'opera sua maggiore*"?

Il 6 maggio si tiene dunque nel gabinetto del Sindaco una cerimonia solenne nel corso della quale Jones "*compie il sacro mandato consegnando nelle mani del primo magistrato della città di Trapani il manoscritto [...] e due fotografie dell'autore*"; dal canto suo il Sindaco, dopo aver calorosamente ringraziato Jones, affida il dono alla Deputazione della Biblioteca Fardelliana e per essa al Bibliotecario, il Reverendo Canonico Fortunato Mondello.

Credo che neppure Butler stesso avrebbe saputo immaginare esito più 'butleriano': il compito di conservare e salvaguardare la pietra dello scandalo affidato a chi più aveva fatto per contrastarla! Il canonico però aveva in fondo un cuore d'oro e non solo adempì ineccepibilmente al compito, ma anche prese a rivalutare la buonanima, come si può leggere in un appunto manoscritto databile ai suoi ultimi anni e conservato fra le carte di Mondello nella Biblioteca Fardelliana.

L'indomani, *7 maggio ad ore 12*, nel Grand Hotel di Trapani, in ottemperanza al principio del "*Cattive figure, mai!*", si tenne una *colazione* in onore di Henry Festing Jones organizzata dalla Rappresentanza Comunale di Trapani, del cui *MENU* ci è arrivato il dettaglio:

Consommé à la royale
Poisson, sauce Hollandaise
Entremets
Artichauts et petit pois à la broche
Poulet rôti et Salade
Bisquits à la Marie-Louise
Dessert
Cafè Cognac
Vini
Barbera Camastra Champagne

Presso la Butler Collection del St. John's College di Cambridge è inoltre conservata la minuta di una lettera di Jones al Sindaco, nella quale egli confessa che in quell'occasione si è talmente commosso che neppure lui sa bene cosa abbia detto per ringraziare la città di Trapani per il tanto affetto nei confronti suoi e di Butler.

In effetti nel verbale di ricezione del manoscritto il tono delle espressioni di apprezzamento della figura e dell'opera di Butler è davvero altisonante, ma fatta la tara della retorica legata all'ufficialità, non c'è dubbio che quantomeno alcuni dei presenti nutrissero davvero stima ed affetto per l'amico inglese e che quindi Jones avesse ben donde trarre motivo di balbettare...

Della cerimonia di consegna venne anche dato un resoconto giornalistico, apparso su *L'Ora* di Palermo nel numero del 15-16 maggio 1903.

I.4: LO SCRITTOIO DI BUTLER

"*L'Autrice dell'Odissea*" fu scritto in quattro mesi, dalla metà di dicembre 1896 alla metà di aprile 1897: un lasso di tempo molto breve per scrivere un libro *ex novo*, ma una parte rilevante del volume è in sostanza una rielaborazione di quanto l'inglese aveva scritto nel corso dei precedenti cinque anni.
Gli articoli in cui Butler aveva trattato la materia sono i seguenti:

1. *The localization of Scheria – The Athenaeum*, Londra, 30 gennaio 1892 (trad. it. in *Gazzetta del Popolo*, a. II n. 18, Trapani 29 maggio 1892 e poi in '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II *Appendice al n. 6*, giugno 1892);
2. *The Topography of the* Odyssey – *The Athenaeum*, Londra, 20 febbraio 1892 (trad. it. in *Gazzetta del Popolo*, a. II, nn. 19 e 20, Trapani 5 e 12 giugno 1892 e poi in '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II *Appendice al n. 6*, giugno 1892);
3. *A Lecture on the Humour of Homer – The Eagle*, vol. XVII n. XCVII, marzo 1892, Cambridge, Metcalfe, poi pubblicato anche in *Estratto*, Cambridge, Metcalfe, 1893 (trad. it. della sola Prefazione in '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II n. 7, luglio 1892);
4. *Risposta al can. Mondello* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II *Appendice al n. 8*, agosto 1892;
5. *Note Odisseane* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II n. 9, settembre 1892;
6. *I Ciclopi* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. II n. 10, ottobre 1892 e n. 11, novembre 1892;
7. *On the Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey – *The Eagle*, vol. XVII n. XCIX, dicembre 1892, Cambridge, Metcalfe, poi pubblicato anche in *Estratto*, Cambridge, Metcalfe, 1893;
8. *Sull'opuscolo del Signor Sugameli* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. III n. 1, gennaio 1893;
9. *Lettera al direttore del periodico su alcune correzioni alla mia teoria* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. III n. 8, agosto 1893;
10. *L'Origine siciliana dell'*Odissea – Acireale, tip. Donzuso, 1893, estratto dalla "*Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana*", anno I n.3-4, 1893;
11. *Ancora sull'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea – Acireale, tip. Donzuso, 1894, estratto dalla "*Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana*", fascicolo XIII;
12. *Una visita al Maretimo* – '*Il Lambruschini*', a. IV n. 3, settembre 1894;
13. *The Sicilian Origin of the* Odyssey – '*Italian Gazette*', Roma-Firenze, 1895 (serie di cinque articoli).

A questi articoli seguirono "*L'autrice dell'Odissea*" e le traduzioni in prosa di '*Iliade*' ed '*Odissea*', che costituiscono il coronamento di questo intenso lavorio su Omero durato sei anni.

I.5: DOPO LA PUBBLICAZIONE

Che il libro non avrebbe avuto vita facile, Butler lo aveva capito dal rifiuto degli editori; che la sua tesi andasse contro il senso comune accademico, era stata forse la molla principale per scrivere; ma ciò che più addolorò Butler fu che, a parte pochissime persone, perlopiù trapanesi, nessuno prese sul serio né l'origine trapanese dell'*Odissea*, né la sua 'maternità'. Il punto non era il dissenso dalle sue idee, ma che nessuno le confutasse nel dettaglio, mostrando che le argomentazioni da lui portate a sostegno fossero errate.

Di non aver convinto due persone in particolare Butler si doleva: uno era il suo giovane amico siciliano Peppino Pagoto, nei confronti del quale egli aveva sviluppato un sentimento quasi genitoriale, e l'altro era Richard Garnett, al quale pure, in segno di riconoscenza per l'aiuto prestato da lui, quasi vent'anni prima aveva dedicato *Life and Habit*. Il disappunto di Butler fu talmente grande che per un certo periodo egli prese a chiamare Garnett con il titolo di '*Dottore*', ma senza fargli capire che lo faceva di proposito.

Il libro ebbe in Inghilterra alcune recensioni[4], in genere tutt'altro che favorevoli; ne ebbe due anche in Germania, il testo di una delle quali gli venne tradotto da persone conosciute estemporaneamente nel treno che portava Butler e Jones verso Paestum. In Italia apparvero una recensione su *Nuova Antologia* ed un'altra, a firma di F.Z.S., tutto sommato positiva, sul numero del 1° luglio 1898 della *Rivista Politica e Letteraria*. Questa recensione venne ripubblicata per intero il 24 luglio successivo su *La Falce*, un periodico di Trapani, sulle cui pagine nei numeri seguenti si accese una violentissima polemica sul libro di Butler, da cui però l'inglese si tenne lontano.

A parte queste, le altre reazioni vennero da lettere private indirizzate a Butler, tra cui spiccano quelle di Edmund Beckett, primo barone di Grimthorpe (a lui si deve la progettazione del meccanismo del famoso Big Ben) e

[4] Nella *Butler Collection* del St. John's College di Cambridge si trovano i ritagli degli estratti di 56 recensioni relative a tutti gli scritti di Butler sull'*Odissea*.

quelle di Robert Seymour Bridges, poeta laureato ed autore di un dramma teatrale dal titolo "*Il ritorno di Ulisse*" (1890); il 23 dicembre 1899 questi scrisse a Butler che il suo libro era uno dei più notevoli sulla questione omerica e che non c'era alcuna ragione per cui l'*Odissea* non dovesse essere stata scritta da una donna. Butler lesse il dramma di Bridges (non l'avrebbe mai fatto – per sua stessa esplicita affermazione – se l'autore non gli avesse scritto quella lettera) e pochi giorni dopo gli rispose lodando la qualità della sua traduzione poetica, ma dicendogli in tutta franchezza che non gli piaceva che il suo concetto di Ulisse ed Eumeo venisse trattato "*in modo così cataclismico*"[5]. Anche G.B. Shaw conobbe ed apprezzò la teoria di Butler.

Nel 1901 apparve ad Oxford il *Commento ai libri XIII-XXIV dell'Odissea* di David Binning Monro (grande specialista di studi omerici, vice-chancellor dell'Università di Oxford, ma anche esperto di musica, pittura ed architettura), nel quale non veniva fatta menzione della teoria di Butler. Questi finse di non dolersene, accomunando il silenzio di Monro a quello del *Commento dei libri I-XII* fatto da W.W. Merry (che però era uscito nel 1886, prima che a Butler venisse in mente di occuparsi dell'*Odissea*).

Altrettanto Butler disse a proposito di *In Sicily* (London, Sands and Co.,1901) di Douglas Sladen, professore di Storia all'Università di Sidney e grande viaggiatore, il quale aveva visitato la Sicilia negli anni 1896, 1898 e 1900 e pur dedicando un certo spazio a Trapani ed Erice non avrebbe fatto menzione della teoria di Butler (mi chiedo cosa avrebbe detto se avesse fatto in tempo a leggere *Sicilian Lovers* (1905), il cui V Capitolo Sladen intitola "*The Brigands of Mount Eryx*"!). Eppure questa volta Butler aveva torto: egli si era basato su quanto dettogli da qualcuno, ma non aveva visionato personalmente il libro di Sladen; Jones si informò con la Mudie's Lending Library, una biblioteca privata che prestava libri dietro abbonamento, venne a sapere che invece la menzione c'era e ne informò subito l'amico. Le menzioni sono in realtà due: a p. 386 Sladen, citandola *en passant*, definisce quella di Butler una scelta curiosa, visto che proprio a Trapani Virgilio aveva ambientato il *V libro* dell'*Eneide*; segue più avanti un'intera pagina, la 401, dedicata all'esame del libro butleriano, definito "*one of the most brilliant paradoxes of a* fin-de-siecle *age* [*uno dei più brillanti paradossi di un'età di* fin-de-siecle]", ma anche "*a very rich intellectual treat* [*un ricchissimo trattato intellettuale*]" e "*a monument of scholarship* [*un monumento di erudizione*]". Non mancano i complimenti per il "*celebrate Homeric scholar* [*famoso studioso omerico*]" Butler, elogiato quale "*very learned* [*coltissimo*]", uno che "*knows his Sicily like an open book* [*conosce la sua Sicilia come un libro aperto*]". Il sospetto che Sladen faccia su Butler un esercizio di stile butleriano diviene certezza quando si legge che egli "*is a most ingenious pedlar of his wares, displaying fascinating articles to those who will stare at them open-mouthed, and lashing with a bitter tongue whosoever ventures to remark that he has his own tongue in his cheek and that his wares are not what they seem* [*è un abile venditore ambulante delle sue merci, che mostra articoli affascinanti a coloro che stanno a fissarli a bocca aperta e sferza con lingua amara chiunque si avventuri mai a notare che ha la lingua nella guancia e che le sue merci non sono come sembrano*]": l'espressione "*la lingua nella guancia*" viene infatti usata per riferirsi a uno stile umoristico fintamente serio, in cui con sottile ironia si vogliono prendere in giro le convenzioni stabilite. Caro Butler, chi di lingua ferisce…

Nel 1901 Gian Salvatore Cassisa chiede a Butler qualcosa da pubblicare sul periodico da lui diretto, il *Quo vadis?* di Trapani, e Butler gli passa un inedito del 1893, *Was the Odyssey written by a Woman?*, testo di una conferenza da lui tenuta a casa di Mrs Bovill (e poi ripetuta anni dopo ad un incontro della *Fabian Society*), che era stato tradotto in italiano dal capitano Messina nel 1893 e poi dal medesimo rivisto nel 1895. Con il titolo *La nuova quistione omerica: L'autore dell'Odissea è una donna?* esso venne pubblicato alle pagine 9-18 del numero 7-8 della rivista, uscito il 4 ottobre 1901. Il fatto stesso che Butler non scrivesse qualcosa di nuovo testimonia come avesse esaurito le energie e questa teoria – pur non rinunciandovi – fosse per lui ormai un capitolo chiuso, almeno dal punto di vista della produzione letteraria.

Il 25 marzo 1902, tre giorni prima di partire per il suo ultimo viaggio in Sicilia, Butler scrisse a Thomas Leyden Agar, uno studioso che si era già occupato dell'*Odissea* in diversi scritti (la sua opera definitiva su questo tema è *Homerica, Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey*, Oxford, Claredon Press 1908), che i responsabili della Coin Room del British Museum avevano cambiato idea sulla moneta di *IAKIN*, assegnandola alla Sicilia Orientale. Una volta tanto Butler non solleva obiezioni e rinuncia all'idea di attribuire la moneta ad una città greca vicino Trapani, pur ritenendo che ciò non intaccasse il valore della sua teoria.

Il viaggio, tuttavia, gli riuscì fatale: il suo fisico ormai fortemente debilitato (abbiamo già letto come Jones ne desse la colpa proprio alle fatiche ed al superlavoro affrontato per l'*Odissea*) non gli consentì di arrivare a Trapani, dove aveva dato appuntamento ad alcuni amici inglesi; appena rientrato a Londra, il 22 maggio diede l'estremo sa-

[5] E dire che proprio Butler, nella *Preface* di "*On the Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey" si riteneva consapevole che le sue congetture fossero "*cataclysmic*" e non biasimava gli studiosi di Omero che se ne tenevano alla larga…

luto agli amici siciliani con un commovente biglietto d'addio: "*Tornato a casa con grande difficoltà, (…) in uno stato di estrema debolezza, e con poca speranza di guarigione, (…) saluto gli amici Trapanesi, li abbraccio, alzo il mio cappello, e gli dico cordialmente addio*". Il 18 giugno moriva.

I.6: POST MORTEM

Gli articoli di Butler usciti in Italia ebbero una circolazione ridotta, legata alla diffusione dei periodici in cui essi apparvero: *Il Lambruschini* ed il *Quo Vadis?* a Trapani, la *Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana* in Sicilia Orientale, la *Italian Gazette* a Firenze (ma solo per il pubblico che conosceva l'inglese). Dopo la pubblicazione di *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, nel 1897, che suscitò naturalmente l'interesse dei Siciliani, ci fu a Trapani l'intenzione di pubblicare una traduzione italiana, e per un certo tempo se ne parlò con Butler stesso, ma poi sorsero alcuni equivoci che indispettirono l'autore, che non volle più contribuire alle spese, come invece in un primo tempo sembrava disposto a fare.

Alla fine la traduzione italiana uscì nel 1968. Dovettero infatti passare sessanta anni perché tornasse l'attenzione verso quest'opera, ed altri dieci anni ancora perché la traduzione e la conseguente pubblicazione arrivassero in porto: il tutto per iniziativa di alcuni personaggi alquanto lontani dai cliché tradizionali, quali lo storico Antonino De Stefano, un ex sacerdote coinvolto nella vicenda della scomunica ad Ernesto Buonaiuti (e che per questo motivo smise l'abito talare), il professore Giuseppe Barrabini ed il colonnello Vincenzo, suo fratello, che curarono la traduzione, e l'editore trapanese Costantino Petralia, vero uomo di cultura prima e più ancora che imprenditore, disposto a pubblicare anche in perdita.

Del resto, la maggior parte di coloro che sono legati alla genesi ed alla storia successiva di questo volume sono in qualche modo personaggi eccentrici. Lo era Benjamin Farrington (1891-1974), che scrisse *Samuel Butler and the Odyssey* nel 1929, quando insegnava greco all'Università di Città del Capo, in Sud Africa; lo era Lewis Greville Pocock (1890-1975), professore di Studi Classici all'università di Christchurch, in Nuova Zelanda, che per studiare *in loco* la teoria di Butler venne a Trapani nel 1950 e poi pubblicò numerosi studi sull'*Odissea*; lo era Nat Scammacca (1924-2005), il poeta siculo-americano che dagli anni '80 si è prodigato in tutti i modi per far conoscere le teorie di Butler.

Manca qui lo spazio per ricordare i tanti studiosi che hanno contribuito alla conoscenza e all'approfondimento della teoria[6]; mi limito a citare i nomi (scusandomi di non poter citare per esteso i loro studi) di Pietro Sugameli, Vincenzo Barrabini (galeotta fu la traduzione…), Giuseppe Quatriglio, Salvatore Costanza, Giuseppe Angelo, Cristiano Turbil, Elinor Shaffer, Tim Whitmarsh, Mary Beard, James Paradis, Andrew Dalby, Froma Zeitlin, Armin Wolf, Sarah Dougher, Lillian Doherty e tanti altri ancora.

Questa teoria ed i suoi protagonisti sono stati oggetto di diverse tesi di laurea fin dalla metà degli anni '50; inoltre dal 1990 ad oggi si sono tenuti numerosi convegni, nonché alcune mostre delle fotografie scattate da Butler in Sicilia. Il romanzo *La figlia di Omero* di Robert Greaves è esplicitamente ispirato alla Nausicaa di Butler.

The Authoress of the Odyssey ha avuto diverse edizioni, tra cui ricordiamo quella del 1922, pubblicata a Londra presso l'editore Jonathan Cape, con una *Prefazione* di Henry Festing Jones; la *Shrewsbury edition* del 1925 (ancora presso l'editore Cape, con una nuova *Introduzione* di Jones, che amplia la precedente e ne modifica qualche giudizio), quella pubblicata a Chicago nel 1967 dalla University of Chicago Press, con una *Introduzione* di David Grene; quella del 2004, pubblicata a Bristol, dalla Bristol Phoenix Press, con una *Introduzione* di Tim Whitmarsh.

Per quanto riguarda le traduzioni, oltre a quella italiana di Giuseppe/Vincenzo Barrabini, pubblicata a Trapani dalla casa editrice Celebes nel 1968 (ripubblicata nel 2013 a Roma dalle Edizioni del Vascello) e quella di Donata Aphel del 1998, pubblicata a Roma dalle Edizioni dell'Altana, sono a conoscenza soltanto di quella francese, ad opera di Christian Angelliaume, uscita nel 2009 a Viry-Châtillon, per l'editore À l'écluse d'aval.

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[6] Per ulteriori informazioni, l'autore di queste pagine rinvia eventualmente a R. Lo Schiavo: *La teoria dell'origine siciliana dell'Odissea* – Palermo, ISSPE, 2003, in cui riassume organicamente la storia di questi studi e di cui sta curando una nuova edizione aggiornata, che include le numerose iniziative e gli studi critici di questi ultimi anni.

CAPITOLO II: IL MANOSCRITTO DI *THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY*

II.1: DESCRIZIONE DEL MANOSCRITTO

Il **manoscritto originale** di "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*", conservato presso la Biblioteca Fardelliana di Trapani **in due tomi** catalogati con le segnature Ms 183 e Ms 184, è stato così **descritto** dal compianto Salvatore **Fugaldi**, direttore della biblioteca dal 1957 al 1987[7]:

Ms. 183 (già: scansia V. sopra)
Cart.; sec. XIX (1894); mm. 255 X 200; cc. I + 180 + I num. recentemente, bianche le carte al verso eccetto cc. 10, 21, 31, 60, 69, 71, 100 le quali al recto sono però bianche; 11. variabili-, autografo; a c. 71b due foto di località vicine a Trapani; numerose correzioni e aggiunte autografe; legato alla Fardelliana nel 1903 per volontà dell'autore. Legatura in mezza pergamena.
Butler, Samuel *The authoress of the Odyssey. Part I to end of chapter IV* (cc. 1-180).
Inc. « *Preface. The following work* » (c. 3a). È il ms. originale dei primi quattro capitoli dell'opera, edita a Londra, da Longmans, Green and Co. nel 1897. La traduzione in italiano dell'opera è stata fatta da Giuseppe Barrabini ed edita a Trapani, da Celebes, nel 1968.
Ms. 184 (già: scansia V. sopra)
Cart.; sec. XIX (1894); mm. 255 X 200; cc. I + 202 + I num. recentemente, bianche quasi sempre le cc. al verso, eccetto cc. 30, 32, 35, 39, 43, 59, 67, 74, 78, 80, 83, 102, 124, 128, 135, 141, 163, 173, 179, 186, le quali al recto sono però bianche; 11. variabili; autografo; foto alle cc. 59b, 67b, 78b, 80b; numerose correzioni e aggiunte autografe; legato alla Fardelliana nel 1903 per volontà dell'autore. Legatura in mezza pergamena.
Butler, Samuel *The authoress of the Odyssey. Part. II, Chapter V - chap. XVII.* (cc. 1-202).
Inc. « *Chapter V. On the question...* » (c. 2a). È il ms. originale dei capp. X-XVII dell'opera, edita a Londra, da Longmans, Green and Co. nel 1897.

Rileggendo questa descrizione, si rilevano quelle che sembrano alcune **imprecisioni**. La prima (l'unica, in realtà) riguarda la **datazione del manoscritto**, che viene posta al 1894, mentre da lettere dello stesso Butler e da date da lui apposte si evince che esso è stato redatto dal dicembre 1896 al settembre 1897.

La seconda è chiaramente un errore di battitura, sfuggito poi alla revisione del testo in sede di stampa: i capitoli raccolti nel secondo volume cominciano dal quinto e non dal decimo, come d'altronde è correttamente riportato nella citazione del testo inglese.

La terza riguarda l'ultimo capitolo dell'opera, indicato col numero romano XVII, mentre il libro stampato ed il manoscritto stesso ne contengono sedici. In realtà il bibliotecario ha riportato con assoluta fedeltà quanto indicato nella carta 1 del secondo volume e confermato dalle carte 189-201, sulle quali il capitolo è indicato come XVII ma poi corretto in XVI. Sulle ragioni di questa ed altre correzioni tornerò più avanti; qui voglio integrare la descrizione fatta da Fugaldi con altri elementi derivanti dall'esame diretto del manoscritto.

La dottoressa **Valeria Di Capizzi**, collaboratrice restauratrice diplomatasi all'Istituto per l'Arte e il Restauro 'Palazzo Spinelli' di Firenze, nell'occorrenza della presente edizione **ha esaminato il manoscritto** dandone la seguente descrizione (ometto quasi tutti gli elementi già riferiti da Fugaldi):

1. La legatura è a cartella, in mezza pergamena di pelle di capra, con punte cieche e carta serigrafata;
2. Il manoscritto si presenta come un insieme di fascicoli (il cui numero non si può determinare senza scompaginare il manoscritto) e carte singole, di varie dimensioni, legate insieme da una cucitura a filza;
3. Il legatore ha ricevuto le carte già cucite insieme in due filze separate, come si arguisce dall'incongruenza tra la cucitura originale e il tipo di coperta realizzata;
4. Il legatore ha poi optato per un adattamento della cucitura che consentisse l'inserimento del corpo libro all'interno della cartella;
5. L'incasso profondo del volume alla coperta non permette di verificare con certezza la soluzione adottata, ma possiamo ipotizzare che si tratti di un grecaggio delle carte con inserimento di nervi in spago (la cui

[7] Fugaldi, Salvatore: *Descrizione dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Fardelliana. Vol. 1: I corali, i codici, i volumi, le carte* – Palermo, Regione siciliana, 1978, p. 186.

presenza è visibile sotto le controguardie), aggiunta di due carte di guardia singole all'inizio e alla fine del volume e successiva indorsatura con alette di aggancio;

6. Alla testa e al piede è stato fissato un finto capitello privo di anima, in carta decorata, arrotolata ed incollata, con funzione non strutturale ma unicamente decorativa;
7. I piatti sono rivestiti in carta arrotolata, incollata e decorata con riproduzione consequenziale di motivi geometrici a sviluppo tridimensionale colorati in ocra, blu e bianco;
8. Il titolo è impresso sul dorso;
9. La carta usata è moderna, a base di lignina, filigranata EXCELSIOR e vergata;
10. Le carte di guardia, in carta a macchina spessa, sono successive e non fanno parte dello stesso blocco di quelle manoscritte;
11. I tagli sono semplici;
12. Il testo è scritto perlopiù con inchiostro seppia ferro-gallico, leggermente acido, come si rileva da svariate ossidazioni presenti in tutto il manoscritto; alcune parti, specialmente fra le correzioni successive alla prima stesura, sono scritte con inchiostro nero ed un pennino di punta più fine;
13. Nelle carte incollate fra loro sono visibili tracce di collante cristallizzato.

Basandomi sugli expertise di Fugaldi e Di Capizzi, su un mio prolungato esame del manoscritto, nonché sulle ricerche che da svariati anni conduco su Butler, ritengo di poter **completare la descrizione** del manoscritto **con le seguenti osservazioni**.

Che le **carte** originali autografe di "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" siano state **raccolte da Butler stesso in due filze**, si evince dalla c. 1 di entrambi i tomi, di sua mano; che la legatura sia stata compiuta dopo il passaggio in tipografia per la stampa del libro e non prima, oltre che intuibile è reso certo dalle condizioni stesse dei due tomi, che non presentano traccia di scardinamento e ricucitura per inserire nuove carte, e dal fatto che alcune porzioni di testo del volume legato non risultano perfettamente leggibili, cosa che avrebbe reso difficile (o addirittura impossibile, in qualche caso) l'opera del tipografo.

Allo stato attuale delle ricerche, non è possibile determinare se la legatura del manoscritto sia stata effettuata a Londra o a Trapani.

Tutto lo scritto è **di mano di Butler**, tranne una numerazione di cui si dirà dopo; sussistono dubbi solo per pochissime parti (per lo più si tratta di numeri) la cui grafia si allontana da quella consueta dell'autore.

Quasi tutte le carte hanno il **verso in bianco**, probabilmente per agevolare il lavoro del tipografo. Sebbene Butler fosse solito scrivere in doppio esemplare, facendo uso della carta carbone, non mi pare che in questo caso l'abbia adoperata, **né mi risulta** che esista **un'altra copia** manoscritta di "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*"; presso la Biblioteca Zelantea di Acireale si trova solo il manoscritto originale della traduzione butleriana dell'*Odissea*, donato da Jones nel corso del medesimo viaggio del 1903, consistente in "*due volumi non rilegati, in parte manoscritti e in parte dattiloscritti, rispettivamente di 171 e 142 fogli*"[8].

Le uniche **carte scritte nel verso** (ma bianche nel recto) sono quelle inserite da Butler dopo aver ultimato la redazione del manoscritto e destinate a fungere da note o ad essere inglobate nel testo in una posizione che fosse facilmente individuabile nella pagina che così si veniva a trovare a fianco di quella aggiunta. Il fatto che alcune non riportino alcuna numerazione suggerisce l'ipotesi che tali carte siano state **inserite a ridosso della stampa del volume**.

Alcune **carte** sono state **tagliate** da Butler più o meno **a metà** e reinserite in posizione diversa; certune non portano numerazione. Alla carta 41 del secondo volume (numerazione D, vedi appresso) è stata tagliata la parte inferiore ed è stata **aggiunta una listella** nella parte superiore.

Su ciascuna carta del manoscritto Butler ha disegnato una **maschera-guida** dalle dimensioni di cm. 17 x 10, esattamente corrispondenti a quelle del testo nel volume a stampa. La maschera è addossata al margine sinistro del foglio, lasciando così liberi circa 7 cm di spazio per eventuali aggiunte e riscritture. Soltanto sei carte in tutto il manoscritto (per la precisione I, 60 e II, 56, 88, 132, 133 e 163) presentano una maschera che comprende quasi tutta la pagina; si tratta di interpolazioni che potrebbero quindi risalire tutte alla medesima fase di redazione.

Butler quasi mai scrive meno di **30 righe per foglio**; nel libro stampato **ogni pagina contiene 38 righe** di testo più una riservata al titoletto di pagina ed una di spaziatura tra questo ed il testo. Ogni pagina dispari del vo-

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[8] M.C. Gravagno: *Mario Puglisi Pico e Rosario Platania D'Antoni, promotori della* Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana *nel panorama della cultura letteraria della Sicilia di fine Ottocento* – relazione tenuta al II Convegno Internazionale 'La teoria dell'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea*'. Trapani 25-27 maggio 2000.

lume porta infatti in alto una sorta di **titoletto** con l'indicazione del contenuto della pagina, ovviamente assente nel manoscritto; dato che tali indicazioni non potevano essere di libera iniziativa del tipografo, dobbiamo presumere che venissero scritte da Butler sulle bozze di prova recapitategli volta per volta. Anche per quanto riguarda l'*Indice dei Nomi e degli Argomenti principali*, assente nel manoscritto (e nella traduzione italiana), dobbiamo presumere che esso sia stato redatto dopo la stampa delle bozze.

Dall'esame minuzioso del manoscritto si evince che **Butler scriveva alcune parti a matita**: sopravvivono infatti, sparse qua e là per tutto il manoscritto, tracce evidenti di frasi scritte a matita e poi cancellate. Non sono riuscito però a determinare con certezza se egli facesse la prima redazione di ciascun capitolo per intero a matita, o se questo valesse solo per la riscrittura delle parti cancellate (dove le tracce sono più evidenti). Propendo però più per quest'ultima ipotesi, sia perché scrivere tutto a matita, poi cancellare e riscrivere a penna, sarebbe stata una grande fatica, sia perché se Butler avesse dovuto cancellare l'intero testo di ciascun capitolo, le condizioni del manoscritto sarebbero ben peggiori e pasticciate.

Entrambi i volumi del manoscritto presentano alcune **numerazioni delle carte** (apposte soltanto nel recto). Ne possiamo individuare **quattro**, presumibilmente apposte nel seguente ordine:

A) In alto a destra, a matita grigia, di mano di Butler, indicante il progressivo interno di ciascun capitolo, poi cancellato quasi sempre con un frego di matita rossa; questa numerazione è presente nel *Contents* e nei Capitoli I-III e V-VI; manca negli altri;

B) In alto al centro, a penna, con il capitolo scritto in numero romano e quello del progressivo interno scritto in cifra araba, posto tra parentesi e spesso cancellato con un frego di matita rossa; questo numero non compare nella prima pagina dei Capitoli I, II, III e V;

C) In alto a destra, a matita rossa, di mano di Butler, indicante il progressivo complessivo (1-155 nel I volume, 156-320 nel II) e probabilmente apposta per la tipografia;

D) In basso a sinistra, a matita, indicante il progressivo di ciascun volume (1-180 per il I, 1-202 per il II). L'indicazione di Fugaldi ("*num. recentemente*") ed il confronto con le grafie di Mondello e del canonico Michele Ongano, direttore della biblioteca trapanese dal 1930 al 1957, attestate da numerose loro carte manoscritte conservate proprio alla Fardelliana, mi inducono a ritenere che quest'ultima numerazione sia stata apposta da Salvatore Fugaldi stesso.

Che la **numerazione** a matita grigia sia la **più antica**, secondo me si deduce dall'assenza del numero 1 sia nella numerazione A) che nella B): mentre redigeva i primi capitoli del manoscritto, Butler andava avanti senza ripetere su ogni carta l'indicazione del capitolo (come ha fatto poi nella numerazione B); ad un certo punto, però, quando ha cominciato ad aggiungere nuovi fogli con le correzioni e le aggiunte al testo, s'è reso conto che un eventuale scompaginamento accidentale avrebbe reso molto difficile la ricomposizione esatta della sequenza, cosicché ha interrotto la numerazione A) ed introdotto la B).

L'esame autoptico ha inoltre evidenziato che i **capitoli** III, IV e V hanno subito uno **slittamento**, essendo numerati originariamente II, III e IV: ciò prova che il progetto originale non prevedeva la sintesi del racconto dell'*Odissea*. Butler deve però essersi accorto, ad un certo punto, che le sue argomentazioni rischiavano di restare prive di forza se non si aveva una conoscenza, magari sommaria, dello svolgimento dell'azione del poema e per questo ha deciso di inserire, dopo il capitolo iniziale in cui esponeva il senso e lo sviluppo delle sue ricerche, un'epitome[9] della sua traduzione in prosa.

L'**ultimo capitolo** è indicato come XVII ma poi **corretto** in XVI.

Dopo la numerazione delle carte, il secondo elemento caratteristico, utile inoltre per ricostruire le fasi di redazione del manoscritto, sono le **cancellature**.

Possiamo distinguerne due tipi:

A) cancellature **stilistiche**;

B) cancellature **contenutistiche**.

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[9] In apertura della '*Preface*' di "*The Odyssey rendered into English prose for the use of those who cannot read the original*", Butler infatti dice: "*This translation is intended to supplement a work entitled The Authoress of the Odyssey, which I published in 1897. I could not give the whole Odyssey in that book without making it unwieldy, I therefore epitomised my translation, which was already completed and which I now publish in full* [*Questa traduzione ha lo scopo di integrare un'opera intitolata The Authoress of the Odyssey, che ho pubblicato nel 1897. Non potevo inserire l'intera Odissea in quel libro senza renderlo ingombrante, quindi ho epitomato la mia traduzione, che era già stata completata e che ora pubblico per intero*]".

Le prime sono legate all'incessante desiderio di Butler di trovare la forma più adatta per un periodare che cambia continuamente intento, passando da quello espositivo a quello ironico, sarcastico o addirittura apertamente polemico. Non bisogna d'altronde dimenticare che Butler aveva scritto *The Fair Heaven*, un testo che andava interpretato in un senso assolutamente diverso se non proprio opposto a quello letterale e che era stato capace di ingannare diversi ecclesiastici, che ne avevano raccomandato anzi la lettura a più di un parrocchiano dalla fede periclitante.

Le seconde invece sono legate a ripensamenti di giudizi o affermazioni espresse in precedenza, oppure a correzione di errori. Dato però che Butler aveva già esposto le sue tesi in diversi articoli nei cinque anni precedenti, tali correzioni sono in realtà poche.

Le cancellature riguardano in genere singole o comunque poche parole e sono condotte con tratti di penna orizzontali a metà altezza della parola; non poche volte, però, esse si estendono per due o tre righe intere.

Quando invece Butler non è contento di porzioni di testo più estese, egli preferisce cassarle, riquadrandole entro tratti di penna esterni cui associa poi quelli interni, condotti sia orizzontalmente che verticalmente.

Solo poche volte Butler, scontento di porzioni molto estese di testo o di troppe cancellature ravvicinate, ha preferito riscrivere il testo per intero in nuovi fogli.

Correlate alle cancellature, il terzo elemento emergente sono le **riscritture**. Di queste si possono distinguere tre tipi:

A) riscritture **Immediate**;

B) riscritture **Meditate**;

C) interpolazioni **Finali**.

Le prime si riconoscono facilmente, perché seguono subito, alla stessa altezza, la parte cancellata. Le seconde sono conseguenti alla rilettura più o meno ravvicinata del capitolo o di una sua porzione; talora sono apposte esattamente sopra la parte cancellata, talaltra, invece, sono poste sulla porzione di pagina esterna alla maschera di scrittura disegnata da Butler su ogni foglio. Questo in genere succede se la riscrittura è più estesa della cancellatura o se si tratta di una **riscrittura di secondo grado**, cioè di una parte cancellata, riscritta e poi cancellata a sua volta. Ciò è avvenuto molto spesso, talché sono davvero poche le pagine dove non compaiono riscritture esterne alla maschera.

Le interpolazioni finali sono quelle condotte dopo che il capitolo (o addirittura l'intero manoscritto) era stato ultimato e si riconoscono perché vergate in genere sul verso di fogli aggiunti solo all'ultimo momento e riportanti numeri seguiti dalle diciture '*bis*', '*ter*' e financo '*quater*' oppure con l'indicazione '*A for*' (cioè *Appendice di*) ed il relativo passo.

Altri elementi che compaiono nel manoscritto sono le **indicazioni per il tipografo**. Le più frequenti sono le abbreviazioni "*sm. t.*" e "*l. t.*", che vanno sciolte in "*smaller types*" e "*larger types*" a seconda che la porzione di testo che segue debba essere in carattere più piccolo o riprendere quello normale. I **numeri a matita** disseminati qua e là (alcuni dei quali potrebbero essere di mano del tipografo, perché alcune cifre sono leggermente o talvolta anche molto diverse da quelle sicuramente di mano di Butler) indicano il numero di parole che compongono il passo in questione.

L'abbreviazione "*N.P.*" si trova in genere dopo parti cancellate o cassate, va sciolta come "*New Paragraph*". Essa è accompagnata da una parentesi quadra d'apertura, mai seguita da quella di chiusura. Talvolta si trova solo questa parentesi per indicare l'*A Capo*.

Sono scritte **per esteso altre indicazioni** per il tipografo, relative all'inserimento di immagini o alla spaziatura fra i vari paragrafi. Talvolta, come ad esempio nell'indicazione contenuta nella pagina del frontespizio, in cui Butler fa riferimento alla pagina iniziale di un'altra sua opera, egli conclude lasciando all'interlocutore libertà di fare come meglio crede.

II.2: CRONOLOGIA DELLA REDAZIONE

Il 17 dicembre 1896 Butler scriveva ad Hans Faesch che l'editore Murray, il quale aveva pubblicato i due volumi di *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler*, non era invece disposto a pubblicare le traduzioni di *Iliade* ed *Odissea*, perché aveva tastato il polso dei librai e costoro non credevano che il pubblico sarebbe stato proclive all'acquisto.

Per questo motivo Butler le mette da parte e comincia quello che definisce "un libro divulgativo su *Iliade* ed *Odissea* in generale", che secondo l'editore poteva essere un buon traino per la pubblicazione delle traduzioni. In

un'altra lettera di pochissimi giorni dopo Butler ripete le medesime parole: "*I'm just beginning my book*". Possiamo dunque far risalire l'inizio della redazione del manoscritto alla metà del dicembre 1896.

Il 19 marzo 1897 Butler scrive ad un suo corrispondente che le traduzioni di *Iliade* ed *Odissea* non riuscivano ancora a trovare un editore e che la redazione del libro sopra l'*Odissea* (dell'*Iliade* non parla più) sarebbe andata avanti per altre tre o quattro settimane, dopodiché lui avrebbe pubblicato il libro a tutti i costi. Metodico e preciso come un orologio, il 13 aprile Butler scrive di avere consegnato il libro a Murray e si chiede cosa ne penserà il suo lettore.

Tre giorni dopo, Butler e Jones partono per la Sicilia; mentre sono in viaggio, Alfred Cathie, il domestico di Butler, gli fa sapere che Murray, dopo aver fatto leggere il manoscritto ad un noto studioso di Omero, aveva rifiutato di pubblicarlo.

Terminato l'ennesimo tour della Sicilia, sulla via del ritorno, mercoledì 26 maggio 1897, all'Hotel d'Angleterre di Salerno, Butler firma la chiusura del libro nell'ultimo capitolo, che intitola "*Conclusione*" e che evidentemente non faceva parte del manoscritto consegnato a Murray; così come la *Prefazione*, che scrive in viaggio e data "~~*Varallo, 5 giugno 1897*~~". Del tutto contento però egli non doveva essere, e tornato a Londra durante l'estate Butler rivede l'intero manoscritto, sottoponendolo poi all'editore Bell & Sons, il quale a fine luglio gli scrive di ritenere il libro poco coerente con i canoni accademici ed anzi tale da distorcere la semplicità dell'*Odissea*. Nella sua risposta, datata 23 luglio, Butler ribadisce di aver volutamente rifiutato lo stile accademico perché adottandolo non avrebbe convinto ugualmente i cattedratici ed avrebbe perso quel club di lettrici colte che "*alla fine forzano gli accademici a seguirle*". Pare quasi di udire la raccomandazione di Nausicaa ad Ulisse: '*Lascia perdere mio padre e va' direttamente da mia madre*'…

In una lettera del 27 luglio Butler cita per la prima volta il libro col titolo "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" (fino a quel momento ne aveva parlato semplicemente come 'il mio libro sull'*Odissea*') e lo definisce "*la cosa di gran lunga più importante che abbia fatto*". La ricerca di un editore stressa però parecchio Butler: anche un tentativo con Bentley non va in porto. Tutti e tre gli editori contattati concordano infatti nel ritenere lo scritto butleriano poco serio (*The Fair Heaven* d'altronde costituiva un precedente imbarazzante per qualunque editore 'serio'). Butler però non demorde, finché non trova – e con sua grande sorpresa – un editore disposto alla pubblicazione, seppure a spese dell'autore: si trattava di Longmans, appartenente alla famiglia di editori che svariati decenni prima aveva pubblicato un'opera di geografia del nonno di Butler.

Il 13 agosto scrive di aver ricevuto le prime bozze di prova, ma egli continua ad aggiustare qui e lì, fino a licenziare definitivamente il manoscritto il 27 settembre. Era di lunedì, anche se Butler non l'ha annotato.

La prima copia viene consegnata il 1º novembre a Butler, che la regala, con tanto di dedica, a Jones. La si può osservare presso la Butler Collection nella Biblioteca del St. John's College di Cambridge.

L'opera avrebbe dovuto essere dedicata ad Emmanuele Biaggini, l'amico trapanese che più si era adoperato per assistere Butler nei suoi soggiorni siciliani, ma sfortunatamente egli morì il 30 agosto 1896; la dedica allora 'transitò' a Biagio Ingroja, anch'egli ardente butleriano della prima ora.

Non so se Butler avesse previsto fin dall'inizio di dedicare il libro a qualcuno: nel manoscritto non v'è traccia di dedica (del resto, quando Butler ne iniziò la redazione Biaggini era già morto da quattro mesi) e la cartolina con cui Butler comunica ad Ingroja la sua decisione è del 21 ottobre 1897, cioè undici giorni prima che l'editore gli consegnasse la prima copia; la dedica è segno di genuino affetto.

Prima di allora, infatti, Butler aveva dedicato quattro libri: *Life and Habit* (1878, a Charles Paine Pauli, il suo 'fidanzato' dai tempi della Nuova Zelanda), *Unconscious Memory* (1880, a Richard Garnett, l'amico del British Museum sempre prodigo di sostegno per le ricerche di Butler), *Luck or Cunning?* (1886, alla memoria di Alfred Taylor, i cui esperimenti avevano dimostrato le facoltà intellettive e volitive delle piante) ed *Ex Voto* (1888, ai Varallesi ed ai Valsesiani). Nessun'altra delle opere successive (a parte la traduzione dell'*Odissea*, che come detto da Butler stesso nella *Preface*, andava intesa come un '*supplemento*' del *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, e pertanto era dedicata anch'essa ad Ingroja) porta una dedica.

II.3: FASI DELLA REDAZIONE

Non abbiamo documenti che attestino esplicitamente le varie fasi della redazione del manoscritto, cosicché ci dobbiamo basare unicamente su indizi interni e su deduzioni più o meno giustificate da quanto pubblicato su questo argomento da Butler in precedenza.

La prima cosa da chiedersi è se Butler avesse già chiaro in mente un piano dell'opera. Basta già tenere presente il titolo del volume, per comprendere come egli stesse ribaltando quanto fatto in precedenza.

Per quanto egli avesse infatti maturato prima l'idea di un'autrice e solo dopo quella dell'origine siciliana, gli articoli comparsi sia in Inghilterra che in Italia riservavano maggiore spazio alla trattazione della parte topografica. Era come se il Butler pittore e l'autore di *Erewhon* guidassero il Butler critico letterario e tirocinante filologo: la raffigurazione dei luoghi dell'*Odissea*, secondo lui, ricalcava esattamente il procedimento da lui stesso seguito nella scrittura del romanzo nato dalla sua esperienza neozelandese.

Diversamente andavano le cose in fase di 'apostolato orale': sia nella conferenza al Working Men's College che nelle conversazioni, l'idea che una donna potesse aver scritto l'*Odissea* suscitava reazioni più umorali. Quando Biaggini scriveva a Butler che Nausicaa era ormai diventata a Trapani una evocazione ricorrente, c'è da credere che i commenti sarcastici – magari a mezza voce, giusto per non essere apertamente scortesi – si sprecassero…

I viaggi in Sicilia fornivano a Butler continue conferme sul campo della validità della sua teoria topografica, e ciò comportava automaticamente la necessità di trovare un autore diverso per l'*Odissea* rispetto a quello dell'*Iliade*, poema chiaramente legato alla Troade (che Butler aveva visitato nel 1895, quando la campagna di scavi condotta da Dörpfeld era da poco terminata).

Con ciò Butler entrava appieno nella Questione Omerica, combattendo contemporaneamente contro la tradizione accademica e contro quella che lui chiamava "*l'eresia di Wolf*" tramite l'introduzione di una teoria ancor più eretica. Possiamo dire che si era risvegliato in lui l'autore di *The Fair Haven*, e che quindi si fosse fatta predominante l'esigenza di creare un ritratto dell'autrice.

Ecco quindi che Butler ribalta il peso delle due componenti della sua teoria e, dopo aver fatto i conti col passato della propria famiglia riabilitando ai propri occhi la figura del nonno (era questo infatti l'effetto principale di *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler*, e non si può non notare che dall'idea di una riabilitazione di Penelope era nato il suo interesse per l'*Odissea*), comincia la redazione del libro.

Nel volume possiamo infatti distinguere una parte introduttiva (*Prefazione*, *Capitolo I* e *II*), un 'blocco' di capitoli di dimostrazione della femminilità del punto di vista dell'*Odissea* (*Capitoli III-VII*), uno di dimostrazione topografica (*Capitoli VIII-X*) ed una sezione finale di 'accertamenti' (identità dell'autrice, datazione del poema, contesto storico-archeologico-letterario: *Capitoli XI-XV*); la *Conclusione* (*Capitolo XVI*), che in parte si riallaccia all'introduzione, è soprattutto uno sfogo di Butler. Del capovolgimento del peso relativo tra le due parti della teoria è segno eloquentissimo il titolo ed ancora di più il sottotitolo: "*Dove e quando scrisse, chi era, l'uso che fece dell'*Iliade*, come il poema crebbe tra le sue mani*".

Come ho già detto, i *Capitoli III, IV* e *V* hanno subito uno slittamento, essendo numerati originariamente *II, III* e *IV*: ciò perché il progetto originale non prevedeva la sintesi del racconto dell'*Odissea*. Qualche altra parte ha subito spostamenti nel passaggio dal manoscritto alla stampa; un piccolo 'mistero' riguarda poi l'ultimo capitolo, che nel manoscritto è indicato in tutte le pagine (tranne una, evidentemente riscritta successivamente) come *XVII* ma poi corretto in *XVI*. Si possono fare due ipotesi: o Butler lo ha scritto in un momento in cui non poteva consultare il resto del manoscritto ed ha inserito la numerazione *XVII* per effetto di un errore di memoria, oppure esisteva un *Capitolo XVI* che è stato poi eliminato. Riprenderò la questione più avanti.

Una novità del volume rispetto agli articoli precedenti è rappresentata dalle fotografie che corredano il testo, tutte scattate da Butler stesso nel corso dei suoi viaggi. L'esigenza illustrativa era maturata in Butler con *Alpi e Santuari del Piemonte e del Canton Ticino*, arricchito di belle incisioni che lui stesso tracciava dal vivo; i disegni avevano poi lasciato il posto alle fotografie con *Ex Voto*, il volume dedicato al Sacro Monte di Varallo Sesia.

In *L'Autrice dell'Odissea*, le fotografie completano le indicazioni fornite anche dalle piante topografiche di Trapani e dei suoi dintorni, che Butler aveva allegato già ai primissimi articoli da lui pubblicati. Da notare anche l'inserimento del cartoncino con uno schizzo delle Isole Egadi viste dal giardino del Balio di Erice (ancora oggi è possibile individuare l'esatto punto in cui Butler si mise per tracciarlo): un piccolo omaggio a sé stesso come pittore…

Quasi tutto il contenuto del volume è ripreso, talvolta alla lettera, dagli articoli precedenti, per cui lo sforzo principale di Butler è stato quello di dare una veste unitaria a quanto aveva già esposto più volte, integrando le piccole correzioni di dettagli emersi in seguito alle esplorazioni *in loco* od ai consigli degli amici (in particolare di Sugameli).

Non è stato in effetti un lavoro facile, come testimoniato dalle numerose correzioni in quasi tutto il manoscritto. Non di rado Butler, in fase di rilettura del testo, era scontento di ampie parti, che cassava e sostituiva con altre. Capitava poi che fosse scontento pure delle nuove parti, e cancellasse pure quelle, ripristinando le parti cancellate

o cassate: in questi casi metteva l'indicazione "*STET*", che indicava al povero tipografo di mantenere il passo in questione, a dispetto della cassazione. Certi passaggi migrano più volte da una pagina all'altra o addirittura da un capitolo all'altro, prima di trovare la loro sede definitiva. Una insoddisfazione che risaliva già ai pamphlets precedenti, e resa evidente anche dalle numerose annotazioni manoscritte presenti nelle copie personali di Butler, oggi conservate presso la *Butler Collection* del St. John's College di Cambridge[10].

Numerose carte sono state aggiunte ed interpolate al testo dopo la conclusione di ciascun capitolo, o addirittura dell'intero manoscritto. Se ne può ricavare conferma dalla numerazione interna di ciascun capitolo, in cui non è raro trovare pagine '*bis*' o '*ter*'; altre volte la conferma è data dall'essere alcune pagine bianche nel recto e scritte sul verso, in modo che venisse più facile individuare il punto esatto ove inserire le interpolazioni.

Da queste osservazioni traggo la convinzione che debba esserci stato tra Butler ed il tipografo un intermediario che curasse con attenzione il passaggio dal manoscritto alla composizione delle bozze: di sicuro non sarà stato Butler stesso, troppo occupato con la scrittura; forse è stato Jones, che però sull'argomento tace. Alfred Cathie, il domestico di Butler, probabilmente avrà fatto la spola tra la sede dell'editore Longmans (al 39 di Paternoster Row) e Clifford's Inn, il residence che ospitava Butler, una camminata di circa un quarto d'ora, per prendere le bozze e riportarle indietro dopo le correzioni, ma non credo che restasse ad illustrare il manoscritto.

Come inevitabile, qualcosa è sfuggito lo stesso: dopo la stampa vengono individuati cinque passi, segnalati nei '*Corrigenda*' a pagina XV. Qualche altro errore, sfuggito allora, venne eliminato in occasione della pubblicazione della seconda edizione nel 1922, curata da Jones con l'assistenza di Andrew Bartholomew e Donald Robertson.

[10] Se ne è occupato T. Whitmarsh nell'eccellente articolo *What Samuel Butler saw: Classics, Authorship and Cultural Authority in late Victorian England*, in: *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 48, 2002, pp. 66-86.

Erice : Giuseppe Pagoto e Samuel Butler (28/08/1894)

Erice : Bambini che giocano (10/08/1893)

CAPITOLO III: ANALISI DI "*L'Autrice dell'Odissea*"

III.1: AVVERTENZA PRELIMINARE ALL'ANALISI DEI CAPITOLI

Nelle pagine seguenti esaminerò i singoli capitoli di *L'Autrice dell'Odissea*, dando conto del contenuto e delle principali differenze tra il volume ed il manoscritto.

All'analisi di ogni capitolo del manoscritto butleriano si collega una *Tabella Descrittiva Sintetica*, che riporta le corrispondenze di numerazione di ciascuna carta, la presenza di carte interpolate e scritte nel Recto o nel Verso, la presenza di cancellature senza la relativa riscrittura, di porzioni di testo cassate e di modifiche del testo o aggiunte in sede di stampa e pertanto non presenti nel manoscritto. Poiché, per ragioni di spazio, non è stato possibile riportare tali tabelle sia nel testo italiano che nella traduzione inglese, si è optato per la soluzione unica mista, riportandole – con indicazioni bilingue – in un'*Appendice* apposita a fine volume.

Quando uso i termini '*libro*' e '*volume*' intendo riferirmi alla prima edizione di *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, pubblicata a Londra da Longmans, Green and Co. nel novembre del 1897 (quindi non alle traduzioni italiane). I numeri di pagina sono quelli della pubblicazione a stampa.

Quando invece faccio riferimento al manoscritto, che come detto in precedenza presenta ben quattro numerazioni, io uso – se non specifico diversamente – la numerazione di Fugaldi (**n. D**), da lui apposta proprio per consentire un esame secondo l'ordine in cui le carte si trovano nel manoscritto, indipendentemente dall'ordine di composizione e di inserimento nel corpo del testo. Giusto per chiarire con un esempio: I,19 è la carta del I tomo del manoscritto numerata "~~2~~" a matita grigia in alto a destra (e successivamente barrata con un frego a matita rossa), secondo quella che ho chiamato '*numerazione A*'; "chap. I (~~2~~)" a penna e al centro (il 2 è stato poi barrato con un frego a matita rossa), secondo quella che ho chiamato '*numerazione B*'; "2" a matita rossa in alto a destra, secondo quella che ho chiamato '*numerazione C*'; "19" a matita grigia in basso a sinistra secondo quella che ho chiamato '*numerazione D*'. Nell'analisi di ciascun capitolo indicherò il numero di pagine di ciascun capitolo sia nel volume (con la relativa numerazione) che di carte del manoscritto (anche in questo caso la numerazione sarà quella apposta da Fugaldi, che ho chiamato '*numerazione D*'. Per evitare confusioni tra il primo ed il secondo tomo del manoscritto, prima del numero delle carte inserirò '*I*' o '*II*').

Questa scelta è motivata dal fatto che le interpolazioni di fogli, la cancellazione e poi la rinuncia alla '*numerazione A*', le omissioni nella '*numerazione B*', la incompletezza della '*numerazione C*' (non presente nella *Preface* ed in alcune pagine interpolate), espongono secondo me il riferimento alle carte manoscritte al rischio di equivoci in misura superiore rispetto alla '*numerazione D*', soprattutto quando si tratta di pagine interpolate, che solitamente contengono porzioni di testo da inserire all'interno di altre carte. Ad esempio, *I 31v* si riferisce alla carta 31 del I tomo del ms (in essa non sono presenti le altre numerazioni), che troviamo bianca nel recto, perché Butler ha posizionato il testo in quello che ora è il verso della carta, in modo che il tipografo trovasse giustapposto il testo da interpolare a quello già scritto. Nell'esempio in questione, il testo contenuto nella carta *I 31v* si trova inserito, nel volume a stampa, alla pagina 9, all'interno di una porzione di testo che nel ms fa parte della carta che porta la numerazione B "*I. (9)*", quella C "*13*" e quella D "*32*".

Alcune carte interpolate sono invece inserite mantenendo la scrittura nel recto; in questo caso solitamente Butler aggiunge alle indicazioni delle numerazioni A e B la dicitura '*bis*', '*ter*' oppure '*A*', '*B*' ecc.

Infine, collazionando il testo stampato con quello manoscritto, mi sono accorto che alcune parole sono state cambiate ed alcuni brani (talvolta di una certa estensione) sono stati aggiunti senza che ve ne fosse traccia nel manoscritto; è dunque probabile che queste modifiche siano state fatte da Butler direttamente sulle bozze di stampa. Nella '*Tabella Descrittiva*' di ciascun Capitolo esse sono indicate in corrispondenza della pagina del manoscritto in cui avrebbero dovuto trovarsi.

Tutte le citazioni italiane del libro di Butler sono tratte dalla traduzione (nominalmente) di Giuseppe Barrabini, pubblicata a Trapani dalla casa editrice Celebes nel 1968. Dico 'nominalmente' perché Giuseppe Barrabini lavorava a strettissimo contatto col fratello Vincenzo e la signora Teresa, figlia di Vincenzo, mi ha detto che dati i problemi di vista di Giuseppe, buona parte della traduzione era stata in pratica fatta proprio da Vincenzo[11]. La traduzione dei '*titoli di pagina*' (non presenti nelle traduzioni italiane) è mia. Per evitare di appesantire la trattazione con infiniti rimandi al nu-

[11] In una lettera a Pocock del 25 giugno 1968, Vincenzo Barrabini dice esplicitamente di cedere la paternità della traduzione al fratello, accontentandosi solo di quella dell'*Introduzione*.

mero di pagina del volume, nessuna citazione lo conterrà, mentre verrà citato il numero della carta in cui compare un passo poi cancellato da Butler (altrimenti sarebbe più difficile individuarlo e decifrarlo nella riproduzione fotografica).

Prima di prendere in esame i singoli capitoli, possiamo avere una visione sintetica del confronto tra il manoscritto e il volume stampato grazie alla seguente tabella:

Tabella di Sintesi: I NUMERI DI "*THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY*"					
CONTENUTO	**N.e PP VOL**	**N.e D MS**	**CC AGG. MS**	**CC. MS.**	**PP. VOL.**
CONTENUTO DEL I TOMO MS	N.E.	1	N.E.	1	N.E.
RITRATTO DI NAUSICAA	N.N.	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	1
FRONTESPIZIO	(I)	2	N.E.	1	1
DEDICA AD INGROIA	(III)	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	1
PREFACE	(V)-XIII	3-11	(c. 5 r), (c. 9 r), (c. 10 v), (c. 11 r),	9	8
CONTENTS	(XIII)-XV	12-16	N.E.	5	3
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	(XVI)	17	N.E.	1	1
CHAPTER I	(1)-13	18-35	(c. 20 r), (c. 21 v), (c. 23 r), (c. 24 r), (c. 25 r), (c. 31 v)	18	13
CHAPTER II	14-104	36-152	(c. 38 r), (c. 58 r), (c. 59 r), (c. 100 v)	115	91
CHAPTER III	105-114	153-167	(c. 159 r)	15	10
CHAPTER IV	115-124	168-180	N.E.	13	10
CONTENUTO DEL II TOMO MS	N.E.	1	N.E.	1	N.E.
CHAPTER V	125-133	2-15	(c. 7 r)	14	9
CHAPTER VI	134-141	16-27	N.E.	12	8
CHAPTER VII	142-157	28-50	(c. 30 v), (c. 32 v), (c. 34 r), (c. 35 v), (c. 36 r), (c. 37 r), (c. 39 v), (c. 42 r), (c. 43 v), (c. 46 v), (c. 49 r)	23	16
CHAPTER VIII	158-173	51-76	(cc. 55 r -58 r), (c. 59 v), (c. 65 r), (c. 67 v), (c. 74 v)	26	16
CHAPTER IX	174-187	77-95	(78 v), (80 v), (83 v)	19	14
CHAPTER X	188-199	96-109	(102 v)	14	12
CHAPTER XI	200-209	110-123	N.E.	14	10
CHAPTER XII	210-224	124-142	(124 v), (128 v), (135 v), (141 v)	19	15
CHAPTER XIII	225-231	143-150	N.E.	8	7
CHAPTER XIV	232-248	151-169	(157 r), (163 v)	19	17
CHAPTER XV	249-261	170-188	(173 v), (179 v), (182 r), (183 r), (184 r), (185 r), (186 v)	19	13
CHAPTER XVI	262-270	189-202	(194 r), (202 r)	13	9
INDEX	(271)-275	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	5

Le abbreviazioni nella '*Tabella di Sintesi*' vanno così sciolte:
N.e PP VOL = Numerazione delle pagine del volume;
N.e D MS = Numerazione '**D**' delle carte del ms;
CC AGG. MS = Carte Aggiunte al Manoscritto, cioè interpolate successivamente alla prima redazione; seguono la numerazione D;
N.N. = Nessun Numero;
N.E. = Non Esistente/Nessuna;
CC. MS. = Numero di Carte occupate dal *Capitolo* all'interno del manoscritto;
PP. VOL. = Numero di Pagine occupate dal *Capitolo* all'interno del libro.

LISTA DELLE ILLUSTRAZIONI					
CONTENUTO	**Foto**	**Mappa**	**Disegno**	**Fuori Testo p.**	**P.**
Frontespizio, Nausicaa.	X				
La casa di Ulisse			X		17
La grotta di Polifemo	X			43	
Il Signor Sugameli e l'autore nella grotta di Polifemo	X			43	
Mappa di Trapani e M. Erice		X			164
Il porto Rheithron, ora saline di S. Cusumano	X			166	
Imboccatura del porto Rheithron, ora interrata	X			166	
Mappa delle Isole Ionie		X			175
Mappa delle Isole Egadi		X			177
Trapani vista da M. Erice, con Marettimo (Itaca) "La più alta nel mare"			X		178
Mappa dei viaggi di Ulisse		X			181
Mura Cefalù, viste dal mare	X			185	
Resti Megalitici sulla montagna sopra Cefalù	X			185	
H. Festing Jones, sul rocco di una Colonna a Selinunte	X			193	
Resti di Mura Megalitiche a M. Erice	X			193	
Mura di Hissarlik, con gli effetti degli agenti atmosferici	X			217	
Mura di Troia	X			217	
Moneta con legenda di lakin ed il fermaglio di Ulisse	X				227

Nelle edizioni italiane con la traduzione di Barrabini (Trapani 1968 e Roma 2013), non sono presenti le fotografie; quella con traduzione di Aphel riporta quattro fotografie di carte del manoscritto (il frontespizio, il contenuto del I tomo, la carta interpolata con le foto della Grotta di Polifemo e la carta iniziale del *Capitolo V*), una foto di Butler a 60 anni, una serie di disegni di Adolfo De Carolis per la traduzione dell'*Odissea* a cura di Ettore Romagnoli (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1923), due illustrazioni di John Flaxman (1755-1826) per il *I* ed il *XXIV Canto* dell'*Odissea*. Quest'edizione contiene inoltre una *Prefazione* di Dario Sabbatucci, una *Introduzione* di Donata Aphel ed un estratto del *Viaggio in Sicilia sulle orme di Butler* di Jones (titolo originale: *Diary of a journey through North Italy to Sicily*, Cambridge, 1904) tradotto dalla stessa Donata Aphel.

III.2: ANALISI DI *FRONTISPIECE, CONTENTS, LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

THE
AUTHORESS OF THE
ODYSSEY

WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS,
THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD,
AND
HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS

BY
SAMUEL BUTLER
Author of "Erewhon," "Life & Habit," "Alps & Sanctuaries,'
"The Life & Letters of Dr Samuel Butler," etc.

"There is no single fact to justify a conviction," said
Mr. Cock; whereon the Solicitor General replied
that he did not rely upon any single fact, but upon a
chain of facts, which taken all together left no
possible means of escape. *Times*, Leader. Nov. 16
1894
[(The prisoner was convicted).- *non presente nel ms*]

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
AND NEW YORK: 16 EAST 16TH STREET
1897

Ciascun tomo del manoscritto è preceduto, oltre che da una carta di guardia inserita dal rilegatore, da una carta in cui Butler ha indicato il contenuto del tomo stesso: "*The Authoress of the Odyssey/ Part I/ to end of chapter IV.*" e "*The Authoress of the Odyssey/ Part II/ Chapter V – chap XVII.*". La grafia mostra i segni di una certa sbrigatività, segno che Butler era ormai stanco del lavoro condotto; il testo conferma che egli aveva raccolto le carte del manoscritto in due filze, non so se già in vista della rilegatura o solo per comodità di stampa e di conservazione delle carte. Resta il mistero dell'indicazione "*chap XVII.*", che rimanda all'ultimo capitolo del manoscritto, numerato come XVII e poi corretto in XVI. Di ciò parlerò in seguito.

Nel redigere il *Frontespizio*, Butler ha indicato la ragione sociale dell'editore in maniera che poi si rivelerà imprecisa e non ha aggiunto l'ultima cifra all'anno di edizione, segno che non ancora sapeva se il libro sarebbe uscito nel 1897 o nel 1898. Ricevuto un biglietto da visita con l'esatta ragione sociale, Butler lo ha incollato solo dal lato sinistro, cosicché lo si può sollevare e vedere cosa c'è sotto; l'aggiunta "*All rights reserved*" e l'indicazione per il tipografo "*in small italic*" non sono però di mano di Butler.

È sua invece l'indicazione in alto, indirizzata al tipografo: "*Title page to be got up something in the style of my Life & Letters of Dr Butler of which I believe I must have sent you a proof on Saturday. If you think you can arrange the matter better than I have done, by all means do so. S.B.* [*La pagina del titolo dev'essere portata un po' su nello stile della mia Life & Letters of Dr Butler di cui credo di averti inviato una bozza sabato. Se pensi di poter sistemare la faccenda meglio di come ho fatto io, fallo assolutamente. S.B.*]". Dato che la prima copia venne consegnata a Butler il 1° novembre e che da una lettera di Butler all'amico Giulio Arienta di Varallo sappiamo che egli rimandò le ultime bozze al tipografo la mattina di mercoledì 13 ottobre, si può ipotizzare che la nota sia stata scritta tra la fine di settembre e l'inizio di ottobre.

Sul *Frontespizio* Butler ha riportato un estratto preso da un *Leader* [*Editoriale*] del *Times*, molto probabilmente perché è rimasto colpito dalla contrapposizione "*single fact/chain of facts* [*fatto singolo/catena di fatti*]", che era stata la strategia di difesa da lui adottata nei confronti delle prime critiche ricevute: la lista dei punti da lui

compilata per la localizzazione di Scheria (e poi ampliata grazie ai suggerimenti di Biaggini) era appunto una catena di corrispondenze "*which taken all together left no possible means of escape* [*che prese tutte insieme non lasciavano possibilità di fuga*]".

Il passo riportato si trova alla pagina 7 del *Times* di venerdì 16 novembre 1894 ed è un commento ad un episodio di cronaca che aveva turbato ed appassionato un'Inghilterra ancora scossa dal recentissimo celebre caso di Jack lo Squartatore. Si tratta del caso definito "*Southend Murder* [*L'assassinio di Southend*]": il 25 giugno 1894, vicino al villaggio di Prittlewell (un sobborgo di Southend, nell'Essex), venne scoperto il cadavere di Florence Dennis, una donna di 23 anni incinta di otto mesi, uccisa da un proiettile alla testa. Dell'assassinio venne incolpato James Canham Read, un cassiere trentanovenne sposato e padre di quattro figli, il quale aveva avuto una relazione con la vittima.

Durante il processo, secondo il suo difensore Alfred Cock (un 'barrister' che faceva parte del Consiglio della Regina), non sarebbe emerso un solo fatto che giustificasse la condanna, ma il Solicitor General riteneva invece di avere messo insieme una catena di fatti che appunto – come piaceva a Butler – non consentiva di sfuggire alle conseguenti deduzioni.

Il caso era reso particolarmente 'piccante' dal fatto che l'imputato aveva avuto poco tempo prima una relazione (e forse anche un figlio) con la sorella della vittima e che in più egli aveva a Mitcham, dunque dalla parte opposta a casa sua (egli abitava nell'East End di Londra, al 57 di Jamaica Street, a Stepney, non lontano dal luogo delle gesta di Jack the Ripper) un'altra casa, con un'altra moglie, un altro figlio ed un'altra identità (si faceva passare per l'agente di commercio Edgar Benson). Insomma, era il classico esempio di seduttore immorale, fatto apposta per incarnare il concetto di 'colpevolezza a priori' (siamo in età vittoriana, non bisogna dimenticarlo).

In favore di Read si levò qualche voce, fra cui quella dello scrittore Robert Buchanan ("*l'immoralità non è un reato capitale*") e soprattutto quella del suo difensore Alfred Cock, che il giornale *Vanity Fair* nel 1891, oltre a definire "*leathern lungs and a voice of brass* [*polmoni di cuoio e voce di ottone*]", così dipingeva: "*His knowledge of law is limited; but he believes in the supreme importance of getting facts to come out on his own side. Consequently he is very commonly guilty of a resounding and jovial laugh; but which he has pointed many an absurdity screwed out of a hostile witness driven to desperation by his loud and persistent badgering: which method, combined with his inimitable manner of putting a broadly humorous view of his opponent's case before a jury, has been worth thousands to him* [*La sua conoscenza della legge è limitata; ma crede nella suprema importanza di tirare i fatti dalla sua parte. Di conseguenza è molto comunemente colpevole di una risata clamorosa e gioviale; ma l'ha usata per sottolineare molte assurdità estorte ad un testimone ostile spinto alla disperazione dal suo forte e persistente accanimento: questo metodo, combinato colla sua inimitabile maniera di ridicolizzare il caso del suo avversario davanti alla giuria, gli è stato utile migliaia di volte*]". Va ricordato che proprio Alfred Cock era stato scelto come difensore dallo scrittore ed editore Henry Richard Vizetelly, il quale era stato processato ben due volte per immoralità, avendo pubblicato la traduzione del romanzo di Zola "*La Terre*"; la seconda volta, nel 1889, era stato condannato alla multa di 200 sterline e a tre mesi di carcere[12].

Read non era un personaggio molto simpatico, ma durante il processo sostenne di essere innocente del crimine. Fu condannato per prove puramente circostanziali e fu giustiziato il 4 dicembre 1894. Non sappiamo se Butler avesse dubbi sulla sua colpevolezza, ma il fatto che egli abbia aggiunto al momento della stampa (sul manoscritto infatti essa non compare) l'indicazione che l'imputato venne condannato, e la testimonianza esplicita di Jones, che ci dice che Butler si sentiva "*like the Solicitor General*" perché aveva messo insieme una catena di fatti, mi spingono a credere che egli abbia voluto rispondere con questa citazione al Canonico Mondello, il quale aveva posto termine alla polemica su "*Il Lambruschini*" citando il verso di Dante "*La verità nulla menzogna frodi!*". Anche in quell'occasione Butler aveva usato la metafora del poliziotto che mette insieme una catena di indizi per giungere all'individuazione del colpevole.

L'inserimento di questa citazione nel *Frontespizio* non è dunque qualcosa di estemporaneo, dettato dall'attualità. In fondo la vicenda di Read e l'articolo del *Times* risalivano a tre anni prima della redazione del manoscritto: Butler deve dunque aver preso nota dell'articolo, riservandosi di utilizzarlo in seguito, perché gli era subito sembrato che desse ragione al metodo da lui seguito, checché ne dicesse il reverendo Canonico Fortunato Mondello.

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[12] La vicenda è raccontata da Eileen Horne: *Zola and the Victorians: Censorship in the Age of Hypocrisy* - London, MacLehose Press, 2016. Sarà un caso, ma Christopher MacLehose è discendente dell'editore scozzese che pubblicò la *Introduction to Homer* di Jebb ed inoltre dal 1953 al 1958 ha studiato presso la Shrewsbury School.

La redazione dei '*Contents*' dev'essere di poco precedente a quella del *Frontespizio*. Butler aveva preparato l'indice dei capitoli, con il loro titolo citato per esteso ed un punto interrogativo a matita al posto del numero di pagina corrispondente; quando ha ricevuto l'indicazione dell'impaginazione ha sostituito il punto interrogativo con i numeri di pagina esatti, ad eccezione di quelli dei *capitoli XV* e *XVI*, che evidentemente non erano stati ancora impaginati. Perfezionista qual era, egli scrive al tipografo: "*The books of the Odyssey in chapter II should be printed perhaps in a little smaller type than ordinary headings, but it would I think be better if you sent me the frontpage as a sample that I may see how it looks* [*I libri dell'Odissea nel capitolo II dovrebbero essere stampati forse in un carattere un po 'più piccolo dei titoli ordinari, ma penso che sarebbe meglio se mi mandassi la prima pagina come campione per vedere come appare*]". Viene accontentato subito e così incolla sul manoscritto i ritagli di alcune bozze di stampa (a partire da metà del *capitolo II*, contenente i titoletti da lui assegnati ai riassunti dei libri dell'*Odissea*, fino al *capitolo XIV*, con eccezione del *capitolo X*) giusto per vedere l'effetto che fa; il risultato non deve essergli piaciuto, visto che nel libro il carattere usato è più piccolo.

La lista dei *Corrigenda* (che naturalmente non poteva esserci nel manoscritto) è breve e comprende solo cinque passi:

Page 2, line 11, for "furnished" read "furnishes."
Page 10, third line from bottom of page, and also in note, for "Mont Rosa" read "Monte Rosa."
Page 160, line 10, between "as he" and "sure," supple "is."
Page 164, line 4, for "Lilyboean" read "Lilybaean."
Page 184, in note twice, for "Aenotria" read "Oenotria."

Nella lista delle Illustrazioni (18 in tutto, di cui 10 fotografie di esterni, 2 riproduzioni fotografiche, 2 disegni e 4 mappe), a '*Frontispiece*' viene aggiunto al momento della stampa '*Nausicaa*'.

Anche l'indice dei nomi e delle cose notevoli, in calce al volume ma la cui presenza non è indicata nei *Contents* (né nel manoscritto né nel libro), è stato aggiunto in fase di stampa. È probabile che sia stato compilato dallo stesso Butler, che deve averlo però fatto su carte che non sono state allegate al manoscritto.

III.3: ANALISI DELLA *PREFACE*

La *Preface* consta di 8 pagine a stampa (numerate v-xii), che corrispondono a 9 carte del manoscritto (numerate I,3-11). Come abbiamo visto nelle pagine precedenti, essa è stata scritta mentre Butler era in viaggio ed il resto del manoscritto era stato già consegnato all'editore Murray (che però non volle pubblicarlo). La *Preface* in un certo senso duplica il *Capitolo I* ed un po' anche il *XVI*, in quanto riprende gli spunti essenziali di entrambi; forse è per questo che è stata omessa nella traduzione di D. Aphel.

La prima parte contiene una sorta di cronobibliografia degli articoli che hanno preceduto il volume, dei quali non viene citato il titolo; anche gli altri riferimenti bibliografici non sempre sono completi.

Per quanto riguarda correzioni, aggiunte ecc., è da notare che Butler aveva inizialmente scritto che "*the following work consists in ~~great~~ measure of matter already published in England and Italy during the last ~~five and a half~~ years*", ma poi ha corretto '*~~great~~*' con '*some*' e '*~~five and a half~~*' con '*six*': la prefazione era stata originariamente completata e datata '*~~Varallo. June 5. 1897~~*', ma Butler non ne era contento e vi continuò a lavorare per tutta l'estate ed ancora oltre. Anche il riferimento agli articoli pubblicati sulla *Italian Gazette* è una aggiunta posteriore.

Segue il ringraziamento al contributo offerto da Biaggini, Sugameli, ed Ingroja, nonché l'indicazione che il volume contiene molte aggiunte a quanto detto negli articoli e soprattutto una trattazione più ampia del sesso dello scrittore del poema. Questo è stato in fondo il motivo principale per cui egli ha voluto scrivere il libro, come si comprende da un passo alla fine della carta I,3, poi cancellato e riscritto: "*I have now entirely recast and restarted the whole argument, ~~bringing the whole together in coherent form, and adding the argument form, and adding the argument for the poem's having been written by a woman, a matter on which I had only touched very lightly in any of my previous publications~~*".

Butler ammette che non vi è stata alcuna reazione agli opuscoli da lui pubblicati e sottolinea che per lui la cosa più importante non è appurare il sesso ed il luogo di residenza dell'autore, ma semplicemente '*conoscere quanto più si può del poema*'. Dalla c. I,4 del ms si vede che egli stava continuando la frase con "*~~& if my mistakes~~*", ma la cancellatura, se la guardiamo con occhio freudiano, rivela che Butler non era disposto a concedere ai suoi avversari di potersi trovare in errore, neppure per ipotesi.

Come esempio eloquente dell'atteggiamento degli studiosi viene citata la '*Introduction to Homer*' del prof. Jebb, ed anche se vengono riferite alcune recensioni dei periodici inglesi ai suoi articoli, il lettore difficilmente sfugge all'impressione di una 'congiura del silenzio'[13].

Da bravo pittore e critico d'arte, seppure dilettante, Butler riserva un certo spazio alla storia del ritratto che compare sul frontespizio del volume, da lui visto in Toscana, a Cortona[14].

Quanto al testo originale dell'*Odissea*, cui si è appoggiato per il riassunto della sua traduzione, Butler precisa di avere seguito i canoni stabiliti da Gladstone e di aver fatto soltanto due emendamenti (ma dimentica di dire che il testo seguito è quello della Teubner, curato da Dindorf). Un punto su cui egli insiste molto è quello della traduzione dei nomi greci: egli segue l'uso latino, come gli hanno insegnato i suoi maestri – il defunto prof. Kennedy (la cui memoria gli si era rinverdita proprio in quegli anni durante la composizione della biografia di suo nonno, il dr. Butler: tra la sua corrispondenza egli aveva rinvenuto anche una lettera del 4 novembre 1823, nella quale l'allora giovane Kennedy gli chiedeva quale dovesse essere il piano delle sue letture greche, ed in particolare '*quanto Omero sarebbe desiderabile leggere*'[15]) ed il reverendo Richard Shilleto – e come si pratica nel British Museum.

Con l'avvertenza che a lui interessava attirare i lettori non accademici più che gli accademici (della cui attenzione Butler confessava di non nutrire speranza) e che in fondo quella da lui usata era la nomenclatura della generazione a cui apparteneva, Butler chiudeva la stesura con la data "~~*Varallo 5 June 1897*~~" (c. 8).

Al polemista che era in lui però questa conclusione deve essere sembrata alquanto morbida, cosicché cassa questa parte e la riscrive rendendo più evidenti le stoccate contro gli 'accademici': costoro si sentono urtati dall'uso dei nomi latini per gli dei e gli eroi greci, ma poi fanno di tutto per far accettare per buona la teoria di Wolf e della critica tedesca, cosa che ha provocato il malumore della gente sennata ('*sensible people*'), ragion per cui Butler non vuole seguire queste persone finché il tempo non avrà dimostrato se sono maniache ('*faddists*') o no. Questo ultimo passo nel manoscritto è piuttosto tormentato: Butler aveva inizialmente usato l'espressione "~~*the incubus of*~~ *Wolf*" (c. I,9) ed anche il resto del paragrafo è pieno di cancellature e ripensamenti circa il tono della polemica da adottare.

L'ultima parte della *Prefazione* riferisce della sua donazione al British Museum di una copia del testo dell'*Odissea*, nella quale sono sottolineati i passi dell'*Iliade* e del desiderio di donare anche una copia del testo dell'*Iliade* con la sottolineatura dei passi presi a prestito dall'autrice dell'*Odissea*, e con l'indicazione della loro collocazione nell'*Odissea*. Butler aveva quindi compreso che il linguaggio omerico era altamente formulare (e questo trent'anni prima che Milman Parry introducesse il concetto di formularità orale), ma egli faceva di questa caratteristica la prova non della composizione orale (concetto che era estraneo alla critica del tempo), bensì di quella scritta (è una prospettiva che in qualche modo precorre quella che oggi si definisce 'testualista').

L'ultimo pensiero della *Preface* è un ringraziamento ad Henry Festing Jones per l'appoggio a lui fornito, verificando per due anni i dettagli topografici.

III.4: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO I*

TITOLO: IMPORTANZA DELLA RICERCA — COME ARRIVAI ALLE MIE CONCLUSIONI — LA FIORITURA DI POETESSE NELL'ANTICA GRECIA ELIMINA A PRIORI QUALSIASI DIFFICOLTÀ — LE MUSE E MINERVA A CAPO DELLA LETTERATURA — L'UOMO, PIUTTOSTO CHE LA DONNA, L'INTRUSO

Titoletti di pagina: Infondatezza della teoria di Wolf – Bentley e l'*Odissea* – Come arrivai alle mie conclusioni – Errori naturali della donna – Compiti dell'uomo e della donna – Le Poetesse nella letteratura greca delle origini

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[13] Che questa impressione sia il frutto di una abile manipolazione di Butler stesso, intenzionato a consegnare un ritratto di sé stesso quale autore destinato ad essere compreso solo dai posteri, è tesi, tra gli altri, del documentatissimo saggio di M. Beard: *Why Homer was (not) a woman*, in J. Paradis (editor): *Samuel Butler. Victorian against the Grain*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007.

[14] Butler lo vide presso il locale Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca (alla quale era stato donato nel 1851 e dove ancora oggi si trova) nel settembre del 1892, al ritorno dalla sua prima 'spedizione in Sicilia'. Probabilmente le informazioni da lui riportate gli furono fornite da Girolamo Mancini (1832-1924), che dal 1873 era conservatore del Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e bibliotecario della Libreria comunale ed accademica, e dal 1889 presidente a vita dell'Accademia stessa. Sin dalla sua scoperta alla metà del '700, però, su quest'*unicum* gravavano sospetti di essere opera cinquecentesca (ma di eccellente mano) o addirittura un falso contemporaneo. Butler aveva visitato Cortona nel 1880, ma non sappiamo se in quell'occasione si fosse limitato a vedere solo le mura o se avesse visitato anche l'Accademia. La foto da lui utilizzata gli fu fornita dai Fratelli Alinari, la famosissima ditta fondata a Firenze nel 1852.

[15] S. Butler: *The Life and the letters of dr. Samuel Butler* – London, Murray, 1896, vol. I pag. 259.

Consta di 13 pagine a stampa (numerate 1-13), che corrispondono a 18 carte del manoscritto (numerate I,18-35). Nel titolo del capitolo è stata aggiunta in un secondo tempo la frase "*L'uomo, piuttosto che la donna, l'intruso*".

Si tratta di un capitolo espositivo, che essendo stato scritto prima della *Prefazione*, nella disposizione finale del testo in un certo senso finisce per duplicarla. Ne espongo gli elementi principali: Butler comincia dichiarando che le domande sul sesso dell'autore e sul luogo di origine del poema hanno attinenza con la 'questione omerica', perché la loro risposta (quale Butler dà) prova che il poema fu scritto da un solo autore. Il testo cassato all'inizio della c. I,19, che contiene frasi presenti nella pagina precedente, dimostra che l'attuale c. I,18 è una riscrittura di quella originale, espunta dal manoscritto non sappiamo se perché poco leggibile o se perché contenente espressioni su cui Butler si è ricreduto.

Da notare che il prof. Giuseppe Barrabini (o forse il fratello Vincenzo: come ho detto prima, i due lavoravano a strettissimo contatto) traduce la frase successiva ('*they have an important bearing on the whole Homeric controversy*') in un modo che va al di là di quanto scritto nel testo originale e sul manoscritto: "*esse* (scil. le domande) *mirano a risolvere definitivamente la questione omerica*"[16]. Mi pare una differenza non da poco: una cosa è '*dare un apporto notevole*', altra è '*risolvere definitivamente*' una questione. In un certo senso i fratelli Barrabini conducevano Butler al di là delle sue più rosee speranze…

Butler polemizza principalmente contro la teoria wolfiana, che egli chiama '*eresia wolfiana*' (il termine fa il paio con l'espressione '*Wolf's virtual denial of Homer's*', che corregge la precedente espressione "*Wolf's ~~question concerning~~ Homer's*", più blanda), la "*stravaganza omerica che i professori tedeschi hanno cacciato fuori dall'interno della loro coscienza*". Il termine '*stravaganza* [*extravagance*]' era stato usato e poi sostituito da "*temerarietà* [*recklessness*]" nel paragrafo precedente (c. I,22), in cui Butler deplora l'alluvione di atetesi in campo letterario e pittorico che molti ritengono "*una via facile verso la reputazione di critico*", fingendo, nel suo tipico stile, di deplorare la temerarietà di ogni nuova generazione di critici ("*Né sembra esservi termine a questo, giacché ogni generazione che segue appare incline a cercare di sorpassare l'inconsideratezza delle generazioni precedenti*").

Questo è un momento forte della polemica antiaccademica, meditato da Butler a lungo, tanto è vero che non faceva parte della prima stesura del capitolo, ma è stato aggiunto in un secondo tempo con la c. I,21, quasi al di là del *bon ton*, per mostrare che le 'cattedre di illogicità' non esistevano solo nelle università erewhoniane: Butler ha voluto infatti esplicitamente ricordare che '*le seguenti pagine suoneranno come una lezione di altro genere*'.

Egli ha esitato un po' prima di abbandonarsi a tale taglio, come si può evincere dalle correzioni, dai ripensamenti e dalle aggiunte che affollano in gran numero queste pagine del manoscritto, rendendosi conto che accusare di illogicità gli altri proprio mentre si affermano tesi assolutamente sconcertanti è un peso difficilmente sopportabile. In questi fogli aggiuntivi Butler si abbandona quindi ad un excursus sul valore di tanti studi scritti su Omero (ed in particolare di quello del prof. Jebb), ed il suo stato d'animo non doveva essere in quel momento dei più sereni, come si intuisce anche dalle significative aggiunte manoscritte, che rivelano una certa resistenza interiore. Butler cerca quindi un appoggio citando Bentley, che aveva affermato a sua volta che l'*Odissea* era stata scritta per le donne, ma precisa che secondo lui il poema non era stato scritto solo per un pubblico femminile, bensì per chiunque volesse leggerlo.

Butler traccia quindi le tappe del suo interesse per l'*Odissea*, ripetendo – talvolta anche alla lettera – quanto aveva già scritto numerose volte, aggiungendo talvolta qualche particolare nuovo, ma la '*viva e reale visione*' di Nausicaa da lui avuta durante i primi momenti di elaborazione della teoria, di cui si legge a pag. 25 della prima edizione italiana, è una 'libera traduzione' di Barrabini (Giuseppe o Vincenzo?), il quale ha un po' liricizzato il tono del testo originale, simile quasi ad una (incredibile, trattandosi di Butler) promessa di matrimonio (egli usa infatti le espressioni "v*owed that it would never leave me* [*promise che non mi avrebbe mai lasciato*]" e "*take rank with the convinctions to which I was most firmly wedded* [*prendere posto tra le convinzioni a cui ero più saldamente sposato*]"). Ho l'impressione che questo passo abbia messo in imbarazzo i traduttori, perché anche Donata Aphel, pur non introducendo la '*viva e reale visione*' di Barrabini, omette di tradurre "*take rank with the convinctions to which I was most firmly wedded*"[17].

Non che Butler fosse diventato un femminista, ma sicuramente non era più lo stesso misogino di prima: "*Può essere obiettato che è del tutto improbabile che una donna in qualsiasi epoca potesse scrivere un capolavoro come l'*Odissea. *Ma questo è pure vero per qualsiasi uomo*". Ed ancora: le donne "*come agiscono, scrivono.*

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[16] S. Butler: *L'autrice dell'Odissea* - trad. di G. Barrabini, Trapani, Celebes, 1968, pag. 19.
[17] S. Butler: *L'Autrice dell'Odissea* – trad. it. di D. Aphel, Roma, edizioni dell'Altana, 1998, p. 24.

Questo, ad ogni modo, non rende il loro lavoro meno affascinante quando è buono nel suo genere, anzi lo rende più affascinante".

Nello scrivere questo Butler si riallaccia perfettamente all'attualità, tanto che egli riporta uno stralcio del *Times* di giovedì 4 febbraio 1897: "*La differenza di sesso è la cosa più profonda e di più grande e di più duratura influenza che esista tra gli esseri umani (…) Le donne possono e non possono essere uguali agli uomini nell''intelligenza (…) Le donne in generale agiranno alla maniera delle donne, che non è, e non può mai essere, la maniera degli uomini*"[18].

Il passo da lui citato è un resoconto editoriale del dibattito avvenuto il giorno prima in Parlamento a proposito della seconda lettura del *Parliamentary Women Franchise Bill*, cioè della proposta di estendere il diritto di voto alle donne. Si tratta in particolare di un riassunto degli interventi di William Harcourt (leader liberale, allora all'opposizione) e di Leonard Courtney (deputato di Bodmin, in Cornovaglia, formalmente ministeriale ma non sempre allineato alle posizioni governative). Al dibattito partecipò anche il prof. Jebb, il quale era favorevole al provvedimento, sostenendo che "*le donne erano necessariamente migliori giudici dei bisogni delle donne rispetto agli uomini*"[19].

Di una cosa però Butler è profondamente convinto: "*ciò che è giusto per un uomo è errato per una donna e viceversa*" e cita come esempio i giovani dei romanzi di Jane Austen, che '*raramente sono molto interessanti*' (ma nel manoscritto aveva usato un'espressione molto più forte, poi corretta in sede di stampa: "*marionette riempite di paglia*" ['*puppets stuffed with draw*'], c. I,32).

Per rendere icasticamente quella che ai suoi occhi è la superiorità dell'*Odissea* rispetto all'*Iliade*, Butler ricorre ad una metafora che ama tanto, al punto che nel manoscritto si ritrova svariate volte, quasi che egli non sapesse bene dove metterla – o forse dove toglierla: "*Se io dovessi scegliere l'una o l'altra, io non esiterei a lasciar andare l'*Iliade *piuttosto che l'*Odissea, *così come se io dovessi scegliere tra il monte Bianco ed il monte Rosa, sacrificherei il monte Bianco sebbene io sappia che per molti aspetti è il più grande fra i due*".

La presenza di numerose poetesse nella Grecia arcaica e nel mondo ebraico è un argomento forte per ammettere l'esistenza di una poetessa nella Sicilia del 1000 a.C., tanto più che lo storico greco Tucidide attesta la presenza di genti greche (i Focesi) nei dintorni di Erice. Non solo, quindi, "*in un'epoca in cui le donne erano libere, come ci sono presentate nell'*Odissea*, è assurdo supporre che non ci fossero poetesse*", ma è anzi da credere che la Musa, con la cui invocazione i poemi si aprono, "*sia stata una scrittrice, sebbene non ci sia giunto nessun lavoro suo*".

Conclusione? "*Se fosse conosciuta la verità, molto probabilmente troveremmo che fu l'uomo, piuttosto che la donna, l'intruso ne dominio della letteratura*". Questa considerazione piacque tanto a Butler, da aggiungerla anche al titolo del capitolo, come è evidente già alla prima occhiata del manoscritto.

III.5: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO II*

TITOLO: IL RACCONTO DELL'ODISSEA

Titoletti di pagina: Il mio riassunto – La casa di Ulisse

Il racconto dell'*Odissea*. L. I: Il concilio degli dei - Telemaco ed i proci a casa di Ulisse – L. II: Assemblea del popolo di Itaca — Telemaco parte per Pilo – L. III: Telemaco a case di Nestore – L. IV: Telemaco a casa di Menelao — I proci decidono di attendere il suo ritorno ed ucciderlo – L. V: Ulisse nell'isola di Calipso — Egli lascia l'isola e dopo grandi sofferenze raggiunge la terra dei Feaci – L. VI: Ulisse incontra Nausicaa – L. VII: Gli splendori della casa di Re Alcinoo — La regina Arete vuole sapere dove Ulisse abbia preso i vestiti ed il mantello, perché li ha riconosciuti a colpo d'occhio — spiegazioni di Ulisse – L. VIII: Giochi dai Feaci e banchetto in onore di Ulisse – L. IX: I viaggi di Ulisse — I Ciconi, i Mangiatori di Loto ed il Ciclope Polifemo - L. X: Eolo — I Lestrigoni — Circe - L. XI: Ulisse nella casa di Ade - L. XII: Le Sirene — Scilla e Cariddi — Il bestiame del Sole - L. XIII: Ulisse riportato ad Itaca dai Feaci - L. XIV: Ulisse nella capanna di Eumeo. - L. XV: Telemaco torna da Pilo, sbarca e si reca alla capanna di Eumeo - L. XVI: Ulisse e Telemaco si riconoscono - L. XVII: Telemaco va in città, seguito da Eumeo ed Ulisse, che viene maltrattato dai proci. - L. XVIII: Combattimento fra Ulisse ed Iro — I proci fanno regali a Penelope – e maltrattano Ulisse. - L. XIX: Ulisse conversa con Penelope e viene riconosciuto da Euriclea - L. XX: Ulisse conversa con Eumeo e col mandriano Filezio — I proci lo maltrattano ancora — Teoclimeno prevede la loro rovina e lascia la casa - L. XXI: La gara dell'arco e delle asce - L. XXII: L'uccisione dei proci - L. XXIII: Penelope scende a vedere Ulisse , si convince finalmente che è suo marito e si ritira con lui nella loro vecchia stanza — Al mattino Ulisse, Telemaco, Filezio ed Eumeo vanno a casa di Laerte - L. XXIV: I fantasmi dei proci nell'Ade — Ulisse incontra suo padre — viene attaccato dagli amici dei proci — Laerte uccide Eupite — Pace fatta tra lui ed il popolo di Itaca.

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[18] *The Times*, Leader, 4 February 1897, p. 9.

[19] *The Times*, *Parliament. Women Franchise Bill*, 4 February 1897, p. 3.

È il capitolo più lungo, con le sue 91 pagine a stampa (14-104), cui corrispondono 115 carte nel manoscritto (I,36-152). Esso comprende un riassunto della traduzione in prosa dell'*Odissea* che Butler aveva condotto parallelamente al lavoro sul sesso e sul luogo dell'autore[20]; si tratta, come dice Butler stesso, soltanto di un quarto dell'intero poema, che "*non vuol essere un lavoro d'arte ma un diagramma illustrativo*". Le carte sono in buona parte abbastanza 'battagliate', segno che Butler non fece un lavoro passivo di sintesi della traduzione, bensì si sforzò di essere originale anche nel riassumere sé stesso.

Butler è consapevole che il lettore possa essere turbato dal "*carattere innovatore ritenuto inammissibile*" della sua traduzione, ma afferma che essa è "*rigorosamente fedele al contenuto dell'originale*" e "*più giusta*" di tutte quelle pubblicate fino ad allora – giudizio forse presuntuoso ma non errato, se ancor oggi la sua traduzione viene riproposta in volumi sia economici che lussuosi.

Come termine di paragone del proprio lavoro, Butler aveva la traduzione di Butcher e Lang, anch'essa in prosa, a cui riserva una frecciatina – subito cancellata – in puro stile butleriano, dicendo che essa "~~*assuredly does not err on the side of not being close enough to the Odyssey*~~ [~~*sicuramente non sbaglia dal lato di non essere abbastanza vicina all'Odissea*~~]" (c. I,37). Neppure lui, però, era esente dalla tentazione della chiarezza; nel riassunto della traduzione del *libro XII*, per esempio, egli aveva aggiunto alcune parole fra parentesi, dandone ragione in nota: "~~*the words enclosed in brackets are not in the Odyssey, but I insert them as giving what I believe to have been the author's meaning*~~ [~~*le parole fra parentesi non si trovano nell'Odissea, ma io le inserisco per rendere ciò che credo fosse l'intenzione dell'autrice*~~]" (c. I,86). Per non contraddire però quanto affermato in premessa, Butler in seguito ha preferito cancellare aggiunta e nota.

Butler era nello stesso tempo capace di vedere cosa non andasse bene del proprio lavoro: "*Io sono un uomo, esperto (della vita) ed attempato, e la traccia del sesso, dell'età e dell'esperienza deve inevitabilmente affiorare nella mia traduzione. Se il poema deve mai essere ben tradotto, lo deve ad opera di una ragazza inglese di spirito elevato, educata ad Atene, per nulla spossata da uno studio accademico del linguaggio. Una traduzione è se non altro un intralcio; una traduzione dal verso in prosa è un doppio intralcio e ci vogliono ulteriori corrispondenti intralci se si vuole evitare un effetto di deformazione*"[21]

Come prefazione al riassunto del poema Butler mette la sua ricostruzione della pianta della casa di Ulisse; una novità rispetto ai suoi precedenti lavori, che egli introduce in risposta agli studi di Jebb[22], Lang[23] e Platt[24].

Da notare che l'inserimento di questo riassunto della traduzione non faceva parte del piano originale dell'opera, visto che nel manoscritto si distingue benissimo come gli attuali *capitoli III, IV, V* e *VI* avessero una numerazione inferiore, poi corretta. Butler deve essersi quindi accorto, mentre scriveva l'attuale *VI capitolo*, che il suo discorso sarebbe filato meglio se avesse premesso la narrazione dei fatti principali, e quindi si decise ad inserire come *II capitolo* il riassunto della sua traduzione dell'intero poema.

III.6: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO III*

TITOLO: LA PREPONDERANZA DELLA DONNA NELL'*ODISSEA*.
Titoletti di pagina: Gladstone su *Iliade* ed *Odissea* – Gli uomini non aiutano Ulisse – Donne nell'Ade – Dante, Virgilio e Fielding.

Consta di 10 pagine a stampa (105-114) e 15 manoscritte (I,153-167), e rappresenta una delle 'novità' del volume rispetto a quanto pubblicato precedentemente. Butler vuole infatti riportare quella che egli giudica '*la prova più infallibile*' dell'ipotesi che l'*Odissea* sia stata scritta da una donna: la preponderanza dell'interesse per ciò che è femminile ed una conoscenza più completa di ciò di cui si occupano le donne rispetto a quanto è usualmente appannaggio degli uomini.

Questo tema era stato discusso da Butler nella conferenza al Working Men's College del 30 gennaio 1892, ma poi era stato messo in secondo piano negli scritti successivi, concentrati più sulla dimostrazione dell'evidenza topografica; adesso Butler lo riprende e lo approfondisce, ma soprattutto si apre come forse raramente gli era capitato di farlo.

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[20] L'intera traduzione sarà pubblicata da Longmans e Co. nel 1900.
[21] S. Butler: *The Notebooks,* London, Fifield, 1915, pag. 198. Traduzione mia.
[22] R. Jebb: *Introduction to Homer*, Glasgow, MacLehose, 1888, pp. 57-62 e 175-185.
[23] A. Lang: *Note 18*, in *The Odyssey of Homer done in English prose by S. Butcher and A. Lang*, London, MacMillan and Co, 1879, pp. 422-424.
[24] A. Platt: *The slaying of the Suitors*, in *Journal of Philology*, vol. XXIV, Cambridge, 1896, pp. 39-45.

La sua concezione è quella di una fondamentale incomunicabilità tra i sessi: "*l'uomo e la donna non si comprendono mai l'un l'altro pienamente, tranne, forse, durante il fidanzamento e la luna di miele, (...) le barriere non possono essere completamente abbattute, e ciascun sesso resterà principalmente, sebbene non esclusivamente, entro il suo mondo separato*". Peraltro è proprio dall'esistenza di queste barriere che dipende molto dell'attrazione di un sesso verso l'altro, per cui è meglio che tali barriere restino, conclude Butler, che stava per ritornare ad occuparsi del testo, ma evidentemente ci ha ripensato, cancellando un passo che poi riprenderà pari pari poco dopo, ed inserendo un'ulteriore considerazione: "*gli uomini sembrano incapaci di parlare delle donne senza deriderle o metterle in caricatura; e così, forse, una donna non sa descrivere un uomo così felicemente come quando lo mette in ridicolo. Se ella lo fa intenzionalmente è sicura di riuscirvi, se lo fa senza preconcetto riuscirà più sicuramente ancora. Ciascuno dei due sessi, infatti, riesce benissimo nel mettere in caricatura l'altro, ed in questo certamente nessuno scrittore è riuscito meglio dell'autrice dell'Odissea. Dopo l'esaltazione della femminilità, ella considera che i sotterfugi e le debolezze dell'uomo siano il più adatto tema sul quale il suo genio possa esercitarsi*".

Butler passa brevemente in rassegna i personaggi femminili del poema (Minerva, Penelope, Euriclea, Elena, Idotea, Calipso, Circe, Nausicaa, Arete), tutte donne forti che appaiono dominare gli uomini: "*la morale, in ogni caso, sembra essere che l'uomo conosce pochissimo i suoi compiti, e bisogna convenire che egli sbaglia anche nelle cose che sa fare, a meno che egli non abbia vicina una donna che lo suggerisca. Non vi è un solo caso nel quale l'uomo venga in soccorso di una bellezza femminile in pena; è invariabilmente il contrario*".

A dispetto del tono asseverativo, la redazione del testo è piena di cancellature, cassazioni, riscritture ed aggiunte, parti di testo spostate da una carta all'altra, quasi Butler faticasse alquanto a trovare il giusto ritmo espositivo.

Un personaggio su cui Butler si arrovella alquanto è la regina Arete, che in tutto l'episodio dei Feaci è più importante di Alcinoo: "*per conto mio non ho fiducia in lei; io credo che Penelope sarebbe stata raffigurata più amabile se Arete fosse stata una persona così gentile come la scrittrice dice che era*". Butler aveva aggiunto – e poi cancellato – una frase che rende meglio comprensibile questa affermazione: "~~*the writer, who I gather to be Arete's daughter, has not yet begun to rebel, and probably has hardly found out her own mind upon the subject,*~~ [~~*but whether this is so or not*~~ – testo cancellato e sostituito dal seguente] ~~*so that she is still affectionately dutiful, but I would repeat that I do not believe in queen Arete*~~ [~~*la scrittrice, che ritengo sia la figlia di Arete, non ha ancora iniziato a ribellarsi, e probabilmente non ha ancora trovato la propria idea sull'argomento,*~~ [~~*ma se è così o meno*~~ – testo cancellato e sostituito dal seguente] ~~*tanto che è ancora affettuosamente rispettosa, ma io ripeto che non credo nella regina Arete*~~]" (c. I,159).

Per Butler Arete sarebbe la proiezione letteraria della madre dell'autrice, fissata in un momento in cui la giovane non aveva ancora intrapreso la strada della contestazione dei genitori; anche il personaggio di Penelope sarebbe modellato su quello di Arete, ma è stato affrontato dall'autrice in un momento successivo, quando ella cominciava ad accorgersi dei 'difetti' della madre, trasferendoli in Penelope. Per questo motivo, agli occhi di Butler il personaggio di Arete non sarebbe credibile. E se può essere indicativo di una certa riserva mentale di Butler in proposito, nell'indice dei nomi che egli pone alla fine del volume Arete non ha una voce indipendente, ma è citata insieme ad Alcinoo, anche quando in realtà ella non viene nominata, e non viene indicata la p. 108, dove si trova il periodo sopra riportato.

Ulteriori prove vengono trovate da Butler nell'episodio della discesa di Ulisse all'Ade, dove sono di nuovo le donne ad avere una posizione di rilievo; per di più, la madre Anticlea raccomanda ad Ulisse di tornare il più presto possibile a casa per raccontare le sue avventure nell'Ade a Penelope, '*consiglio più caratteristico di una scrittrice che di uno scrittore*'. E se lui stesso, Butler, dovesse scegliere delle ombre da incontrare, probabilmente domanderebbe di vedere l'Autrice "*prima degli altri*".

Butler tenta più volte di ritornare ad esaminare il poema, ma è talmente preso da queste considerazioni che numerose volte cancella tutto e torna a divagare sul tema del legame delle persone con gli esseri del proprio sesso, riportando quella che – sebbene non lo dica esplicitamente – è per lui la prova più irrefragabile: "*questo è il motivo per cui la Vergine Maria è divenuta la Regina dei Cieli e praticamente più importante della Trinità stessa agli occhi della gente comune nei paesi cattolici romani; perché le donne seguono i preti più degli uomini*". Prova frutto di una improvvisa illuminazione ed inserita nel manoscritto come un elegante scolio all'esterno della maschera di testo della carta I,166.

III.7: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO IV*

TITOLO: IL SENSO DELL'ONORE E DELLA DIGNITA' DELLA DONNA — SEVERITA' CONTRO COLORO CHE HANNO GETTATO LA VERGOGNA SUL LORO SESSO – AMORE PER LE PICCOLE OSSERVANZE RELIGIOSE, DELLA PREGHIERA, DELLE BUGIETTE, DELLE PICCOLE FALSITA', DELL'AMBIGUITA' E DEL DENARO.
Titoletti di pagina: Gelosia per l'onore della donna – Nessun perdono per chi sbaglia – Amore per le prediche – Il denaro nell'*Iliade* e nell'*Odissea*.

Anche questo capitolo, che occupa 10 pagine a stampa (115-124) e 13 carte del manoscritto (I,168-180), di cui costituisce la chiusura del primo tomo, è dedicato al tema della 'femminilità' nel poema.

Butler è alla caccia di elementi 'femminili' e pensa di averne trovati diversi, primo fra tutti il senso di profondo rispetto per le donne in tutto il poema, visto che esse "*possono essere impiccate ma non derise*"; nessuna donna viene obbligata a fare azioni che farebbero perdere la dignità, ed eccezione delle schiave. Butler aveva scritto anche "~~*made to do menial works*~~ [~~*fatte per i lavori servili*~~]" (c. 169), ma poi lo ha cancellato, forse per evitare che sembrasse una sua opinione. L'autrice è "*eccezionalmente gelosa dell'onore del suo sesso*", per questo è "*inesorabilmente severa contro quelle donne che lo hanno macchiato*".

Ma se le donne non possono essere derise, gli uomini lo sono, e Butler ne rintraccia l'origine psicologica: l'autrice è giovane ed ha sentimenti ambivalenti verso il padre, perché "*egli è generalmente per lei un misterioso e potente essere, i cui modi non sono simili ai suoi. (…) e se sua moglie per poco si mette a deriderlo, sua figlia non lo risparmierà, per quanto lei possa adularlo ed in un certo modo amarlo*".

Tre sono i casi di donne punite per la loro infedeltà: Clitemnestra, la donna che rapì Eumeo quando era bambino e le ancelle della casa di Ulisse che erano andate a letto coi proci. Il caso di queste ultime è particolarmente atroce, perché prima di ucciderle Ulisse le obbligò a pulire il sangue dei loro amanti: "*se l'onore femminile è stato violato da una donna, nessuna punizione è troppo crudele per lei*".

Altre prove della 'femminilità' dell'*Odissea* sono "*il piacere dimostrato nel dire piccole bugie e una propensione a vedere le cose in due modi quando ciò va bene per il suo scopo*" ed ancora "*la onnipresente scrupolosità e correttezza dei modi, sulle quali si insiste nelle piccole pratiche religiose, accoppiate ad una mancanza di scrupolo dimostrata subito dopo avere assistito alla celebrazione di esse; il rispetto per gli dei, per i presagi, e per le convenienze in generale*". Persino il rimprovero di Penelope al figlio Telemaco, il quale aveva consentito che Ulisse ed Iro si prendessero a pugni, diventa prova dell'assunto preliminare: "*non credo che nessun uomo potrebbe far rimproverare il figlio dalla madre così femminilmente*". Ulteriori prove sono "*l'attaccamento alla santità della vita domestica*" e la rabbia per l'erosione del patrimonio di Ulisse a causa della prodigalità dei proci.

La conclusione è quella già raggiunta nel 1892: "*donne, religione e denaro sono le tre idee dominanti nella mente della scrittrice dell'*Odissea".

III.8: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO V*

TITOLO: LA FIGURA DI PENELOPE È O NON È STATA RIABILITATA?
Titoletti di pagina: La riabilitazione di Penelope – La tela di Penelope – Penelope non ha usato la dovuta diligenza – La madre di Ulisse sulla situazione.

Consta di 9 pagine a stampa (125-133) e di 14 carte del manoscritto (II,2-15); è dedicato al tema della presunta 'riabilitazione' di Penelope, di cui Butler si era occupato nella conferenza del Working Men's College.

Per quanto questo tema fosse stato da Butler messo un po' sottotraccia negli sviluppi seguenti della sua teoria, non va dimenticato che tutta questa avventura era cominciata dalla battuta di Butler fatta apposta per sconcertare il suo amico Garnett, di cui ho parlato nelle pagine precedenti.

A poco a poco Butler si era convinto che l'autrice dell'*Odissea* volesse riabilitare Penelope: infatti "*in tutta la devozione di Penelope per il marito è sempre presente un sentimento che la donna protesta troppo*".

Qui Butler assume il tono dell'investigatore che vuole smascherare una verità per troppo tempo tenuta celata (è questo del resto il ruolo che egli aveva preso durante la polemica con Mondello): "~~*We have therefore to consider wheter the story of Penelope's constancy is sufficiently plausible to make it acceptable as an original story*~~" (cc. II,2-3). Questo passo deve essere sembrato forte non solo allo stesso Butler, che in sede di rilettura lo ha cancellato in più riprese (prima "~~*plausible to make it*~~", poi "~~*as an original story*~~" ed infine tutta la frase); ha la-

sciato il passo successivo ("*Let us see what the ~~writer~~ asks us to believe, or rather, to swallow* [*Vediamo che cosa l'*Odissea *ci vuol fare credere, o piuttosto mandar giù*]") ma in sede di stampa ha sostituito '*~~writer~~*' con '*Odyssey*'. Il traduttore non è stato da meno ed ha omesso il '*mandar giù*', '*to swallow*'.

Vediamo allora quali sarebbero i punti sospetti.

A) Per prima cosa, ci viene detto che "*più di cento uomini si innamorarono ardentemente, nello stesso tempo, di una supposta vedova*" e non se ne sarebbero andati prima che questa scegliesse uno di loro.

B) Penelope, "*modello di moglie e di madre, spasima di dolore, sia per la morte del marito, sia perché non può allontanare dalla casa i proci*".

C) Questi ultimi non dormivano mai nella casa di lei e non la vedevano mai sola, ma sempre in compagnia di due ancelle e con il velo in volto, "*per modestia*". E qui Butler tira una frecciatina velenosetta: "*È vero che aveva quarant'anni, ma né lei né la poetessa sembra che ne tengano conto, così noi possiamo prendere per certo che portava il velo per modestia e non per nessun'altra ragione*". Va ricordato che in altra sede Butler aveva chiarito di porre a 35 anni il limite di inizio della vecchiaia, e quindi Penelope lo aveva valicato da un pezzo.

D) I proci "*vivevano in termini di scorretta intimità con le serve, nessuna delle quali sembra che sia stata licenziata istantaneamente quando si venne a conoscenza della sua cattiva condotta*".

E) Nessuno dei pretendenti insisteva "*per vivere in concubinaggio*" ed anzi tutti si prendevano tanta cura "*di evitare l'ombra dello scandalo attorno a Penelope*".

F) È strano che "*questi ardenti appassionati amanti non litighino mai per il possesso del loro anziano modello di virtù. Non mostrano alcun segno di gelosia. (…) Sembra che neanche uno ritenga essenziale che lei debba sposare lui in particolare*".

Si può anche annettere che ai proci piacesse, oltre che Penelope, la vita comoda a spese di Telemaco, ma "*se gli uomini sono innamorati, non vivono alle spalle di alcuno; se vivono alle spalle di qualcuno non sono innamorati; possiamo pensarla in un modo o nell'altro, ma non in entrambi i modi*".

Per Butler l'autrice non è molto esperta della "*forza del sentimento che un uomo prova per la donna che ama*" né "*di quello che comunemente le donne sentono verso l'uomo da loro scelto*", cosicché ne conclude che "*lei era ancora molto giovane e nubile*" (data la giovanissima età in cui le donne contraevano matrimonio nel mondo antico, il poema sarebbe allora stato scritto da una preadolescente, poco più che una bambina, per quelli che sono i canoni attuali). Un uomo che avesse voluto rappresentare Penelope quale donna virtuosa, avrebbe raffigurato i proci non come amanti ma "*semplici predoni, i quali tenevano in soggezione Penelope con le loro minacce, ed erano tenuti a freno soltanto dalla sua ingegnosità di madre e, diciamolo pure, da tre o quattro alleati segreti tra gli stessi corteggiatori*".

Dopo aver esaminato la versione dell'autrice ("*Penelope è un'innocente offesa*"), Butler passa a quella dei proci, desumibile dal discorso di Antinoo in II,93-128, e sostanzialmente riassumibile nella frase che ella "*è un'astuta civetta senza cuore, che preferisce avere cento ammiratori piuttosto che un marito*". Ed allora, si chiede Butler, quale delle due si avvicinava di più "*alle versioni allora correnti, che l'autrice stava modificando e che raccontò poi nel modo che più le piaceva?*".

Che Penelope in qualche modo incoraggiasse o prolungasse il corteggiamento sarebbe provato dal fatto che ella mandava messaggi ad ogni pretendente, e lo stratagemma della tela sarebbe servito "*non tanto per ritardare l'odioso matrimonio, quanto per prolungare un piacevolissimo corteggiamento*". Lei non è mai ricorsa a qualcuno dei trucchi solitamente adoperati per stancare gli uomini, come farli posare a lungo come modelli per la tela, o fargli fare delle commissioni e poi sgridarli per come le avevano fatte, o non pagargliele: "*in una parola, fece mai una sola delle mille cose che una padrona così astuta non sarebbe stata imbarazzata ad escogitare, se seriamente avesse desiderato di non essere corteggiata? Con un tocco di senso comune l'intera costruzione si sgretola in polvere*".

Insomma, per Butler l'autrice ha voluto mostrare "*come una donna abile possa portare ai suoi piedi qualsiasi numero di uomini, ingannarli, rovinarli ed alla fine distruggerli*".

Una parte di questo capitolo riguarda anche Laerte, che non era affatto povero, come sostenuto da Anticlea nell'*XI libro*, ma molto facoltoso (lo dice Penelope nel *II libro*): "*una parte delle enormi ricchezze di Ulisse deve essergli venuta da Laerte, il quale, possiamo esserne sicuri, tenne più per sé stesso di quanto diede a suo figlio*". L'autrice l'avrebbe relegato in campagna "*non sapendo come spiegare il suo mancato intervento*". Una debolezza di scrittura che farebbe il paio con un errore cronologico: quando Ulisse incontra la madre nell'Ade, ella gli dice che Telemaco, essendo un magistrato, era sempre fuori a trattare con molta gente; quell'incontro però era avvenuto prima che Ulisse arrivasse da Calipso, presso la quale rimase sette anni, e quindi all'epoca Telemaco do-

veva avere circa 12 o 13 anni. Evidentemente "*l'autrice l'ha dimenticato*"; lo sbaglio, perdonabilissimo, sarebbe dovuto al fatto che "*quando fu scritto il libro XI l'autrice non aveva ancora l'intenzione di aggiungere i libri I-IV e non voleva aggiungere nemmeno i versi dal 187 del XIII libro al libro XXIV, ma si proponeva di ignorare le storie scandalose che correvano su Penelope, e dire il meno possibile di lei*".

Queste argomentazioni non possono certo dare ai lettori contemporanei la conferma che a scrivere il poema sia stata una donna, ma possono fargli capire meglio come Butler proiettasse sulla donna antica schemi di pensiero e modi di comportamento propri di quella a lui contemporanea.

Non per niente questo è uno dei capitoli del manoscritto la cui redazione è meno tormentata.

III.9: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO VI*

TITOLO: ULTIME CONSIDERAZIONI SUL CARATTERE DI PENELOPE – IL VIAGGIO DI TELEMACO A LACEDEMONE.
Titoletti di pagina: Minerva avvisa Telemaco – Inserimento del matrimonio di Ermione – Crollo dello splendore di Menelao – Perché Telemaco venne spedito a Pilo.

Anche questo capitolo, che consta di 8 pagine a stampa (134-141) e 12 carte manoscritte (II,16-27) si occupa del carattere di Penelope, questione centrale per stabilire se fu veramente una donna a scrivere l'*Odissea*; Butler pertanto cerca ulteriori prove "*per dimostrare come è impossibile per l'autrice nascondere il fatto che coloro i quali conoscevano meglio Penelope non ne avevano alcuna stima*".

Egli le trova nelle parole rivolte (I, 276) a Telemaco da Minerva, la quale "*con pronto intuito femminile*" avrebbe compreso le reali intenzioni di Penelope; dal canto suo, Telemaco "*sarebbe stato contento se sua madre se ne fosse andata*", in quanto "*egli era in grande pena, ma per la sua proprietà, non per sua madre*".

In fondo, la "*proprietà dilapidata*" era la sua, mentre Penelope poteva godere dei doni fatti a lei dai proci, che Butler considera alla stregua di un furto operato dalla donna: "*dopotutto Penelope aveva il diritto di pensare a sé stessa e fino a quando in buona fede stava per rimaritarsi poteva rubare quanto più poteva senza perdere la dignità ed il carattere. La scrittrice mette in bocca a Minerva questo punto di vista come ragionevole per una donna. Così è, forse, ma questo non è il punto di vista di un uomo!*".

A proposito del viaggio di Telemaco a Lacedemone, una parte del poema che negli articoli precedenti non era stata affrontata da Butler, sarebbe possibile notare come il doppio matrimonio di Megapente e di Ermione, figli di Menelao, sarebbe una interpolazione operata dalla stessa autrice in un secondo tempo; in questo modo Butler introduce l'idea, già accennata di straforo nei capitoli precedenti ma indicata chiaramente nel sottotitolo del libro, che il poema avesse un nucleo originario ridotto e fosse poi a poco a poco cresciuto con l'inserimento di nuovi plot narrativi.

La presenza di alcune discrepanze viene considerata "*uno sbaglio di pochissima importanza*"; a Butler interessa di più la "*singolarissima – perché non mi piace dire femminile – natura delle risoluzioni prese da Minerva*" per il viaggio di cui sopra, la cui ragione principale risiederebbe nel fatto che la "*poetessa desiderava ardentemente introdurre Elena di Troia nel suo poema, e non sapeva come farlo senza mandare Telemaco a Sparta*".

Il particolare rammentato da Butler della chiusura della camera da letto di Penelope, che egli ritrovò tale e quale nell'Albergo Centrale a Trapani, ci dice che questo è uno degli ultimi elementi del poema da lui approfondito (sappiamo infatti che egli soggiornò presso quell'albergo nel 1896). Barrabini, in una nota della sua traduzione, precisa che a Trapani nessuno più ricordava come fosse quel tipo di chiusura.

Al pari del capitolo precedente, anche in questo la redazione del manoscritto è molto scorrevole e presenta pochi ripensamenti, tutti di carattere stilistico e di brevissima estensione.

III.10: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO VII*

TITOLO: ALTRE PROVE CHE L'AUTRICE ERA UNA DONNA GIOVANE, AUTORITARIA, NUBILE.
Titoletti di pagina: Note occasionali.

Mentre scriveva l'attuale *VI capitolo* Butler, come ho detto, sentì il bisogno di inserire il riassunto della sua traduzione dell'*Odissea*, che costituisce l'attuale II capitolo. Questo lavoro gli avrà preso un po' di tempo, visto che

si tratta di un centinaio di pagine manoscritte, ma credo proprio che non lo abbia distolto dal proposito di provare la 'femminilità' del poema e di arrivare, tramite l'analisi del poema, a tratteggiare il carattere dell'autrice.

Ecco quindi che il *VII capitolo* (numerazione che nel manoscritto non appare corretta, e che quindi dobbiamo supporre usata da Butler sin dal primo momento in cui iniziò a scriverlo) riprende esattamente da dove erano incentrati quelli precedenti.

Escludendo per ovvie ragioni il riassunto del racconto dell'*Odissea*, questo capitolo, che consta di 16 pagine a stampa (142-157) e di 23 carte del manoscritto (II,28-50), è il secondo più lungo sia del volume (*ex aequo* col successivo) che del ms, ma è quello che contiene il maggior numero di carte interpolate (6 nel verso e 5 nel recto), segno che Butler ha avuto diversi ripensamenti (lo provano anche le numerose correzioni e le altrettanto numerose aggiunte successive, alcune delle quali al momento della stampa, pertanto non presenti nel manoscritto) mentre scriveva questa parte dell'opera, in cui sicuramente avrà messo a dura prova le sue capacità di introspezione dell'animo umano e femminile in particolare. Al momento della stampa, Butler ha deciso di spostare il contenuto dell'ultima carta all'inizio del capitolo successivo, senza però riportare questa indicazione sul manoscritto.

Ulisse – sostiene Butler – non aveva poi gran fretta di tornare da Penelope, mentre si trovava con Calipso, perché altrimenti avrebbe potuto facilmente costruirsi prima una zattera ed accumulare le provviste necessarie per la traversata; l'autrice lo sapeva benissimo, "*ma non poteva ammettere, ad ogni modo, una cosa così derogatoria dalla santità della vita coniugale o, comunque, al potere che una moglie ha sul marito*".

L'influenza di Penelope sul marito era dunque tenuissima ("*very slight*"), ma una donna più anziana non avrebbe avuto difficoltà a nasconderlo, diversamente da come è nell'*Odissea – ergo* l'autrice doveva essere "*giovane, autoritaria e nubile. Nessuna donna maritata avrebbe scritto l'Odissea. Avrebbe avuto troppo discernimento e troppo poco coraggio. Avrebbe guadagnato moltissimo ed insieme perduto troppo nel guadagno*" scrive Butler, correggendo nel manoscritto il periodo "~~*the idea has only to be presented to us to be instinctively rejected*~~ [*il solo pensiero di quest'idea ce la fa istintivamente rifiutare*]" (c. II, 29).

Segue poi l'esame di numerosi passi (in tutto essi sono 36) che proverebbero il punto di vista femminile nella scrittura del poema; ne sintetizzo qui il contenuto: 1) Cura per i diritti delle mogli; 2) elevato prezzo d'acquisto di Euriclea; 3) Interruzione di un passo ripreso dall'*Iliade* per inserire il compiacimento femminile per l'uccisione di una giovenca; 4) I genitori prima di tutto, nella mente dell'autrice; 5) Pentimento di Elena; 6) Imitazione della voce delle mogli dei guerrieri dentro il cavallo di legno; 7) Punzecchiature delle figlie ai loro padri; 8) stile fortemente femminile di IV,625-847; 9) Gelosia di Calipso; 10) Scene di vita giornaliera che denotano conoscenza di tutte le abitudini della casa; imbarazzante figura di Ulisse al primo incontro con Nausicaa; ribaltamento in Nausicaa dell'odio per gli uomini in affetto per Ulisse; 11) ribaltamento sugli anziani dei rimproveri da loro rivolti ai giovani; 12) I giochi del *libro VIII* sono modellati su quelli del *libro XXIII* dell'*Iliade*, ma non descritti nei particolari; pudore delle dee che non vengono a vedere Marte e Venere presi in trappola da Vulcano; le Grazie confortano Venere dopo la liberazione con un vestito nuovo; 13) Amore per la casa ed i genitori esaltato al massimo nel discorso con cui Ulisse rivela la sua identità ad Alcinoo; 14) I versi IX,120-121 non si addicono ad una descrizione maschile dei cacciatori di camosci; 15) l'immobilità di Polifemo durante il suo accecamento è una sparata degna del barone di Munchausen; 16) Paura (femminile) per il rumore provocato dal fascio di legna buttato con violenza da Polifemo; 17) Errori circa il comportamento do Polifemo come pastore; 18) La presentazione di Circe come indovina vuole mettere in rilievo che le donne conoscono tanto quanto gli uomini; i giovani, a differenza degli anziani, disprezzano la precisione; 19) Donne a custodia del bestiame del Sole; 20) Il paragone di Ulisse ad un magistrato affamato, fatto in una situazione spaventosa come il passaggio tra Scilla e Cariddi, fa pensare ad una metafora sorta alla figlia di un magistrato; 21) L'abito nuziale regalato da Elena a Telemaco; scortesie di Telemaco ed Ulisse; 22) La confusione Euriclea/Eurinome non ha nulla di uguale nell'*Iliade*; 23) La scena di Ulisse ed Argo è "*ben concepita ma male eseguita*" e rivelerebbe un difetto di pathos rispetto ad Omero; 24) la scelta di Eumeo di invitare, se gli fosse possibile, prima un sacerdote ed un medico (XVII, 384) sarebbe più consona ad una "*scrittrice del giorno d'oggi*" che ad uomo dell'età omerica; 25) La distrazione di Penelope mentre Euriclea lava la gamba di Ulisse e lo riconosce; 26) Falsità del dolore di Penelope nell'imminenza del matrimonio con uno dei proci; 27) Penelope si vanta di essere buona amministratrice dei beni di Telemaco proprio mentre i proci li depredano; 28) Paragone umoristico dell'eroe ad un ventre pieno di sangue e grasso arrostito sul fuoco; simpatia per la donna malaticcia impossibilitata a finire il suo lavoro; rimprovero di Telemaco alla madre, troppo attenta "*a curare la gente meno importante*"; 29) I proci non impugnano le scuri erette per la gara con l'arco e rimaste nel cortile; 30) Senso istintivo di economia, emergente anche nelle situazioni più drammatiche; 31) Implausibilità della scena della strage dei proci; 32) Ulteriori particolari di questa implausibilità; 33) Mancata morte di Eumeo; 34) Pulizia della casa al termine della strage; 35) Profondo sonno di Penelope durante la strage; le vicende immediata-

mente successive lasciano interdetti; pranzo di Ulisse con Dolio, i cui fogli egli aveva ucciso il giorno prima; 36) Penelope racconta le sue vicende prima che Ulisse racconti le proprie.

Ci sarebbe molto da commentare sulle presunte 'prove' rintracciate da Butler, ma per ragioni di spazio mi limito a due passi soltanto.

A proposito del punto 6), nella c. II,31 del ms c'è un passo, poi cancellato, che mi sembra molto curioso: "~~*I know a lady who is staid enough now, who dismayed her friends by calmly walking all round the top of the Napoleon Column at Boulogne, outside the iron rails. Young headstrong high spirited girls do these things, and make their heroines do them, but young men, men, & matrons, dare not either do them or describe them save under compulsion*~~ [~~*Conosco una signora che è abbastanza serena ora, che ha sgomentato le sue amiche camminando tranquillamente intorno alla cima della 38olonna di Napoleone a Boulogne, all'esterno del parapetto di ferro. Le giovani ragazze testarde piene di spirito fanno queste cose e le fanno fare alle loro eroine, ma i giovani uomini, uomini e matrone non le osano né le fanno né le descrivono se non sono costretti*~~]". La colonna (nota come *Colonne de la Grande Armée*) si trova tra Wimille e Boulogne sur Mer, la località francese dove Butler dal 1882 al 1901 si recava a trascorrere la fine dell'anno. L'episodio, che sembrerebbe non essere recente, non è citato da Jones e non mi pare sia riferito neppure nei *Notebooks* pubblicati (non so se possa trovarsi tra gli inediti). Sarebbe interessante scoprire chi fosse la giovane testarda poi divenuta abbastanza serena.

Alla conclusione del punto 22) Butler, esaminando le ragioni della minore cura con cui – secondo lui – sarebbero stati scritti gli ultimi libri del poema, tira fuori un colpo a sorpresa: "*Gli ultimi cento versi, o quasi, del libro XXIV mostrano che l'autrice aveva deciso di finire il suo lavoro senza curarsi molto di come finirlo. Ciò mi ha fatto pensare che il marito, che nel libro VI era ancora da trovare, prima che il libro XXIV fosse scritto, era già stato trovato, ma non ho nulla da addurre a sostegno di questa mia idea*".

III.11: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO VIII*

TITOLO: ITACA E SCHERIA SONO ENTRAMBE RITRATTE DA TRAPANI E DALLE SUE IMMEDIATE VICINANZE.
Titoletti di pagina: Scheria e Trapani – Grammerton e Shrewsbury – Quattro direttrici di prova – Lo scoglio del Malconsiglio – Il porto Rheithro e le grotte – La grotta del toro. – Capanna di Eumeo e 'ruccazzu dei corvi' – Il sonno di Ulisse.

Come ho già detto, escludendo il *II*, questo è, insieme al precedente il secondo capitolo più lungo a stampa (16 pagine, numerate 158-173) ed il più lungo nel ms (26 carte, che portano la numerazione II,51-76, con numerose correzioni, inserimenti posteriori, disegni e fotografie); in esso si passa al secondo tema del libro, quello della 'topografia dal vero'. Butler ha avuto numerosi ripensamenti durante la sua scrittura: ci sono alcuni fogli tagliati più o meno a metà e reinseriti successivamente e lo stesso inizio è frutto di uno spostamento dell'ultima pagina del capitolo precedente, operato da Butler dopo la consegna del manoscritto al tipografo. Tra il capitolo precedente e questo, nel ms è inserito un fogliettino (privo di numerazione) con la seguente indicazione per il tipografo: "*on page 1 of chapter VIII sent this afternoon bottom line of page after 'could ride' supple '(VI, 263)'* [*alla pagina 1 del capitolo VIII mandata questo pomeriggio nella riga inferiore dopo 'could ride' inserisci '(VI, 263)'*]". Ciò prova che il manoscritto veniva inviato al tipografo per capitoli, e che la consegna non era fatta materialmente da Butler.

In questo capitolo Butler descrive come arrivò alla localizzazione del sito 'originale' dell'*Odissea*, riproponendo sostanzialmente quanto aveva detto nei suoi primissimi articoli, compreso il fatto che, nell'esame delle carte geografiche del *British Museum*, egli è andato praticamente a colpo sicuro prendendo per prima quella del promontorio lilibetano; egli riporta poi quanto avvenuto durante le sue esplorazioni dei luoghi. A proposito delle cartine delle isole Egadi, di quelle Ionie e di Trapani e dintorni, presenti nelle sue pubblicazioni sin dalla prima, quella del 30 gennaio 1892, Butler ci dice che esse sono state incise appositamente per lui da Walker & Boutall[25] sulla base dei rilievi topografici del Governo italiano e delle carte nautiche dell'Ammiragliato inglese.

La chiave di volta che lo aveva convinto che le descrizioni topografiche erano pitture dal vero è stato il passo (XIII, 159-164) in cui Nettuno trasforma in pietra, proprio all'imboccatura del porto, la nave dei feaci che aveva

[25] La *Walker & Boutall* era una società tra gli incisori e tipografi Emery Walker (1851-1933) e Walter Boutall, con ufficio a Londra al 16 di Clifford's Inn, proprio dove risiedeva Butler, che abitava al 15, operante dal 1887. Al ritiro di Boutall, nel 1900, la società fu sciolta e le successe la *Walker & Cockerell*. Ulteriori notizie in M. Tidcombe: *Biographies of the Key Figures Involved in the Doves Press* < https://ilab.org/articles/biographies-key-figures-involved-doves-press >.

portato Ulisse ad Itaca. A quel punto egli stilò una lista di punti necessari per l'individuazione di Scheria e, sapendo che gli studiosi in genere sono restii a certi procedimenti, si divertì a stuzzicarli: "*Gli uomini di scienza, (…), nel loro timore di arrivare ad una conclusione affrettata, son capaci di dimenticare che si possa non arrivare ad una conclusione, e sembra che gli studiosi di Omero li abbiano imitati*" ["*Men of science, (…) are apt, in their fear of jumping to a conclusion, to forget that there is such a thing as jumping away from one, and Homeric ~~students~~ seem to have taken a leaf out of their book in this respect*"]. Per aggiungere pepe, aveva cancellato "*~~students~~*" e scritto "*scholars*".

Da notare che questo passo sembra aver messo in difficoltà i traduttori italiani, perché Barrabini elimina la metafora presente nella seconda parte del testo originale ed Aphel traduce la prima parte in modo opposto: "*Gli uomini di scienza, (…), nell'ansia di saltare subito ad una conclusione qualsiasi, son capaci di scordarsi che salti del genere possono anche portare lontani dalla conclusione vera e sembra che gli studiosi di Omero li abbiano imitati*".

Per porgere al lettore degli esempi di 'paura di salto alla conclusione', Butler crea due siparietti. Il primo riproduce una scenetta di critica letteraria, prendendo in esame un passo del romanzo "*The Beauclercs father and son*", di Charles Clarke (di cui aveva parlato anche nel libro dedicato a suo nonno) in cui si descrive la città immaginaria di Grammerton: "*vi è alcun uomo di intelligenza comune e che conosce Shrewsbury il quale dubiterà che Shrewsbury sia il luogo che il signor Clarke descriveva?*". Va detto che qui Butler giocava in casa, in quanto a Shrewsbury egli era cresciuto e la scuola di cui si parla nel romanzo era quella diretta da suo nonno. Peraltro, all'inizio pare pentirsi di avere scritto questo passo e lo cassa; poi ci ripensa e lo aggiunge in un foglio interpolato in seguito, posponendolo all'esempio seguente.

Il secondo siparietto, già usato da lui negli articoli di polemica contro il canonico Mondello, raffigura la scena del poliziotto alla ricerca di "*un anziano signore che ha sessant'anni, è straniero, parla un poco l'inglese, ma non molto, è zoppo de piede sinistro, ha occhi azzurri, naso a spegnitoio, ed è alto circa due metri. Quanti di questi tratti caratteristici sono necessari al poliziotto per sentirsi abbastanza sicuro di avere trovato il suo uomo?*". Inutile dire che i connotati forniti erano i suoi.

Ai critici che gli rimproverano che le corrispondenze da lui individuate possono rinvenirsi anche in altri luoghi, Butler risponde che non bastano le corrispondenze isolate, ma che ci vuole invece la concorrenza di tutti i punti individuati. In particolare, la sua ricostruzione si basa sulla "*armoniosa concorrenza di quattro argomenti, ciascuno richiedente l'adempimento di molte rigorosissime condizioni: (…) Che Scheria è localizzata a Trapani; (…) Che Itaca è pure localizzata a Trapani e nelle sue immediate vicinanze; (…) Che le isole Ionie, quali descritte nell'*Odissea*, non possono corrispondere alle reali isole Ionie né ad altre isole, eccetto quelle al largo di Trapani; (…) Che i viaggi di Ulisse praticamente si risolvono in un viaggio da Troia alle vicinanze della Sicilia, e poi in un periplo della Sicilia, cominciando da Trapani e finendo nello stesso posto*".

A questo punto Butler ripercorre la storia delle sue esplorazioni e localizzazioni: la nave pietrificata (scoglio del Malconsiglio), il porto dove Ulisse venne lasciato dai Feaci (già ai suoi tempi interrato, in corrispondenza delle Saline di S. Cusumano, di cui inserisce anche la fotografia da lui stesso scattata), le due grotte vicine a questo porto (la Grotta del Toro e quella poco più a nord di essa), la rupe del Corvo (il '*Ruccazzu di corvi*' in località *Runzi*, ai piedi di Erice), il colle di Hermes (colle di S. Anna).

Avendo così ricostruito il percorso di Ulisse dopo che i Feaci lo sbarcarono ad Itaca, in maniera così perfettamente corrispondente ai luoghi reali "*da avere l'impressione che l'*Odissea *sia stata scritta ieri*", Butler sostiene con forza che Itaca e Scheria siano entrambe ritratte da Trapani, con la precisazione che "*sebbene l'autrice, allorché ha da considerare Itaca* ab extra *come un'isola e nient'altro, se la immagini come l'alta ed imponente isola di Marettimo lontana circa ventidue miglia da Trapani, quando ella ha bisogno di dettagli, li prende dai suoi immediati dintorni sulla terraferma*".

L'ultima questione di carattere topografico riguarda il fatto se ai tempi dell'autrice Trapani (supposto modello delle descrizioni di Scheria e di Itaca) fosse un'isola o no: questo era stato il campo principale di scontro tra Butler e Mondello, su cui era intervenuto pure Sugameli. Forse stanco di tutto ciò, Butler aveva rimosso mentalmente questo punto, salvo ricordarsene quasi in conclusione di capitolo ed inserire una sintetica trattazione in una carta interpolata (II, 74v).

Tutte cose di cui aveva già scritto in numerosi articoli, ma le pagine del manoscritto presentano in questo capitolo e soprattutto in questo passo un numero di ripensamenti davvero elevato, quasi come se Butler non riuscisse a concentrarsi bene su questa parte dell'opera, di cui pure s'era occupato molto più della precedente durante gli anni anteriori alla redazione del volume. Tanto è vero che l'unica parte in cui non sono presenti cancellature è quella in

cui Butler descrive la scenetta occorsagli quando un pastore lo vede esplorare con gli amici la Grotta del Toro, convinto che stessero cercando un tesoro, e vuole la sua parte per mantenere il segreto. Il fatto è che per Butler adesso l'individuazione dei luoghi non è più, per così dire, la fotografia che conferma la rispondenza della topografia alla descrizione datane nel poema, ma diventa un elemento in più per gettare luce sull'autrice, collocandola in un ambiente reale, all'interno del quale ella si muove ed interagisce. La storia da sfondo diventa contesto, scenografia.

III.12: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO IX*

TITOLO: LE ISOLE IONIE E LE EGADI — I VIAGGI DI ULISSE MOSTRANO DI ESSERE PRATICAMENTE UNA NAVIGAZIONE INTORNO ALLA SICILIA, PARTENDO DA TRAPANI.
Titoletti di pagina: Le isole Ionie e le Egadi – Episodi principali dei viaggi di Ulisse – Fino a che punto abbiamo consenso – L'isola di Eolo – I Lestrigoni e Cefalù.

Il *IX capitolo* (14 pagine a stampa, numerate 174-187, cui corrispondono 19 carte del ms, numerate II,77-95) continua l'esame topografico, con particolare riguardo alle isole Egadi, che sarebbero più corrispondenti alla descrizione fornita nel poema che non le vere isole Ionie.

Butler mette a confronto la descrizione delle Isole Echinadi e delle Ionie nell'*Iliade* e nell'*Odissea*. Nel c.d. 'Catalogo delle navi' del II libro dell'*Iliade* Dulichio appartiene alle Echinadi (II,625-626), mentre il regno di Ulisse comprende Itaca, Nerito, Crocilea, Egilipa [che sia Barrabini che Aphel chiamano '*Egilico*'], Zacinto, Samo e la terraferma di fronte alle isole (II,631-635); nell'*Odissea* Ulisse cita Itaca, Dulichio, Same e Zacinto e dà un'indicazione che costituisce il fondamento dell'interpretazione butleriana della topografia dell'*Odissea*: Itaca "*sta sull'orizzonte la più alta sul mare verso ovest mentre le altre isole rimangono lontane da essa verso est*" (IX,25-26).

Nell'*Odissea* Dulichio pare essere "*la più importante agli occhi della scrittrice, essendo più frequentemente citata a solo*" e da essa proviene un numero di pretendenti più che doppio di quelli di ciascuna altra isola. Butler allora inserisce una carta geografica delle Isole Ionie, che "*mostrerà che non vi è nessuna isola nelle vicinanze di Itaca per la quale si possa sostenere con proprietà poetica che abbia mandato tanti corteggiatori quanto le altre tre isole messe insieme. Questo si può aspettare da Dulichio meno che da tutte le altre*".

Il ricorso alle carte geografiche ed il loro inserimento nel testo – prescindendo dal giudizio di merito su questo caso specifico – è indubbiamente un merito di Butler, che tra l'altro così prosegue nell'opera di 'riabilitazione' ai propri occhi del nonno Samuel, autore di varie opere di geografia antica "*applicata ai classici*", tra le quali anche un *Atlante* (tutte opere di grande successo e con numerose riedizioni). Lo sguardo alla cartina delle Isole Ionie rende evidente che "*Itaca non può essere costretta a diventare la più alta nel mare verso ovest. È completamente coperta da Samo. Né le altre isole restano lontano da essa verso est*". Da ciò si evince che la scrittrice non aveva in mente le reali isole Ionie e che neppure i lettori le conoscevano, perché abitavano lontano dalla Grecia, ma comunque in un luogo che presentava un gruppo di quattro isole davanti ad una costa occidentale.

Per dare ulteriore vigore alla sua identificazione, Butler inserisce un cartoncino con uno schizzo delle isole Egadi viste da Erice, che rende visivamente l'idea dell'isola di Itaca (nella realtà, Marettimo) alta sull'orizzonte. Butler avrebbe potuto inserire una fotografia, ma secondo me non l'ha fatto non solo perché non sempre le condizioni atmosferiche sono favorevoli e consentono una chiara visione delle isole o perché l'inquadratura potrebbe trovarsi controsole in certi momenti della giornata, ma soprattutto perché le ridotte dimensioni delle fotografie da lui allegate al libro non avrebbero reso bene la maestosità e la bellezza del colpo d'occhio, la cui poeticità viene invece esaltata dallo schizzo, fatto da Butler nel 1896. "*Se quello che io ho detto sopra non è sufficiente a convincere i lettore che la scrittrice dell'*Odissea *descriveva le isole Ionie ispirandosi alle Egadi, nessuna cosa che io possa aggiungere ha probabilità di convincerlo*". Questa frase è stata aggiunta da Butler in un secondo tempo, inserendola con grafia minuta, non solo per ragioni di spazio (in fondo alla carta II,64 ce n'è a sufficienza), ma probabilmente perché gli costava ammettere di non riuscire a convincere molta gente della bontà della sua teoria, come ebbe poi a scrivere in una emotivamente intensa lettera al suo giovane e caro amico ericino Giuseppe Pagoto.

Esaurito questo punto, Butler passa a dimostrare come i viaggi di Ulisse nella mente della scrittrice non sarebbero altro che un periplo della Sicilia, che parte da Trapani, segue dapprima la costa settentrionale, poi quella orientale, quindi devia fino a Pantelleria ed infine torna a Trapani. Anche in questo caso Butler inserisce una cartina che si era fatto incidere da Walker & Boutall (nel ms non è presente, ma Butler l'aveva già usata in un suo saggio nel 1893, *L'Origine Siciliana dell'Odissea*), che raffigura, con l'omissione di quattro tratti A/R che l'avrebbero resa troppo pasticciata, l'itinerario di Ulisse da Troia, sintetizzabile in 11 tappe. Sulla loro localizzazione se-

condo Butler "*non c'è differenza d'opinione fra gli studiosi*" solo per quanto riguarda i Ciconi (in Tracia, non troppo lontano da Troia), l'isola di Citera (a sud del Peloponneso), i Lotofagi (l'isola di Djerba, nella Tunisia meridionale), Scilla e Cariddi (stretto di Messina); il consenso diventa "*considerable*" per l'isola delle capre e "*very considerable*" per Polifemo (rispettivamente Favignana e monte Erice, nelle cui descrizioni "*il colore locale è più forte che in qualsiasi altro luogo dei viaggi di Ulisse*", tanto che Butler aggiunge l'osservazione, poi cancellata, "~~*being much stronger in the poem than I have been able to give it in my abridgement*~~" ['*più forte di quanto io sia riuscito a renderlo nel mio riassunto*'], c. II,86).

Se il consenso è "*parziale*" per Circe, le Sirene e le Rupi Vaganti (isole Lipari), e non universale ma comunque "*molto diffuso*" per il bestiame del Sole (in qualche parte nei dintorni di Taormina), viene a mancare perfino quello parziale per l'Isola di Eolo ed il paese dei Lestrigoni ("*situati in tanti posti quanti sono stati gli studiosi che hanno scritto sull'*Odissea"). Per quanto "*generale*", Butler rigetta l'identificazione dell'Isola di Calipso con Malta.

Butler procede quindi alle identificazioni secondo lui incerte o errate: l'isola di Eolo sarebbe Ustica, la città dei Lestrigoni è Cefalù, Ogigia è Pantelleria. Nel manoscritto l'afferma con certezza ("~~*I do not hesitate*~~", c. II,95), ma nel libro si mostra più prudente, perché vuole riservarsi le forze per l'identificazione di Trapani quale Scheria, per la quale sa benissimo di non aver consenso alcuno.

III.13: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO X*

TITOLO: ULTERIORI DETTAGLI SUL VIAGGIO DI ULISSE, A CONFERMA DELLA MIA OPINIONE CHE ESSO CONSOSTETTE PRINCIPALMENTE DI UNA NAVIGAZIONE ATTORNO ALLA SICILIA, COMINCIANDO E TERMINANDO CON MONTE ERICE E TRAPANI.
Titoletti di pagina: I Ciclopi e monte Erice – Ciclope significa faccia tonda – Due tipi di megalitico – Eolo, Circe, le Sirene – L'ammiraglio Smyth – I due punti oscuri dell'Odissea.

Anche il *X capitolo* (12 pagine a stampa, numerate 188-199, 14 carte manoscritte, numerate II,96-109) continua a sviluppare l'idea del periplo della Sicilia e a mostrare nel dettaglio alcune localizzazioni.

La prima carta di questo capitolo è stata sicuramente riscritta, perché le successive quattro (cc. II,97-100) avevano la numerazione B con l'indicazione '*capitolo IX*', poi corretto in '*capitolo X*'. Butler ha dunque smontato il capitolo precedente, probabilmente perché ha ritenuto più opportuno riservare l'esame dettagliato di alcuni luoghi ad un capitolo apposito, inserendo nel *capitolo IX* le attuali carte II,87-95, spostando le cc. II,96-100 all'inizio di questo capitolo e riscrivendo l'attuale c. 96 in modo che portasse l'indicazione '*Capitolo X*' ed il relativo titolo, che fa appunto riferimento alla dimensione del 'dettaglio'. Anche per quanto riguarda la conclusione di questo capitolo, dalla carta II,109 possiamo ricavare che in un primo tempo Butler voleva fare iniziare da lì il capitolo successivo, dato che egli aveva apposto in alto, secondo la 'numerazione B', l'indicazione '*XI*' ed aveva lasciato fra questa e la prima riga di testo una porzione di spazio in cui poi scrivere il titolo. In fase di rilettura probabilmente ha ritenuto che il tono fosse più da conclusione che da inizio di un capitolo, ed ha quindi cancellato il numero romano, apponendo la numerazione "~~*XI*~~ *X* ~~*13*~~" e facendo diventare così quella carta l'ultima del *capitolo X*.

"*La dimora dei Ciclopi sul monte Erice è il primo punto importante che devo stabilire, perché se questo viene accettato e vengono accettate le localizzazioni di Scilla, Cariddi e Scheria, tutti gli altri posti si localizzano automaticamente là dove ho indicato, ed io non temo alcuna discussione al riguardo*".

A questo punto Butler si addentra in spiegazioni che finiscono per sovrapporre il livello della verosimiglianza a quello della narrazione: per arrivare a Favignana (l'isola dove l'itacense cacciò le capre e lasciò le altre navi, prima di andare con una sola di esse nel luogo ove fece la non piacevole conoscenza di Polifemo) Ulisse sarebbe dovuto passare a poca distanza da Trapani/Scheria, l'avrebbe vista e quindi sarebbe andato subito nel luogo che invece l'autrice aveva progettato come ultima tappa dei viaggi dell'eroe (prima di Itaca, naturalmente).

La nebbia consente quindi il passaggio da Favignana, situata a sud di Trapani, alla grotta di Polifemo, situata a Nord (da bravo colonnello dell'artiglieria prima ancora che da traduttore, Vincenzo Barrabini corregge puntigliosamente questa ed altre indicazioni con il più esatto "*Nord Est*") senza vedere Scheria: soluzione corretta nel mondo reale, anche se una narrazione può pur sempre prescindere dalla topografia reale…

Ai Ciclopi Butler riserva un certo spazio: costoro ed i Giganti sarebbero la stessa cosa e sarebbero gli artefici delle mura megalitiche di Erice. Va notato che secondo Butler sulla sommità di Erice esistevano due città: una che guarda ad ovest, ove appunto si trovano le mura megalitiche, e l'altra ad est. Egli identifica quest'ultima con Iperea, la città abitata dai Feaci prima che si trasferissero a Scheria; le sue mura sarebbero state costruite con tecnica

assolutamente diversa, come egli stesso aveva potuto constatare dai ruderi mostratigli dal conte Pepoli, all'interno della cui proprietà, proprio sopra il '*Ruccazzu dei Corvi*', essi si trovano.

Iperea (che significa 'città alta') e quasi tutti i nomi delle località siciliane sarebbero fittizi, secondo Butler, ed usati come tenue mascheramento – facilmente comprensibile dai lettori – per ritrarre gente irreale in luoghi reali.

I Ciclopi (il cui nome significherebbe 'faccia di luna') sarebbero quindi "*i superstiti dei vecchi soggiogati abitanti sicani di monte Erice*", i veri costruttori delle mura megalitiche; Polifemo (che significa 'famosissimo'), il quale al pari di tutti gli altri membri della sua stirpe di occhi ne aveva due, sarebbe lo pseudonimo dato al gigante del luogo, ancora esistente nella cultura popolare locale con il nome di Conturrano.

Sempre attento a trovare le tracce antiche nel mondo contemporaneo, Butler invita il lettore a notare "*come strettamente la descrizione dei Ciclopi nell'*Odissea *corrisponda con quella dei moderni briganti siciliani*" e cita un passo dell'articolo comparso nel *Times* del 24 settembre 1892, in cui viene descritta la zona di S. Mauro (oggi S. Mauro Castelverde, nell'ex provincia di Palermo), quartiere generale di quella che era nota come '*Banda Maurina*', l'ultima grande banda di briganti operanti in Sicilia alla fine dell'ottocento. L'articolo era la sintesi di un rapporto di William Stigand, che fu console inglese a Palermo dal settembre 1886 al luglio 1892[26].

Forse per rispondere a quanto scritto dal diplomatico, Butler ricorda la visita che il 17 agosto 1892 fece agli abitanti delle grotte di Scurati, a circa 15 km a Nord ('*Nord Est*', corregge nuovamente Barrabini) di Trapani: "*Non vi era nulla di ciclopico in tali abitanti. Le loro grotte erano pulitissime e comode come i* cottages *inglesi della migliore classe sociale. Le persone erano gentilissime ed ospitali, più bionde che brune, e potevano benissimo essere ritenute inglesi*". Butler passa poi ad analizzare la frequenza comparativa nei due grandi poemi epici dell'uso dei termini indicanti 'grotte' (un rapporto di 10 ad 1 per l'*Odissea*), ma ancora grato per l'accoglienza ricevuta scrive una lunga appendice a margine della c. II,102v (essa stessa un'interpolazione posteriore) rievocando il menu di quella giornata e dicendosi sicuro che quelle persone non fossero affatto coinvolte in un atroce caso di sequestro di persona avvenuto giusto 15 giorni dopo la sua visita (un commerciante palermitano fu tenuto prigioniero per un intero mese sulla montagna finché non venne pagato il riscatto, esattamente il tipico crimine denunciato da Stigand).

Altre localizzazioni avanzate da Butler riguardano l'isola di Eolo (Ustica, dove l'autrice avrebbe trasferito le tracce di muro da lui stesso viste nell'isola di Marettimo), quella di Circe (Panarea, ma è così "*speculativa*" che ne parla con timore e tremore), quella delle Sirene (Salina, identificazione da lui avanzata con '*confidence*'), le Rupi Vaganti (non luoghi particolari, ma le isole Lipari nel loro complesso, la navigazione fra le quali è piuttosto difficoltosa, anche per via dei vulcani che vi si trovano).

Butler conclude il capitolo affermando di avere dimostrato che le descrizioni di Itaca e Scheria sono modellate "*con singolare fedeltà*" su Trapani e dintorni, che le isole Ionia sono in realtà le Egadi e che il viaggio di Ulisse è un periplo della Sicilia da Trapani a Trapani. Toltosi quello che ormai per lui era diventato quasi un fastidio, Butler può tornare al punto centrale del suo interesse, l'autrice.

III.14: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XI*

TITOLO: CHI ERA LA SCRITTRICE?
Titoletti di pagina: Cosa dobbiamo trovare – Non ama l'invenzione – Ottave consecutive – Nausicaa viveva appartata – Gli studiosi e l'*Odissea*.

Dopo la digressione topografica Butler può finalmente tornare a quello che era per lui diventato l'argomento più importante, fornire il ritratto artistico dell'autrice. A lei è infatti dedicato l'*XI capitolo* (14 pagine a stampa, numerate 200-209 e 10 carte manoscritte, numerate II,110-123), in cui Butler affronta il quesito contenuto nel titolo con una singolare proclamazione di modestia: "*su questo punto, che è il più interessante di tutti, non posso che avanzare delle ipotesi*".

Da quanto emerso dalle sue indagini, bisogna cercare una giovane e volitiva donna trapanese della migliore società del suo tempo e del suo paese, ricca di tempo libero ed interessata alle donne belle e famose. Tra le argomentazioni usate da Butler per individuarla, spicca quella che riguarda la descrizione della casa, del giardino e della famiglia di Alcinoo, che nel testo greco inizia al passato per poi 'scivolare involontariamente' nel presente, cosa che non ricorre mai altrove, quando arriva alle donne di casa ed al giardino: "*l'evidente piacere che la scrit-*

[26] *The Times*, sabato 24 settembre 1892, p. 7. In effetti, l'articolo dà un quadro davvero preoccupante e non del tutto ingiustificato dell'ordine pubblico in Sicilia. È vero che esso è stato pubblicato dopo che Butler era già tornato dall'isola, ma va riconosciuto che egli non si fece intimorire dalle preoccupazioni correnti in Inghilterra.

trice prova è più simile a quello di una persona che descriveva la propria casa anziché a quello di chi descrive la casa altrui o di chi crea una scena immaginaria". È una argomentazione di carattere stilistico, scritta in un secondo tempo (tutto questo periodo è frutto di cancellature e riscritture in più fasi), da scrittore prima ancora che da (apprendista) filologo.

Del resto, alla scrittrice non piace inventare, perché "*quando si allontana dalla base d'operazione dei suoi dintorni, allora fallisce*". Confinare Ulisse prima per un anno da Circe e poi per sette da Calipso è "*un espediente di poco valore e non dignitoso*"; i viaggi di avventure sono in realtà ridotti '*al minimo*'; alcuni episodi ricorrono più volte (una soluzione che Butler, con espressione musicale, definisce "*ottave consecutive*", ed in musica è deprecata): insomma, alla scrittrice "*l'invenzione non riesce facile, e ad essa ha fatto ricorso più di quanto potesse fare*".

I personaggi principali sono tutti di Scheria e duplicati: "*Nestore, Ulisse, Menelao ed Alcinoo sono tutti la stessa persona che rappresenta diverse parti*", così pure Penelope, Elena ed Arete, nonché Nausicaa, Idotea ed Ino; "*Nausicaa un po' più vecchia sono Circe e Calipso*", anche se queste sono "*meno piene di quell'odio per l'uomo che Nausicaa con difficoltà tenta di nascondere*".

Insomma, le scene più spontanee non sono frutto di invenzione, ma descrizione dell'ambiente dove la scrittrice viveva; ella quindi doveva essere o Nausicaa, o una sua domestica o al massimo una sua intima amica, ipotesi quest'ultima scartata subito, perché una tale amica non si sarebbe tenuta fuori dal poema; analogamente, una dipendente dal carattere forte come quello dell'autrice, si sarebbe ribellata alla propria padrona. Non resta che una ipotesi: Nausicaa, la giovane che viveva appartata e non voleva avere nulla a che fare con gli uomini.

Da bravo scrittore, Butler osserva anche che "*la stranezza di modi con cui Nausicaa dice addio ad Ulisse è una delle molte cose che mi convincono che l'Odissea non fu mai ritoccata da altri. Una persona che avesse ripassato il lavoro sicuramente avrebbe trasferito l'addio al libro XIII*". Da bravo pittore, egli invita il lettore a guardare attentamente il ritratto femminile da lui inserito in frontespizio e poi a dirgli "*se trova la più piccola difficoltà ad ammettere che l'originale del ritratto sia stata capace di scrivere l'*Odissea*. Rifiuterà forse di crederlo perché tutto ciò che sappiamo di certo che noi sappiamo di lei è che una volta andò a lavare il bucato con le sue serve?*". Butler pensa che un argomento del genere avrà "*poco peso fuori della cerchia dei nostri omeristi, sebbene io detesti collegare anche lontanamente questa parola all'*Odissea".

Butler era uno scrittore (per quanto possa sembrare paradossale) fondamentalmente legato alla realtà, e la sua poetica traspare continuamente: "*Nessun artista può raggiungere un ideale più alto del suo migliore, reale ambiente*". E che Butler pensasse al suo proprio e reale ambiente ce lo rivela anche un passo quasi immediatamente seguente: "*io penso che è altamente probabile che la scrittrice dell'Odissea fosse bassa e brutta e ridesse di sé stessa, e volendo anche far ridere il suo uditorio si descrivesse alta e bella*". Per usare le stesse parole, io penso che sia altamente probabile che Butler pensasse alla sua amica Mary Ann Savage, che corrispondeva appunto in tutto a quanto detto sopra. È proprio il suo forte legame con la realtà che gli fa vedere 'conferme' alla sua teoria anche in episodi marginali: una volta, mentre passeggiava a Trapani con Ignazio Giacalone (il figlio del direttore del *Lambruschini*), udì due ragazzini di circa dieci anni, con le braccia al collo l'uno dell'altro, cantare una canzoncina molto in voga tra il popolino di Trapani, che raccontava la storia di una ragazza che non vuole essere vista in giro con un uomo: "*la gente di qui è bisbetica e se ci vedranno insieme si metteranno a parlare, ecc.*". Butler non vuole dire che c'era "*una discendenza diretta dal discorso di Nausicaa ad Ulisse, ma pare quasi che il discorso sia ancora nell'aria*"[27].

Parallelamente all'opera di vivificazione della sua autrice, degna di un novello Pigmalione, Butler conduceva quella di ridimensionamento dell'eroe eponimo del poema, riducendolo ad una figura quasi scolorita, incapace di fare alcunché senza l'aiuto di una donna. Non gli calano per nulla, soprattutto, le profonde dormite cui Ulisse andò soggetto nel momento topico dei due ritorni ad Itaca (quello del *X libro*, quando – lui dormiente – i suoi marinai aprirono l'otre dei venti e vennero riportati indietro, e quello del *XIII libro*, quando sono i Feaci a riportarlo in patria). Nel ms Butler si lascia andare ad una battuta alquanto insolita per lui, per poi cancellarla subito: "~~*I am glad that men of the Ulysses stamp are rare in the British army & navy. Long may they remain so*~~ [~~*Sono lieto che uomini dello stampo di Ulisse siano rari nell'esercito e nella marina britanniche. Possano restarlo a lungo*~~]" (c. II,115). Francamente non saprei come interpretarla: una manifestazione di maschilismo, proprio nel momento in cui egli è impegnato in un'opera di valorizzazione della figura femminile, sia pure a modo suo? Oppure una manifestazione di nazionalismo? Oppure ancora una satira del bellicismo nazionalista e maschilista?

In chiusura del capitolo torna a far capolino la polemica antiaccademica: nessuno studioso inglese, tra quelli interpellati da Butler in sei anni, 'aveva nulla da aggiungere a ciò con cui *egli aveva* familiarità', visto che

[27] S. Butler: *The Note-Books*, London, Fifield, 1912, p. 194.

"*l'*Odissea *è troppo facile, semplice e lineare per l'intelligenza degli studiosi*", che non la conoscono poi neppure bene, dato che nessuno di quei pochi che l'hanno letta per intero (e del fatto che fossero in pochi ad averlo fatto Butler aveva avuto un'ulteriore prova leggendo la già citata lettera del suo maestro Kennedy, che chiedeva – quand'era ancora studente – al Dr. Butler 'quanto Omero dovesse studiare') aveva saputo dirgli se Ulisse avesse una sorella e come si chiamasse. "*Non uno di coloro che ho avuto la fortuna di incontrare in Inghilterra – ne ho incontrati invece in Sicilia – conosceva profondamente il poema, e nessuno pure era libero da una sola idea preconcetta sull'Odissea. Niente più di questo è utile a sapersi*".

Biaggini, Giacalone, Ingroja, Pagoto e Sugameli (sono loro i Siciliani cui Butler alludeva) avevano di che essere contenti: Butler non era poi molto proclive ai complimenti…

III.15: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XII*

TITOLO: DATA DEL POEMA E CONFRONTO TRA LA PARTE NORD OCCIDENTALE DELLA SICILIA DESUNTA DALL'*ODISSEA* E LE NOTIZIE DELLO STESSO TERRITORIO NEI PIU' REMOTI TEMPO CONOSCIUTI DATECI DA TUCIDIDE.
Titoletti di pagina: I giri del sole – Siracusa pre-corinzia – L'*Odissea* pre-siceliota – Datazione delle mura Iliadiche- datazione dell'*Odissea* – L'*Odissea* e Tucidide – Focei e Focesi.

L'avere individuato Trapani come luogo d'origine dell'*Odissea* getta, secondo Butler, una luce "*inaspettata*" circa la sua datazione, da porre tra il 1150 ed il 1050 a.C.; oltre a ciò, il *XII capitolo* (15 pagine a stampa, numerate 210-224, e 19 carte manoscritte, numerate II,124-142) si occupa anche dell'esame delle condizioni della Sicilia Occidentale nell'epoca in cui il poema sarebbe stato scritto. Si tratta di materia già ampiamente trattata da Butler negli articoli degli anni precedenti, ed infatti le prime pagine non contengono quasi nessuna cancellatura.

Egli ritiene che l'*Odissea* sia anteriore al 734 a.C. perché il luogo di origine di Eumeo sarebbe Siracusa, naturalmente non la colonia corinzia (fondata appunto in quell'anno), bensì una città anteriore, la cui esistenza sarebbe attestata dai ritrovamenti datati al secolo XII-XI dall'archeologo Paolo Orsi, direttore del Museo Nazionale di Siracusa, che Butler aveva visitato proprio in compagnia e con la guida dell'archeologo roveretano, il quale gli aveva fatto da cicerone e gli aveva ampiamente spiegato per quali ragioni doveva esistere già in epoca micenea un rilevante commercio tra la Sicilia orientale ed il Peloponneso.

Come aveva già fatto per Erice, anche per Siracusa Butler ipotizza l'esistenza di due diverse città, una sita sul promontorio del Plemmirio e l'altra a Cozzo Pantano, dove Orsi aveva scoperto un'area abitata databile al XII-XI sec. a.C. Se vi abitassero Greci (poi scacciati dai Siculi) o Siculi di una migrazione anteriore, egli lascia stabilirlo ad Orsi, ma la stessa denominazione di Mare Ionio fa pensare alla "*esistenza in tempi antichi di estese colonie ionie sulle rive orientali della Sicilia*".

Sempre attento alla cultura popolare quale sopravvivenza di quanto era tipico delle epoche più antiche, Butler aggiunge come indizio di remota origine ionica di quelle colonie il toponimo Aci che si riscontra in numerosi paesi della provincia di Catania, e che nel dialetto di quella zona si pronuncia "*Jaci*", proprio come l'aggettivo greco "*Iakòs*", che vuol dire "*Ionio*".

Sentendosi dunque difficilmente attaccabile sotto il profilo archeologico, data la 'malleveria' di Orsi, Butler si azzarda a sostenere anche che Eumeo, che lui peraltro ritiene greco di nascita, avrebbe parlato greco anche se fosse stato siculo, perché secondo lui i Siculi parlavano probabilmente greco (a quell'epoca non si conoscevano iscrizioni sicule di una certa estensione).

Dato che i Siculi invasero quella che fino ad allora si chiamava Sicania circa 300 anni prima della fondazione di Siracusa e che l'*Odissea* sembra non parlarne affatto, si deve desumere che il poema sia stato composto in un'epoca di pace, tanto più che l'unica volta in cui si parla esplicitamente dell'isola, essa viene chiamata Sicania (pur essendo metricamente possibile sostituire 'Sicania' con 'Sicilia'). Dei Siculi si parla in due occasioni: a proposito di una "*vecchia Sicula*" serva di Laerte e della provocatoria proposta dei proci di armare una nave per andare a vendere ai Siculi Teoclimeno ed il mendicante (che in realtà era Ulisse) come schiavi. Dato che Itaca era in realtà Trapani, Butler deduce che i Siculi si trovassero per l'autrice "*fuori dei limiti della propria isola*".

Ammesso ciò, il 'terminus post quem' per l'*Odissea* è il 1050 a.C. o addirittura una data "*di poco più vicina*", mentre quello per l'*Iliade* è il 1150 a.C. Di conseguenza, anche la tradizionale data del 1184 a.C., fissata per la caduta di Troia in maniera sostanzialmente inattendibile, va spostata più indietro, visto che l'autore dell'*Iliade*, che tratta di fatti di un'epoca di una remotezza assimilabile a quella del Medio Evo per noi, "*non mostra alcun*

segno di conoscere nulla di più del semplice fatto che era caduta". Sempre che, come Butler "*osa appena scrivere*", Omero non sapesse benissimo che in realtà Troia non era mai caduta, o che quantomeno non era caduta alla fine della guerra di Troia. Anche ammesso che Troia fosse effettivamente caduta, bisognerebbe postulare – dice Butler – un intervallo di almeno duecento-trecento anni prima della stesura *dell'Iliade*. La guerra sarebbe pertanto stata combattuta intorno al 1400 a.C. e le mura costruite 50 o anche 100 anni prima.

A questo proposito Butler, che cita l'*Introduzione* di Doerpfeld (l'archeologo che aveva scavato le mura di Troia nel 1893) al volume di Tsountas e Manatt "*The Mycenaean Age*"[28], secondo cui le mura erano databili fra il 1500 ed il 1000 a.C., poiché aveva visitato personalmente Troia, Tiro e Micene nel 1895, nonché molte cittadine italiane con mura pelasgiche negli anni precedenti, avanza la datazione del 1400 a.C. per le mura e del decennio 1360-1350 per la guerra, confermando il 1150 per l'*Iliade* ed il 1050 per l'*Odissea*.

Questa parte del capitolo è scritta sulle carte II,131-132, tra le pochissime che in tutto il manoscritto presentano una maschera di testo grande quasi quanto la pagina; si tratta di interpolazioni che potrebbero quindi risalire tutte alla medesima fase di redazione. La datazione così stabilita consente di spiegare l'assenza di riferimenti ad Utica, sede dei Fenici d'Africa; all'autrice non piacevano i Fenici, che conosceva e detestava, ma non temeva, come avrebbe invece fatto se si fossero già stabiliti nell'odierna Tunisia.

Se l'autrice si è dunque raffigurata come figlia del re dei Feaci, si può tentare di ricostruire la sua ascendenza partendo dall'indicazione che i Sicani, raffigurati nel poema come Ciclopi, "*originariamente erano in possesso del monte Erice, sotto un re che nell'*Odissea *è chiamato Eurimedonte*", sconfitto da innominati nemici circa 100 anni prima della stesura del poema: "*questa data si può stabilire approssimativamente, sapendo che egli era il bisnonno di Nausicaa*".

L'autrice (correzione al momento della stampa: nel ms compare "*Nausicaa*") ha scritto in un dialetto fondamentalmente ionico, con considerevoli apporti eolici; se ne inferisce che la sua famiglia ed il pubblico, cioè i Feaci, "*parlassero un dialetto nel quale dovevano trovarsi queste caratteristiche. Il luogo (…) dove un tale dialetto potrebbe cercarsi è Focea, un poco a sud della Troade; perché Focea era una città ionica circondata interamente da territorio eolio*". Il nome Feaci è chiaramente un'allusione ai Focei: Butler aveva scritto "*the name Phaeacians ~~is exactly the kind of travesty~~*", poi ha preferito la litote "*is not unsuggestive of a ~~travesty~~ thin disguise*". L'autrice ha voluto creare una sorta di gioco di parole con le foche per alludere ai suoi compaesani, a lei antipatici perché "*si lamentavano che lei non voleva sposare nessuno di loro (VI 276)*".

Dato che i Feaci, cioè i Focei, dominavano su Trapani ed Erice, devono essere stati loro a sconfiggere Eurimedonte ed i Sicani; se avevano alleati, questi saranno andati dove esistevano le città degli Elimi. Un capo Feace avrebbe sposato Peribea, figlia di Eurimedonte, e ne sarebbe nato Nausitoo, che trasferì la sua gente da Erice al mare, fondando Trapani.

Per corroborare la sua tesi, Butler risolve un passo dello storico Tucidide che ha sempre diviso gli studiosi (e continua a dividerli ancor oggi). Egli infatti interpreta le parole '*Φωκέων τινές τῶν ἀπό Τροίας*' nel senso di "*alcuni Focei del ramo di Troia*" (e quindi non '*alcuni Focesi di ritorno da Troia*') in virtù di una considerazione d'ordine linguistico: "*Se ἀπό significasse provenienza, dovrebbe avere davanti un verbo o un participio che indichi movimento; senza questo è il modo comune di esprimere residenza in luogo*". Su questo passo Butler insiste particolarmente, con numerose cancellature ed aggiunte che probabilmente avranno procurato un gran mal di testa al malcapitato tipografo che le ha dovute interpretare.

Al di là della tendenza oggi prevalente di vedere in quel passo un riferimento agli abitanti della Focide, nella Grecia continentale, non si può comunque non fare tanto di cappello agli studi di greco di Butler presso la Shrewsbury School ed il St. John's College, se dopo 35 anni in cui si è dedicato a tutt'altro egli era ancora capace di fare simili considerazioni. Quanto agli Elimi, scrive Butler in un passo non presente nel ms ed evidentemente aggiunto in fase di stampa, essi non sarebbero altro che la riunione del popolo foceo con quello sicano e non un altro e distinto gruppo di immigranti.

Aggiunta posteriore è pure il passo in cui Butler suggerisce che proprio alla connessione Focesi-Focei si deve la residenza (*Od*. IX, 410-432) del nonno materno di Ulisse sul monte Parnaso, in Focide: l'autrice voleva far risalire la stirpe di Ulisse (da lei considerato "*un naturalizzato feace perché ai suoi occhi Scheria era diventata la città natale di lui tanto quanto Itaca*") alla sede degli antenati dei Focei.

La testimonianza di Tucidide ad avviso di Butler confermerebbe quindi il quadro storico tracciato dall'autrice. Per sentirsi in pace con gli accademici, egli inserisce poi due passi, uno all'inizio del capitolo, quando tratta il te-

[28] London, MacMillan and Co., 1897 [e non 1877, come appare erroneamente in entrambe le traduzioni italiane del libro di Butler]

ma della datazione del poema, e l'altro all'inizio della trattazione sui Focei, nei quali cita il prof. Jebb a sostegno della propria tesi "*fino in fondo*". Il cattedratico in realtà sosteneva qualcosa di parzialmente diverso, ma la tentazione del colpo di teatro era evidentemente troppo forte.

Butler era già passato a scrivere il capitolo successivo, quando si è ricordato di Virgilio, che aveva fatto fondare ad Enea una città nella zona di Trapani. Aggiunge così un paragrafo alla parte finale della c. II,142, con grafia sempre più piccola mano a mano che lo spazio disponibile si riduce, in cui nega qualunque autorità a Virgilio quale storico, ma attribuendogliene una grande quale testimone del fatto che ai suoi tempi Trapani passava per città di grande antichità e fondata da gente di lingua greca, ipotesi non così assurda come invece pare "*ai nostri moderni eminenti studiosi di Omero*". Le ultimissime parole sono in tipico stile butleriano: "*che la lingua troiana era greca è fuori discussione*". La prova? Nell'*Iliade* non compaiono mai interpreti nei discorsi fra Greci e Troiani.

III.16: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XIII*

TITOLO: ULTERIORE PROVA DELL'ESISTENZA DI UNA ANTICA COLONIA IONICA A TRAPANI O NELLE VICINANZE TRAPANI.
Titoletti di pagina: La moneta di Iakin – Il sigillo di Ulisse – L'Argenteria vicino Trapani. –

L'esistenza di una antica colonia ionica nei pressi di Trapani, che compare nel poema col nome di Scheria, è uno dei punti fondamentali della teoria butleriana, ed alla sua dimostrazione Butler dedica il *XIII capitolo* (7 pagine a stampa, numerate 225-231, e 8 carte manoscritte, numerate 143-150).

Butler sa benissimo che la sua teoria non è supportata dalla benché minima attestazione nella tradizione storica, come gli rinfacciano spesso i suoi oppositori, ma da bravo polemista ribalta la critica: Scheria è stata sepolta non solo sotto il monte Erice, ma anche – insieme all'autrice – sotto un'altra montagna, "*una immensa formazione quasi geologica di erudizione accademica*".

Infatti, che i Feaci fossero gente reale che viveva in un posto chiamato *Drepane*, è cosa che non è mai stata persa di vista, tranne da coloro che lo trovano conveniente "~~*when discussing my Odyssean theories* [*quando discutono le mie teorie sull'Odissea*~~]" (c. II,143), scrive e cancella Butler. *Drepane* è parola a tutti gli effetti abbastanza vicina a *Drepanum*, che è l'antico nome di Trapani[29]: occorre pertanto sbarazzarsi innanzitutto della tradizione, attestata già da Tucidide, che i discendenti dei Feaci fossero gli abitanti di Corfù, il cui nome antico era *Drepane*: questa tradizione sarebbe nata solo dopo che i Cartaginesi si erano stabiliti nella *Drepanum* siciliana e ne avevano cancellati i rapporti col mondo greco. Malgrado a Corfù si mostrasse la nave trasformata in pietra (Butler si riferisce non all'isoletta ove oggi sorge il monastero di Vlacherna, ma a quella adiacente di Pontikonissi), quella *Drepane* non offre "*un solo punto di rassomiglianza con la descrizione data nell'*Odissea".

Chi ha dimenticato e fatto dimenticare le differenze tra i due poemi non è diverso dal laico (ma prima aveva scritto '~~*clergyman* [*pastore evangelico*~~]') che ignora le differenze tra i vangeli sinottici e quello di Giovanni. E qui Butler si lasciava andare ad una piccola polemica religiosa, perché il testo originale era più ampio e punzecchiava il pastore inglese medio che non sa nulla delle differenze che corrono "~~*between St Matthew's & St. John's accounts of the Resurrection. I have often asked clergymen to tell me these, or at any rate some of them, offhand, but I never found one who could tell me anything whatever about them* [*46r ail racconto della Resurrezione fatto da Matteo e quello di Giovanni. Io ho chiesto spesso ai pastori di dirmele, o comunque di dirmene alcune, in modo estemporaneo, ma non ne ho mai trovato uno che sapesse dirmi una qualunque cosa su di esse*~~]" (c. II,144). Ogni tanto si rifaceva vivo l'autore di *The Fair Heaven*…

Butler si spinge a sostenere che probabilmente Tucidide non ignorava la rivendicazione siciliana del poema ad opera degli ericini o di gente che viveva nelle vicinanze. Il fulcro della sua argomentazione è costituito dalla moneta con la leggenda '*Iakin*' che riporta nel verso la raffigurazione del fermaglio di Ulisse, conservata presso il British Museum ed attribuita ad area Elima intorno al 430 a.C., e di cui aveva parlato ampiamente nell'articolo '*Ancora sull'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea' del 1894.

Il punto centrale è dimostrare che la lettura esatta della legenda è proprio '*Iakin*', abbreviazione di '*Iakines*', cioè '*Ioni*'. La lettura è resa controversa dal fatto che il Catalogo del British Museum riporta '*IAKIN*' nell'illustra-

[29] Butler scrive in nota che "*Drepanum significa una spada curva o scimitarra, Drepane è una falce*". In effetti però nei poemi omerici compaiono entrambi i termini, curiosamente ciascuno nel rispettivo *libro XVIII*: al v. 551 dell'*Iliade Drepane;* al v. 368 dell'*Odissea*, dove significa sicuramente '*falce*', *Drepanon* (che è l'esatto termine greco, essendo *Drepanum* latino).

zione e '*ΓΙΑΚΙΝ*' nella descrizione. Alcuni esperti ritengono di notare tracce della '*Γ*'iniziale (grafia arcaica per indicare la consonante 'PI'), ma né lui né l'artista che la riprodusse nel catalogo la vedono, tantopiù che essa, se ci fosse, rovinerebbe la simmetria intrinseca all'iscrizione. Butler liquida poi l'attribuzione della moneta alla città di Piaco, citata soltanto dall'erudito Stefano di Bisanzio, vissuto nel VI secolo d.C., ritenendola una trovata estemporanea del mercante che vendette la moneta al museo.

L'immagine del cane che morde un cerbiatto corrisponde perfettamente alla descrizione del fermaglio di Ulisse descritto nell'*Odissea* (XIX, 279-292), e siccome la raffigurazione di ogni moneta antica fa riferimento al patrimonio culturale della popolazione che la coniò, "*è difficile vedere quale mezzo più appropriato per dire* 'Odissea' *sopra una moneta possa essere suggerito*". Questa moneta consente così di avere un ventaglio di conferme storico-archeologiche circa l'esistenza, nelle vicinanze di Erice, di una cultura sicano-ionica connessa all'*Odissea*.

In conclusione del capitolo Butler introduce una novità rispetto a quanto scritto nel 1894, cioè la congettura che quella città potesse trovarsi nei pressi della località adesso chiamata '*Argenteria*' (allora un sobborgo di Trapani), termine che forse sarebbe – secondo l'inglese – una corruzione di '*Iacinteria*', un "*sobborgo quasi autonomo di Trapani, ove fu permesso agli abitanti greci di ritirarsi quando i Cartaginesi si impadronirono delle parti della città confinanti con il porto*". Per corroborare tale ipotesi, egli riporta una notizia avuta da Sugameli ("*il cui zelo in questo argomento supera anche il* suo" – e possiamo esser certi che Butler non ne gongolasse, visto che in una lettera a Jones egli afferma che avrebbe voluto '*choke off*', strozzarlo), secondo il quale la pietra che da giovane egli usava per le costruzioni proveniva – a detta di un muratore – da una cava chiamata Dacinoi o D'Acinoi, cioè 'di Alcinoo', che però Butler corregge 'degli Iacinoi', perché se Alcinoo era un nome di copertura, non poteva certo diventare quelli di una località (Butler e Sugameli erano due teste dure in continua competizione, e quando ciascuno si metteva in testa di averla vinta sull'altro non esitava a ricorrere a qualunque forzatura).

A parte queste, come dicevo, non vi sono argomentazioni nuove rispetto all'articolo del 1894, ed infatti questo è il capitolo del manoscritto che presenta il minor numero di aggiunte, tagli e ripensamenti; le modifiche in sede di stampa riguardano dettagli minimi.

III.17: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XIV*

TITOLO: L'ILIADE CONOSCIUTA DALLA SCRITTRICE DELL'ODISSEA ERA QUELLA STESSA CHE ABBIAMO NOI ORA
Titoletti di pagina: La nostra *Iliade* era conosciuta a chi ha scritto l'*Odissea* – I cataloghi dell'*Iliade* sono un imprestito – Elucubrazioni inconsce – Autenticità di *Iliade* – Libri XI e XVIII dell'*Iliade* – Autenticità di *Iliade* XVIII – Lei è arrabbiata con Omero.

Dopo aver trattato dell'autrice e della topografia, nei capitoli finali Butler si concentra sul lavoro di composizione del poema, sostenendo nel *XIV capitolo* (17 pagine a stampa, numerate 232-248, e 19 carte manoscritte, numerate II,151-169) che l'*Iliade* conosciuta dall'autrice dell'*Odissea* era la stessa di quella che abbiamo noi ora. È un punto di squisito interesse filologico, ed infatti in questo capitolo Butler riporta alcune pagine del testo greco dell'*Iliade* (secondo l'edizione teubneriana) ed indica diversi passi del secondo poema che sono simili od uguali a passi del primo.

Per capire meglio la ragione di questo lavoro, va tenuto presente che per Butler una delle molle che spinse l'autrice a comporre l'*Odissea* era stato il modo in cui le donne venivano trattate nell'*Iliade*, ma questo implica che il testo che ci è pervenuto sia lo stesso di quello conosciuto dalla scrittrice. Anche questo era sostanzialmente un modo di reagire alla teoria di Wolf e dei suoi epigoni. Butler non ha certamente fatto tutto da sé, ma s'è affidato in buona parte, come egli stesso ammette, all'opera di Henry Dunbar che lui cita come *Concordance to the Odyssey*[30]. Sulla base di questa, Butler ha sottolineato, nelle sue copie personali di *Iliade* ed *Odissea*, tutti passi comuni ad entrambi i poemi, "*richiamando nell'uno i versi dell'altro e viceversa*"; inoltre egli aggiunge che nella progettata pubblicazione della sua traduzione dell'*Odissea*, vorrebbe stampare quei passi con un altro carattere, ma tale pubblicazione, egli teme, deve essere rimandata. Nel ms aveva aggiunto '*indefinitely*', ma evidentemente al momento della stampa del volume l'avverbio deve essergli sembrato di cattivo augurio e lo ha rimosso.

[30] Rectius: H. Dubar: *A Concordance to the parallel Passages in the Illiad* [sic], *Odyssey, and Hymns of Homer*, che è la parte finale di *A complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer* (Oxford, University Press, 1880), a sua volta basato sull'*Index Vocabulorum in Iliade atque Odyssea Caeterisque Quotquot Exstant Poematis* di Wolgang Seber, Oxford, Claredon, 1780²°.

Si tratta di un esame abbastanza approfondito, con passi tratti un po' da tutti i libri del poema (e deve essere stato un lavoro abbastanza meditato, visto che diversi passi risultano inseriti in un secondo tempo), ed il risultato è che "*uno o due, talvolta anche tre o quattro passi dell'Iliade in una pagina costituiscono una media tanto frequente da chiamarsi forma comune*".

Molti versi, comuni ad entrambi i poemi, sarebbero nati nella mente dell'autrice "*in modo spontaneo e spesso inconsciamente*", segno che ella conosceva tutta l'*Iliade*, anche quei libri che in genere si ritengono aggiunti successivamente. Dimostrato ciò, Butler sfida i discepoli di Wolf ("*sebbene non ce ne siano due che abbiano la stessa opinione, cosicché è difficile dire cosa essi siano*") a rispondere alla sua teoria ("*meet*", ma nel ms aveva usato, per sottolineare ancor più il senso di sfida, "~~*impugn*~~") con argomenti più forti di quelli usati fino ad allora oppure ad "*indietreggiare completamente su una maniera visionaria di comporre i libri, la qual cosa essi sono capaci di escogitare meglio di me*"[31]. Quest'ultimo periodo ha sostituito in fase di stampa quello che invece appare sul ms, molto meno pungente.

Butler non ha scoperto il carattere formulare dell'epica, ma legava strettamente la composizione scritta all'esecuzione orale. Omero (cioè l'*Iliade*) costituiva '*il carattere dell'epoca*' e "*ogni epoca ha i suoi soggetti comuni per una elaborazione artistica*", in quanto "*le opere letterarie che, sebbene scritte, sono destinate principalmente ad essere recitate davanti ad un uditorio, tra il quale pochi sanno leggere, si reggono soltanto a condizione che siano istantaneamente comprensibili, e perciò devono trattare soltanto quello che l'ascoltatore si suppone già conosca nelle linee generali*". Una prospettiva sicuramente acuta ed in anticipo sui tempi.

Una caratteristica di questo capitolo che emerge dal confronto ms/volume è che Butler apportò correzioni o aggiunte in fase di stampa (quindi non presenti sul ms) a quasi tutte le pagine: talvolta si tratta di piccole cose, ma non mancano aggiunte di una certa estensione, segno che fino all'ultimo egli era scontento di quanto aveva scritto.

III.18: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XV*

TITOLO: L'*ODISSEA* IN RELAZIONE AGLI ALTRI POEMI DEL *CICLO TROIANO*, E SUO SVILUPPO NELLE MANI DELLA SCRITTRICE
Titoletti di pagina: *Odissea* e *Ciclo Troiano* - Lo sviluppo dell'*Odissea* – Il poema cambia schema - Minerva assente nei *libri IX-XII* - Il colonnello Mure sull'episodio dei Feaci – L'ambra siciliana.

Il *capitolo XV* (13 pagine a stampa, numerate 249-261, e 19 carte manoscritte, numerate 170-188) si occupa dei rapporti dell'*Odissea* con gli altri poemi del *Ciclo Troiano* e di come si è sviluppata nelle mani dell'autrice. Secondo Butler la nostra autrice conosceva la maggior parte degli otto poemi di quel ciclo, e anche se non se ne può avere la certezza, per provarlo egli cita dei passi dell'*Odissea* che presentano delle corrispondenze con quanto sappiamo degli altri poemi. A restarle sconosciuta fu solo la *Telegonia*, che oltre a narrare vicende posteriori a quelle dell'*Odissea*, presupponeva una condotta di Penelope del tutto indigeribile per la nostra scrittrice.

Diversi episodi trattati in quei poemi si ritrovano nell'*Odissea*; l'unico poema da cui l'autrice pare non riprendere niente è l'*Iliade*, che però è chiaramente il modello ispiratore, come rivelano le concordanze di lessico, di stile, la ripetizione di interi versi. Ciò rivela, secondo Butler, l'intenzione di 'soppiantare' il poema rivale, perché, come un grande editore disse a Butler stesso, il libro meno citato da un autore è quello di cui egli è sicuramente debitore; per questo motivo l'autrice "*ha evitato di accennare anche un solo episodio di questo poema*", l'unico contro cui "*non poteva competere vantaggiosamente*".

La spiegazione alternativa sarebbe che all'autrice non piacessero le tradizioni sulla vita privata di Omero: "*egli può aver battuto sua moglie, o può essere fuggito con la moglie di qualcun altro, o aver fatto l'uno e l'altro, ovvero aver fatto cento cose che lo rendevano certamente poco simpatico ad Arete, che non poteva permettere a sua figlia Nausicaa di valorizzarlo più di quanto fosse assolutamente necessario*". Butler accenna a questa ipotesi solo per prendersi gioco del lettore, tanto che, rileggendo questo passo, lo lima un po' ed aggiunge sul margine – per poi cassarlo – un piccolo siparietto in cui immagina che Arete 'catechizzasse' la figlia: "~~*'your poem, my dear' she may be supposed to have said 'will last long after Homer's has been forgotten; I do not therefore object to your taking a line or two here & there which nobody will ever notice, but you must know nothing whatever about any of his main facts*~~ ~~*["il tuo poema, mia cara" si suppone che abbia detto "durerà a lungo*~~

[31] Barrabini traduce con '*maniera visionaria*' l'inglese '*Laputan-manner*', che contiene un riferimento ai "*Viaggi di Gulliver*" di Swift, che non tutti i lettori italiani avrebbero potuto cogliere.

~~*dopo che quello di Omero sarà stato dimenticato; pertanto non mi oppongo al fatto che tu abbia preso uno o due versi qui e là che nessuno noterà mai, ma non devi sapere nulla dei suoi fatti principali*~~"]" (c. II,174).

Che si tratti di un gioco di Butler è desumibile dal fatto che egli subito dopo lo spezzone di testo rimasto conferma che l'ipotesi precedente gli sembra più ragionevole.

Butler cerca di scavare nella psicologia dell'autrice, per come egli la concepisce, allo scopo di arrivare a comprendere le modalità di sviluppo dell'opera. Secondo lui il lavoro, originariamente piccolo, sarebbe poi cresciuto a poco a poco, per aggiunte continue: lo provano le anomalie, le incongruenze, le trascuratezze di cui l'*Odissea* abbonda, e che si possono spiegare proprio con la mancanza di un piano di lavoro stabilito in anticipo.

Alla carta II,181 Butler addirittura arrischia un'interpretazione, che sa benissimo essere senza pezze d'appoggio e di cui poi si pente, cassando quasi due terzi della pagina. La parte più interessante è questa: "~~*I think (…) that Nausicaa had written Sunday small poems of a humorous mock heroic kind, laughing at herself and her kith and kin, for the amusement of her family circle, before she conceived the idea of writing the return of Ulysses at all, and that she made use of these when she set herself to a more serious composition, rewriting them and introducing Ulysses where necessary. These would form the nucleus of the poem*~~ [~~*Penso (...) che Nausicaa abbia scritto piccoli poemi domenicali di tipo eroico finto umoristico, ridendo di sé stessa e dei suoi parenti, per il divertimento della sua cerchia familiare, prima di concepire l'idea di scrivere del ritorno di Ulisse, e che ha fatto uso di questi quando si è accinta ad una composizione più seria, riscrivendoli e introducendo Ulisse dove necessario. Questi formerebbero il nucleo del poema*~~]".

Butler pertanto ammette di trovarsi "*cordialmente d'accordo*" con Kirchhoff (il cui pensiero egli conobbe dalla lettura del libro di Jebb) a proposito della teoria dei nuclei compositivi: l'*Odissea*, egli dice dando una dimensione più matura al brano sopra riportato, consterebbe quindi di due poemi ('*Ulisse tra i Feaci*' e '*Penelope e i proci*', il secondo dei quali, pur scritto dopo, divenne per l'autrice più importante del primo), le cui giunture sono facilmente distinguibili (ed infatti Butler le individua).

Il testo 'originale' sarebbe composto dai versi 1-79 del I libro, per poi saltare a V, 28 e proseguire fino a XIII, 184 (o 187). Questo primo nucleo di otto libri si dividerebbe a sua volta in due gruppi di quattro libri: il primo (*libri V-VIII*) "*è scritto per portare Ulisse a Scheria e mostrarci i Feaci e la scrittrice stessa, l'interesse per Ulisse essendo subordinato; il secondo gruppo è scritto per narrare un periplo della Sicilia*". Data la totale assenza di Minerva, Butler arguisce che i libri di questo secondo gruppo sarebbero stati scritti prima di quelli del primo: "*è inconcepibile che dopo aver introdotto la dea con tanta frequenza nei libri V-VIII la scrittrice le dovesse permettere di scomparire dal suo posto nel racconto quando era così necessaria la sua presenza*".

Butler rigetta l'ipotesi che questi libri possano essere di altra mano, perché "*essi mostrano la stessa influenza dell'*Iliade*; in nessun posto la mano della donna appare più chiaramente. La Sicilia e più particolarmente Trapani in nessun altro libro è più in evidenza diretta ed indiretta*". Del resto, è proprio dalla descrizione delle isole Ionie/Egadi, posta all'inizio del *IX libro*, che Butler aveva tratto il fondamento della sua localizzazione topografica.

Anche in questo caso, Butler 'interpreta' l'operato della scrittrice basandosi sulla sua personale esperienza: "*Io so quanto i miei libri, specialmente i primi, furono tagliati qua e là, riordinati, alterati nello schema e rattoppati per nascondere l'alterazione, così che io non sapevo mai completamente qual era il mio schema, finché il libro non era scritto per tre quarti*". A conferma di ciò, immediatamente dopo queste parole (c. 183) seguiva un lungo passo, poi cassato, in cui Butler ipotizzava una redazione in cui sarebbe stata Minerva e non Nausicaa a condurre Ulisse nella città dei Feaci, ed inoltre rinveniva tracce di una precedente versione anche nel *libro V*, con incongruenze che sarebbero state eliminate o rattoppate con interventi successivi. Credo però che Butler stesso abbia capito che imboccare questa strada lo avrebbe condotto a non terminare più il libro ed abbia così provveduto a cassare immediatamente questo passo e a proseguire nella ricostruzione della scaletta interna di redazione dei vari libri.

Dopo i *libri IX-XII* sarebbero stati scritti i *libri V-VIII*, ma le loro vicissitudini di scrittura e "*se essi derivassero da precedenti lavori giovanili, come pur senza una minima prova a sostegno della mia opinione io propendo a credere, questi sono punti tali che il solo tentativo di determinarli sarebbe sciupare tempo*". È vero che l'autrice era un genio letterario, ma se ella era giovane quando scrisse l'*Odissea*, i '*precedenti lavori giovanili*' dovrebbero risalire addirittura all'infanzia…

Si direbbe che Butler si sia fatto prendere la mano, in questo spasmodico tentativo di dare vita alla sua Autrice; egli però si sentiva confortato dal colonnello Mure, che attribuisce la vividezza dell'episodio feace alla familiarità del poeta (per lui, Omero) con l'ambiente descritto, ed anzi ritiene che quell'episodio, concepito con evidente spirito umoristico, sia '*una satira delle abitudini esistenti tra qualche gente realmente vissuta*'. Non per niente la conferenza di Butler al Working Men's College si intitolava "*The Humour of Homer*": era proprio da Mure che

lui aveva tratto questa prospettiva sull'*Odissea*, compresa la critica ai '*più stimati commentatori*' e traduttori, incapaci di cogliere, secondo il colonnello, '*l'allegro sarcastico tono della descrizione e del dialogo*'[32].

Per Butler, la sua autrice "*per metà rideva e per l'altra metà era seria, e qualche volta sarebbe difficile stabilire se fosse più in una disposizione d'animo che in un'altra*"; a sostegno di quest'affermazione egli cita la cantata *Narcissus*, scritta nello stile di Haendel ma con testo burlesco, senza che gli autori riuscissero a capire quale aspetto prevalesse ed avendo anzi la certezza di avere scritto "*il genere di musica che Haendel avrebbe scritto per tali parole se fosse vissuto un centinaio di anni più tardi di quando visse*". Butler non dice esplicitamente di esserne coautore, ma rimanda all'annuncio pubblicitario contenuto nelle ultime pagine del volume: anche questo è un esempio di come egli sapesse dire qualcosa fingendo di parlar d'altro. Nelle traduzioni italiane il rinvio all'annuncio pubblicitario (e l'annuncio stesso, naturalmente) non compare.

Dopo aver scritto il poema che Butler chiama "*Ulisse tra i Feaci*", che si conclude col ritorno di Ulisse in patria, l'autrice si trovò faccia a faccia "*colla difficoltà di sapere che cosa fare con Ulisse ad Itaca dopo avercelo fatto arrivare*": far uccidere ad Ulisse la moglie insieme a tutti i corteggiatori, o riabilitare Penelope? Lei scelse il secondo corno del dilemma e s'imbarcò in una nuova avventura scrittoria, saldando i due poemi con l'inserimento di XI, 115-137 (la profezia di Tiresia). Su questo secondo poema, lungo sedici libri, Butler si sofferma meno (ed infatti questa parte del capitolo nel ms è molto scorrevole, con poche cancellature), limitandosi a notare che tracce di Sicilia affiorano nella menzione dell'ambra, di cui la Sicilia era stata e continuava ad essere produttrice; una grande collezione di oggetti d'ambra siciliana esiste nel museo di Enna (dove egli si era recato nel 1894) ed una '*fonte autorevole*' gli aveva assicurato che al South Kensington Museum di Londra erano esposti alcuni bei pezzi di provenienza siciliana. Nel ms Butler specificava che la fonte era un nipote del donatore, il Barone Grimaldi, ma poi ha cancellato questa indicazione, forse per non mettere in imbarazzo la sua famiglia.

Butler rinuncia a individuare la cronologia relativa della redazione di questa sezione, anche se forse i *libri I-IV* gli sembrano anteriori agli ultimi dodici, e conclude che l'evidente ed innegabile somiglianza di versificazione, stile ed idioma di entrambe le parti dell'*Odissea* non può spiegarsi che con l'unicità di autore (anzi, di autrice). E se nel lavoro della scrittrice ci sono diverse imperfezioni, ciò è perché a lei piaceva più '*cobbling* [*rattoppare*]' che cancellare, dato che la cancellatura non era facile con la tecnica di scrittura citata nell'*Odissea* stessa (con uno stilo appuntito di bronzo si tracciavano le lettere su una lastra di piombo). Chissà se Butler ha mai immaginato quanto piombo ci sarebbe voluto per scrivere l'*Odissea* in questo modo. Non essendoci prove contrarie (Butler è categorico: "*non ne esiste nessuna che merita il nome di prova*"), resta assodato che "*noi abbiamo ricevuto il poema praticamente nella forma che aveva assunta nelle mani dell'autrice*".

III.19: ANALISI DEL *CAPITOLO XVI*

TITOLO: CONCLUSIONE.
Titoletti di pagina: Perché a Trapani non se ne seppe più niente – Mediocribus esse poetis – Gli Eruditi e l'*Odissea* – La forza della debolezza.

Il *XVI capitolo* (pagg. 262-270 a stampa e 189-201 manoscritte) costituisce la "*Conclusione*"' di tutto il lavoro di Butler sull'*Odissea* (la traduzione in prosa da lui pubblicata tre anni dopo era stata in realtà già ultimata da tempo). Butler cerca di riassumere quanto ha scritto nelle pagine precedenti partendo da una obiezione dei suoi avversari: perché nessuno per migliaia di anni si sarebbe accorto del fatto che a scrivere l'*Odissea* sarebbe stata una donna di Trapani? Semplice – risponde Butler: perché a nessuno, fino a cent'anni prima di lui, è venuto in testa di sostenere per l'*Odissea* una paternità diversa di quella dell'*Iliade*, che riportava l'origine del poema alle coste dell'Anatolia occidentale. È questo il motivo per cui Stolberg, Mure, Freeman, Schliemann, Layard, pur essendo venuti a Trapani, non capirono l'origine trapanese del poema: "*probabilmente essi pensavano che fosse il lavoro di qualche preistorico Erodoto che lo componeva scena per scena, senza fermarsi in un luogo più di quanto non fosse strettamente necessario*".

Questo capitolo è la parte più originale del volume, soprattutto rispetto agli articoli, e ci mostra un Butler particolarmente combattivo, che vuole sfogarsi di tutti i bocconi amari ingoiati in decenni di polemiche contro il mondo delle verità rivelate e dell'accademismo (non solo in relazione all'*Odissea*, naturalmente).

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[32] Oltre al I volume dell'opera di Mure, esplicitamente citato da Butler, va ricordato che il 7° paragrafo del capitolo XIV del II volume si intitolava "*Comic element of Homer's style. Play of words, or pun. Conversational humour*".

Quello che Butler dice per i poeti pare dirlo per sé stesso: "*l'essere fraintesi è la penalità che i poeti come lei debbono pagare per la loro grandezza*"; "*dei, uomini e più particolarmente editori non tollerano nulla in un poeta tranne che la mediocrità, e se un vero poeta per qualche raro accidente scappa fuori fra tanti, ciò è perché gli dei ed i lettori non lo scoprirono che quando era troppo tardi per fermarlo*"; "*il genio è un'offesa; come tutte le offese è necessario che venga, ma guai a quell'uomo o a quella donna in cui esso si manifesta, perché egli od ella deve passare attraverso Scilla e Cariddi di essere fatto a pezzi da una parte, o così incompreso dall'altra che la sua vita sarebbe più mortificante che la morte stessa. Qualunque cosa facciamo non si può impedire ciò*".

Butler ha scritto queste parole in uno stato di forte tensione: la sua grafia è qui più minuta e nervosa del solito, ci sono più cancellature e parti cassate che nel resto del capitolo, e la carta II,194 (che corrisponde alla pagina 265 del volume) è stata scritta dopo che tutto il capitolo era stato terminato (essa è infatti l'unica, insieme alla c. 202, l'ultima del ms, anch'essa scritta in seguito, a portare la numerazione B 'XVI' e non quella corretta da '~~*XVII*~~' a '*XVI*').

È uno sfogo particolarmente amaro, che sembra quasi travolgere Butler e riprendere il linguaggio di *Erewhon* quando parla di "*nozioni di igiene intellettuale deplorabilmente imperfette*" e di "*attacchi di gotta intellettuale*". Le sue parole assumono addirittura un tono futuristico *avant léttre* quando si augura per i grandi istituti d'educazione un carattere '*più di crematorio che di catacombe, come hanno al presente*'. Il giudizio sulle scuole è impietoso: vi si adopera un metodo degno di Erode, volto a "*porre cioè con violenza le mani su tutti i fanciulli finché non abbiamo ridotto ciascuno di loro a tale mediocrità da essere sicuri che presto o tardi si metterà in ridicolo da sé stesso. A questo scopo abbiamo creato scuole e uomini di scuola*".

Il disastro di quel tipo di scuola ha portato le sue gravi conseguenze anche nel settore dell'omerologia: "*gli eruditi degli ultimi 2500 anni cosa hanno fatto per l'Iliade e l'Odissea, se non che emendare la lettera nelle piccole cose e oscurare lo spirito nelle grandi?*". Qui Butler riserva un omaggio ai *Chorizontes*, gli studiosi del II-I secolo a.C. [secondo la datazione adottata da Butler] che avevano separato la paternità dell'*Odissea* da quella dell'*Iliade*: "*L'erudizione li umiliò e li ridusse al silenzio con tale forza che per circa 2000 anni furono considerati definitivamente in errore. Può esservi più mordace satira sul valore della critica scolastica?*".

In queste ultime pagine del volume Butler ritorna al suo punto di partenza: l'arte gli interessa solo in quanto rivela l'artista. I grandi capolavori, egli dice, possono essere fatti solo da coloro che sono al di sopra o al di sotto del cosciente riferimento a regole e canoni di qualunque genere, perché "*quello che realmente ci commuove è la comunione con le menti ancora vive dell'uomo o della donna ai quali noi dobbiamo questo stato d'animo e la convinzione che quella mente è come noi vorremmo avere la nostra. Tutto il resto è semplice rivestimento e grammatica*".

Come si immaginava allora la sua autrice? Ella aveva probabilmente una velata malinconia nell'animo, '*un senso mezzo di pathos e mezzo di sconcertante furia*'; la sua vita – nonostante le gioie – avrebbe avuto qualche elemento di disordine; l'*Odissea* sarebbe stata scritta non senza sorriso e non senza lacrime. Finora ho cercato di basarmi il meno possibile su supposizioni ed impressioni, ma per una volta faccio mio il metodo empatico di Butler: ho la netta impressione che egli abbia sì attribuito alla sua Nausicaa molti tratti di Miss Savage (Jones dice chiaramente "*Miss Savage as Nausicaa*"[33]), ma credo che questa ultima caratterizzazione sia più che altro una proiezione di sé. Quella Nausicaa somiglia tanto a Samuel.

Per carpire il segreto del poema, '*ci sono voluti circa trentacinque anni ribelli della* sua *vita senza rivolgere mai all'*Odissea *un solo pensiero*': solo così Butler ha potuto capire che "*l'autrice è una vecchia amica*", cioè il suo lato femminile. Egli chiude il volume dicendo di avere '*dimostrato*' ('*shown*') l'esistenza di poetesse greche in epoca antichissima, la predominanza degli elementi femminili su quelli maschili, la unitarietà del luogo in cui fu scritta e della mano dell'autrice, la quale era estremamente gelosa dell'onore della donna.

Come si vede, la individuazione in Trapani del luogo ove sarebbe stato ambientato e scritto il poema è un elemento che qui è soltanto accessorio, mentre domina, come del resto in tutto il volume, l'interesse per il sesso dell'autore. Bentley aveva dunque visto quasi bene, soltanto che l'*Odissea* non era stata scritta – secondo Butler – da un uomo per le donne, bensì da una donna per le donne e per gli uomini. Butler è ormai esausto e chiude il libro datandolo, sul manoscritto, '~~*Mercoledì 26 maggio, Hotel d'Angleterre, Salerno*~~'[34].

A questo punto occorre parlare di quella che sembra un'inspiegabile stranezza, a cui ho già accennato varie volte in alcuni dei capitoli precedenti. Butler aveva consegnato il manoscritto all'editore Murray il 13 aprile ed era par-

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[33] H.F.Jones: *Samuel Butler, a Memoir*, London, MacMillan, 1919, v. II, p. 106.

[34] L'edificio a tre piani ed un ammezzato, prospiciente al mare, venne realizzato a metà '800 come struttura per i numerosi turisti, specialmente inglesi, che volevano visitare Paestum (come in effetti anche Butler fece). Con il ridimensionamento della loro presenza, l'albergo venne convertito in abitazione civile. Oggi una parte dello stabile è tornata ad ospitare una struttura alberghiera.

tito per la Sicilia tre giorni dopo; è dunque evidente che egli lavorò sul testo della parte finale della *Conclusione* (se non addirittura di tutto il capitolo) mentre non aveva la possibilità di consultare il manoscritto. Forse egli ricordava di avere scritto sedici capitoli e così numerò la conclusione come '*capitolo XVII*', per poi accorgersi al ritorno di aver sbagliato e correggerne tutte le pagine in '*capitolo XVI*'; altrimenti dovremmo supporre l'esistenza di un sedicesimo capitolo poi espunto dal manoscritto da Butler stesso. Ciò sembrerebbe a prima vista improbabile, ma il fatto che la carta II,1 porti la indicazione autografa di Butler "*Part. II, Chapter V – chap. XVII.*" Mi lascia interdetto: possibile che Butler non si sia accorto dell'errore, tanto più che esso si trova nella prima pagina del tomo?

L'unica spiegazione plausibile che mi viene in mente è che effettivamente Butler abbia scritto un '*capitolo XVI*' in cui approfondiva la redazione dei libri I-IV e XIII-XXIV, di cui s'è invero occupato troppo sommariamente nel '*capitolo XV*', ma che non ne sia rimasto soddisfatto o lo abbia ritenuto sostanzialmente superfluo, buono solo ad incrementare le spese di stampa, e lo abbia pertanto espunto. Non pare che tale capitolo espunto sia stato conservato tra il materiale di Butler poi donato al St. John's College di Cambridge, quindi, se davvero esisteva, esso sarà stato distrutto dallo stesso Butler.

L'espunzione del presunto *XVI capitolo* avrebbe una sua giustificazione nelle vicende estive, in quanto Murray rifiuta di pubblicare il volume, e così fanno pure Bentley e Bell. Butler si deprime, espunge il fantomatico *XVI capitolo*, corregge l'intestazione di quello successivo, cancella la data e fa un'aggiunta alla fine del testo del manoscritto, confessando il suo senso di oppressione e scoraggiamento nel vedere di avere scontentato molte persone con cui invece avrebbe voluto andar d'accordo: "*Che cosa può importarmi dove sia stata scritta l'*Odissea *o se sia stata scritta da una donna o da un uomo? Dal profondo del cuore posso dire lealmente che a me non importa che questi punti siano decisi secondo il mio modo di vedere, a me importa solo, e moltissimo, il sapere come saranno decisi dalle persone di buon senso che considereranno gli argomenti sui quali richiamo l'attenzione in questo libro*".

È un drammatico appello del sessantaduenne bambino Samuel a tutti quelli che nel mondo dei grandi facevano le veci del suo ormai defunto padre. Se ne accorge, ci ripensa, cancella qualche parola e la sostituisce con altre; si ricompone, lancia la sfida: "*credo di avere chiarito tutte e due i punti sufficientemente, ma, qualunque cosa accada, io so che il mio assunto è abbastanza forte da giustificarmi di averlo esposto; e così lo lascio*".

Ha ritrovato l'orgoglio di sé ed è pronto a lanciarsi in nuove sfide, a tornare ad Erewhon.

III.20: LE FONTI DI BUTLER

Butler non indicò alcuna bibliografia alla fine del suo volume, pur dando i rinvii bibliografici (non sempre completi) delle citazioni da lui operate. Quelle che in linea molto generale potremmo definire le 'fonti' di Butler sono le seguenti (l'ordine è quello in cui sono citate; i numeri fra parentesi quadre sono le pagine della traduzione italiana/originale inglese; in sottolineatura i dati omessi da Butler):

1. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* – MacLehose, Glasgow; 4th edition 1892 [p. 14/vi; in altre pagine cita l'edizione del 1888, quella da lui effettivamente consultata];
2. Anonimo: *How to vulgarise Homer* – in: *The Spectator*, 23 april 1892, pp. 555-556 [p. 14/vii];
3. articolo su Butler in *Cambridge Observer* 31-05-1892 [p. 14/vii];
4. G.C.W. Warr: *Butler's Humour of Homer* – in: *The Classical Review*, Vol. 6, Issue 9, Cambridge, November 1892, pp. 398-399 [p. 14/vii];
5. A. Platt: *Butler's Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey - in: *The Classical Review*, Vol. 7, Issue 6, pp. 254-255, Cambridge, June 1893 [p. 14/vii];
6. A. Platt: *Butler on the* Odyssey - in: *Classical Review*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, pp. 56-57, Cambridge, February 1895 [p. 14/vii];
7. Andrew Lang, *At the sign of the ship*, in: *Longman's Magazine* June 1892 p. 102 [p. 14/vii];
8. William Gladstone: *Studies in Homer and the Homeric Age* – Oxford University Press 1858, vol. I [p. 14/viii];
9. Lord Derby: *The Iliad of Homer rendered into English Blank Verse by Edward, Earl of Derby* – New York, Scribner, 1865 [p. 15/ix];
10. *The Odyssey of Homer. Translated from the Greek by Alexander Pope* - Bernard Lintot, London, 1725/26; [p. 15/ix];
11. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Bentley, English Men of letter* – London, MacMillan, 1892 [p. 23/5];
12. William Gladstone: *Homer* – London, MacMillan 1878; [p. 23/6];
13. William Mure: *Language and Literature of ancient Greece* – London, Longmans, 1850, vol. I [p. 24/7];

14. *The Odyssey*, done into Engl. prose by S.H. Butcher and A. Lang – London, MacMillan and Co. 1879 [p. 26/9];
15. William Smith: *a Dictionary of Classical Biography* – London, Taylor, Walton and Marbely and Murray 1849; [p. 29/11];
16. Th. Bergk: *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* [l'opera del filologo lipsiense ebbe quattro edizioni: 1842; 1853; 1865-67; 1878/82] [p. 29/12];
17. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: The Homeric House, in relation to the Remains at Tiryns - *Journal of Hellenic Studies* – vol. III [rectius: vol. VII, 1886] pagg. 170-188 [p. 33/15];
18. Andrew Lang: *Note 18*, in *The Odyssey of Homer done in English prose by S. Butcher and A. Lang*, London, MacMillan and Co, 1879, pp. 422-424. [p. 33/15];
19. Arthur Platt: *The Slaying of the Suitors – Journal of Philology* from No. XLVII vol. XXIV, pp. 39-45 [p. 33];
20. Percy Bysshe Shelley: *Selected Letters edited by Richard Garnett* – Kegan Paul Trench & co., London, 1882 [p. 118/106];
21. Henry Fielding: *A journey to the next world* [in realtà: *A journey from this world to the next*] [p. 124/113];
22. Charles Clarke: *The Beauclercs, father and son* – London, Chapman and Hall, 1867; [p. 173/160];
23. *Memorials &c.* by Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, London, Macmillan, 1896; [p. 184/172];
24. Luigi Mauceri: *Sopra una acropoli pelasgica esistente nei dintorni di Termini Imerese* – Palermo, Giornale di Sicilia, 1896 [p. 199/185];
25. Edward Freeman - *The history of Sicily from the earliest times* – Oxford, Claredon, 1891 [p. 189/176];
26. William Stigand: *Brigandage in Sicily, the report of British Consul at Palermo* – London, The Times, 24 Sept. 1892, p. 10 [p. 205/193];
27. William Henry Smyth: *The Mediterranean a Memoir Physical Historical and Nautical* – London, Parker, 1854 [p. 208/196];
28. William Henry Smith: *Memoir descriptive of the resources, inhabitants, and hydrography, of Sicily and its islands* – London, Murray, 1824 [p. 208/196];
29. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Introduction to Homer* – Glasgow, MacLehose, 3° edizione, 1888 è quella letta da SB [p. 221/210];
30. Karl Otfried Muller: *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* – London, Murray, 1830 [p. 226/215];
31. Chrestos Tsountas, J. Irving Manatt: *The Mycenaean Age* – London, MacMillan, 1877 [p. 227/217];
32. Peter Paul Dobree: *Adversaria* [*in Thucydidem*] – Cantabrigiae, Deightons, 1831 [p. 233/223];
33. William Smith: *a Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* - London, Murray, 1854 [p. 235/225];
34. Henry Dunbar: *A complete concordance to the Odyssey of Homer to which is added a concordance to the parallel passages in the Iliad, Odyssey and Hymns* – Oxford, Claredon, 1880 [p. 241/232];
35. Samuel Butler: *A Sketch of Modern and Antient Geography* - London, Longman, 1813 [p. 276/262].

Oltre ai precedenti, Butler cita anche alcuni autori tradizionali della letteratura inglese (Bunyan, Shakespeare, ecc.), autori 'classici' come Dante e Virgilio, il nome (ma non il testo) di Buttmann, Lubbock, Stolberg, Falzello, Kirkhhoff, Bentley e qualche altro ancora. Nel volume non sono inoltre citati alcuni autori che invece comparivano negli articoli precedenti.

La mia impressione è che le letture più approfondite di Butler fossero quelle dei volumi di Gladstone, Mure, Smith, Dunbar e Jebb, e che egli avesse riservato alle altre opere un esame talvolta sommario (lo si vede anche dal modo imperfetto di citarle). Come traspare dal volume e da alcune osservazioni contenute nella biografia scritta da Jones, era soprattutto Jebb (1841-1905) l'interlocutore da cui Butler non era riuscito a farsi prendere sul serio, e questo gli bruciò terribilmente.

Marettimo : Gente di mare (18/08/1894)

APPENDICE: L'ARTISTA SOTTO IL VELO

Un ringraziamento particolare va al St. John's College Council di Cambridge, che ha fornito i files delle fotografie e concesso il permesso di riprodurle.

Samuel Butler (1835-1902) è noto al grande pubblico come autore di «*Erewhon*» (1872), splendido romanzo di satira vittoriana, che descrive un paese in cui la tecnologia è stata bandita, nelle scuole si studia la 'lingua ipotetica' e si viene bocciati per 'eccesso di concretezza', i malati vanno in carcere perché turbano la pace sociale ed i ladri vanno invece in ospedale a curare lo spiacevole disturbo.

Erewhon, per quanto immaginario, è uno dei primi paesi in cui si è giunti, nella tutela dei diritti degli animali e dei vegetali, al punto da anticipare le odierne dottrine vegane; l'economia del paese si basa su un doppio sistema di circolazione, in cui il capitale immaginario gode di maggior prestigio – almeno in apparenza – di quello materiale.

In quanto autore di «*Erewhon*», Butler viene spesso etichettato quale 'scrittore utopista', cosicché desta grande impressione, in chi vi si accosti per la prima volta, la sua produzione fotografica. Pur non essendo un fotografo professionista, Butler può essere definito a buon diritto uno 'scrittore-fotografo', come lo furono i suoi contemporanei Luigi Capuana e Giovanni Verga. Nel 2006 si è infatti tenuta presso il Museo Pepoli di Trapani l'interessante mostra «*La scrittura dell'occhio. Utopisti e veristi dalla penna alla lastra*», che ha messo a confronto le fotografie scattate in Sicilia negli stessi anni proprio da Butler, Verga e Capuana.

Ribaltando il luogo comune che vuole in Butler l'utopista, ed in Verga e Capuana i veristi, le fotografie di Butler rivelano una personalità profondamente attenta alla gente semplice ed alla vita quotidiana. Ovunque andasse, Butler portava con sé la propria Kodak e fissava scene e volti parimenti di amici e di sconosciuti, di nobili e di men che plebei, dei quali ultimi sapeva cogliere la dignità con sensibilità non comune.

Anche quando venne in Sicilia per la prima volta, alla ricerca di prove che suffragassero la sua teoria dell'origine siciliana e femminile dell'*Odissea*, Butler era accompagnato dall'inseparabile macchina fotografica, che per tutto il mese del suo soggiorno mai restò inoperosa[35].

Possiamo ben dire che a fianco delle ricerche 'odisseiche' Butler intraprese anche un vero e proprio viaggio di scoperta antropologica, testimoniato e conservato nelle fotografie che dopo la sua morte sono state depositate presso il St. John's College di Cambridge, il prestigioso istituto da lui frequentato in gioventù, che oggi vanta una eccezionale collezione di documenti e di materiale librario, fotografico, pittorico di provenienza butleriana.

Grazie alla cortesia del St. John's College Council di Cambridge all'interno di questo volume compare una scelta delle fotografie più significative scattate da Butler in provincia di Trapani dal 1892 al 1897.

Alle fotografie vengono associati, a mo' di didascalia, dei passi significativi del manoscritto di *The Authoress of the Odyssey*. È così possibile non solo seguire alcune delle tappe dei viaggi siciliani di Butler, ma anche conoscere i suoi amici e rivivere, con la forza della testimonianza diretta, le scene della vita quotidiana della Sicilia di fine Ottocento.

Le fotografie scattate nella grande grotta di Scurati il 17 agosto 1892 hanno la capacità di renderci con rara efficacia icastica la preminenza del ruolo femminile nella vita quotidiana, così come quelle scattate a Trapani il 9 e poi il 20 agosto 1893 sembrano quasi ricalare i versi di certi canti popolari siciliani.

Alcune foto riflettono chiaramente l'idea butleriana che le cellule degli uomini odierni sono letteralmente le stesse di quelle dei nostri antenati di migliaia di anni fa, tanto che sarebbe possibile riconoscere, come per esempio nella foto scattata alle pendici di Erice il 17 agosto 1892, Eumeo, il guardiano di porci rimasto fedele ad Ulisse malgrado i suoi vent'anni di assenza da Itaca.

L'attenzione per i paesaggi, di reminescenza più o meno omerica (la Grotta di Polifemo, l'Isola delle Capre, e così via) è ben viva in diverse fotografie.

È soprattutto la figura umana, però, ad attirare l'interesse principale di Butler. Il saluto dei due anziani di Mozia (19 agosto 1892), la posa della famiglia del delegato sindaco di Marettimo o quella del gruppo dei notabili di Pantelleria, rivelano la fierezza e nel contempo la semplicità degli abitanti di queste piccole isole, nonché l'attenzione di Butler per il mondo della gente di mare.

La foto del capitano e quella del pescatore che rammenda, in compagnia dei loro rispettivi figli (Marettimo 18 agosto 1894) non possono non richiamare, per contrasto o forse no, i «*Malavoglia*» di Verga, così come la foto

[35] Lo splendido libro di E. Shaffer, *Erewhons of the eye: Samuel Butler as painter, photographer & art critic*, London, Reaktion Books, 1988, contiene un interessantissimo capitolo dedicato all'avventura fotografica siciliana di Butler.

delle migranti sudanesi sul battello da Pantelleria a Marsala (18 agosto 1893) non può non farci riflettere sul riproporsi ciclico di certe vicende storico-politiche. All'epoca infuriava in Sudan la cosiddetta 'rivolta del Mahdi', un episodio che ricorda da vicino, sotto molti aspetti, quanto successo in tempi recenti nei territori sconvolti dall'azione dell'ISIS, e le crisi umanitarie ad essa legate.

L'attenzione per l'infanzia è una costante della fotografia butleriana, mai venuta meno fin dalle prime prove. Non si può negare che i bambini di Erice (10 agosto 1893) o gli scalzi figli della giovane mamma di Trapani (20 agosto 1892) intenta a cambiare – e forse anche a sculacciare – il più piccolo, colla loro aria da simpatiche canaglie, destino immediatamente una potente corrente empatica nei loro confronti.

Butler fotografò diverse volte i suoi amici siciliani, a riprova di un affetto che non era solo formale. Oggetto di un sentimento quasi paterno fu in particolar misura l'ericino Giuseppe Pagoto, verso cui Buter fu decisamente prodigo di consigli, sostegno spirituale e talvolta anche materiale. La foto del 28 agosto 1894 lo ritrae all'età di 19 anni, ma a quell'epoca bisognava dimostrare presto di essere già adulti, o quantomeno di sembrarlo assai.

Ci sono poi alcune foto scattate con intento propriamente artistico. Fra queste spiccano quella della donna ericina indossante il 'mantu' e ferma sulla soglia della chiesa di Sant'Orsola (24 agosto 1894). Essa ed una foto immediatamente successiva, raffigurante la stessa scena da un'altra angolazione, che rendeva meglio visibile la presenza di un sacerdote seduto vicino l'ingresso, non possono non far pensare immediatamente ad una reminescenza caravaggesca, per quanto i gusti di Butler in campo pittorico percorressero strade alquanto diverse.

Samuel Butler era venuto a Trapani principalmente per cercare prove a sostegno della sua localizzazione siciliana; per questo motivo egli girò tutta l'isola e ne fotografò quelle che gli sembravano le principali eminenze topografiche ed antropiche. A poco a poco, però, all'interno della sua teoria andò acquistando sempre maggiore preminenza l'idea che a scrivere il poema fosse stato una donna. Non per niente il volume in cui egli riassunse il frutto delle sue ricerche si intitolava *L'Autrice dell'Odissea*.

Se c'è una foto che si presta particolarmente bene a riassumere il senso di questa attenzione per il mondo femminile, secondo me è quella scattata il 4 settembre 1894 a Poggioreale, un paese della valle del Belice in quegli anni caratterizzato dall'emigrazione (da lì veniva ad esempio la mamma del famoso trombettista Nick La Rocca, uno degli 'inventori' bianchi del jazz nella New Orleans di inizio novecento) e dalle rivendicazioni dei contadini riuniti nei Fasci Siciliani.

Quando Butler lo visitò, era da poco cessato lo stato d'assedio decretato da Crispi otto mesi prima. Ci aspetteremmo forse di vedere rabbia ed amarezza nei volti delle persone, ed invece ammiriamo la serenità di questa famiglia di donne di varia età. Utilizzando il titolo di un quadro che Klimt dipinse quattro anni dopo e che oggi si trova presso la Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna a Roma, potremmo intitolare questa fotografia *Le età della donna*.

In una bella pagina de *L'Autrice dell'Odissea* Butler giustifica il suo operato di analisi 'eretica' del poema affermando che «*l'arte è interessante nella misura in cui rivela l'Artista*». Egli ritiene infatti di avere tolto il velo che ci impediva di riconoscere la mano femminile nella stesura dell'*Odissea*. A noi sembra che queste foto rivelino, direi quasi etimologicamente, quello straordinario e ad oggi ancora non pienamente compreso artista che Butler fu.

"L'arte è interessante soltanto nella misura in cui rivela un artista"

CHAPTER I: THE THEORY OF SICILIAN ORIGIN OF THE ODYSSEY

I.1: A SHORT PROFILE

Samuel Butler was born on December 4, 1835 in Langar, a small village in Nottinghamshire, from a family of ecclesiastical traditions. His father Thomas, shortly after the birth of Samuel, moved to the rectory of Shrewsbury, Shroposhire, on the border on Wales. Young Samuel attended the Shrewsbury school, whose former headmaster had been his grandfather Samuel, later bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Darwin attended the school under him).

Following his father and grandfather's example, Butler was supposed to take vows, but shortly before his ordination, in 1859, he fell into a spiritual crisis and moved to New Zealand, where he rose sheep in a remote cottage and devoted himself freely to music and painting. He approached Darwinian theories, but then he detached himself from them, and built his personal views, later published in "*Life and Habit*" (1878), "*Evolution, old and new*" (1879), "*Unconscious Memory*" (1880) and "*Luck or Cunning?*" (1887).

From his adventurous life in New Zealand the novel "*Erewhon*" (1872) was born, an admirable example of satire of Victorian England. Shortly thereafter Butler began writing "*The way of all flesh*", in which he painted a family fresco that spanned five generations; due to heavy references to his own family, the novel came out only posthumously, in 1903.

There is no lack of criticism of religion in his writings; in 1873 he published (under a pseudonym) "*The fair Haven*", apparently an apologetic writing, by which Butler set out to demonstrate that the resurrection of Christ was actually only a case of apparent death, pretending to refute it. His last novel "*Erewhon Revised*", which also concerned the birth of a religion, was published in 1901; he died shortly after, on 18 June 1902.

Italy was Butler's second country; he was fond of Italian art, to whom he dedicated "*Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and the Canton Ticino*" (1881) and "*Ex voto*" (1888, about Varallo's Sacro Monte, now a World Heritage Site protected by UNESCO).

Butler was decidedly heretical even in literary criticism: he wrote "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" to demonstrate the poem be actually written in Trapani by a woman; in "*Shakespeare's Sonnets Reconsidered*" (1899) he arranged them under a new order, supposed to reveal a homosexual love affair. Butler was also a painter and musician ("*Narcissus, a dramatic cantata*", 1888; "*Ulysses, a dramatic Oratorio*", posthumously published in 1904); his photographic production is now considered a non-marginal aspect of his artistic activity.

Although Butler is usually considered a minor author, he has enjoyed some fame, especially posthumously: *Erewhon* and *The Way of all Flesh* have never left the catalog of English and Italian publishers; also some others of his works – including *The Authoress of the Odyssey* – have been translated into various languages and periodically re-proposed.

I.2 BIRTH OF A THEORY

In 1876 Butler met Henry Festing Jones, a solicitor sixteen years younger than him, who soon became his alter ego and the closest companion in his travels and cultural adventures. "*Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and Canton Ticino*" (1881) and "*Ex voto*" (1888), in which Butler claimed the half-unknown painter Tabachetti being superior to Michelangelo (a decidedly heretical scale of artistic genius), were born from their collaboration – but it was only Butler who signed those books.

Butler and Jones composed "*Narcissus*", a musical oratory (1888); after which they were in search for a new topic in Greek mythology. In the end they reached a good one.

On June 3, 1886 Butler wrote to his sister: "Narcissus's *successor is to be called Ulysses and is this time a serious work, dealing with the wanderings of the real Ulysses and treating the subject much as* Hercules *or* Semele *were treated. We think we could get some sailor choruses and some Circe and pig choruses and the Sirens, and then Penelope and her loom all afford scope. I made up my mind about it when I read Charles Lamb's translation of parts of the* Odyssey *in Ainger's book, but please don't say anything about it*".

This is the birth certificate of an adventure that would have turned the last period of Butler's life in a decade of '*mad and very desperate*' study. Leopardi's quote is pertinent, since it was precisely the overwork carried out on the *Odyssey* that seriously undermined Butler's health, as Jones writes in the *Preface* to the 2nd edition of "*The Au-*

thoress of the Odyssey": "*It can be said that the last ten years of his life have been overshadowed by the* Odyssey*, which has dominated his thoughts - and not only his thoughts, his letters were full of them and it was difficult to get him to talk about anything else. I have no doubt that this perpetual concern - I might even say obsession - tended to shorten his life*".

Canon Ainger was a friend of his sister's family, and according to Jones, Butler had not actually read his book but only given a quick glance on it; the devil, however, put his hand in it and tempted him to do better than Lamb, an author who had disliked him since someone had written that "*Charles Lamb was, like Mr. Darwin, a master of happy simplicity*".

Wishing to learn more about, Butler read some books, including the *Smith's Dictionary*, from whose voice '*Penelope*' he drew the news that in ancient times there were versions of Penelope's behavior very different from the one adopted by the author of the *Odyssey*. From the fragments of *Telegonia* (a poem of the Epic Cycle that narrated the killing of Ulysses by Telegonus, the son he had had by Circe) Butler deduced that Ulysses had been no longer living with Penelope: he had probably divorced from her for unfaithful behavior.

An apparently trivial episode occurred in the summer of that year; it is however of great importance in my eyes. Butler used to frequent the British Museum every day from 10.30 to 13.30 to study and write; one day his cultured friend Richard Garnett, superintendent of the Reading Room, asked him if he had a new musical composition in view and on what topic. Wearing on the face of a perfect saint ("*demurely*", Jones writes) Butler replied "*The woman surprised in adultery*". Garnett didn't like the answer at all. I have the clear conviction that that scene gave rise in Butler the pleasure of a Homeric scandal.

If "*Ulysses*" project had a stop for the moment, for in December 1888, after his father's death, Butler inherited his grandfather's papers, read them and started writing the biography of his ancestor, interest in the Homeric world had no stop: some of his letters to Jones in 1889 are about the 'cyclopean' walls of Tuscany.

In the early months of 1891 Butler and Jones started the composition of *Ulysses*, and since Butler was busy writing his grandfather's biography, it was Jones who took care of choosing the episodes of the *Odyssey* to be arranged for songs and choirs; but in force of the "*smallness*" of his Greek knowledge, he took them from Charles Lamb's book "*The adventures of Ulysses*". The two friends were to work together to write the words, but Butler ended up writing almost all of them, just like it has happened about "*Narcissus*". From time to time Butler had been taking a look at the original Greek text, to make sure that Lamb did not mislead Jones; at last he turned very fascinated and sensed that something has been escaping him, that behind the words "*so luminous and so transparent*" there was a sort of "*darkness to be pierced*" in order to truly "*see the heart of the writer*".

'Mystery' and 'Discovery' are the two coordinates that would have marked this story since then. Then Butler set out to unravel the mystery and started translating the poem into English prose.

At the episode of the Phaeacians, Butler was sure that the author was drawing from life, and when he got to Circe an idea flashed upon him: the author could not be an old blind man who lived in the servant's hall but a young woman. Thanks to Jones we know exactly when this happened: on a letter addressed to him by his friend on August 9, 1891, Butler noted these words: "*it was during the few days that I was at Chiavenna (at the Hotel Grotta Crimée) that I hit upon the feminine authorship of the Odyssey. I did not find out its having been written at Trapani till January 1892*". Butler's note on his friend's letter is clearly subsequent, but it precisely fixes the moment (and the place: a Hotel in the beautiful Chiavenna, in the province of Sondrio) of the discovery of the 'femininity' of the Odyssey at the end of July-beginning of August 1891 and tells us that he located the poem's birthplace in Trapani six months later.

After reporting on the discovery of the *Odyssey*'s *feminine authorship*, Jones quotes a phrase that Butler loved to repeat ("*all sensible men are of the same opinion about women, and no sensible man ever says what that opinion is*"), specifying that if his friend had been a sensible man, he would have taken care not to divulge his opinion. Consequently Butler "*must have had a high opinion of women, or he could not have believed that the* Odyssey *was written by one of them*"; indeed, for Jones there is no doubt that in forming his theory Butler was influenced by his friendship with Miss Ann Savage, which began immediately after Butler's return from New Zealand, in 1865, and lasted for twenty years until her sudden death.

Replacing her was out of the question for Butler; this is the reason why the discovery of a female spirit at the heart of the *Odyssey* probably was for him a sort of new dialogue with his late friend.

That's why the issue of 'femininity' dominates Butler's mind: 'woman' means not only the writer of the poem, but also her role in the world. Eyes are not only directed towards the *Odyssey*'s universe: we are in the midst of feminist claims, the private sphere crosses the public one, classicism slides into current times.

At the beginning of January 1892 Butler was completing the revision of his prose translation of the *Odyssey*; he was then sure that the Phaeacians'ship turned into a rock was a place described from life and he made a list of details of Scheria detectable in the poem, thinking of verifying it with the help of the maps of the Admiralty.

It is Butler himself who tells us that he went without fail: he had read in "*Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*" by Colonel Mure that the episode of the Cyclops had to be located near cape Lilybaeum; therefore he first took the map relating to the north-western tip of Sicily; scrolling through it, he noticed the ship-shaped rock at the mouth of the port of Trapani and was intrigued by its name, Malconsiglio [*Bad Conseil*]. There was only one thing left to do: writing to the Mayor of Trapani.

I.3: WHY TRAPANI?

The last ten years of Samuel Butler's life were marked by the close relationship with Sicily. The theory of the Sicilian Origin of the *Odyssey*, born perhaps by chance, perhaps out of a desire to provoke, or more probably out of a deeply innate desire by Butler to reinvent himself under different identities, grew in the very first days of 1892 and found its key turned in February, when Butler asked the Mayor of Trapani for some remarks about legends related to Malconsiglio. The meritorious Mayor (I think it is fair to remember his name: Tommaso Piazza) replyed and passed the letter to a city councilor, Emmanuele Biaggini, who in turn wrote a ten-sided letter addressing a very warm invitation to Butler to come to Sicily.

Butler was 57 and not perfectly good his health, but his spirit was always ready to get involved: although some friends advised him not to leave, he did not hesitate to travel to Sicily and on August 2, 1892 he was in Trapani. A translation of his articles published in England a few months earlier appeared on the July 1892 issue of "*Il Lambruschini*" (a school magazine published monthly in Trapani from the previous year) and aroused some sensation and controversy.

Even before reaching Sicily, Butler had canon Fortunato Mondello, director of the Fardelliana Library, as a proud opponent. He thought that Butler was building a sort of Homeric imposture and therefore it was up to himself, as a librarian and a priest - and above all of a man born in Trapani - to get up as a defender of orthodoxy. Just to be perfectly clear about it, in the end of his controversy with the Englishman, Mondello affixed a Dante's quote: *That falsehood none beguile thee of the truth*.[36] Perhaps Mondello chose this verse as an epigraph because it had been pronounced by the Dante's Virgil to confirm that the origins of his birthplace Mantua were those exhibited few lines above - by a paradox, it was the exact opposite of what the real Virgil wrote in the *Aeneid* (X, 196 -198). An elegant way to call Butler an imposter (*Hell XX* concerns astrologers, false prophets and so on).

Butler and Mondello were each to another what they had risked being and had taken care not being: a mirror reflecting not the external image, built by them with meticulous care, but the intimate one, just the one they had been making every effort to deny at all. Needless to say, the two men hated each other at first sight and never backed away from that feeling.

Butler was accustomed to controversies and adversaries; he needed these and those by the attitude, certainly not rare, of men who seek a striking proof of their existence by provoking an angry reaction from others, especially the 'authorities'. Readers will certainly not fail to note that the Canon title links Mondello to Thomas Butler, father of our Samuel.

What Butler probably did not expect it was to find not only some supporters, but also and above all some friends. They were Friends in the true sense of the word, people who felt not only respect for the knowledge, intelligence and wit, but also authentic, genuine affection for a man so far from them.

Butler visited Sicily for the rest of his life, even after publishing the definitive book on his theory in 1897. He came back again not to look for further evidence (he had already done it abundantly for five years), but by the real pleasure to meet his friends and those who claimed to be his friends - someone was even too intrusive, let's face it.

Some of them, whom he would like have choked off at times, were not entirely unpleasant in the end, and someone was as dear to him as a son. Sicily really gave Butler something important, something he would never have expected, a fatherhood-like feeling, a word and an experience he had scrupulously avoided until then.

In fact, I am positive Butler would never have written "*Erewhon revisited*" unless had experienced Sicily: Giuseppe Pagoto in Sicily and Hans Faesch in Switzerland were the two sons, the brown and the blond one, whom

[36] D. Alighieri: *The Vision of Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell*, English transl. by the Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A, Bohn, London, A New Edition Corrected, 1850, p. 103.

he would never have fancied being the protagonists of a book of his, if he had not seen the events of the two young men with the eyes of a father. In a letter to Pagoto, Butler went so far as to write that his father, Canon Thomas Butler, had been a good person in his own way, though not quite capable of fully understand a son with a more poetic spirit than his own. It sounds incredible, but it's true.

In the following pages the reader will find a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript of "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*", the book published in London in November 1897 which summarizes and organically exposes what Butler had published in a series of brochures in Italian and English magazines from 1892 onwards.

This book sold about 200 copies (all in all, not bad, by Butlerian standards and by the topic itself); although there was some interest in an Italian translation, some misunderstandings and a few excessive piques prevented it get done while the author was alive, and after his death the enthusiasm cooled fairly quickly.

When Butler died, Henry Festing Jones and Robert Streatfield distributed Butler's cards to those who had somehow contributed to their writing: the undoubtful destination of "*The Authoress*" could be only Trapani.

So it was that the year after his friend's death, Henry Festing Jones undertook a long journey to deliver some Butlerian manuscripts to Varallo Sesia, Acireale and Trapani. Jones left a report, which was his first independent writing, the *Diary of a Jouney through North Italy to Sicily*, containing the story of these donations.

Jones handed over the manuscript of "*Ex Voto*" to the city of Varallo Sesia, and the manuscript of the translations of the "*Odyssey*" to the Accademia degli Zelanti in Acireale, of which on March 26, 1893 Butler had been appointed a corresponding member (in the same round Luigi Capuana and Giovanni Verga were enlisted too). In the early May 1903 Jones was in Trapani to fulfill the last act of his pilgrimage, donating of the original manuscript of "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" to the Municipality of Trapani.

If there is something readers can be absolutely positive a Sicilian is going to avoid at all costs, this is a poor figure. Could Mayor Nunzio Aula ever have been less accurate in respecting his illustrious English friend than his predecessor Tommaso Piazza, since Butler wanted "*that the manuscript of his major work be donated to his dear Trapani together with his last affectionate farewell*"?

A solemn ceremony is therefore held in the Mayor's cabinet, On May 6, during which Jones "*fulfills the sacred mandate by delivering the manuscript [...] and two photographs of the author in the hands of the first magistrate of the city of Trapani*"; as for him, Mayor Aula thanks warmly Jones and entrusts the gift to the Deputation of the Fardelliana Library in the hands of the Librarian, the Reverend Canon Fortunato Mondello.

I believe that even Butler himself would not have imagined a more 'Butlerian' outcome: the task of preserving and safeguarding the scandal stone entrusted to the man who first fought against its creator! Canon Mondello, however, had a golden heart and not only fulfilled his task flawlessly, but also began to re-evaluate the late good soul Butler, as we can read in a manuscript note of his last years preserved among Mondello's papers in the Fardelliana Library.

In compliance with the principle "*Never Get a Poor Figure!*", in the Grand Hotel of Trapani, at noon the following day, May 7, 1903, a breakfast was held in honor of Henry Festing Jones by the Municipal Representation of Trapani; here is the MENU's detail:

Consommé à la royale
Poisson, sauce Hollandaise
Entremets
Artichauts et petit pois à la broche
Poulet rôti et Salade
Bisquits à la Marie-Louise
Dessert
Cafè Cognac
Wines
Barbera Camastra Champagne.

In the *Butler Collection* of St John's College in Cambridge there is the minute of a letter from Jones to Mayor Aula, in which he confesses that he was so moved that not even remember what he said to thank the city of Trapani for the much affection towards Butler and him.

In fact, along all the report of the ceremony there is a very resonant tone of appreciation of Butler and his studies, but taken the rhetoric linked to the official moment with a pinch of salt, there is no doubt that at least some of the audience had a real esteem and affection for their English friend; so Jones had an actual reason to stutter…

L'Ora, a newspaper of Palermo, published an account of the ceremony in the 15-16 May 1903 issue.

I.4: BUTLER'S WRITING DESK

Butler has been writing "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" into four months, from mid-December 1896 to mid-April 1897: a short time to write a new book from scratch, but this volume "*consists in some measure of matter already published (…) during the last six years*". By this respect, it is a new accommodation of:

1. *The localization of Scheria - The Athenaeum 3353*, London, 30 January 1892, pp. 149-150 (Italian translation: *Gazzetta del Popolo*, year II n. 18, Trapani 29 May 1892, pp. 2-3 and then '*Il Lambruschini*', year II, *Appendix for n. 6*, Trapani, June 1892, pp. 1-5);
2. *The Topography of the* Odyssey - *The Athenaeum 3356*, London, 20 February 1892 pp.245-246 (Italian transl.: *Gazzetta del Popolo*, y. II n. 19, Trapani 5 June 1892, pp. 2-3 and y. II n. 20, 12 June 1892, pp. 2-3; then '*Il Lambruschini*', year II, *Appendix for n. 6*, Trapani, June 1892, pp. 5-8);
3. *A Lecture on the Humor of Homer - The Eagle*, vol. XVII n. XCVII, march 1892, Cambridge, Metcalfe, pp, 158-192; Excerpt: Cambridge, Metcalfe, 1892, pp. 43 (Italian translation of the *Preface* only: '*Il Lambruschini*', year II n. 7, Trapani, July 1892, pp. 109-112);
4. *Risposta al can. Mondello* [*A Reply to Canon Mondello*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year II, *Appendix for n. 8*, Trapani, August 1892, pp. 1-8;
5. *Note Odisseane* [*Odyssean Notes*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year II, n. 9, Trapani, September 1892, pp. 146-149;
6. *I Ciclopi* [*The Cyclopes*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year II no. 10, Trapani, October 1892, pp. 159-163, and n. 11, Trapani, November 1892, pp. 178-181;
7. *On the Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey - *The Eagle*, vol. XVII n. XCIX, December 1892, Cambridge, Metcalfe, pp. 353-365; Excerpt, with a *Preface*: Cambridge, Metcalfe, 1893, pp. 37;
8. *Sull'opuscolo del Signor Sugameli* [*On Mr. Sugameli's brochure*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year III no. 1, Trapani, January 1893, pp. 8-13;
9. *Lettera al direttore del periodico su alcune correzioni alla mia teoria* [*A Letter to the editor of the magazine on some corrections to my theory*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year III no. 8, Trapani, August 1893, pp. 131-135;
10. *L'Origine siciliana dell'*Odissea [*The Sicilian origin of the* Odyssey] - Acireale, typ. Donzuso, 1893, Excerpt from the "*Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana* [*Review of Sicilian Literature*]", year I n.3-4, 1893, pp. 22;
11. *Ancora sull'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea [*Still on the Sicilian origin of the* Odyssey] - Acireale, typ. Donzuso, 1894, Excerpt from the "*Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana* [*Review of Sicilian Literature*]", issue XIII, pp. 213-236;
12. *Una visita al Maretimo* [*A visit to Marettimo Island*] - '*Il Lambruschini*', year IV, no. 3, Trapani, September 1894, pp. 41-44;
13. *The Sicilian Origin of the* Odyssey - '*Italian Gazette*', Rome-Florence, 1895 (a series of five articles).

Butler then published "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" (1897) and his translations of the "*Iliad*" (1898) and the "*Odyssey*" (1900), which are the culmination of this intense six-year work on Homer.

I.5: AFTER PUBLICATION

Butler realized that his book would not have been easy by the fact that some publishers refused to publish it. Even if publishing a book contrary to academic common sense was perhaps a good reason to write it, although, apart from very few people, especially from Trapani, no one took seriously the Trapanese origin of the *Odyssey*, nor his 'motherhood', the most painful point for him was not that someone disagreed with his ideas, but that no one refuted the details, showing why he was wrong about what.

Butler's greatest regrets were about his young Sicilian friend Peppino Pagoto, towards whom he had an almost parental feeling, and Richard Garnett, to whom he had dedicated *Life and Habit* almost twenty years earlier in gratitude for his help. Butler was so disappointed that for a time he had called him 'Doctor Garnett', without however letting him understand that he was doing it on purpose.

The book had some reviews[37] in England, the most of them far from favorable; there have been also two in Germany, one of which was translated by people Butler and Jones met on a train to Paestum. As for Italy, a review appeared on *Nuova Antologia* and another, signed by F.Z.S., all in all positive, on the *Rivista Politica e Letteraria* [*Political and Literary Magazine*], on the July 1, 1898 issue. This review was republished in full in the July 24 issue of *La Falce* [*The Sickle*], a Trapani magazine, on whose pages a violent controversy over Butler's book sparked a few weeks later (Butler held himself aloof from that skirmish).

We know about other reactions from some private letters to Butler; the most favorable of which are by Edmund Beckett, first baron of Grimthorpe (he was responsible for the design of the mechanism of the famous Big Ben) and by Robert Seymour Bridges, a well known graduate poet, author of the drama "*The return of Ulysses*" (1890). On 23 December 1899 Bridges wrote he considered Butler's book one of the most remarkable on the Homeric question; there was no reason why the *Odyssey* should not have been written by a woman. Butler read soon Bridges' drama (he would never have done it - he writes it openly - if Bridges hadn't written him that letter) and a few days later he replied praising the quality of his poetic translation, but also saying frankly that he did not like his concept of Ulysses and Eumaeus to be treated "*in such a cataclysmic way*"[38]. Also G.B. Shaw knew and appreciated Butler's theory.

In 1901 the *Commentary on Books XIII-XXIV of the Odyssey* by David Binning Monro (a great specialist in Homeric studies, vice chancellor of the University of Oxford, also expert in music, painting and architecture) appeared in Oxford, in which he did not come mention of Butler's theory. Butler pretended not to regret it, linking Monro's silence to that of W.W. Merry in the *Commentary of the books I-XII* (it however came out in 1886, before Butler thought of dealing with the *Odyssey*).

Butler was disappointed also about Douglas Sladen's *In Sicily* (London, Sands and Co., 1901). Sladen was a Professor of History at the University of Sidney and a great traveler, who visited Sicily in 1896, 1898 and 1900. While dedicating some space in Trapani and Eryx, he would have made no mention of Butler's theory (I wonder what Butler would have said if he had lived enough to read *Sicilian Lovers* (1905), whose *V Chapter* is entitled "*The Brigands of Mount Eryx*"!). Yet this time Butler was wrong: he stood on what someone had told him, but had not personally viewed Sladen's book; Jones inquired with Mudie's Lending Library (a private library that lent books on subscription), learned that Sladen instead widely quoted Butler and immediately informed his friend.

Butler is actually mentioned twice: on p. 386 Sladen, quoting him *en passant*, defines Butler's choice as a '*curious*' one, since Virgil had set the *V book* of the *Aeneid* in Trapani; then, the entire page 401 is reserved to the Butler's book, defined non only "*one of the most brilliant paradoxes of a fin-de-siecle age*", but also "*a very rich intellectual treat*" and "*a monument of scholarship*". There is no shortage of compliments for the "*celebrate Homeric scholar*" Butler, praised as "*very learned*", a man who "*knows his Sicily as an open book*". The suspicion that Sladen does a Butlerian style exercise on Butler turns into certainty when we read that he "*is a most ingenious pedlar of his wares, displaying fascinating- articles to those who will be at them open-mouthed, and lashing with a bitter tongue whoso-ever ventures to remark that he has his own tongue in his cheek and that his wares are not what they seem*": English "*to have the tongue in the cheek*" refers in fact to a fictitiously serious humorous style, in which with subtle irony someone wants to make fun of established conventions. Dear Butler, he who wounds by the tongue …

In 1901 Gian Salvatore Cassisa asked Butler for a paper to publish in the *Quo vadis?,* the magazine he directed in Trapani; Butler sent an unpublished 1893, *Was the Odyssey written by a Woman?*, the text of a conference he gave at Mrs Bovill home (and then repeated years later at a *Fabian Society* meeting), which had been Italian translated by Captain Messina in 1893 and then revised by the same in 1895. Under the title "*La nuova questione omerica: L'autore dell'Odissea è una donna?* [*The new Homeric question: Is the author of the Odyssey a woman?*]" it appeared on pages 9-18 of issue 7-8 of that magazine, published on October 4, 1901. The very fact that Butler did not write something new testifies how exhausted his energies were and what a closed chapter the theory - while not giving up on it - was then for him, at least as about his literary production.

On March 25, 1902, three days before leaving for his last trip to Sicily, Butler wrote to Thomas Leyden Agar (a scholar who had already written several essays on the *Odyssey* in previous years - his definitive work is *Homerica, Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey*, Oxford, Claredon Press 1908) that the managers of the British Museum Coin Room had changed their mind about *IAKIN*'s coin, assigning it to Eastern Sicily. For once, Butler

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[37] In the *Butler Collection* of St. John's College in Cambridge there are the cuttings of the extracts of 56 reviews relating to all of Butler's writings on the *Odyssey*.

[38] And yet Butler, in the *Preface* of "*On the Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey" admitted he was aware that his conjectures were "*cataclysmic*" and could not "*blame Homeric students for holding aloof from them*" ...

raises no objections and renounces attributing the coin to a Greek city near Trapani, although he believes that this does not affect the value of his theory.

That journey, however, was fatal: Butler's heavily debilitated physique (we know how sadly Jones blamed his efforts and the overwork on the *Odyssey*) did not allow him to arrive Trapani, where he had made an appointment to some English friends to; as soon as he was back in London, on May 22 he greeted his Sicilian friends with a moving farewell note: "*As returned home with great difficulty, (…) in a state of extreme weakness, and with little hope of recovery, (…) I greet the Trapanese friends, I embrace them, I raise my hat, and I cordially say goodbye to them* ". On June 18 he died.

I.6: POST MORTEM

Butler's articles published in Italy had a reduced circulation, due to the limited circulation of the magazines in which they appeared: *Il Lambruschini* and *Quo Vadis?* in Trapani, the *Rivista della Letteratura Siciliana* in Eastern Sicily, the *Italian Gazette* in Florence (for people who spoke English). The publication of *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, in 1897, excited the interest to publish an Italian translation in Trapani; it has been discussed about it for some time with Butler himself, but then some misunderstandings arose which angered the author, who withdrew his will to contribute to the printing costs.

In the end, an Italian translation came out in 1968. In fact, sixty years had to pass before an interest to this work sprung again, and ten more years to get translation and subsequent publication arrived. All of this, thanks to some characters somewhat distant from the traditional clichés: the historian Antonino De Stefano, a former priest involved in the story of the excommunication of Ernesto Buonaiuti (by this episode De Stefano resigned the cassock), professor Giuseppe Barrabini and colonel Vincenzo, his brother, who edited the translation, and the Trapani publisher Costantino Petralia, a true man of culture before and even more than an entrepreneur, willing to publish even at a loss.

Moreover, most of people linked to the genesis and subsequent history of this book have somehow been eccentric characters. Such a kind of man was Benjamin Farrington (1891-1974), who wrote *Samuel Butler and the Odyssey* in 1929, when he was teaching Greek at the University of Cape Town, South Africa; such a kind was Lewis Greville Pocock (1890-1975), a professor of classical studies at the University of Christchurch, New Zealand, who came to Trapani in 1950 to study Butler's theory on site and then published many essays on the *Odyssey*; such a kind was Nat Scammacca (1924-2005), the Sicilian-American poet who made any effort since the 1980s to make Butler's theories widely known.

Many are the scholars who have contributed to the knowledge and deepening of this theory [39]; space here is not enough to remember them all, so I apologize since I mention only Pietro Sugameli, Vincenzo Barrabini, Giuseppe Quatriglio, Salvatore Costanza, Giuseppe Angelo, Cristiano Turbil, Elinor Shaffer, Tim Whitmarsh, Mary Beard, James Paradis, Andrew Dalby, Froma Zeitlin, Armin Wolf, Sarah Dougher, Lillian Doherty and so on. Some degree theses since the mid-1950s have dealt with this topic; many conferences have been held since 1990, as well as some exhibitions of the photographs taken by Butler in Sicily. Robert Greaves' novel *Homer's Daughter* is explicitly inspired by Butler's Nausicaa.

The Authoress of the Odyssey has had several reprints, starting from the one published in London by Fifield (probably 1919), then the 'new edition' published by Jonathan Cape in London and by E. P Dutton & company in New York, 1922, with a *Preface* by Henry Festing Jones; going on, we remember the 'Shrewsbury edition', 1925 (still by J. Cape in London and by E. P Dutton in N.Y.), with a new *Introduction* by Jones, which expands the previous one and modifies some of his former judgments; then the one by the University of Chicago Press, 1967, with an *Introduction* by David Grene; the latest one is by Bristol Phoenix Press, 2004, with an *Introduction* by Tim Whitmarsh.

As for the translations, I am only aware of the Italian one by Giuseppe/Vincenzo Barrabini, (Trapani, Celebes, 1968; reprinted in Rome, Edizioni del Vascello, 2013), a new one by Donata Aphel (Rome, Edizioni dell'Altana, 1998); the French one is by Christian Angelliaume, released 2009 in Viry-Châtillon, for the publisher À l'écluse d'aval.

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[39] It's possible referring to R. Lo Schiavo: *La teoria dell'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea [*The theory of Sicilian origin of the* Odyssey] - Palermo, ISSPE, 2003, in which he organically summarizes the history of these studies and of which he is close to write a new edition, updated to the last few years.

Mozia: Giuseppe Platamone cammina sulle acque (19/08/1892)

Motya, of which hardly anything remains

"Mozia: della quale oggi non rimane quasi nulla"

Mozia: Due anziani (19/08/1892)

CHAPTER II: THE MANUSCRIPT OF *THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY*

II.1: A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The original manuscript of *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, lying at the Fardelliana Library in Trapani, consists **in two tomes** with the labels '*Ms 183*' and '*Ms 184*'. The late Salvatore **Fugaldi**, **who ran the Library** from 1957 to 1987, so **described** them[40]:

Ms. 183 (former: shelf V. above)
papery; XIX cent. (1894); mm. 255 X 200; cc. I + 180 + I, num[bered] recently, cards are blank on the verso except cc. 10, 21, 31, 60, 69, 71, 100 which are however blank on the recto; ll. [=*lines*] variables, autograph; at c. 71b two photos of the surrounds of Trapani; a lot of corrections and autograph additions; linked to the Fardelliana in 1903 by the will of the author. Half parchment binding.

Butler, Samuel *The authoress of the Odyssey*. Part I to end of chapter IV (cc. 1-180).
Inc. "*Preface. The following work*" (c. 3a). It is the original ms. of the first four chapters of the work, published in London by Longmans, Green and Co. in 1897. An Italian translation is by Giuseppe Barrabini (Trapani, Celebes, 1968).

Ms. 184 (former: shelf V. above)
papery; XIX cent. (1894); mm. 255 X 200; cc. I + 202 I, num[bered] recently, the cc are almost always blank on the verso, except cc. 30, 32, 35, 39, 43, 59, 67, 74, 78, 80, 83, 102, 124, 128, 135, 141, 163, 173, 179, 186, which are however blank on the recto; ll. [=*lines*] variables; autograph; photo at cc. 59b, 67b, 78b, 80b; a lot of corrections and autograph additions; linked to the Fardelliana Library in 1903 by the will of the author. Half parchment binding.

Butler, Samuel *The authoress of the Odyssey*. Part. II, Chapter V - chap. XVII. (cc. 1-202).
Inc. "*Chapter V. On the question ...*" (c. 2a). It is the original ms. of the chap. X-XVII of the work (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1897).

On reading this description, we find some (apparent) inaccuracies. The first (the only one, actually) is the dating of the manuscript at 1894, while it was drawn up from December 1896 to September 1897 (we can learn this, thanks two letters of Butler himself and the dates he affixed on some pages).

The second is evidently a typo, which escaped in the print: the second tome is opened by the fifth chapter (not by the tenth one), as indeed is correctly reported when Fugaldi quotes the card.

The third (apparent) inaccuracy is about the last chapter of the work, numbered XVII, while the printed book and the manuscript itself have only sixteen chapters. As a matter of fact, Fugaldi referred what he had read on the cards 1 and 189-201 of the second tome, on which this chapter is numbered '*XVII*', then corrected '*XVI*'.

I will return later on this topic; here I try to integrate Fugaldi with a new exam of the manuscript.

Valeria Di Capizzi, a **restorer collaborator** graduated from the Institute for Art and Restoration 'Palazzo Spinelli' in Florence, **has examined** the manuscript in the occurrence of this edition, giving the following description (I omit almost all the elements already reported by Fugaldi):

1. The binding is in a folder, in half goatskin parchment, with blind tips and paper screen-printed;
2. At a sight, the manuscript consists in a set of files (whose number we cannot determine unless disrupting them) and single cards, of various sizes, tied together by a string seam;
3. The binder had received the cards already sewn together in two separate strings;
4. The binding has a false capital (only decorative, non-structural, with no core) in decorated, rolled and glued paper;

[40] Fugaldi, Salvatore: *Descrizione dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Fardelliana. Vol. 1: I corali, i codici, i volumi, le carte* – Palermo, Regione siciliana, 1978, p. 186.

5. The deep recess of the volume on the deck does not allow to check the solution here adopted, but we can hypothesize it is a notching of the cards with an insertion of nerves in twine (we can see them under the guards), with two single guard cards at the beginning and the end of the volume, and a subsequent rounding with lugs;
6. A fake capital with no core, in decorated, rolled and glued paper, has been fixed to the head and foot, with an only decorative function;
7. The cards are lined with rolled paper, glued and decorated with consequent reproduction of three-dimensional geometric motifs colored in ocher, blue and white;
8. The title is printed on the back;
9. The kind of paper here used is a modern, lignin-based, EXCELSIOR watermarked and laid one;
10. The guard cards, in thick machine paper, have been addicted on a second time; they are not of the same block of the handwritten ones;
11. The cuts are simple;
12. The text is mostly in iron-gallic sepia ink, slightly acidic, as shown by many oxidations throughout the manuscript; some passages, especially in second thoughts, are in black ink, by a finer tip nib;
13. Traces of crystallized glue are visible on the glued papers.

After the expertises by Fugaldi and Di Capizzi, **in force of my own examination** of the manuscript, as well as of the research I have been conducting on Butler for several years, here **I add the following remarks**.

It was Butler himself that has collected the original autographed cards of *The Authoress of the Odyssey* in two strands, as is evident from the c. 1 of both tomes, that are in his hand. There's no trace of unhinging and stitching to insert new cards, so the binding is surely posterior to the book printed: moreover, some passages were (and still are) so hard to be read in the bound tomes, that an efficient work of the printer would have proved to be very difficult or sometimes even impossible.

At the current state of research, we can't establish with absolute certainty whether the manuscript got bound in London or in Trapani.

All the writing is in Butler's hand, except for a numeration about which I'll write later; I'm in doubt only about very few parts (mostly these are numbers) whose handwriting is a little different from the author's one.

Almost all the cards are the verso (the rear page) blank, probably to get the work of the printer easier. Although Butler sometimes used to write in duplicate, I don't think this time he did it, nor I'm aware about another handwritten copy of *The Authoress of the Odyssey*; at the Zelantea Library in Acireale there is only the manuscript of Butler's translation of the *Odyssey*, donated by Jones 1903, consisting of "*two volumes, partly manuscript and partly typewritten, respectively 171 and 142 cards*"[41].

Some cards are written the verso and blank the recto; Butler added them after a chapter (or even the whole manuscript) got completed. They often contain some notes or passages that the printer could have easily put in the right place. Some of these cards are not numbered, so I suggest they have been added almost about the book print.

Some cards have been cut by Butler more or less in half and then inserted elsewhere; some of them have no number. Card 41 of the second tome has been cut the lower part and added of a strip the upper.

On each card of the manuscript Butler drew a guide-mask of cm. 17 x 10, just as wide as the printed text in the book. The mask is nearer the left edge of the card, so there is an about 7 cm free space on the right for any additions and rewrites. The mask is as wide as almost the whole page in six cards only in the whole manuscript (I, 60 and II, 56, 88, 132, 133, 163); these cards maybe have been interpolated all in the same time.

Butler hardly used to write less than 30 lines per card; each page of the book has 38 lines of text plus one reserved for the page title and one more for spacing. In fact, each odd page of the book bears a sort of title at the top with an indication of the content of the page, obviously absent in the manuscript; since these indications could not be by printer's free initiative, we must assume that they were written by Butler on the proofs, time to time. As about the *Index of Names and of main Topics*, absent in the manuscript (and in the Italian translation), it is to be supposed drawn up after the proofs printed.

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[41] M.C. Gravagno: *Mario Puglisi Pico and Rosario Platania D'antoni, promoters of the* Review of Sicilian Literature *in the panorama of the literary culture of Sicily in the late nineteenth century* - report held at the II International Conference '*The theory of Sicilian origin of the* Odyssey'. Trapani 25-27 May 2000.

A meticulous examination of the manuscript shows that some passages in pencil survive throughout the whole manuscript, even if erased then and overwritten in pen. I am unable to determine positively whether Butler used to draft each chapter in pencil first, then in pen, or if he reserved a pencil only for the erased passages (where in fact more evident traces survive). I am inclined to the latter conjecture: writing everything in pencil, then erasing and rewriting in pen, would have been a very great effort. Moreover, if Butler had had to erase the whole text of each chapter, the manuscript would look more damaged than it really is.

Every card (excepted very few) bears some numbers, only on the front. We can identify four numerations, presumably affixed in this sequence:

A) The first numeration, in gray pencil and Butler's hand, is in the upper right; these numbers indicate the progressive order of the cards within each chapter, but have almost always been scratched out in a red pencil. This numeration is present in the *Contents*, in *Chapters I-III* and *V-VI*, and missing in the rest;

B) The second one, in black ink pen and Butler's hand, is in the upper center. It bears the Chapter in Roman numerals; at its side the card's progressive, in Arabian numerals, is enclosed in round brackets and often scratched out in a red pencil. No number is present on the first pages into *Chapters I*, *II*, *III* and *V*;

C) The third one, in red pencil and Butler's hand, is in the upper right. It bears the overall progressive numbers (1-155 in the first tome, 156-320 in the second one) and is supposed to be reserved for the typography;

D) The fourth numeration, in grey pencil, is in the lower left; it bears the progressive card number of each volume (1-180 in the first, 1-202 in the second). By the above quoted indication of Fugaldi ("*recently numbered*") and a check of the handwriting of Fugaldi, Mondello and canon Michele Ongano (who ran the Fardelliana Library from 1930 to 1957), I'm almost sure that this last numeration was affixed by Salvatore Fugaldi himself.

I think that grey pencil numeration (I call it '*A*') is the oldest since the number 1 is absent there (it doesn't appear either in the '*B*'). I suppose that Butler had been starting to write not putting the chapter's number on each card; at some point, however, he began to add new cards with corrections and additions to the text, but realized that any accidental disruption of the sequence would get its re-composition very difficult, so he interrupted the '*A*' numeration and introduced the '*B*'.

As an autoptic examination can confirm, *Chapters III, IV* and *V* have undergone a shift, since they were originally numbered *II*, *III* and *IV*: this fact proves that a resume of the story of the *Odyssey* was not part of the original project of the book. Butler perhaps realized, at some point, that his arguments would probably not have been convincing if readers hadn't had knowledge of the poem. Then he decided to insert, after an opening chapter introducing the meaning and the development of his researches, an epitome of his translation of the poem.

I will say later why the last chapter, numbered '*XVII*', has been corrected '*XVI*'.

After the numerations of the cards, cancellations are the second characteristic element of the manuscript, in reconstructing whose drafting they are very useful.

We can distinguish:

A) stylistic cancellations;

B) contents cancellations.

Stylistic cancellations are linked to Butler's ever moving language, spacing from a descriptive intent to an ironic, sarcastic or even openly polemical one. We should not forget that Butler was the author of "*The Fair Heaven*", a book whose actual intent was opposite to the literal one; a work that proved to be so efficient in deceiving readers, that some clergymen recommended it to more than one tottering faith parishioner.

The other cancellations are due to correcting some errors or some of his previous statements. However, since Butler had already exposed his theory in several articles in the past five years, corrections of these types are actually very few.

Cancellations generally concern a single or a few words (but not few times they span two or three whole lines) and are carried out with a horizontal pen stroke at half height the word.

On the other hand, when Butler was unhappy with some larger passages, he preferred to expunge them shutting them off into a frame, with crossing strokes left and right, up and down.

Only a few times Butler has written again a whole erased text in a new card.

After those, rewrites are the third emerging element. We can distinguish three kinds:

A) Immediate rewrites;

B) Meditated rewrites;

C) Final interpolations.

The first are easy to recognize, for they are immediately subsequent to the erased part, at the same height. Meditated rewrites are consequent to a second reading of the passage or of the whole chapter; sometimes they are affixed exactly above the erased part, sometimes outside the writing mask drawn by Butler on each card. This is the case when a rewrite is more extensive than the erasure or when it is a 'second degree rewrite', that is, a passage erased, rewritten, erased in turn and then written again. This is absolutely not unusual, so very few cards have no rewrites outside their mask.

The final interpolations have been conducted after their chapter (or even the entire manuscript) completed; we can recognize them for they are generally on the reverse side of a card added only at the last moment, then numbered 'bis', 'ter' and even 'quater' or bearing 'A for' (i.e. *Appendix for*) and the early words of their relative passage.

Some indications in the manuscript are for the printer. The very frequent abbreviations "*sm. t.*" and "*l. t.*", are to be solved "*smaller types*" and "*larger types*", for the subsequent passage is to be printed smaller or larger than the former. "*N.P.*", that is generally after canceled passages, is to be solved "*New Paragraph*". It is almost always accompanied by an opening square bracket, never followed by the closing one. Sometimes only this bracket is present, and "*N.P.*" is omitted.

Other indications for the printer, calling for some images or for a spacing between the paragraphs, are written in full. In the *Frontispiece* Butler makes a reference to the front page of another book of his and tells the printer to do as he sees fit.

II.2: EDITORIAL CHRONOLOGY

On December 17, 1896 Butler wrote to Hans Faesch that Murray, the publisher of *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler*, refused to publish his translations of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, suspecting they would not sell good.

Butler therefore put his translations aside and began what he defined "*a popular book on Iliad and Odyssey in general*"; according to the publisher it could have been a good driving force for a following publication of his translations. A few days later, Butler wrote again: "*I'm just beginning my book*". We can therefore trace the writing's beginning of the manuscript in the middle of December 1896.

On March 19, 1897 Butler wrote to a correspondent of his that his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* still could not find a publisher and the writing of the book on the *Odyssey* (he no longer mentions the *Iliad*) would had been going on for another three or four weeks, after which he would publish the book at all costs. As methodical and exact as a clock, on April 13 Butler writes that he delivered the book to Murray - and he wonders what the publisher's reader will think of it.

Three days later, Butler and Jones leave for Sicily; while they're on travel, Alfred Cathie, Butler's servant, writes them that Murray refuses to publish the manuscript, after a reading by a well-known scholar of Homer.

On the way back of his umpteenth tour of Sicily, at the *Hotel d'Angleterre* in Salerno, on Wednesday 26 May 1897 Butler signed the closure of the book. The *Preface* was still missing, since it is dated "*Varallo, 5 June 1897*". Butler was not very happy about it, however. He has been correcting the entire manuscript for the whole summer, then submitted it to the publisher Bell & Sons, who at the end of July wrote that the book was inconsistent with the academic standards and such as to distort the simplicity of the *Odyssey*. On July 23, Butler replayed that he had rejected the academic style deliberately; it would not have convinced the professors equally and would have lost that female club of educated readers who "*ultimately force academics to follow them*". It sounds like Nausicaa's recommendation to Ulysses: '*Leave my father alone and go to my mother*'...

In a letter of July 27, Butler mentions for the first time the title "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" (until then it was simply '*my book on the Odyssey*') and defines it "*the great thing long more important than I have done*". The search for a publisher, however, turns Butler very stressed: Bentley too refuses the book. The three publishers agree that Butler's book is not serious (*The Fair Heaven* was on the other hand an embarrassing precedent for any 'serious' publisher). Butler does not give up, until he finds – even to his own surprise - someone willing to publish, albeit at the expense of the author: it was Longmans, from the family of publishers who several decades before had published a work of geography of Butler's grandfather.

On August 13 he writes that he received the first proofs, but he keeps on correcting something else here and there, until he finally fires the manuscript on September 27. It was on Monday, although Butler didn't write it down.

The first copy was delivered to Butler on November the 1st and he inscribed "*H. F. Jones with the author's best thanks*". This copy is now in the Butler Collection of the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The book was supposed to be dedicated to Emmanuele Biaggini, his best Trapani friend, who assisted Butler very greatly in his Sicilian stays, but unfortunately Biaggini died on 30 August 1896; the dedication then 'moved' to Biagio Ingroja, he too being an ardent Butlerian fan from the first hour.

I don't know if Butler had in mind to dedicate his book to someone from the beginning : the manuscript has no trace of inscription (Biaggini died four months before Butler started writing it) and Butler communicated Ingroja his decision by postcard on 21 October 1897, that is eleven days before the publisher gave him the first copy. Even if it is a 'last minute' dedication, it is still a sign of genuine affection.

Only four of the previous books by Butler were inscribed to someone: "*Life and Habit*" (1878, to Charles Paine Pauli, his close friend since New Zealand' times), "*Unconscious Memory*" (1880, to Richard Garnett of the British Museum, who always supported generously Butler in his researches), "*Luck or Cunning?*" (1886, to the late Alfred Taylor, thanks whose experiments the intellectual and volitional faculties of plants were demonstrated) and "*Ex Voto*" (1888, to the people of Varallo and of the Val Sesia). None of the subsequent works is inscribed to someone (apart from the translation of the *Odyssey*, inscribed to Ingroja as a 'supplement' to "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*").

II.3: EDITORIAL STEPS

We must rely only on internal clues and deductions to reconstruct the various stages of manuscript editing. Let's try to see first if Butler already had a plan of work in his mind. I think that just a glimpse to the title of the volume is enough to anyone realize how deeply Butler reversed his previous writings.

Although the idea of an authoress sprang first in Butler's mind and the Sicilian origin second, what he published both in England and in Italy was mostly focused on the topography. It was as if Butler the painter and the author of *Erewhon* led Butler the literary critic and trainee philologist: according to him, the places of the *Odyssey* had been drawn just like he himself had drawn the landscape in the novel born from his New Zealand experience.

Things were different in his 'oral apostolate': both in the conference at Working Men's College and in his private conversations, the idea of an *authoress* of the *Odyssey* kindled a lot of 'humoral' reactions. When Biaggini wrote to Butler that Nausicaa turned into a recurring evocation in Trapani, we have to believe that her name had evoked a flood of sarcastic comments…

Butler's trips to Sicily had provided him with continuous field confirmations of his topographical theory, and this consequently had entailed the need to find different authors for the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, a poem clearly linked to the Troad (which Butler visited in 1895, not long time after the end of the Dörpfeld excavation campaign).

By this way, Butler fully entered the Homeric Question, fighting simultaneously against the academic tradition and against what he called "*Wolf's heresy*" through the introduction of an even more heretical theory. We can say the author of "*The Fair Haven*" had awakened in him, and therefore the need to create a portrait of the author turned predominant.

Hence Butler overturns the weight of the two horns of his theory and, after got his family's past reckoned with, rehabilitating his grandfather to his own eyes (this was in fact for him the main effect of "*Life and Letters of Dr. Butler*", and one cannot fail to note that his interest in the *Odyssey* was born from the idea of a rehabilitation of Penelope), he starts writing the new book.

We can distinguish an introductory part (*Preface*, *Chapter I* and *II*), a 'block' of chapters demonstrating the female viewpoint of the *Odyssey* (*Chapters III-VII*), a block of topographical demonstration (*Chapters VIII-X*) and a final section of 'verifications' (identity of the authoress, dating of the poem, historical-archaeological-literary context: *Chapters XI-XV*); the *Conclusion* (*Chapter XVI*), which is partly linked to the *Preface*, is above all an outlet by Butler. The title and even more the subtitle of the book are very eloquent of the reversal of the relative weight between the two parts of the theory: "*Where and when she wrote, who she was, the use she made of the* Iliad, *and how the poem grew under her hands*".

As I have already said, *Chapters III, IV* and *V* have undergone a shift, for they being originally *II, III* and *IV*: Butler first project did not provide for a resume of the story of the *Odyssey*. Some other parts have undergone shifts in the passage from the manuscript to the print; a small 'mystery' then concerns the last chapter, which in the manuscript is numbered '*XVII*' on all pages (except one, evidently rewritten later), then corrected '*XVI*'. Either Butler wrote that chapter while he could not consult the rest of the manuscript and numbered it '*XVII*' by a defect of his memory, or there was actually a '*Chapter XVI*' which was then eliminated. I will return to this question later.

The shoots Butler inserted (all taken by Butler himself in his travels), are a novelty of this book respect his previous pamphlets. Butler had an illustrative need in his works since "*Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and Ticino*", a book enriched by some beautiful engravings drawn by himself, that then gave way to photographs in "*Ex Voto*", his book reserved to the Sacro Monte of Varallo Sesia.

In *The Authoress of the Odyssey* we find also the same maps of Trapani and its surroundings, which Butler had already attached to his previous pamphlets, and a sketch of Trapani and the Aegadean Islands from the Garden of the Balio in Eryx (it is still possible identifying the exact point from where Butler drew his sketch): it is a small tribute to himself as a painter…

Almost all the content of this book is taken up, sometimes literally, from his previous pamphets; Butler mainly efforted to give them uniformity, correcting some small details thanks his on-site explorations or on his friends' advice (Sugameli was very zealous in doing this…).

Eventually, it proved to be not an easy job, as the innumerous corrections in almost the whole manuscript show. Not infrequently Butler, on second readings, was displeased with some passages, so he used to expunge and replace them. Sometimes he was unhappy with the new text as well, so he used to erase it too and restore the former version putting a "*STET*", which indicated the poor printer to keep text, in spite it was shut off all round. Some passages migrate from a page to another or even from a chapter to another, in search of their ultimate location. Many handwritten notes in Butler own copies of his previous pamphlets on this topic (now in the *Butler Collection* at St John's College in Cambridge) show that he was unhappy about his writing already since then [42].

Many cards were added and interpolated to the text after a chapter, or even the entire manuscript, closed. The not unusual pages '*bis*' or '*ter*' confirm this; some cards are blank the recto and written the verso just to make easy finding the exact point where the interpolations were to be inserted.

For all this, I am positive there was an intermediary between Butler and the printer, a man who carefully oversaw the passage from the manuscript to the composition of the drafts: it certainly was not Butler himself, too busy with writing; perhaps it was Jones, who however is silent on this subject. Alfred Cathie, Butler's servant, probably shuttled between Longmans (39 Paternoster Row) and Butler (it was about a 15-minute walk), taking the drafts and bringing them back corrected, but I don't think he has been helping the printer on deciphering the manuscript for all the time.

After the print done, Butler identified five misprints and put them in the "*Corrigenda*" on page XV. Some other mistakes were corrected in the 1922 print, edited by Jones with the assistance of Andrew Bartholomew and Donald Robertson.

[42] T. Whitmarsh has dealt with them in his excellent paper *What Samuel Butler saw: Classics, Authorship and Cultural Authority in late Victorian England*, in: *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 48, 2002, pp. 66-86.

CHAPTER III: ANALISYS OF "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*"

III.1: PRELIMINARY WARNING TO MY CHAPTER ANALYSIS

In the following pages I will examine *The Authoress of the Odyssey* chapter by chapter, giving an account of the content and of the main differences between the book and the manuscript.

A *Synthetic Descriptive Table* is linked to the analysis of each chapter of the manuscript; it shows the correspondence of the various numerations of each card, and refers about:

a) interpolated cards, written the Recto or the Verso;

b) cancellations without a relative rewriting;

c) expunged passages;

d) changes or additions of text in the print, therefore not present in the manuscript.

Since, by lack of space, we could not report these tables both in the Italian text and in the English translation, we chose reporting them in an *Appendix* at the end of this book.

The words '*book*' and '*volume*', and their page numbers, are to be referred to the first edition of *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, published in London by Longmans, Green and Co. in November 1897. When I refer to the manuscript (which has four numerations, as said above), I use - if not otherwise said - the numeration of Librarian Fugaldi ("*n. D*"), which gives the sequence of the cards in the manuscript, regardless the order of their composition and insertion.

For example, "*I, 19*" is the card of the I tome of the manuscript which is numbered:

- "*2*" in grey pencil, in the upper right (I will write "~~*2*~~", for Butler crossed out this number with a red pencil stroke), according to what I have called '*numeration A*';

- "*Chap. I (2)*" in black ink pen, in the upper center (I will write "~~*(2)*~~", for Butler crossed out the number with a red pencil stroke), according to what I have called ' *numeration B*';

- "*2*" in red pencil, at the top right, according to what I have called ' *numeration C*';

- "*19*" in grey pencil, in the lower left, according to what I have called ' *numeration D*' (the '*I*' or '*II*' preceding the number of the card, is to be referred to the first or the second tome of the manuscript).

As about the interpolated cards, I use also a "*v*" for '*verso*' and a "*r*" for "*recto*".

For example, "*I, 31v*" is the card 31 (other numbers are not present on it) of the first tome of the ms; it is blank the recto, and written the verso. The printer has inserted its content on page 9 of the book, inside a passage which in the ms is on the card bearing "*I. (9)*" (num. '*B*'), "*13*"(num. '*C*'), and "*32*" (num. '*D*' - the numeration '*A*' is absent there).

There are some interpolated cards written the recto; then Butler usually adds a '*bis*', '*ter*' or '*A*', '*B*', etc. to the numeration '*A*' and '*B*'.

Finally, by comparing the book with the manuscript, I noticed that some words have been changed and some passages (even of some extent) have been added; it is therefore probable that Butler got these changes/additions made directly on the print drafts. In the '*Descriptive Table*' of each chapter I'll indicate in which card of the manuscript they should have been located.

In the '*Canc*' column I will highlight '*X*' only the cards in which a cancelation (I omit noting incomplete words) is not followed by a rewriting of the text, while in the '*EX*' column I will indicate the cards with a expunged passage, regardless whether it has been replaced or not.

By lack of space, I will report in the book/manuscript comparison only cancelled passages I deem significant, writing them with a strikethrough and specifying whether they have been replaced with a rewrite or not.

All the Italian quotations from Butler's book are from the translation (nominally) of Giuseppe Barrabini, published in Trapani by the Celebes publishing house in 1968. I say 'nominally' since Giuseppe Barrabini had been working in close contact with his brother Vincenzo, and Signora Teresa, a daughter of Vincenzo, told me that since Giuseppe's eyes problems, a good part of the translation had actually been done by Vincenzo himself[43]. The translation of the '*page titles*' (not present in the Italian translation) is mine.

[43] In a letter to Pocock dated June 25, 1968, Vincenzo Barrabini explicitly says that he grants the authorship of the translation to his brother, contenting himself to sign only the *Introduction*.

Every time I quote a deleted passage of the ms, I'll give their card number too; instead I'll never quote the page numbers of the book, to avoid boring the reader with innumerous references.

The following table offers a quick book / manuscript comparison:

Summary Table: THE NUMBERS OF "*THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY*"					
CONTENTS	**F-T B**	**F-T M**	**CIM**	**CC. M**	**PP. B**
CONTENTS of I TOME	N.E.	1	N.E.	1	N.E.
NAUSICAA'S PORTRAIT	N.N.	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	1
FRONTISPICE	(I)	2	N.E.	1	1
INSCRIPTION TO INGROIA	(III)	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	1
PREFACE	(V)-XIII	3-11	(c. 5 r), (c. 9 r), (c. 10 v), (c. 11 r),	9	8
CONTENTS	(XIII)-XV	12-16	N.E.	5	3
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	(XVI)	17	N.E.	1	1
CHAPTER I	(1)-13	18-35	(c. 20 r), (c. 21 v), (c. 23 r), (c. 24 r), (c. 25 r), (c. 31 v)	18	13
CHAPTER II	14-104	36-152	(c. 38 r), (c. 58 r), (c. 59 r), (c. 100 v)	115	91
CHAPTER III	105-114	153-167	(c. 159 r)	15	10
CHAPTER IV	115-124	168-180	N.E.	13	10
CONTENTS of II TOME	N.E.	1	N.E.	1	N.E.
CHAPTER V	125-133	2-15	(c. 7 r)	14	9
CHAPTER VI	134-141	16-27	N.E.	12	8
CHAPTER VII	142-157	28-50	(c. 30 v), (c. 32 v), (c. 34 r), (c. 35 v), (c. 36 r), (c. 37 r), (c. 39 v), (c. 42 r), (c. 43 v), (c. 46 v), (c. 49 r)	23	16
CHAPTER VIII	158-173	51-76	(cc. 55 r -58 r), (c. 59 v), (c. 65 r), (c. 67 v), (c. 74 v)	26	16
CHAPTER IX	174-187	77-95	(78 v), (80 v), (83 v)	19	14
CHAPTER X	188-199	96-109	(102 v)	14	12
CHAPTER XI	200-209	110-123	N.E.	14	10
CHAPTER XII	210-224	124-142	(124 v), (128 v), (135 v), (141 v)	19	15
CHAPTER XIII	225-231	143-150	N.E.	8	7
CHAPTER XIV	232-248	151-169	(157 r), (163 v)	19	17
CHAPTER XV	249-261	170-188	(173 v), (179 v), (182 r), (183 r), (184 r), (185 r), (186 v)	19	13
CHAPTER XVI	262-270	189-202	(194 r), (202 r)	13	9
INDEX	(271)-275	N.E.	N.E.	N.E.	5

The abbreviations of this '*Summary Table*' are to be solved as follows:

F-T B = From page 'x' To page 'y' of the book;
F-T M = From card 'x' To card 'y' of the ms (according the Numeration '*D*');
N.N. = No Number;
N.E. = Not Existing/None;
CIM = Cards Butler Interpolated to the Manuscript (according the Numeration '*D*'; '*v*' is for '*verso*' and '*r*' for '*recto*');
CC. M = How many Cards long a Chapter in the manuscript is;
PP. B = How many Pages long a Chapter in the book is.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS					
CONTENT	**Photo**	**Map**	**Sketch**	**To face p.**	**P.**
Frontispiece, Nausicaa	X				
The house of Ulysses			X		17
The cave of Polyphemus	X			43	
Signor Sugameli and the author in the cave of Polyphemus	X			43	
Map of Trapani and Mt. Eryx		X			164
The harbour Rheithron, now salt works of S. Cusumano	X			166	
Mouth of the harbour Rheithron, now silten up	X			166	
Map of the Ionian Islands		X			175
Map of the Aegadean Islands		X			177
Trapani from Mt. Eryx, showing Marettimo (Ithaca) "all highest up in the sea"			X		178
Map of the voyage of Ulysses		X			181
Wall at Cefalù, rising from the sea	X			185	
Megalithic remains on the mountain behind Cefalù	X			185	
H. Festing Jones, Esq., in flute of column at Selinunte	X			193	
Remains of megalithic wall on Mt. Eryx	X			193	
Wall at Hissarlik, showing the effects of weathering	X			217	
The Iliadic wall	X			217	
Coin bearing the legend lakin, and also showing the brooch of Ulysses	X				227

The Italian editions bearing the translation of Barrabini (Trapani 1968 and Rome 2013) carry no original photograph by Butler; the one bearing Aphel's translation contains four photographs of manuscript cards (frontispiece, contents of the I tome, an interpolated card with two photos of Polyphemus' Cave and the first card of Chapter V), a photo of Butler at 60, some of the drawings by Adolfo De Carolis for the translation of the *Odyssey* by Ettore Romagnoli (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1923), two sketches by John Flaxman (1755-1826) for the books *I* and *XXIV* of the *Odyssey*. This edition also contains a *Preface* by Dario Sabbatucci, an *Introduction* by Donata Aphel and an extract from the *Diary of a journey through North Italy to Sicily* by Jones (Cambridge, 1904), translated by Donata Aphel herself.

III.2: ANALYSIS OF *FRONTISPIECE, CONTENTS, LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

THE
AUTHORESS OF THE
ODYSSEY

WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS,
THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD,
AND
HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS

BY
SAMUEL BUTLER
Author of " Erewhon," "Life & Habit," "Alps & Sanctuaries,'
"The Life & Letters of Dr Samuel Butler," etc.

"There is no single fact to justify a conviction," said
Mr. Cock; whereon the Solicitor General replied
that he did not rely upon any single fact, but upon a
chain of facts, which taken all together left no
possible means of escape. *Times*, Leader. Nov. 16
1894
[(The prisoner was convicted).- *not present in the ms*]

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
AND NEW YORK: 16 EAST 16TH STREET
1897

Both tomes of the manuscript are opened, after a guard card inserted by the binder, by a card with the content: "*The Authoress of the Odyssey / Part I / to end of chapter IV.*" and "*The Authoress of the Odyssey / Part II / Chapter V - chap XVII.*". The handwriting shows some hastiness, so I think that Butler was very tired of his long and hard work; the text confirms that it was he that had collected the papers of the manuscript in two rows, I do not know if already in view of the binding or only for the convenience of storing and printing the papers. There's a sort of 'mystery' about the indication "*chap XVII.*", which refers to the last chapter of the manuscript, numbered '*XVII*' and then corrected '*XVI*'. I will write about this later.

When Butler wrote the title page, he indicated the publisher's company name in a lightly inaccurate way and did not add the last digit to the year of publication: it could be a sign that not yet he knew if the book would have been coming out in 1897 or 1898. Later Butler pasted (only from the left side, so we can lift it and see what's underneath) a business card with the exact publisher's company name; the addition "*All rights reserved*" and the indication "*in small italic*" on it are for the printer and not in Butler's hand. This indication in upper center is in his hand: "*Title page to be got up something in the style of my Life & Letters of Dr Butler of which I believe I must have sent you a proof on Saturday. If you think you can arrange the matter better than I have done, by all means do so. S.B.*". Since the first copy was delivered to Butler on November 1, and from a Butler's letter to his friend Giulio Arienta from Varallo we know he sent the latest drafts to the printer on the morning of Wednesday 13 October, we can assume that this note was written between the late September and the early October.

On the title page Butler reported an excerpt taken from a *Times* Leader, most likely because he was struck by the contrast "*single fact / chain of facts*", which was his defense against the first criticisms he received: the list of points he compiled (and then expanded thanks to Biaggini's suggestions) for the localization of Scheria, was precisely a chain of correspondences "*which taken all together left no possible means of escape*".

The whole Leader is on page 7 of the *Times* of Friday 16 November 1894 and is a commentary on an episode that had been troubling and intriguing an England still shaken by the recent and famous case of Jack the Ripper. This is the so called "*Southend Murder*": on June 25, 1894, near the village of Prittlewell (a suburb of Southend, in Essex), the body of a woman of 23 eight months pregnant, named Florence Dennis, was discovered. She was killed by a bullet to the head. James Canham Read, a thirty-nine-year-old cashier married and father of four, was blamed for the murder; he had an affair with the victim.

In the trial, according to his defender Alfred Cock (a barrister of Queen's Council), not a single fact justifying the sentence emerged, but the Solicitor General was instead sure he had put together a chain of facts not allowing anyone to escape their consequent deductions (Butler liked just this).

This case has been turned particularly 'spicy' by the fact that the prisoner had had a relationship (and perhaps also a son) also with the victim's sister a short time before; moreover, he also had in Mitcham, on the opposite side to his house (he lived in London's East End, at 57 Jamaica Street, in Stepney, not far from the place of Jack the Ripper's deeds) another house, with another wife, another son and another identity (he pretended to be the sales agent Edgar Benson). In short, he was the classic immoral seducer, perfect to be 'a priori guilt'.

In favor of Read some voices rose, among which were the writer Robert Buchanan ("*immorality is not a capital offense*") and above all his defender Alfred Cock, whom *Vanity Fair* in 1891 defined "*leathern lungs and a voice of brass*" adding: "*His knowledge of law is limited; but he believes in the supreme importance of getting facts to come out on his own side. Consequently he is very commonly guilty of a resounding and jovial laugh; but which he has pointed to many an absurdity screwed out of a hostile witness driven to desperation by his loud and persistent badgering: which method, combined with his inimitable manner of putting a broadly humorous view of his opponent's case before a jury, has been worth thousands to him*". We should remember that Alfred Cock had previously been the defender of the writer and publisher Henry Richard Vizetelly, who had been tried twice for immorality, since he had published a translation of Zola's novel "*La Terre*"; on his second trial, in 1889, he was sentenced to a £ 200 fine and three months in prison[44].

Read was not a very nice character, but during the trial he claimed to be innocent of the crime. He was convicted of purely circumstantial evidence and was executed on December 4, 1894. We do not know if Butler had some doubts about his guilt, but the fact that he added at the time of printing (on the manuscript it does not appear) "*the prisoner was convicted*", and the explicit testimony of Jones, who tells us that Butler felt "*like the Solicitor General*" because he had put together a chain of facts, leads me to believe that he used this quote to re-

[44] See Eileen Horne: *Zola and the Victorians: Censorship in the Age of Hypocrisy* - London, MacLehose Press, 2016. It will be only a coincidence, but Christopher MacLehose is a publisher descending from the Scottish publisher who published Jebb's "*Introduction to Homer*"; moreover, he attended the Shrewsbury School from 1953 to 1958.

spond to Canon Mondello, who he had put an end to their controversy on "*Il Lambruschini*" by quoting Dante's verse "*That falsehood none beguile thee of the truth*". On that occasion too Butler used the metaphor of the policeman who puts together a chain of clues to identify the culprit.

Quoting that passage in the title page is therefore not an extemporaneousness, dictated by current affairs. After all, the *Times* Leader and the story of Read dated back to three years before the writing of the manuscript. Butler must therefore have taken note of the article, thinking of using it later; maybe he immediately felt it could prove a good one to support his method, whatever the Reverend Canon Fortunato Mondello could say.

The redaction of the '*Contents*' maybe goes back to the time Butler received the page layout. He reports the page numbers of every chapter exactly which they are in the book. As a perfectionist, he writes to the printer: "*The books of the* Odyssey *in chapter II should be printed perhaps in a little smaller type than ordinary headings, but it would I think be better if you sent me the frontpage as a sample that I may see how it looks*". He was immediately satisfied and thus pasted the clippings of some print drafts on the manuscript (starting from the middle of *chapter II*, containing the titles he assigned to the summaries of the books of the *Odyssey*, up to *chapter XIV*, *chapter X* excepted), just to see the effect it has; he did not like the result, since the font in the book is smaller.

The list of *Corrigenda* (which of course could not have been in the manuscript) is short and includes only five steps:

Page 2, line 11, for "furnished" read "furnishes."
Page 10, third line from bottom of page, and also in note, for "Mont Rosa" read "Monte Rosa."
Page 160, line 10, between "as he" and "sure", supple "is."
Page 164, line 4, for "Lilyboean" read "Lilybaean".
Page 184, in note twice, for "Aenotria" read "Oenotria."

In the '*List of the Illustrations*' (they're 18 in all, and include 10 outdoor photographs, 2 photographic reproductions, 2 drawings and 4 maps), Butler adds '*Nausicaa*' to '*Frontispiece*' in the print.

An index of names and notable things was added at the bottom of the book, in the printing phase. It is likely that it has been compiled by Butler himself on cards not attached to the manuscript.

III.3: ANALYSIS OF *PREFACE*

The *Preface* consists of 8 pages in the book (v-xii), corresponding to 9 cards in the manuscript (I, 3-11). As said, it was written while Butler was traveling and the rest of the manuscript had already been delivered to the publisher Murray (who however refused to publish it). In a certain sense, this *Preface* duplicates *Chapter I* and somewhat also *Chapter XVI*, as it takes up the essential ideas of both of them; perhaps this is why D. Aphel has omitted it in her translation.

The first part contains a sort of chronobibliography of the papers foregoing the volume; their titles are not mentioned; not all bibliographical references are always complete.

Butler wrote first "*the following work consists in ~~great~~ measure of matter already published in England and Italy during the last ~~five and a half~~ years*", then replaced '*~~great~~*' with '*some*' e '*~~five and a half~~*' with '*six*': *Preface* was originally completed and dated '*~~Varallo. June 5. 1897~~*', but Butler was not content with it and kept working all the summer and beyond it. The reference to the articles published on the *Italian Gazette* is also a later addition. Then Butler thanks Biaggini, Sugameli, and Ingroja, for the contribution they offered; after this he writes that the volume contains many additions to his foregoing papers, above all a broader discussion of the sex of the writer of the poem. This was the main reason for him to write this book, as we can understand from a step at the end of card I, 3, then canceled and rewritten: "*I have now entirely recast and restarted the whole argument, ~~bringing the whole together in coherent form, and adding the argument form, and adding the argument for the poem's having been written by a woman, a matter on which I had only touched very lightly in any of my previous publications~~*".

Butler admits that his previous brochures raised almost no reaction and stresses that the most important thing for him is not to ascertain the author's sex and place of residence, but simply '*the knowing as much as I can about the poem*'. C. I, 4 shows he was continuing "*~~& if my mistakes~~*", but this cancellation, if we look at it with a Freudian eye, reveals that Butler couldn't allow his opponents to say he was wrong, not even by hypothesis.

He indicates the '*Introduction to Homer*' of prof. Jebb as an eloquent example of scholars' attitude, and even if he quotes three reviews of his pamphlets in some English journals, the reader hardly escapes the impression of a 'conspiracy of silence'[45].

As a good painter and art critic, albeit an amateur, Butler reserves some space to the history of the portrait on the title page, that he had seen in Cortona, Tuscany[46].

As about the original Greek text of the *Odyssey*[47], which he had used for the summary of his translation, Butler states that he has followed the canons established by Gladstone and that he made only two amendments. Then he argues about the translation of the Greek names: according to the generation to which he belongs, he follows the Latin usage, how it is practiced in the British Museum and how he was taught it by his teachers - the reverend Richard Shilleto and the late prof. Kennedy (whose memory he had been reviving in the biography of his grandfather, Dr. Butler: among his correspondence Butler had found a letter of November 4, 1823, in which a then young Kennedy asked '*how much Homer would be desirable to read*').

After writing that he is interested in attracting non-academic readers rather than academics (he was harboring no hope about their attention) Butler closes with the date "~~*Varallo 5 June 1897*~~" (c. 8).

This conclusion perhaps sounded somewhat soft, however, to the polemicist who was inside him, so he shut this part off and rewrote it making a more evident joke against the 'academics': they feel shocked by the use of Latin names for Greek gods and heroes, but then they go out of their way to get Wolf's theory (he wrote first "~~*the incubus of*~~ *Wolf*", c. I, 9) and German criticism accepted. Sensible people feel bad about it, so Butler refuses to follow these critics until time has passed and demonstrated whether they are "*faddists*" or not. This step is rather tormented, full of cancellations and second thoughts about the controversy's tone to be adopted.

Butler has already donated the British Museum a copy of the *Odyssey*, which highlights the passages of the *Iliad*; now he would like to give the Museum a copy of his translation of the *Iliad* with the underlining of the lines which the authoress borrowed, with their position in the *Odyssey*. So Butler realized that the Homeric language was highly formular (he wrote this thirty years before Milman Parry introduced the concept of oral formularity), but he assumed this characteristic as a proof not of the oral composition, but of the written one (this is a perspective that in some way anticipates what today is defined 'textualism').

The last thought of the *Preface* is a special thanks to Henry Festing Jones for his support: in fact, Jones had been checking the topographical details for two years.

III.4: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER I*

TITLE: IMPORTANCE OF THE ENQUIRY - THE STEPS WHEREBY I WAS LED TO MY CONCLUSIONS - THE MULTITUDE OF EARLY GREEK POETESSES REMOVES ANY A PRIORI DIFFICULTY - THE MUSES AND MINERVA AS HEADS OF LITERATURE - MAN, RATHER THAN WOMAN, THE INTERLOPER.
Page headlines: Baselessness of Wolfs theory - Bentley and the *Odyssey* - How I was led to my opinion - A woman's natural mistakes - Man's work and woman's - Poetesses in early Greek literature

It is 13 pages long (1-13), 18 handwritten cards (I, 18-35). "M*an, rather than woman, the interloper*" has been added later to the chapter title.

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[45] That this impression is the result of a clever manipulation by Butler himself, intending to deliver a portrait of himself as an author destined to be understood only by posterity, is one of the main points of the highly documented essay by M. Beard: *Why Homer was (not) a woman*, in J. Paradis (editor): *Samuel Butler. Victorian against the Grain*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007. On this topic see also, in the same book, J. Paradis: *Butler after Butler: the Man of Letters as Outsider*.

[46] Butler saw it at the local Museum of the Etruscan Academy (to which it had been donated in 1851 and where it still is today) in September 1892, on return from his first 'expedition to Sicily'. Probably the information he reports on his book had been provided to him by Girolamo Mancini (1832 - 1924), who was curator of the Museum of the Etruscan Academy and librarian of the municipal and academic library from 1873, and lifetime president of the Academy itself from 1889. Since the discovery of this portrait in the mid-eighteenth century, however, some suspicions of being a sixteenth-century work or even a contemporary fake have been weighing on this *unicum*. Butler had yet reached Cortona in 1880, but we do not know if then he visited only the walls or also the Academy. Butler was provided the photo in his book by the Alinari Brothers, the famous photo company founded in Florence in 1852.

[47] As I can judge from the extracts affixed on the manuscript, Butler follows the Greek text established by W. Dindorf (Leipzig, Tuebner, I don't know which one of the many reprints).

It is an illustrative chapter which somehow ends up duplicating the *Preface*: Butler declares that the questions about the author's sex and the place of origin of the poem relate to the 'Homeric question', since the answers he is now giving prove that the poem has been written by one author only. An expunged passage at the beginning of c. I, 19, which has some sentences yet present on the previous page, shows that the current c. I, 18 is a rewrite replacing the original one.

Butler mainly argues against the Wolfian theory, which he calls the '*Wolfian heresy*' (this term matches the expression '*Wolf's virtual denial of Homer's*', which replaces the milder expression "*Wolf's ~~question concerning~~ Homer's*"), the "*Homeric extravagance which German professors have evolved out of their own inner consciousness*". The word '*extravagance*' had been used and then replaced with "*recklessness*" in the previous paragraph (c. I, 22), in which Butler deplores the "*unsettling of questions concerning authorship*" that many believe "*an easy road to reputation as a critic*", pretending, in his typical style, to deplore the recklessness of each new generation of critics ("*Nor does there appear to be any end to it, for each succeeding generation seems bent on trying to surpass the recklessness of its predecessor*").

This strong moment of the anti-academic controversy was not part of the first draft of the chapter, but was added later with c. I, 21, almost beyond the bon ton, just to show that the '*chairs of inconsistency*' were not only in Erewhonian universities: "*the following pages will read a lesson of another kind*". He hesitated a little before assuming this tone, as we can see from the many corrections, second thoughts and additions that crowd these cards of the manuscript, since he was charging other scholars with illogicalness just while asserting absolutely disconcerting conjectures.

Butler then moves to an excursus on the value of many of the studies about Homer: his main target is Prof. Jebb's book, but some significant handwritten additions reveal an inner resistance. He then looks for some support in Bentley's claim that the *Odyssey* has been written for women, but goes further saying the poem has been written for anyone, not only for a female audience.

Butler then traces the stages of his interest in the *Odyssey*, sometimes repeating even literally his previous papers, sometimes adding some new details; however, his '*living and real vision*' of Nausicaa, about which we read on page 25 of the first Italian edition, is a free translation by Barrabini (Giuseppe or Vincenzo?), who somewhat has 'lyricalized' the tone of the original text, that is almost similar to a marriage promise (incredible, since it is Butler: the idea of an authoress "*vowed that it would never leave me*" and "*take rank with the convictions to which I was most firmly wedded*"). This step had sounded a bit embarrassing its translators, since even Donata Aphel, while not introducing the '*living and real vision*' of Barrabini, has omitted to translate "*take rank with the convictions to which I was most firmly wedded*"[48].

Butler was not a feminist, but he was no longer the same misogynist as before: "*It may be urged that it is extremely improbable that any woman in any age should write such a masterpiece as the* Odyssey. *But so it also is that any man should do so*". And again: women "*as they will act, so will they write. This, however, does not make their work any the less charming when it is good of its kind; on the contrary, it makes it more so*".

In writing this Butler is perfectly connected to current affairs, so much so that he reports an excerpt from the Times of Thursday 4 February 1897: "*The sex difference is the profoundest and most far-reaching that exists among human beings (…) Women may or may not be the equals of men in intelligence; (...) but women in the mass will act after the manner of women, which is not and never can be the manner of men*"[49].

This passage is an editorial account of the debate that took place the day before in Parliament regarding the second reading of the *Parliamentary Women Franchise Bill*, that is, of the proposal to extend the right to vote to women. This is in particular a summary of the interventions of William Harcourt (liberal leader, then in the opposition) and Leonard Courtney (deputy of Bodmin, Cornwall, formally ministerial but not always aligned with government positions). Prof Jebb also took the floor, declaring himself in favor of the proposal, arguing that "*women were necessarily better judges of the needs of women than men could possibly be*"[50].

There is one thing Butler is deeply convinced of: "*What is a right manner for a woman is a wrong one for a man, and* vice versa". He cites, as an example of this, young people of Jane Austen's novels, which "*are rarely very interesting*" (but in the manuscript he had used a much stronger expression, later corrected in the print: "*puppets filled with straw*", c. I, 32).

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[48] S. Butler: *L'Autrice dell'Odissea* – transl. by D. Aphel, Rome, Edizioni dell'Altana, 1998, p. 24.
[49] *The Times*, Leader, 4 February 1897, p. 9.
[50] *The Times*, *Parliament. Women Franchise Bill*, 4 February 1897, p. 3.

To make evident how higher is the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad* in his eyes, Butler uses a metaphor that he loves so much that we find it several times in the manuscript , almost as if he did not know exactly where put it - or perhaps from where take it off: "*if I had to sacrifice one or the other, I can hardly doubt that 1 should let the* Iliad *go rather than the* Odyssey *— just as if I had to sacrifice either Mont Blanc or Mont Rosa, I should sacrifice Mont Blanc, though I know it to be in many respects the grander mountain of the two*".

The existence of many poetesses in the early Greece and in the Jewish world are a strong argument to admit the existence of a poetess in Sicily in 1000 BC, moreover since the Greek historian Thucydides attests to the presence of a Greek people (the Phocians, or better say Phocaeans) in the surroundings of Eryx. Since "*in an age when women were as free as they are represented to us in the* Odyssey *it is a violation of probability to suppose that there were no poetesses*", it ought be assumed the Muse, with whose invocation the poems open, "*to have been an authoress, though none of her works have come down to us*".

What's the conclusion? "*If the truth were known, we might very likely find that it was man rather than woman who has been the interloper in the domain of literature*". Butler liked this consideration so much that he added it also to the title of the chapter, as it is evident at first sight.

III.5: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER II*

TITLE: THE STORY OF THE *ODYSSEY*.
Page headlines: MY ABRIDGEMENT—HOUSE OF ULYSSES
The Story of the *Odyssey*. BOOK: I. The council of the gods - Telemachus and the suitors in the house of Ulysses - BOOK II. Assembly of the people of Ithaca — Telemachus starts for Pylos - BOOK III. Telemachus at the house of Nestor - BOOK IV. Telemachus at the house of Menelaus — The suitors resolve to lie in wait for him as he returns, and murder him - BOOK V. Ulysses in the island of Calypso — He leaves the island on a raft, and after great suffering reaches the land of the Phaeacians - BOOK VI. The meeting between Ulysses and Nausicaa - BOOK VII. The splendours of the house of King Alcinous — Queen Arete wants to know where Ulysses got his shirt and cloak, for she knows them as her own look — Ulysses explains - BOOK VIII. The Phaeacian games and banquet in honour of Ulysses - BOOK IX. The voyages of Ulysses — The Cicons, Lotus eaters, and the Cyclops Polyphemus - BOOK X. Aeolus — the Laestrygonians — Circe. - BOOK XI. Ulysses in the house of Hades - BOOK XII. The Sirens — Scylla and Charybdis — the cattle of the Sun - BOOK XIII. Ulysses is taken back to Ithaca by the Phaeacians - BOOK XIV. Ulysses in the hut of Eumaeus. - BOOK XV. Telemachus returns from Pylos, and on landing goes to the hut of Eumaeus. - BOOK XVI. Ulysses and Telemachus become known to one another - BOOK XVII. Telemachus goes to the town, and is followed by Eumaeus and Ulysses, who is maltreated by the suitors. - BOOK XVIII. The fight between Ulysses and Irus — The suitors make presents to Penelope - and ill-treat Ulysses. - BOOK XIX. Ulysses converses with Penelope, and is recognized by Euryclea. - BOOK XX. Ulysses converses with Eumaeus, and with his herdsman Philoetius — The suitors again maltreat him—Theoclymenus foretells their doom and leaves the house. - BOOK XXI. The trial of the bow and of the axes - BOOK XXII. The killing of the suitors. - BOOK XXIII Penelope comes down to see Ulysses, and being at last convinced that he is her husband, retires with him to their own old room —In the morning Ulysses, Telemachus, Philoetius and Eumaeus go to the house of Laertes. - BOOK XXIV. The Ghosts of the suitors in Hades — Ulysses sees his father — is attacked by the friends of the suitors — Laertes kills Eupeithes — Peace is made between him and the people of Ithaca.

This is the longest chapter, 91 printed pages (14-104), which correspond to 115 cards in the manuscript (I, 36-152). It includes a summary of the prose translation that Butler undertook at the beginning of his interest for the *Odyssey*; it comprises, as Butler himself says, only a quarter of the entire poem, and "*is intended not as a work of art, but as an elucidatory diagram*". Despite this, Butler did not do a passive work of synthesis of his translation, but strived to be original also in summarizing himself.

Butler is aware that the reader may be troubled by his translation since "*any passages may strike him as impossibly modern*", but he "*adhered as severely to the intention of the original as it was possible*"; the resulting text is a "*juster one than any that, (…), has been made public hitherto*".

Butler reserves a gibe – immediately erased – to the Butcher and Lang's prose translation, saying that it "~~*assuredly does not err on the side of not being close enough to the Odyssey*~~" (c. I,37). Even he, however, was not exempt from the temptation of clarity; in the summary of his translation of *book XII*, for example, he had been adding some words in brackets, giving their reason in a note: "~~*the words enclosed in brackets are not in the Odyssey, but I insert them as giving what I believe to have been the author's meaning*~~" (c. I,86). Not to contradict what he had stated in the chapter's opening, Butler later deleted both the addition and the note.

Butler was at the same time able to see what could not work: "*I am male, practiced and elderly, and the trail of sex, age and experience is certain to be over my translation. If the poem is ever to be well translated, it must be by some high-spirited English girl who has been brought up at Athens and who, therefore, has not been jaded by academic study of the language*"[51].

Butler also inserts an out of text table with his plan of the house of Ulysses, in response to the works of Jebb[52], Lang[53] and Platt[54]. The insertion of an 'abridgement' (he calls it so) of his translation was not part of the original plan of the work, since the current *chapters III*, *IV*, *V* and *VI* clearly had a lower number in the manuscript, later changed. Butler maybe realized, while writing the current *Chapter VI*, that a narrative of the main facts of the poem would get his argumentation easier accepted, and therefore he inserted the present *Chapter II*.

III.6: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER III*

TITLE: THE PREPONDERANCE OF WOMAN IN THE *ODYSSEY*
Page headlines: Gladstone on *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. - Men do not help Ulysses. - Women in Hades. – Dante. — Virgil. — Fielding.

It consists of 10 printed pages (105-114) and 15 handwritten cards (I, 153-167), and represents one of the 'novelties' of the volume compared to his previous pamphlets. In fact, Butler introduces immediately "*the most unerring test of female authorship: surely a preponderance of female interest, and a fuller knowledge of those things which a woman generally has to deal with, than of those that fall more commonly within the province of man*".

This topic was discussed by Butler in the conference at Working Men's College on January 30, 1892, but then was overshadowed in his subsequent writings, more focused on the topographical evidence; now Butler takes it up again.

According to him, there is a deep incommunicability between the two sexes: "*Man and woman never fully understand one another save, perhaps, during courtship and honeymoon, (...) the barriers can never be broken down completely, and each sex will dwell mainly, though not, of course, exclusively, within its own separate world*". However, as these barriers underlie the attraction of one sex for another, they better remain. Butler was about to return to deal with the *Odyssey*, but had an afterthought, canceled a passage which he will then resume after a short while, and inserted a further reflection: "*Men seem unable to draw women at all without either laughing at them or caricaturing them; and so, perhaps, a woman never draws a man so felicitously as when she is making him ridiculous. If she means to make him so she is certain to succeed; if she does not mean it she will succeed more surely still. Either sex, in fact, can caricature the other delightfully, and certainly no writer has ever shown more completely than the writer of the* Odyssey*, has done that, next to the glorification of woman, she considers man's little ways and weaknesses to be the fittest theme on which her genius can be displayed*".

Butler briefly reviews the female characters of the poem (Minerva, Penelope, Euryclea, Helen, Idothea, Calypso, Circe, Nausicaa, Arete), all of them strong women who appear to dominate men: "*The moral in every case seems to be that man knows very little, and cannot be trusted not to make a fool of himself even about the little that lie does know, unless he has a woman at hand to tell him what he ought to do. There is not a single case in which a man comes to the rescue of female beauty in distress; it is invariably the other way about*".

In spite of the assertive tone, the drafting of the text is full of cancellations, rewrites and additions, passages expunged or moved from one card to another, as like as Butler was struggling somewhat to find the right exhibition rhythm.

A character on whom Butler wonders somewhat is Queen Arete, who is more important than Alcinous in the whole episode of the Phaeacians: "*I do not believe in her myself; I believe Penelope would have been made more amiable if Arete had been as nice a person as the writer says she was*". Butler had added - and then deleted - a sentence that clarifies this statement: "~~*the writer, who I gather to be Arete's daughter, has not yet begun*~~

[51] S. Butler: *The Notebooks,* London, Fifield, 1915, p. 198.
[52] R. Jebb: *Introduction to Homer*, Glasgow, Maclehose, 1888, pp. 57-62 and 175-185.
[53] A. Lang: *Note 18*, in *The Odyssey of Homer done in English prose by S. Butcher and A. Lang*, London, MacMillan and Co, 1879, pp. 422-424.
[54] A. Platt: *The slaying of the Suitors*, in *Journal of Philology*, vol. XXIV, Cambridge, 1896, pp. 39-45.

~~*to rebel, and probably has hardly found out her own mind upon the subject,*~~ [~~*but whether this is so or not*~~ – text deleted and replaced with the following] ~~*so that she is still affectionately dutiful, but I would repeat that I do not believe in queen Arete*~~" (c. I,159). For Butler Queen Arete is a literary projection of the authoress' mother, drawn while the young woman had not yet embarked on the path of protesting her parents; Penelope's character is also modeled on that of Queen Arete, but the authoress dealt with it at a later time, when she started to notice her mother's "*defects*", transferring them to Penelope.

For this reason, in the eyes of Butler the character of Queen Arete is not credible. It could be representative of a certain mental reserve of Butler in this regard, the fact that Queen Arete is not an independent entry in the *Index of Names* at the end of the volume, where she is entered together with Alcinous, even for lines in which she actually is not there; moreover, p. 108 (where the above quoted passage is) is not entered the index.

Butler finds further evidence of the female superiority in the Ulysses' descent to Hades, where women are again in a prominent position: the fact that Anticlea recommends her son Ulysses to return home as soon as possible to tell about his adventures in Hades to Penelope, is "*more characteristic of a female than of a male writer*". And if he, Butler, had to be choosing some shadows to meet, he would probably have been asking to see the authoress "*before any of the others*".

Butler tries several times to come back to the poem, but is so captured by this topic that he cancels everything many times and returns to digress on the link between people and beings of their own sex, introducing what he supposes to be the most irrefutable proof: "*This is how the Virgin Mary has come to be Queen of Heaven, and practically of more importance than the Trinity itself in the eyes of the common people in Roman Catholic countries. For the women support the theologians more than the men do*". This thought is the result of a sudden illumination and has been inserted in I, 166 as an elegant scholium outside the text mask.

III.7: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER IV*

TITLE: JEALOUSY FOR THE HONOUR AND DIGNITY OF WOMAN — SEVERITY AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE DISGRACED THEIR SEX — LOVE OF SMALL RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES — OF PREACHING — OF WHITE LIES AND SMALL PLAY-ACTING — OF HAVING THINGS BOTH WAYS — AND OF MONEY.
Page headlines: Jealousy for the honour of woman. - Has no mercy on the fallen. - Love of preaching. - Money in *Iliad* and in *Odyssey*.

Once more, the femininity in the poem is the topic of this chapter, 10 printed pages (115-124) and 13 handwritten cards (I, 168-180) long.

Hunting for feminine elements, Butler inspects the whole poem, throughout which a sense of deep respect for women flows: they "*can be hanged but they must not be laughed at*"; no woman is forced to do actions that would make her lose dignity, except for the slaves. Butler also wrote "~~*made to do menial works*~~" (I,169), but then canceled it, so that the reader wouldn't mistake it as his opinion. The authoress is "*exceedingly jealous for the honour of her sex, and by consequence inexorable in her severity against those women who have disgraced it*".

If women cannot be laughed at, men can, and Butler traces the psychological origin of this attitude; the authoress is young and her feelings towards her father are ambivalent: "*he is a mysterious powerful being whose ways are not as her ways (…); and if his wife is at all given to laughing at him, his daughter will not spare him, however much she may cajole and in a way love him*".

Only three women in the whole poem were punished for their infidelity: a) Clytemnestra, b) the woman who kidnapped Eumaeus when he was a child, c) the handmaids of the house of Ulysses who had affairs with the suitors. The latter case is particularly atrocious, since they were killed not before being forced to clean the blood of their lovers: "*where female honour has been violated by those of woman's own sex, no punishment is too bad for them*".

Other proofs of the *Odyssey*'s femininity are "*a kind of art for art's sake love of a small lie, and a determination to have things both ways whenever it suits her purpose*" and "*the punctiliousness, omnipresent, with which small religious observances are insisted upon, coupled with not a little unscrupulousness when these have been attended to, the respect for gods and omens, and for the conveniences generally*".

What about Penelope's reproach to her son Telemachus, who allowed Ulysses and Irus to punch each other? "*I do not believe any man could make a mother rebuke her son so femininely*". Further evidence is "*jealousy*

for the sanctity of domestic life" and anger at the erosion of Ulysses' heritage because of the prodigality of the suitors.

Butler repeats here the same conclusion he reached already in 1892: "*Woman, religion, and money are the three dominant ideas in the mind of the writer of the* Odyssey".

III.8: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER V*

TITLE: ON THE QUESTION WHETHER OR NO PENELOPE IS BEING WHITEWASHED.
Page headlines: The whitewashing of Penelope. - Penelope's web - Penelope used no due diligence. - Ulysses' mother on the situation.

It consists of 9 printed pages (125-133) and 14 handwritten cards (II, 2-15); it is reserved to Penelope's alleged '*whitewashing*', a topic that Butler had addressed at the Working Men's College conference.

Although Butler had put this theme somehow aside in his theory, we ought not forget that this whole adventure had sprung out from a Butler's joke to disconcert his friend Garnett. Step by step, Butler got actually convinced the authoress wrote the poem to whitewash Penelope, and at last he claimed: "*in all Penelope's devotion to her husband there is an ever present sense that the lady doth protest too much*".

Here Butler takes on the tone of the detective unmasking a truth too long hidden (this is the role he undertook in his controversy with Mondello): "~~*We have therefore to consider wheter the story of Penelope's constancy is sufficiently plausible to make it acceptable as an original story*~~" (cc. II,2-3). Perhaps Butler considered this passage very strong, and made several cancellations: first "~~*plausible to make it*~~", then "~~*as an original story*~~", lastly, the whole phrase. He let the next step remain ("*Let us see what the writer asks us to believe, or rather, to swallow*") but in the print he replaced '*writer*' with '*Odyssey*'. By his own side, the Italian translator was attacked by some scruples and omitted "*to swallow*".

Butler then compiles a list of suspicious points.

A) We are told that "*more than a hundred young men fall violently in love, at the same time, with a supposed widow*" and would not had left before she chose one of them.

B) Penelope, "*a model both wife and mother, suffers agonies of grief, partly because of the death of her husband, and partly because she cannot get the suitors out of the house.*".

C) The suitors never slept in her house and never saw her alone; she used always appearing with two maids at her side and with a veil on her face, "*modestly*". Here Butler pulls a poisonous gibe: "*true, she was forty, but neither she nor the poetess seem to bear this in mind, so we may take it as certain that it was modesty and nothing else that made her hold up the veil*". Let's remind that elsewhere in his writings Butler wrote that old age begins at 35, and therefore Penelope had exceeded this limit for some time.

D) The suitors "*lived on terms of improper intimacy with her women servants — none of whom appear to have been dismissed instantly on detection*".

E) None of the suitors insisted "*on being found in bed as well as board*" and indeed everyone took great care "*that not one breath of scandal should attach to Penelope*".

F) It is strange that "*these ardent passionate lovers never quarrel among themselves for the possession of their middle-aged paragon. (…). They show no signs of jealousy*. (…) *No one seems to think it essential that she shall marry himself in particular*".

It can also be said that the suitors liked, more than Penelope, a comfortable life at the expense of Telemachus, but "*if men are in love they will not sponge; if they sponge they are not in love; we may have it either way but not both*".

For Butler, the authoress "*cannot have even the faintest conception of the way in which a man feels towards a woman he is in love with, nor yet much (…) of what women commonly feel towards the man of their choice*", so he concludes that "*she was still very young, and unmarried*" (if we mind that women used to marry very young aged in the ancient world, then the authoress would have been little older than a baby, for what our current canons are).

A man wishing to picture Penelope as a virtuous woman, would have portrayed the suitors not as lovers but "*mere marauders, who overawed Penelope by their threats, and were only held in check by her mother wit and by, say, some three or four covert allies among the suitors themselves*".

After examined the authoress' version ("*Penelope is an injured innocent*"), Butler moves on to the suitors' version, deducible from Antinous' speech in bk. II, 93-128: she is "*artful heartless flirt who prefers having a*

hundred admirers rather than one husband". So, Butler wonders, which version of the two came nearest "*to the original story which she was sophisticating, and retelling in a way that was more to her liking?*".

That Penelope somehow encouraged or prolonged the courtship is proved by the fact that she sent messages to every suitor, and the ploy of the web served "*not so much in order to delay a hateful marriage, as to prolong a very agreeable courtship*". She has never resorted to any of the tricks usually used to tire men, such as making them pose for a long time as models for the web, or making them run errands and then scolding them, or not paying them the commissions made for her: "*In a word, did she do a single one of the thousand things so astute a matron would have been at no loss to hit upon if she had been in earnest about not wishing to be courted ? With one touch of common sense the whole fabric crumbles into dust*".

In short, for Butler the authoress had a very great desire to show "*how a clever woman can bring any number of men to her feet, hoodwink them, spoil them, and in the end destroy them*".

A part of this chapter concerns Laertes: instead being poor at all, as claimed by Anticlea in book XI, he was very wealthy (as Penelope says in *book II*); "*the greater part, however, of Ulysses' enormous wealth must have come to him from Laertes, who we may be sure kept more for himself than he gave to his son*". The reason why the authoress relegated him to the countryside is "*mainly the writer's inability to explain his non-interference*". This weakness of writing would go hand in hand with a chronological error: when Ulysses meets his mother in Hades, she tells him that Telemachus, being a magistrate, is always out to deal with many people; however, that meeting took place before Ulysses arrived to Calypso, where he stayed for seven years, and therefore Telemachus must have been around 12 or 13 years old at the time. Evidently "*the writer has forgotten this*"; this very forgivable mistake would be due to the fact that "*at the time Book xi. was written, the writer had as yet no intention of adding Books i.-iv., and from line 187 of Book xiii. to Book xxiv. but proposed to ignore the current scandalous stories about Penelope, and to say as little as possible about her*".

These arguments certainly cannot give today readers the confirmation that it was a woman the poem's author, but can make them understand better how Butler projected thought patterns and ways of behavior on the ancient woman that were typical of his contemporary world.

Is this the reason why the drafting of this chapter looks quite smooth?

III.9: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER VI*

TITLE: FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE CHARACTER OF PENELOPE—THE JOURNEY OF TELEMACHUS TO LACEDAEMON.

Page headlines: Minerva alarms Telemachus. - Interpolated marriage of Hermione. - Collapse of Menelaus' splendour. - Why Telemachus was sent to Pylos.

Also this chapter, 8 printed pages (134-141) and 12 handwritten cards (II, 16-27) long, deals with the character of Penelope, a main question to establish if the *Odyssey* is the work of a woman; Butler therefore seeks further evidence " *to show how impossible she finds it to conceal the fact that those who knew Penelope best had no confidence in her*".

Obviously among them there is also Minerva, who at the beginning of the poem incites Telemachus to send his mother to her father's (*Od*. I, 276), since "*with quick womanly instinct*" she would have understood Penelope's real intentions; as for himself, Telemachus "*would have been glad that his mother should go*", as he was "*in great distress, but it is about his property, not about his mother*". After all, wasted property was his one, while Penelope could enjoy the gifts by the suitors. According to Butler, this was a sort of theft carried out by the woman: "*After all, Penelope had a right to please herself, and as long as she was going to be* bona fide *married, she might steal as much as she could, without loss of dignity or character. The writer put this view into Minerva's mouth as a reasonable one for a woman to take. So perhaps it was, but it is not a man's view*".

Regarding Telemachus' trip to Lacedaemon, not addressed in his previous papers, Butler reserves some attention to the double marriage of Megapenthes and Hermione, Menelaus's children, that would be a later interpolation by the authoress. This allows Butler introduce the idea, already quickly mentioned in the previous chapters but clearly expressed in the subtitle of the book, that the original poem had a reduced core, that "*grew under her hands*" with the insertion of a new narrative plot.

There are some discrepancies in the poem, but they are "*nothing more than a slip (…) of very small importance*"; Butler takes more care about "*the very singular — for I do not like to say feminine — nature of the*

arrangements made by Minerva", since the "*poetess had set her heart on bringing Helen of Troy into her poem, and could not see her way to this without sending Telemachus to Sparta*".

At the end of the chapter, Butler recalls the detail of the fastening of Penelope's bedroom, the same he found at the *Hotel Centrale* in Trapani; this ought to be among the last elements of the poem he wrote about, since Butler was a guest there in 1896. Barrabini, in a footnote of his translation, states that there's no more memory in Trapani about what kind of fastening it was like.

As like in the previous chapter, the manuscript's drafting is very smooth in this one too, with few second thoughts, all of them of a stylistic character and very short.

III.10: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER VII*

TITLE: FURTHER INDICATIONS THAT THE WRITER IS A WOMAN - YOUNG -HEADSTRONG - AND UNMARRIED.
Page headlines: Occasional notes.

As I said, while Butler was writing the current *Chapter VI*, he inserted a resume of his translation of the *Odyssey* as *Chapter II*, so the numbering of the subsequent chapters underwent a shift. Since *Chapter VII* manuscript's numeration bears no evident corrections, we must therefore assume it is the one that Butler used from the beginning.

Excluding the summary of the story of the *Odyssey*, this chapter, which consists of 16 printed pages (142-157) and 23 handwritten cards (II, 28-50), is the second longest one both in the ms than in the book (ex aequo with the next one). It contains the largest number of interpolated cards (6 the verso and 5 the recto), that reveal a lot of second thoughts, some of which being at the time of printing, when Butler also moved the contents of the last card to the beginning of the subsequent chapter, not reporting however this indication on the manuscript.

Ulysses – Butler maintains – was in no hurry to return to Penelope, while he was with Calypso, since otherwise he could easily have built a raft and accumulated the necessary supplies for the crossing; the authoress was perfectly aware about it, but "*she was not, however, going to admit anything so derogatory to the sanctity of married life, or at any rate to the power which a wife has over her husband*".

Penelope's influence on her husband was therefore "*very slight*", but an older woman would have had no difficulty hiding him, unlike what it is in the *Odyssey* - ergo "*the writer of the Odyssey is nothing if she is not young, self-willed, and unmarried. No matron would set herself down to write the Odyssey at all. She would have too much sense, and too little daring. She would have gained too much — and lost too greatly in the gaining*", Butler writes, correcting the previous "~~*the idea has only to be presented to us to be instinctively rejected*~~" (c. II, 29).

Butler then examines numerous passages (all of them are 36) to prove the female point of view in the writing of the poem. I summarize about their contents here: 1) Care for the rights of wives; 2) High purchase price of Euryclea; 3) Interruption of a step taken from the *Iliad* to insert female complacency for the killing of a heifer; 4) Parents first of all, in the author's mind; 5) Helen's repentance; 6) Imitation of the voice of the warriors' wives inside the wooden horse; 7) Pinching of daughters to their fathers; 8) Strongly feminine style of *Od*. IV, 625-847; 9) Calypso jealousy of Penelope; 10) Scenes of daily life that denote knowledge of all the habits of the house; Embarrassing figure of Ulysses at the first meeting with Nausicaa; How Nausicaa made out her attachment for Ulysses; 11) Overturning on the elderly of the reproaches they addressed to young people; 12) The games of *Od. VIII* are modeled on those of *Il. XXIII*, but not described in detail; Modesty of the goddesses who do not come to see Mars and Venus trapped by Vulcan; The Graces comfort Venus after liberation with a new dress; 13) Love for the home and the parents exalted to the maximum in the speech with which Ulysses reveals his identity to Alcinous; 14) Lines IX, 120-121 do not suit a male description of chamois hunters; 15) Immobility of Polyphemus during his blindness is a shot worthy of the Baron of Munchausen; 16) (Female) Fear of the noise caused by the bundle of wood thrown violently by Polyphemus; 17) Mistakes about Polyphemus' behavior as shepherd; 18) Presentation of Circe as a fortune teller who emphasizes that women know as much as men; Young people, unlike the elderly, despise precision; 19) Women in custody of the cattle of the Sun; 20) Ulysses' comparison with a hungry magistrate, made in a frightening situation such as the passage between Scylla and Charybdis, suggests a metaphor for the daughter of a magistrate; 21) Wedding dress given by Helen to Telemachus; Rudeness of Telemachus and Ulysses; 22) Euryclea / Eurynome confusion has nothing equal in the *Iliad*; 23) The scene of Ulysses and Argos is "*well conceived but badly executed*" and would reveal a defect in pathos compared to Homer; 24) Eumaeus' choice to invite, if possible, a priest and a doctor (*Od.* XVII, 384) would be more appropriate to a "*woman writing*

at the present day" than to a man of the Homeric age; 25) Distraction of Penelope while Euryclea washes Ulysses' leg and recognizes him; 26) Falseness of Penelope's pain in the imminence of marriage with one of the suitors; 27) Penelope prides herself on being a good administrator of Telemachus' assets just as the suitors prey on them; 28) Humorous comparison of the hero with a belly full of blood and fat roasted on the fire; Sympathy for the sickly woman unable to finish her job; Telemachus' reproach to his mother, "*too apt to make much second rate people*"; 29) Suitors do not contest the axes erected for the archery contest and remained in the courtyard; 30) Instinctive sense of economics, emerging even in the most dramatic situations; 31) Implausibility of the scene of the massacre of the suitors; 32) Further details of this implausibility; 33) Failure of Eumaeus' death; 34) Cleaning the house at the end of the massacre; 35) Penelope's deep sleep during the massacre; Implausible narration of the following events; Ulysses' lunch with Dolius, whose son and daughter he had killed on the preceding day; 36) Penelope tells her story before Ulysses telling his one.

There would be much to comment on Butler's alleged 'evidence', but for reasons of space I deal with only two passages.

About point 6), in c. II, 31 there is a passage, then canceled, that looks very curious to me: "~~*I know a lady who is staid enough now, who dismayed her friends by calmly walking all round the top of the Napoleon Column at Boulogne, outside the iron rails. Young headstrong high spirited girls do these things, and make their heroines do them, but young men, men, & matrons, dare not either do them or describe them save under compulsion*~~". This column (known as *Colonne de la Grande Armée*) is located between Wimille and Boulogne sur Mer, the French town where Butler used to spend every end of the year from 1882 to 1901. This episode, which seems not to be recent, is not mentioned by Jones nor reported even in the published *Notebooks* (I don't know if it could be among the unpublished ones). It would be interesting to find out who the "*headstrong high spirited girl*" that later became "*staid enough*" was.

At the end of point 22) Butler, while examining the reasons for the lesser care with which – according to him – the last books of the poem would have been written, brings out a surprise blow: "*the last hundred lines or so of Book xxiv. suggest that the writer was determined to end her work without much caring how. I have also wondered whether the husband who in Book vi. was yet to find may not have been found before Book xxiv. was written; but I have nothing to urge in support of this speculation*".

III.11: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER VIII*

TITLE: THAT ITHACA AND SCHERIA ARE BOTH OF THEM DRAWN FROM TRAPANI AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD.
Page headlines: Scheria and Trapani - Grammerton and Shrewsbury - Four main lines of the argument. - The rock Malconsiglio. - The harbour Rheithron and the caves. - The Grotta del Toro. - Hut of Eumaeus and Raven Rock. - The sleep of Ulysses.

As I have already said, excluding *Chapter II*, this is, together with the previous one, the second longest chapter in print (16 pages, numbered 158-173) and the longest in the ms (26 cards, which bear the numeration II, 51-76, with many corrections, rear insertions, drawings and photographs).

Here we move on to the second topic of the book, the 'topography from life'. Butler had numerous second thoughts in writing it: there are some cards cut more or less in half and reinserted later and the beginning itself is the result of a shift of the last page of the previous chapter, made by Butler after the manuscript delivered to the printer.

Between the previous chapter and this one, in the ms there is a small sheet (without any number) with the following indication for the printer: "*on page 1 of chapter VIII sent this afternoon bottom line of page after 'could ride' supple '(VI, 263)'*". This proves that Butler used to send the manuscript to the typography by chapters and that the delivery was not made physically by him.

In this chapter Butler describes how he arrived at the location of the '*original*' site of the *Odyssey*, reproducing what he wrote in his previous papers and some events in his explorations of the places. About the maps in his papers since 1892, Butler tells us that they have been engraved specifically for him by Walker & Boutall[55], based on the reliefs of the Italian Government and on the nautical maps of the English Admiralty.

[55] *Walker & Boutall* was a company between the engravers and printers Emery Walker (1851-1933) and Walter Boutall, with office in London at 16 Clifford's Inn, right where Butler lived (he lived at 15), operating since 1887. In 1900 Boutall

The keystone of Butler's theory is the step (*Od.* XIII, 159-164) in which Neptune turns the ship of the Phaeacians to stone right at the mouth of the port Ithaca. He compiled a list of points for the identification of Scheria and, since scholars are generally reluctant to certain procedures, enjoyed teasing them: "*Men of science, (…) are apt, in their fear of jumping to a conclusion, to forget that there is such a thing as jumping away from one, and Homeric ~~students~~ seem to have taken a leaf out of their book in this respect*". To add some pepper, he replaced "*~~students~~*" with "*scholars*". This passage had put Italian translators in difficulty, since Barrabini omitted the metaphor in the second part of the English text and Aphel translated the first part in the opposite way.

To offer the reader some examples of '*fear of jumping to a conclusion*', Butler creates two sketches. The first one reproduces a skit of literary criticism, examining a passage from Charles Clarke's novel "*The Beauclercs father and son*", (about which he also wrote in the book he dedicated to his grandfather) which describes the imaginary city of Grammerton: "*Is there any man of ordinary intelligence and acquainted with Shrewsbury who will doubt that Shrewsbury was the place that Mr. Clarke was drawing from?*". Butler was playing home: he in fact grew up in Shrewsbury and the school mentioned in the novel is the one he had attended (it was once directed by his grandfather). In a first time, he regretted and expunged this passage; then he changed his mind and added it to a card interpolated later, placing it after the following example.

The second sketch, already used by Butler in his controversy against Canon Mondello, depicts the scene of the policeman in search of "*an elderly gentleman of about sixty ; he is a foreigner, speaks a little English but not much, is lame in his left foot, has blue eyes, a bottle nose, and is about 5ft. 10in. high. How many of these features will the policeman require before he feels pretty sure that he has found his man?*". Needless to say, the connotations provided were his own.

To the critics who reproach him that the correspondences he identified can also be found in other places, Butler replies that some isolated correspondences are not enough, but it is to be required instead the correspondence of all the points identified. His reconstruction grounds "*on the harmonious concurrence of four lines of argument, each requiring the fulfilment of many and very rigorous conditions: (…) That Scheria is drawn from Trapani; (…) That Ithaca also is drawn from Trapani and its immediate neighbourhood; (…) That the Ionian islands as described in the* Odyssey *cannot have been drawn from the actual Ionian islands, nor from any others but those off Trapani; (…) That the voyaged of Ulysses practically resolve themselves into a voyage from Troy to the neighbourhood of Sicily, and thenceforward into a sail round Sicily, beginning with Trapani and ending with the same place*".

Butler outlines his explorations and localizations: the petrified ship (Malconsiglio rock), the port where Ulysses had been landed by the Phaeacians (although it was in his own days buried, he found clear traces of it in correspondence with the S[t]. Cusumano Salt Works, of which he also inserts a photograph taken by himself), the two caves near this port (the Grotta del Toro and the one just north of it), the Rock of Raven (the '*Ruccazzu di corvi*' in Runzi, at the foot of Eryx), Hermes's hill (S. Anna hill).

His reconstruction of the path of Ulysses is as perfectly corresponding to the real places "*as though the* Odyssey *had been written yesterday*"; Ithaca and Scheria are both portrayed by Trapani, "*though the writer, when she has to consider Ithaca ab extra as an island and nothing more, pictures it to herself as the high and striking island of Marettimo some 22 miles off Trapani, when she wants details she takes them from her own immediate neighbourhood on the mainland*".

The last topographical question is whether at the time of the authoress Trapani (supposed to be either Scheria and Ithaca) was an island or not: this was the main clash between Butler and Mondello, on which Sugameli too intervened. Perhaps tired of all this, Butler had mentally removed this point, except reminding it almost at the end of the chapter and inserting a synthetic treatment in an interpolated card (II, 74v).

He had already written many times about this topic, but the cards of the manuscript in this chapter and above all in this passage have a really high number of second thoughts, as like if Butler could not be applying himself intently on this part of the work. So much so that the only part with no erasures is where Butler describes the skit taken when a shepherd catches him exploring the Grotta del Toro with his friends; the shepherd suspects that they are looking for a treasure, and claims a part of it for him to keep secret.

For Butler now the localization of places is no longer, so to speak, like a photograph that confirms the correspondence of the topography to the description of the poem, but an additional element to throw light on the au-

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retired and Walker & Cockerell succeeded. Further news in M. Tidcombe: *Biographies of the Key Figures Involved in the Doves Press* < https://ilab.org/articles/biographies-key-figures-involved-doves-press >.

thoress, placing her in a real environment, in which she moves and interacts. The background of the story becomes context of the writer.

III.12: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER IX*

TITLE: THE IONIAN AND THE AEGADEAN ISLANDS—THE VOYAGES OF ULYSSES SHOWN TO BE PRACTICALLY A SAIL ROUND SICILY FROM TRAPANI TO TRAPANI.
Page headlines: the Ionian and Aegadean islands. - Main episodes of Ulysses' voyages. - How far consent accompanies us. - The island of Aeolus. - The Laestrygonians and Cefalù.

In *Chapter IX* (14 printed pages, numbered 174-187, corresponding 19 cards of the ms, numbered II, 77-95) Butler goes on his topographical examination, with particular regard to the Aegadean islands, that agree with the poem's description better than the real Ionian islands.

Butler compares the description of the Echinades and the Ionian islands in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*. In the so-called '*Catalogue of the Achaean forces*', Dulichium belongs to the Echinades (*Il*. II, 625-626), while the kingdom of Ulysses includes Ithaca, Neritum, Crocylea, Aegilips, Zakynthos, Samos and the mainland facing the islands (*Il*. II, 631-635); in the *Odyssey*, Ulysses himself mentions Ithaca, Dulichium, Same and Zakynthos and gives an indication that is the ground of the Butlerian topography: Ithaca "*lies on the horizon all highest up in the sea towards the west, while the other islands lie away from it to the east*" (*Od.* IX,25-26).

In the *Odyssey* Dulichium looks "*the most important in the eyes of the writer, being more frequently mentioned separately*" and sending a number of suitors more than double those of each other island. A glimpse to the map of the Ionian Islands "*will show that there is no island in the neighbourhood of Ithaca which can with poetical propriety be held to have sent nearly as many suitors as the other three put together. Least of all could Dulichium be so held*".

Inserting maps in his papers - regardless of any judgment on this specific case - is undoubtedly a merit of Butler, and is a further step in his journey of reconsideration of his grandfather Samuel, author of some books of ancient geography "*applied to the classics*", including an *Atlas* (all those works were of great success and enjoyed many reprints).

A look at the map of the Ionian Islands is enough to realize that "*Ithaca cannot be tortured into lying all highest up in the sea towards the West. It is completely covered by Samos. Nor do the other islands lie away from it to the East*". Then, neither the writer appears have in mind the real Ionian islands nor the readers appear know them, since they lived far from Greece, but in a place with four islands in front of a western coast.

Then Butler inserts a card with a sketch he drew in 1896 of the Aegadean islands from Eryx, which gives very good an idea of Ithaca (in reality, Marettimo) high on the horizon line.

Why does Butler insert a sketch rather than a photo?

There could be some practical answers, for example that weather in Eryx not always allows a clear view of the islands; or that in the afternoon you can't take a picture, because the shot is backlit. However, I believe that the answer is not only technical, but also poetic: the small size of the photographs he attached to the book would not have done justice to the majesty and beauty of the view, whose poetry is instead enhanced by the sketch. "*If what I have said above is not enough to satisfy the reader that the writer of the* Odyssey *was drawing the Ionian islands from the Aegadean, nothing I can add is likely to convince him*". This sentence was added later by Butler, in minute handwriting, not for lack of space (at the bottom of the card II, 64 there is enough of it), but probably because it costed him to admit he could not made accepted many people his theory, as he later wrote in an emotionally intense letter to his young and dear friend Giuseppe Pagoto from Eryx.

Once this point has been clarified, Butler goes on to demonstrate that Ulysses' journey in the writer's mind is only a circumnavigation of Sicily, which begins from Trapani, first follows the coast to the north, then the east, then deviates towards Pantelleria and finally comes back to Trapani.

Here again Butler inserts a map engraved for him by Walker & Boutall (in the ms it is not present, but Butler had already used it in *The Sicilian Origin of the* Odyssey, a previous essay of 1893), which depicts the itinerary of Ulysses from Troy, summarized in 11 stages. About these localizations, according to Butler, "*there is no difference of opinion among scholars*" only as regards the Cicons (in Thrace, not too far from Troy), the island of Cythera (south of the Peloponnese), the Lotus-eaters (the island of Djerba, in Southern Tunisia), Scylla and Charybdis (Messina strait); the consensus becomes "*considerable*" for the Island of Goats and "*very considerable*" for Pol-

yphemus (respectively Favignana and Mount Eryx, in whose descriptions "*the local color is stronger than anywhere else in Ulysses' travels*", so much so that Butler adds the observation, then deleted, "~~*being much stronger in the poem than I have been able to give it in my abridgement*~~", c. II,86).

If the consent is "*partial*" for Circe, the Sirens and the Wandering Cliffs (Lipari islands), and widespread for the cattle of the Sun (somewhere around Taormina), it is missing even partial for the Island of Aeolus and the town of Laestrygonians ("*placed in almost as many sites as there have been writers upon the* Odyssey"). As general as it is, Butler rejects the identification of the Island of Calypso with Malta.

Ustica is the island of Aeolus, Cefalù is the city of Laestrygonians, Pantelleria is Ogygia. In the manuscript he affirms it with certainty ("*I do not hesitate*", c. II, 95), but in the book he is more prudent, because he wishes to reserve his forces for the localization of Scheria with Trapani, about which he knows very well that he has no consent.

III.13: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER X*

TITLE: FURTHER DETAILS REGARDING THE VOYAGES OF ULYSSES, TO CONFIRM THE VIEW THAT THEY WERE MAINLY A SAIL ROUND SICILY, BEGINNING AND ENDING WITH MT. ERYX AND TRAPANI.
Page headlines: The Cyclopes and mt. Eryx. - Cyclops means round-faced. - Two kinds of megalithicism. - Aeolus, Circe, the Sirens. - Admiral Smyth. - The two darknesses of the *Odyssey*.

Chapter X (12 printed pages, numbered 188-199, 14 handwritten cards, numbered II, 96-109) keeps on developing the idea of circumnavigation of Sicily and to show some localizations in detail.

The first card of this chapter has been certainly rewritten, because the next four (cc. II, 97-100) bear numbering B's indication "'*Chapter IX*", then corrected "*Chapter X*". Butler therefore dismantled the previous chapter, probably because he thought it more appropriate to reserve a new chapter for a detailed examination of some places. He then inserted the current cards II, 87-95 in *Chapter IX*, moved the cc. II, 96-100 at the beginning of this chapter and rewrote both the current c. II, 96 (with the indication "*Chapter X*") and its related title, which refers precisely to the 'detail' dimension.

As about chapter's end, at first Butler was going to start a new chapter at card II, 109: he placed at the top, according to the 'numeration B', "*XI*" and left some space blank to write the title. Then he probably thought the tone he used was more appropriate for the conclusion than for the beginning of a chapter; he therefore corrected "~~*XI*~~ *X* ~~*13*~~", thus making that card the last one of *Chapter X*.

"*The habitat of the Cyclopes on Mt. Eryx is the point which it is most incumbent on me to establish, for if this be conceded, and both Scylla and Charybdis, and Scheria be taken as found, all the other places fall so spontaneously on to the sites I have marked for them, that I fear no dispute concerning them*".

At this point Butler's explanations end up superimposing verisimilitude to narrative: since before arriving in Favignana (the goatshunting island) Ulysses would have had to pass a short distance from Trapani/Scheria, he would have seen the town and therefore would have later recognized it when Nausicaa led him there; to avoid this, the authoress resorted to a thick fog that prevented Ulysses from seeing the city.

This fog therefore allows the passage from Favignana, located south of Trapani, to the cave of Polyphemus, located to the north (being a good artillery colonel even before than a translator, Vincenzo Barrabini meticulously replaces this one and other similar indications with the more exact "*North East*") without seeing Scheria: a correct solution in the real world, even if a narration can still leave out the real topography …

Butler reserves some space for the Cyclopes: they are the same than the Giants and are the architects of the megalithic walls of Eryx. According to him, on the top of mount Eryx there were in fact two cities: the first one - where the megalithic walls lay - was facing West; the other, whose walls were built with an absolutely different technique, was facing East. The latter is Hyperea, the city inhabited by the Phaeacians before they moved to Scheria; its ruins lay right above the '*Ruccazzu dei Corvi*', in the property of Count Pepoli, who had shown Butler round them. Hyperea (which means "*upper town*") and almost all the names of Sicilian locations would be fictitious and used as subtle masking to portray unreal people in real places.

The Cyclopes (whose name would mean "*moon face*") would therefore be "*the conquered remnant of the old Sican inhabitants of Mt. Eryx*", the true builders of the megalithic walls; Polyphemus (which means "*very famous*"), which had two eyes like all the other members of his lineage, would be the pseudonym of the giant still existing in the local popular culture under the name Conturrano.

Butler is always careful about ancient traces in his contemporary world and invites the reader to mind "*how closely the description of the Cyclops in the* Odyssey *tallies with that of modern Sicilian brigands*"; he then quotes a passage an article in *the Times* September 24, 1892, which describes S. Mauro (today S. Mauro Castelverde, in the former province of Palermo), the general district of the last great band of brigands operating in Sicily in the late nineteenth century, known as 'Banda Maurina'. The article was the summary of a report by William Stigand, who was an English consul in Palermo from September 1886 to July 1892[56].

Perhaps to answer to the diplomat, Butler recalls the visit he paid to the inhabitants of the caves of Scurati, about 15 km north ("*North East*", Barrabini corrects one more time) of Trapani on 17 August 1892: "*There was, however, nothing of the Cyclopes about them. Their caves were most beautifully clean and as comfortable as the best class of English cottages. The people, who were most kind and hospitable, were more fair than dark, and might very well have passed for English*".

Butler then analyzes the comparative frequency in the two great epics of the terms for '*caves*' (a ratio of 10 to 1 for the *Odyssey*), but still grateful for the welcome received, he writes a long appendix on the sidelines of the c. II, 102v (itself a rear interpolation) recalling the menu of that day and saying that the people were not involved in an atrocious kidnapping case that occurred just 15 days after his visit (a Palermo merchant was held prisoner for a whole month on the mountain until the ransom was paid, exactly the typical crime reported by Stigand).

Other localizations by Butler concern the island of Aeolus (Ustica, where the author would have transferred the traces of the wall he had seen on the island of Marettimo), the island of Circe (Panarea, but this localization is so "*speculative*" that he talks about it with fear and trembling), the island of the Sirens (Salina, identification he advanced with '*confidence*'), the Wandering Cliffs (they would not be particular places, but the Lipari islands as a whole, navigation among which is rather difficult, also by of the volcanoes that are there).

Closing the chapter, Butler repeats that the descriptions of Ithaca and Scheria are proved to be taken "*with singular fidelity*" on Trapani and the surrounding area, that the Ionian islands are actually the Aegadean group, that Ulysses' journey is a circumnavigation of Sicily from Trapani to Trapani. Once he got rid of what almost risked becoming a nuisance for him, Butler can go back to the main point of his interest: the authoress.

III.14: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XI*

TITLE: WHO WAS THE WRITER?
Page headlines: What we have to find. - She dislikes invention. - Consecutive octaves. - Nausicaa lived apart. – Scholars and the *Odyssey*.

Once the topographic digression is over, Butler can finally turn on the artistic portrait of the authoress, which had become the most important topic for him. *Chapter XI* (14 printed pages, numbered 200-209 and 10 handwritten cards, numbered II, 110-123) is dedicated to her; here Butler addresses the title with a singular modesty: "*on this, the most interesting question of all, I can offer nothing stronger than presumption*".

His investigations drove attention to a young and strong-willed woman from Trapani's best society of her age and country, rich of leisure and interested in fair and famous women. Butler was led to identify her by the particular attention paid to the description of Alcinous' garden, home and family, since the Greek text begins with the verb in the past tense, and then "*slides involuntarily*" into the present when she reaches the women of the house and the garden (a sort of thing that never occurs elsewhere): "*the evident pleasure which the writer takes in it is more like that of a person drawing her own home, than either describing some one else's or creating an imaginary scene*". This passage is the result of some erasures and rewritings in several stages, and is typical of a writer's reflection, even before than of a philologist apprentice.

Moreover, the writer does not like to invent, since she fails "*when cut off from a base of operation in her own surroundings*". To keep Ulysses being confined for one year at Circe's island and then hosted by Calypso's for seven years is a "*cheap and undignified expedient*"; the adventure travel is actually reduced to a "*minimum*"; some episodes occur several times (a solution very similar to the "*consecutive octaves*", which the musician But-

[56] *The Times*, Saturday September 24, 1892, p. 7. In fact, this article gives a truly worrying and not entirely unjustified picture of public order in Sicily. Even though it was published when Butler was already back home, we must appreciate that he had not been intimidated by the then current concerns in England.

ler deeply regrets): in short, she is "*a writer to whom invention does not come easily, and who is not likely to have recourse to it more than she can help*".

The main characters are all from Scheria and are duplicates: "*Nestor, Ulysses, Menelaus and Alcinous are every one of them the same person playing other parts*", as well as Penelope, Helen and Arete, as well as Nausicaa, Idothea and Ino; Circe and Calypso are Nausicaa "*only made up a little older*", although "*they both seem somewhat more free from that man-hatred which Nausicaa hardly attempts to conceal*".

In short, the most spontaneous scenes are not the result of invention, but a description of the environment where the writer lived; she had therefore to be either Nausicaa, or one of her servants or at the most an intimate friend of hers. The latter hypothesis was discarded immediately by Butler, since such a friend would not have kept herself out of the poem; similarly, an employee with a strong character like the authoress was, would have rebelled against her mistress. The authoress could only be Nausicaa, the young woman who "*lived apart and would have nothing to do with the men who came night after night drinking her father's best wine, and making havoc of his estate*".

As a good writer, Butler also notes that "*the strangeness of the manner in which Nausicaa says good bye to Ulysses is one of the many things which convince me that the* Odyssey *has never been recast by a later hand. A person recasting the work would have been tolerably sure to have transferred the leave-taking to Book xiii*".

As a good painter, he invites the reader to carefully look at the female portrait he inserted facing the frontispiece and then to tell him if there could be "*the smallest difficulty in crediting the original of the portrait with being able to write the* Odyssey. *Would he refuse so to credit her merely because all he happened to know about her for certain was that she once went out washing?*". Butler thinks that such an issue "*will carry little weight outside the rank and file of our Homerists — greatly as I dislike connecting this word however remotely with the* Odyssey".

Butler was a writer (as paradoxical as it may seem) grounded to reality, and his poetics shines through continuously: "*No artist can reach a higher ideal than his own best, actual environment*". Butler was thinking of his own and real environment, how an almost immediately following step reveals: "*I think it highly probable that the writer of the* Odyssey *was both short and plain, and was laughing at herself, and intending to make her audience laugh also, by describing herself as tall and beautiful*". To use the same words, I think it is highly probable that Butler was thinking of his friend Mary Ann Savage, who corresponded in all to what he said above. It is precisely his strong link with reality that makes him see 'confirmations' of his theory even in marginal episodes: once, while walking in Trapani with Ignazio Giacalone (the son of the publisher of *Il Lambruschini*), he heard two children about ten year old, with arms around each other, singing a very popular song among the people of Trapani, about a girl who does not want to be seen around with a man: "*the people in this place are very ill-natured and if they see you and me together, they will talk*". Butler does not say that there was "*any descent here from Nausicaa's speech to Ulysses, but I felt as though that speech was still in the air*"[57].

While giving life to his authoress, a work worthy of a new Pygmalion, Butler was downsizing the eponymous hero of the poem, reducing him to an almost discolored figure, unable to do anything without the help of a woman. Above all, Butler detested Ulysses' sleep in the topical moments of the poem. In the manuscript Butler slips into a rather unusual joke for him, and then immediately cancels it: "~~*I am glad that men of the Ulysses stamp are rare in the British army & navy. Long may they remain so*~~" (c. II,115). Frankly, I don't know what we ought to think about it: is it a regurgitation of male chauvinism, just when he is engaged in a work of enhancement of femininity, albeit in his own way? Is it a manifestation of military nationalism? Or is it a satire of male and nationalist chauvinism?

The anti-academic controversy appears again at the end of the chapter: Butler had been talking with English scholars for six years, but they "*had nothing to give with*" what he was not already familiar, since "*the* Odyssey *is too easy, simple and straight-forward for the understanding of the scholars*". None of the few who have read the poem in full (Butler surely had in mind the aforementioned letter from his teacher Mr. Kennedy, who asked Dr. Butler while he was a student "*how much Homer should study*") had been able to tell him if Ulysses had a sister and what her name was. "*Not one of those whom I have as yet had the good fortune to meet in England — for I have met with such in Sicily — have saturated themselves with the poem, and that, too, unhampered by a single preconceived idea in connection with it. Nothing short of this is of the smallest use*".

Biaggini, Giacalone, Ingroja, Pagoto and Sugameli (they are the Sicilians to whom Butler alluded) could be happy about: Butler was not very inclined to make compliments …

[57] S. Butler: *The Note-Books*, London, Fifield, 1912, p. 194.

III.15: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XII*

TITLE: THE DATE OF THE POEM, AND A COMPARISON OF THE STATE OF THE NORTH WESTERN PART OF SICILY AS REVEALED TO US IN THE *ODYSSEY*, WITH THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THUCYDIDES OF THE SAME TERRITORY IN THE EARLIEST KNOWN TIMES.
Page headlines: The turnings of the sun. - Pre-Corinthian Syracuse. - The *Odyssey* pre-Sicelian. - Date of the Iliadic wall.- Date of the *Odyssey*.- The *Odyssey* and Thucydides. - Phocians and Phocaeans.

Trapani as the birth place of the *Odyssey*, according to Butler, throws "*unexpected light*" on its dating: we "*must place it very little, if at all, later than 1050, and not earlier than 1150 B.C.*". In addition, *Chapter XII* (15 printed pages, numbered 210-224; 19 handwritten cards, numbered II, 124-142) also deals with the state of Western Sicily at the time of the authoress. Butler had already treated this matter widely in his previous pamphlets, and in fact the early cards present almost no erasure.

He states that the *Odyssey* is earlier than 734 B.C., since the birthplace of Eumaeus would be Syracuse, of course not the Corinthian settlement, but an earlier city, whose existence is attested by some finds that Paolo Orsi, the director of the National Museum of Syracuse, dates to XII-XI century. The archaeologist showed Butler round the museum, and got him acquainted with the traces of a significant trade between eastern Sicily and the Peloponnese in the Mycenaean era.

On the base of Eumaeus' story, Butler assumes that there were two different cities in Syracuse's neighborhoods, the first one located on the promontory of Plemmyrium and the second in Cozzo Pantano, where Orsi had discovered an inhabited area from the XII-XI century B.C. To determine whether they were Greeks (later expelled by Sicels) or Sicels from a previous migration who lived there, it is a task for Orsi, but the Ionian Sea suggests the "*existence at one time of extensive Ionian settlements on East Sicilian shores*".

For he has been always interested about popular culture as a survival of ancient eras, Butler suggests the toponym Aci, which is common in many countries near Catania, to be a sign of remote ionic origin of those settlements: it is in fact always sounded "*Jaci*" among the common people, just like the Greek adjective "*Iakòs*", which means "*Ionian*".

Butler assumes that Eumaeus spoke Greek, whether he was a Greek by birth or a Sicel, as Sicels maybe were a Greek-speaking people (no Sicel inscription of some extent was then known).

The *Odyssey* bears no allusion to the great irruption of Sicels about 300 years before the foundation of Syracuse, so the poem is to be assumed composed in an age of peace. The only time that the island is explicitly mentioned, it is called Sikania (although the metrical replacement "*Sikelia*" is possible). The authoress introduces an "*old Sicel woman who waited on Laertes*" and writes about the provocative advice of the suitors to ship Theoclymenus and Ulysses off to the Sicels. Since Ithaca was actually Trapani, Butler deduces that the Sicels were for the authoress "*outside the limits of her own island*".

In force of this, the '*terminus post quem*' for the *Odyssey* is 1050 BC. or even a date "*a few years later*", while that for the Iliad is 1150 BC. Consequently, even the traditional date of 1184 BC, set for the fall of Troy in a substantially unreliable manner, must be moved further back, since the author of the *Iliad*, which deals with facts of a remoteness similar to the Middle Ages for us, "*shows no signs of knowing more than the bare fact that the city had fallen*". Maybe, as Butler "*hardly dares to write*", Homer perfectly knew that Troy "*never fell at all, or at any rate that it did not fall with the close of the Trojan War*".

According to Butler, even if Troy had actually fallen, the drafting of the Iliad required at least two or three hundred years of interval; the Trojan war therefore ought to be thrown back to about 1400 BC. and the walls built 50 or even 100 years earlier.

Butler quotes the *Introduction* by Doerpfeld (the archaeologist who had excavated the walls of Troy in 1893) to the volume of Tsountas and Manatt "*The Mycenaean Age*", according whom the walls were dated between 1500 and 1000 BC. For he had himself visited Troy, Tire and Mycenae in 1895, as well as many Italian towns with Pelasgic walls before then, he dates back to 1400 BC for the walls and the decade 1360-1350 for the war, and confirms 1150 for the *Iliad*'s and 1050 for the *Odyssey*'s writing.

This passage is on cards II, 131-132, among the very few that in the whole manuscript have a text mask as big as almost the whole page; these interpolations could therefore all go back to the same drafting phase.

The above dating can explain the absence of Utica, home of the Phoenicians of Africa, from the poem; the authoress did not like the Phoenicians, whom he knew and detested, but did not fear, as she would have done if they had already settled in today's Tunisia.

If the authoress therefore portrayed herself as the daughter of the King of the Phaeacians, we can try to reconstruct her ancestry after the indication that the Sicans, depicted in the poem as Cyclopes, "*originally in possession of Mount Eryx, under a king whose Odyssean name is Eurymedon*", were defeated by unnamed enemies about 100 years before the writing of the poem, "*as nearly as we can gather from the fact of his having been Nausicaa's great great grandfather*".

The authoress (this is a correction in the print: the ms bears "*Nausicaa*") wrote a dialect with an Ionian base and considerable Aeolian contributions; we can so suppose that her family and her audience, i.e. the Phaeacians, "*spoke a dialect in which these characteristics are to be found. The place of all others where such a dialect might be looked for is Phocaea, a little South of the Troad; for Phoceea was an Ionian city entirely surrounded on its land sides by Aeolian territory*". The name Phaeacians is a clear allusion to the Phocaeans: Butler wrote first "*the name Phaeacians ~~is exactly the kind of travesty~~*", then replaced "*is not unsuggestive of a ~~travesty~~ thin disguise*". The authoress created a sort of pun with the seals to allude to the "*alleged complaint of the young Phaeacians that she would marry none of them (VI 276)*".

Since the Phaeacians, that is the Phoceans, dominated Trapani and Eryx, they must have defeated Eurymedon and the Sicans; if they had some allies with them, they seem to have gone on other sites, probably where Elymite cities are known to have existed. A Phaeacian chief would marry Periboea, a daughter of Eurymedon, and Nausithous would be then born, who moved his people from Eryx to the sea, founding Trapani.

To corroborate his conjecture, Butler examines a passage by the historian Thucydides who has always divided scholars (and keeps on dividing them even today). In fact, he interprets the words "Φωκέων τινές τῶν ἀπό Τροίας" in the sense of "*some Phoceans from the Trojan stock*" (and therefore not "*some Phocians returning from Troy*") by virtue of a linguistic consideration: "*If ἀπό is to imply motion from, it should have a verb or a participle involving motion before it; without this it is a common way of expressing residence in a place*". Butler has worked greatly on this step and made so many cancellations and additions that probably the unfortunate typographer who had to fight against them had the worst headache in his life.

Even if today's trend on Thucydides' words leads to a reference to the inhabitants of Phocis, in mainland Greece, we cannot, however, not raise the hat to Butler's study of Greek language at Shrewsbury School and St. John's College in Cambridge, since he was still able to make this kind of reflections after had been devoting himself to anything else for 35 years.

As for the Elymi, Butler writes (in a passage not present in the ms and evidently added in the print) that Thucydides sees them as "*anything more than the combined Asiatic and Sican peoples, who came to be called Elymi*".

The passage in which Butler suggests that the residence of Ulysses' maternal grandfather on Mount Parnassus, in Phocis (*Od*. IX, 410-432), is due to the Phocaeans-Phocians connection, is also an addition: the authoress wished to connect the ancestry of Ulysses (whom she considered "*a naturalized Phaeacian for her native town had become in her eyes both Scheria and Ithaca*") with Phocis, the ancestral seat of the Phocaeans.

According to Butler, Thucydides' testimony confirms the historical picture drawn by the authoress. To look making peace with academics, he then mentions twice professor Jebb in support of his opinion "*as far as it goes*". Professor Jebb was actually supporting something a little different, but the temptation of a coup de théâtre was much stronger than Butler's ability to resist it.

Butler remembers Virgil, according whom Aeneas founded a city in the Trapani area, just while he is starting to write the following chapter, so he adds a paragraph to the final part of the c. II, 142, with increasingly smaller handwriting as smaller the available space is. In this passage he denies any authority to Virgil as a historian, but gives him a great deal as a witness about the fact that Trapani "*was believed a city of very great antiquity and founded by Greek-speaking people*". This is not "*so absurd as it appears to our eminent Homeric scholars*".

The very last words are in typical Butlerian style: "*that the Trojan language was Greek will not be disputed*". In fact, the *Iliad* never introduces an interpreter between the Greeks and the Trojans.

III.16: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XIII*

TITLE: FURTHER EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF AN EARLY IONIAN SETTLEMENT AT OR CLOSE TO TRAPANI.
Page headlines: The coin Iakin. - The brooch of Ulysses - The Argenteria near Trapani.

The existence of an ancient ionic settlement near Trapani which appears in the poem with the name of Scheria, a main point of Butler's theory, is the topic of *Chapter XIII* (7 printed pages, numbered 225-231, and 8 handwritten cards, numbered 143-150). Butler's theory is not supported by the even slightest attestation in historical tradition, as his opponents have been reproaching him for years; as a good polemicist as he is, Butler overturns criticism: Scheria and the authoress have been buried not only under Mount Eryx, but also under "*a huge quasi-geological formation of academic erudition*".

In fact, that the Phaeacians were a real people who lived in a place called *Drepane*, is something that has never been lost sight of, except by those who find it convenient "~~*when discussing my Odyssean theories*~~"(c. II, 143), Butler writes and deletes. *Drepane* is a word in all respects quite close to *Drepanum*, which is the ancient name of Trapani: we need therefore get rid of the tradition, quoted by Thucydides, that the inhabitants of Corfu, whose ancient name was *Drepane*, were the descendants of the Phaeacians: this tradition was born only after the Carthaginians had settled in the Sicilian *Drepanum* and had canceled its relations with the Greek world. Although in the harbour of Corfu there is a rock supposed to be the Phaeacian ship turned into stone (Butler refers not to the islet where Vlacherna monastery stands today, but to the adjacent Pontikonissi), this *Drepane* offers "*no single point of correspondence with the description given in the* Odyssey".

Those who have forgotten and lead to forget the differences between the two poems are no different from the layman (but he had written first '~~*clergyman*~~') who ignores the differences between the synoptic gospels and John's one. Here Butler had indulged in a little religious controversy, since the original text was broader and teased the average English shepherd who knows nothing of the differences that run "~~*between St Matthew's & St John's accounts of the Resurrection. I have often asked clergymen to tell me these, or at any rate some of them, offhand, but I never found one who could tell me anything whatever about them*~~" (c. II,144). Every now and then the author of "*The Fair Heaven*" springs back on...

Butler goes so far as to argue that Thucydides probably did not ignore the Sicilian claim of the poem by the people who lived in Eryx or nearby. The centerpiece of his argument is the coin with the legend '*Iakin*' which shows in the reverse the depiction of the broach of Ulysses, preserved at the British Museum and attributed to the Elymian area around 430 BC, about which he had written extensively in the pamphlet '*Ancora sull'origine siciliana dell'*Odissea' in 1894.

The central point is the correct reading of the legend: according Butler it is precisely '*Iakin*', short for '*Iakinon*', that is, '*of the Ionians*'. The reading is controversial by the fact that the British Museum Catalog lists '*IAKIN*' in the illustration and '*ΓIAKIN*' in the description. Some experts believe to notice traces of the initial '*Γ*' (archaic spelling to indicate the consonant '*PI*'), but neither he nor the artist who reproduced it in the catalog see it, even more so that, if it there was, it would destroy the balance of "*so exquisite a coin*". He then liquidates the attribution of the coin to Piacus, a town quoted only by the scholar Stephanus Byzantinus, who lived in the sixth century A.D.; according Butler, this attribution is an impromptu stunt by the merchant from whom the museum bought the coin. The image of a dog biting a fawn perfectly matches the description of the broach of Ulysses described in the *Odyssey* (XIX, 279-292), and since the representation of each ancient coin refers to the cultural heritage of the population that coined it, "*it is hard to see what more apposite means of saying* "Odyssey" *upon a coin can be suggested*". This coin thus allows for a range of historical-archaeological confirmations about the existence, near Eryx, of a Sican-Ionian culture connected to the *Odyssey*.

At the end of the chapter Butler introduces a novelty compared to what he wrote in 1894, namely the conjecture that there was a city near the place called '*Argenteria*' (then a suburb of Trapani, whose name sounded to Butler a corruption of '*Iacinteria*'), "*a quasi-autonomous suburb of Drepanum to which the Greek inhabitants were permitted to retire when the Carthaginians took possession of the parts of the town bordering on the harbor*". To corroborate this conjecture, he reports a piece of news from Sugameli ("*whose zeal in this matter so far outstrips even my own*" - we can be sure that Butler was not exulting over it: in the beginning of 1893 he had written to Jones that he wished to "*choke off*" Sugameli): the stone he used for construction, when he was a young man, came - according to a bricklayer - from a quarry called Dacinoi or D'Acinoi, that is '*of Alcinous*', which Butler corrects "*of the Iacinoi*", since Alcinous was a cover name, it certainly could not be the real name of this town (Butler and Sugameli were two headstrong guys endlessly fighting each other; each of them used to resort to any forcing to prove himself winning over the other). Apart from these, there are not any new topics compared to the pamphlet of 1894, and in fact this is the chapter of the manuscript showing the fewer additions, cuts and second thoughts; changes in the print are about minimal details.

III.17: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XIV*

TITLE: THAT THE *ILIAD* WHICH THE WRITER OF THE *ODYSSEY* KNEW WAS THE SAME AS WHAT WE NOW HAVE.
Page headlines: Our *Iliad* known to writer of *Odyssey* - The Iliadic catalogues borrowed from - Unconscious cerebration. - The genuineness of *Iliad X*. - *Books xi*. and *xviii*. of the *Iliad* - The genuineness of *Iliad xviii*.- She is angry with Homer.

After dealing with the authorship and the topography, in the final chapters Butler focuses on the composition of the poem, claiming in *Chapter XIV* (17 printed pages, numbered 232-248, and 19 handwritten cards, numbered II, 151-169) that the *Iliad* known by the authoress of the *Odyssey* was the same as the one we have now. It is a point of exquisite philological interest, and in fact here Butler reports some pages of the Greek text of the *Iliad* (according Teubner edition) and indicates several passages from the second poem that are similar or equal to passages from the first.

If one of the spurs of composing the *Odyssey* was the way women were treated in the *Iliad*, the text we have now must be the same known by the writer. After all, this too was a way of reacting to Wolf and his followers.

As he himself admitted, Butler relied largely this part of his work on Henry Dunbar's book "*Concordance to the* Odyssey", after whom Butler underlined, in his own *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, all the passages common to both poems, giving their references. He had planned to publish his translation of the *Odyssey* with these passages printed in a different font, but he was aware he must postpone the print. In the ms he had added "*indefinitely*", but evidently at printing the book this adverb sounded bad luck, so he removed it. It is a fairly thorough examination, with passages taken from all the books of the poem (a very thoughtful job, since several passages had been inserted later), thanks whom Butler can say that "*One or two, or even sometimes three or four, Iliadic passages in a page is nearer the average, but of these some will be what may be called common form*".

Many lines, common to both poems, would have sprung in authoress' mind "*as spontaneously, and often no doubt as unconsciously*", a sign that she knew all the *Iliad*, even those books generally considered later addicted. After this, Butler challenges Wolf's disciples ("*no two of whom, however, are of the same opinion, so it is hard to say who they are*") to meet his theory (but in the ms he wrote "~~*impugn*~~", to give a greater emphasis his challenge) with stronger arguments or "*they must fall back on some Laputan-manner-of-making-books theory, which they will be able to devise*" better than he can[58]. The last passage has replaced the less pungent one that we read in the manuscript.

Butler has not discovered the oral-formulaic theory of epic poetry, but he has closely linked the written composition to the oral performance. Homer (i.e. the *Iliad*) was the character of his age and "*every age has its stock subjects for artistic treatment*", since "*literature which, though written, is intended mainly for recitation before an audience few of whom can read, exists only on condition of its appealing instantly to the understanding, and will, therefore, deal only with what the hearer is supposed already to know in outline*". A very sharp perspective, ahead of its time. Butler made corrections or additions in almost every page of this chapter in the print (therefore they're not present on the ms): sometimes they are small, but there is no lack of additions of some extension; he appears dissatisfied with his choices till the last.

III.18: ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XV*

TITLE: THE *ODYSSEY* IN ITS RELATION TO THE OTHER POEMS OF THE *TROJAN CYCLE*, AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN THE HANDS OF THE AUTHORESS.
Page headlines: The *Odyssey* and the *Trojan Cycle*. - The development of the *Odyssey*. - Change in the scheme of the poem. - Minerva absent from *books ix.-xii*. - Colonel Mure on the Phaeacian episode. - Sicilian amber.

Chapter XV (13 printed pages, numbered 249-261, and 19 handwritten cards, numbered 170-188) deals with the relationship of the *Odyssey* with the other poems of the *Trojan Cycle* and its development in the hands of the authoress. She knew most of the eight poems of the *Cycle*: although "*we can have no irrefragable certainty*", Butler in fact quotes some passages of the *Odyssey* that correspond to what we know about those poems. Only the *Telegony* remained unknown to her; it narrates events following the *Odyssey* and is believed more recent than the

[58] "*Laputan-manner*" is a reference to "*Gulliver's Travels*" by Swift.

latter by scholars, "*but even though it were earlier we may be sure that the writer of the Odyssey would have ignored it, for it will hardly bear her out in the character she has given of Penelope*".

The only poem from which the authoress seems not to pick up anything is the *Iliad*, which is clearly the inspiring model, as shown by the concordances of lexicon, style, the repetition of entire lines. These facts reveal, according to Butler, the will to "*supersede*" the rival poem, since, as a great publisher told Butler himself, the book an author quotes the less is the one he is "*most largely*" indebted to; the authoress "*avoided referring to a single Iliadic incident*", for "*she knew she could hold her own against the other poems, but she did not feel so sure about the* Iliad, *and she would not cover any of the ground which it had already occupied*".

An alternative explanation is that the authoress did not like Homer's private life traditions: "*He may have beaten his wife, or run away with somebody else's, or both, or done a hundred things which made him not exactly the kind of person whom Arete would like her daughter to countenance more than was absolutely necessary*". Butler says so only to make fun of the reader, so much that, rereading this passage, he polishes it a little and adds on the margin – and then expunges – a small sketch of Arete 'catechizing' her daughter: "~~*'your poem, my dear' she may to be supposed to have said 'will last long after Homer's has been forgotten; I do not therefore object to your taking a line or two here & there which nobody will ever notice, but you must know nothing whatever about any of his main facts*~~" (c. II,174). It is a joke of Butler, who immediately confirms the previous explanation, "*the most reasonable*".

Butler tries to dig into the authoress's psychology, such as he conceives it, to show how the work grew. According to him, the poem, originally small, would then grow gradually, by continuous additions: the many anomalies, inconsistencies, neglects in the *Odyssey*, can therefore be explained by the lack of a preventive work plan.

On card II, 181 Butler even risks an interpretation about which he is perfectly aware to have no supporting pieces, and which he then regrets, shutting almost two-thirds of the page off. This is the most interesting part: "~~*I think (…) that Nausicaa had written Sunday small poems of a humorous mock heroic kind, laughing at herself and her kith and kin, for the amusement of her family circle, before she conceived the idea of writing the return of Ulysses at all, and that she made use of these when she set herself to a more serious composition, rewriting them and introducing Ulysses where necessary. These would form the nucleus of the poem*~~".

Butler therefore admits that he "*cordially agrees*" with Kirchhoff (whose doctrines he learned by reading Jebb's book) about the theory of compositional nucleus: he says, getting the above quoted passage better, that the *Odyssey* would therefore consist of two poems ('*Ulysses between the Phaeacians*' and '*Penelope and the suitors*', the second of which, although written later, became more important to the authoress than the first), whose joints are easily distinguishable, what in fact Butler does.

The '*original*' text would be composed of lines I, 1-79, then from V, 28 up to XIII, 184 (or 187). This first group of eight books would in turn be divided into two groups of four books: the first (*books V-VIII*) "*is written to bring Ulysses to Scheria and to exhibit the Phaeacians and the writer herself — the interest in Ulysses being subordinate; the second is written to describe a periplus of Sicily*". Since Minerva is absolutely absent there, Butler argues this second group of books be written before the first: "*It is inconceivable that having introduced the Goddess so freely in Books v. — viii. the writer should allow her to drop out from the story when there was such abundant scope for her interference*".

Butler rejects the hypothesis that these books may be by another hand, since "*they show the same amount of Iliadic influence; nowhere does a woman's hand appear more plainly; nowhere is Sicily, and more particularly Trapani, more in evidence, direct or indirect*". We must not forget that Butler drew the ground of his topography just from the description of the Ionian/Aegadean islands at the beginning of *book IX*.

One more time, Butler 'divines' the work of the writer basing on his own experience: "*I know how my own books, especially the earlier ones, got cut about, rearranged, altered in scheme, and cobbled to hide alteration, so that I never fairly knew what my scheme was till the book was three-quarters done*". To confirm this, immediately after these words (c. II, 183) Butler writes a long passage hypothesizing a drafting in which it was Minerva, not Nausicaa, who lead Ulysses to the city of the Phaeacians. He argues about "*traces of an earlier version*" in V, 105-110, with an inconsistency later eliminated or patched. I believe, however, that Butler himself was aware that this road was going to lead him to never finish his book, so he immediately quashed this passage and kept on reconstructing the internal drafting ladder of the *Odyssey*'s books.

After *books IX-XII*, *books V-VIII* would have been written, but their vicissitudes of writing and "*and whether or no they drew upon earlier girlish sketches – as without one shred of evidence in support of my opinion I nevertheless incline to think – these are points which it would be a waste of time to even attempt to determine*".

The authoress was a literary genius, but if she was young when she wrote the *Odyssey*, these '*earlier girlish sketches*' should go back to early childhood…

Butler appears carried away along this spasmodic attempt to give life to his authoress; however, he feels comforted by Colonel Mure, according whom the vividness of the Phaeacian episode is due to the familiarity of the poet (Homer, for Mure) with the environment described. Mure indeed believes that this episode, conceived with an evident humorous spirit, is '*a satire of the habits of some real people with whom he was familiar*'. Let's remind that Butler's lecture at Working Men's College was entitled "*The Humour of Homer*": it was from Mure that he had drawn this perspective on the *Odyssey*, including some criticism of the '*most esteemed commentaries*' and translators, unable to grasp, according to the colonel, "*the gay sarcastic tone of description and dialogue*"[59].

For Butler, his authoress "*was one half laughing and the other half serious, and would sometimes have been hard put to it to know whether she was more in the one vein than in the other*"; in support of this statement he quotes the cantata *Narcissus*, written in a Haendel's style but with a burlesque text: its authors are unable to realize what aspect prevails but are positive their music to be "*the kind of music which Handel would have written for such words had he lived a hundred years or so later than he did*". Butler does not explicitly say he is a co-author, but refers to the advertisement in the last pages of the volume: it's typical in his style, to say something by pretending to talk about something else. Italian translators don't bear the reference to the advertisement (and the advertisement itself, of course).

After writing the poem that Butler calls "*Ulysses among the Phaeacians*", which ends with the return of Ulysses to his homeland, the authoress was face to face "*with the difficulty of knowing what to do with Ulysses in Ithaca after she had got him there*": have Ulysses kill his wife with all suitors, or rehabilitate Penelope? She chose the second horn of the dilemma and embarked on a new writing adventure, welding the two poems with the insertion of XI, 115-137 (the prophecy of Teiresias).

Butler dwells less about this second poem, sixteen books long (and in fact this part of the chapter in the ms is very fluent, with few erasures), noting only that some traces of Sicily emerge in the mention of amber, of which Sicily was a producer; a large collection of Sicilian amber objects is in Enna's museum (he had visited it in 1894) and '*on good authority*' he was assured that some fine specimens of Sicilian origin were in the South Kensington Museum in London. In the ms Butler specified that the source was a grandson of the donor, Baron Grimaldi, but then he canceled this indication, I don't know why.

Butler renounces identifying the relative chronology of the drafting of this section, although perhaps *books I-IV* seem to him probably written first, and concludes that the evident and undeniable similarity of versification, style and idiom of both parts of the *Odyssey* can only be explained by the uniqueness of the writer. And if there are several imperfections in the writer's work, this is because she liked more '*cobbling*' than erasing, since erasing was not easy, for what was the writing technique mentioned in the *Odyssey* itself. I wonder if Butler ever imagined how much lead it would take to write the *Odyssey* in this way.

As there is no evidence to the contrary (Butler is categorical: "*for assuredly none exists that deserves the name of evidence*"), no doubt "*we have the poem to all intents and purposes in the shape which it had assumed in the hands of the authoress*".

III.19 ANALYSIS OF *CHAPTER XVI*

TITLE: CONCLUSION.
Page headlines: Why Trapani escaped notice. - Mediocribus esse poetis. - Erudition and the *Odyssey*. - Strength perfected in weakness.

Chapter XVI (pages 262-270 in print and 189-201 handwritten) is the "*Conclusion*" of all Butler's work on the *Odyssey* (the prose translation he will publish three years later had actually already been completed for some time). Butler summarizes the previous pages starting from an objection from his opponents: why no one for thousands of years would have noticed that the *Odyssey* would have been written by a woman from Trapani?

[59] In addition to the first volume of Mure's work, explicitly quoted by Butler, it should be remembered that the 7th paragraph of *chapter XIV* of the second volume was titled "*Comic element of Homer's style. Play of words, or pun. Conversational humour*".

Butler replies: since nobody, up to a hundred years before him, supported for the *Odyssey* an authorship different from the *Iliad* (that "*could hardly have been written elsewhere than in the Northern half of the West coast of Asia Minor*"), it would never occur to anybody "*to look for the Odyssey in a spot so remote as Trapani*". This is the reason why Stolberg, Mure, Freeman, Schliemann, Layard, despite they visited Trapani, could not be aware about the Trapanese origin of the poem: "*They probably held it to be the work of some prehistoric Herodotus, who would go on from scene to scene without staying longer than he could help in any one place*".

This chapter is the most original part of the work and introduce a very combative Butler, who wants to let off steam of all the bitter morsels he swallowed in decades of controversy against the world of revealed truths and academism (not only in report to the *Odyssey*, of course).

What Butler says about poets sounds to be said about himself: "*poets as great as she was are bound to pay the penalty of greatness in being misunderstood*"; "*gods, men, and more particularly publishers, will tolerate nothing in a poet except mediocrity, and if a true poet by some rare accident slips in among the others, it is because gods and publisher's readers did not find him out until it was too late to stop him*"; "*Genius is an offence; like all other offences it must needs come, but woe to that man or woman through whom it comes, for he or she must pass through the Scylla and Charybdis of being either torn in pieces on the one hand, or so misunderstood on the other as to make the slipping through with life in virtue of such misrepresentation more mortifying than death itself. Do what we may we cannot help it*".

Butler wrote these words in a state of tension: his handwriting is more minute and nervous than usual, there are more erasures and expunged passages than in the rest of the chapter; moreover, card II, 194 (page 265 of the book) has been written after the whole chapter had been completed (this one and II, 202 are the only cards to bear the numeration B '*XVI*', not '*XVII*').

It is a sort of bitter outburst, which seems to almost overwhelm Butler and to remind Erewhon's language when he talks of "*notions of intellectual sanitation deplorably imperfect*" and "*a fit of intellectual gout*". His words even take on a futuristic tone avant léttre when he wishes great educational establishments have "*more of the crematorium and less of the catacomb about them than they have at present*". Butler gives a merciless judgment on schools, whose methods are worthy of Herod, aimed to "*lay violent hands upon all young people till we have reduced every single one of them to such mediocrity as may be trusted to take itself off sooner or later. To this end we have established schools and schoolmen*".

Homerology is not saved from this disaster either: "*What has the erudition of the last 2,500 years done for the* Iliad *and the* Odyssey *but to emend the letter in small things and to obscure the spirit in great ones?*". Here Butler reserves a tribute to the *Chorizontes*, the ancient scholars who had separated the authorship of the *Odyssey* from the *Iliad*: "*erudition snubbed them and snuffed them out so effectually that for some 2,000 years they were held to have been finally refuted. Can there be any more scathing satire on the value of scholastic criticism?*".

In the last pages of the volume, Butler returns to his starting point: he is interested in art only in so far as it reveals the artist. Great masterpieces, he says, can only be made by those who are above or below conscious reference to rules and canons of any kind, because "*what really stirs us is the communion with the still living mind of the man or woman to whom we owe it, and the conviction that that mind is as we would have our own to be. All else is mere clothes and grammar*".

Butler is very impressed by the undercurrent of melancholy which he feels throughout her work. The authoress probably had a veiled melancholy in her soul, "*an inarticulate indefinable half pathos, half baffled fury*"; her life - despite the joys - would have had some element of disorder; the *Odyssey* would have been written neither without a smile nor without tears. If this time I'm allowed to make Butler's empathic method mine, even if Jones writes explicitly about "*Miss Savage as Nausicaa*"[60], I believe that this last characterization is mostly a projection of Butler himself. This Nausicaa looks very like Samuel.

Butler says he could never have succeeded in detecting the authoress, "*if I had not passed some five-and-thirty rebellious years during which I never gave the* Odyssey *so much as a thought*": only then he turned aware "*the writer to be an old friend*", that is, his feminine side. He closes the volume by saying that he has "*shown*" the existence of Greek poetesses in ancient times, the predominance in the *Odyssey* of female interest over the male, the unity of the place and the hand of writing, the authoress's extreme jealousy for the honour of woman.

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[60] H.F.Jones: *Samuel Butler, a Memoir*, London, MacMillan, 1919, v. II, p. 106.

As we can see, Trapani as the birth place of the poem is here only an accessory element, while the interest in the author's sex dominates. Bentley was therefore almost right, but the *Odyssey* was not written - according to Butler - by a man for women, but by a woman both for women and men. Butler is now exhausted and closes the book dating it, on the manuscript, "~~*Wed. 26 May, Hotel d'Angleterre, Salerno*~~"[61].

At this point we need to talk about what seems an inexplicable oddity, which I have already hinted at several times. Butler delivered the manuscript to the publisher Murray on April 13 and left for Sicily three days later; it is therefore evident that he had worked on the final part of the *Conclusion* (or on the whole chapter) while having no chance to consult the manuscript. Perhaps he remembered writing 16 chapters and thus he numbered the *Conclusion 'Chapter XVII'*, only to find out on his return that he was mistaken, so he corrected all the cards '*Chapter XVI*'; alternatively, we have to presume there was a "*Chapter XVI*", which Butler himself later removed. This seems unlikely at first glance, but card II, 1, bearing Butler's handwritten indication "*Part. II, Chapter V - chap. XVII.*", makes me disconcerted: could Butler have missed to notice this error, moreover since it was on the first card of the tome?

The only plausible explanation is that Butler actually wrote a '*Chapter XVI*' deepening the drafting of *books I-IV* and *XIII-XXIV*, which he had really dealt with too briefly in '*Chapter XV*'. If so, either it was unsatisfying or proved to be substantially superfluous and only good to increase printing charges, Butler therefore has eliminated it. However, this allegedly expunged chapter does not appear to be among Butler's papers donated to St John's College: therefore, assuming that it actually had existed, it would have been destroyed by Butler himself.

The expulsion of the alleged *Chapter XVI* would have its justification in the summer events: Murray refuses to publish the volume, Bentley and Bell refuse too. Butler is discouraged, eliminates *Chapter XVI*, corrects the heading of the following one; then he deletes the date and confesses his inner sense of oppression and discouragement, for displeasing many with whom he would rather get along: "*What can it matter to me where the Odyssey was written, or whether it was written by a man or a woman? From the bottom of my heart I can say truly that I do not care about the way in which these points are decided, but I do care, and very greatly, about knowing which way they are decided by sensible people who have considered what I have urged in this book*".

It is a dramatic appeal by the 62-year-old boy Samuel to all those who took the place of his late father in the world of grown-ups. He notices it, thinks some time about it, erases some words and replaces some others; he recovers himself and boldly writes: "*I believe I have settled both points sufficiently, but come what may I know that my case in respect of them is amply strong enough to justify me in having stated it. And so I leave it*".

His pride is on again; he is now ready to take on new challenges, to return to Erewhon.

III.20: THE SOURCES OF BUTLER

Butler did not indicate any bibliography at the end of his volume, although he gave the bibliographical references (not always complete) of the quotations he made. What in a very general line we could define as Butler's '*sources*' are the following books (the order is the one in which they are mentioned; the numbers in square brackets are the pages of Butler's book; I have underlined the data omitted by Butler):

1. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* – MacLehose, Glasgow; 4th edition 1892 [p. vi; elsewhere he cites the 1888 edition, the one he actually consulted];
2. Anonymous: *How to vulgarise Homer* – in: *The Spectator*, 23 april 1892, pp. 555-556 [p. vii];
3. A review on Butler on *Cambridge Observer*, y. I, n. 3, 31 May 1892 [p. vii];
4. G.C.W. Warr: *Butler's Humour of Homer* – in: *The Classical Review*, Vol. 6, Issue 9, Cambridge, November 1892, pp. 398-399 [p. vii];
5. A. Platt: *Butler's Trapanese Origin of the* Odyssey - in: *The Classical Review*, Vol. 7, Issue 6, pp. 254-255, Cambridge, June 1893 [p. vii];
6. A. Platt: *Butler on the* Odyssey - in: *Classical Review*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, pp. 56-57, Cambridge, February 1895 [p. vii];
7. Andrew Lang, *At the sign of the ship*, in: *Longman's Magazine* June 1892 p. 102 [p. 14/vii];

[61] The three-storey building and a mezzanine, facing the sea, was built in the mid-19th century as a structure for the numerous tourists, especially the British, who wanted to visit Paestum (as Butler did in fact). With the downsizing of their presence, the hotel was converted into a civilian home. Today a part of the building has returned to host a hotel.

8. William Gladstone: *Studies in Homer and the Homeric Age* – Oxford University Press 1858, vol. I [p. viii];
9. Lord Derby: *The Iliad of Homer rendered into English Blank Verse by Edward, Earl of Derby* – New York, Scribner, 1865; [p. ix];
10. *The Odyssey of Homer. Translated from the Greek by Alexander Pope* - Bernard Lintot, London, 1725/26; [p. ix];
11. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Bentley, English Men of letter* – London, MacMillan, 1892 [p. 5];
12. William Gladstone: *Homer* – London, MacMillan 1878; [p. 6];
13. William Mure: *Language and Literature of ancient Greece* – London, Longmans, 1850, vol. I [p. 7];
14. *The Odyssey*, done into Engl. prose by S.H. Butcher and A. Lang – London, MacMillan and Co. 1879 [p. 9];
15. William Smith: *A Dictionary of Classical Biography* – London, Taylor, Walton and Marbely and Murray 1849; [p. 11];
16. Th. Bergk: *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* [the work of the Lipsian philologist had four editions: 1842; 1853; 1865-67; 1878/82] [p. 12];
17. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *The Homeric House, in relation to the Remains at Tiryns - Journal of Hellenic Studies* – vol. III [rectius: vol. VII, 1886] pages 170-188 [p. 15];
18. Andrew Lang: *Note 18*, in *The Odyssey of Homer done in English prose by S. Butcher and A. Lang*, London, MacMillan and Co, 1879, pp. 422-424. [p. 15];
19. Arthur Platt: *The Slaying of the Suitors – Journal of Philology* from No. XLVII vol. XXIV, pp. 39-45 [p. 33];
20. Percy Bysshe Shelley: *Selected Letters edited by Richard Garnett* – Kegan Paul Trench & co., London, 1882 [p. 106];
21. Henry Fielding: *A journey to the next world* [rectius: *A journey from this world to the next*] [p. 113];
22. Charles Clarke: *The Beauclercs, father and son* – London, Chapman and Hall, 1867; [p. 160];
23. *Memorials &c.* by Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, London, Macmillan, 1896; [p. 172];
24. Luigi Mauceri: *Sopra una acropoli pelasgica esistente nei dintorni di Termini Imerese* – Palermo, Giornale di Sicilia, 1896 [p. 185];
25. Edward Freeman - *The history of Sicily from the earliest times* – Oxford, Claredon, 1891 [p. 176];
26. William Stigand: *Brigandage in Sicily, the report of British Consul at Palermo* – London, *The Times*, 24 Sept. 1892, p. 10 [p. 193];
27. William Henry Smyth: *The Mediterranean a Memoir Physical Historical and Nautical* – London, Parker, 1854 [p. 196];
28. William Henry Smith: *Memoir descriptive of the resources, inhabitants, and hydrography, of Sicily and its islands* – London, Murray, 1824 [p. 196];
29. Richard Claverhouse Jebb: *Introduction to Homer* – Glasgow, MacLehose, 3° edition, 1888; this is the one Butler had actually read [p. 210];
30. Karl Otfried Muller: *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* – London, Murray, 1830 [p. 215];
31. Chrestos Tsountas, J. Irving Manatt: *The Mycenaean Age* – London, MacMillan, 1877 [p. 217];
32. Peter Paul Dobree: *Adversaria* [*in Thucydidem*] – Cantabrigiae, Deightons, 1831 [p. 223];
33. William Smith: *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* - London, Murray, 1854 [p. 225];
34. Henry Dunbar: *A complete concordance to the Odyssey of Homer to which is added a concordance to the parallel passages in the Iliad, Odyssey and Hymns* – Oxford, Claredon, 1880 [p. 232];
35. Samuel Butler: *A Sketch of Modern and Antient Geography* - London, Longman, 1813 [p. 262].

In addition to the previous ones, Butler also cites some traditional authors of English literature (Bunyan, Shakespeare, etc.), 'classic' authors such as Dante and Virgil, the name (but not the text) of Buttmann, Lubbock, Stolberg, Falzello, Kirkhhoff, Bentley and some others. The volume also does not mention some authors who appeared in his previous articles.

APPENDICE: TABELLE DESCRITTIVE SINTETICHE / *APPENDIX: CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLES*

Come annunciato nell'*Avvertenza Preliminare all'analisi dei Capitoli*, all'analisi di ogni capitolo del manoscritto si collega una *Tabella Descrittiva Sintetica*; per ragioni di spazio le abbiamo raggruppate tutte insieme in questa *Appendice*. Ogni Tabella è strutturata in 9 colonne; le abbreviazioni vanno sciolte come nel riquadro.

As announced in the *Preliminary Warning to Chapter Analysis*, a *Concise Descriptive Table* is linked to the analysis of each chapter of the manuscript; for lack of space we have grouped them all here. Each table bears 9 columns; abbreviations are to be solved as in the box.

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE… : *CHAPTER…*								
n. A	n. B	n. C	n. D	IR	IV	Canc.	EX	M/A

Abbreviazioni Tabella:
n. A = Numerazione progressiva delle carte di ciascun capitolo, fatta da Butler a matita grigia;
n. B = Numerazione Interna delle carte di ciascun capitolo, fatta da Butler a penna;
n. C = Numerazione progressiva di tutte le carte, fatta da Butler a matita rossa;
n. D = Numerazione progressiva delle carte di ciascun tomo del manoscritto, fatta dal Bibliotecario Fugaldi;
N.N. = Nessun Numero;
N.E. = Non Esistente;
IR = carta Interpolata e scritta nel Recto;
IV = carta Interpolata e scritta nel Verso;
Canc. = Carta con Cancellature senza la relativa riscrittura;
EX = Carta con porzioni di testo espunte;
M/A = Modifiche del testo e/o Aggiunte in sede di stampa (non presenti nel manoscritto).

Table Abbreviations:
n. A = Internal numeration of the cards of each chapter, affixed by Butler in grey pencil;
n. B = Internal numeration of the cards of each chapter, affixed by Butler in black ink pen;
n. C = Progressive numeration of all the cards, affixed by Butler in red pencil;
n. D = Progressive numeration of the cards of each tome of the manuscript, affixed by Librarian Fugaldi in grey pencil;
N.N. = No Number on the page;
N.E. = Not Existing;
IR = Interpolated card, written the Recto;
IV = Interpolated card, written the Verso;
Canc. = Card with a cancelation not replaced with a new writing;
EX = Card with an Expunged passage (i.e. a passage closed into a frame and then erased);
M/A = Modifications and/or Additions of text at printing (not present in the manuscript).

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE 1: *FRONTISPIECE, CONTENTS*, ETC								
n. A	n. B	n. C	n. D	IR	IV	Canc.	EX	M/A
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 1					
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 2				X	X
1	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 12	X				
2	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 13	X				
3	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 14	X				
4	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 15	X				
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 16	X				
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	(I) 17	X				
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	(II) 1					

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE 2: *PREFACE*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Preface	N.N.	3			X		
N.N.	Preface, (2)	N.N.	4					
N.N.	~~3~~ 2 (bis)	N.N.	5	X				
N.N.	Preface, 3,	N.N.	6			X	X	
N.N.	Preface ~~3~~ 4	N.N.	7					
N.N.	Preface 5	N.N.	8				X	
N.N.	Preface 5 (bis)	N.N.	9	X		X		
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	10		X			X
N.N.	5. ter	N.N.	11	X		X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE 3: *CHAPTER I*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter I	1	18					
~~2~~	Chap. ~~(2)~~	2	19				X	
N.N.	~~A for~~ I ~~2~~ bis	3	20	X		X		
N.N.	A for I ~~3~~ 4	N.N.	21		X		X	
~~3~~	I	4	22			X		
N.N.	I ~~3~~ bis	5	23	X				
N.N.	I ~~3~~ ter	6	24	X				
N.N.	I ~~3 ter~~ ~~3~~ quater	7	25	X		X		
N.N.	(~~4~~)	8	26			X		
~~5~~	I	9	27			X		
~~6~~	I	10	28					
~~7~~	I	11	29					
~~8~~	I	12	30			X		
N.N.	A for I 9	N.N.	31		X	X		
N.N.	I (~~9~~)	13	32			X	X	X
N.N.	I (~~9~~ bis)	14	33					
10	I	15	34			X		
11	I	16	35			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.4: *CHAPTER II*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
12	Chapter II	17	36					
~~12~~ 13	Chapter II (~~2~~)	18	37			X		
N.N.	N.N.	18 bis	38	X		X		
N.N.	Chapter II (~~2~~)	19	39					
N.N.	N.N.	20	40				X	
N.N.	N.N.	21	41			X		
~~1~~	~~Synopsis~~ The story of the Odyssey book i	22	42			X		
~~2~~	Story of the Odyssey bk i	23	43			X		
~~3~~	Story of the Odyssey bk i	24	44				X	
~~4~~	Story of the Odyssey bk i / *below:* bk ii	25	45					
~~5~~	Story of the Odyssey bk ii	26	46			X		
~~6~~	The story of the Odyssey bk ii / *below:* bk iii	27	47			X		
~~7~~ ~~8~~	Story of the Odyssey bk iii	28	48			X	X	
~~8~~	Story of the Odyssey bk iv	29	49			X	X	
~~9~~	Story of the Odyssey bk iv	30	50			X		
10	Story of the Odyssey bk iv	31	51			X		
~~11~~	Story of the Odyssey bk iv	32	52				X	
~~12~~	Story of the Odyssey bk v	33	53				X	
~~13~~	Story of the Odyssey bk v	34	54			X		

~~14~~	Story of the Odyssey bk vi	35	55					
~~15~~	~~Synopsis~~ Story of &. bk vi	36	56			X		
~~16~~	~~Synopsis~~ Story of &. bk vi	37	57					
~~17~~	~~Synopsis~~ Story of &. bk vi	38	58					
~~18~~	~~Synopsis~~ Story of &. bk vi / *below:* bk vii	39	59					
N.N.	A to be introduced on p. ~~19~~. 40	S.N.	60		X			
19	~~Synopsis~~ Story of the Odyssey bk vii	40	61			X		
~~20~~	Story of the Odyssey bk vii	41	62					
~~21~~	Story of the Odyssey bk vii / *below:* bk viii	42	63					
~~22~~	Story of the Odyssey bk viii	43	64			X		
~~23~~	Story of the Odyssey bk viii	44	65					
~~24~~	Story of the Odyssey bk viii	45	66					
~~25~~	Story of the Odyssey bk viii	46	67				X	
~~26~~	Story of the Odyssey bk viii / *below:* bk ix	47	68			X		
S.N.	For chapter II. p. ~~27~~	48	69		X			
~~27~~	Story of the Odyssey bk ix	48	70			X		
S.N.	To face p. 49 [*2 photographs*]	S.N.	71		X			
~~28~~	Story of the Odyssey bk ix	49	72			X		
~~29~~	Story of the Odyssey bk ix	50	73			X		
~~30~~	Story of the Odyssey bk ix	51	74			X		
~~1~~	Story of the Odyssey Chapter II bk ix 30 bis	52	75					
~~31~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x	53	76					
~~32~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x	54	77					
~~33~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x	55	78			X		
~~34~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x / *below:* bk xi	56	79			X		
~~35~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xi	57	80				X	
3	~~For~~ Chapter II 35 bis ~~amplified translation of bk xi~~	58	81	X				
10	~~For~~ Chapter II. ~~36~~ 35 (ter) od xi 163 &	59	82	X				
~~36~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xi	60	83				X	
~~37~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xi	61	84			X		
~~38~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xi	62	85			X		
~~39~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xii	63	86			X		
~~40~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xii	64	87					
~~41~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xii	65	88			X		
~~42~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xii	66	89			X		
~~43~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xii	67	90					
~~44~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiii	68	91					
~~45~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiii	69	92					
~~46~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiii	70	93					
~~47~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiii	71	94			X		
~~48~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiii / *below:* bk xiv	72	95					
~~49~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiv	73	96					
~~50~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiv	74	97			X		
~~51~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xiv / *below:* bk xv	75	98					
~~52~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xv	76	99			X		
N.N.	A For chapter II. p. ~~53~~	77	100		X			
~~53~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xv	77	101					
~~54~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xv	78	102					
~~55~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xv	79	103					
~~56~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xv / *below:* bk xvi	80	104			X		
~~57~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvi	81	105			X		
~~58~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvi	82	106				X	
~~59~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvi	83	107					
~~60~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvi	84	108			X		
~~60~~ ~~61~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	85	109				X	
~~62~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	86	110					

~~63~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	87	111			X		
~~64~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	88	112				X	
~~65~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	89	113			X		
~~66~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii	90	114			X		
~~67~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xvii / *below:* bk xviii	91	115					
~~68~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xviii	92	116					
~~69~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xviii	93	117				X	
~~70~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xviii	94	118					
~~71~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xviii / *below:* bk xix	95	119					
~~72~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix	96	120			X		
~~73~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix	97	121			X		
~~74~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix	98	122			X		
~~75~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix	99	123					
~~76~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix	100	124					
~~77~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xix / *below:* bk xx	101	125			X		
~~78~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xx	102	126			X		
~~79~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x~~i~~x	103	127					
~~80~~	Story of the Odyssey bk x~~i~~x	104	128					
~~81~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xx	105	129					
~~82~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xx / *below:* bk xxi	106	130					
~~83~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxi	107	131			X		
~~84~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxi	108	132			X		
~~85~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxi	109	133			X		
~~86~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxi / *below:* bk xxii	110	134			X		
~~87~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	111	135					
~~88~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	112	136			X	X	
~~89~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	113	137			X		
~~90~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	114	138					
~~91~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	115	139					
~~92~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	116	140					
~~93~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxii	117	141					
~~94~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiii	118	142					
~~95~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiii	119	143					
~~96~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiii	120	144			X		
~~97~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiii	121	145					
98	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiii / *below:* bk xxiv	122	146			X		
~~99~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	123	147			X		
~~100~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	124	148					
~~101~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	125	149					
~~102~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	126	150					
~~103~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	127	151			X		
~~104~~	Story of the Odyssey bk xxiv	128	152					

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.5: *CHAPTER III*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter ~~II~~ III	129	153					
~~2~~	~~II~~ III (2)	130	154				X	
~~3~~	~~II~~ III (3)	131	155			X	X	
~~4~~	~~II~~ III (4)	132	156			X		
~~5~~	~~II~~ III (5)	133	157			X		
~~6~~	~~II~~ III (6)	134	158			X	X	
N.N.	A for chapter III (6)	N.N.	159	X		X		
N.N.	~~II~~ III (~~7~~)	135	160			X		
~~8~~	~~II~~ III (8)	136	161			X		X
~~9~~	~~II~~ III (9)	137	162					
~~10~~	~~II~~ III (10)	138	163			X		

~~11~~	~~II~~ III 11	139	164			X	X	X
~~12~~	~~II~~ III (12)	140	165					
~~13~~	~~II~~ III (13)	141	166			X		X
~~14~~	~~II~~ III (14)	142	167			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.6: *CHAPTER IV*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter ~~III~~ IV (~~1~~)	143	168					
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~2~~)	144	169			X		
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~3~~)	145	170			X		
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~4~~)	146	171			X		
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~5~~)	147	172					
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~6~~)	148	173			X		
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	X				
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~7~~)	149	174			X		X
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~8~~)	150	175			X		
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~9~~)	151	176			X		
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~10~~)	152	177			X	X	X
N.N.	~~III~~ IV (~~11~~)	153	178					
N.N.	IV (~~12~~)	154	179			X		
N.N.	IV (~~13~~)	155	180					X

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.7: *CHAPTER V*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
5 bis	chapter ~~IV~~ V	156	2			X		X
~~2~~	~~I~~V (2)	157	3			X		
~~3~~	~~IV~~ V. (3)	158	4			X		
~~4~~	~~IV~~ V (4)	159	5					X
N.N.	V (~~5~~)	160	6			X		
N.N.	V (~~5~~ bis)	161	7	X		X		X
~~6~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~6~~)	162	8			X		
~~7~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~7~~)	163	9					
~~8~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~8~~)	164	10			X		
~~9~~	~~IV~~ V (~~9~~)	165	11			X		
~~10~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~10~~)	166	12			X		
~~11~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~11~~)	167	13			X		X
~~12~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~12~~)	168	14			X		X
~~13~~	~~IV~~ V. (~~13~~)	169	15			X		X

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.8: *CHAPTER VI*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter VI (~~1~~)	170	16			X		
~~2~~	~~V~~ VI (2)	171	17			X		
~~3~~	~~V~~ VI (~~3~~)	172	18					X
~~4~~	~~V~~ VI (~~4~~)	173	19					
~~5~~	~~V~~ VI (~~5~~)	174	20			X		X
~~6~~	~~V~~ VI (~~6~~)	175	21			X		
~~7~~	~~V~~ VI (~~7~~)	176	22			X		
~~8~~	~~V~~ VI (~~8~~)	177	23			X		X
~~9~~	~~V~~ VI (~~9~~)	178	24			X		
~~10~~	VI (~~9~~) (~~10~~)	179	25			X		X
~~11~~	~~V~~ VI (~~11~~)	180	26			X		
~~12~~	~~V~~ VI (~~12~~)	181	27			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.9: *CHAPTER VII*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter VII. (~~1~~)	182	28			X		X
N.N.	Chapter VII (~~2~~)	183	29			X		
N.N.	A for chap. VII 3	S.N.	30		X	X		
N.N.	VII. ~~3~~	184	31			X		
N.N.	A for VII. ~~4.~~	185	32		X	X		
N.N.	VII. (~~4~~)	185	33			X	X	X
N.N.	VII. 4 bis	N.N.	34	X				
N.N.	A. ~~for continuation of the middle note on VII. 5~~	186 (2)	35		X	X	X	
N.N.	Note B. to follow A inserted in chapter VII page 5 as a separate note	186 (3)	36	X		X		
N.N.	N.N.	186 (4)	37	X		X		
N.N.	VII (~~5~~)	186 (1)	38	X		X		
N.N.	For VII. ~~6~~	187	39		X			
N.N.	VII ~~6~~	187	40			X		
N.N.	N.N.	187 bis	41					
N.N.	VII 7 ~~bis~~	188	42	X		X	X	X
N.N.	A for vii 8	N.N.	43		X			
N.N.	VII (~~5~~) (~~8~~)	189	44			X		
N.N.	VII (~~6~~) (~~9~~)	190	45			X		X
N.N.	Odyssey VII. ~~10~~ A	191	46		X			
N.N.	VII. ~~10~~.	191	47			X	X	
N.N.	VII (~~11~~)	192	48					
N.N.	VII 11 bis	N.N.	49	X				
N.N.	VII. (~~12~~)	193	50					X

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.10: *CHAPTER VIII*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	Chapter VIII. (~~1~~)	194	51			X		
N.N.	VIII. ~~2~~	195	52					X
N.N.	VIII (~~3~~)	196	53			X	X	
N.N.	VIII (~~4~~)	197	54			X		
N.N.	VIII. ~~4~~ ~~(a)~~ bis	198	55	X				
N.N.	~~A for the top of~~ VIII. ~~4~~. (ter)	199	56	X		X	X	
N.N.	chapter VIII	199 bis	57	X				
N.N.	chapter VIII	200	58	X		X	X	
N.N.	To face page 203	SN	59		X			
N.N.	VIII (~~5~~)	201	60			X		
N.N.	VIII (~~6~~)	202	61			X		
N.N.	VIII. (~~7~~)	203	62			X		
N.N.	VIII. ~~8~~	204	63	X		X		
N.N.	SN	204[1]	64	X				
N.N.	A for VIII. ~~9~~.	205	65	X				
N.N.	VIII ~~9~~.	205	66			X		
N.N.	To face page 206	N.N.	67		X			
N.N.	VIII. (~~10~~)	206	68			X		
N.N.	VIII ~~11~~	207	69			X	X	
N.N.	VIII. (~~12~~)	208	70					
N.N.	VIII (~~13~~)	209	71			X		
N.N.	VIII. (~~14~~)	210	72			X		X
N.N.	VIII. (~~15~~)	211	73					
N.N.	VIII. ~~16~~ A	212	74		X	X		
N.N.	VIII. ~~16~~	212	75			X		
N.N.	VIII. (~~17~~)	213	76			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.11: *CHAPTER IX*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	IX (~~1~~)	214	77			X		X
N.N.	N.N.	to face page 215	78		X			
N.N.	IX (~~2~~)	215	79			X		
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	80		X			
N.N.	IX (~~3~~)	216	81					X
N.N.	N.N.	N.N.	82	X		X		X
N.N.	A. insert on p. ~~6~~ of chapter IX	217	83		X		X	
N.N.	IX (~~4~~)	217	84			X		X
N.N.	IX (~~5~~)	218	85			X		
N.N.	IX. (~~6~~).	219	86			X		
N.N.	IX. ~~7~~	220	87			X		X
N.N.	IX. 8	221	88			X		X
N.N.	IX. ~~9~~	222	89			X	X	X
N.N.	IX. (~~10~~)	223	90			X	X	
N.N.	N.N.	223 bis	91			X		
N.N.	IX. ~~11~~	224	92			X		X
N.N.	IX ~~11~~ bis	225	93			X		
N.N.	chapter IX. 12	226	94			X		X
N.N.	IX ~~13~~	227	95			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.12: *CHAPTER X*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	chapter X	228	96			X	X	
N.N.	~~IX~~. ~~7~~ X. ~~2~~	229	97			X		
N.N.	~~IX~~. ~~8~~ X. ~~3~~	230	98			X		
N.N.	~~IX~~. ~~9~~ X. ~~4~~	231	99			X		
N.N.	~~IX~~. ~~10~~ X. ~~5~~	232	100			X	X	X
N.N.	X. ~~6~~	233	101			X		
N.N.	A. for chapter X. (~~7~~)	234	102		X			
N.N.	X. ~~7~~	234	103			X		
N.N.	X. ~~8~~	235	104			X		
N.N.	X. ~~9~~	236	105			X		
N.N.	X. ~~10~~	237	106			X		
N.N.	X. ~~11~~	238	107					
N.N.	X. ~~12~~	239	108					
N.N.	~~XI~~ X. ~~13~~	240	109					

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.13: *CHAPTER XI*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	XI ~~1~~	241	110			X		
N.N.	XI~~I~~ ~~2~~	242	111			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~3~~.	243	112			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~4~~	244	113			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~5~~	245	114					X
N.N.	XI. (~~6~~)	246	115			X		X
N.N.	XI. ~~7~~	247	116			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~8~~	248	117			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~9~~	249	118			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~10~~	250	119			X		X
N.N.	XI. ~~11~~	251	120			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~12~~	252	121			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~13~~	253	122			X		
N.N.	XI. ~~14~~	254	123					

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.14: *CHAPTER XII*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	A. to be inserted in XII ~~1~~ as a new paragraph	255	124		X			X
N.N.	XII. (~~1~~)	255	125					
N.N.	XII ~~2~~	256	126					
N.N.	XII. ~~3~~	257	127			X		
N.N.	For XII. ~~1~~	258	128		X	X		X
N.N.	XII. ~~1~~	258	129			X	X	
N.N.	XII. ~~5~~	259	130			X		
N.N.	xii. 6	260	131					X
N.N.	xii 7	261	132			X		
N.N.	xii. ~~8~~	262	133			X		
N.N.	XII. ~~9~~	263	134			X		
N.N.	A for XII. 10	N.N.	135		X	X		
N.N.	XII. ~~10~~	264	136			X		X
N.N.	xii ~~11~~	265	137			X		
N.N.	xii. ~~10~~ ~~12~~	266	138			X		X
N.N.	XII. ~~13~~	267	139					
N.N.	XII. (~~14~~)	268	140					X
N.N.	A. for XII. 15	N.N.	141		X	X		
N.N.	xii. ~~15~~	269	142			X		X

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.15: *CHAPTER XIII*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	XIII. ~~1~~	270	143			X		X
N.N.	XIII. ~~2~~	271	144			X		X
N.N.	XIII. ~~3~~	272	145				X	X
N.N.	xiii. ~~4~~	273	146			X		X
N.N.	xiii. ~~5~~.	274	147			X		X
N.N.	xiii. ~~6~~.	275	148					
N.N.	xiii. ~~7~~.	276	149			X		X
N.N.	xiii. ~~8~~.	277	150					

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N.16: *CHAPTER XIV*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	XIV. ~~1~~	278	151			X		X
N.N.	XIV. ~~2~~	279	152			X		X
N.N.	XIV. ~~3~~	280	153			X		X
N.N.	XIV. ~~4~~	281	154					X
N.N.	xiv. ~~5~~	282	155			X		X
N.N.	xiv. ~~6~~	283	156			X		X
N.N.	XIV. ~~6~~ bis	284	157	X		X	X	
N.N.	xiv. ~~7~~	285	158			X		X
N.N.	xiv. ~~8~~	286	159			X		X
N.N.	xiv. ~~9~~	287	160			X	X	X
N.N.	XIV. ~~10~~	288	161					
N.N.	XIV. ~~11~~	289	162					
N.N.	A. insert on p. 290	N.N.	163		X	X		
N.N.	XIV. ~~12~~	290	164			X	X	X
N.N.	XIV. ~~13~~	291	165			X	X	X
N.N.	~~For~~ XIV. ~~13~~ bis	292	166	X		X		
N.N.	XIV. ~~13~~ ter	293	167	X				
N.N.	XIV. ~~14~~	294	168			X		X
N.N.	XIV. ~~15~~	295	169			X		X

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N. 17: *CHAPTER XV*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	XV. ~~1~~	296	170			X		X
N.N.	XV. ~~2~~	297	171			X		
N.N.	XV. ~~3~~	298	172			X		
N.N.	A to be inserted in chapter x~~i~~v. (~~4~~)	299	173					
N.N.	XV. ~~4~~	299	174			X	X	
N.N.	XV. ~~5~~	300	175					
N.N.	XV. ~~6~~	301	176					
N.N.	XV. ~~8~~ ~~7~~	302	177			X		
N.N.	XV. ~~8~~	303	178			X		
N.N.	A for XV. 9	N.N.	179		X	X		
N.N.	XV. ~~9~~	304	180			X		
N.N.	XV. ~~10~~	305	181			X	X	
N.N.	For XV. 10 bis	305 A	182	X		X	X	
N.N.	XV 11	305 B	183	X		X	X	
N.N.	XV. 12	305 C	184	X		X		
N.N.	XV 13	305 D	185	X		X		
N.N.	A. (for XV. 14)	for 306	186		X	X		
N.N.	XV 14	306	187					
N.N.	XV. ~~12~~	307	188			X		

CONCISE DESCRIPTIVE TABLE N. 18: *CHAPTER XVI*								
n. A	**n. B**	**n. C**	**n. D**	**IR**	**IV**	**Canc.**	**EX**	**M/A**
N.N.	~~xvii~~. xvi (~~1~~)	308	189			X		
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~2~~	309	190			X		
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. (~~3~~)	310	191					
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~4~~	311	192			X		
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~5~~	312	193			X		
N.N.	xvi. 6.	313	194	X		X	X	
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~6~~	313 bis	195				X	
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~7~~	314	196			X		
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~8~~	315	197			X		
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~9~~	316	198					
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~8~~ ~~10~~	317	199					
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~9~~ ~~11~~	318	200					
N.N.	xvi~~i~~. ~~10~~ ~~12~~	319	201			X		
N.N.	xvi. ~~13~~	320	202			X		

Pantelleria : Sindaco e notabili (19/08/1893)

Favignana : La barca di Ulisse (14/08/1894)

Favognana
was the island where Ulysses
hunted the goats.

"Favignana era l'isola dove Ulisse cacciò le capre"

APPENDIX: THE ARTIST UNDER THE VEIL

Samuel Butler (1835-1902) is known as the author of "*Erewhon*" (1872), a splendid Victorian satirist novel, which describes a country where technology has been banned since some centuries, students learn '*Hypothetical Language*' in schools and they can be rejected for '*excess of concreteness*', sick men are committed to prison since they upset social peace, while thieves instead go to hospital to treat their unpleasant disturbance.

Erewhon, however imaginary, is the first country where current doctrines about the rights of animals and plants have been forwarded; the country's economy hinges on a dual circulation system of capital, spiritual and material, in which the former apparently enjoys greater general consideration.

As the author of "*Erewhon*", Butler is often labeled a "utopian writer", so that on the contrary his photographic production seems to have a strong effect on those who approach him for the first time. Although not a professional photographer, Butler can rightly be called a 'writer-photographer', as were his contemporaries Luigi Capuana and Giovanni Verga. In this regard, I am pleased to remember "*The writing of the eye. Utopian and realist writers from pen to plate*", an interesting exhibition collecting side by side the photographs that Butler, Verga and Capuana had been shoting in Sicily for the same years, that was held at the Pepoli Museum in Trapani in 2006 (as I said, the three of them were appointed Members of the *Accademia degli Zelanti* in Acireale in the same part-session of 26 March 1893).

By overturning the commonplace that defines Butler as a utopian artist, Verga and Capuana as verists, Butler's photographs reveal a personality deeply attentive to simple people and everyday life. Wherever he went, Butler used to carry his Kodak with him and to take photos likewise of friends and strangers, nobles and plebeians, or even less than plebeians, whose dignity he caught with a rare sensibility.

Even when Butler visited Sicily for the first time, in search of evidence for his theory, his inseparable camera has been not inactive for the entire month of his stay.

We can rightly say that alongside the 'Odyssean research' Butler also undertook a real journey of anthropological discovery, witnessed and preserved in the photographs that after his death were donated to St John's College in Cambridge, the prestigious institute he attended in his youth, which today boasts an exceptional collection of Butler's books, manuscripts, music, photographs, pictures and drawings, and personal effects.

Thanks to the courtesy of St John's College Council of Cambridge and to the support of the *Department of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity* of the homonymous department of the Sicilian Region, the Fardelliana Library of Trapani houses, at the seventeenth-century Torre di Ligny, a selection of the most significant shots taken by Butler in the district of Trapani from 1892 to 1897.

These photographs are exhibited in large panels, enriched, as a caption, by significant passages from the manuscript of "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*". It is thus possible not only to retrace some of the stages of Butler's Sicilian journeys, but also to meet his friends and relive, with the force of a direct testimony, some scenes of everyday life in Sicily in the late nineteenth century.

The photographs taken in the large cave of Scurati on August 17, 1892 render us the pre-eminence of the female role in daily life with a rare representational efficacy, as well as those taken in Trapani in 1893, on 9 and then on 20 August, they almost sound like some Sicilian folk songs.

Some photos clearly reflect the Butlerian idea that the cells of today's men are literally the same as our ancestors from thousands of years ago, to the point that the faithful swineherd Eumaeus can be recognized in the man photographed by Butler on the slopes of M[t] Eryx on August 17, 1892.

A vivid attention to some landscapes of more or less clear Homeric reminiscence (the Polyphemus Cave, the Goat Island, and so on) is very evident in several photographs.

The human figure, above all, attracts Butler's main interest. The old man from Motya that takes his hat off in greeting, the pose of the family of the Mayor of Marettimo, the group of notables from Pantelleria, reveal the pride and simplicity of the inhabitants of those small islands, as well as Butler's deep attention to their world.

The photo of the captain who led Butler there, and that of the fisherman mending his nets, in the company of their respective children (Marettimo 18 August 1894) cannot fail to recall, by contrast or perhaps not, the book "*I Malavoglia*" by Verga, as well as the photo of the Sudanese migrants on the boat from Pantelleria to Marsala (18 August 1893) it cannot fail to make us reflect on the cyclical return of some historical-political events. At the time,

the so-called 'Mahdi uprising' raged in Sudan, an episode that closely resembles, in many respects, the recent humanitarian crises related to the action of the ISIS.

A close attention to childhood is a never fading constant in Butler's photography, from the beginning. There is no denying that the children from Eryx (10 August 1893) or the barefoot children of a young mother from Trapani that was cleaning - and perhaps even spanking - the youngest of them (20 August 1892), with their air of funny scoundrels, they kindle a powerful empathetic current towards them immediately.

Butler photographed his Sicilian friends several times, so reflecting an affection that was not merely formal. The young man from Eryx Giuseppe Pagoto was the object of an almost paternal feeling in particular; Butler was decidedly generous towards him with advice and spiritual (sometimes even material) support. In the photo of 28 August, 1894, he is portrayed at the age of 19: he looks older, but at that time boys had to prove soon being already men, or at least very like.

Some photos were taken with properly artistic intent. Among these, the photo of a woman from Eryx wearing the 'mantu' [a typical mantle by Eryx] on the threshold of the church of Saint Ursula (24 August 1894) stands out. This photo and an immediately subsequent one, depicting the same scene from different angle, thus making the presence of a priest sitting near the entrance clearer, suggest a Caravaggesque reminiscence immediately, although Butler's preferences in pictorial field traveled quite different roads.

Samuel Butler came to Trapani mainly to seek evidence to support his Sicilian localizations; this was the reason why he toured the island round and photographed what looked to him to be the main topographic and anthropic eminences. Gradually, however, the idea that it was a woman to write the poem turned increasingly prominent within his theory. Not for nothing the most mature fruit of his research took the title "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*".

The photo that summarizes his attention for the female world more than all was taken on September 4, 1894 in Poggioreale, a village in the Belice valley, that in those years was characterized from a hard emigration (for example the mother of the famous trumpeter Nick La Rocca, one of the 'white inventors' of jazz in New Orleans in the early twentieth century was from there) and from the claims of the peasants gathered in the Sicilian Fasces [a movement of revolt with some socialist peculiarities, which arose in Sicily just in those years].

Butler visited Poggioreale when the state of siege decreed by Italian Government eight months earlier had just ended. We would expect to find perhaps anguish and bitterness in people's faces, and instead we can admire the serenity of this family of women of various ages. Using the title of a picture that Klimt would have painted eleven years later and which is now in the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome, we could call this photograph "*The Ages of Woman*".

In a beautiful page of "*The Authoress of the Odyssey*" Butler justifies his work of 'heretical' analysis of the poem by stating that "*art is interesting insofar as it reveals an artist*": in effect, he removed the veil that prevented us from recognizing the female hand drawing up the *Odyssey*. These photos look to reveal, I would say almost etymologically, what an extraordinary and to date not yet fully appreciated artist Butler is.

Scurati: Cottura del pane (17/08/1892)

A man might have told us that the guests brought meat & wine & bread. but his mind would not instinctively turn to the guests wives putting up the bread for them.

"Un uomo ci avrebbe detto che gli invitati portarono carne, vino e pane, ma non avrebbe istintivamente pensato alle mogli, che per loro prepararono il pane"

Scurati: Donne davanti la grotta (17 agosto 1892)

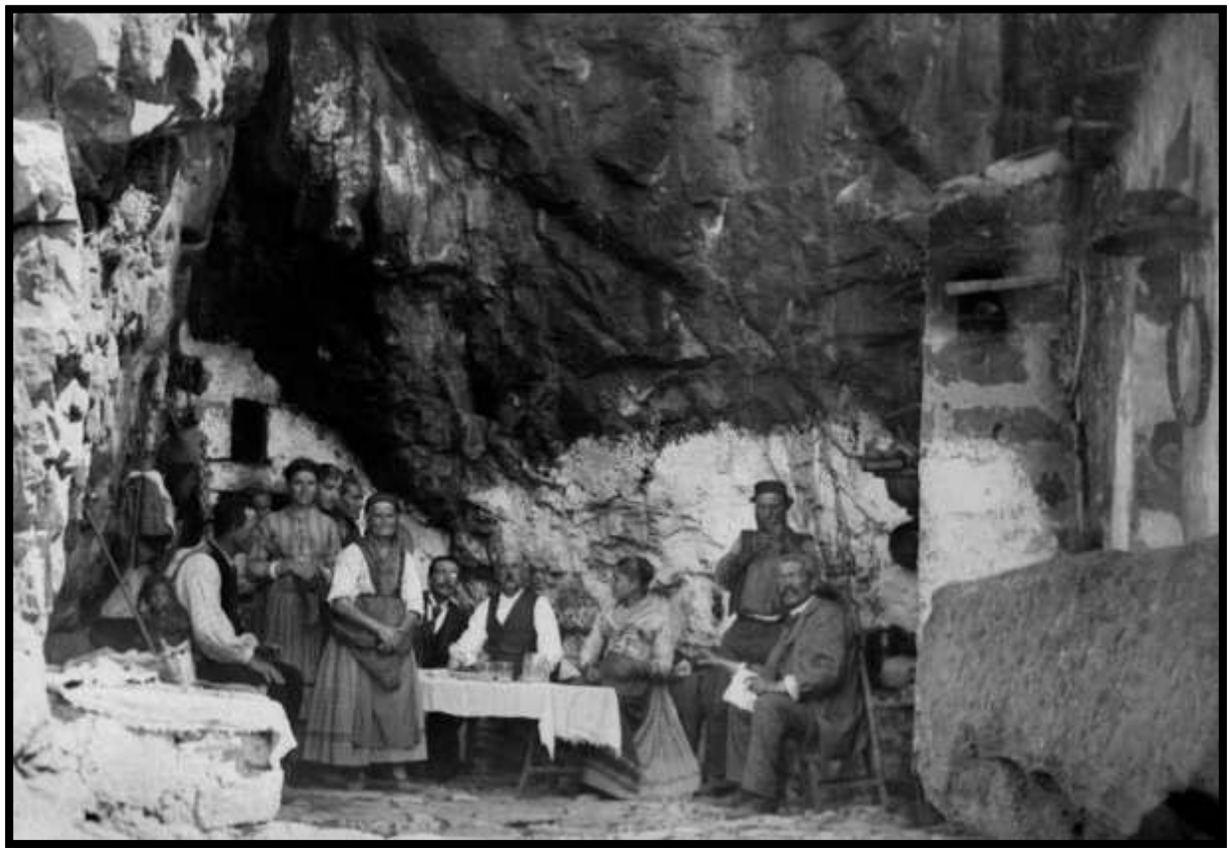
throughout the Odyssey it is
the women who are directing, counselling, & protec-
-ting the men.

"Nell'Odissea sono le donne a dirigere, consigliare e proteggere gli uomini"

Scurati: Donne in grotta (17 agosto 1892)

Surely if the Odyssey has charmed us as a man's work, its charm & wonder are infinitely increased when we see it as a woman's.

"Sicuramente se l'Odissea ci ha incantati quale opera di un uomo, il suo fascino e le sue meravigliose bellezze si accrescono infinitamente quando lo vediamo come opera di una donna"



Scurati: Donne e pranzo in grotta (17 agosto 1892)

I saw several families of cave-dwellers at a place called Le grotte degli Scurate on Cofano about 15 miles North of Trapani. There was, however, nothing of the Cyclops about them. Their caves were most beautifully clean, & as com-fortable as the best class of English cottages. The people, who were most kind & hospitable, were more fair than dark

"Io vidi parecchie famiglie che abitavano in grotte, in una località chiamata le Grotte degli Scurati, alle falde del monte Cofano: distante circa 15 miglia a Nord di Trapani. In loro non vi era nulla di ciclopico. Le grotte erano pulitissime e comode come i cottages inglesi della miglior classe sociale. le persone erano gentilissime e ospitali, più bionde che brune"

Pantelleria: Sudanesi sul battello (19/08/1893)

points which suggest a
female hand the speech of Telemachus
about his mother being too apt to make much
of second rate people.

"Punti che fortemente suggeriscono una mano femminile: Telemaco quando dice che sua madre ha troppo la tendenza ad occuparsi della gente meno importante"

Marettimo: Pescatore e figli rammendano le reti
(18/08/1894)

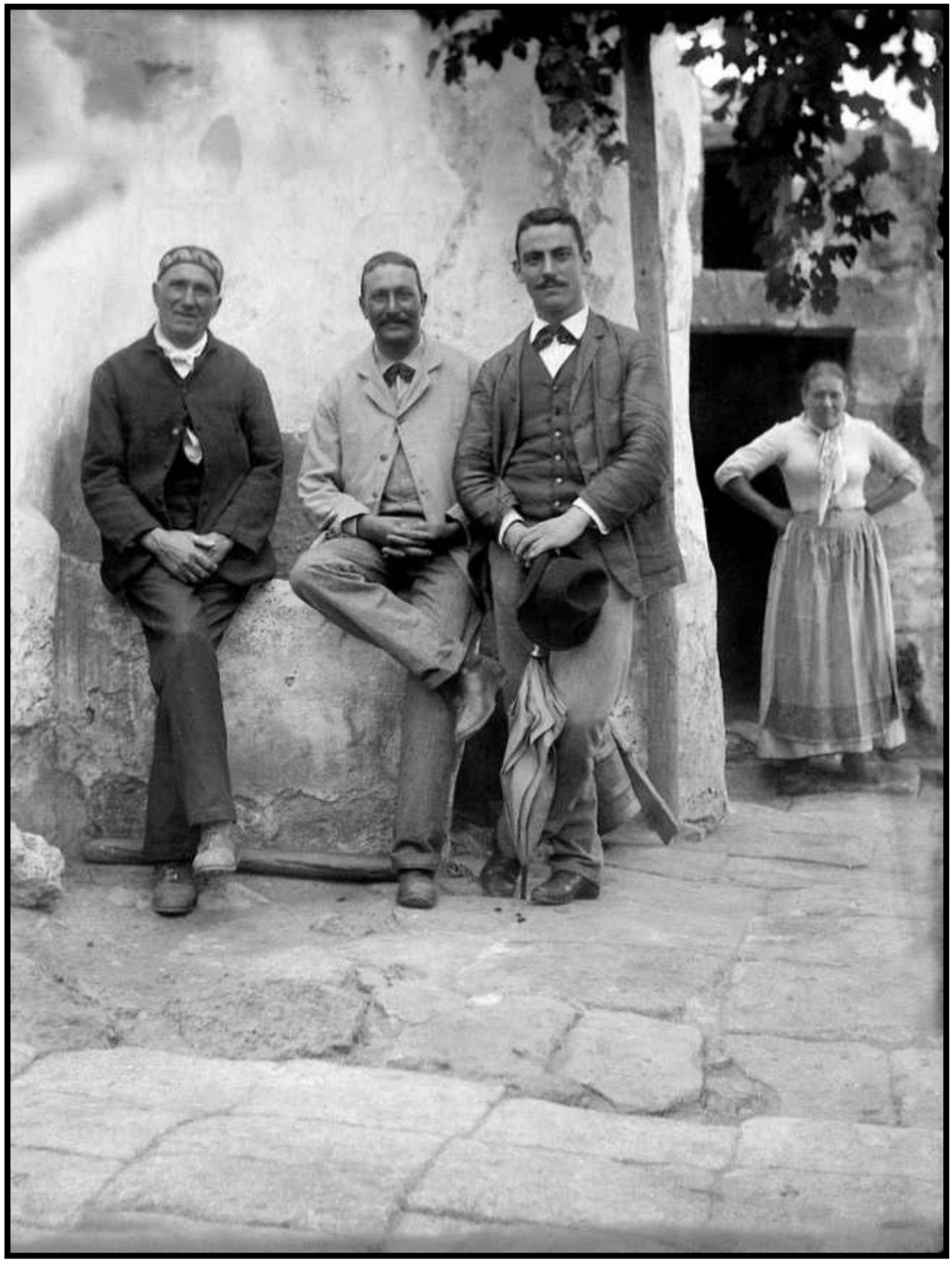
If the truth were known we might very likely find that it was man rather than woman who has been the interloper in the domain of literature.

"Se conoscessimo la verità, forse troveremmo che fu l'uomo, e non la donna, il vero intruso nel dominio della letteratura"

Marettimo: Albergatrice (18/08/1894)

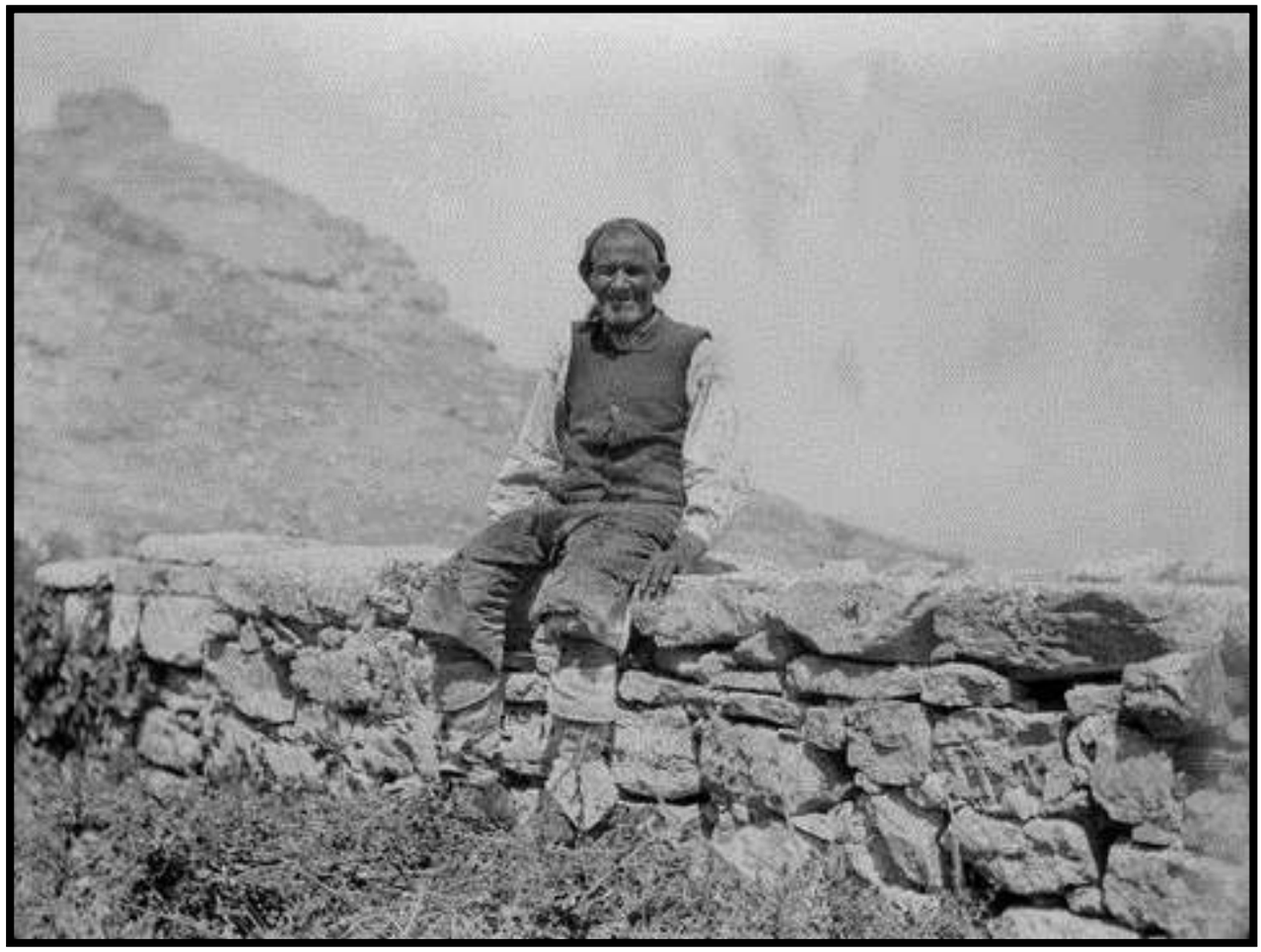
I was at an inn once & asked the stately landlady if I could see the landlord. She bridled up & answered, "We have no landlord, sir, in this house; I cannot see what use a man is in a hotel except to clean boots & windows."

"Mi trovai in un albergo una volta e chiesi alla imponente locandiera se potevo vedere il padrone. Lei si risentì e rispose: "Non c'è un padrone, in questa casa; non vedo a che cosa possa servire un uomo in un albergo se non a pulire le scarpe e le finestre"



Marettimo : Famiglia del delegato Sindaco (18/08/1894)

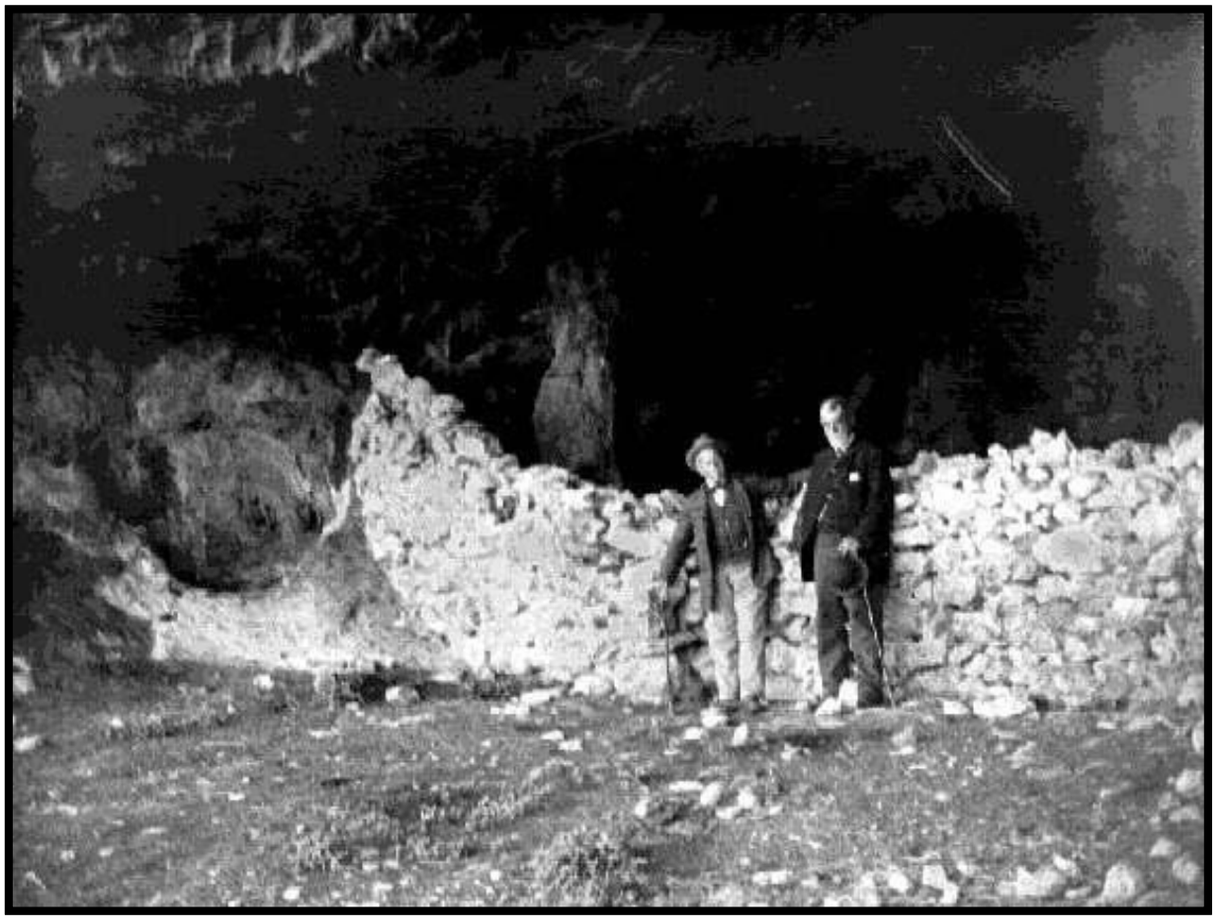
Erice : *Donna con 'mantu'* ***(24/08/1894)***



Erice: Eumeo (27/08/1893)

Woman she must have been;
~~young woman~~; ~~He~~ no male writer could have resisted
the temptation to kill Eumaeus. It is the faithful
servant's rôle to be mortally wounded on occasions
of this sort.

"Donna doveva essere; nessuno scrittore avrebbe resistito alla tentazione di far morire Eumeo; è la sorte del fedele servitore essere mortalmente ferito in simili occasioni"



Butler e Sugameli nella Grotta di Polifemo (06/05/1896)

The cave of Polyphemus – still called among the peasants la grotta di Poli-
-femo – was some six or seven miles North of Trapani.

"La grotta di Polifemo, così ancora chiamata dai contadini del luogo, era a circa sei o sette miglia a Nord di Trapani"

Trapani : Mamma e figli (20/08/1892)

the presumption becomes very strong
that the more spontaneous scenes are not so much
invention as a rendering of the writer's environ-
-ment

"Diviene fortissima la supposizione che le scene più spontanee non sono invenzione ma la rappresentazione dell'ambiente della scrittrice, al quale è chiaro che lei è appassionatamente legata"

Trapani : Cortile con 'pilozza' (09/08/1893)

The fact that in the washing day episode so far as possible we find Nausicaa, all Nausicaa, & nothing but Nausicaa among the female dramatis personae, indicates that she was herself the young woman of Trapani whom we have got to find

"Il fatto che nell'episodio del bucato, fra le dramatis personae femminili, noi troviamo Nausicaa, tutta Nausicaa e nient'altro che Nausicaa, indica che era proprio lei la giovane donna di Trapani che dobbiamo cercare"

Trapani: Salina di S. Cusumano (16/05/1897)

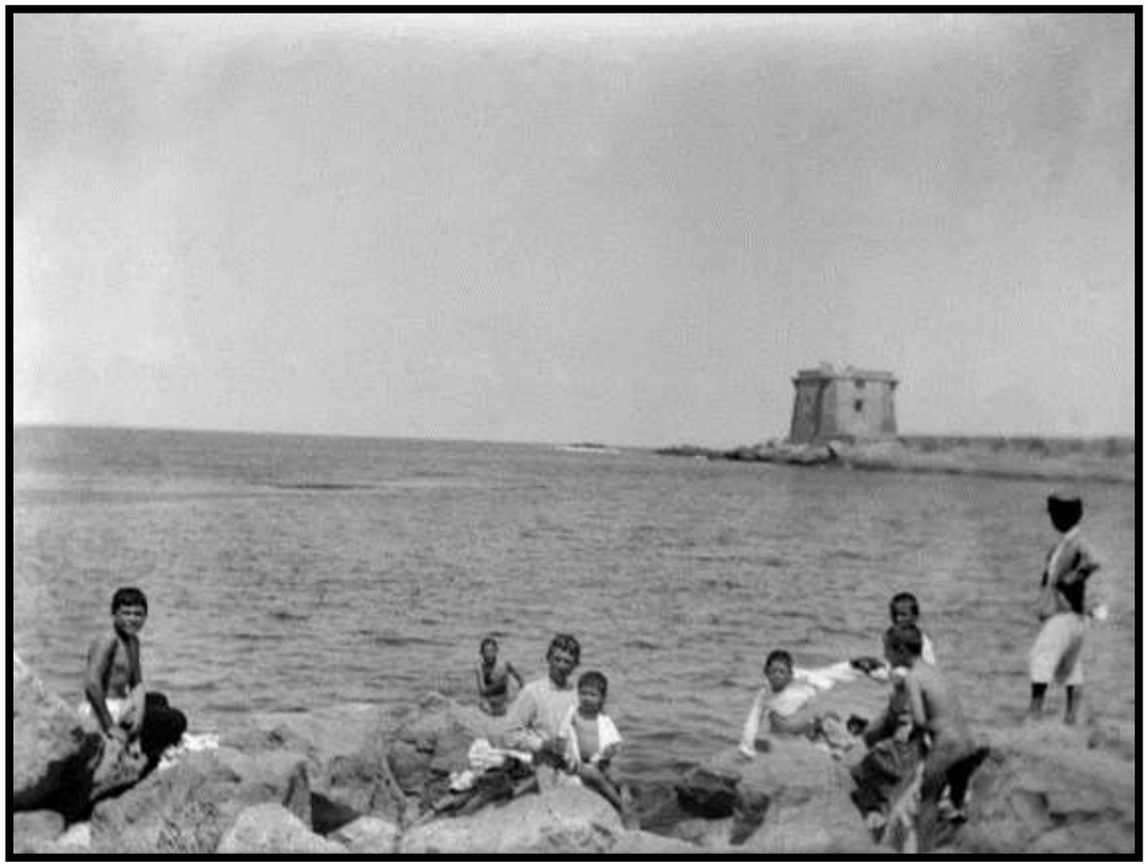
The great difficulty in making the salt works was the abundance of fresh water springs which made it necessary to cement the salt pans in order to keep the fresh water from mixing with the salt. It was perhaps from some of these springs that the πλυνοί or washing cisterns of Viii.40 were supplied – unless indeed Nausicaa washed the clothes in sea water

"Una grande difficoltà nel costruire le saline derivò dall'abbondanza di sorgenti d'acqua dolce, per cui fu necessario cementare le vasche così da evitare che l'acqua si mescolasse col sale. Era forse da qualcuna di queste sorgenti che i plunoi o lavatoi venivano alimentati, a meno che Nausicaa non lavasse la biancheria nell'acqua di mare"

Trapani: Barche nel porto (11/08/1894)

I found the combina-
-tion I wanted for Scheria. lying right under
Mt. Eryx. The land's end jutting into the sea – the
two harbours one on either side of it – the narrow
entrance. between two marshes – ~~now~~ the high
mountain hard by – the rock at the entrance
of one of the harbours the absence of any river –

"Trovai la chiave per Scheria, posta proprio sotto il monte Erice. La penisola falcata che si proietta sul mare, i due porti ai lati di essa, la stretta entrata tra due paludi, l'alta montagna vicina, lo scoglio all'entrata di uno dei due porti, la mancanza di un qualsiasi fiume"



Trapani: Scoglio del Malconsiglio (08/05/1896)

no place, however much it might lie between two harbours, would do for Scheria, unless at the end of one of them there was a small half sunken rock.

"Nessuna località, per quanto situata tra due porti, poteva essere il modello di Scheria, a meno che all'estremità di uno di essi non vi fosse uno scoglio affiorante dal mare"

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Poggioreale : Gruppo femminile (04/09/1894)

much more important are wives
than husbands in the eyes of the author of the Odyssey

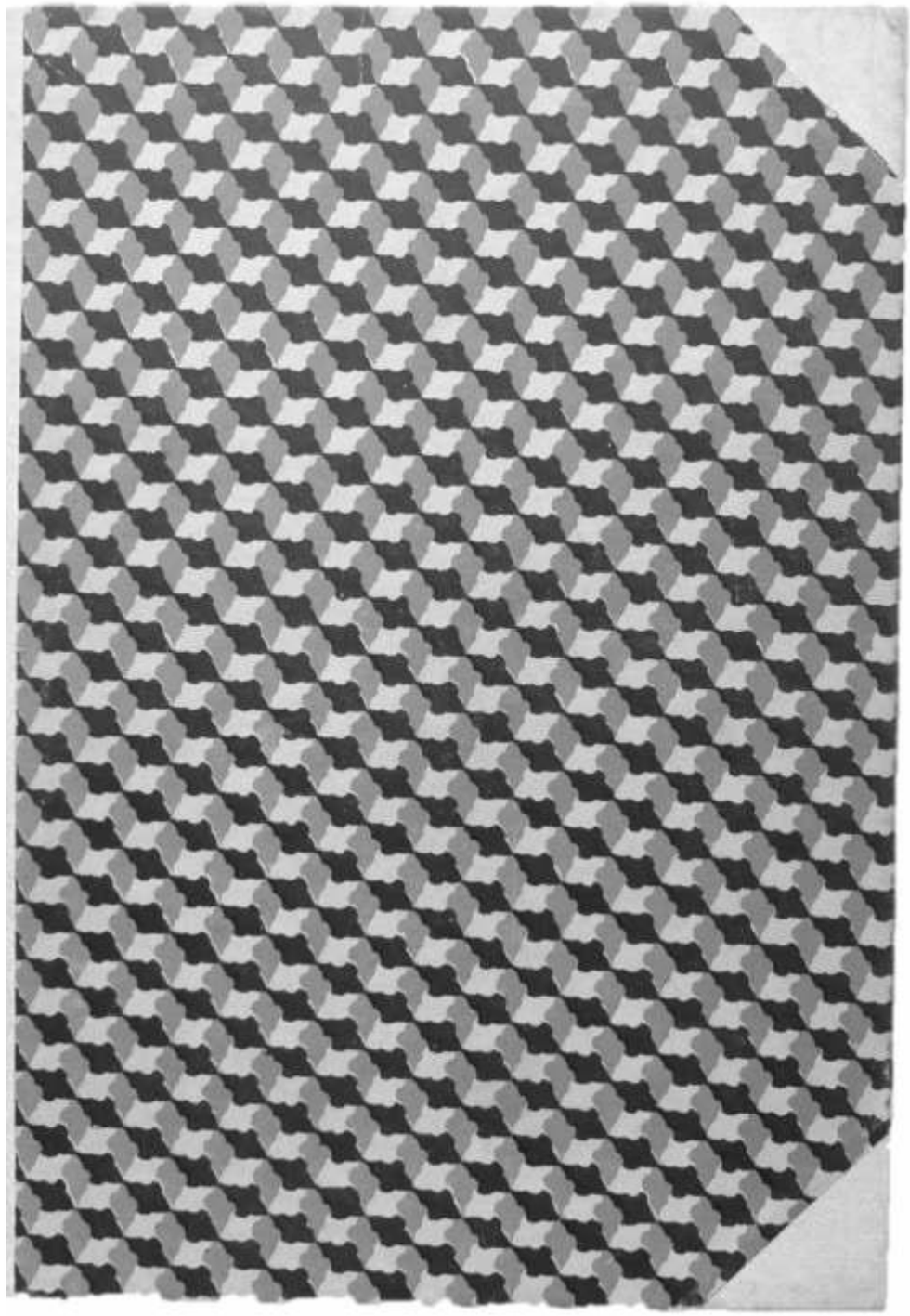
"agli occhi dell'autore dell'Odissea
le mogli sono tanto più importanti dei mariti"

SAMUEL BUTLER

THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY

Biblioteca Fardelliana Trapani
Manoscritti 183 e 184

S. BUTLER
AUTHORESS
OF THE ODYSSEY
I
Ms.
183
MS.



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Scansia W sopra
TRAPANI

BIBLIOTECA FARDELLIANA
Ms. 183
TRAPANI

MUNICIPIO DI TRAPANI

The authoress of the Odyssey

Part I

to end of chapter IV.

Title page to be set up something in the style of the title page of my Life & Letters of Dr Butler of which I believe I must have sent you a proof on Saturday. If you think you can arrange the matter better than I have done, by all means do so.
S. B.

THE

AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY

WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS,
THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD,
AND
HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER

Author of "Erewhon" "Life & Habit" "Alps & Sanctuaries" "The Life & Letters of Dr Samuel Butler" etc

"There is no single fact to justify a conviction" said Mr Cock; whereon the Solicitor General replied that he did not rely upon any single fact, but upon a chain of facts, which taken all together left no possible means of escape. Times Leader. Nov 16 1894

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1897

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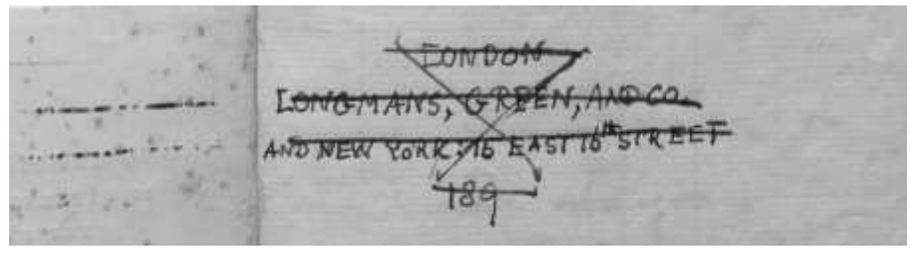

Preface

The following work consists in ~~great~~ some measure of matter already published in England and Italy during the last ~~four & a half~~ six years. The original publications were in the Athenæum Jan 30, & Feb 20 1892, and in The Eagle for the Lent Term 1892, & for the ~~Lent~~ Easter Term 1892. Both these last two articles were ~~reprinted~~ republished by Messrs Metcalfe & Co of Cambridge with prefaces, in the second case of considerable length. I have also drawn from sundry letters and articles that appeared in ~~the Journal published at Trapani, called~~ & Il Lambuschini, a Journal published at Trapani & edited by Prof. ~~the~~ Giacalone-Patti, ~~and~~ in 1892 & succeeding years, as also from two articles that appeared in the Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana published at Acireale, in the autumn of 1893 & 1894, and from some articles published in the Italian Gazette (then edited by Miss Helen Zimmern) in the Spring of 1895.

Each of the publications above referred to contained some matter which did not appear in the others, and by the help of local students in Sicily, among whom I would name the late Sig. E. Biaggini of Trapani, Sig. Sugameli of Trapani, & the Cavaliere Professore Ingroia of Calatafimi, I have been able to correct some errors & become possessed of new matter bearing on my subject. I have now entirely recast & restated the whole argument, ~~bringing the whole together in coherent form, and adding the arguments for the poem's having been written by a woman - a matter on which I had only touched very lightly in any of my previous publications~~ adding much that has not appeared hitherto, & dealing for the first time fully with the question of the writer's sex.

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No reply appeared to either of my letters to the Athenæum, nor to my Italian pamphlets. It is idle to suppose that the leading ~~Homeric~~ Iliad & Odyssey scholars in England & the continent do not know what I have said. I have taken ample care that they should be informed concerning it. It is equally idle to suppose that not one of them should have brought forward a serious argument against me, if there were any such argument to bring. Had they brought one it must have reached me, & I should have welcomed it with great pleasure – for, as I have said in my concluding chapter, I do not care whether the Odyssey was written by man or by woman, nor yet where the poet or poetess lived who wrote it, all I care about is the knowing ~~whether it all~~ as much as I can ~~that I can know~~ about the poem; & ~~if my mistake~~ I believe that scholars ~~on~~ both in England & on the continent would have helped me to fuller understanding if they had seen their way to doing so.

A new edition, for example, of Professor Jebb's Introduction to Homer was published some six weeks after the first & more important of my letters to the Athenæum ~~above referred to~~ had appeared. ~~The advertisement in the (Athenæum, Mar 12 1892) announced the edition as "this day". If Professor Jebb had wished to let his readers say anything either for or against me~~ It was advertised as "this day" in the Athenæum of Mar 12, 1892; so that if Professor Jebb had wished to say anything ~~for~~ against

what had appeared in the Athenæum, he had ample time to do so, by way of postscript. I know very well what I should have thought it incumbent upon me to ~~write~~ do had I been in his place, & found his silence more eloquent on my behalf than any words would have been which he is at all likely to have written — or, I may add, to write.

I repeat that nothing deserving serious answer has reached me ~~during~~ from any source during the six years or so that my Odyssean theories have been before the public. The principal notices of ~~it~~ that have appeared so far will be found in The Spectator April 23 1892, The Cambridge Observer May 31. 1892, The Classical Review for Nov. 1892, June 1893, & Feb. 1895, & Longman's Magazine ~~(at~~ (see at the Sign of the Ship) for June 1892.

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I may say that nothing has reached me from any source which I believe to require serious refutation, but in the following pages I have abundantly ~~in~~ dealt with anything that I have seen urged with however little reason against the view that I have taken.

My frontispiece is taken by the kind permission of the Mess Alinari of Florence from their photograph of a work in the Museum at ~~Florence~~ Cortona called La Musa. ~~Pomponius~~ It is painted on ~~pumicestone~~ slate, ~~or~~ & burnt, ~~is~~ a little more than half life size and is ~~undoubtedly~~ beyond a doubt Greek, presumably of about the XIIIth Cen but no ~~more precise~~ date can be assigned to it. ~~It~~ I suppose it was found at Cortona that it by a man who was ploughing his field, & who happened to be a baker. ~~Finding that the~~ size being ~~most~~ suitable he used it for some time as a door for his oven, ~~but it happily found~~ whence it was happily ~~it may rate~~ rescued & placed in the Museum where it now rests.

As regards the Greek text ~~of the~~ from which I have taken my abridged translation, I have borne in mind throughout the admirable canons laid down by Mr Gladstone in his Studies on Homer. Oxford University Press 1858 vol I p 43 He tells:-

1. That we should adopt the text itself* (see F.) as the basis of all Homeric enquiry, & not any preconceived theory nor any arbitrary ~~system~~ standard of criticism, separable to any particular ~~School~~ periods, schools, or persons.

2. That as we proceed in any work of construction drawn from the text, we should

~~* i.e. the commonly received text. Ed.~~

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avoid the temptation to solve difficulties that lie in our way, by dogmatically particular portions of it as corrupt or interpolated; should never set it aside except on the closest examination of the particular passage questioned; should use sparingly the liberty of even arraying presumptions against it; and should always let the reader ~~know the~~ understand both ~~but~~ when & why it is questioned.

The only emendation I have ventured to make in the text is to read Νηρίτου instead ~~of Νηρίτου in I~~ of Νηρίου in i 186 & ~~Νηρίτου instead of Νηρίου in iii~~ νηρίτου for νηρίου in iii 81. A more speculative emendation in iv 606, 607 I forbear even to suggest. I know of none others that I have any wish to make. As for interpolations I have called attention to three or four which I believe to have been made at a later period by the writer herself, but have seen no passage which I have been ~~even~~ tempted to regard as the work of another hand.

(l.t.)

I have followed Mr Gladstone, Lord Derby, ~~&~~ Colonel Mure, and I may add the late Professor Kennedy & the Revd Richard Shilleto, men who taught me what little Greek I know, in retaining the usual Latin renderings of Greek proper names. What was good enough for the scholars ~~even~~ whom I have named is good enough for me, & I should think also for the greater number of my readers. The public whom I am addressing know the Odyssey chiefly through Pope's translation, & will not, I believe, take kindly to Odysseus for Ulysses, ~~or~~ Aias for Ajax, ~~or~~ and ~~to~~ Polydeukes for Pollux. Neither do I think

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Preface 5

that Hekabe will supersede Hecuba, till "what's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba" is out of date.

I infer that the authorities of the British Museum are with me in this matter, for in looking out Odysseus in the catalogue of the library I find "See Ulysses."

Moreover the authors of this new nomenclature are not consistent. Why not call Penelope Penelopeia? She is never called anything else in the Odyssey. Why not Achilleus? Why not Bellerophontes? Why Hades, when Ἅιδης has no aspirate? Why Helios instead of Ἠέλιος? Why insist on Achaians & Aitolians, ~~but~~ and never on Aithiopians? Why not Athenaians rather than Athenians? Why not Apollon? Why not either Odusseus, or else Odyseys? & why not call him Odusseus or Odyseys whenever the Odyssey does so?

~~Admitting that the Greek names for gods & heroes may one day become as familiar as the Latin ones, I nevertheless believe that the half-pedantism which is all that is as yet ventured on would repel more unacademic readers whom I am heartily desirous of pleasing, than it would attract academic ones, whom, however much I may wish to do so, I know that I have but little chance of attracting. Nevertheless I would appeal to these last also for forbearance in this matter, inasmuch I ~~was~~ am only using the nomenclature of the generation to which I more properly belong.~~

~~Lastly I Kasalton June 5 1897.~~

~~I would express my great obligations to my friend Mr H. F. Jones, who in two successive years has verified all topographical details on the spot, and to whom I have referred throughout my work whenever I have been in doubt or difficulty.~~

Preface 5 (bis)

Admitting that the Greek names for gods & heroes may one day become as familiar as the Latin ones, they have not become so yet, nor shall I believe that they have done so, till I have seen Odysseus supplant Ulysses on railway engines, steam tugs, & boats or ships. Jove, Mercury, Minerva, Juno, & Venus convey a sufficiently accurate idea ~~of Zeus, Hermes, Athene, Here, & Aphrodite~~ to people who would have no ready made idea in connection with Zeus, Hermes, Athene, Here, & Aphrodite. The personalities of the Latin gods do not differ so much from those of the Greek, as for example, the Athene of the Iliad does from the Athene of the Odyssey. The personality of every god varies more or less with that of every writer, & what little difference may exist between Greek & Roman ideas of Jove, Juno &c. is not sufficient to warrant the disturbance of a nomenclature that has long since taken an established place in literature.

Furthermore the people who are most shocked by the use of Latin names for Greek gods & heroes, & who most insist on ~~affect~~ the many small innovations which any one who opens a volume of the Classical Review may discover for himself, are the very ones ~~whom I look upon with most distrust~~, who have done most to foist ~~to the circulus of Wolf~~ & ~~his~~ German criticism ~~consideration generally~~ upon us, ~~our books~~, and who are the most conspicuous for that ~~superf superior affectation~~ affectation of higher critical ~~insight~~

To be inserted before the final paragraph of the Preface

Since Chapter XIV was beyond reach of modification, I have asked the authorities of the British Museum to accept a copy of the Odyssey with all the Iliadic passages underlined and referred to in M.S. which I have very reason to hope will very shortly be indexed under my name, and (I regret to say) also under that of Homer. It is my intention within the next few weeks to offer the Museum an Iliad with all passages borrowed by the writer of the Odyssey underlined — reference being given to the Odyssean passage in which they occur.

Should this come awkwardly for your pages of preliminary matter I can put it in as a Postscript in smaller type at the end of the book — There is a spare half page before the index and it will do there perfectly well — you will know what will be most convenient. The corrections I have to make in the Preface are very small, & there will be no overrunning.

5. ter

~~taste and insight which has made men of the world look with suspicion~~

taste & insight, which men of the world ~~usually connect with mutual admiration & log-rolling, and~~ distrust, and which has brought the word "academic" into use as expressive of everything which sensible people will avoid. I dare not, therefore, follow these men ~~yet~~ till time has shown whether they are advocates or no. Nevertheless if ~~they will eventually carry the public with them or no. Should they in the end succeed in carrying the public with them~~ I would appeal to ~~their forbearance inasmuch as I am only using the nomenclature of the generation to which I more properly belong.~~ If I find the opinion of those whom I respect goes against me in this matter, I shall ~~always~~ adopt the Greek names in any ~~the~~ new edition of my book that may be asked for. I need hardly say that I have consulted many excellent scholars as to which course I should take, ~~point~~, and have found them generally, though not always, approve of my ~~stickers~~ keeping to the names with which Pope & others have already ~~made familiar to the general public~~ familiarised the public.

Lastly I would express my great obligations to my friend Mr H. Rating Jones, who in two successive years has verified all topographical details ~~given in~~ on the ground itself, & to whom I have referred throughout my work whenever I have been in doubt or difficulty.

Sep. 27. 1897

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(1)

The books of the Odyssey in Chapter II should be printed perhaps in a little smaller type than ordinary headings, but it would I think be better if you sent me the first page as a sample that I may see how it looks –

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Chapter I.

Importance of the inquiry — The steps whereby I was led to my conclusions — The multitude of early Greek poetesses removes any a priori difficulty — The Muse & Minerva as heads of literature — Man, rather than woman the interloper.

If the questions whether the Odyssey was written by a man or a woman, & whether or no it is of exclusively Sicilian origin, were pregnant ~~within~~ with no larger issues than the determination of the sex & abode of the writer, it might be enough merely to suggest the answers & refer the reader to the work itself. Obviously, however they have an im-portant bearing on the whole Homeric con-troversy; for if we find a woman's hand om-nipresent throughout the ~~poem~~ Odyssey, & if we also find so large a number of local details, taken so exclusively & so faithfully ~~taken~~ from a single Sicilian town as to warrant the belief that the writer must have lived & written there, the presumption seems irresistible that ~~it was~~ the poem was written by a single person. For there can hardly have been more than one woman in the same place able to write such — & such homogeneous poetry as we find throughout the Odyssey.

chap. I (2)

~~to bring Helen of Troy into her poem~~
~~if we can establish these points, the presumption seems irresistible that the poem was written by a single person. For there can hardly have been more than one writer able to use~~ ~~woman~~ ~~in the same place able to write such poetry~~ ~~of such homogeneous~~ ~~as we find throughout the Odyssey.~~

Many questions will be ~~about the poem become~~ then simplified. Among others we can limit ~~its~~ the date of the poem ~~date~~ to the lifetime of a single person, and if we find, as I believe we shall, that ~~we conceive of this~~ ~~poem as being that~~ this person in all probability flourished, ~~from~~ roughly between 1050 & 1000 B.C, ~~if~~ if we can show, as we assuredly can, that she had the Iliad before her much as we have it now, quoting, ~~as~~ consciously or unconsciously, as freely from the most suspected parts as from those that are admittedly Homer's, we shall have done much towards settling the question whether the Iliad also is by one hand or by many.

Not that this question ought to grant much settling. A writer in the Spectator of Jan 2 1892 (whose name I do not know) ~~such~~ concluded an article by saying, "That the finest poem of the world was created out of the contributions of a multitude of poets revolts all our literary instincts." So it does, but the Wolfian heresy ~~is still far from being extinct. Nay it has been pregnant with far more mischief in more ways than are immediately apparent. It can hardly be doubted that we are its debtors for the folly of those who attribute Shakspeare's plays to Bacon, & I know not how many other writers. We owe it moreover~~ for the

~~(smaller type?)~~

~~(larger type)~~

~~A~~ I. 2 bis

3

Not that this question ought to want much settling. The theory that the Iliad & Odyssey were written each of them by various hands, & pieced together in various centuries by various editors, is not one which it is easy to treat respectfully. It does not rest on the well established case of any other poem so constructed; literature furnishes no such, no poem whose genesis is known to have been such as that which we are asked to ~~accept as that of~~ forget in the Iliad & Odyssey. The theory is founded on a supposition as to the date when writing became possible, which has long since been shown to be untenable; not only does it rest on no external evidence, but it flies in the face of what little external evidence we have. Based on a base that has been cut from under it, it has been sustained by arguments which have never succeeded in leading two scholars to the same conclusion, and which are of that character which will lead any one to any conclusion however preposterous, which he may have made up his mind to consider himself as having established. A writer in the Spectator of Jan 2 1892, whose name I do not know, concluded an article by saying, "That the great poem of the world was created out of the contributions of a multitude of poets results all our literary instincts". Of course it does, but the Wolf, as Lesley

(Sm. t.)

(L. t.)

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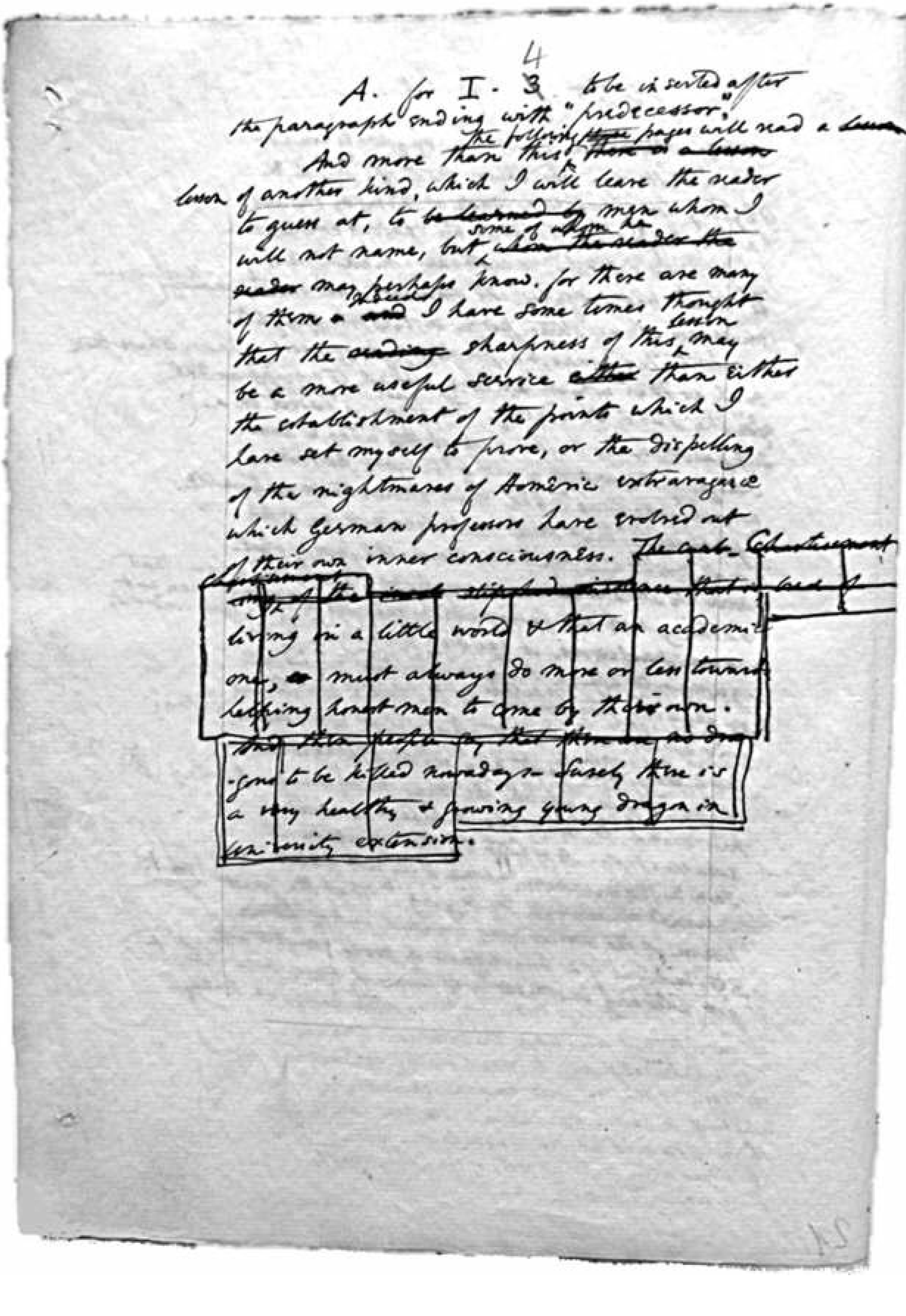
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A. for I. 3 to be inserted after the paragraph ending with "predecessor."

And more than this, the following pages will read a lesson of another kind, which I will leave the reader to guess at, to men whom I will not name, but some of whom the reader may perhaps know. for there are many of them & I have some times thought that the sharpness of this lesson may be a more useful service than either the establishment of the points which I have set myself to prove, or the dispelling of the nightmares of Homeric extravagance which German professors have evolved out of their own inner consciousness.

living in a little world & that an academic one, must always do more or less towards letting honest men to come by their own.

And then people say that there are no dragons to be killed nowadays. Surely there is a very healthy & growing young dragon in University extension.

I

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more or less modified, is still so generally accepted both on the continent & in England that it will not be easy to exterminate it.

Easy or no this is a task well worth attempting, for Wolf's theory has been pregnant of harm in more ways than are immediately apparent. Who would have thought of attacking Shakspeare's existence — for if Shakspeare did not write his plays he is no longer Shakspeare — unless men's minds had been unsettled by Wolf's virtual denial of ~~question concerning~~ Homer's? ~~Who, again, but for the same reason, would have hazarded the theory that Handel did not write Israel in Egypt.~~ Who would have ascribed picture after picture in half the galleries of Europe, often wantonly, & sometimes in defance of the clearest evidence, if the unsettling of questions concerning authorship had not been found to be an easy road to reputation as a critic? Nor does there seem to be any end to it, for each succeeding generation seems bent on trying to go ~~surpass the extravagance of~~ recklessness of ~~are better than~~ its predecessor.

~~* insert note~~

Insert A as a new paragraph

Such language may be held to come ill from one who is selling himself to maintain two such seeming paradoxes as the feminine authorship, & Sicilian origin, of the Odyssey. One such shock would be bad enough, but two, & each so far-reaching, are intolerable. I feel this, & am oppressed by it. When I look back on the record of Iliadic & Odyssean controversy for nearly 3000 years, & reflect that it is, I may say, dead against me; when I reflect also upon the complexity of academic interests, not to mention the commercial interests vested in well known school books, & in ~~what is~~ so called education — ~~to~~ how can I be other than dismayed at the magnitude, presumption, & indeed utter hopelessness, of the task which I have undertaken?

22

5

I bis

~~How~~ How can I expect Homeric scholars to tolerate theories so subversive of all that ~~they have~~ most of them have been insisting on for so many years? It is a matter of Homeric life & death for them or for myself. If I am right they have invested their reputation for sagacity in a worth-less stock. What becomes, for example of a great part of Professor Jebb's ~~in many respects valuable~~ well known Intro-duction to Homer — to quote his shorter title — if the Odyssey was written all of it at Trapani, all of it by one hand, & ~~that hand a woman's~~? Either my own work is rubbish, in which case it should not be hard to prove it so, without using discourteous language or not a little of theirs is not worth the paper on which it is written. They will be more than human, therefore, if they do not handle me somewhat roughly.

(Similar questions form the theme of Jerry the Dreamer, nearly as much as it does the Odyssey)

23

I 3 ter 6

As for the Odyssey's having been written by a woman, they will tell me that I have not even established a *primâ facie* case for my opinion. Of course I have not. It was Bentley who did this, when he said that the Iliad was written for men, & the Odyssey for women*. The history of literature furnishes us with no case in which a man has written a great masterpiece for women rather than men. If an anonymous book strikes so able a critic as having been written for women, a *primâ facie* case is established for thinking that it was actually written by a woman. I deny, however, that the Odyssey was written for women; it was written for any one who would listen to it. What Bentley meant was that in the Odyssey things were looked at from a woman's point of view rather than a man's, & in altering this ~~very~~ obvious truth, I repeat, he established once for all a strong *primâ facie* case for thinking that it was written by a woman.

If my opponents can fasten a cavil ~~pick~~ on to the ninth part of a ~~part~~ line of the argument they will take no heed of, & make no reference to the eight parts on which they dared not ~~even~~ fasten a misrepresentation however gross. They will declare it fatal to my theory that there were no Greek-speaking people at Trapani when the Odyssey was written. ~~Having~~ Having fished up this assertion from the depths of their ignorance of what Thucydides, let alone Virgil has told us,— or if they set these writers on one side, out of their ~~own~~ still profounder ignorance of what there was or was not at Trapani in the eleventh century before Christ— they will refuse to look at the internal evidence furnished by the Odyssey itself. They will ignore the fact that Thucydides tells us that "Phocians of those from Troy", which as I will show (see chapter XII) can only mean Phocians, settled at Mt Eryx and ask me how I can ~~say~~ place Phocians on Mt. Eryx when

* Introduction to the Iliad & the Odyssey by R.C. Jebb Glasgow 1888 p. 106

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I ~~2 for~~ 3 quoter 7

~~therefore, and ask in triumphantly how~~
I can place Phaeacia at Mt Ingea when
Thucydides says it was Phoenicians who settled
there? ~~I am~~ ~~I~~ They will ignore the fact that
even though Thucydides had said "Phoenicians" with-
-out qualifying ~~them~~ by adding "of those from Troy" or "of the Trojan
branch", ~~they would still have had to admit~~
~~the fact that there were~~ by places ~~be~~ still places
people ~~established~~ Greek-Speaking within five miles of Tra-
-pani; ~~the non existence of which~~ yet ~~was the~~
~~cavil they chose to pick on to the exclusion~~
~~part of their which they will alone take~~
~~claim~~

As for the ~~second~~ points of correspondence
between Ithaca & Scheria & Trapani, they
will remind me that Captain Flueler
found resemblances between Monmouth
& Macedon, as also Bernardino Caimi did
between Jerusalem & Varallo-Sesia; ~~the~~ they will say
that if mere ~~geographical~~ topographical
resemblances are to be considered, the Cha-
-rel islands are far more like the Ionian group
~~islands~~ as described in the Odyssey than those
~~islands~~ of Trapani are, while Balaclava presents us with
~~offers~~ the whole Scherian combination so far
more plausibly than Trapani as to leave no
doubt which site should be preferred. I have not
looked at the map of Balaclava to see whether
this is so or no, nor yet at other equally
promising sites which have been offered me, but
am limiting myself to giving examples ~~of the kind~~ of the theory
of criticism which has been repeatedly ~~made to me~~ hurled upon me
during the last six years ~~&~~ which I do not doubt
will be repeatedly ~~made to me~~ hurled upon it in the future.
~~And then people say that there are no dragons~~
~~the latter nowadays.~~

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I (4)

8

On the other hand I may comfort myself by reflecting that however much I may deserve stoning there is no one who can stone me with a clear conscience. ~~for~~ those who hold, as most people now do, that the Iliad & Odyssey belong ~~my~~ to ages separated from one another by some generations, must be haunted by the reflection that though the diversity of authorship was prominently insisted on by many perhaps more than two thousand years ago, not a single Homeric student from ~~that~~ those day to ~~the~~ the end of the last century could be brought to acknowledge what we now deem self evident. Professor Jebb writing of Bentley says he had not felt what is now so generally admitted, that the Odyssey bears the marks of a later time than the Iliad.[1] How came so great a man as Bentley not to see what is so obvious? Truly, as has been said by Mr Gladstone, if Homer is old, the systematic & comprehensive study of him is still young.* ~~*Systematic & fair comprehensive~~ is a little flattering but it may pass.

~~Those again who detect the envelope of sensual hands both in the Iliad & Odyssey must not forget that the very able & painstaking Alexandrian editors in the second & third centuries before Christ do not appear to have doubted that both poems were by a single hand, nor yet any later editor till comparatively recent times.~~

I shall not argue the question whether the ~~Odyssey and~~ Iliad & Odyssey are by the same person. ~~Bentley Macmillan & Co. 1882. p. 138 but shall leave it to the reader to say whether~~ Inasmuch as I convince ~~him~~ the reader that the Odyssey was written by a woman & in Sicily, it will go without saying that it was not written by Homer. ~~for the~~ There can be no doubt about the sex of the writer of the Iliad. The same reasons which compel ~~to decide the author to be a woman forbid my doubting~~

[1] Macmillan 1882. p. 148

*. Homer Macmillan 1878. p. 2.

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~~that the Iliad was written as a man's work. I began examining it at one time to see whether it too might not have been written by a woman, but I soon left off, for I found it impossible to entertain the idea seriously.~~ bad to ascribe the Odyssey to a woman forbid any other conclusion than that the Iliad was written by a man. I shall therefore proceed at once to the question whether the Odyssey was written by a man or by a woman.

It is an old saying that no man can do better for another than he can for himself, ~~& it may help the reader to understand how I got hold of the idea. I will therefore retrace as nearly as I can the steps which led me to my present conclusions~~ I may perhaps therefore best succeed in convincing the reader if I retrace the steps by which I arrived at the conclusions I ask him to adopt.

I was led to take up the Odyssey by having written the libretto & much of the music for a secular oratorio, Ulysses, on which my friend Mr H. Fielding Jones & I had been for some time engaged. Having reached this point it occurred to me that I had better after all see what the Odyssey ~~had actually~~ said, & finding no readable prose translation, was driven to the original, to which I had not given so much as a thought for some five & thirty years.

~~I came to it therefore with fresh eyes, &c.~~ the Greek being easy, I had ~~no great~~ little difficulty in understanding what I read, & I had the great advantage of coming to the poem with fresh eyes. Also, I read it all through from end to end, as I have since many times done.

I

10 X

Fascinated, however, as I at once was by ~~the~~ its amazing interest & beauty ~~of the poem~~, I had an ever-present sense of a something wrong, of a something that was eluding me, and of a riddle which I could not read. The more I reflected upon the words, so luminous & so transparent, the more I felt a darkness behind them, that I must pierce before I could see the heart of the writer — & this was what I wanted, for art is only interesting in so far as it reveals an artist.

In the hope of getting to understand the poem better I set about translating it into plain prose, with the same benevolent leaning, say, towards Tottenham Court Road that Mess.rs Butcher & Lang have shewn towards Wardour street. I admit, however, that when I came to the Phaacian episode I ~~became~~ felt sure that here at any rate the writer was drawing from life, & that Nausicaa, Queen Arete & Alcinous were real people more or less travestied. Nevertheless I found my self continually aghast at the manner in which men were made to speak & act — especially, for example, during the games in honour of Ulysses described in book viii. Still dominated by the idea that the writer was a man, I conjectured that he must be some bard, perhaps blind, who lived among the servants much as the chaplain in

Wardour Street English has something to say for itself. The Ancient Mariner, for example, would have lost a good deal of it had been called "The old sailor", but on the whole I take it that a tale so absolutely without all taint of affectation as the Odyssey will speed best being unaffectedly told.

& on turning to Colonel Mure's work I found he was of the same opinion. (Language & Literature of Ancient Greece. Longman 1850 Vol I. p 404)

Colonel Mure says (p 407) that the women engross the chief part of the small stock of common sense allotted to the community. So they do, but it never occurred to me to ask whether men may not be the author of books in which the women are made more sensible than the men.

28

I

a great house ~~during the~~ a couple of hundred years ago among ourselves. ~~The~~ Such a bard, even though not blind, would only see great people from a distance, & would not mix with them intimately enough to know how they would speak & act among themselves. It never even crossed my mind that it might have been the commentators who were blind, & that they might have thus come to ~~mean for~~ think that the poet must have been blind too.

The view that the writer might have lived more in the steward's room than with the great people of the house, served (I say it with shame) to ~~quiet~~ quiet

~~This quieted~~ me for a time, but by & by it struck me that though the men often both said & did things that no man would do, the women were always ladies when the writer chose to make them so. How could it be that a servant's hall bard should so often go hopelessly wrong with his men, & yet be so exquisitely right with every single one of his women? But still I did not catch it. It was not till I got to Circe that it flashed upon me that I was reading the work, not of an old man, but of a young woman — and of one who knew not much more about what men can & cannot do than I had found her ~~do~~ know about the milking of ewes in the cave of Polyphemus.

[The more I think of it the more I wonder at my own stupidity, for I remember, but when I was a boy at school I used to say ~~that~~ the Odyssey was the third's wife, ~~that~~ that it was won from by pedigree. But however that may be, as soon as the idea that the writer was a woman — & a young one — presented itself to me, I felt

~~I felt instantly~~ that here was the reading of the riddle that had so long baffled me. I tried to divest myself of ~~the idea~~ it, but it would not go; as long as I kept to it, everything cohered & was in its right place, & when I set it aside all was wrong again; but I need hardly say that it was a long time ~~yet~~ before I ~~arrived at the conclusion~~ came to see that poem was all of it written at Trapani, and that the writer had introduced herself into the

I did not seek my conclusion; I did not even know it by sight so as to look for it; it accosted me, introduced itself as my conclusion, & vowed that it would never leave me; whereon being struck with its appearance I let it stay with me on probation for a week or two, during which I was charmed with the propriety of all it said or did, and then bade it take rank with the convictions to which I was most firmly wedded.

29

poem under the name of Nausicaa.

I will deal with these points later but would ~~will first endeavour to remove any a priori objection that is likely to prevent~~ point out that the moment we refuse to attribute the Odyssey to the writer of the Iliad (whom we should alone call Homer) ~~the first named poem~~ it becomes simply an anonymous work; and the first thing that a critic will set himself to do when he considers an anonymous work is to determine the sex of the writer. This, even when women are posing as men, is seldom ~~a very~~ difficult ~~matter~~ and when any one writes with the frankness & spontaneity which are such an irresistible charm in the Odyssey, it is not only not difficult but exceedingly easy ~~when~~ the critic is, as we have all been in this case, dominated by a deeply rooted preconceived opinion, & ~~which~~ also there is some strong a priori improbability in the supposition that the writer was a woman.

— indeed it is done almost invariably with success as often as an anonymous work is published —

; ~~the only~~ difficulty will only arise, if

It may be urged that it is extremely improbable that any woman in any age should be ~~able to~~ write such a masterpiece as the Odyssey. But so it also is that any man should do so. ~~It is not too much to say that~~ In all the many hundreds of years since the Odyssey was written, no man has been able to write another that will compare with it. There are phenomenal women as well as phenomenal men, & though there is much in the Iliad which no woman, however phenomenal can be supposed at all likely to have written, there is

It was extremely improbable that the son of a Stratford wool stapler should write Hamlet, or that a Bedfordshire tinker should produce such a masterpiece as Pilgrim's Progress. Phenomenal works imply a phenomenal workman, but

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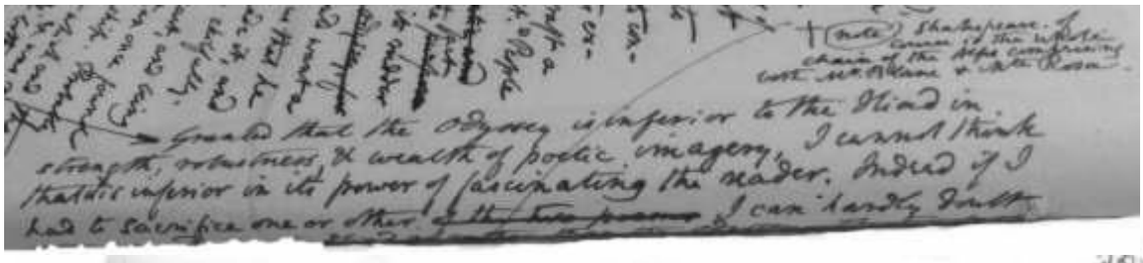

(note) Shakespeare. Some of the whole chain of the Ships comprising not Antony & Cleopatra

Granted that the Odyssey is inferior to the Iliad in strength, rotundness, & wealth of poetic imagery, I cannot think that it is inferior in its power of fascinating the reader. Indeed if I had to sacrifice one or other ~~of the two poems~~ I can hardly doubt

A for I. 9

timber can be cut from a growing tree (V. 240), making a hawk while still on the wing tear its prey, ~~upon the wing~~ – a thing that no hawk can do (XVIII. 527).

I see that Messrs Butcher & Lang omit IX. 483 in which the rudder is placed ~~at~~ on the bows of a ship, but it is found in the text, and is the last kind of statement a copyist would be inclined to intercalate. Yet I could ~~find~~ have found it in my heart to conceive the text in fault, ~~for~~ had I not ~~found~~ found the writer explaining in bk V 255 that Ulysses gave his raft a "rudder" in order that he might be able to steer it." People whose ideas about rudders have become ~~automatic and instinctive for fullness of knowledge~~ well defined will let the ~~purpose of a rudder~~ fact that a ship is steered by means of its rudder go without saying. ~~and so the writer of the Odyssey, for~~ Furthermore, not only does she explain ~~that~~ that Ulysses would want a rudder to steer with, but later on (line 270) she tells us that he actually did use the rudder when he had made it, and moreover that he used it ΤΕΧΝΗΕΝΤΩΣ, or skilfully.

NO [young women know that a horse goes before a cart, and being told that the rudder guides the ship aft, and have more than once found ~~[illegible]~~ from so to believe that it goes in front of the ship. Probably the writer of the Odyssey forgot for the moment at which end the rudder should be. She thought it all over yesterday, & was not going to think it all over again today, so she put it at both ends, intending to remove it ~~later~~ from ~~the whichever end~~ the first that should prove to be the wrong one; ~~and~~ but later on she forgot, or did not think it worth while to trouble about so small a detail.

So with Calypso's axe (V. 234–236). No one who was used to handling an axe would describe it so fully and tell us that it "suited Ulysses' hands," and was furnished with a handle. I have heard say that a celebrated female authoress was discovered to be a woman by her having spoken of a two-foot rule instead of a two-foot rule, but over minuteness of description is a stronger evidence of ~~[illegible]~~ unfamiliarity than mistake in a technical nomenclature is.

~~Clearly the~~ mistakes & self-contradictions above pointed out ~~do not make me~~ endanger rather ~~find the Odyssey inferior to the Iliad~~ for my own part if I had to decide ~~[illegible]~~ than impair the charm of the Odyssey. I cannot find it inferior to the Iliad in ~~[illegible]~~ strength. If I had to sacrifice one of the two I believe I should sacrifice the Iliad.

(note) Shakespeare. Some of the whole chain of the Ships comprising not Antony & Cleopatra

Granted that the Odyssey is inferior to the Iliad in strength, rotundness, & wealth of poetic imagery, I cannot think

I. (a)

not a line in the Odyssey which a woman might not perfectly well write, & there is much beauty which a man would be almost certain to neglect. Moreover there are many mistakes in the Odyssey which a young woman might easily make, but which a man could hardly fall into — for example, ~~the~~ making Polyphemus milk ewes in the morning when their lambs had been with them throughout the night (ix 397), ~~the~~ believing a ship to have a rudder at both ends (ix 483, 540), ~~the~~ thinking that ~~seasoned~~ dry & well seasoned ~~timber can be cut for a growing tree (xiv 240), the making a bank too high to jump over, the making the wind whistle over the waves, at the end of book ix,~~ ~~do not for a moment place the Odyssey on a lower level than the Iliad; if I had to sacrifice one poem rather than the other I should not have a moment's hesitation in sacrificing the Iliad. The two poems differ as the best woman's work differs from the best man's, though they are on a par as regards the interest they inspire.~~

go on to A on opposite page

making the wind whistle over the waves, at the end of book ix,

while of course the wring — a thing which no hack or hireling of any kind can do (xv 527).

just as if I had to sacrifice Mt Blanc or Mt Rosa I should sacrifice Mt Blanc though it is the highest mountain of the two.

It should go, however, without saying that much which is charming in a woman's work, would be ridiculous in a man's, & this is eminently exemplified in the Odyssey. If a woman wrote it, it is as lovely as the frontispiece of this volume, & becomes, if less vigorous, yet assuredly more wonderful, than the Iliad; if on the other hand it is by a man the half Bayeux tapestry, half ~~Venus rising~~ Botticelli's Venus rising from the sea, or Primavera, feeling with which it ~~inspires~~ impresses us gives place to astonishment how any man could ~~possibly~~ have written it. What is a right manner for a woman is a wrong one for a man, & vice versa; Jane Austen's young men, for example, are puppets stuffed with straw, but it is only those who are blind to the

* I see Messrs Butcher & Lang omit line 483 in which the muddy is placed ~~in the~~ in the bows of the ship, but it exists in the text & it is the last thing I should wish to eliminate. Perhaps the writer felt that the mud was out of place with intending to remove it later from whichever end should turn out to be the wrong one, & then forgot all about it.

32

I (bis) 14

exquisite truth & delicacy of Jane Austen's work who will feel any wish to complain of her for not understanding young men as well as she did young women. "The sex difference," says a writer in the Times leading article (Feb. 4 1897) is the profoundest & most far-reaching that exists among human beings... ... women may or may not be the equals of men in intelligence .... but women in the mass will act after the manner of women, which is not & never can be, the manner of men. And as they will act, so will they write. This, however, does not make their work any the less charming when it is good of its kind; on the contrary it makes it more so.

Dismissing, therefore, the difficulty of supposing that any woman could write so wonderful a poem as the Odyssey, is there any a priori obstacle to our ~~difficulty in~~ thinking that such a woman may have existed, say, B.C 1000? I know of none. Greek literature does not begin to dawn upon us till about 600 B.C. Earlier than this date we have hardly anything except the Iliad, Odyssey, & that charming writer Hesiod. When, however, we come to the earliest historic literature we find that ~~the~~ famous poetesses abounded.

Those who turn to the article Sappho in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography will find Gorgo and Andromeda mentioned as her rivals. Among her fellows were Anactoria of Miletus, Gorgyle of Colophon, Eunica of Salamis, Gyrinna, Atthis, & Mnasidica. "Those," says the writer, "who attained the highest celebrity for their works were Damophylia the Pamphylian, & Erinna of Telos." This last named poetess wrote a long poem upon the distaff, which was considered equal to Homer himself – the Odyssey being probably intended.

Again there was Baucis, who wrote Erinna's epitaph. Turning to Müller's work upon the Dorians

33

I

15

I find reference made to the amatory poetesses of Lesbos. We hear also of Corinna, who is said to have competed successfully with Pindar, & Myrto who certainly competed with him, but with what success we know not. ~~There was also~~ Again there was Erotima the Arcadian; & looking through Bergk's Poetæ lyrici Græci I find other names of women, fragments of whose works have reached us through ~~their having been quoted in~~ quotation by extant writers. Among the Hebrews ~~again~~ there were Miriam, Deborah, & Hannah, all of them believed to be centuries older than the Odyssey.

If then ~~Greek~~ poetesses were as abundant as we know them to have been in the earliest known ages of Greek literature ~~that we know anything about~~, over a wide area ~~both~~ in Greece & Asia Minor & the islands of the Ægean, there is no ground for refusing to admit the possibility that a Greek poetess lived in Sicily B.C. 1000, especially when we know from Thucydides that the particular part of Sicily where I suppose her to have lived was colonised from the North West corner of Asia Minor centuries before the close of the Homeric age. The civilisation depicted in the Odyssey is as advanced as any that is likely to have existed in Mitylene or Melos ~~[illegible]~~ 600 – 500 B.C, while in both the Iliad and the Odyssey the status of women is represented as being much what it is ~~now~~ at the present, & as incomparably higher than it was in the Athenian civilisation with which we are best acquainted. To imagine a great Greek poetess at Athens

~~80~~

~~100~~
~~150~~
~~150~~
~~5/13~~

24

in the age of Pericles would be to violate probability, but I might almost say that in an age when women were as free as they are represented to us in the Odyssey it is a violation of probability to suppose that there were no poetesses.

We have no reason to think that men found the use of their tongue sooner than women did; ~~and if of their tongue why not of their pen~~ why then should we suppose that women lagged behind men when the use of the pen had become familiar? No. The fact that the recognised heads of literature in the Homeric age were the nine Muses – for it is always these, or "The Muse" that is invoked, & never Apollo or Minerva – throws back the suggestion of female authorship to a very remote period, when to be an author at all was to be a poet, for prose writing is a comparatively late development. ~~It is~~ Both Iliad & Odyssey begin with an invocation addressed to a woman ~~almost to suppose that woman would be more to preside over literature if women only though none of her works have come down to us. or even wrote. It when we come to think of it~~ who as the head of literature must be supposed to have been an authoress

In an age, moreover, when men were chiefly occupied either with fighting or hunting, the arts of peace, & among them all kinds of literary accomplishment, would be more naturally left to women. If the truth were known we might very likely find that it was man rather than woman who has been the interloper in the domain of literature. Nausicaa was more probably a survival than an interloper, but most probably of all she was in the height of the fashion.

If a woman could work pictures with her needle as Helen did* & as the wife of William the Conqueror did in a very similar civilisation & she could write stories with her pen if she had a mind to do so.

*. H III p126

35

17 ~~12~~

Chapter II
The story of the Odyssey

It will help the reader to follow the arguments by which I shall sustain the female authorship of the Odyssey, the fact of its being written at Trapani on the West Coast of Sicily, & its development in the hands of the writer ~~itself~~, if I lay before him an abridgement of the complete translation that I have made, but not yet published. If space permitted I should print ~~them~~ my translation in full, but this is obviously impossible, for what I give here is only about a fourth of the whole poem. I have therefore selected those ~~passages~~ parts that throw most light upon the subjects above referred to, with just so much connecting matter as may serve to make the whole readable & intelligible. I am aware that the beauty of the poem is thus ~~hopelessly~~ fatally marred, for it is ~~just~~ often the loveliest passages ~~that~~ that ~~will~~ serve my purpose least. The ~~synopsis~~ abridgement, therefore, that I here give is not to be regarded otherwise than as ~~a~~ the key sketch ~~which~~ which we so often see under ~~is often given as~~ an engraving of a picture ~~which~~ that contains many portraits. It is intended not as a work of art, but as an elucidatory diagram.

36

Chapter II (a) 18 ~~13~~

~~which I have made as little fatiguing to the reader as I could.~~

As regards its closeness to the text, the references to the poem ~~itself~~ which will be found at the beginning of each paragraph will ~~serve to~~ show where the abridgement has been greatest, and will also enable the reader to verify the fidelity of the wandering sitter with the Greek, or with Messrs Butcher & Lang's translation, ~~which assuredly does not err on the side of not being close enough to the Odyssey.~~ I affirm with confidence that if the reader is good enough to thus verify any passages that may strike him as impossibly modern, he will find that I have adhered severely to the intention of the original ~~writer, and that if I have extenuated nothing, so neither have I set down aught in malice, nor yet in mauvaise plaisanterie.~~ as it was possible for me to do while retelling the story in my own words, & abridging it.

Here follows, in smaller type, the story of the Odyssey, all as part of chapter II.

37

18 bis

One of my critics, a far-very friendly one, has told me ~~I had~~ that I have distorted the simplicity of the Odyssey in order to ~~give it~~ put it in a ludicrous light. I do not think ~~that~~ that I have revealed ~~the simplicity of the writer to the best of my power~~, but I have not distorted. I should be shocked to believe for one moment that I had done so. True, I have nothing extenuated, but neither have I set down aught in malice. Where the writer is trying to make us believe impossibilities ~~not to say~~ I have shown that she is doing so, and have also shown why she wanted us to believe them; but until a single passage is pointed out to me in which I have ~~translated~~ altered the intention of the original, I shall continue to hold, ~~and do and~~ that the conception of the poem which ~~I endeavour to explain~~ I lay before the reader in the following pages is a juster one than any that so far as I know has been made public hitherto; and moreover that it makes both the work and the writer a hundred times more interesting than any other conception of them can do.

38

~~Should~~

I preface my abridgement with a plan of Ulysses' house, so far as I have been able to make it out from the poem. I have read ~~with all attention that~~ what Prof. Jebb has written on this subject*, as also Mr Andrew Lang's Note 18 at the end of Messrs Butcher & Lang's translation of the Odyssey. I have also read Mr Arthur Platt's article on the slaying of the suitors,† and find myself in far closer agreement with Mr Lang than with either of the other writers whom I have named. The only points on which I differ from Mr Lang are in respect of the inner court, which I hold to have been open to the sky except the covered cloisters, or peristyle, although ~~the large see~~ as one large hall, but OKIOEVTA, an arrangement which is still very common in Sicilian houses, especially at Trapani & Palermo. ~~which I which Mr Lang sees as one large hall, or covered apartment.~~ I also differ from him in so far as I see no reason to think that the "Stone pavement" was raised, and as believing the θόος ὑψό to have been at the top of Telemachus's tower, and called "in the wall" because the tower ~~was~~ abutted on the wall. These are details: substantially my view of the action & scene during the killing of the suitors agrees with Mr Lang's. I will not give the reasons which compel me to differ from Prof. Jebb & Mr Platt, but will leave my plan of the house and the abridged translation to the judgement of the reader.

The reader will find that he understands the abridgement much better, if he will study the plan of the house here given with some attention.

Then turn over and put the illustration of the house on an entire page, with the explanatory notes on a single page facing it, if possible – if not possible put the text on the back.

* Journal of Hellenic Studies Vol VII 170–188. & Introduction to ~~Iliad~~ ~~Homer~~ Homer Ed 3rd Ed. 1888 pp 57–62 & Appendix Note 1.

† Journal of Philology Vol xxiv p. 39 &c.

A, the body of the house, containing the women's apartments, ~~and~~ and other rooms. It had an upper story & in this was Penelope's room overlooking the court where the suitors passed the greater part of their time.

It also contained the store-room, which seems to have been placed at the far end of the house perhaps in a basement. The store-room could be reached by a passage from a doorway A', and also by a back passage from a side-entrance A'' which I suppose to have been the back door of the house. The women's apartments opened on to the ~~passage~~ leading from A' to the store room.

B & B' were the Megaron or Megara, that is to say the inner court, of which B was a covered cloister with a roof supported by bearing posts with cross beams & rafters. The open part of the court had no flooring but the natural soil. Animals seem to have been flayed & dressed here, ~~though~~, for Medon who was certainly in the inner court while the suitors were being killed, concealed himself under a freshly flayed ox hide (or hides). XXII. 363.

B' was called the μεγαρὸν σκιόεντα or "shaded" part of the court, to distinguish it from that which was open to the sun. The end nearest the house was paved with stone, while that nearest the outer court (and probably the other two sides) were floored with ash.

this door through mentioned immediately before the θόλος or ἕνα θόλον (XXII 126) which we shall come to presently, had no connection with it & does not appear to have any from the text

~~All the four sides of B' were filled the cloisters were filled with small tables at which the suitors dined. A man could hold one of these tables up, & it would serve him as a shield (XXII. 74, 75)~~

The part of the cloister that was paved with stone does not appear to have been ~~higher~~ raised above the level of the rest; at one end of the stone pavement there was a door a, ~~leading that opened~~ opening on to a narrow passage; ~~and~~ about the middle of the pavement, during the trial of the axes, there was a seat b, from which Ulysses shot through the axes, & from which he sprang ~~on to the stone floor~~ when he began to shoot the suitors; against ~~and c, a spearstand~~ one of the bearing posts that supported the roof of the cloister, there was c, a spearstand.

All the four sides of the cloisters were filled with ~~tables~~, small tables at which the suitors dined. A man could hold one of these tables before him as a shield (XXII. 74, 75)

In the cloisters there were also

d, an open hearth or fire place in the wall at right ∠ angles to the one which abutted on the house. So, at least, I read τοῖχον τοῦ ἑστίου XXIII 90.

e, the table at which the wine was mixed in the mixing bowl — as well, of course, as other tables.

f a door leading into g, the tower in which Telemachus used to sleep. (translating ἀγχὶ πρὸς θόλον ~~not "near~~ (XXII 333) not "near the θόλος" but "near ~~the way leading to the~~ (towards the) θόλος.")

40

at the top of this tower there was a trap-door g'
(ὀχηστὸς θύρη) through which it was possible to get out
on to the roof of the tower & raise an alarm, but which
afforded neither ingress nor egress.

C was the outer court or αὐλή, approached by
C' the main entrance, or πρὸ τοῦ θύρετρ – a covered gateway
with a room over it. This covered gateway was the αἰθουσα ἠχη-
-εντος, or reverberating portico which we meet with in other
Odyssean houses, & are so familiar with in Italian & Sicilian
houses at the present day. It was surrounded by C'', covered sheds
or barns in which carts, farm implements, & probably some farm
produce would be stored. It contained

h, the prodomus, or vestibule in front of the inner court,
into which the visitor would pass through –
i, the πρόθυρον or inner gateway (the word πρόθυρον, however, is
also for the outer gateway) and,
k, the thalus or vaulted room about the exact position
of which all we know is that it is described in xxii 459, 460,
as close up against the wall of the outer court. I suspect,
but cannot prove it, that this was the room in which Ulys-
-ses built his bed (xxiii 181–204)

D was the τυκτὸν ἀλωάδον or level ground in front of Ulysses
house, on which the suitors amused themselves playing
at quoits & aiming spears at a mark iv 626, 627

—

The rest of this page and not go on the same page as the explanatory note

The only part of the foregoing plan & explanatory notes which
forces the text is in respect of the main gateway, which I place
too far from the mouth of the λάβρα for one man to be able to
keep out all who would bring help to the suitors, but considering
how much other impossibility we have to accept,
I think this may be allowed
to go with the rest. A young woman such as I suppose the writer
of the Odyssey to have been would not stick at such a trifle as shifting
the gates a little nearer the λάβρα if it suited her purpose.

In passing I may say that Agamemnon appears to have been
killed (Od. iv. 530, 531) in much such a cloistered court as above
supposed for the house of Ulysses. A banquet seems to have been prepared
in the cloister on one side of the court while men were ambuscaded in the one on
the opposite one.

41 Lastly, for what it may be worth, I would remind the reader that there is not a
hint of windows in the part of Ulysses' house occupied by the suitors.

~~Synopsis~~ The story of the Odyssey 22 1

book i

The council of the gods – Telemachus & the suitors in the house of Ulysses.

The whole of this chapter shd be in the smaller type

Tell me, oh Muse, of that ingenious hero ~~Once upon a time there was a man named~~ Ulysses, who met with many adventures while trying to ~~come home with his men~~ bring his men home after the sack of Troy. ~~His men were all lost through~~ He failed in this, for the men perished their ~~own sheer~~ own sheer folly in eating the cattle of the Sun. & he himself, though ~~all the other chief chiefs had got home,~~ reached & he was longing to get 13
back to his wife, was now languishing in a lonely island ~~that belonged to~~ the abode of the nymph Calypso. Calypso wanted him to marry her & kept him with her for many years, till at last all the gods took pity upon him except Neptune, whose son Polyphemus, he had ~~been~~ blinded ~~by Ulysses~~.

& I shd ~~stop~~ have used ample quotes (a) for all the speeches but I think they shd ~~shall~~ simply quotes (c) the whole story being a quotation – I do not know whether it does here should be done with the quotes in ~~Lists of chapter chapter~~ which speeches for the Odyssey are quotes must leave it to the printer to decide

Now it so fell out that Neptune had 21
gone to pay a visit to the Ethiopians, who lie on two halves ~~who resided all among Africa~~ one half looking on to the Atlantic & the other on to the Indian Ocean.
~~whence~~ the other ~~&~~ gods ~~held~~ a council, & Jove, ~~yielding to the entreaty of Minerva, consented that Ulysses should return to Ithaca~~.

"In that case", said Minerva, "we should 80
send Mercury to Calypso to tell her what we have settled. I will also go to Ithaca & embolden Ulysses' son Telemachus to dismiss the suitors of his mother Penelope, who are ruining him by their extravagance. Furthermore I 85
will send him to Sparta & Pylos to seek news of his father, for this will get him a good name."

The goddess then winged her way to the 96
gates of Ulysses' house disguised as an old family friend, & found the

I shd ~~suppose~~ put in to be done with the quotes in ~~Lists~~ IX & XII, having all of which Ulysses telling a story to Swift ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Please to be ~~&~~ the quotes as those marked ~~Lim~~

42

Suitors playing draughts in front of the house. [~~in the forecourt~~ ~~or~~ vestibule]
& lording it in great style. Telemachus,
seeing her standing at the gate, went up to
her, led her within, placed her spear in the spear-stand, against a strong bearing-post, brought a seat for her, & set refreshments before her.
~~the house, & set refreshments before her.~~

Meanwhile the suitors came trooping 144
into the arcades or cloisters that ran round
the inner court, ~~there~~ here according to their wont
they feasted; and when they had done eating
they compelled Phemius, a famous bard, to sing to
them, ~~which gave~~ of this Telemachus began ~~an opportunity~~
for talking quietly to Minerva; ~~he~~ he told her
how his father's return seemed now ~~to be~~
quite hopeless, & concluded by asking her name
and country.

Minerva said she was Mentes chief 178
of the Taphians, & was on her way to Temesa *
with a cargo of iron, which she should exchange
for copper. She told Telemachus that her ship
was lying outside the town under Mt. Neritum †,
in the harbour that was called Rheithron ✠. 186
"Go", she added, "& ask Old Laertes, who I ~~understand~~ hear
is now living but poorly in the country, & never
comes ~~near~~ into the town; he will tell you that I
am an old friend of your father's."

She then said, "~~Who~~ But who are all these people 224
whom I see behaving so atrociously about your house?
What is it all about? Their conduct is enough to disgust
any right-minded person."

"They are my mother's suitors," answered Telema- 230
-chus "& come from the neighbouring islands of Dulichium,
Same, & Zacynthus, & as she will not marry again,
& cannot bring their courtship to an end. So they are ruining me."

~~Another~~ Minerva was very indignant, & advised him to fit out a ship 252
& go to Pylos & Sparta ~~to enquire of his~~ his father. "If you can hear of his ~~death~~

* Temesa was on the west side of the toe of Italy & was once famous for its copper mines, which however were worked out in Strabo's time. See Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography.

† Reading Νηρίτῳ instead of Νήριτον. cf. Od. xiii. 96, 351, where the same harbour is obviously intended. ~~It is placed under Mt. Neritum (xiii. 351)~~

✠ i.e. "flowing," or with a current in it.

43

24 3

being alive, you can put up with all this ex-
-travagance for yet another twelve months. If on
the other hand you hear of his death, return at
once, send your mother to her father's, & by fair
means or foul kill the suitors.

Telemachus thanked her for her ~~good~~ advice, ~~&~~ promised to take it, & pressed ~~Minerva~~ her
~~to~~ to prolong her visit. ~~Minerva~~ She explained that
~~she~~ could not possibly do so, & then flew off into the
air, like an eagle.

Phemius was still singing: ~~&~~ he had cho-
-sen for his subject the disastrous return of the
Achaans from Troy. Penelope could hear ~~them~~ him
her room upstairs, & ~~came down, attended by~~ came down
~~two of her maidens, & bade Phemius~~ him change
~~his theme~~, which she found too painful as re-
-minding her of her lost husband.

Telemachus reasoned with her, & ended
by desiring her to go upstairs again. "Go
back," he said, "within the house & see to your
own daily duties, your loom, your distaff & the
ordering of your servants; for speech is man's
matter, & mine above all others, for it is
who am master here."

On this ~~Telem~~ Penelope went back, with her women, wondering into the loom, & going
~~to her own room~~, & as soon as she was gone Tele-
-machus challenged the suitors to meet him next
day in full assembly, that he might formally &
publicly warn them to leave his house.

Antinous & Eurymachus, ~~the two leading~~ their two leaders,
~~suitors~~ both rejoined; but presently night fell, & the
whole body of suitors left the house ~~& went to~~ for their own several
abodes. When they were gone, his old nurse Euryclea conducted
Telemachus by torch light to his bed room ~~high up~~ in a
lofty tower which overlooked the outer courtyard & could
be seen from far & near.

came down into the presence of the suitors holding a veil be-
-fore her face, & waited upon by two of her handmaids, one of whom stood on either side of her. She ~~leaned~~ ~~against one of the pillars~~ leaning against the pillars that supported the roof of the cloister, ~~&~~ and bade Phemius change his theme.

~~so appendix.~~

Euryclea had been bought by Laertes when she was quite young: he had given the worth of twenty oxen for her, & she was treated as much in the house as his own wife was, but he did not take her.

*	Cf. H. VI. 490 – 494. in which lines Hector & Andromache bid farewell to the word "war" in the Iliad is changed to "speech", but otherwise there is no change			

to his bed, for he ~~feared~~ ~~the~~ displeasure, ~~of~~ his wife's displeasure. The good old woman showed Telemachus to his room, & waited while he undressed. She took his shirt from him, folded it carefully up, & hung it on a peg by his bed side. This done, she left him to dream all night about his intended voyage. 433 444

Book ii

Assembly of the people of Ithaca. Telemachus starts for Pylos.

~~Next morning, as~~

~~As~~ soon as he was up & dressed, Telemachus sent ~~the~~ criers round to call the people in assembly. When they came together he told them of his ~~of~~ misfortunes in the death of his father, & of the still greater one that the suitors were making havoc of his estate. "If any body," he concluded, is to eat me out of house & home I had ~~for~~ rather you did it yourselves; for you are men of substance, so that if I sued ~~& I could me~~ you household by household I should never from you; whereas there is nothing to be got by suing a number of young men who have no means of their own." ~~the~~

To this Antinous rejoined that it was ~~all~~ 85 Penelope's own fault. She had been encouraging the suitors all the time by sending flattering messages to every single one of them. He explained how for nearly four years ~~how~~ she had tricked them about the web, which she said was to be ~~she had told them she designed as~~ a pall for Laertes. "The answer, therefore," said he, "that we make you is this. 'Send your mother away, & let her marry the man of her own & of her father's choice;' ~~other~~ for ~~wise~~ we shall not go till she has married some one or other of us."

Telemachus answered that he could not force 129 his mother to leave against her will. If he did ~~this~~ so 50 he should have to refund to his grandfather Icarius the ~~dowry~~ ~~dowry marriage portion~~ that Ulysses had received on marrying Penelope, & this would bear hardly on him. Besides it would not be a creditable thing to do.

Story of the Odyssey
Ch. VII

26 5

Oh this Jove sent two eagles from the top 146
of ~~the~~ mountain*, who flew & flew in their own
lordly flight till they ~~stood~~ reached the assembly, over
which they screamed & fought, glaring death into
the faces of those who were below. The people won-
-dered what it might all mean, till the old
Soothsayer Halitherses told them that it presha-
-dowed the immediate return of Ulysses to take
his revenge upon the suitors.

Eurymachus ~~and then~~ made him an an- 177
-gry answer. "As long," he said, "as Penelope keeps
on delaying her choice, so long will we continue
to make havoc of ~~his estate~~ Telemachus's estate".

Telemachus replied that there was ~~no~~ no- 208
-thing more to be said, & asked the suitors to let
him have a ship with a crew of twenty men that
he might follow the advice given him ~~on the
preceding day~~ by Minerva.

Mentor now ~~spoke, to wake~~ upbraided his country- 224
men for standing idly by when they could easily
coerce the suitors into good behaviour, ~~and~~
and ~~after~~ a few ~~wo~~ violent words from Leo-
-citus the meeting dispersed. The suitors then returned
~~work book~~ to the house of Ulysses.

But Telemachus went away all alone by 260
by the sea side to pray. He washed his hands in the
grey waves, & implored Minerva to assist him,
whereon the goddess came up to him in the form
of Mentor. She ~~devoted him about to~~ discoursed
to him about his conduct generally, ~~& told him how
very good & careful he might to be~~, ~~but~~ and wound up
by saying that she would not only find him a ship,
but would come with him herself. He was therefore
to go home & get the necessary provisions ready.

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* The mountain is singular, as though it were an
isolated mountain rather than a range that was in
the mind of the writer. It is also singular, not plural
in the parallel cases of XV. 175 & XIX 538

46

The story of the Odyssey
Ch. ii

27 6

~~Telemachus~~ He did as she directed him & 296
went home, where, after an angry scene with
the suitors in which he again ~~announced~~ published his
intention of going on his voyage, he went down
into the store room & told Eurycleia to get the
provisions ready; ~~&~~ at the same time he made her
take a solemn oath of secrecy for ten or twelve
days, so as not to alarm Penelope. Meanwhile
Minerva ~~borrowed~~ secretly purchased a ship from a neighbour, Noëmon,
& at night, all after the suitors had left the
house, she and Telemachus with his crew of
twenty ~~volunteers~~ sailors got the provisions on board
& set sail, with a fair wind that ~~who blew~~ 434
whistled over the waters.

Book iii

Telemachus at the house of Nestor.

~~Next morning~~ They reached Pylos ~~where they~~ on the following morning, and
found Nestor, his sons, & all the Pylians cele-
-brating the feast of Neptune. They were cor-
-dially received, especially by Nestor's son Peisistra-
-tus, & were at once invited to join the festivities.
After dinner Nestor asked them who they were, and
~~enquiring whether they were merchants or sailors~~
~~the sort of pirates with their hands against every~~
~~man & every man's hand against them~~ Tele-
-machus, emboldened by Minerva, explained that they came from Ithaca
under Noëmon † and that
he was seeking news of the death of his father Ulysses.
When he heard this Nestor told him all 102
about his own adventures on his way home from
Troy, but could give him no news of Ulysses. He touched,
however, on the murder of Agamemnon by ~~Clytemnestra~~
Ægisthus, & the vengeance taken by Orestes. *

* The note is at the bottom of the following page

~~When~~ Telemachus said he wished he might 201
be able to take a like vengeance on the suitors of his mother
who were ruining him, "But this," he exclaimed, "could
not happen, not even if the gods wished it. It is too much
even to think of."
Minerva upbraided him sharply. "The hand of heaven," 230
she said, "can reach far when it has a mind to seek a man."
Telemachus then changed the conversation, and asked Nestor how
Ægisthus managed to kill Agamemnon who was so much the
better ~~a man~~ of the two. What was Menelaus doing?

† reading ὑποδρήστου for ὑποδρήστου of 1.186 & also xiii 351

47

Story of the Odyssey
Ch. III

28 X

"Menelaus," answered Nestor, "had not yet 253
returned from his long wanderings. As for Cly-
-temnestra, she was naturally of a good disposi-
tion, but was beguiled by Egisthus who reigned
seven years in Mycene after he had killed Aga-
-memnon. In the eighth year, however, Orestes came
from Athens & killed him,* and on the very day when
Orestes was celebrating the funeral feast of Egisthus &
Clytemnestra Menelaus returned. Go, ~~therefore~~ then to Sparta,
& see if he can tell you anything."

By this time the Sun had set, & Minerva pro- 329
-posed that she & Telemachus should return to their
ships, but Nestor would not hear of their doing so,
& Minerva therefore consented ~~to~~ that Telemachus should
stay on shore, ~~but & as for her~~ & explained that
she could not ~~do~~ remain with him, inasmuch as
she must start on the following morning for the
Cauconians to recover a large debt that had been
long owing to her.

Having said this, to the astonishment of all 371
present she flew away in the form of an eagle. Whereon
Nestor grasped Telemachus's hand & said he could
see that he must be a very important person.
He ~~immediately~~ also at once vowed to gild the
horns of a heifer & sacrifice her to the goddess.†
He then took Telemachus home with him and
lodged him in his own house.

Next day Nestor ~~& his whole family~~ fulfilled 404
his vow; the heifer was brought in from the plain,
her horns were gilded, & Nestor's wife & my dress with
her daughters shouted with delight at seeing her
killed.

After the banquet that ensued Nestor sent 477
Telemachus & his son Pisistratus off in a chariot
& pair for ~~the Spartan~~ Lacedaemon, which they reached
on the following evening after passing a night
in the house of Diocles at Pherae.‡

† The three lines in which this vow is made are taken verbatim from a very unjustly suspected passage in the Iliad (X 292 – 294)

‡ An Iliadic passage of several lines (I 458–468) is here split in two, for no other purpose than to dwell more fully on the killing of the heifer, & to introduce Nestor's wife & daughters.

‡ The writer shows no signs of knowing that this journey is an impossible one, inasmuch as the chariot would have to be driven over the lofty & still roadless range of Mt. Taygetus.

* The reader will note that the fact of Orestes having also killed his mother, ~~though practically admitted in the following lines~~, is not expressly stated here, nor in any of the three other passages in which the revenge taken by Orestes is referred to — doubtless as being too horrible. In this summary I have omitted two of these passages, they are Od i. 40, & 299.

48

Story of the Odyssey

Book iv

29 8

Telemachus at the house of Menelaus. The suitors resolve to lie in wait for him as he returns & murder him.

When the two young men reach Lacedemon they drove straight to Menelaus's house & found him celebrating the double marriage of his daughter Hermione & his son Megapenthes. *

* for fuller translation and explanation why I have bracketed the passage, see chapter VI, p.3.

Menelaus (after a little demur on the part 22
of his major domo Eteoneus, for which he was sorely reprimanded by his master) entertained his guests very hospitably, & overhearing Telemachus call his friend's attention to the splendour of the house, he explained to them how much toil & sorrow he had endured, especially through the murder of his brother ~~through the treachery~~ assisted by his wife, the plundering of his house by Paris when he carried off Helen, & the death of so many of his brave comrades at Troy. "There is one man, however, he added, of whom I cannot even think without loathing both food & sleep, I mean Ulysses."

When Telemachus heard his father thus 112
mentioned he could not restrain his tears, & while Menelaus was in doubt what to say or not say, Helen came down (dinner being now half through) with her three attendant maidens, Adraste, Alcippe, & Phylo, who set a seat for her, & brought her her famous work box which ran on wheels that she might begin to spin.

"And who pray," said she to her husband, "may 138
these two gentlemen be who are honouring us with their presence? Shall I guess right or wrong, but I really must say what I think. I never saw such a likeness - neither in man nor woman. This young man can only be Telemachus, whom Ulysses left behind him a baby in arms when he set out for Troy."

† This line is taken verbatim from an unjustly suspected passage of the Iliad. (X. 584)

"I too," answered Menelaus, "have observed the 147
likeness. It is unmistakeable."

On this Pisistratus explained that they were 155
quite right, whereon Menelaus told him all he had meant doing for Ulysses & this ~~so affected the company that all four~~ was so affecting that all his four listeners burst into tears. After a little while Pisistratus

* The passage enclosed in brackets, (17 lines of the Odyssey), is an interpolation by the writer of the rest of the poem, as I will explain in the body of my work. There are obviously no festivities going on till we come to four lines (also interpolated by the writer) to which I will call attention when we reach them.

49

Story of the Odyssey

Bk. iv

30 8

~~after~~ complimenting Menelaus on his great sagacity (of which indeed his father Nestor had often told him), said that he did not like weeping when he was getting his dinner, & he therefore proposed 194
that the remainder of their lamentation should be deferred until ~~the~~ next morning. Menelaus assented to this, & dinner was allowed to proceed. Helen mixed some Nepenthe with the 220
wine, & cheerfulness was thus restored.

~~Helen~~ She then told how she had met Ulysses 235
when he entered Troy as a spy, & explained that by that time she was already anxious to return ~~to~~ home, & was lamenting the cruel calamity which Venus had inflicted on her, in separating her from her little girl & from her husband, who was really not deficient either in person or understanding. 261

Menelaus ~~endorsed his wife's admiration~~ 265
~~for Ulysses~~, & capped her story with an account of the adventures of the Achaans inside the wooden horse. "Do you not remember," said he, "how you 274
walked all round it when we were inside, & patted it? You had Deiphobus with you, & you kept on calling out ~~all~~ our names, & mimicking 279
~~the voices of~~ our wives, till Minerva came & took you away. It was Ulysses' presence of mind that then saved us."

When he had ~~told~~ told this ~~story~~ Telemachus 290
said it was time to go to ~~bed~~ rest, so he & Pisistratus were shown to their room in the ~~gatehouse~~ vestibule while Menelaus & Helen retired to the interior of the house.*

When morning came Telemachus told Menelaus about the 306
Suitors, & asked for any information ~~that Menelaus~~ he could give him ~~about~~ concerning the death of his father. Menelaus was greatly shocked, but could only tell him what he had heard from Proteus. He said that as he was coming from Egypt he had been detained some weeks on the island of Pharos, through the displeasure of the gods, where he & his men would have been starved, but ~~the~~ assistance given him ~~them~~ by a goddess Eidothea, daughter to Proteus, who taught him how to ensnare

* It is curious that the sleeping arrangements made by Helen for Telemachus & Pisistratus, as also those made for Ulysses by Queen Arete VII. 338 sqq., though taken almost verbatim from those made by Achilles for Priam & Idaeus Il. XXIV 643 – 647 & 673 – 676 should do so well for a building of such a different character as the house of Menelaus must have been from the quarters of Achilles before Troy.

50

Story of the Odyssey
Ch iv

31 10

her father, & compel him to say why heaven was
detaining him ~~in the island~~.

"Idothea", said Menelaus, "disguised me 440
& my three chosen comrades as seals; to ~~which~~ this
end she had brought four fresh ~~newly shorn~~ flayed sealskins,
under which she hid us. The strong smell of these 441
skins was most distressing to us — Who would ~~be~~ go to bed with
~~down along side~~ a sea monster if he could help it? 443
but Idothea put some ambrosia under each
man's nostrils, & this afforded us great relief. (noon)

~~"Towards noon when the West wind was
just furrowing the top of water. Proteus came ~~into~~
up to the surface, ~~& but the~~
~~Other~~ seals" (Halcyone's chickens as they call them)
now kept coming up by hundreds, & lay down to bask 449
upon the beach.

~~Prot~~ "Towards noon Proteus himself came up, ~~himself~~, 450
~~and first counted~~ first he counted all his seals to see that he
had the right number, & he counted us in with the others;
when he had so done he lay down ~~to sleep~~ in the midst
of them as a shepherd with his sheep, & as soon as he was asleep we pounced upon him
& gripped him tight; ~~though~~ at one moment he became a lion, ~~&~~ the
next he was running water, & then again he was a tree;
but we never loosed our hold, & in the end he grew weary, 457
and told us what we would know.

"He told me also of the fate of Ajax son of Oileus, 499
and of my brother Agamemnon. Lastly he told me
about Ulysses, who he said was in the island of
the nymph Calypso, unable to get away inasmuch
as he had neither ship nor crew.

"Then he disappeared under the sea, & I, after 570
appeasing heaven's anger as he had instructed me,
returned quickly & safely to my own country."

576
504
3522

51

Story of the Odyssey

Bk. iv.

32 *

Having finished his story Menelaus pressed 587
Telemachus to remain with him some ten
or twelve days longer, and promised to give him a chariot & a pair of horses as a keep sake.
but Telemachus said that he could not ~~possibly do so~~: "I could listen
to you," said he, "for a whole twelvemonths, &
never once think about my home & my parents;
but my men whom I have left at Pylos are al-
-ready impatient for me to return. Moreover
~~you have been good enough to offer me a present of a chariot & a pair of horses, I ought to say that there will be no room for them in Ithaca, & I should prefer that any present you may be disposed to make should assume the form of plate.~~"

As for any present you may make me, let it be a piece of plate. I cannot take horses to Ithaca; it contains no plains nor meadow lands, & is more fit for breeding goats than horses. 600 None of our islands are suited for chariot races, & Ithaca least among them all.

Menelaus smiled & said he could see 609
that Telemachus came of good family. He had
a piece of plate of very great value which was just
the thing, & Telemachus should have it.

[Guests now kept coming to the king's house, 621
bringing both wine & sheep, & their wives had put them
up a provision of bread. Thus, then, did they set about
cooking their dinner in the courts.] *

* - for explana-
-tion why I bracket
this passage see
chap. VI.

Meanwhile the suitors in Ithaca were playing at games, 625
aiming at spears at a mark, & behaving with all their old insolence
on the level ground in front of Ulysses house. While thus engaged
Noëmon came up & asked Antinous if he could say when Telemachus
was likely to be back from Pylos, for he wanted his ship. On ~~which~~ this
every thing came out, & the suitors, who had no idea that Telemachus
had really gone (for they thought he was only away on one of his farms in
Ithaca) were very angry. They therefore determined to lie in wait for him
on his return, & made ready to start.

Medon, a servant, overheard their plot, & told all to Penelope, who 675
~~left the suitors~~ ~~came~~ learned for the first time that her son had left home without her
leave. She bitterly upbraided her women for not having given her a call
out of her bed when Telemachus was leaving, for she said she was sure
they knew all about it. Presently, however, on being calmed by Sery-
-clea, she went upstairs & offered sacrifice to Minerva. After a time
she fell into a deep slumber, during which she was comforted by a
vision of her sister Iphthima which Minerva had sent to her bed side.

When ~~night fell~~ the night fell the suitors set sail 842
intending to lay lay Telemachus ~~between~~ in the
strait between Same & Ithaca. 847

52

Story of the Odyssey

33 12

Bk. V

Ulysses on the island of Calypso. He leaves the island on a raft & after great suffering reaches the land of the Phaeacians.

The gods now held a second council, at which Minerva & Jove both spoke

N.B. [when Jove had done speaking he] sent Mercury to Calypso to tell her 28
that Ulysses was to return home, reaching the land of the Phaeacians in 20 days. The Phaeacians would load him with presents & send him on to Ithaca.

Mercury, therefore, flew like a cormorant over the sea 43
that fishes deep hole & corner of the deep. In the course of time he reached Calypso's cave & told his story. Calypso was very angry, but seeing there was no help for it promised obedience. As soon as Mercury was gone she went to look for Ulysses, whom she found weeping as usual & looking out ever sadly upon the sea; she told him to build himself a raft and sail home upon it, but Ulysses was deeply suspicious and would not be reassured till she had sworn a very solemn oath that she meant him no harm, & was advising him in all good faith.

*	The oath Calypso swears is identical with that which Juno swears to Jove Il. XV. 36–38

The pair then returned to Calypso's cave, 192
"I cannot understand," she said, "why you will not 203
stay here with me, instead of all the time thinking about this wife of yours. I cannot believe that I am any worse looking than she is. If you only knew how much hardship you will have to undergo before you get back, you would stay where you are, & let me make you immortal."

"Do not be angry with me, answered Ulysses, you are infinitely 215
better looking than Penelope. You are a goddess, & she is but a mortal woman. There can be no comparison. Nevertheless, come what may, I have a craving to get back to my own home."

The next four days were spent in making the raft. Calypso gave him 228
angry & sheered away
where the trees grew which would be driest & where timber would be the 250
best seasoned, & Ulysses cut them down. He made the raft about as broad in the beam as people generally make a good big ship, & he gave it a rudder that he might be able to steer it.

Calypso then washed him, gave him clean clothes, & he set out, steering 255
his ship skillfully by means of the rudder. He sailed towards the 270
Great Bear, which is also called the Wain, keeping it on his left hand for Calypso had told him.

53 † This would seem to indicate a course N.N.E. The lines in which the Gt. Bear is described are taken verbatim from Iliad XVIII. 487–489

Story of the Odyssey.

Bk V

34 13

All went well with him for seventeen days, & on the eighteenth he caught sight of the faint outlines of the Phaacian coast lying long & low upon the horizon.

Here, however, Neptune, who was on his 282
way home from the Ethiopians, caught sight of him & saw the mark that the other gods had stolen upon him during his absence. He therefore stirred the sea round with ~~th~~ his trident, & raised a frightful hurricane, so that Ulysses could see nothing more, everything being dark as night; pre 294
sently he was washed overboard but managed to regain his raft.

He was giving himself up for lost when 333
Ino also named Leucothea took pity on him & flew on to his raft like a sea gull; she reassured him & gave him her veil, at the same time telling him to throw it back into the sea as soon as he reached land, & to turn his face away from the sea as he did so.

The storm still raged, & the raft went to 351
pieces under its fury, whereon Ulysses bound Ino's veil under his arms & began to swim. Neptune on seeing this was satisfied & went away.

As soon as he was gone, Minerva calmed 382
all the winds except the North, which blew strong for two days & two nights, so that Ulysses was carried to the South again. On the morning of the third day he ~~again~~ saw land quite close, but was nearly dashed to pieces against the rocks ~~by a heavy swell~~, on trying to leave the water. At last he found the mouth of ~~the~~ a river, who, ~~on Ulysses~~ 440
in answer to Ulysses's prayer, stayed his flow, so that Ulysses was able to swim inland & get on shore.

Nearly dead with exhaustion & in great 456
doubt what to do, he first threw Ino's veil into the salt waters of the river, & then took shelter on the rising ground inland. Here he covered himself with a thick bed of leaves & fell fast asleep. 493

54

Story of the Odyssey
Bk VI
The meeting between Ulysses & Nausicaa

While Ulysses was thus slumbering, Minerva went to the land of the Phaacians, on which Ulysses had been cast.

Now the Phaacians used to live in Hypereia & near the ~~co~~ lawless Cyclopes, who were stronger than they were, & plundered them; so ~~that~~ their king Nausithous removed them to Schenia,* where they were secure. Nausithous was now dead & his son Alcinous was reigning.

Alcinous had an only daughter, Nausicaa, who ~~is~~ was in her bed room fast asleep. Minerva, ~~thinking~~ went to her ~~bedside~~ bedside, & appeared to her in a dream, having assumed the form of ~~a daughter of~~ one Captain Dymas's daughter, who was a bosom friend of Nausicaa's. She reminded her of her approaching marriage, (for which, however, the bridegroom had not yet been decided upon) & upbraided her for not making due preparation by the washing of her own & of the family linen. She proposed, therefore, that on the following morning Nausicaa should take all the unwashed clothes to the washing cisterns, and said that she would come & help her: the cisterns being ~~and as these were~~ at some distance from the town she advised ~~her~~ Nausicaa to ask her father to let her have a waggon & mules.

Nausicaa, on waking told her father & mother about her so dream. "Papa dear," said she, "could you manage to let me have a good big wagon? I want to take all our dirty clothes to the wash & wash them. You are the chief man here, so it is only proper that you should have a clean shirt when you attend meetings of the coun-cil. Moreover you have five sons, two of them married, while the other three are good looking young bachelors; you know they always like to have clean linen when they go out to dance."

Her father promised her all she wanted. The wagon was made ready, her mother put her up a basket of provisions, & Nausicaa drove her maids to the bank of the river, where there were the cisterns through which there flowed enough deep water to wash clothes however dirty they might be. They ~~washed the~~ washed their clothes, & laid them out to dry upon the sea-beach; ~~They~~ had their dinner as ~~while~~ the clothes were drying, and then began to play at ball while Nausicaa sang to them.

---

* Schenia means "Jutland", — a piece of land jutting out into the sea.

in the ~~cisterns~~ pits by treading upon them.

~~Synopsis~~ Story of the. 36 ~~35~~

Book VI

~~They now~~ ~~filled~~ ~~drop the lines & are on the point of starting home when Minerva thinks it is now time to undeceive~~ ~~wake Ulysses~~ In the course of time, when they were thinking about starting home, Minerva woke Ulysses who was in the wood just above them. He ~~sat~~ sat up, ~~not~~ heard the voices and laughter of the women & wondering where he was.

He resolved on ~~exploiting the women~~ going to see, but remembering that he was clothes on, he ~~held~~ broke a bough of olive before him, and then, all grim & naked & unkempt as he was, ~~come out~~ he came out and drew near to the women, who all of them ran away ~~on to~~ along the beach and the points that jutted into the sea. Nausicaa, however, stood firm, & Ulysses set himself to consider whether he should go boldly up to her & embrace her knees, ~~in which case we hardly dare to think of what would have become of the bough~~ – or speak to her from a respectful distance.

On the whole he concluded that this would be the most prudent course, & having adopted it ~~for he reflected that Nausicaa might be displeased if he came too near her. Having arrived at this conclusion he addressed her in a long speech, he begged~~ ~~asked~~ he began ~~his speech by begging her to~~ by asking Nausicaa to inform him whether she was a goddess or no. If she was a goddess it was ~~obvious that the moon~~ obvious from her beauty that she could only be Diana. If on the other hand she was a mortal, how happy would ~~the m~~ he be whose proposals in the way of settlement had seemed most advantageous, & who should take her to his own home. Finally he asked her to be kind enough to give him any old wrapper which she might have brought with her to wrap the clothes in, and to show him the way to the town.

56

~~Synopsis~~ Story of Nec.

Bk vi

37 18

Nausicaa replied that ~~Ulysses~~ he seemed 186
really to be a very sensible person, but that people must put up with their luck whatever it might happen to be. She then explained that he ~~Ulysses~~ had come to the land of the Phæacians, & promised to conduct him to their city.

Having so said she ~~called out to~~ told her 198
maids ~~& decided then to leave off running~~ not to be such cowards. "The man," she ~~exclaimed~~ said, "is quite harmless; we live on a land away from all neighbours, and with the sea roaring on either side of us, & no one can hurt us. See to this poor fellow, therefore, & give him something to eat."

~~The maids & came back~~ When they heard 211
~~what Nausicaa had said, this~~ this, the maids came back, & gave Ulysses a shirt & cloak; they also gave him a bottle of oil and told him to go & wash in the river; ~~But to which Ulysses replied that it was impossible for him to do this as long as they remained where they were~~ but he said "I will not wash myself, ~~he said,~~ while you ~~stand by~~ keep standing here. I can not bring myself to strip before a number of good-looking young women." ~~so long as you are looking on, ladies.~~ (run on)

~~On this~~ So they went & told their mistress. ~~223~~

When Ulysses had done washing, Minerva 229
~~made him look much more imposing, & made his hair fall down in thick hyacinthine curls. When Nausicaa saw him there bewitched she was very much struck with him. "At first," she said,~~ made him look much grander & more imposing, & gave him a thick head of hair which flowed down in hyacinthine curls about his shoulders. Nausicaa was very much struck with the change in his appearance. "At first," she said, "I thought him quite plain, but now he ~~looks like~~ is of godlike beauty. I wish I might have such a man as that for my husband, if he would only stay here. But pray mind, girls, give him something to eat & drink." ~~Now which it would seem clearly clear that Nausicaa's future husband was not yet fixed upon.~~

57

Synopsis Story of Ve – 38 7

Bk. vi

The maids then set meat & drink before 247
Ulysses, who was ~~so~~ ravenously hungry. ~~So~~
While he was eating, Nausicaa got the clothes
folded up & put on to the cart; ~~Athena gave~~ after which she gave him
~~Ulysses~~ him his instructions. "Follow after the
cart," she said, "along with the maids, till you
get near the houses. As for the town you will
find it lying between two good harbours, & approached 263
by a narrow neck of land, on either side of which
you will see the ships drawn up, for every man
has a place ~~assigned him~~ where he can let his boat lie; you will also see the
~~boat lie; & you will see the temple of Neptune~~ where walls, & walls, & the temple of Neptune
standing in the middle of the paved ~~place~~ market-
-place, with the ship-brokers shops all round it.

"When you get near the town drop behind; 274
for the people here are very ill-natured, & they
would talk about me. They will say, 'who is this
fine looking stranger ~~who~~ that is going about with Nau-
-sicaa? Where did she find him? I suppose she is
going to marry him. So he a sailor whom she has
picked up from some foreign vessel, ~~or~~ or has ~~some~~ a
god come down from heaven in answer to her prayers
and he is going to marry her.' It would be a good thing if she would
~~that she should~~ go & find a husband somewhere
else, for she will have nothing to say to any of
the many excellent Phaeacians who are in love
with her.' This is what people would say. & I could
not blame them for I should be scandalized myself
if I saw any girl ~~do such a thing & go~~ going about
with a stranger, while her father & mother were
yet alive, without being married to him in the
face of all the world.

"Do then as I say. When you come to the 289

38

~~Synopsis~~ Story of Bk.

Bk vi

grove of Minerva a little outside the town, wait till you think I & the maids must have got home. Then ~~enquire~~ come after us, ~~enquire~~ ask which is Alcinous's house, & when you reach it go straight through the outer & inner courts till you come to my mother. You will see her sitting with her back to a bearing-post & spinning her purple yarn by the fire ~~firelight~~, & my father will be sitting close by her; never mind about him, but go & embrace my mother's knees, for if she looks favourably on your suit, you will probably get what you want."

Nausicaa then drove on, & as the sun was about setting they came to the grove of Minerva where Ulysses sat down & waited. He ~~but~~ prayed Minerva to assist him, & she heard his prayer, but she would not manifest herself to him, for she did not want to offend her uncle Neptune. 331.

Bk vii

The splendours of the house of king Alcinous. Queen Arete wants to know where Ulysses got his ~~tunic~~ shirt & cloak, for she knows them as her own work. Ulysses explains.

When Nausicaa reached ~~On reaching~~ home, her brothers attended to the waggon & mules & her ~~[illegible]~~ attendant Eury medusa lit the fire ~~in her own room~~ for her, & brought her her supper ~~into Nausicaa's~~ into her own room.

~~Presently~~ Presently Ulysses considered it safe to come on, and entered the town enveloped in a thick mist which Minerva shed round him for his protection from any rudeness that the Phaeacians might offer him. She also met him outside the town disguised as a little girl who ~~had come to fill~~ by carrying a pitcher ~~with water~~.

~~As soon as he~~ Ulysses saw her in spite of the mist. 21 & asked her to show him the way to the house

A to be introduced on p. 14. 40

& the cornice was of blue enamel. The doors were of gold & hung on pillars of silver that rose from a floor of bronze, while the lintel was of silver, & the hook of the door was of gold. On either side there were gold & silver mastiffs which 91
Vulcan with his consummate skill had fashioned expressly to keep watch over the palace of king Alcinous, so they were immortal & could never grow old. Seats were ranged here & there all along the wall, from one end to the other with coverings of fine woven work, which the women of the house had made. Here the chief persons of the Phaeacians used to sit and eat & drink, for there was abundance at all seasons; & there were golden figures of young men with lighted torches in their hands, raised on pedestals to give light to them that sat at meat.

There are fifty ~~maid~~ women servants in the house, some of whom are always 103
grinding rich yellow grain at the mill, while others work at the loom or sit & spin, & their shuttles go backwards & forwards like the fluttering of aspen leaves, while the linen is so closely woven that it will turn oil. As the Phaeacians are the best sailors in the world, so their women excel all others in weaving, for Minerva has taught them all manner of useful arts, & they are very intelligent.

Outside the gate of the outer court there is a large garden* of about 112
four acres, with a wall all round it. It is full of beautiful trees — pears pomegranates & the most delicious apples. There are luscious figs also, & olives in full growth. The fruits never rot nor fail all the year round, neither winter nor summer, for the air is so soft that a new crop ripens before the old has dropped. Pear grows on pear, apple on apple, & fig on fig, & so also with the grapes, for there is an excellent vineyard on the level ground. Of a part of this the grapes are being made into raisins; on another part they are being gathered; some are being trodden in the wine-tubs; others further on have shed their blossom, & are ~~just~~ beginning to show fruit; others, again, are just changing colour. In the furthest part of the ground there are beautifully arranged ~~flower~~ beds of flowers that are in bloom all the year round. Two streams go through it, the one turned in ducts throughout the whole garden, while the other is carried under the ground of the outer court to the house itself, & the towns people drew water from it. Such then were the splendours with which heaven had endowed the house of king Alcinous.

So here Ulysses stood for a while & looked about him, but when he had 133
looked long enough he crossed the threshold & went within the precincts of the house. (Then run on with "He passed through the crowd &c).

* Penelope & Calypso also had gardens; so had Laertes, xxiv. 247; I remember no allusion to them in the Iliad

of Alcinous; ~~which~~ they she said she could easily do, and when they reached the house she ~~explained the family history of the king to Ulysses, & gave him other~~ other good advice which young people are ~~apt to give~~ told Ulysses all about the king's family history & advised him ~~generally as to how he had better~~ how he should behave himself.

"Be bold," she said, "bold men always tells, 50
no matter where a man comes from. First find the ~~queen~~ mistress of the house. She is of the same family as her husband, & ~~the family~~ her descent is in this wise. Eurymedon was king of the giants, but he & his people were overthrown, & he lost his own life. His youngest daughter was Periboea, a woman of surpassing beauty, ~~and she~~ who gave birth by Neptune to Nausithous, ~~who reigned over~~ king of the Phæacians. He had two sons Rhexenor & Alci- 62
-nous; Rhexenor died young, leaving an only daughter, Arete, whom her uncle Alcinous married, and whom he honours as no other woman in the whole world is honoured by her husband. All her family & all her neighbours adore her as a friend & peacemaker, for she is a thoroughly good woman, ~~wholly admirable~~. If you can gain her good offices ~~will~~ all will go well with you."

Minerva then left him & went to Mara- 78
thon & Athens where ~~the~~ she visited the house of Erechtheus, but Ulysses ~~paused a little to admire~~ went on to the house of Alcinous and he pondered ~~much as he paused a while before he reached the splendour of Alcinous's house & his wonder~~ the thresholds of bronze for the splendour of the palace was like that of the sun & moon. The walls on either side were of bronze from end to end, ~~ful garden, and then crossed the threshold & went inside. Great shouts.~~

He passed through the crowd of guests who 133
were nightly visitors at the table of king Alcinous & who were then making their final drink offering to Mercury, as usual, before going for the night. He was still shrouded in the ~~cloud~~ mist of invisibility with which Minerva had invested him, and going up to Arete he embraced her knees, whereon he sud- -denly became visible. Every one was greatly surprised

go on to A on opposite page

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5

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at seeing a man there, but Ulysses paid
no attention to this, & at once implored the
queen's assistance; he then sat down among
the ashes on the hearth.

Alcinous did not know what to do or say, 154
nor got did any one else till one of the guests Sche-
-neus told him it was not creditable to him
that a suppliant should be left thus grovelling
among the ashes. Alcinous ought to give him a
seat & set food before him. This was accordingly
done, & after Ulysses had finished eating Alcinous
made a speech in which he proposed that they
should have a great banquet next day in their
guest's honour, & then provide him an escort to
take him to his own home. This was agreed to,
and after a while the other guests went home
to bed. When they were gone Ulysses was left alone 230
with Alcinous & Arete, sitting over the fire while
the servants were taking the things away after supper. Then
Arete said, "Stranger, before we go any further
there is a question I should like to put to you.
Who are you? & who gave you those clothes?"
for she recognised the shirt & cloak Ulysses was
wearing as her own work, & that of her maids.

Ulysses did not give his name, but told 240
her how he had come from Calypso's island, &
been wrecked on the Phaacian coast. "Next day,
he said, "I fell in with your daughter, who treated
me with much greater kindness than one could 293
have expected from so young a person - for young
people are apt to be thoughtless. It was she who
gave me the clothes."

Alcinous then said he wished the stranger 308
would stay with them for good and all & marry
Nausicaa. They would not, however, press this,
& if he insisted on going they would send him,
no matter where. Even though it were farther than

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bk vii

42 24

Euboea which they say is further off than any other place, we will send you, & you shall be taken so easily that you may sleep the whole way if you like." 318–320

To this Ulysses only replied by praying that the king might be as good as his word. A bed was then made for him in the gate house & they all retired for the night. 329 347

Book viii

The Phaacian games & banquet in honour of Ulysses.

When morning came Alcinous ~~convened~~ called an assembly of the Phaacians, & Minerva went about urging every one to come & see the wonderful stranger. She also gave Ulysses a more imposing presence that he might impress the people favourably. When the ~~people were~~ Phaacians were assembled Alcinous said;—

"I do not know who this stranger is, 28
nor where he comes from; but he wants us to send him to his own home; & no guest of mine was ~~able~~ ever yet able to complain ~~yet~~ that I did not send him home quickly enough. Let us therefore fit out a new ship with a crew of fifty-two men, & send him. The crew shall come to my house & I will find them in food which they can cook for themselves. The aldermen & councillors shall be feasted inside the house. I can take no denial, & we will have Demodocus to sing to us."

The ship & crew were immediately found, 46
& the ~~co~~ sailors with all the male part of the population swarmed to the house of Alcinous till the yards & barns & buildings were crowded. The king provided them with twelve sheep, eight pigs & two bullocks which they killed & dressed for themselves.

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk. viii

The leading men of the town went inside 62
the inner court yard, ~~and had dinner in the cloisters that surrounded it~~ Pontonous, the ma-
-jor domo, conducted ~~them~~ the blind bard De-
-modocus to a seat which he set near one of the bearing-posts
~~columns~~ that supported the roof of the cloisters, hung
his lyre on a peg over his head, & shewed him
how to feel for it with his hands. He also set a
table close by him with refreshments on it, to which
he could help himself whenever he liked.

As soon as the guests had done eating 72
Demodocus began to sing the quarrel be-
-tween Ulysses & Achilles before Troy, a lay which
at the time was famous. This so affected Ulysses
that he kept on weeping as long as the bard
sang, ~~the~~ and though he was able to conceal his tears from
the company generally, ~~but~~ Alcinous perceived
his distress, & proposed that they should all now
adjourn to the athletic sports, which were to
consist mainly of boxing, wrestling, jumping
& foot racing.

Demodocus, therefore, hung the lyre on its 104
peg ~~and~~ was led out to the place where the
sports were to be held. The whole town flocked
to see them. Clytoneus won the foot race, Eurya-
-lus took the prize for wrestling, Amphialus was
the best jumper, & Alcinous's son Laodamas the
best boxer.

Laodamas & Euryalus then proposed that 131
Ulysses should enter himself for one of the prizes.
~~to which~~ Ulysses replied that he was a stranger,
& a suppliant; moreover he had lately gone through
great hardships, & would rather be excused.

~~To this~~ Euryalus ~~then~~ on this insulted Ulysses, & 158
said he supposed he was some grasping merchant
who thought of nothing but his freights. "You have

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none of the look," said he "of an athlete
about you."

Ulysses was furious, and Tells Euryalus 164
that he was a good looking young fool. He then
took up a disc far heavier than those which the
Phaeacians were in the habit of throwing.* The disc made a hurtling sound
as it passed through the air, and easily
surpassed any throw that had been made yet.
Thus encouraged he made another long & very
angry speech, in which he said he would compete
with any Phaeacian in any contest they chose to name,
except in running, for he was still so much pulled
down that he thought they might beat him here.
"Also," he said, "I will not compete in any-
-thing with Laodamas. He is my host's son, & it
is a most unwise thing for a guest to challenge any
member of his host's family. A man must be
an idiot to think of such a thing."

"Sir," said Alcinous, "I understand that 236
you are displeased at some remarks that have
fallen from one of our athletes, who has thrown
doubts upon your prowess in a way that no gentle-
-man would do. I hear that you have also
given us a general challenge. I should
explain that we are not famous for our skill
in boxing or wrestling, but we are singularly
fleet runners, & bold mariners. We are also
much given to song & dance, & we like warm baths
& frequent changes of linen. So now come for-
-ward some of you who are the nimblest dancers,
and show the strangers how much we sur-
pass other nations in all graceful accomplish-
-ments. Let some one also bring Demodocus' lyre
from my house where he has left it."

* It is a little odd that this disc should have been brought considering that none such were used by the Phaeacians. We must suppose that Minerva put it in along with the others, & prevented the attendants from noticing it.

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Bk. viii

The lyre was immediately brought, the dan- 256
-cers began to dance, & Ulysses admired the merry twink-
-ling of their feet.

While they were dancing Demodocus sang 266
the intrigue between Mars & Venus in the
house of Vulcan, & told how Vulcan took the
pair prisoners. All the ~~[illegible]~~ gods came to see them;
but ~~[illegible]~~ the goddesses were modest
& would not come. 324

Alcinous then made Halius & Laoda- 370
-mas have a game at ball, after which Ulysses
expressed the utmost admiration of their skill. (run on)

Charmed with the compliment Ulysses had
paid his sons, the king ~~[illegible]~~ said that the
twelve aldermen (with himself which would
make thirteen) must at once give Ulysses a shirt
& cloak & a talent of gold, so that he might
eat his supper with a light heart. As for Eu-
-ryalus, he must not only make a present but
must apologise as well, for he had been rude.

Euryalus ~~[illegible]~~ admitted his fault, & 398
gave Ulysses his sword with its scabbard, which
was of new ivory. He said Ulysses would find
it worth a great deal of money to him.

Ulysses thanked him, wished him all 412
manner of good fortune, & said he hoped Euryalus
would not feel the want of the sword which he
had just ~~presented to~~ given him along with his apology.

Night was now falling, & they therefore 417
adjourned to the house of Alcinous. Here the presents
~~and~~ began to arrive, whereon the king desired
Arete to find Ulysses a chest in which to stow them,
and to put a shirt & clean cloak in it as his
own contribution; he also declared his intention
of giving ~~Ulysses~~ him a gold cup.* Meanwhile he said that Ulys-
-ses had better have a warm bath.

* Alcinous never seems to have got beyond saying that he was going to give the cup; he never gives it, nor yet the talent — the familiar ὡς εἰπὼν οὐ τέλος κτλ. is noticeably absent. He found the chest, & he took a great deal of pains about stowing the presents in the ship that was to take Ulysses to Ithaca, (see xiii 18 ff.) but here his contributions seem to have ended.

66

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Bk viii

46 25

The bath was made ready.* Arete packed 433
all the gold & presents which the Phaeacian aldermen had sent, as also the shirt & tunic from Alcinous. Arete told Ulysses to see to the fastening himself, lest some one should [illegible] him while he was asleep 445
on the ship; Ulysses then fastened the lid on to the chest with a knot which Circe had taught him. He then went into the 448
bath room, very gladly for he had not had a bath since he left Calypso, who had taken as good care of him as though he had been a god.

As he came from the bath room 457
Nausicaa was standing by one of the bearing-posts that supported the roof of the cloisters & bade him farewell, reminding him at the same time that it was she who had been the saving of him — a fact which Ulysses in a few words gracefully acknowledged.

He then took his seat at table, and 469
after dinner at his request Demodocus sang the sack of Troy & the sally of the Achaans from the wooden horse. This again so affected him that he could not restrain his tears, which, however Alcinous again alone perceived.

The king, therefore, made a speech 536
in which he said that the stranger ought to tell them his name. He must have one, for people always gave their children names as soon as they were born. He need not be uneasy about his escort. All he had to do was to lay

*. the same that was used for washing the dead body of Patroclus
Il XXIII 244 ff.

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Bk viii

47 26

where he wanted to go, & the Phoacian ships were so clever that ~~that~~ they would take him there of their own accord. Nevertheless he remembered hearing his father Nausithous say, that one day Neptune would be angry with the Phoacians for giving people escorts so readily, & he had said he would wreck ~~a ship of theirs as~~ one of ~~our~~ their ships as it was returning ~~on an occasion of this sort~~, & would also bury ~~their~~ their city under a high mountain. 586

Book ix

The voyages of Ulysses. The Cicons, ~~Lotophagi~~, Lotus eaters, and the Cyclops Polyphemus.

Then Ulysses rose. "King Alcinous", said he, "You ask my name, & I will tell you. I am Ulysses, & dwell in Ithaca, an island which contains a high mountain called Neritum. In its neighbourhood there are other islands near to one another, Dulichium, Same, & Zacynthus. It lies on the horizon all highest up in the sea towards the West, while the other islands lie away from it to the East. This is the ~~land~~ island which I would ~~fain~~ reach, for however fine a house a man may have in a ~~land~~ land where his parents are not, there will still be nothing sweeter to him than his ~~own~~ home & ~~the sight of his own father & mothers parents~~ his own father & mother. 25

"I will now tell you of my adventures. 37 On leaving Troy we first ~~landed on the coast of the land~~ made a descent on the land of the Cicons, & sacked their city, but were eventually beaten off, though we took our booty with us. ~~[illegible]~~

"Thence we sailed South with a strong North ~~[illegible]~~ wind behind us, till we reached the island of 62

68

For chapter II. p. ~~27~~ 48

abounding with wild goats. It is untrodden by the foot of man; ~~even~~ the huntsman, who as a general rule will ~~but any distance~~ suffer any hardship in forest or on mountain Ch. 120 never go there; it is neither tilled nor fed down, but remains year after year uninhabited ~~by~~ save by the goats only. For the Cyclopes have no ships, & cannot therefore go from place to place as those who have ships can ~~g~~ do. If they had ships they would have colonised the island, for it is not at all a bad one and would bring forth all things in their season. There ~~are~~ is meadow land, well watered & of good quality that stretches down to the water's edge. Grapes would do wonderfully well there; it contains good arable land which would yield heavy crops for the soil is rich; moreover it has a convenient port.

Note for Chapter II. p. 27

*

Dwellers on the East Coast of Sicily ~~g~~ believe the island here referred to to be Acitrezza between Acireale and Catania. I have been all over it and do not believe that it contains more than two acres of land on which any goat could ever have fed. The idea that the winter of the Odyssey would make Ulysses and his large body of men spend half a day in killing over a hundred goats on such a site need not be discussed seriously. I shall therefore pass it over without notice when I come to ~~deal~~ discuss the voyage of Ulysses. That it should be so confidently believed to be the island off the land of the Cyclopes ~~only~~ serves as a warning to myself, inasmuch as it shows ~~at showing~~ how easily people can bring ~~their~~ themselves to accept any site for any scene if they make up their minds to do so.

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Bk ix

48 27

Cythera, where we were driven off our course by a continuance of North wind which prevented my doubling Cape Malea ~~& reaching~~ Ithaca.

"Nine days was I driven by foul winds, 82
& on the tenth we reached the land of the ~~Lotus~~ lotus-eating Phagi, where the people were good to my men but gave them to eat of the lotus, which made them lose all desire to return home, so that I had great work to get those who had tasted it ~~to come~~ on board again.

"Thence we were carried further, till we came to ~~& reached~~ 105
the land of the savage ~~lawless & wholly un-civilised~~ Cyclopes. Of their coast, ~~at no great~~ but not very far, ~~distance from it~~, there is a wooded island ~~which~~ 118 (insert A)
~~along with wild goats. It is uninhabited, which is strange, seeing that it has good capabilities, & in parts it is of rich soil, & has an unexamined harbour~~, into which some god must have taken 142
us, for the night was ~~so~~ so ~~pitch~~ dark that there was a thick darkness all round the ships, neither
we could see nothing. ~~of the island into we found~~ was there any moon for the sky
ourselves in the harbour. ~~Being there, the~~ was covered with clouds. No
~~sacy~~ we moored our ships & camped down up- one could see the island, nor
-on the beach. yet ~~could we see~~ waves break-
-ing upon the shore till we found

"When morning came we hunted the wild 152
wild goats, and feasted ~~the livelong day to the~~ goats of which we killed
~~going down of the sun, for~~ on rum enough over a hundred* & all
we had taken from the Ciconi. ~~had not yet run~~ day long to the going down
~~out~~. We kept looking also ~~also~~ on the land of the Cy- of the sun we feasted
-clopes over against us, which was so near that we
~~we seemed almost~~ could see the smoke of their
stubble fires, & ~~could~~ almost fancy we heard the
bleating of their sheep & goats.

*. For the note see ~~overleaf~~ opposite page

"~~Then~~ We camped a second night upon 169
the ~~f~~ beach ~~at this place~~, & at day break, ~~I called~~ having called
a council & ~~declared my intent~~ said I would

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To face page 119

The grotta Smiliana (called by the peasants "la grotta di Polifemo") near Trapani

interior of ~~Lieut Sugameli and Mr S Butler in~~ the cave of Polyphemus.

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Bk ix

49 28

take my own ship & reconnoitre the country, but would leave the other ships ~~rest of the fleet~~ at the island. Thereon I started, and when we got near the main land we saw a great ~~of goat~~ cave in the cliff, not far from the sea, and there was a large sheep yard in front of it, ~~which showed us that it was a station for sheep & goats.~~ (run on)

"~~Having landed~~ on landing I chose twelve men & ~~the~~ full of a very strong wine ~~that Maron priest of Apollo had given~~ set ~~me when I spared his life & that of his family at the time that we were sacking the city of the Ciceans.~~ The rest of my crew were to wait my return by the sea side.

"We soon reached the cave, and finding that the owner was not at home, we examined all ~~the~~ that it contained; ~~the~~ we saw vessels were brimful of whey, & ~~the racks were loaded with cheeses:~~ the yards also were full of lambs & kids. My men implored me to let them steal some cheese, drive off some of the lambs & kids, & sail away. ~~It would indeed have been better had I done so, but I thought I would see the owner him-self & see if I could get a present out of him.~~ would not, for I hoped the owner might give me something.

"~~We~~ We lit a fire in the cave, sacrificed some of the cheeses to the gods, & ate others ourselves, ~~waiting~~ waiting till the owner should return. When he came we found him to be a huge monster, more like a peak standing out against the sky on some high mountain, than a human being. He brought in with him a great ~~huge~~ bundle of firewood, which he flung down upon the floor with such a noise that we were scared & ~~sought shelter in the for-~~ hid ourselves. ~~that chance of the cave~~ He milked his goats & sheep & ~~then~~ put their young with them, for they had been left in the yards all day; then he drank some of the milk, & put part by for his supper. Presently ~~then~~ he lit his fire & caught sight of us, whereon he ~~asked~~ asked us who we were.

He drove all his female ewes & goats into the cave, but left the males outside; ~~& when they were all in~~ & then he closed the door with a huge ~~small~~ stone ~~of rock~~ which not even two & twenty waggons could carry.

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Bk. ix

50 29

"I told him we were ~~some of king Agam-~~ 256
~~-nemnon's men~~ on our way home from Troy,
& begged him in heaven's name to do us no
hurt; but (run on)

"~~Tally out to me~~, ~~said he, of pity & hea-~~ 292
~~-ven's name. Where have you left your ship?~~

"~~I was too crafty for him & answered that~~ 28
~~it had been wrecked out at sea.~~

"As soon as I had answered his question he 287
gripped up two of my men, dashed them on the ground, &
~~flew & then~~ ate them raw, blood bones & bowels &
like a savage lion of the wilderness. Then he lay down
on the ~~floor~~ ground of the cave & went to sleep: on which
I should have crept up to him & plunged my sword
into his heart while he was sleeping, ~~only that~~ only had I not known
I knew that if I did we should never be able to shift
the stone ~~with which he had closed the mouth~~
~~of his cave~~. So we waited till dawn should come.

"When day broke the monster again lit 307
his fire, milked his ewes, & ~~then~~ gripped up
two more of my men. ~~At~~ As soon as he had eaten
them he rolled the stone ~~away~~ from the mouth of
the cave, & drove out his sheep, and put the stone ~~back again~~ back again.
He had, however,
left a large and long piece of olive wood in the cave, and when
he was gone I & my men sharpened this at one
end, & hid it ~~under~~ in the sheep dung of which there
was much in the cave. At the evening he returned,
milked his ewes, & ate two more ~~of my~~ men; whereon
I went up to him with the ~~wonderous~~ skin of wonderous
wine ~~that the son had given me~~ & I gave him a
bowl full of it. He asked for another, & then another,
so I gave them to him, & he was so much delighted
~~with it~~ that he asked my name & I said it was
No man.

"The wine now began to ~~work~~ take effect, & in 371

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a short time he fell dead drunk upon the ground. Then my men & I ~~made ready~~ put the sharp end of the piece of olive wood in the fire till it was well burning, & drove it into the wretch's eye, ~~and twirl~~ turning it round & round as though it were an auger. After a while he plucked it ~~from himself~~ out, flung it from him, & began crying to his neighbours for help. When they came, they said, 'What ails you? ~~is it~~ Who is harming you?' & he answered, 'No man is harming me.' Whereon they said he must be ill, & had better pray to his father Neptune; So they went away ~~again~~, & I laughed at the success of my stratagem.

"Then I hid my men by binding them under the sheep's bellies, 415
but the Cyclops, ~~called away the stone &~~ groped ~~felt~~ his way to the stone, rolled it away, & sat at the mouth of the cave feeling the sheep's backs as they went out, but the men were under their bellies so he did not find one of them. Nor yet did he ~~find~~ discover me, for I was concealed in the thick ~~wool~~ belly-fleece of a ram which by some chance he had brought in with the ewes. But he was near ~~doing~~ finding so, for the ram went last, & he kept it for a while & talked to it.

"When we were outside, I dropped from 462
under the ram & unbound my companions. We drove the ewes down to my ship, got them on board, and rowed out to sea. When we were a little way out I jeered at the Cyclops, & whereon he tore up a great rock ~~which~~ & hurled it after us; it fell in front of the ship & all but hit the rudder, ~~but~~ 483 the wash moreover that it made nearly carried us back ~~to the~~ land again, but I ~~&~~ kept the ship off it with a pole.

~~we rowed on, & when we were further out I jeered at him again~~

~~Then as this he tore up a still larger rock~~ 480
~~and flung it this time a little behind the ship so that it all but hit the rudder; but again we rowed made carried us~~
~~on, & Polyphemus again ~~on~~ prayed to the island from which we had set out. There we feasted on the sheep that we had captured, & mourned the death loss of the companions whom Polyphemus had killed & eaten.~~ 565

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52 +

"When we had got about twice as far off as we were before I was for speaking to the Cyclops again, and though my men tried to stay me, I shouted out to him 'Cyclops, if you would know who it is that has blinded you, ~~learn~~ learn that it is I Ulysses, son of Laertes, who live in Ithaca.' 491

"'Alas,' he cried in answer, 'then the old prophecy about me is coming true. I knew that I was to lose my sight by the hand of Ulysses, but I was looking for some man of great stature & noble mien whereas he has proved to be a mere whipper-snapper. Come here, then, Ulysses that I may offer you gifts of hospitality and pray my father Neptune, who shall heal my eye, to escort you safely home.' 506

"'I wish,' said I ~~in answer~~, 'that I could be as sure of killing you body & soul as I am that not even Neptune will be able to cure your eye.' 521

"Then he prayed to Neptune saying 526

"'Hear me Neptune, if I am indeed your son, & vouchsafe me that Ulysses son of Laertes may never reach his home. Still, if he must do so, and get back to his friends, let him lose all his men, & though he get home after all let it be late on another man's ship & let him find trouble in his house.' 534

"So saying ~~On this~~ he took up a still larger rock & flung it this time a little behind the ship, but so close that it all but hit the rudder: the wash, however, that it made carried us forward to the island from which we had set out. 537 539

"There we feasted on the sheep that we had taken & mourned the loss of our comrades whom Polyphemus had eaten. 556 586

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk X.

53 34

Æolus — the Lastrygonians — Circe.

"So we sailed on ~~till we~~ and reached the island where dwells Æolus, with his wife & ~~the~~ family of six sons & six daughters, who ~~dwell~~ live together ~~in~~ amid great & continuous plenty. I stayed with him a whole month, & when I would go he ~~bade~~ tied all the winds up ~~rulers of the winds, bade them all up in a sack~~ (for he was their keeper) in a leather~~n~~ sack, which he gave me; but he left the West wind free, for this ~~would be fair for me~~ was the one I wanted.

"Nine days did we sail, & on the tenth 28
we could see our native land with the stubble fires burning thereon. I had never let the nidder out of my hands till then, but being now close ~~to~~ in ~~sight land~~ I fell asleep. My men, thinking I had treasure in the sack, opened it to see, whereon the winds ~~blew~~ came howling out ~~back~~ & took us straight back to the Æolian island. So I went back to the house of Æolus & prayed him to help me, but he said, 'Get you gone, abhorred of heaven: him whom heaven hates will I in no wise help'. So I went full sadly away.

"Six days thence did we sail onward, 77
worn out in body & mind, & on the seventh we reached the stronghold of king Lamus, the Lastrygonian city of Telepylus, where the ~~people work nearly as hard by night as they do by day~~ shepherd who drives his 82 flocks ~~home~~ ~~high~~ ~~home~~ unto the town salutes ~~the shepd~~ another who is driving them out, & the other returns his salute. A man in that ~~low~~ country could earn double wages if he could do without sleep, for they work much the same by night as they do by day.) 86

Here we landed, & I climbed a high rock to look around, but could see ~~nothing~~ signs of man or beast ~~cattle~~, ~~but~~ save only ~~some~~ smoke rising from the ground ~~some way inland~~.

"Then I sent two of my ~~men~~ crew with an at- 100
tendant, to see what manner of men the people might be, ~~and when they had gone some way along a smooth road and they found them to~~

& and they met a young woman who was coming ~~outside the~~ down to fetch water from the spring Artacia whence the people drew their water. This young woman took my men to the house of her father Antiphates, whereon they discovered the people to

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be giants & ogres like Polyphemus. One of my men was gripped up & eaten, but the other two escaped & reached the ships. The Lestrygonians raised a hue & cry after them, & rushing to the harbour, within which all my ships were moored except my own, they dashed my whole fleet in pieces with the rocks that they threw. I & my own ship alone escaped them, for we were outside, & ~~for we were moored outside the harbour.~~ I bade the men row for their lives.

"On & on did we sail, till we reached the 133
island of Circe, where heaven guided us into a harbour. Here I again climbed a rock & could see the smoke from Circe's house rising out of a thick wood; I then ~~and~~ went back ~~again~~ to the ship & ~~& while on my way~~ had the good fortune to kill a noble stag, ~~while on my way~~. which gave us a supply of meat, on which we feasted all the rest of the day. Next morning I held a council & told my men of the smoke that I had seen.

"Eurylochus & twenty two men then 210
went inland to reconnoitre, & found Circe's house made of squared stones & standing on high ground in the middle of the forest. This wood front was full of wild beasts, poor ~~bewitched~~ dazed creatures whom Circe had bewitched, but they fawned upon my men & did not harm them. When the men got to the door of her house they could hear Circe her singing inside most beautifully, so they called her down, & when she came she asked them in, gave them a drugged drink, & then turned them into pigs, all except Eurylochus who had remained outside.

"Eurylochus made all haste back to tell me, & 244
I started for Circe's house. When I was in the wood where the wild beasts were, Mercury met me & gave me an herb called Moly, which

would protect me from Circe's spells; ~~and~~ he also told me how I should treat her. So I went to her house, & called her to come down.

"She asked me in, & tried to bewitch me as she had the others, but the herb which Mercury had given me protected me; ~~when she said this she said she knew I must be Ulysses & that I must go to bed with her~~ so I had rushed at her with my drawn sword. When she saw this, she said she knew I must be Ulysses, & that I must ~~go to bed with her~~ marry her at once. But I said, 'Circe, you have just turned my men into pigs, & have done your best to bewitch me into the bargain; how can you expect me to be friendly with you? Still, if you will swear to ~~to do me~~ take no other advantage of me, I will consent.' So she swore, & I consented at once.

~~Then she fed me & had me washed &~~

"Then she set the four maid servants of her house to wash me & feast me, but I was still moody & would not eat till Circe removed her spells from off my men, & brought them back safe & sound again in human form. ~~She also~~ When she had done this, she bade me go back to my ship & bring the rest of my men—which I presently did, and we stayed with her for a whole twelve months, feasting ~~in the house of Circe~~ plentifully & drinking an unlimited quantity of wine. At last, however, my men said ~~to me~~ that if I meant going home at all it was time I began to think of starting.

"That night, therefore, when I was in bed with Circe, I told her ~~what~~ how my men were murmuring, & asked her to let me go. ~~Which~~ This she said she would do; ~~only~~ but I must first go down into the house of Hades, & consult the blind Theban prophet Tiresias. ~~Whereon~~ And she ~~gave me full directions as to what~~ directed me what I should do.

Story of the Odyssey

Bk. X.

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"On the following morning I told my men, 557
& we began to get ready; but we had an acci-
-dent before we started, for there was a foolish
& not very valiant young man in my ship named
Elpenor, who had got drunk & had gone on to
the roof of Circe's house to keep off his liquor in
the cool. The bustle ~~of~~ my men made woke him,
and in his flurry he forgot all about coming down
by the staircase, & ~~tumbled off~~ fell right off the
roof; whereby he broke his neck & was killed.
~~But~~ We started, however, all the same, & ~~when we were~~
~~on board~~ Circe brought us ~~the~~ a lamb & ~~the~~ a black
sheep, that ~~we had~~ to offer to the shades below. ~~We~~ She passed in & out among us, but we
could not see her, nor, indeed, ~~who~~ can see the gods, when they
are in no mind to be seen? 574

Bk xi

Ulysses in the house of Hades.

"When we ~~were at the~~ reach the ship, side we got the lamb
and the ewe on board, & put out to sea, sun-
-ning all that day before a fair wind which
Circe had sent us, and at nightfall entering
the deep waters of the river Oceanus. Here is
the land of the Cymmerians, who dwell in dark-
-ness which the sun's rays never pierce; we there-
-fore made our ship fast to the shore & came
out of her, going along by the ~~water side~~ beach till we
reached the place of which Circe had told us.
"Perimedes & Eurylochus ~~took the~~ then held 23
the victims, while I followed the instructions of
Circe & ~~then I~~ slaughtered them, letting their blood
flow into a trench which I had dug for it. ~~whereon~~ On this,
the ghosts came up in crowds from Erebus, brides,
young bachelors, old men, maids who had been
crossed in love, & warriors with their armour

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still smirched with blood. They ~~made~~ cried with a strange
kind of screaming sound that made me turn
pale with fear, but I would let none of them taste
of the blood till Tiresias should have come & an-
swered my questions.

"The first ghost ~~that to come to me~~ I saw was that 51
of Elpenor whose body was still lying unburied
at Circe's house. Then I said, 'How now, Elpenor?
you have got here sooner by land than I have
done by water.' The poor fellow told me how he had
forgotten about the stairs, & begged me to give him
all due rites when I returned to Circe's island—which
I promised faithfully that I would do.

"Then I saw the ghost of my mother Anticlea, 81
but in all sadness I would not let her taste of the
blood till Tiresias should have come & answered
my questions.

"Presently Tiresias came with his golden 90
sceptre in his hand, bade me let him taste of the
blood, & asked me I ~~would~~ why I had come.

"I told him I would learn how I was to get 97
home to Ithaca, and he said I should have much difficulty;
~~trouble~~; 'still,' he continued, 'you will reach your
home if you can restrain your men when you
come to the Thrinacian island, where you will
find the cattle of the Sun. If you leave these un-
harmed, ~~all will go well~~ after much trouble you will yet reach Ithaca; but if you harm them,
you will lose ~~all~~ your men, & though you may
get home after all, it will be late, [on another man's ship 115 *
~~ship~~, & you will find your house full of riotous
men who are wasting your substance and wooing
your wife.'

"He added that I should kill these men, & 117							
tell me of the further adventures that should be-							
-fal me.] * After which he went back again into 138							
the house of Hades. Then I let my mother's ghost							
draw near & taste of the blood, whereon she knew							
me, & asked me what it was that had brought							
me, though still alive, into the abode of death.							

*- See Chapter xv. for reasons why I have bracketed ~~these~~ lines 115—137

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~~Z~~ Chapter II .35 bis 38 3

~~simplified translation of 9th xi~~

"When you have got back you will in- 118
-deed kill these men either by treachery or in fair fight, and you must then take an oar, which you must carry till you have reached a people who know nothing about the sea and do not mix salt with their bread. These people have never heard of ships, nor of oars ~~wh~~ that are the wings ~~wh~~ with which ships fly; I will tell you how you may know them; you will meet a man by the way who will ask you whether it is a winnowing shovel that you have got upon your shoulder; ~~and~~ when you hear

~~[illegible]~~

this you must fix your oar in the ground, & offer sacrifice to Neptune, a ram a bull & a boar; then go home again & offer hecatombs to the gods that dwell in heaven.* As for your own end, death shall come to you very gently from the sea, and shall take you when you are full of years and peace of mind, and your people shall bless you.] 137

"Having thus said he went back within 150
the house of Hades. Then I let my mother's ghost draw near & taste of the blood, whereon she knew me, & asked me what it was that had brought me though still alive into the abode of death.

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*. Ulysses was to appease Neptune's anger by going as a missionary to preach his name among a people that did not know him.

81

od xi. 163 &c.

So I told her, & asked her how she had 163
come by her end. "Tell me also," I continued,
"about my father, & the son whom I left be-
-hind me. Is my property still safe in their
hands, or does another hold it who thinks
that I shall not return? ~~of~~ Of what mind, 177
again, is my wife? Does she still live with
her son and keep watch over his estate, or is
she already married to the best man among the Achaeans?"

"So I told her, I ~~asked~~ also asked how she met her death, ~~and~~ how my wife & son were, & whether they were still in undisturbed possession of my estate. 163

"Your wife, answered my mother, ~~she assured~~, is still at home, but she spends her life in tears both night & day. Telemachus holds your estate, and sees much company, for he is a magistrate & all men invite him. Your father lives a poor hard life in the country & never goes near the town. As for one, I died of nothing but sheer grief on your account. ~~But~~ And now return to the upper world as fast as you can, that you may tell all ~~that you have seen~~ that you have seen to your wife hereafter. 180

"Then Proserpine sent up the ghosts of the wives & daughters of ~~the~~ great kings & heroes of old time, ~~and~~ and I made each of them tell one about herself. There were Tyro, Antiope, Alcmena, Epicaste the mother of Œdipus, Chloris, Leda, Iphimedea, Phædra, Procris, Ariadne, & hateful Eriphyle; with all these did I discourse, nor can I tell you with how many more noble women, for it is now late, & time to go to rest." 225

Here Ulysses ~~ended~~ ceased, and from one end of the covered cloisters to the other his listeners sat entranced with the charm of his story. 333

Then Arete said, "What think you of this man now, Phæacians, both as regards his personal appearance and his abilities? As for me he is my guest, but his presence is an honour to you all. Be not niggardly, therefore, in the presents that you will make him, for heaven has endowed you ~~for you are~~ all with great abundance" 336

Alcinous also spoke ~~urging~~ urging Ulysses to tell still more of his adventures, ~~or~~ & to say whether he met any of the heroes who had fought together with him at Troy. (turn over)

Thus pressed Ulysses resumed his story. 385

Story of the Odyssey
Bk xi

61 37

"When Proserpine," said he, "had dismissed the female ghosts, the ghost of Agamemnon drew near, surrounded by those of the men who had fallen with him in the house of Egisthus. He was weeping bitterly, & I asked him how he met his end; whereon he detailed to me the treachery of Clytemnestra, which, he said, threw disgrace upon all women even on the good ones. 'Be sure,' he continued, 'that you never be too open with your wife; tell her a part only, & keep the rest to yourself. Not that you need have any fear about Penelope for she is an admirable woman. You will meet your son, too, who by this time must be a grown man. Nevertheless, do not let people know when you are coming home, but steal a march upon them. And now give me what news you can about my son Orestes.' To which I answered that I could tell him nothing. 449

"While we were thus holding sad talk with one another, the ghost of Achilles came up and asked me for news of his father Peleus, & of his son. I said I could tell him nothing about Peleus, but his son Neoptolemus was with me in the wooden horse, and though all the others were trembling in every limb & wiping the tears from their cheeks, Neoptolemus did not even turn pale, nor shed a single tear. Whereon Achilles strode away over a meadow fall of asphodel, exulting in the prowess of his son. 465

"Other ghosts then came & spoke with me but that of Ajax alone held aloof, for he was still brooding over the armour of Achilles which had been awarded to me & not to him. I spoke to him but he would not 541

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answer ~~me~~; nevertheless I should have gone on talking to him till he did, had I not been anxious to see yet other ghosts.

"I saw Minos with his golden sceptre 568
passing sentence on the dead; Orion also, driving before him over a meadow full of asphodel the ghosts of the wild beasts whom he had ~~so~~ slain upon the mountains. I saw Tityus with the vulture ever digging its beak into his liver, Tantalus also, in a lake whose waters reached his neck, but fled him when he would drink, & Sisyphus rolling his mighty stone up hill till the sweat ran off him & the stone rose from him ~~as clouds over his head, but roll as he would it would roll down again~~.

"Then I saw mighty Hercules. The ghosts 601
were screaming round him like scared birds, flying all whithers. He looked black as night with his bare bow in his hand & his arrow on the string, glaring round as though ever on the point of taking aim. About his breast there was a wonderous golden belt marvellously enriched with bears, wild boars, & lions with gleaming eyes; there were ~~some~~ also war, battle, & death.

"And I should have seen yet others of the 630
great dead had not the ghosts come about me in so many thousands that I feared Proserpine might send up the Gorgon's head. I therefore bade my men make all speed back to their ship; so they hastened on board & we rowed out on to the waters of Oceanus, where before long we fell in with a fair wind. ~~that was fair for us~~ 640

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk xii

63 39

The Sirens, Scylla & Charybdis — the Cattle of the Sun

"As soon as ~~When~~ we ~~had got~~ were clear of the river Oceanus, we ~~came~~ got out into the open sea and reached ~~sea again & to~~ the Ærean island, where there is dawn & sun-rise. [~~& not perpetual darkness as in the land that we had left~~]* There we landed, camped down upon the beach, & waited till morning came. ~~Dawn should come. I then sent of~~ At daybreak I sent my men to fetch the body of Elpenor, which we burned & buried. We built a barrow over him, & in it we fixed the oar with which he had been used to row.

"When Circe heard that we had returned, 16 she came down with her maids, bringing bread & wine. 'To-day,' she said, 'eat & drink, & to-morrow go on your way.'

"We agreed to this, ~~but~~ & feasted the live-long day to the going down of the sun, 29 but at nightfall Circe took me aside, & told me of the voyage that was before us. 'You will first,' said she, 'come to the island of the two Sirens, who sit ~~& warble~~ in a field of flowers, & warble all who draw near them to death with the sweetness of their song. ~~They are surrounded with dead~~ Dead men's bones are lying strewn all round them; still, if you would hear them, you can stop your men's ears with wax, & bid them bind you to a cross plank on the mast.

"As regards the next point that you will 55 reach I can give you no definite instructions as to which of two courses you must take. You must do the best you can. I can only put the alternatives before you. I refer to the ~~rocks~~ cliffs which the gods call "the wanderers," & which close in

* ~~The words enclosed in brackets are not in the Odyssey, but I insert them as giving what I believe to have been the author's meaning.~~

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on anything that would pass through them.
—even upon the doves that are bringing ambro-
-sia to Father Jove. The sea ~~moreover~~ is strewn with wreckage from ships which the
storms & hurricanes of Jove have destroyed.

"Of the two rocks,* the one rises in a peak 73
to heaven, & is overhung at all times with a
dark cloud that never leaves it. It looks to-
-wards the West, & there is a cave in it, higher
than an arrow can reach. In that site Scylla yelping with a squeaky voice
like the pup of a young hound, but she is an awful mon-
-ster with six long necks, & six heads with three rows
of teeth in each; whenever ~~when~~ a ship passes, ~~by her~~ she springs
out and snatches ~~out~~ up a man in each mouth.

"The other rock is lower, but they are 101
so close that you can shoot an arrow from the
one to the other. [~~Under~~ On it ~~the last~~ there is a fig- 103
-tree in full leaf] † ~~& under this~~ upon which it is the terrible
whirlpool of Charybdis, which sucks the water
down & vomits it out again three times a day.
If you are there when she is sucking, not even
Neptune ~~could~~ can save you; so hug the Scylla
side, for you had better lose six men than
your whole crew.

† I suppose this line to have been added when lines 426—446 of this book were added.

"You will then arrive at the Thrinacian 127
island, where you will see the cattle of the Sun
(& also his sheep) in charge of the two nymphs
Lampetie & Phaëthusa. If you leave these flocks 132
unharmed, after much trouble you will get back
Ithaca; but if you harm them, you will lose your
men, & though you may get home after all, it
will be late.

"Here she ended, & at break of day we set 142
out, with a fair wind which Circe ~~had~~ sent us.
I then told the men about the two Sirens, but had hardly
~~so~~ done so before we were at the island itself, whereon
it fell a dead calm. I kneaded wax & stopped the men's
ears; they bound me to a cross plank on the mast;

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* The ~~on~~ want of coherence here is obvious, but as it is repeated when Ulysses ought to come to the Wandering ~~rocks~~ cliffs (which he never does) ~~(which it will be found he never does)~~ it must be referred to a lacuna not in the text, but in the winter's sources of information, of which ~~the~~ she seems fully aware ~~& not to see~~

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Story of the Odyssey

Bk xii

65 ~~A~~

I heard their ~~song~~ Sirens sing, & when I struggled to
pee myself they bound me still tighter. So
we passed the island by.

~~Bk xii~~ "Shortly after this I saw smoke and 201
a great wave ahead, & heard a dull ~~heavy sound~~ thumping sound.
The sea was in an uproar, & ~~the~~ my men were
so frightened that they ~~lost~~ lost hold of their oars,
till I put heart into them, bade them row their
hardest, & told the steersman to hug the Scylla
side. But I said nothing about Scylla, though
I kept straining my eyes all over her rock to
see if I could espy her.

"So there we were, with Scylla on the 234
one hand, & ~~the~~ dread Charybdis on the
other. We could see the ~~water whirling round~~ sea seething as in a cauldron,
~~leaving~~ and the black ooze at the bottom ~~&~~ with a wall of whirling waters
careering round it. While
~~the water standing upright, all round it while~~ & as a ~~covered wall~~
my men were pale with fear at this awful
sight, Scylla shot out her long necks & swooped
down on six of ~~my men~~ them. I could see their poor
hands & feet struggling in the air as she bore them aloft, & hear them
call out my name in one last despairing cry.
This was was the most horrid sight that I saw
in all my voyages.

"Having passed the ~~rocks~~ cliffs, and Scylla, 260
& Charybdis, we came ~~to the~~ Thrinacian island, & ~~while still~~ from
~~in~~ my ship I could hear the ~~lowing of the~~ cattle lowing, &
~~& the bleating of~~ the sheep bleating. Then, re-
-membering the warning that Tiresias & Circe
had given me, I bade my men give the island
a wide berth. But Eurylochus ~~incited my men~~ was insolent, & sowed disaffection among
~~my men so that~~ them so that
~~to be insubordinate &~~ I was forced to yield &
let them land for the night, after making them
swear most solemnly that they would do the cattle

~~Surely "the rocks" here should be "the islandering rocks" which~~
~~about which Circe admitted that she did not know very much.~~

~~but~~ * The wandering cliffs are certainly here intended, for when
Ulysses is recapitulating his adventures in Bk xxiii, he expressly mentions having
reached the πλαγκτὰς πέτρας, just after the Sirens, & before Scylla &
Charybdis (xxiii 327). The writer is determined to have them in her story however
little she may know about them.

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no harm. We camped, therefore, on the beach near a stream.

"But in the third watch of the night there 312
came up a great gale, & in the morning we drew our ship ~~up on the shore~~ ashore & left her in a large cave wherein the sea nymphs met & held their ~~assemblies &~~ dances. I then called my men together, and again warned them.

"It blew ~~for a whole month~~ a gale from 325
the South for a whole month, & except when the wind shifted to ~~blew from~~ the East, and there was no other wind save only South & East. As long as the corn & wine which Circe had given us held out, my men kept their word, but after a time they began to feel the pangs of hunger, & I went apart to pray heaven to take compassion upon us. I washed my hands & prayed, & when I had done so, I fell asleep.

"Meanwhile Eurylochus ~~again~~ set my 339
men on to disobey me, & they drove in some of the cattle & killed them. When I ~~had~~ woke, and ~~it was returning~~ had got nearly back to the ship, I began to smell roast meat, & knew full well what ~~this~~ had happened.

"The nymph Lampetie went immediately 374
and told the Sun ~~all that~~ what my men had done. He was furious, & ~~told~~ threatened Jove that if he was not avenged he would never shine in heaven again, but would go down & give his light among the dead. 'All day long,' said he, 'whether I was going up heaven or down ~~again~~, there was nothing I so dearly loved to look upon as those cattle.'

"Jove told him he would wreck our ship 385
as soon as it was ~~out of~~ well away from land, & the Sun said no more. I know all this because Calypso told me, & she had it from Mercury.

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk xii

67 43

"My men feasted six days - alarmed 397
by the most awful prodigies; for the skins
of the cattle kept walking about, & the joints of meat
lowed while they were being roasted. On the
seventh day the wind dropped and we
got away from the island, but as soon as we
were out of sight of land a sudden squall sprang up, during which
Jove struck our ship
with his thunderbolts & broke it up. All
my men were drowned, & so too should I have
been, had I not ~~clung to~~ made myself a raft ~~which I made~~
by lashing the mast (which I found floating
about) & the ship's keel together.

["The wind, which during the squall 426
had come from the West, now changed to the
South, & blew all night, so that by morning
I was back between Scylla & Charybdis again.
My raft got carried down the whirlpool, but
I clung on to the boughs of the fig tree, & for a
weary weary while, during which I felt ~~like~~ as
impatient as a magistrate who is detained 439
in court by troublesome cases when he wants to
get home to dinner. But in the course of time
my raft worked its way out again, & when it
was underneath me I dropped on to it & was
carried out of the pool, again. Happily for me
Jove did not let Scylla see me.]*

"Thence I was ~~carried~~ borne along for ~~a~~ nine days in 447
the sea, & was taken to the Ogygian island of
Calypso. I told you about this yesterday & will
not repeat it, for I hate ~~people who say~~ saying the
same thing twice over." 453

*. I incline to think that these lines are an afterthought, added by the writer herself.

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk xiii

68

Ulysses is taken by the Phæacians back to Ithaca

Thus did Ulysses speak, and Alcinous immediately proposed that they should make him still further presents, the expence, however, of which there, he said, should be borne by a levy or rate upon the public at large. The guests then assented, & then went home to bed.

Next morning they brought their presents of hardware down to the ship & Alcinous saw them stowed so that they should not incommode the rowers. There was then a second banquet at Alcinous's house, but Ulysses kept looking at the sun all the time, longing for it to set that he might start on his way. At last he rose and addressed the Phæacians, concluding by saying that he hoped he should find his wife on his return living among his friends in peace & quietness,* & that the Phæacians would continue to give satisfaction to their wives & children. He also bade farewell to Arete, wished her all happiness & said he hoped she would be happy with her children, her people, & (lastly) with King Alcinous.

When Ulysses reached the ship, a rug & sail was spread for him, on which he lay down, & immediately fell into a deep sleep, so deep as to resemble death itself. The ship sped on her way faster than a falcon's flight & with the break of day they were at Ithaca.

Now in Ithaca there is a sheltered harbour in which a ship can ride even without being moored. At the head of this there is a large olive tree, near which there is a cave sacred to the Naiads,

* οὐν ἀστεμέεσσι φίλοισιν

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Story of the Odyssey
Bk xiii

69 ~~45~~

where you may find their cups & amphorae of stone, and the stone looms whereon they weave their robes of sea-purple — very curious. The wild bees, too, build their nests in it. There is water in it all the year round, & it has two entrances, 109
one looking North, by which mortals can go down into the cave, & the other towards the South, but men cannot enter by it — it is the way taken by the gods.

The sailors knew this harbour, ~~also~~ & took 112
~~took~~ the ship into it. They were rowing so hard that they ran her half her length on to the shore, and when they had got out of her they ~~carried~~ took Ulysses out, still fast asleep, ~~on~~ on his rug & sail, & laid him down on the ground. Hard by him they also ~~Ulysses out also & laid him still fast asleep on his rug & sail upon the ground; & they laid~~ all laid the presents the Phæacians had made him; they ~~laid~~ left them by the roots of the olive tree, a little out of the path, that no passer by might steal them; & then ~~they~~ went back to Scheria.

Neptune now saw what the Phæacians 125
had done, & ~~at once~~ went to consult ~~with~~ Jove ~~as to~~ how he should be revenged. It was arranged that he should go to Scheria, ~~&~~ turn the ship into stone ~~& root it in the sea~~ just as it was coming into ~~the~~ port, & root it in the sea. So he did this, & the Phæacians said "Alack, who has rooted the ship in the sea just as it was coming in? We could see all of it a minute ago."

Then Alcinous told them how Neptune had 171
long ago threatened to do this to some ~~ship of~~ Phæacian ship on its return from giving an escort, & also to bury their city under a high mountain, as a punishment for their giving escort so freely. The Phæacians, therefore, made ready great sacrifices to Neptune, that he might have mercy upon them.

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While they were thus standing round the 185
altar of ~~Neptune~~ the god, Ulysses woke in his own land, 187
but he had been away so long that he did not
know it. Minerva, too, had shed a thick mist ~~all~~
round him so that he might remain unseen
while she told him how things were going on; for
she did not want his wife or any one else to know
of his return till he had taken his revenge upon
the suitors. Therefore she made every thing look
strange to him — the long ~~straight~~ straight paths, the har-
-bours with their shipping, the steep precipices,
& the trees.

Ulysses now stood up & wondered where he 197
was. He did not believe he was in Ithaca & com-
-plained bitterly of the Phæacians for having brought
him wrong. Then he counted all the tripods, caul-
-drons, gold, & raiment, that they had given
him, to see if he had been robbed; but ~~they were~~ ~~all~~ everything was
~~all~~ there, & he was in dismay as to what he should
do with them. As he was thus in doubt Minerva
~~Minerva now~~ came up to him
disguised as a young shepherd, so he asked her
what country he was in, & she ~~said it was~~ assured him that he was in Ithaca.

Ulysses said he had heard that there was 250
such a place, & ~~then~~ told Minerva a long lying
story as to how he had come ~~there~~ to where she said he was.
Whereon the
goddess assumed the form of a woman, fair, stately,
& wise, & laughed at him for not knowing her.
~~He~~ Ulysses answered that she was not an easy 311
person to recognise for she was continually changing
her appearance. Moreover, though she had been very 314
good to him at Troy, she had left him in the lurch
ever since, until she had taken him into the
city of the Phæacians. "Do not," he said, "deceive
me any further, but tell me whether or no this
is really Ithaca."

"You are always cunning & suspicious," replied 329

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the goddess, "& that is why I cannot find it in my heart to leave you. Any one else on returning from a long voyage would at once have gone up to his house to see his wife & children, but you do not seem to care about knowing anything about them, and only think ~~about exploiting~~ testing your wife's fidelity. As for my having left you in the lurch, I knew all the time that you would get home safely in the end, & I did not want to quarrel with my uncle Neptune. I will now prove to you that you are in Ithaca, — Here is the 345
harbour of the old ~~man of~~ merman Phorcys,
with the large olive tree at the head of it; Mar
it is the cave which is sacred to the Naiads; ~~&~~ 347
here again is the overarching cavern in which ~~you~~
you have sacrificed many a hecatomb to the 349
Nymphs, & this is the wooded mountain of
Neritum. 351

The goddess then dispersed the mist & let 352
the prospect be seen. Ulysses was thus convinced,
and Minerva helped him to hide the treasure
which the Phæacians ~~had~~ had given him, by
concealing it in the cave. Having done this she
bade Ulysses consider how he should kill the
wicked suitors. "They have been lording it," she
said, "in your house this three years, ~~wooing~~ paying court to
your wife & making her gifts of wooing, while
she, poor woman, though she flatters them, & ~~makes~~ holds out hopes
~~promises~~ to every man of them by sending him messages,
is really plunged in the deepest grief on your account.
and does not mean a word of what she says."

"Great heavens," ~~said~~ replied Ulysses, "what a
narrow escape I have had from meeting the fate 382
of Agamemnon. Stand by me, goddess, & advise
me how I shall be revenged."

Minerva, in her desire to minimize the time during which the suitors had been at Ulysses' house
~~Minerva~~ seems to have forgotten that they ~~suitors~~ had been there ~~for a time~~
ever since Telemachus was ~~come to 2 years old~~ a child (Od ii 312–314).
~~at any rate since he was quite a child. How much earlier they began~~
~~to come we have no means of knowing~~

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"I will disguise you," said Minerva, "as 397
a miserable old beggar so that no one shall
know you. When I have done so, go to your
Swineherd who has been always loyal to you
& yours. You will find him with his pigs by the
fountain Arethusa near the rock that is called 408
Raven. Mean time I will go to Sparta and fetch
Telemachus who is gone thither to try & get news
of you."

"But why," Ulysses answered, "did you not 416
tell him, for you knew all about it?"

"Do not be uneasy about him," she answered, 420
"he is in the midst of great abundance. I sent
him myself that he might gather himself a good
name by having gone."

Minerva then disguised Ulysses beyond all 429
possible recognition, & the two then separated - she
going to Sparta, & Ulysses to the abode of his
Swineherd. 440

Bk xiv

Ulysses in the hut of Eumaeus

Ulysses followed a steep path that led
from the harbour through the forest over the
top of the mountain, till he reached the hut of
his ~~shepherd~~ swineherd, Eumaeus, who was the most thrifty
servant he had, & had built a number of fine
yards & pigsties during ~~Ulysses~~ his master's absence.

Ulysses found him sitting at the door of his hut which had been built 6 high up in a place that could be seen from far; he had his four fierce dogs about him & was cutting himself out a pair of sandal shoes.

~~hut which had been built high up & he had his four fierce dogs about him, and cutting himself out a pair of sandal shoes.~~ The 29
dogs flew at Ulysses, & it was all Eumaeus
could do to check them; "They ~~dogs~~ were the," said he, "~~were~~
"Than made
nearly making an end of you, which would have
got me into a scrape, and I am in sorrow

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enough already through the loss ~~was~~, which I deplore without ceasing of the best of masters. But come in, have something to eat, & then tell me your story."

On this he brought him inside, threw some 48
brushwood on the floor, & spread a goat's skin over ~~them~~ it for Ulysses to lie on. "I cannot do much for you," he said; "servants go in fear when they have young lords over them, as I now have, for my good old master went to Troy with Aga-
-memnon & I shall never see him ~~back~~ again."

~~With this~~ He then went out & killed two 72
~~young~~ suckling pigs, singed them, ~~cooked~~ cut them up, put the pieces of meat on skewers to roast, & brought them ~~and brought cooked them~~ smoking hot ~~on the~~ skewers & all to Ulysses, who flowed ~~at~~ them. "Eat," said the swineherd, "a dish of servant's pork; the fuller grown meat has to go down to the suitors." ~~He then~~ He then explained how rich Ulysses was.

"And who, pray," said Ulysses, "was this ~~such~~ 115
noble master of yours? You say that he fell at Troy, & in that case I might be able to give you news of him."

"That," answered Eumæus, "may not be; 121
people are always coming & flattering my poor mistress with false hopes, but they are all liars. My master Ulysses is dead & gone, & I shall never see another like him. I cannot bear even to men-
-tion his name."

"My friend," replied Ulysses, "do not be too 148
hard of belief. I swear by this hearth ~~of Ulysses~~ to which I am now come that Ulysses ~~himself~~ will return before the present month is over. If he comes you shall give me a shirt & cloak, but I will take nothing till then."

"My friend," said Eumæus, "say not another 165
word. You will never get your shirt & cloak, ~~&~~ ~~I cannot bear even to hear my master's name mentioned~~. Now, moreover, I am as anxious about his son Telemachus as I have been about Ulysses himself; for he is gone to Pylos, and the suitors are lying in wait for him on his return. Let us, however, say no more about him now; tell me, rather, about yourself who you are, & how you came here."

Then Ulysses told him a long lying story 190
about his adventures in Crete; how he was compelled to go to ~~Ilo~~ Troy in joint command with Idomeneus over the Cretan forces & how he made a descent on Egypt, got taken prisoner, acquired wealth, & ultimately was inveigled into going to Libya; ~~and~~ how on the voyage thither after leaving Crete, the ship was wrecked, & he was cast on the coast of Thesprotia. "Here it was," he continued, "that I heard of Ulysses from king Pheidon, who was expecting him back daily from Dodona, where he had been to consult the oracle; he told me Ulysses was to return to Ithaca immediately, but there was a ship bound for Dulichium, and the king sent me on board it before Ulysses returned from Dodona. The sailors on this ship resolved to sell me as a slave, & bound me; but they landed on the coast of Ithaca, where I gave them the slip, & found my way to your hut."

"Poor man," answered the swineherd, 360
"but you will never get me to believe about Ulysses. Why should you tell me such lies? I have heard ~~such~~ these stories too often, & will never believe them again."

Ulysses tried still further to convince him, 390
but it was no use, and presently the under

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Bk xiv

75 ~~57~~

swineherds came back with the pigs that had been out feeding, & Eumæus told them to kill the best pig they had, and get supper ready, which they accordingly did. He was a good man and mindful of his duties to the gods, so when the pig was killed he threw some of its bristles into the fire & prayed heaven for the return of Ulysses. Then they supped and ~~they all~~ went to bed.

Now it was a wild rough night, and after 457
they had lain down Ulysses, fearing that he might be cold, told another ~~a long~~ lying story of an adventure he had had at Troy in company with Ulysses, by means of which Eumæus was induced to cover him over with a spare cloak of his own. Then the swineherd went out to ~~watch through~~ pass the night with the pigs – and Ulysses was pleased at seeing how well he looked after his property though he believed his master to be absent. First he slung his sword over his shoulders, & put on a thick cloak to keep out the wind; he also took the skin of a well-fed goat, & a javelin in case 531
of attack from men or dogs. Thus equipped he went to his rest where the pigs were camped under an overhanging rock that sheltered them from the North Wind. 533

Bk xv

Telemachus returns from Pylos, & on landing goes to the hut of Eumæus.

Minerva now went to Lacedæmon and found Telemachus and Pisistratus fast asleep. She appeared to Telemachus in a dream, & told him that he was to return at once to Ithaca, for his mother was about to marry Eurymachas, ~~(who had been largely in urging his gifts of wooing)~~ & would probably go off with some of his property ~~family plate~~.

S8

She also told him how the suitors were lying in wait for him in the strait between Ithaca & Samos. She ~~told him~~ said that as soon as he reached Ithaca he was to leave the ship before sending it on to the town, & go to the swineherd's hut "sleep there," she said, "& ~~then~~ on the morrow send the swineherd send ~~him~~ to tell Penelope that you have returned safely."

Then she went away & Telemachus woke 43
up. He kicked Pisistratus to wake him, & said that they must start at once. Pisistratus ~~said it~~ answered that this was impossible; & it was still dark, & they must say good bye to Menelaus, who, if Telemachus would only wait, would be sure to give them a present.

At break of day, seeing Menelaus up & about, 56
Telemachus ~~snatched~~ flung ~~on~~ his shirt & cloak, ~~about his shoulders~~ and told him that they must go.

Menelaus said he would not detain them, but 67
on the score alike of propriety & economy, they must have something to eat before starting, and also receive the presents that were waiting ~~his~~ Telemachus's acceptance. "I will tell the servants," said he, "to get something ready for you of what there may be in the house, & if you would like, ~~while you are here~~ to make a tour of the principal cities of the Peloponnese, I will conduct you. No one will send us away empty handed. Every one will give us something."

But Telemachus said he must start at once, 86
for he had left property behind him that was insecurely guarded.

When Menelaus heard this he told his wife 92
& servants to get dinner ready at once. Eteoneus, who lived at no great distance, now came up, & Menelaus told him to light the fire & ~~get dinner~~ begin cooking, ready, ~~which he set about doing at once~~ and he did as he was told.

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A

For chapter II. p. 58 77

done eating the two young men prepared to set out.

As they were on the point of starting 160
an eagle came from a mountain hard by flew upon their right hand, with
a goose in its talons which it had carried
off from the farm yard. This omen was so
good that everyone was delighted to see it
and Pisistratus said "Say, king Menelaus, is the
the omen for us or for yourself?"

Menelaus was in doubt how to answer, 169
but Helen said that as the eagle had come
from a mountain and seized the goose, 175
so Ulysses should return and take ven-
-geance on the suitors. Telemachus said
he only hoped it might prove so, & the
pair then drove on. They reached Pylos on
the following day, and Telemachus urged

Menelaus then went down into his store room together with Megapenthes, & brought up 103
a double cup, & a silver mixing bowl, while Helen fetched a dress of wondrous beauty, the work of her own hands. Menelaus presented the cup & mixing bowl, & then Helen said, "Take this, my son, as a keepsake from the 125
hand of Helen, and let your bride wear it on her wedding day. Till then let your dear mother keep it for you. Thus may you go on your way with a light heart."

Telemachus thanked her; Pisistratus 130
stowed the presents in the chariot, & they all sat down to dinner. Eteoneus carved, & Megapenthes served round the wine. When they had ~~done eating the two young men set out under the auspices of a favourable omen, & reached Pylos the~~ Insert A ~~Pylos on the following day. Telemachus urged~~ Pisistratus to drive him straight to his ship, for fear Nestor should detain him if he went to his house.

"I know", said Pisistratus, "how obstinate 211
he is. He would come down to your ship, if he knew you were there, & would never go back without you. But he will be very angry." & then drove Telemachus to ~~his~~ the ship, and Telemachus ~~told the~~ crew to get ~~the ship~~ her under weigh as fast as they could.

Now as he was attending to every thing 222
& sacrificing to Minerva, there came to him a man of the race of Melampus who was flying from Argos because he had killed a man. His name was Theoclymenus & he besought Telemachus to take him to Ithaca & thus save him from

^ came of an old & highly honourable family, his father and grandfather having been celebrated prophets & diviners. He

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enemies who were in pursuit. Telemachus consented, took Theoclymenus on board, & laid his spear down on the deck.

Then they sailed away, and next day they got among the flying islands, ~~which seemed to fly past them~~, wherein Telemachus wondered whether he should be taken or should escape. 286

† i.e. which seemed to fly past them

All this time Ulysses was in the hut with Eumæus, and after supper Ulysses said he should like to go down to the town next day & see if the suitors would take him into their service. Eumæus at once ~~said~~ explained to him that any such idea was out of the question. "You do not know," he said, "what men these suitors are; their insolence reaches heaven; the young men who wait on them have ~~clean~~ good looking faces & ~~shining~~ well kempt heads; the tables are always clean & loaded with abundance. The suitors would be the death of you; stay here, then, where you are in nobody's way, till Telemachus returns from Pylos." 301

Ulysses thanked Eumæus for his information, & then began to ask whether ~~his fa-~~ ~~Ulysses'~~ his father & mother were still living; he ~~and~~ was told that Anticlea was dead,* and that Laertes ~~would~~ though still alive would be glad to follow her. Eumæus said he had been brought up in their service, & was better off ~~than now~~ formerly, for there ~~was~~ was no getting a good word out of ~~the~~ the mistress now, ~~for~~ insomuch as the suitors had turned the house upside down. "Servants," he said, "like to have a talk with their mistress and hear things from her own lips; they like ~~having~~ being told to eat & drink, and 340

* According to tradition she had hanged herself on hearing a report of the death of her son.

being allowed to take something back with them into the country. This is what will keep servants cheerful & contented."

On being further questioned by Ulysses Eumæus told how he had been kidnapped as a child by some Phoenician traders who had seduced ~~a woman of~~ his nurse, ~~& who was~~ (also a Phoenician) and ~~persuaded~~ her to go away with them, & bring ~~one~~ him with her. 380

"He was born, he said, in the island of Syra over against Ortygia, where the ~~land~~ sun turns.* ~~It is small~~ ~~[illegible]~~ It is not populous, but contains two cities which occupy the whole ~~country~~ land between them, and my father was king over them both. A ~~few~~ days after ~~After~~ my nurse had ~~taken me, and allured the~~ kidnapped me, and, when we were on our voyage, Diana killed her, & she was flung overboard. But I was taken to Ithaca where Laertes bought me." 403

Ulysses & Eumæus spent the greater part of the night talking with one another, ~~& in~~ at dawn ~~the morning~~ Telemachus's crew drew near to land, furled their sails & rowed ~~the ship~~ into the harbour. There they threw out their mooring stones, made their ship fast, ~~& landed~~, & ~~took~~ ate their dinner ~~by~~ on the shore. When they had done, Telemachus said, "Now take the ship on to the city; I will go to look after my farm & will come down ~~to the city~~ in the evening. ~~Next day~~ ~~In~~ Tomorrow morning I will give you all a hearty meal as a reward ~~for the~~ for your trouble." 493

"But what," said Theoclymenus, "is to become of me? To whose house am I to go?" 508

"At any other time," answered Telemachus, 512

* See chapter XII. near the beginning

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Bk XV

80 ~~86~~

I should take you to my own house, but you would not find it convenient ~~just~~ now, for I shall not be there, & my mother will not see you. I shall therefore send you to the house of Eury-
-machus, who is one of the first men we have, and is most eager in his suit for my mother's hand."

As he spoke a hawk flew on Telemachus's 525
right hand, with a dove, whose feathers it was plucking ~~and plucking to fashion~~ while it flew. Theoclymenus, ~~who came of a prophetic family~~ assured Telemachus that this was an omen which boded most happily for the prosperity of his house. It was then settled that Theoclymenus should go to the house of Pirœus the son of ~~Clytius~~ Clytius.

The crew ~~then~~ now loosed the ship from her 547
moorings & ~~took~~ went on ~~to the city~~ as they had been ~~told~~ ~~to~~ do, ~~&~~ while Telemachus wended his way in all haste to the pig farm where Eumæus lived.

~~Odyssey~~
Bk XVI

Ulysses & Telemachus become known to one another.

~~He found~~ Ulysses & Eumæus ~~were getting~~ prepared their meal at day break. When Telemachus ~~reached~~ was reaching the hut, Ulysses observed that the dogs did not bark, though he heard footsteps, & enquired whether the visitor was some ~~friend~~ acquaintance of the swineherds'. 9
He had hardly done speaking when Telemachus entered, & was welcomed by Eumæus.

"Is my mother still at the house", said he, 33
"or has she left it with another husband, & the bed of Ulysses is festooned with cobwebs?"

"She is still there", answered Eumæus, "spend- 36
-ing her time in tears both night & day."

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Ch xvi

81 57

Eumæus set refreshments before him & 49
when he had done eating he asked ~~for~~ who the
stranger might be.

When Telemachus heard that Ulysses was a ship- 68
wrecked suppliant he was much displeased.
"I am as yet too young," he said, "to be able to
hold my own in the house; what sufficient sup-
-port, then, can I give ~~to~~ this man? Still, as he
has come to you I will send him clothes &
all necessary food; & let him stay with you;
but ~~to~~ I will not have him ~~come~~ go near the
suitors, for harm would be sure to come of it."

Ulysses ~~expt~~ expressed his surprise and 90
indignation about the suitors, whereon Telema-
-chus explained still further, & wound up by
telling Eumæus to go at once & ~~tell~~ inform Penelope of
his return. Eumæus asked if he should turn
a little out of his way & tell Laertes, but Tele-
-machus said he was not to do so. Penelope
would send him word all in due course.

As soon as Eumæus was gone ~~the~~ Minerva came to the hut. Ulysses 157
knew her, & so did the dogs, ~~but Telemachus~~
~~did not see her~~ for they went whining away
to the other end of the yards, but Telemachus
did not see her. She made a sign to Ulysses
that he was to come outside, & when he had done so she ~~then~~ told him
he was ~~and~~ to reveal himself to his son — whereon
she struck him with her wand, ~~&~~ endowed
him with a noble presence, & clothed him in
goodly raiment. [Then he went back into the hut and 186
~~&~~ told his son who he was; but for a long
while Telemachus would not believe. At last,
however, when he was convinced, the pair flung
their arms about each other's necks, and wept

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like eagles or vultures who have been robbed of their young.* Indeed they would have kept till sundown had it not occurred to Telemachus to ask his father in what ship he had come to Ithaca, & whose crew it was that had brought him.

Ulysses told him about the Phaeacians, & how he had hidden the presents ~~in a cave~~ they had given him. "I am now come," he said, "by Minerva's advice, to consult with you as to how we shall take vengeance on the suitors. I would therefore learn how many there are of them, & consider whether we two can kill them, or whether we must get help from outside." 225

Telemachus said that it was hopeless to think of attacking the suitors without assistance. There were 52 from Dulichium, with six followers, 24 from Same, 20 from Zacinthus, & 12 from Ithaca. 240

Ulysses explained that he ~~was secure~~ could rely on help from Jove & from Minerva, and thought that this would be enough. "They will not be long in joining us," said he, "when the fight has begun in good earnest. Go then, tomorrow to the town, & join the suitors; let the Swineherd bring me later, disguised as a poor miserable beggar. Never mind how much violence you may see the suitors do me. Look on & say nothing, beyond asking them in a friendly way to leave me alone. Also, find some pretext for removing the armour from the walls. Say it is taking harm with the smoke, & also that the sight of armour sometimes sets men fighting, so that it is better away — but leave two 258

*. The ~~poet~~ of the Odyssey shows no sign of understanding that the person of all others to be pitied in her poem is not Ulysses, ~~nor yet too much~~ Penelope, but Telemachus, who had for years been seasonably under the impression that he was the head of his house.

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swords, shields and spears for you & me to snatch up."

As they were thus conversing, the ship that had brought Telemachus from Pylos reached the harbour of Ithaca, & the crew took the presents which Menelaus had given him to the house of Clytius. They sent a man to tell Penelope that Telemachus was at the farm, & had sent the ship on to allay her anxiety. This man and the swineherd met at the house of Ulysses, & the man said, in the presence of the maids, "Madam, your son is returned from Pylos;" but Eumæus stood by her, & told her all that her son had bidden him. Then he went back to his pig-farm. 321

The suitors were very angry, & were about sending a ship to fetch those who had been lying in wait for Telemachus, when Amphinomus, a suitor, happened to turn round and saw their ship coming into harbour. So he laughed & said, "We have no need to send, for the men are here. On this they all went to meet the ship, & Antinous said that as Telemachus had escaped them in spite of their great vigilance, they must kill him, either at the farm or as he was coming thence. Otherwise he would expose their plot, & they would have the people rise against them. "If," he concluded, "this does not please you, & you would let him live, we cannot eating up his estate any longer, but must go home & urge our suit each from his own house, & let Penelope take who will give most for her, or whose lot it may happen to be." 342

To this Amphinomus, who came from the well grassed & grain-growing island of Dulichium, then spoke. He was a man of good natural disposition, & his conversation was more pleasing 393

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to Penelope than that of any of the other suitors;
"I will only consent to kill Telemachus," said he,
"if the gods ~~on being consulted~~ give us their appro-
-val. ~~If they~~ It is a serious thing to kill a man
who is of royal race. If they sanction it, I will ~~join~~
be with you: otherwise I am for letting it alone."

The rest assented, ~~But Medo~~ and they went 406
back to the house. But Medon ~~had~~ told Penelope
of this new plot, so she went attended by her
gentlewomen, ~~& stood before the suitors~~ stood by one of the carving-posts that supported the roof of the cloisters, & bitterly
rebuked Antinous for his ingratitude, in forget-
-ting how Ulysses ~~to~~ in old days had saved the
life of his father Eupeithes.

Eurymachus then made a fair but false 434
speech vowing eternal friendship to Telemachus, &
Penelope returned to her own room to mourn
her husband till Minerva closed her eyes in
slumber.

In the evening Eumæus got back to his hut 453
just as the others had killed a yearling pig &
were getting supper ready. Meanwhile Minerva
had again disguised Ulysses as an old beggar.

"What news from the town, Eumæus?" said 460
Telemachus. "Have the suitors got back with
their ship?"

"I did not ask," answered Eumæus, "for 464
when I had given my message I turned straight
home; but I met the messenger from your own crew,
who told your mother of your return before I could
do so. As I was coming here, and was on the hill of Mercury above the
town, I saw a ship with many men & much armour
coming into port; so I suppose it was the suitors, but
I cannot be sure."

Telemachus gave his father a look, but so 476
that the swineherd could not see him. Then
they all got their supper & went to bed.

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Bk. xvii

85 ~~60~~

Telemachus goes to the town, & is followed by Eumæus & Ulysses, who is maltreated by the suitors.

When morning came Telemachus told Eumæus that he would now go to the town & show himself to his mother, who would never be comforted till she saw him with her own eyes. "As for this miserable stranger," ~~being~~ he continued, "~~being~~ take him to the town ~~yourself~~, that he may beg there & get what he can; if this does not ~~what~~ please him, so much the worse for him, but I ~~like to~~ would like to say what I mean."

Ulysses said he should be ~~only too~~ glad to go, for a beggar could do much better in ~~a~~ town than ~~in the~~ country; but he must warm himself first, & wait till the sun had got some heat in it; ~~for~~ his clothes were very bad, & he should perish with cold, for the town was some way off. 16

~~When~~ Telemachus then left, & when he reached ~~the~~ the house he set his spear against a strong bearing post, crossed the stony threshold & went inside. He ~~his house~~ found Eurycleia ~~was~~ putting the sheepskins on to the seats. She & all the other maids ~~ran~~ ran up to him as soon as ~~they~~ saw him, ~~ran up to him~~ & kissed him on the head & shoulders. Then Penelope came weeping from her room, embraced him, and ~~to bade~~ told him to tell her ~~of~~ all that he had seen.

Telemachus bade her go back to her room and pray to Minerva that they might ~~take~~ be ~~their~~ avenged on the suitors. "I must go," said he, "to the place of assembly, to look after a guest whom I have brought with me, & whom I have left with Piræus."

Penelope did as her son had said, while Telemachus went, ~~with his two dogs~~ to the place of assembly, & his two dogs ~~went~~ with him. The suitors, who had not yet gone to the house of Ulysses, for the day, ~~who were still~~ gathered round him, ~~& made fair speeches~~ & made him fair speeches but he knew their falsehood and went to sit with ~~fair speeches, though they were hatching mischief against him, but Telemachus avoided them and went to the place where~~ sat down by his old friends Mentor, Antiphus & Halitherses, ~~were sitting~~.

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Presently Pisistratus came up, bringing Theo-
-clymenus with him, and said, "I wish you
would send some of your women to my house to
take away the presents that Menelaus gave you."
Telemachus said he did not know what 77
might happen; if the suitors killed him, he had
rather Pisistratus kept the presents than that the
suitors should have them. If, on the other hand, he
killed the suitors he should ~~not~~ be much obliged
if Pisistratus would let him have the presents.
Then he took Theoclymenus to his own house, 84
where they had a bath, & refreshments were
set before them. Penelope sat near them, spinning,
while they were at table, & then said she should
go up stairs & lie down on that couch which she
had never ceased to water with her tears from the
day her husband left her. "But you ~~did not stay~~ had not the patience," she
added, "to tell me," ~~she added~~ "before the suitors came, whe-
-ther you had been able to hear anything about
your father."
Telemachus told her how good Nestor had 107
been to him, & how he had sent him on to Mene-
-laus, who had assured him that Ulysses was
still alive, but was detained by Calypso, from whom
he ~~was unable to~~ could not get away for want of a ship.
Penelope was very much agitated, but Theo- 152
-clymenus reassured her by telling her about the
omen which had greeted Telemachus on his re-
-turn to Ithaca.
While they were thus conversing, the suitors 166
were playing at quoits & aiming javelins at a
mark on the level ground in front of Ulysses' house.
But when it was near dinner time & the flocks
were coming in from all the country round [~~to be
milked~~] with their shepherds as usual [to be
milked] Medon, who was a great favourite with the suitors, called them to come in & ~~get their~~
set about getting their dinner ~~ready~~ ready.

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They therefore came in & ~~sat down to table~~. 177
began to butcher ~~the meat~~ some sheep, goats
pigs, & a heifer.

Meanwhile Eumæus told Ulysses that it was
time to make a start, for the day was well up
& if he waited till afternoon he would find the
cold more severe. "At any rate", said Ulysses, "let
me have a staff if you have one, for the path is rugged."
~~a slippery one~~ Eumæus gave him one, & they
~~start~~ set out along the steep path leading to the
town. When they were nearly there, they came
to the fountain which Ithacus, Neritus, & Polyctor
had made, & from which the people drew their
water; ~~&~~ here they fell in with Melanthius
son of Dolius, who was bringing goats for the
suitors dinner, he, & his two under shepherds.

Melanthius heaped all kinds of insult 215
on Ulysses & Eumæus, & tried to kick U-
-lysses off the path, but could not do so. Ulysses re-
-strained himself, & prayed ~~inwardly~~ to the
nymphs. Whereon Melanthius ~~said~~ said he would
put him on board ship & sell him in some foreign country.
He then hurried on, leaving the swineherd & his master
to follow at their own pace.

When they got near the house they could 260
hear the sound of Phemius' lyre, & his voice
as he sang to the suitors. They could also smell
the savour of roast meats.* Eumæus said that he
would go in first, but that Ulysses had better follow him
soon - for if he was seen standing about in the ~~yard~~ outer court
people might throw things at him, ~~& he had better~~
~~look out. Then he went inside~~.

As they were thus talking the old hound 290
Argus who was lying on the dunghill, very full
of fleas, caught sight of Ulysses, recognised him,

* all this might very well be if the scene is laid in an open court,
but hardly if it was in a hall inside a house.

† almost all this places ~~In all this~~ he is called Melanthius (in note)

wagged his tail, & tried to come to him, but ~~he [was tied up]~~ could not do so.* ~~Then~~ Thereon Ulysses wiped a tear from his eyes, & asked Eumaeus whether the dog was of any use, or whether he was kept only for his good looks. 306 Eumaeus said what a noble hound Argus had been, but

~~as Eumaeus was telling Ulysses what a noble hound the dog, Argus,~~ having seen his master, ~~expired~~ died, just as ~~he~~ Eumaeus ~~had gone~~ went in-side the house.

Telemachus saw him enter & beckoned 338
him to a seat at his own table. Ulysses followed him shortly, and sat down on the ~~[illegible] floor hard~~ floor of oak wood pavement inside the door way, leaning against a ~~post of~~ bedring post of well-squared cypress wood. Telemachus noted him & said to Eumaeus, "Take the stranger this handful of bread & meat, tell him also to go round & beg from the others, for a beggar must not be shamefaced." Eumaeus gave him both the message & the bread & meat.

Then Ulysses began to go round begging, 360
for he wanted to exploit the suitors. He went from left to right, & some took compassion on him, while others began asking who he might be; ~~on which~~ Melanthius then said that he had come with ~~had been brought by~~ the swineherd. Antinous, therefore, asked Eumaeus what he meant by bringing such a man to plague them.

"I did not ~~bring~~ ask him to come," answered Eumaeus; 380
"who was likely to ask a man of that sort? ~~[illegible]~~ A person of the sort would ask a divine, a physician, a carpenter, or a bard. You are always hardest of all the suitors on Ulysses' ~~a physician, a carpenter, or a bard.~~ servants, & especially upon me, but I do not care so long as I have Penelope & Telemachus on my side."

"Hush," said Telemachus, "Antinous has 392
the bitterest tongue of them all, & he makes the others worse." Then he turned towards ~~Eu-~~ Antinous & said, "Give him something: I do not grudge it. Never mind my mother or any of

* Perhaps he was tied up. Surely an opportunity has been missed here; true, Ulysses' eyes fill with tears, but he should have gone up to dog, caressed him, & spoken to him, & the dog should not have died till this had been done.

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the servants — not you — but you are fonder of eating than of giving."

Antinous said, "You are a swaggering upstart; if all the suitors would give him as much as I will, he would not come near the house again for three months."

As he spoke he menaced Ulysses with the 409
footstool from under the table. The other suitors all gave him something & he was about to leave, when he determined to again beg from Antinous, & trumped him up a story of the misfortunes that had befallen him in Egypt,

"Get out," said Antinous, "into the open 445
part of the court,* & away from my table, or I will give you Egypt over again."

Ulysses drew back, & said, "Your looks 453
are better than your understanding. I can see that if you were in your own house you would not spare a poor man so much as a pinch of salt."

Antinous scowled at him & said, "Take that," 458
he cried, "& be off out of the court." As he spoke he threw a footstool at him which hit him on the right shoulder, but Ulysses stood firm as a rock, and prayed that if there was a god, or an avenger of beggars, Antinous might be a corpse before he was a bridegroom.

"Have a care," replied Antinous, "and hold your peace, or we will flay you alive."

The others reproved Antinous. "You 481
did ill," they said, "to strike the man. Who knows but he may be one of the gods who go about the world in disguise to redress wrong, and chastise the insolence of mankind?"

* Es pulcrov. (line 447).

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90 ~~66~~

Penelope from her room upstairs heard 492
what had been going on, & spoke with her
women bitterly ~~against~~ about the suitors. Then she
sent for Eumæus & said, "Tell the stranger
~~that~~ I want to see him; he looks like a man
who has travelled, & he may have seen or heard
something of Ulysses. N.P. "He has been three days & 515
three nights at my hut, Madam," replied Eu-
-mæus, "& the most accomplished bard could
not have given me better entertainment. He
told me that Ulysses was among the Thespro-
-tians & would return shortly, bringing much
treasure with him."

"Then call him to me", said Penelope, "and 528
as for the others, let them dine at their own ex-
-pense in future, or how they best may, so long as they
cease of coming here"

Telemachus, who was down below, gave 541
a great sneeze as she spoke, ~~&~~ which echoed
over the whole house. Penelope explained to
Eumæus that this was a most favourable omen,
and added that if she was satisfied of the truth
of what the stranger ~~told~~ her she would give
him a shirt & cloak. ~~that would wear well.~~

Eumæus gave Penelope's message to Ulysses, but 551
he Ulysses feared the violence of the suitors, & told
him to say that she must wait till nightfall,
when the suitors would be gone. "Then," he said,
"let her ~~give~~ set me down in a warm seat by the
fire, & I will tell her about her husband; for
my clothes are in a very bad state; you know they
are, for your's was the first house I came to ~~to which I came~~.

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91 67

Penelope was displeased at his delay, ~~but~~ & 574
~~it~~ asked Eumaeus whether his feast were reason-able, or whether it was only that he was shame-faced. Eumaeus explained that he was quite reasonable, whereon Penelope was satisfied; ~~the~~ he then went back to where the suitors were, & ~~said he should~~ told Telemachus that he would go back to his pigs.

Telemachus said that he had better ~~first~~ 598
~~come~~ do get something to eat first, & was to come back to the town on the following morning, bringing the pigs that were to be killed for dinner. It was and afternoon, & the suitors had turned to their singing & dancing. ~~606~~

Book xviii.

The fight between Ulysses & Irus – The suitors make presents to Penelope – and ill treat Ulysses –

Now there came a common tramp to ~~the~~ Ulysses' ~~town~~ house, begging – a great hulking fellow with no stay in him, whose name was Arnaeus; but people called him Irus, because he would ~~go on the~~ run errands for any one who would send him on them. This man began to threaten Ulysses, & ~~said~~ said the suitors had urged him to turn him away ~~off~~ from the house.

Ulysses said there was room enough for 14 both of them, & that it should be a case of live & let live between them. "If, however", he continued, "it comes to blows, I will deluge your mouth & chest with blood, & I shall have the place to my-self, for you will not come back again."

Irus retorted angrily & Antinous, hear- 34
ing them wrangle, told the other suitors that

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92 88

Irus and the stranger were about to have a fight. "It is the finest piece of sport," he said, "that heaven ever sent into this house." We are to have goat's paunches stuffed with blood & fat for supper; whichever of the two beats in this fight shall have his pick of the lot of them.*

The preliminaries being arranged, & fair 58
play bargained for by Ulysses, he began to strip.
~~and~~ When Irus saw ~~him~~ his shoulders his heart misgave him; but Antinous kept him up to it, & the fight began.*
Ulysses ~~almost immediately~~ forthwith, nearly killed Irus and ~~then~~ dragged him by the heels into the outer ~~yard~~ court, where he put his staff in his hand, & propped him up against the wall more dead than alive. Antinous then gave ~~him~~ Ulysses a great goat's paunch, & Amphinomus drank his health.

Ulysses made Amphinomus a very grave 124
& impressive speech warning him to leave the house inasmuch as Ulysses would return shortly; but Amphinomus, though his heart boded ill, would not be persuaded.

Minerva then put it in Penelope's mind 158
to get some presents out of ~~them~~ the suitors. "I hate them," said she to Eurynome, "but still ~~I have a mind~~ I will for once in a way go to see them; ~~for~~ I want to warn my son against them."

"Certainly, my dear child," answered 169
Eurynome, "but you must wash your face first. You cannot be seen with the stain of tears upon your cheeks."

"Eurynome", replied her mistress, "do not 177
try to persuade me. Heaven robbed me of all my beauty on the day when my husband sailed for Troy; but send Autonoë & Hippodamia to attend me, for I cannot think of seeing the suitors

*. They might very well fight in the middle of an open court; but hardly in a covered hall – they would go outside.

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unattended." The old woman then went through the house to fetch the women; and as soon as she was gone, Minerva sent Penelope into a deep sleep, during which she endowed her with the most dazzling beauty, washing her face with the ambrosial ~~fragrance~~ loveliness which Venus ~~uses~~ wears when she goes out dancing with the Graces, & giving her a ~~a~~ stately more imposing presence. When the two maids came, ~~the noise they made~~ the noise of their coming woke her. "What a delicious sleep," she exclaimed, "has overshadowed me. Would that it had been the sleep of death, which had thus ended all my sorrows."

She then went down stairs and the suitors 206
were dazzled with her beauty. She began by upbraiding Telemachus for having allowed the the fight to take place. Telemachus admitted his fault but pleaded the extreme difficulty of his situation & the fact that after all Ulysses had thrashed Irus.

Eurymachus broke in upon their con- 243
versation by telling Penelope how very beautiful she was; & Penelope answered that heaven had robbed her of all her beauty on the day when her husband sailed for Troy. "Moreover," she added, 270
"I have another great sorrow — you suitors are not wooing me in the usual way. When men are suing for the hand of one who they think will make them a good wife, they generally bring oxen & sheep for her relations to feast upon, & make rich presents to the lady herself, instead of sponging upon other people's property."

When Ulysses heard her say this, he was 281
delighted at seeing his wife trying to get presents out of the suitors, & hoodwinking them.

"~~I fear,~~ she said, "that you are no longer so discreet & well conducted as you used to be. When you were younger you had a greater sense of propriety. Now, however, though a stranger, to look at you would take you for the son of well-to-do people, your conduct is by no means what it should be."

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Then Antinous said, "Penelope, ~~accept~~ take 289
all the presents you can get, ~~any one to give~~
~~you~~, but we will not go till you have married
the best man among us." On this they all made
Penelope magnificent presents, & she went back
to her own room, ~~where her women brought the~~
~~gifts that had been brought for her~~ followed
by the women, who carried the presents for her.

The suitors now turned to singing 304
& dancing, lighted by large braziers that
were placed in the ~~court, & open part of the~~ court* 307
~~court~~ & also by torches which the maids
held up by turns. Ulysses after a while told them to go inside,
~~&~~ saying that he would hold the torches him- 317
-self. ~~Melantho~~ The maids laughed at this,
& Melantho who was one of them, began to
gibe at him. She was daughter to Dolius ~~& but~~ but
Penelope had brought her up from childhood, &
used to give her toys; she showed no considera-
-tion, however, for Penelope's sorrows, but ~~acted on~~ misconducted herself
~~carry on~~ with Eurymachus. "Are you drunk?"
She said to Ulysses, "or are you always like this?"

Ulysses scowled at her, & said he would 337
tell Telemachus, who would have her cut up into
mincemeat. The women, therefore, were frightened
& went away, so Ulysses was left holding up
the flaring torches ~~&~~ looking upon all ~~them~~
the suitors & brooding over his revenge.

Presently Eurymachus began to jeer at 346
him, and taunt him by saying he presumed beg-
-ging to working. Ulysses answered, "If you
& I, Eurymachus, were matched one against
the other in ~~summer~~ ~~spring~~ early summer, when the days are
at their longest, give us each a good scythe, & see
whether you or I will mow the stronger or fast

* ἐν μεγάροισιν, but not ἐν μεγάροισι σκιόεσσιν ~~[illegible]~~

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the longer, from dawn till dark when the mowing grass is about. Or let us be in a four acre field with a couple of tawny fall fed oxen each, & see ~~whether you or I~~ which of us can drive the straighter furrow. ~~If war were to~~ Again let war break out this day, give me ~~but~~ armour, & you will find me fighting among the foremost. You are insolent & cruel, & think yourself a great man because you live in a little world & that a bad one."

Eurymachus was furious, & seized a stool, 394
but Ulysses sat ~~at~~ at the knees of Amphinomus of Dulichium, for he was afraid; the stool hit the ~~cupbearer~~ cupbearer & ~~fell~~ knocked him down, whereon there was a general uproar, amid which Telemachus said that he would compel no man, but he thought it would be better if they would all go home to bed. To which this they ~~all of them~~ assented, & shortly afterwards left the house.

Bk xix

Ulysses converses with Penelope & is recognised by Eurycleia.

Ulysses & Telemachus were ~~now~~ left alone in the cloister, & Ulysses said, "We must take the armour down from the walls; if the suitors are surprised, say what I told you when we were in Eumaeus's hut."

Telemachus called Eurycleia, & ~~bade her~~ bade her 15
shut the women up in their room, for he was going to take the armour down into the store room. "Who," ~~in that case~~, asked Eurycleia, "will show you a light if the women are all shut up?" "The stranger," answered

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96 72

Telemachus; "I will not have people doing nothing ~~in this house~~ about my premises."

~~He~~ & Ulysses ~~he had~~ then began removing the armour, 31
and Minerva went before them, ~~with~~ shedding a strange lambent light that played on walls & rafters. Telemachus ~~expressed his surprise~~ was lost in wonder, but Ulysses said, "Hush! this is the manner of the gods. Get you to bed, & leave me to ~~exploit~~ talk with your mother & the maids." So Telemachus crossed the court & went to the room in which he always slept, leaving Ulysses in the cloister.

Penelope now came down, & they set a 53
seat for her by the fire; the maids also were let out & came ~~down~~ to take away the meats on which the suitors had been feasting, and to heap fresh wood upon the braziers after they had emptied them ashes on to the ground.* Melantho again began ~~jeering~~ scolding at Ulysses ~~a second time, & upbraiding~~ him for stopping in the house to spy on the women. Penelope heard her & said, "Bold hussey, I hear you, & you shall smart for it; I have already told you that I ~~came~~ with to see the stranger & enquire from him about my husband. Eurynome, bring a seat for ~~the~~ him, & ~~stranger &~~ spread a fleece on it."

Eurynome did as she was told, and when 100
Ulysses had sat down Penelope ~~asked him who~~ wanted to know who he was. Ulysses implored her not to ask this, for it would make him weep, & she or the servants might then think he had been drinking.

"Stranger," answered Penelope, "heaven robbed 123
me of all my beauty when the Argives set out for Troy & Ulysses with them." She then told ~~all~~ about the suitors, & her web, & said that she was now at the very end of her resources. Her parents were urging

* There is no indication as though they went out to do this; they seem to have emptied the ashes on to the open part of the court.

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her to marry again, & so also was her son,
who chafed under the heavy burden of expence
which her long courtship had caused him.
"In spite of all this," however, "she continued, "I
want to know who you are; for you ~~must~~ cannot be the
son of ~~somebody's~~ a rock or of an oak."

Thus pressed, Ulysses said his name was 164
Ethon & that he came from Crete, where he
had entertained Ulysses & his men for many
days when they were on their way to Troy. Pene-
-lope wept bitterly as she listened, & it was all
Ulysses could do to restrain his own tears - but
he succeeded. "I will now prove you," said she;
"tell me how my husband was dressed & what
clothes he wore. Tell me also what manner of
man he was, & ~~of~~ about the men who were with him."

"I will tell you," replied Ulysses," as 220
nearly as I can remember after so long a time,
~~for it is now the twentieth year since Ulysses~~
~~came~~ He wore a ~~double cloak made~~ mantle of purple wool, double lined, 225
~~wool, fastened~~ ~~fastened~~, & it was fastened by a gold
~~brooch the~~ with two catches for the pin. On the
face of this there was a device that shewed a
dog holding a spotted fawn between its ~~two~~ fore
paws, & watching it as it lay panting on the ground.
Every one marvelled at the way in which these
things had been done in gold - the dog looking
at the fawn & strangling it, while the fawn was
struggling convulsively to escape. As for ~~the~~ his shirt 231
~~that was next his skin~~, it fitted him like the skin
of an onion, & glistened in the sunlight to the
admiration of all the women who beheld it.
He had a servant with him, a little older than
himself, ~~who~~ whose shoulders were hunched; he was dark,
& had thick curly hair. His name was Eurybates."

2

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98 74

Penelope was deeply moved, ~~when she heard the sure proofs which Ulysses gave her.~~ "You shall 249
want for nothing," said she, ~~"in this house."~~ "It was I who gave him the clothes and the brooch you speak of, but I shall never see him again."

"Be not too much dejected Madam," answered 261
Ulysses, "when I was with the Thesprotians I heard for certain that he was alive & well. Indeed he would have been here ere now, had he not deemed it better to amass great wealth before returning. Before this month is out I swear most solemnly that he will be here."

"If you say truly," replied Penelope, "you shall 308
indeed be rewarded richly, but he will not come. Still, you women, take the stranger & wash him; make him a comfortable bed, & in the morning wash him again & anoint him, that he may sit at the same table with Telemachus, & if any of the suitors molests him, ~~it will be the worse for him, like it or no,~~ he shall rule it, for however fume as he may 322
he shall have no more to do in this house. How indeed, Sir, can you know how much I surpass all other women in good-ness & discretion, unless I see that you are well ~~both~~ clothed & fed?"

"Make me no bed, Madam," said Ulysses, 336
"~~I have slept~~ will lie on the bare ground as I am wont to do. Nor do I like having my feet washed. I will not allow any of your serving women to touch my feet; but if you have any res-pectable old woman ~~in~~ who has gone through as much as I have, I will let her wash them."

"Sir, Stranger," answered Penelope, "your 349
sense of propriety exceeds that of any foreigner who has ever come here. I have exactly the kind of person whom you describe; she was Ulysses' nurse from the day of his birth & is now very old & feeble, but she shall wash your feet. Eurycleia, come

122

and wash the stranger's feet. He is about the
same age as your master would be."

Eurycleia spoke compassionately to Ulysses, 361
and ended by saying that he was
very like her master. To which Ulysses replied
that many other people had observed the likeness.

Then the old woman got a large foot bath 386
and put some cold water into it, adding hot
water till it was the right heat. As soon, however
as she got Ulysses' leg in her hands, she recognised
a scar on it, as one which her master had got from
being ripped by a boar when he was hunting on
Mt. Parnassus with his mother's father Autolycus, 432
whom Mercury had endowed with the gift of be-
-ing the most accomplished thief & perjurer in
the whole world, for he was very fond of him. She immediately 468
dropped the leg, which made a loud noise against
the side of the bath & upset all the water. Her
eyes filled with tears, & she caught Ulysses by the
beard & told him that she knew him.

She looked towards Penelope to tell her, 476
but Minerva had directed Penelope's attention else-
-where, so that she had observed nothing of what
had been going on. Ulysses gripped Eurycleia's throat,
& swore he would kill her, nurse to him though
she had been, unless she kept his return
secret, which she promised to do. She also said that
if heaven delivered the suitors into his hands, she
would give him a list of all the women in the house
who had misconducted themselves.

"You have no need," said Ulysses, "I shall find 499
out for myself. See that you keep my counsel
& leave the rest to heaven."

Eurycleia now went to fetch some more 503
water, for the first had been all spilt. When she
had brought it & washed Ulysses, he turned his seat
round to the fire to dry himself, & drew his
rags over the scar that Penelope might not see it.

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Then Penelope detailed her sorrows to Ulysses. 508
Others, she said, could sleep, but she could not do so, neither
night nor day. She could not rest for thinking what
her duty might be. ~~Her~~ ~~It~~ Ought she to stay
where she was & stand guard over her son's estate,
or ought she to marry one of the suitors & go elsewhere? Her son while he was a boy would not 530
hear of her doing this, but now that he was grown
up & realised the havoc that the suitors were making
of his property, he was continually urging her to
go. Besides she had had a strange dream
about an eagle that had come from a mountain & swooped down on her 538
favourite geese as they were eating mash out of
a ~~tub~~ tub.* & ~~he~~ had killed them all. ~~And~~ Then the
eagle came back & told her he was Ulysses, ~~&~~ while the
geese were the suitors: but when she woke the
geese were still feeding at the mash tub. Now,
what did all this mean?

Ulysses said ~~there could be no question~~ it could only mean 554
~~that it meant~~ the immediate return of her
husband, & his revenge upon the suitors.

But Penelope would not believe him.
"Dreams," she said, "are very curious things. 559
They come through two gates, one of horn, & the
other of ivory. Those that come through the gate
of ivory have no significance. It is the others that
alone ~~come~~ are true, & ~~to~~ my dream came through
the gate of ivory. Tomorrow, therefore, I shall set
Ulysses' bow before the suitors, and I will ~~go~~ leave this house
with him who can draw it most easily and send
an arrow through the 12 holes whereby 12 axeheads
are fitted into their handles."

"You need not defer this competition," said 582
Ulysses, "for ~~Ulysses~~ your husband will be here before any
one of them can draw that bow & shoot through
the axes."

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*. I have repeatedly seen geese so feeding at Trapani & in the neighbourhood. In summer the grass is all burned up so that they cannot graze as in England.

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101 77

"Stranger", replied Penelope, "I could stay talking with you the whole night through, 588
but there is a time for everything, & I will now go to lie down upon that couch which I have never ceased to water with my tears from the day my husband set out for the city with an ill omened name. You can sleep within the house, either on the ground or on a bed stead which ever you may prefer."

Then she went upstairs & mourned her 600
dear husband till Minerva ~~closed her eyes in slumber~~ shed sweet sleep over her eyes. ~~600~~

Bk xx

Ulysses converses with ~~secretly to~~ Eumaeus, and with his herdsman Philoetius – the suitors again maltreat him – Theoclymenus foretells their impending doom & leaves the house.

Ulysses made himself a bed of an untanned ox hide, in the vestibule and covered himself with sheepskins; then Eurynome threw a cloak over him ~~when he had lain down~~. He saw the women who ~~carried~~ misbehaved themselves 6
on with the suitors go giggling out of the house, & was sorely tempted to kill them then & there, but he restrained himself. He kept turning round & round like a man turns a ~~black pud~~ paunch full of blood & fat ~~ding~~ before a hot fire to cook it, & could get no rest till Minerva came to him, & comforted him, by reminding him that he was now in Ithaca.

"That is all very well", replied Ulysses, "but 36
suppose I do kill ~~all~~ these suitors, pray consider what is to become of me then? Where am I to fly to from the revenge their friends will take upon me?"

"One would think", answered Minerva, "that 44
you might trust even a feebler aid than mine;

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go to sleep; your troubles shall end shortly."
~~Ulysses~~ Ulysses then slept, but Penelope 54
was still wakeful, and lamented her impending
marriage, & her inability to sleep in such long long, so that Ulysses
heard her ~~where he was slp~~ ~~from the pavement~~ &
& thought she was close by him. It was now morning, 91
and Ulysses rose, praying the while to Jove, "Grant
me," he cried, "a sign from one of the people who are
now waking in the house, & another sign from
outside it."

Forthwith Jove thundered from a clear sky. 102
There came also a miller woman from the mill-
-room, who, being weakly, had not finished her
appointed task as soon as the others had done; 110
~~and~~ as she passed Ulysses he heard her ~~bitterly~~
curse the suitors & pray for their immediate death.
Ulysses was thus assured that he should kill
them.

The other women of the house now lit the 122
fire, & Telemachus came down from his room.

"Nurse," said he, "I hope you have seen that
the stranger has been duly fed & lodged. My mo-
-ther, in spite of her many virtues, is & apt to be too much
~~unduly~~ impressed by inferior people, & to neglect
those who are more deserving."

"Do not find fault, child," said Eurycleia, 134
"when there is no one to find fault with. The
stranger sat & drank as much wine as he liked.
Your mother asked him if he would take any more
bread, but he said he did not want any. As for
his bed, he would not have one, but slept ~~on a sort~~ in the vestibule on a untanned
hide, & I threw a cloak over him myself."

Telemachus then went out to the place of as- 144
-sembly, & his two dogs with him. "Now, you women,"
said Eurycleia, "be quick, & clean the house down.
Put the cloths on the seats, sponge down the tables,
wash the cups & mixing bowls, & go at once

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some of you, to fetch water from the fountain. It is a feast day, & the suitors will be here directly. So twenty of them went for water, & the others busied themselves setting things straight about the house.

The men servants then came & chopped 160
wood. The women came back from the fountain, & Eumæus with them, bringing three fine pigs which he let feed about the yards. When he saw Ulysses he asked him how he was getting on, & Ulysses prayed that heaven might avenge him upon the suitors.

Then Melanthius came with the best 172
goats he had, & made them fast in the gate-house. When he had done this he gibed at Ulysses, but Ulysses made him no answer.

Thirdly came Philœtius with a barren 185
heifer & some goats. He had brought them over in the ferry boat, for there was a ferry where men always plied for hire. When he saw Ulysses, he asked Eumæus who ~~their stranger might be~~ he was, & said ~~wanted that~~ he was very like his lost master. Then he ~~saluted~~ told Ulysses ~~& said~~ how well his old master had treated him, & how well also he had served his master. Alas! that he was no longer living. "We are fallen," said he, "on evil times, & I ~~am~~ often think that though it would not be right of me to drive my cattle ~~& myself~~ off & put both myself & them under some other master while Telemachus is still alive, yet even this would be better than leading the life I have to lead at present. Indeed I should have gone off with them long ago, if I did not cling to the hope that Ulysses may still return."

"I can see," said Ulysses, "that you are a 226

very honest & sensible person. Therefore I will swear you a solemn oath that Ulysses will be here immediately, & if you like you shall see him with your own eyes kill the suitors."

While they were thus conversing the suitors were again plotting 240
the murder of Telemachus, but there appeared an unfavourable omen, so Amphinomus said they had better go to the house & get dinner ready, which they accordingly did. When they were at table, Eumaeus gave them their cups, Philoetius handed round the bread & Melantheus poured them out their wine. Telemachus carefully set Ulysses at a little table on the part of the cloister that was paved with stone, and told the suitors that it should be worse for any of them who molested him. "This," he said, "is not a public house, but it is mine, for it has come to me from Ulysses."

The suitors were very angry but Antinous 268
checked them. "Let us put up with it," said he; "if Jove had permitted, we should have been the death of him ere now." Meanwhile, it being the festival of Apollo, the people of the town were bearing his holy hecatomb about the streets.

The servants gave Ulysses an equal por- 279
-tion with what they gave the others, for Telemachus had so bidden them. Presently one of the suitors named Ctesippus observed this & said, "I see the stranger has as good a portion as any one else. I will give him a better one, that that he may have something to give the bath- 296
-woman or some other of the servants in the house," and with this he flung a cow's heel at Ulysses head.

Ulysses smiled with a grim Sardinian* smile, 302
and bowed his head so that the heel passed over it & hit the wall. Telemachus rebuked Ctesippus,

* This is the only reference to Sardinia in either Iliad or Odyssey.

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very fiercely & all were silent till Agelaus tried to calm them saying, "what Telemachus has said is just: let us not answer. Nevertheless I would urge him to talk quietly with his mother & tell her that as long as there was any chance of Ulysses ~~returning~~ coming back there was nothing unreasonable in her ~~delay~~ deferring a second marriage; but there is now no hope of his returning, & if you would enjoy your own in peace, tell her to marry the best man among us & the one who will make her the most advantageous offer."

"Nay," answered Telemachus, "it is not I that delay her marriage. I urge her to it, but I cannot & will not force her." 338

Then Minerva made the suitors break out into a forced hysterical laughter, & the meats which they were eating became all smirched with blood. Their eyes were filled with tears and their hearts were oppressed with terrible forebodings. Theoclymenus saw that all was wrong, and said, "Unhappy men, what is it that ails you? There is a shroud of darkness drawn over you from head to foot, your cheeks are wet with tears; the air is alive with wailing voices; the walls & roof beams drip blood; the gate of the cloisters, & the yard beyond them are full of ghosts trooping down into the night of hell; the sun is blotted out from heaven, & a ~~thighting~~ gloom is over all the land." 345

~~They~~ The suitors laughed at him, & Eurymachus said. "If you find it so dark here, we had better send a man with you to take you out into the open." 358

"I have eyes," he answered, "that can guide, & feet that can take me from the doom that 363

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I see overhanging every single one of you." (Pursue)
On this he left them & went back to the house of Pirreus.

Then one of the suitors ~~Eurymachus~~ said, "Telemachus, you are very unfortunate in your guests. You had better ship both the stranger & this man off to the Sicels & sell them." Telemachus made no answer, but kept his eye on his father for any signal that he might make him. 375

Penelope ~~from her room~~ had had a seat placed for her ~~facing~~ overlooking the cloister, & ~~had~~ heard all that ~~had~~ passed. The dinner had been good & plentiful & there had been much laughter, for they had slaughtered many victims, but little did they guess the ~~gruesome~~ terrible supper which the goddess & a strong man were preparing for them. 387 ~~394~~

Bk XXI

The trial of the bow & of the axes.

Then Minerva put it in Penelope's mind to let the suitors compete for the bow & for a prize of iron, ~~the iron axe heads~~. So she went upstairs & got the key of the store room, where ~~the~~ Ulysses treasures ~~of plate~~, gold, copper, & iron were kept, as also the mighty bow which Iphitus son of Eurytus had given him, & which had been in common use by Eurytus as long as he was alive. Hither she went attended by her women, & when she had unlocked the door she took ~~down~~ the bow down from its peg and ~~took~~ carried it, with its quiver full of deadly arrows, to the suitors, while her maids brought the chest in which were the many prizes of iron that Ulysses had won. Then, still attended by her two maidens, she stood by ~~a column~~ ~~pillar~~ one of the bearing-posts that supported the roof of the cloister, & told

the suitors she would marry the man among them who could string Ulysses' bow most easily, & send an arrow through the twelve holes by which twelve axe-heads were fastened on to their handles.

So saying she gave the bow into the 80
hands of Eumaeus & bade him let the suitors compete as she had said. Eumaeus wept as he took it, & so did Philoetius who was looking on, ~~but~~ whereon Antinous scolded them for a couple of country bumpkins ~~& he expected~~

Telemachus ~~then~~ said that he too should 113
compete, and that if he was successful he should certainly not allow his mother to leave her home with a second husband, ~~seeing~~ while he remained alone. So saying he dug a long trench quite straight, ~~& laid enough to hold all the axes, then he~~ set the axes ~~set the axes~~ in a line within it, & stamped the earth about them to keep them steady; every one was surprised to see how accurately he fixed them, considering that he had never seen anything of the kind ~~done~~ before.* Having ~~so done so~~ set the axes duly, he stood on the ~~part of the cloister that was floored with stone~~ stone pavement, & tried to string the bow, but failed three times. He would, however, have succeeded the fourth time, if Ulysses had not made him a sign that he was not to try any more. So he laid both bow & arrow down & took his seat.

Then said Antinous, "begin at the place 140
where the cupbearer begins, & let each take his turn, going from left to right." On this Leiodes ~~tried~~ came forward. He was their sacrificial priest, & sat in the angle of the wall, hard by the mixing bowl; ~~& and~~ but he had always set

So bound on to them as to let the hole be visible through which the handle would go when the axe was in use. The trial is evidently a double one, of strength as regards the bending of the bow, & accuracy of aim as regards shooting through a ~~so~~ row of rings.

*. If Telemachus had never seen anything of the kind before, so probably neither had the writer of the Odyssey – at any rate no commentator has yet been able to understand her description, & I doubt whether she understood it herself. It looks as though the axe heads must have been wedged into the handles of

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his face against the wicked conduct of the suitors; ~~and~~ When he had failed to string the bow he said ~~the bow~~ was so hard to string that it would rob many a man among them of ~~both~~ life & heart — for which saying Antinous re-buked him bitterly.

"Bring some fire, & a wheel of fat from 175 inside the house," said he to Melanthius, Melanthius, "that we ~~will~~ may warm the bow & grease it." So they did this, but though many tried they could none of them ~~do~~ string it. There remained only Antino-us & Eurymachus who were their ring leaders. [sic]

The swineherd & the stockman Philoetius 180 ~~who were their ringl~~ then went outside the forecourt, & Ulysses followed them; when they had got beyond the outer yard Ulysses sounded them, & having satisfied himself that they were loyal he revealed himself ~~to them~~ & shewed them the scar on his leg. They were overjoyed, & Ulysses said, ~~so~~ "Go back one by one, after me & I will follow ~~give you that sign~~. The other suitors will not be for letting me have the bow, but do you, Eu-ma-us, when you have got it in your hands, bring it to me, and tell the women to shut them-selves into their room. If ~~any~~ the sound of groaning or uproar reaches ~~them~~ ~~the men~~ any of them ~~men who are at work about my premises~~ when they are inside I leave it to fell them to stick to their work & not ~~go outside~~ come out ~~Dismiss~~ ~~to~~ you, Philoetius, ~~to fasten~~ ~~I will bind the doors fastening~~ securely" the gate of the outer court. He then ~~left~~ went aside, & resumed the seat that he had left.

Eurymachus ~~then~~ now tried to string the bow 245 but failed. "I do not so much mind," he said, "about not marrying Penelope, for there ~~are other~~

~~women whom~~ are plenty of other women in Ithaca & elsewhere. What grieves me is the fact of our being such a pelle folk as compared with our forefathers." ~~But Telemachus~~ Antinous reminded 256 him that it was the festival of Apollo. "Who," said he, "can shoot on such a day as this? Let us leave the axes where they are – no one will take them; let us also sacrifice to Apollo the best goats Melan-thius can bring us to Apollo, & resume the contest to-morrow."

Ulysses ~~then~~ then cunningly urged that 274 he might be allowed to try whether he was as strong a man as he used to be, & that the bow should be placed in his hands for this purpose. The suitors were very angry, ~~& Antinous was especially violent~~ but Penelope insisted that Ulysses should have the bow; if he succeeded in string-ing it she said ~~st~~ it was absurd to suppose that she would marry him; but she would give him a shirt & cloak, a javelin, sword, & ~~pa~~ a pair of sandals. & she would send him wherever he might want to go.

"The bow, Mother, is mine", said Telemachus, 343 "& if I choose to give it this man out & out I shall give it him. Go within the house & mind your own proper duties."

Penelope went back, ~~wondering to herself~~ with her women wondering ~~into within~~ into the house, & going 354 upstairs to her room she ~~room with her women, & there~~ wept for her dear husband till Minerva shed sweet sleep over her eyes.

Eumæus was about to take the bow to Ulysses, 359 but the suitors frightened him & he ~~put it down~~ was for putting it down, till Telemachus threatened to stone him back to his farm if he did not bring it on at once; he therefore ~~did~~ gave it to Ulysses, ~~& then~~ he called Eurycleia aside and told her to shut the women up, & not to let them out if they heard any groans or uproar. She therefore shut them up.

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Bk xxi

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At this point Philoetius [illegible]pped out & 388
secured the main gate of the outer ~~yard~~ court with
a ship's cable of Byblus fibre ~~which~~ that happened
to be lying beside it. ~~He then~~ This done, he returned to his
seat & kept his eye on Ulysses, who was examin-
-ing the bow with ~~the most careful scrutiny~~ great care to
see whether it was sound in ~~&~~ all its parts.

"This man," said the suitors, "is some old 397
bow-fancier; ~~or~~ perhaps he has got one like it at home,
or wants to make one, so cunningly does the
old rascal handle it."

Ulysses, having finished his scrutiny, 404
strung the bow as easily as a bard puts a new
string on to his lyre. He ~~then~~ tried the string
~~with his right hand & it twanged~~ & it sang
under his hand like the cry of a swallow. He
took an arrow that was lying ~~outside~~ out of its quiver
~~sheath~~ by his table, ~~put~~ placed the notch on the
string, & from his seat ~~where he was sitting~~ sent
the arrow through the handle-holes of all the axes, and outside
~~and it flew out into beyond the inner court~~
into the yard.

"Telemachus," said he, "your guest has not 424
disgraced you. ~~Now~~ It is now time for ~~the Achai-~~
~~them~~ the suitors to get their supper, & to take their pleasure
afterwards with song & playing on the lyre."
~~He~~ So saying he made a sign to Telemachus,
who girded on his sword, grasped his spear,
& stood fully armed beside his father's seat. ~~434~~

Bk xxii

The killing of the suitors

Ulysses tore off his rags, & sprang ~~from his seat~~
on to the ~~stone floor of the cloister~~ broad pavement*, with his bow &
his quiver full of arrows. He shed the arrows on
to the ground at his feet, & said, "The ~~great~~ con-

*. It is not expressly stated that the "stone pavement" is
here intended. The Greek has simply ἐν τῷ δ' ἔστι μέγαρον
οὐδός, but ~~the most important pavement is surely implied by the~~
~~word μέγαρον, & this would be the stone pavement~~ I do not doubt that the stone pavement is intended.

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test is at an end. I will now see whether
Apollo will vouchsafe me to hit another mark
which no man has yet aimed at."

He took aim at Antinous as he spoke. The 8
arrow struck him in the throat, so that he fell
over, & a thick stream of blood gushed from
his nostrils. He kicked his table from him &
upset the things on it, whereby the bread & meats
were all soiled as they fell over on to the ground.
The suitors were instantly in an uproar, &
looked towards the walls for armour, but there
was none. "Stranger," they cried, "you shall pay dearly
~~for~~ for shooting people down in this way. You
are a doomed man." But they did not yet un-
-derstand that Ulysses had killed Antinous ~~un-~~
~~intentionally~~ on purpose.

Ulysses glared at them & said, "Dogs, 35
did you think that I should not return from Troy:
you have wasted my substance, you have vio-
-lated the women of my house, you have wooed
~~the~~ my wife while I was still alive, ~~& now~~ you
~~shall die~~ have feared neither god nor man, &
now you shall die."

Eurymachus alone answered. "If you 44
are Ulysses," said he, "we have done you great
wrong. It was all Antinous's doing. He never
really wanted to marry Penelope: he wanted to
kill your son & to be chief ~~on~~ man in Ithaca.
He is no more; then spare the lives of your
people & we will pay you all."

Ulysses again glared at him & said, 60
"I will not stay my hand till I have slain one &
all of you. You must fight, or fly as you can, or
die & fly you neither can nor shall."

Eurymachus then said, "My friends," 68
this man will give us no quarter. Let us
~~then~~ show fight. Draw your swords & hold the

tables up in front of you as shields. Have at
him with a rush, & drive him from the ~~stone~~ pavement
~~floor~~ & from the door ~~into the house~~. We could
then get through into the town & call for help."
While he spoke and very shrieking for help Ulysses sent an arrow 79
into his heart, & he fell doubled up over his
table. The cup & all the meats ~~that were on~~
~~the table~~ went over on to the ground as he smote
the earth with his forehead in the agonies of
death.

Amphinomus then made for Ulysses to try 89
& ~~get~~ dislodge him from the door, but Telemachus got
behind him, & struck him through ~~from behind~~,
the left his spear in the body & flew back to his
father's side; "Father," said he, "let me bring
armour for you & me, as well as for Eumæus &
Philoetius." "Run & fetch ~~them~~ them," & answered
Ulysses, "while my arrows hold out, be quick or they may
get me away from the door when I am single-
-handed."

Telemachus went to the store-room & 108
brought four shields, eight spears, & four helmets.
He armed himself, as did also Eumæus & Phil-
-oetius who then placed themselves beside
Ulysses. ~~Meanwhile~~ As long as his arrows held
out Ulysses ~~had been shooting~~ shot the suitors
down thick & three fold, but ~~now that~~ when they
failed him he stood the bow against the end
wall of the house ~~&~~ hard by the door way, &
armed himself ~~in full panoply~~.

Now there was ~~a trap-door~~ ~~as there also~~ a trap-door [at the top of 126
the tower] on the ~~further~~ wall ~~of the cloisters~~, while
at the end where Ulysses was, there was an exit, closed by a good strong door
~~and~~ leading out into a narrow passage; ~~& this exit~~
~~was closed by a good strong door~~, Ulysses told
Philoetius to stand by this door & keep it, for only
one person could attack it at a time. Then

~~* See appendix~~
~~agroaugen. This~~ I take to be a door leading out on to
the top of the high tower in which Telemachus slept (i 425 ff.), for the purpose of raising an
alarm all over the town & bidding the people agroaugen
by ~~and crying~~ "agoo" to the people, but I am not philologist enough to dread
whether such a derivation is possible.

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Agelaus shouted up out, "Go up, somebody, to the half-door ~~the exit door~~ & tell the people what is going on; they would come in & help us."

"This may not be," ~~said he~~ answered Melanthius, "the mouth of the narrow passage is dangerously ~~terribly~~ near the entrance from the street into the outer court. One brave man could prevent any number from getting in, but I will bring you arms from the store-room, for I am sure ~~that~~ it is there that they have put them." As he spoke he went by ~~the~~ back passages to the store-room, and brought the suitors twelve shields & the same number of helmets; when Ulysses saw the suitors arming his heart began to fail him, & he said to Telemachus, "Some of the women inside are helping the suitors — or else it is Melanthius."

Telemachus said that it was his fault for he had left the store-room door open. "Go, Eumaeus," he ~~he~~ added, "& close it; see whether it is one of the women, or Melanthius, the son of Dolius."

Melanthius was now going back for more armour, when Eumaeus saw him & ~~said~~ told Ulysses, who said, "Follow him, you & Philoetius; ~~Telemachus & I will hold the suitors in check;~~ bind his hands & feet behind him ~~&~~ & throw him into the store-room; ~~&~~ then string him up to a bearing-post ~~a bolt in a pillar~~, till he is close to the rafters, that he may linger on in ~~an~~ agony."

The men went to the store-room & caught Melanthius. They bound him in a painful bond & strung him up as Ulysses had told them. Eumaeus wished him a good night & the two men returned to the side of Ulysses. Minerva also joined them having assumed the form of Mentor;

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but Ulysses felt sure it was Minerva. The suitors were very angry when they saw her; "Men-
-tor," they cried "you shall pay for this with your life, and we will confiscate all you have in the world."
This made Minerva furious, & she rated Ulysses 224
roundly. "Your prowess," said she, "is no longer what it was at Troy. How comes it that you are less valiant now that you are on your own ground? Come on, my good fellow, & see how Men-
-tor will fight for you & requite you for your many kindnesses." But she did not mean to give him the victory just yet, so she flew up to one of the rafters & sat there in the form of a swallow.

The struggle still continued. "My friends," 241
said Agelaus, "he will soon have to leave off. See how Mentor has left him after doing nothing for him except brag. Do not aim at him all at once, but six of you throw your spears first."

They did so, but Minerva made all 265
their spears take no effect. Ulysses & the other three then threw & each killed his man. The suitors drew back in fear into a corner whereon the four sprang for-
-ward & regained their weapons. The suitors again threw, & this time Amphimedon really did take a piece of the top skin from Telema-
-chus's wrist & Ctesippus just grazed Eumaeus's shoulder above his shield. It was now the turn of Ulysses & his men, & each of their spears killed a man.

Then Minerva from ~~her seat~~ high on the ~~rafter~~ roof 297
held up her deadly aegis, and struck the suitors with panic, whereon Ulysses & his men fell upon them & smote them on every side. They made a

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horrible groaning as their brains were being battered in, & the ground reeked with their blood. Leiodes implored Ulysses to spare his life, but Ulysses would give him no quarter.

The minstrel Phemius now begged for 330 mercy. He was standing near the ~~way up~~ towards the trap-door, ~~& with his lyre in his hand, still~~ and resolving ~~he resolved~~ to embrace Ulysses' knees, he laid his lyre on the ground & between the mixing-bowl & the high silver-studded seat. "Spare me," he cried, "you will be sorry for it afterwards if you kill such a bard as I am. I ~~am self-taught~~ write all, am an original composer, & heaven visits me with every kind of inspiration. Do not be in such a hurry to cut my head off. Telemachus will tell you that I only sang to the suitors because they forced me."

"Hold," cried Telemachus to his father, 354 "do him no hurt he is guiltless; & we will spare Medon, too, who was always good to me when I was a boy, unless Eumaeus or Philoetius has already ~~to~~ killed him, or you happened to fall in with him yourself."

"Here I am, my dear sir," said Medon, 361 coming out from under a freshly flayed heifer's hide* which had concealed him, "tell your father, or he will kill me in his rage against the suitors for having wasted his substance & been so disrespectful to yourself." Ulysses smiled, & told them to go outside into the outer court till the killing should be over. So they went, but they were still very much frightened. Ulysses then went all over the court to see if there were any who had concealed themselves, or were not yet killed, but there was no ~~man~~ one; they were all as dead as fish lying in a hot sun upon the beach.

139 *. ~~Perhaps~~ Probably the hide of the heifer that Philoetius had brought in that morning (xx 186)

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Bk xxii

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Then he told Telemachus to call Eury- 390
-clea, who came at once, and found him all covered
with blood. When she saw the corpses she was
beginning to raise a shout of triumph, but U-
lysses checked her, "Old woman", said he, "re- 411
-joice in silence; it is an unholy thing to vaunt
over dead men. And now tell me which of the
women of the house are innocent & which
guilty."

"There are fifty women in the house," said 419
Euryclea; "twelve of these have misbehaved, &
have been wanting in respect to me & to Pene-
-lope. They showed no disrespect to Telemachus for
he has only lately grown up, & his mother never
permitted him to give orders to the female ser-
-vants. And now let me go upstairs & tell your
wife."

"Do not wake her yet," answered Ulysses, 430
"but send the guilty women to me."

Then he called Telemachus, Eumæus, and 435
Philoetius. "Begin", he said, "to remove the dead
bodies, & make the women help you. Also
get sponges & clean water to swill down the
tables & seats. When you have thoroughly cleansed
the cloisters take the women outside & run them
through with your swords."

The women came down weeping & wail- 446
-ing bitterly. First they carried the dead bodies
out, & propped them against one another in the
gatehouse of the outer court. Ulysses ordered them
about & saw that they lost no time. When they
had carried the bodies out they cleaned all the
tables & seats with sponges & water, while Tele-
-machus & the two others shovelled up the blood
& dirt from the ground & the women carried

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it all outside. When they had thoroughly cleaned the whole court, they took the women out and hemmed them up in the narrow space between the vaulted room & the wall of the outer yard. Here Telemachus determined to hang them, as a more dishonourable death than stabbing. He therefore made a ship's rope fast to a strong supporting post supporting the roof of the vaulted room, & threw it round making them put their heads in the nooses one after another. He then drew the rope high up, so that none of their feet might touch the ground. They kicked convulsively for a while, but not for very long.

As for Melanthius they took him through 474
the cloisters into the outer court. There they cut off his nose & ears; they drew out his vitals & gave them to the dogs, raw; then they cut off his hands & his feet. When they had done this they washed their hands & feet, & went back into the house. "Go," said Ulysses, to Eurycleia, "& bring me sulphur that I may burn it & purify the cloisters. Go, moreover, & bid Penelope come here with her gentlewomen & the women of the house."

"Let me first bring you a clean shirt & cloak," 485
said Eurycleia, "Do not keep those rags on any longer, it is not right."

"Light me a fire," answered Ulysses, & 490
she obeyed & brought him sulphur, wherewith he thoroughly purified both the inner & outer court as well as the cloisters. Then Eurycleia brought the women from their apartment, & they pressed round Ulysses, kissing his head & shoulders, & taking hold of his hands. It made him feel as if he should like to weep, for he remembered every one of them. 501

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Penelope comes down to see Ulysses, & ~~being~~ stet
stet ~~at last convinced that he is her husband~~, retires
with him to their own bedroom. In the morning Ulysses,
Telemachus, Philoetius, & Dum~~as~~, ~~with themselves~~
go to the house of Laertes.

Eurycleia now went up stairs & told Penelope
what had happened. "Wake up, my dear child,"
said she, "Ulysses ~~has~~ is come home at last & has
killed the suitors who were giving so much trouble
in the house, eating up his estate & ill-treating
his son." 10

"My good nurse," answered Penelope, "you must
be mad. The gods sometimes send very sensible
people out of their minds, & make foolish people
sensible. This is what they must have been doing
to you. However you have waked me from the soundest
sleep that I have enjoyed since my husband
left me. Go back into the women's room; if it
had been any one but you, I should have given
her a severe scolding." 25

Eurycleia still maintained that what
she had said was true, & in answer to Penelope's
further questions told her ~~that~~ as much as she knew
about the killing of the suitors. "When I came down,"
she said, "I found Ulysses standing over the
corpses; you would have enjoyed it if you had
seen him all bespattered with blood & filth, &
looking just like a lion. But the corpses are now
piled up in the gatehouse, & he has sent me
to bring you to him." 58

Penelope said that it could not be Ulysses,
but must be some god who had resolved to pun-
-ish the suitors for their great wickedness. Then
Eurycleia told her about the scar.

"My dear nurse," answered Penelope, "however so
wise you may be, you can hardly fathom the coun-
-sels of the gods. Still I will go & find my son that
I may see the corpses of the suitors, & the man
who has killed them." 80

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119 ~~95~~

On this she came down into the cloister & 85
took her seat ~~by Ulysses by~~ the fire, right by the wall at right angles to that by which she had entered, opposite Ulysses, ~~the fire opposite to Ulysses~~
while her husband sat by one of the ~~pillars~~ blazing posts of the
cloister, looking down & waiting to hear what she
would say. For a long time she sat as one lost in
amazement, & said nothing, till Telemachus ap-
-braided her for her coldness. "Your heart" he said,
"was always hard as stone".

"My son", said his mother, "I am stupefied; 104
nevertheless if this man really is Ulysses, I shall
find it out for there are tokens which we two alone
know of."

Ulysses smiled at this, & said to Telemachus, 111
"Let your mother prove me as she will, she will
make up her mind about it presently. Meanwhile
let us think what we shall do, for we have been
killing all the picked youth of Ithaca."

"We will do," answered Telemachus, "whatever 123
you may think best."

"Then", said Ulysses, "wash, & put your 129
shirts on. Bid the maids also go to their own
room & dress. Phemius shall strike up a dance
tune, so that any who are passing in the street
may think there is a wedding in the house, & we
can get away into the woods before the death
of the suitors ~~get~~ is noised abroad. Once there, we will
do ~~what shall seem best~~ as heaven shall direct."

They did as he had said. The house echoed 141
with the sound of men & women dancing, & the
people outside said, "So the queen has been get-
-ting married at last. She ought to be ashamed of
herself, for not staying to protect her husband's
property."

Eurynome washed & anointed Ulysses; Mi- 152
-nerva also beautified him, ~~& made~~ making the hair
grow thick on the top of his head & flow down
in hyacinthine curls. He came from the bath

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looking like an immortal god, & sat down opposite his wife. Finding, however, that he could not move her, he said to Eurycleia, "Nurse, get a bed ready for me. I will sleep alone, for this woman has a heart as hard as iron."

"My dear," said Penelope, "I have no wish to set myself up, nor to depreciate you, but I am not struck by your appearance, for I well remember what kind of a man you were when you left Ithaca. Nevertheless, Eurycleia, take his bed out out of the room he built for it, and make it ready for him."

Ulysses knew that the bed could not be moved without cutting down the stem of a growing olive tree on the stump of which he had built it. He was very angry, & desired to know who had ventured on doing this, at the same time describing the bed fully to Penelope.

Then Penelope was convinced that he actually was Ulysses, & fairly broke down. She flung her arms about his neck, & said she had only held aloof so long because she had been shuddering at the bare thought of any one deceiving her.

Ulysses in his turn melted & embraced her, & they would have gone on indulging their sorrow till morning came, had not Minerva miraculously prolonged the night.

Ulysses then began to tell her of the still further voyages which Tiresias had told him he must now undertake, but broke off by saying that they had better go to bed. To which Penelope rejoined that as she should certainly have to be told about it sooner or later, she had perhaps better hear it at once.

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Thus pressed Ulysses told her. "In the end," said he, "Teiresias told me that death should come to me from the sea. He said my life should ebb away very gently when I was full of years & peace of mind, & that my people should bless me". 263

Meanwhile Eurynome & Eurycleia made the room ready,* ~~to~~ and Eurycleia went to bed, leaving Eurynome to light Penelope & Ulysses to their bed-room. 288

Telemachus Philoetius & Eumæus now left off dancing, & made the women leave off also. They then laid themselves down to sleep in the ~~cor~~ cloisters.

When they were in bed together, Penelope told Ulysses how much she had had to bear in seeing the house filled with wicked suitors who had killed so many oxen & sheep on her account, & had drunk so many casks of wine. Ulysses in his turn told her ~~what he had suffered & how much trouble he had gone to~~ the whole story of his adventures, touching briefly upon every point, and detailing not only his own sufferings but those he had inflicted upon other people. She was delighted to listen, & never went to sleep till he had ended his story and ~~had himself~~ dropped off into a profound slumber. 300 310

When Minerva thought that Ulysses had slept long enough she permitted ~~golden~~ Dawn to rise from the waters of Oceanus, & Ulysses ~~rose~~ got up. "Wife", said he to Penelope, "Now that we have at last come together again, take care of the property that is in my house. As for the ~~cattle~~ sheep & goats that the wicked suitors have eaten, I will take many by force from other people, & will ~~make~~ compel the ~~Achæ~~ men of the place to make good the rest. I will now go out to my father's house in the country. At sunrise it will get noised about 344

* This room was apparently not within the body of the house. It was certainly on the ground floor, for the bed was fixed on to the ~~trunk of~~ stem of stump of a tree; I strongly suspect ~~this~~ it to be the vaulted room, round the outside of which the bodies of the guilty maidservants still hanging, & I also suspect that it was in order to this festoon the room that Telemachus hanged the women instead of stabbing them, lest it should be thought that he was treading on that peculiar kind of pavement in which, if it were not for the grummet, some of the dancers in lines 131–151 would have [illegible]

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that I have been killing the suitors. Go upstairs, therefore, & stay ~~there~~ with your waiting women. See nobody, & ask no questions."

As he spoke he girded on his armour; 386 he roused the others also & bade them arm. ~~Ulysses~~ The then undid the gate, & they all sallied forth. It was now daylight, but Minerva enshrouded them in darkness, & led them quickly out of the town. 392

Bk xxiv

The ghosts of the suitors in Hades – Ulysses sees his father – is attacked by the friends of the suitors – Laertes kills Eupeithes – Peace is made between him & the people of Ithaca.

Then Mercury took the fair golden wand with which he seals men's eyes in sleep or wakes them just as he pleases, ~~with this in his hand~~ and led ~~them~~ the ghosts of the suitors to the house of Hades whining & gibbering as they ~~went~~ followed ~~after him~~. As bats fly squealing about in the hollow of a great cave when one of them has fallen from the cluster in which they hang ~~from the rock to which they cling~~ – even so did they whine & squeal as Mercury the healer of sorrow led them down into the dark abode of death. When they had passed the waters of Oceanus & the rock Leucas, they came to the gates of the sun & the land of dreams, whereon they ~~came to~~ reached the meadow of asphodel where dwell the souls & shadows of men that can labour no more.

Here they came upon the ghosts of ~~Aga~~-Achilles 15

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- ~~memnon~~ Patroclus, Antilochus & Ajax, and that of Agamemnon joined them. As these were conversing, Mercury came up with the ghosts of the suitors, & Agamemnon's ~~recognised~~ ghost recognised that of Amphimedon who had been his host when he was in Ithaca; so he asked him what this sudden ~~influx~~ arrival of fine young men all of an age too - might mean, and Amphimedon told him the whole story from first to last.

Thus did they converse in the house of Hades 203
deep within the bowels of the earth. Mean-
-while Ulysses & the others passed out of the city
& soon reached the farm of Laertes, which he had
reclaimed with infinite labour. Here was his
house with a lean-to running all round it,
where the slaves who worked for him ~~sat & ate~~ ate & slept,
while inside the house there was an old Sicel
woman, who looked after him in this his country
farm.

"Go," said Ulysses to the others, "to the house, 214
& kill the best pig you have for dinner; I wish
to make trial of my father & see whether he will
know me."

So saying he gave his armour to ~~the~~ Eumæus 219
& Philoetius, ~~who went on to the vineyard and house~~, & turned off into the vineyard, where
he found his father alone, hoeing a vine. He ~~had~~
had on a dirty old shirt, patched & very shabby;
his legs were bound round with thongs of ox hide
to keep out the brambles, & he wore sleeves of lea-
-ther against the ~~brambl~~ thorns. He had a goatskin
cap on his head & was looking very woebegone.

When Ulysses saw him so worn, so old & full 232
of sorrow, he stood still under a tall pear tree &
began to weep. He doubted whether to embrace

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him, kiss him, & tell him all about his having
come home, or whether he should first question
him & see what he would say. On the whole he
decided that he would be crafty with him, so he
went up to his father who was bending down &
digging about a plant.

"I see, Sir," said Ulysses, "that you are an 244
excellent gardener – what pains you take with it
to be sure. There is not a single plant, not a fig-
-tree, vine, olive, pear, nor flowerbed, but bears
the traces of your attention. I trust, however,
that you will not be offended if I say that you
take better care of your garden than of yourself.
You are old, unsavoury, & very meanly clad. It
cannot be because you are idle that your master
takes such poor care of you; indeed, your face &
figure have nothing of the slave about them, ~~and~~
but proclaim you of noble birth. I should have said
you were one of those who should wash well, eat
well, & lie soft at night as old men have a
right to do. But tell me, & tell me true, whose
bondsman are you, & in whose garden are you
working? ~~And~~ Tell me also about another mat-
-ter – Is this place that I have come to really
Ithaca? I met a man just now who said so,
but he was a dull fellow, & had not the pa-
-tience to hear my story out, when I was asking
whether an old friend of mine who used to live
here was still alive. ~~He~~ My friend said he was the son of
Laertes ~~the further~~ son of Arcesius, & I made him large pre-
-sents on his leaving me."

Laertes wept ~~&~~ and answered that in this 280
case ~~he~~ he would never see his presents back again,
though he would have been amply requited if

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Ulysses ~~was~~ had been alive, "But tell me", he said, 298
"who, & whence are you? Where is your ship? or
did you come as passenger on board some other man's
vessel?"

"I will tell you every thing", answered Ulysses, 302
"quite truly. I come from Alybas, & am son
to ~~to~~ king Apheides. My name is Eperitus; heaven
drove me off my course as I was leaving Sicania, 307
& I have been carried here against my will.
As for my ship, it is lying over yonder off the
~~town~~ open country outside the town. It is five 308
years since Ulysses left me - Poor fellow! we had
every hope that we should meet again & exchange
presents."

Laertes was overcome with grief, & Ulysses 315
was so much touched that he revealed himself,
~~and~~ When & his father asked for proof, he ~~showed~~
shewed him the scar on his leg. "Furthermore",
he added, "I will point out to you the trees
in the vineyard which you gave me, & I asked
you all about them as I followed you round
the garden. We went over them all, & you told
me ~~their~~ names & what they all were. You
gave me thirteen pear trees, ten apple trees,
& forty fig trees, & you also said you would give
me fifty rows of vines; there was corn planted
between each row, & ~~they~~ the vines yield grapes of every kind,
when the heat of heaven has ~~been laid heavy~~ glaten upon
them." He also told his father that he had killed
the suitors.

Laertes was now convinced, but said he feared 345
he should have all the people of Ithaca coming
to attack them. Ulysses answered, that he need
not trouble about this, & that they had better
go & get their dinner, which would be ready by
the time they got to the house.

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When they ~~got to~~ reached the house the old Sicel 361
woman took Laertes inside, washed him, and anointed him. Minerva also gave him a more imposing presence & made him look taller & stronger than before. When he came back, Ulysses said, "My dear father, some god has been making you much taller & better looking." To which Laertes answered that if he was as young ~~& strong~~ as hearty as when he took ~~Nericum~~ the strong hold Nericus on the foreland, he should have been a great help to him on the preceding day, & would have killed many suitors.

Dolius & his sons, who had been working 383
hard by, now came up, ~~and~~ for the old Sicel woman, who was Dolius's wife, had been to fetch them. When they were satisfied that Ulysses was really there, they were overjoyed & embraced him one after the other. "But tell me," said Dolius, "does Penelope know, or shall we send & tell her?" "Old man," answered Ulysses, "she knows already. What business is that of yours?" Then they all took their seats at table.

Meanwhile the news of the slaughter of 412
the suitors had got noised abroad, & the people gathered hooting & groaning before the house of Ulysses. They took their dead, ~~&~~ buried every man his own, ~~but they~~ & put the bodies of those who came from elsewhere on board the fishing vessels, for the fishermen to take them every man to his own place. Then they met in assembly & Eupeithes urged them to pursue Ulysses & the others before they could escape ~~over~~ over to the main land.

Medon, however, & Phemius had now woke 438
up, and came to the assembly. Medon dissuaded the people from doing as Eupeithes advised, inasmuch as he had seen a god going about killing the suitors, and it would be dangerous

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to oppose the will of heaven. Halitherses also spoke in the same sense, and half the people were persuaded by him. The other half armed themselves & followed Eupeithes in pur-
-suit of Ulysses.

Minerva then consulted Jove as to the 472
course events should take. Jove told her that she had had everything her own way so far, & might continue to do as she pleased. He should, however, advise that both sides should now ~~for-give & forget and that~~ be reconciled under the continued rule of Ulysses. Minerva approved of this and darted down to Ithaca.

Laertes & his household had now done 489
dinner, & Eupeithes with his band of men were seen to be near at hand. Ulysses & the others put on their armour, & Minerva joined them. "Telemachus," said Ulysses, "now that you are about to fight in a decisive engagement, see that you do no discredit to your ancestors, who were eminent all the world over for their strength & valour."

"You shall see, my dear father," replied 510
Telemachus, "if you choose, that I am in no mind, as you say, to disgrace your family."

"Good heavens," exclaimed Laertes, "what 513
a day I am enjoying. My son & grandson are vying with one another in the matter of valour."
Minerva then came up to him, & bade him pray to her. She ~~then~~ infused fresh vigour into him, and when he had prayed to her he aimed his spear at Eupeithes & killed him. Ulysses & his men fell upon the others, routed them, & would have killed ~~every man~~ one & all of them, had not Minerva raised her voice & made every one pause. "Men of Ithaca," she cried, "cease this dreadful war, & settle the matter without further bloodshed."

Story of the Odyssey
Bk xxiv

~~1044~~
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On this they turned pale with fear, dropped 533
their armour, & fled every man towards the
city. ~~But~~ Ulysses was swooping down upon them
like an eagle, but Jove sent a thunderbolt of
fire that fell just in front of Minerva. Whereon
she said. "Ulysses, stay this strife, or Jove will
be angry with you."

Ulysses obeyed her gladly. Minerva then 545
assumed the voice & form of Mentor & presently
made a covenant of peace between the two con-
-tending parties. ~~548~~

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Chapter III

The preponderance of woman, ~~"woman's~~ in the Odyssey

Having ~~then~~ in my first chapter met the only a priori objections to my ~~view~~ views concerning the sex of the writer which have yet been presented to me, I turn to the evidence of female authorship which is furnished by the ~~Odyssey itself~~ story which I have just laid before the reader.

What, ~~then~~, let me ask, is the most unerring test of female authorship? Surely a preponderance of female interest, & a fuller knowledge of those things which a woman generally has to deal with ~~knows~~ than of those that all more commonly within the province ~~into the department~~ of man. People always write by preference of what they know best, & they know best what they most are, & have most to do with. This extends ~~itself~~ to ways of thought & to character even more than to action. If man thinks the noblest study for mankind to be man, woman not less certainly believes it to be woman.

Hence, if in any work the women are found to be well & sympathetically drawn, while the men are mechanical and by comparison perfunctorily ~~handled~~ drawn, it is, I imagine, ~~it is always~~

safe to infer that the writer is a woman; and the converse holds good with man. Man & woman never fully understand one another save, perhaps, during courtship and honeymoon; & as man understands man more fully than a woman can do, so does a woman, woman. Granted, it is the delight of either sex to understand the other as fully as it can, and those who succeed most in this respect are the best & happiest whether men or women; but do what we may the barriers can never be broken down completely, & each sex will dwell mainly, though not of course, ~~not~~ exclusively, within its own separate world. When, moreover, we come to think of it, it is not desirable that they should be broken down, for it is on their existence that much of ~~on which more than~~ half the ~~piquancy~~ attraction of either sex to the other depends.

~~Now it is admitted on all hands that the preponderance of interest in the Iliad is on the side of men, & in the Odyssey on that of women. The women in the Iliad are few in number & seldom occupy the stage. True, the goddesses play important parts, but they are almost invariably being laughed at.~~ [Men seem ~~to be~~ unable to draw women at all without either laughing at them or caricaturing them; & so, perhaps, a woman never draws a man so felicitously as when she is making him ridiculous. If she means to make him so she is certain to succeed; if she does not mean it she will succeed more surely

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still. Either sex, in fact, can caricature the other delightfully, & certainly no writer has ever shown ~~that next to woman, the~~ more completely than the writer of the Odyssey has done that, next to the ~~study~~ delineation of woman, she considers man's little ways & weaknesses to be the fittest theme on which her genius can be displayed. But I doubt whether any writer in the whole range of literature (excepting, I suppose, ~~of course Homer, the author Iliad~~ & Shakespeare) ~~who~~ has succeeded in drawing a full ~~sized~~ length, life sized, serious portrait of a member of the opposite sex ~~sex~~ ~~satisfactory of the~~ to the writer's own.

NB It is admitted on all hands that the preponderance of interest in the Iliad is on the side of man, & in the Odyssey on that of woman. ~~The~~ Women in the Iliad are few in number & rarely occupy the stage. True, the goddesses play important parts, but they are never taken seriously.

~~In relation to the preponderance of women in the Odyssey. It is a mere truism to say that whereas man dominates the Iliad woman does so as regards the Odyssey.~~ Doubtless ~~he was because he felt this~~ for these reasons that Bentley said Homer wrote the Iliad for men & the Odyssey for women;* Professor Jebb, in his Bentley,† ~~he~~ speaks of this as an ancient saying, which he appears to quote with approval. If Bentley had lived in this century ~~& not in the last~~, we may be sure he would not have regarded the Iliad & Odyssey as written by a single hand, & would have said "the Iliad was written ~~for men, &~~ from a man's point of view and the Odyssey from a woman's. ~~But being so~~ If this be admitted as true, the most reasonable inference will be ~~seeing how a matter female authorship is proof to be, is~~ that the writer of the Iliad was a man.

* See "An Introduction to the Iliad & Odyssey" by R. C. Jebb. Glasgow 1888. p 106.

† Macmillan 1892. p. 148

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~~while that of the Odyssey was a woman.~~

So, again, to quote a more recent authority, Mr Gladstone in his work on Homer already referred to, says (p. 28) "It is rarely in the Iliad that grandeur or force give way to allow the exhibition of domestic affection. Conversely, in the Odyssey the family life supplies the tissue into which is woven the thread of the poem." Any one who is ~~totally unfa~~ familiar with the two poems must ~~be aware~~ know that what Mr Gladstone has said is ~~neither more nor less than the truth~~ true; and he might have added, not less truly, that when there is any exhibition of domestic life & affection in the Iliad the men are dominant, & the women are under their protection, whereas ~~in~~ throughout the Odyssey ~~all through~~ it is the women who are directing, counselling, & protecting the men, ~~and the men the women~~.

Who are the women in the Odyssey? There is Minerva, omnipresent at the elbows of Ulysses and Telemachus to keep them straight & alternately scold & flatter them. In the Iliad she is a great warrior but she is no woman: in the Odyssey she is a great woman but no warrior; we have, of course, Penelope – masterful, nagging, to the last and tossed off to the winds almost from the moment that she has ceased to be so; Eurycleia the old servant, is quite a match for Telemachus "Do not find fault, child," she says to him, "when

[Shelley, again speaking of the "perpetually increasing magnificence of the last seven books of the Iliad, says, "The Odyssey is sweet, but there is nothing like this." The writer of the Odyssey is force as a tigress at times, but the feeling of the poem is on the whole exactly what Shelley says it is. Strength is felt every where, even in the tenderest passages of the Iliad, but it is sweetness rather than strength that fascinates us throughout the Odyssey. It is the charm of a woman not of a man.

*. Select Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley Edited by Richard Garnett. Kegan Paul French & Co 1882 p. 149

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(iv 264)? III (5) (xx. 135). 133

there is no one to find fault with. Who can doubt that Helen is master in the house of Menelaus — of whom all she can say in praise is that he is "not deficient either in person or understanding"? Idothea in book IV treats ~~Ulysses~~ Menelaus de haut en bas, all through the Proteus episode. She is good to him & his men, but they must do exactly what she tells them, & she evidently enjoys "running" them — for I can think of no apter word. Calypso is the master mind, not Ulysses; and, be it noted, that neither she nor Circe seem to have a manservant on their premises. I was at ~~a~~ an inn once & ~~impudently~~ asked the stately landlady if I could see the landlord. She bridled up & answered, "We have no landlord, sir, in this house; I cannot see what use a man is in a hotel except to clean boots & windows." ~~& neither Calypso nor Circe~~ Neither these spoke Circe & Calypso, but neither of them seem to have made even this much exception in man's favour.

Let the reader ask any single ladies of his acquaintance, who live in a house of their own, whether they prefer being waited upon by men or by women, & I shall be much surprised if he does not find that they generally ~~prefer~~ avoid having a man about the house at all — gardeners of course excepted. But then the gardener generally has a wife, & a house of his own.

Take Nausicaa again, delightful as she is, ~~she will~~ it would not be wise to contradict her; she knows what is good for Ulysses, & all will go well with him so long as he obeys her, but she must be master & he man. I see I have passed over Ino in bk V. She is Idothea over again, just as Circe is Calypso with very little variation. Who again is master — Queen Arete or King Alcinous? Nausicaa knows well enough how to answer this question. ~~When giving her instructions to Ulysses she says, "Sometimes to Ulysses she says, as soon as you reach the buildings & the outer courtyard,~~ when giving her instructions to Ulysses she says, "

(Mr. Tyler?) "Never mind my father, ~~she says, when giving directions to Ulysses,~~ but go up to my mother & embrace her knees; ~~if you would so~~ if she is

~~* Od. xx 135~~ ~~† Od iv 264~~

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III (6)

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~~go on through the inner court until you come to my mother, whom you will find sitting before the fire with her back leaning against a pillar, and spinning her purple wool in the firelight – a goodly sight to see, as she sits there with her maids all ranged behind her. Facing her you will see my father's seat, in which he sits & toys like an immortal. Pay no attention to him, but go up to my mother & embrace her knees, if you would speed your home speedily & in good case, however distant it may be. If she is well disposed towards you there is some some chance of your getting home to see your friends again~~ (vi 310 – 315). ~~at fol 4 page~~

~~Throughout the Phaacian episode Arete is obviously a more important person than Alcinous, so much so indeed that when Ulysses makes his farewell speech in bk XIII he says he hopes they may continue to give~~ to the Phaacians, ~~the~~ & she makes him say that he hopes they may continue to give satisfaction to their wives & children, instead of hoping that their wives & children will continue to give satisfaction to them. A little lower down ~~(xiii 64 of 65)~~ he wishes ~~her~~ Queen Arete all happiness with her children, her people, & lastly with king Alcinous. As for king Alcinous, it does not matter whether he is happy or no, provided he gives satisfaction to Queen Arete – but he was bound to be happy as the husband of such an admirable woman.

(l. t) Insert A

(xiii 44, 45)

~~Q. xiii 44, 45~~

I have touched briefly on all the more prominent female characters of the Odyssey. The moral in every case seems to be that man knows very little at all, & cannot be trusted with not to make a fool of himself even about the ~~simplest matters~~ little that he does know unless he has a woman ~~at his elbow~~ at hand to tell him what he ought to do. There is not a single case in which a man comes

So, when the Duke of York was being married, I heard women over & over again say they hoped the Princess May would be very happy with him, but I never heard one say that she hoped the Duke would be very happy with the Princess May. Men said they hoped the pair would be very happy, ~~with one another~~, without naming one more than the other.

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(l-t) A For chapter III (6)

Throughout the Phaeacian episode ~~the woman~~ Arete is a prisoner, and to be treated as such. I take it to be one of the author's ~~literally~~ transparent ~~for~~ Arete, or ~~Virtue~~ Goodness") is a more important person than Alcinous. I do not believe in her myself; I believe Penelope would have been made more amiable if Arete had been ~~really~~ as ~~so~~ nice a person as the writer says she was. ~~The writer has not yet begun to realize and probably has hardly found out her own mind upon the subject, but whether this is so or not is that she is still affectionately disloyal, but I would repeat that I do not believe in queen Arete, & the fact of her leaving her, however, on one side, so much more important are ~~are the~~ wives ~~generally~~ than husbands in the eyes of the author of the Odyssey that when Ulysses makes his farewell speech

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comes to the rescue of female beauty in distress; it is invariably the other way about.

The only males who give Ulysses any help while he is on his wanderings are Æolus, who does him no real service, & refuses to help him a second time, & Mercury, who gives him the herb Moly (x 305) to protect him against the spells of Circe. In this last case, however, I do not doubt that the writer was tempted by the lovely passage in Iliad XXIV where Mercury meets Priam to conduct him to the Achæan camp; one pretty line, indeed, (& rather more) of the Iliadic passage above referred to, is taken bodily by the writer of the Odyssey, to describe the youth & beauty of the god.† With these exceptions, throughout the poem Andromeda rescues Perseus, not Perseus Andromeda — Christiana is guide & guardian to Mr Greatheart, not Mr Greatheart to Christiana. ~~And she let him know it.~~

The case of Penelope may seem to be ~~an~~ another exception. It may be urged that Ulysses came to her rescue, & that the whole poem turns on his doing so. But this is not true. Ulysses kills the suitors, firstly, because they had wasted his substance — this from first to last is the main grievance; secondly, because they had violated the female servants of his house; & only thirdly because they had offered marriage to his wife while he was still alive.* (xxii 36–38) Never yet was woman better able to hold her own, when she chose, & I will show at full length shortly that when she did not hold it, it was because she preferred not to do so.

~~So much for~~ I have dealt so far with the writer's attitude towards women when in the world of the living. Let us now see what her instinct prompts her to consider most interesting in the kingdom of the dead. When Ulysses has reached the abode of Hades, the first ghost he meets is that of his comrade Elpenor, who had got drunk, and fallen off the roof of Circe's house, just as Ulysses & his men were about to set sail

† Od. x 278, 279. of Il. ~~XXIV~~ 347, 348

~~* Od. xxii 36–38~~

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heard
and ~~forgot all about coming down for the main staircase, & they hid quite by chance in the roof & broke his neck~~. We are expressly told that he was a person of no importance, being ~~neither remarkable~~ remarkable neither for sense nor courage, so that it does not matter about killing him, and it is transparent that the accident is only allowed to happen in order to enable Ulysses to make his little joke when he greets the ghost in Hades to the effect that Elpenor has got there more quickly ~~than on foot~~ by land than Ulysses had done by water, ~~he had himself been able to do with his ship~~. Elpenor therefore does not count.

The order, however, in which the crowd of ghosts, among whom Elpenor was, is described is noticeable. ~~After the blood of the victims sacrificed by Ulysses had flowed into the trench which he had dug to receive it the writer says~~ ~~the ghosts came trooping up from Erebus, — brides, young bachelors, old men worn out with toil, maids who had been crossed in love, & brave men who had been killed in battle, with their armour still smirched with blood; they came from every quarter, & flitted round the trench with a strange kind of screaming sound that made one turn pale with fear.~~ (xi 36—43) l.t.

(l.t) I do not think a male writer would have put the brides first, nor yet the young bachelors second. He would have begun with kings or great warriors or poets, nor do I believe he would make Ulysses turn pale with fear merely because ~~they~~ the ghosts screamed a little; they ~~should~~ would

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have had to menace him more seriously.

What does Bunyan do? When ~~he~~ Christian tells Pliable what kind of company he ~~shall~~ will meet in Paradise he says:— and then there we shall see Elders with their golden crowns; there we shall see holy virgins with their golden harps; there we shall see men that by the world were cut in pieces, burnt in flames, eaten of beasts, drowned in the seas, for the love they bore to the Lord of that place; all well & cloathed with immortality as with a garment.* ~~They~~ Then present themselves to him instinctively in the first instance, & though he quits them for a moment, he returns to them immediately without even recognising the existence of women among the martyrs.

gm-t

l.t.

True, after having ~~conducted~~ taken Christian to the Eternal City, ~~he~~ Bunyan conducts Christiana also, & her children, in his Second Part; but surely if ~~Bunyan~~ he had been an inspired woman & not an inspired man, & if this woman had been writing ~~without fear of man~~, as it was borne in upon her by her own instinct, ~~she~~ neither aping man nor fearing him, she would have taken Christiana first, & Christian, if she ~~took~~ took him at all, in her appendix.

vp [Moreover when Christian & Hopeful have passed through the river ~~of~~ of death, & reach the eternal city it is none but men who greet them.

Next to ~~After~~ Elpenor the first ghost that Ulysses sees is that of his mother, but clearly he is sorely grieved that he may not, by Circe's instructions, speak to her till he has heard what the Theban prophet Teiresias has got to tell him. As soon as he has heard this, he enquires how he can make his mother recognise

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him, and converse with him. This point being answered there follows the incomparably beautiful scene between him & Anticlea, which occupies ~~but~~ some seventy or eighty lines, and concludes by ~~tell~~ ~~her~~ his mother's telling him to get home as fast as he can that he may tell of his adventures in Hades — to whom? To the world at large? To his kinsmen & countrymen? No: it is to his wife that ~~he~~ he is to recount them, & apparently to her only; ~~the wife appears to the writer as the first person to be considered~~. Very right & proper; but more characteristic of a female ~~writer~~ than of a male writer. (xi 223, 224)

Who follow immediately on the departure of Anticlea? Proserpine sends up "all the wives and daughters of great princes" — Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, Antiope daughter of Asopus, Alcmena, Epicaste (better known as Jocasta), Chloris, ~~the~~ wife of Nelens, Leda, Iphimedeia, Phædra, Procris, Ariadne, Mæra, Clymene, and Eriphyle. Ulysses says that there were many more wives & daughters of heroes whom he conversed with, but that time would not allow him to detail them further; in deference, however, to the urgent request of king Alcinous, he goes on ~~not~~ to ~~do~~ say how he met Agamemnon, Achilles, & Ajax (who would not speak to him); he ~~and~~ touches lightly also on Minos, Orion, Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, & Hercules.

~~What do men do when they send their heroes down to the infernal regions?~~

~~* Od. xi 223, 224~~

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I have heard women say that nothing can be made out the fact that the women in Hades are introduced before the men, ~~but~~ in as much as they would themselves have been more likely to put the men before the women, & can understand that a male writer would be attracted in the first instance by the female shades. When women know what I am driving at, they generally tell ~~them~~ me this, but when I have got another woman to sound them for one, or when I have stalked them warily, ~~more cautiously myself~~, I ~~generally~~ find that they would rather meet the Virgin Mary, Eve, Queen Elizabeth, Cleopatra, Sappho, Jane Austen, St Elizabeth of Hungary, Helen of Troy, Zenobia, & other great women than even Homer & Shakespeare. For my own part, had I to choose a ~~dozen~~ some hundred, whom I would meet, I should include Sappho, Jane Austen, & the authoress of the Odyssey in my list, but I should ~~not~~ probably ask first for Homer, Shakespeare, Handel, Schubert, ~~& others~~ Arcangelo Corelli, Purcell, Giovanni Bellini, Rembrandt, Holbein, De Hooghe, Donatello, Jean de Nesle, the many another painter ~~before any of them except perhaps the writer of the Odyssey~~ ~~& She~~, I confess, ~~interests me so profoundly~~ that I am not sure I should not ask to see her before any of the ~~rest~~ others.

* The comfortable homely woman with whom I had taken great pains said she could not think what I meant by asking such questions, but ~~I wanted a dinner~~ ~~but~~ She would as lief meet Mrs Elizabeth Larond as Queen Elizabeth or any one of them.

I know of no other women writers who have sent their heroes down to Hades, but when men have done so they ~~generally~~ deal with ~~the~~ men first & ~~with the~~ women afterwards, what we have to Dante. When Virgil tells ~~Dante~~ him ~~whom~~ Christ first saved when he descended into Hell, we find that he first rescued Adam. Not a word is there about Eve. Then ~~are~~

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are rescued Abel, Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob & his sons — & lastly, just before the et ceteri — one woman, Rachel. When Virgil has finished, Dante begins meeting people on his own account. First come Homer, Horace, Ovid & Lucan; when these have been disposed of we have Electra, Hector, Æneas, Cæsar, Camilla, Penthesilea, Latinus, Lavinia, Brutus, Cato's wife Marcia, Julia, Cornelia, Saladin, Socrates, Plato, Democritus, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Thales, Zeno, Dioscorides, Orpheus, Linus, Cicero, Seneca, Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicen & Averroes. Seven women to twenty six men. I shall therefore pursue Dante no further; I have given ~~the list~~ it in full because I do not like him.

This list reminds me of Sir John Lubbock's hundred books,

Let us now ~~turn~~ look to the Æneid. When Æneas and the Sibyl ~~have arrived~~ approach the river Styx; we read,—

Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat (S. E)
Matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vitâ
Magnanimûm heroûm, pueri, innuptæque puellæ,
Impositique rogis juvenes ante ora parentûm.
Æn. vi. 305–308.

The ~~mothers are~~ women indeed come first, but (C. E) the i in viri being short Virgil could not help himself, and the first persons whom he recognises as individuals are men — namely two of his Captains who had been drowned — Deucalion & Orontes & Palinurus. After crossing the Styx he first passes through the region inhabited by those who have died as infants; then that by those who have been unjustly condemned to die; then that by Suicides; then that of those who have died for love, where he sees several women, & among them Dido, who treats him as Ajax treated Ulysses. The rest of those whom Æneas sees or converses with in Hades are all men.

One other case alone occurs to me among the many that ought to do so; I refer to Fielding's Journey to the next World. The three first ghosts whom he speaks to in the coach are men. When he gets to his journey's end, after a short, but most touching scene with his own little daughter who had died a mere child

Lucian is still more ungallant, for in his dialogues of the dead he does not introduce a single woman.

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only a few months before Fielding wrote, & who is therefore nothing to the point, he continues:- "The first spirit with whom I entered into discourse, was the famous Leonidas of Sparta." Of course. Soldier will ~~look~~ great Soldier first. In the next paragraph one line is given to Sappho, who, we are told was singing to the accompaniment of Orpheus. Then we go on to Homer, Virgil, Addison, Shakespeare, Betterton, Booth & Milton.

N.B. [Lucian is the most indefatigable of them all for in his Dialogues of the Dead he does not introduce a single woman.

N.B. ~~So again~~ [Defoe, again being an elderly married man, & wanting to comfort Robinson Crusoe, can think of nothing better for him than the companionship of another man, & sends him Friday. A woman would have sent him an amiable & good looking white girl whom the cannibals had taken prisoner from some shipwrecked vessel. This she would have held as likely to be far more useful to him.

* Note at bottom of page

~~By the way~~ Talking of Homer Fielding says, "I had the curiosity to ask him whether he had really writ that ~~ballad~~ poem [the Iliad] in detached pieces & flung it about all over Greece, according to the report which went of him. He smiled at my question, & asked me whether there appeared any connection in the poem; for if there did he thought I might answer for myself." This was first published in 1743, ~~many~~ and is no doubt intended as a sup-ly to Bentley. See Jebb's Introduction to Homer Ed. 1888. ~~p. 106 in~~ note 1 on p. 106.

So much to show that the mind of man, unless when he is young & lovesick, turns more instinctively to man than to woman. And I am convinced, as indeed every one else is whether ~~they~~ he or she knows it or no, that with the above exception, woman is more interested in woman. ~~than she is in man.~~ Each sex believes most firmly in itself, not ~~can we see the smallest reason altogether can we find the smallest reason to complain for complaining~~ let people argue with individuals of this arrangement. A woman if she attempts an epic is almost compelled to have a man for her central figure, but ~~having~~ she will minimise him, & will maximise his wife & daughters, drawing them with sufficient hand.

This is how the Virgin Mary has come to be the Queen of Heaven, & practically of more importance than the Trinity itself in the eyes of the common people in Roman Catholic countries. For the women support the theologian more than the men do. The male Jews again, so I am told have a prayer in which the men thank God that they were not born women, & the women, that they were not born women.

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~~complied so far, she will give the greater in-~~
~~-terest, if turn more in effectively drawing them~~
~~with subtler hand, to her female characters. That~~
That the writer of the Odyssey has done this is obvious;
and this fact alone should make us incline strong-
-ly towards thinking that we are in the hands
not of a man but of a woman.

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Chapter ~~III~~ IV (X)

Jealousy for the honour ~~of women~~ & dignity of woman – serenity against those who have disgraced their sex – Love of small religious observances – of preaching – of white lies & small play acting – of having things both ways – & of money.

Not only does the writer ~~turn by preference to~~ shew a markedly greater both interest & knowledge when dealing with women, but she makes it plain that she is exceedingly jealous for the honour of her sex, & by consequence inexorable in her serenity against those women who have disgraced it. Goddesses may do what they like, they are not to be judged by mortal codes; but a mortal woman who has fallen must die.

No woman throughout the Odyssey is ever laughed at, ~~Ulysses & Alcinous are conspicuously~~ & laughed at, ~~in book VI, & Alcinous~~ indeed is hardly mentioned at all except to be made more or less ridiculous. ~~It~~ One cannot say that Menelaus in books IV & XV is being deliberately made ridiculous, but made ~~laughed at, but he is continually~~ indeed he certainly is, & he is treated as a person of far less interest ~~the~~ & importance than his wife is. Indeed Ulysses, Alcinous & Mene-

Women ~~they~~ may be hanged but they must not be laughed at. Men may be

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-laus and Nestor are all so like one another that I do not doubt they were all drawn from the same person, just as Ithaca & Scheria are from the same place. ~~that~~ Who that person was we shall never know; nevertheless I would point out that unless a girl adores her father he is generally, to her, a mysterious powerful being whose ways are not as her ~~ways~~ ways. He is feared as a dark room is feared by children; and if his wife is at all given to laughing at him, his daughter will not spare him however much she may jaje ~~him~~. & in a way love him.

But, as I have said, though ~~however much the~~ men may be laughed at, the women are never ~~are~~ taken other than quite seriously. Venus is, indeed made a little ridiculous in one passage, but she was a goddess so it does not matter; besides, the brunt of the ridicule was borne by Mars & Venus ~~it~~ was instantly ~~[illegible]~~ readorned & comforted by the Graces. I cannot remember a single instance of a woman being made to do anything which she could not do without loss of dignity — I except of course slaves, who ~~are made to do menial work~~, & am speaking of the higher social classes.

It has often been ~~not~~ observed that the Messenger of the Gods in the Iliad is always Iris, while in the Odyssey he is no less invariably Mercury. I incline to attribute this to the author's dislike of the idea that so noble a lady as Iris should be made to fetch & carry for any

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body. For it is evident Iris was still generally held to have been the messenger of the gods. This appears from the beginning of bk xviii, where we are told that Iris's real name was Arnaeus, but that he was called Iris (which is nothing but Iris with a masculine termination) "because he used to carry messages when any one would send him." ~~This however, that~~ Writers do not fly in the face of current versions unless for some special reasons of their own.

If, however, a woman has misconducted herself she is to be shewn no mercy. There are only three cases in point, ~~the~~ & one of these hardly counts inasmuch as the punishment of the guilty woman, Clytemnestra, was not meted out to her by the authoress herself. The hold however which the story of Clytemnestra's guilt has upon her, the manner in which she repeatedly recurs to it, her horror at ~~it~~ it, but at the same time her desire to ~~extenu~~ remove as much of the blame as possible from Clytemnestra's shoulders, convinces me that she ~~by saying that she was naturally a person of a good disposition, & remained so as long as the was in good hands, but~~ acutely feels the disgrace which Clytemnestra's treachery had inflicted upon all women ~~good~~ "even on the good ones." Why should she be at such pains to tell us that Clytemnestra was a person of good natural disposition, (iii 266) & was irreproachable until death removed the band under whose protection Agamemnon had placed her & when she was left alone—

"Studies in Homer & the Homeric age – ~~Oxford University Press 1858. p. 28.~~ quickly shutted

* ~~Od. iii 266 (272) So this passage is omitted in my abridgement.~~
→ The part about the band is omitted in my abridgement.

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without either husband or guardian, & with an insidious wretch like Egisthus beguiling her with his incessant flattery, she yielded, and there is no more to be said, except that it was very dreadful, and she must be abandoned to her fate. I see Mr Gladstone has wondered what should have induced ~~Homer~~ to tell us that Clytem-nestra was a good woman to start with,* but with all my respect for his great ~~ser~~ services to Homeric literature, I cannot think that he has hit upon the right explanation. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that this extenuation of Clytemnestra's guilt belongs to a part of the Odyssey that was engrafted on to the original design – a part in which, as I shall show later, there was another woman's guilt, which was only not extenuated because it was absolutely denied in the face of overwhelming evidence – I mean Penelope's.

~~who accord~~ → Homer (whom he holds to have written the Odyssey as well as the Iliad)

The second case in point is that of the woman who stole ~~litt~~ Eumæus when he was a ~~little~~ child.† A few days after she has done this, and has gone on board the ship with the Phœnician traders, she is killed by Diana, & thrown overboard to the seals & fishes (XV 403 – 484)

The third case is that of the women of Ulysses' household who had misconducted themselves with the suitors during his absence. We are told that there were fifty women servants in the house, of whom twelve alone were guilty. It is curious that the number of servants should be exactly the same as that ~~number~~ of the maidservants in the house of king Alcinous, & it should be also noted that twelve

* Studies on Homer & the Homeric age – Oxford University Press 1858. p. 28

~~* Od III 268~~ ~~† Od XV 403 – 484~~

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is a very small number for the guilty servants, considering that there were over a hundred suitors, & that the maids seem to have been able to leave the house by night when they chose to do so. I think the laxity of pre-historic times would have prompted a writer who was not particularly jealous for the honour of woman, to have said that there were thirty eight, or even more, guilty, & only twelve innocent. We must bear in mind on the other hand that when Euryclea brought out the 38 innocent women to see Ulysses after he had killed the suitors, Ulysses recognised them all. (xxii 501) The youngest of them therefore can hardly have been under forty, & some no doubt were older — for Ulysses had been gone twenty years.

(xv. 6-8) true, we are elsewhere told that the women had been violated & only yielded under compulsion, but this makes it more wonderful that they should be so few — and I may add, more terribly severe to hang them.

Now how are the guilty ones treated? A man who was speaking of my theory that the Odyssey was written by a woman as a mere mauvaise plaisanterie, once told me it was absurd, for the first thing a woman would have thought of after the suitors had been killed was the dining room carpet. I said that mutatis mutandis this was the very thing she did think of.

As soon as Ulysses has satisfied himself that not a single suitor is left alive, he tells Euryclea to send him the guilty maid-servants, and on their arrival he says to Telemachus, Eumaeus & Philoetius, — "Begin to bear away the corpses, & make the women help you. When you have done this, sponge down the seats & tables, till you have set the whole house in order; then take the maids outside .... & thrust them through with your

(gm. t)

~~*. Od. xv. 6, 7, 8~~ ~~† Od xxii 501~~

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swords. (C.t.) These orders are faithfully obeyed; the maids help in the work of removing the bodies and they sponge ~~down~~ the chairs & tables till they are clean — Ulysses standing over them & seeing that they lose no time. This done, Telemachus (whose mother, we are told, had never yet permitted him to give orders to the female servants) ~~sends~~ takes them outside & hangs them, as a more dishonourable death than the one his father had prescribed (xxii. 462) for them — perhaps also he may have thought he should have less blood to clean up than ~~he would~~ if he stabbed them, or cut their throats. The writer tells us in a line which she borrows in great part from the Iliad, that their feet moved convulsively for a short time ~~but~~ though not for very long, but her ideas of the way in which Telemachus hanged them are of the vaguest. No commentator has ever yet been able to understand it; the only explanation seems to be that the writer did not ~~do so~~ understand it herself, & did not care to do so. Let it suffice that the women were obviously hanged.

~~Now this it seems to me to be, for drawn for~~ ~~The writer must have [illegible] for [illegible]~~

N.B. ~~This it seems to me~~

Roman & writing in pre Christian times would have considered the guilt of the women to merit so ~~many~~ punishment as a punishment ~~for the~~ might have ordered ~~the women~~ them to be killed, but he would not have carried his indignation to ~~excuse over them as the writer evidently does~~ the point of making them first clean up the ~~blood~~ blood of their paramours. Fierce as the writer is against the suitors, she is ~~not~~ far more so against the women. When the suitors are all killed, Eurycleia begins to raise a cry of triumph over them, but Ulysses checks her. "Hold your tongue, woman," he says, "it is ill bragging over the bodies of ~~dead~~ dead men" (xxii. 411). So also it is ill getting the most hideous service out of women up to the very moment when they are to be executed; but the writer seems to have no sense of this; ~~she is [illegible] in a case~~ where female honour has been violated by those of woman's own sex, no punishment is too bad for them. ~~[illegible] to be [illegible] them, and if the sermon that I have made in a note on xviii. 289 is justified the grimness of the exception is only equalled by that of xviii. 325 [illegible]~~

~~xviii. 325 [illegible]~~

H. Od. XXII 473 · cf also H. XIII 573

(7) ~~Od. xxii. 411.~~

~~So much for the severity of the writer against women who have disgraced their sex &c~~

Other characteristics of the Odyssey which incline me to ascribe it to a woman ~~writer~~ are a kind of art for art's sake love ~~of a white lie~~ of a small lie, and a determination to have things both ways whenever it ~~suiter~~ suits her purpose. This never seems to trouble her. There the story is, & the reader may take it or leave it. She loves flimsy disguises & mystifications that stultify themselves, & mystify no body. To go no further than bks i & iii, Minerva in each of these tells plausible stories ~~about herself~~ full of circumstantial details, about her ~~have~~ being on her way to Temesa with a cargo of iron & how she meant to bring back copper (i. 184) ~~*~~ & how again she was going to the Cauconians on the following morning to recover a large debt that had been long owing to her ~~†~~ (iii 365) & then, before the lies she had been at such pains to concoct were well out of her mouth, she reveals ~~-veling~~ herself by flying into the air in the form of an eagle.

There is a flavour of consecutive fifths in these flights, ✠ if indeed they are not downright octaves, & I cannot but think that the writer would have found a smoother progression open to her if she had cared to look for one, but ~~however this may be~~ leaving this, however, the way in which white lies occur from the first book to the last, ~~& consecutive octaves seek~~

~~*Od. i. 184. † iii 365~~

✠ I should explain to the non-musical writer that it is forbidden in music to have consecutive fifths or octaves been the same parts.

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~~as the Cyclopes & the Lastrygonians, Calypso & Circe, the unfortunate slumbers of Ulysses in bks x & xii the last~~, the punctiliousness, omnipresent, with which small religious observances are insisted upon, coupled with ~~general~~ not a little unscrupulousness when these have been attended to, the respect for gods & omens, & for the conveniences generally—all these seem to me to be more characteristic of a woman's writing than a man's.

~~the last (in which Ulysses tells his father a long circumstantial story upon to rest at home) [Od xxiv 235 — 320. There is no more exquisite passage than this in the whole poem, & I must pot for a moment be supposed as finding fault with it.~~

The seriousness, again, with which Telemachus is taken, the closeness with which he adheres to his programme, the precision with which he invariably does what his father, his mother, Minerva or any responsible person tells him that he should do, except in one passage which is taken almost verbatim from the Iliad,* the way in which Minerva beautifies him & preaches to him; the unobtrusive but exemplary manner in which he discharges all his religious, moral, & social duties—all seem to me to point in the direction of thinking that the writer is a woman & a young one.

How does Minerva preach to him? When he has washed his hands in the sea, he prays ~~proclaiming to his praying to Minerva, & uttered his prayer~~, that the goddess will help him on his intended voyage in search ~~to get~~ concerning news of his father. The goddess then comes up to him disguised as Mentor, & speaks as follows:

smaller type

"Telemachus, she says, if you are made of the same stuff as your father you will be neither fool nor coward henceforward, for Ulysses never broke his word nor left his work half done. If, then, you take

The quotes are wanted because it is Minerva speaking

*. Od i 358—359 cf. Il. VI 490—493. The word "war" in the Iliad becomes "speech" in the Odyssey. There is no other change.

after him your voyage will not be fruitless, but unless you have the blood of Ulysses & of Penelope in your veins I see no likelihood of your succeeding. Sons are ~~very~~ seldom as good men as their fathers; they are generally worse not better; still as you are not going to be either fool or coward henceforward, & are not entirely without some share of your father's wise discernment, I look with hope upon your undertaking" (ii 267–280).

Hence the grandmotherly reputation which poor Mentor is never likely to lose. It was not Mentor but Minerva. ~~It does not seem to occur to the writer that daughters~~ The writer does not make Minerva say that daughters were rarely as good women as their mothers were. I had a very dear kind old aunt who when I was a boy used to talk to me just in this way. "Unstable as water", she would say, "thou shalt not excel". I almost heard her ~~say it~~ saying it (& more to the same effect) when I was translating the passage above given. My uncles did not talk to me at all in the same way.

~~The fidelity a~~ See again the manner in which Penelope preaches to Telemachus ~~to him in bk xviii~~

I may add parenthetically here, but will deal with it in a later chapter, ~~when I can dwell much upon Telemachus's voyage to Sparta~~ that all the time Minerva was lecturing Telemachus, she must have known that his going would be worse than useless, inasmuch as Ulysses was, by her own arrangements, on the very eve of his return; indeed he was actually back in Ithaca before Telemachus ~~returned~~ got home.

See, again, the manner in which Penelope scolds him

~~* Od ii 267–280~~

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in the book x viii 206 &c, for having let Ulysses and Jones fight. ~~Then~~ She says:-

Omit "~~Telemachus, I fear you are no longer so discreet & well conducted as you used to be. When you were younger you had a greater sense of propriety; now, however, that you are grown up, though a stranger to look at you would take you for the son of a well to do father as far as size & good bearing, your conduct is by no means what it should have been. What is all this disturbance that has been going on, & how came you to allow a stranger to be so disgracefully ill treated? What would have happened if he had suffered serious injury while a suppliant in your house? Surely this would have been very disreputable to you.~~"

Stet

and put another quote

Stet

I do not believe any man could make a mother rebuke her son so femininely. (L.t)

Again, the fidelity, ~~again~~, with which people go on crying incessantly for a son who has been lost to them for twenty years, though they have still three sons left ~~to them~~, or for a brother whom they have never even seen, is part & parcel of that jealousy for the sanctity of domestic life, in respect of which women are apt to be more ~~than~~ exacting than men are.

And yet ~~with~~ in spite of all this the writer ~~with the freshest naïveté~~ makes Telemachus take no pains to hide the fact that his grievance is not so much the alleged ill treatment of his mother, nor yet the death of his father, as the hole which the extravagance of the suitors is making in his own pocket. ~~In~~ When demanding assistance from

~~Od xviii 206 &c.~~ * Od ii 15–23 ~~this passage is not given in my abridgement.~~

† Od iv 186–188. ~~this passage is not given in my abridgement.~~

neither of these passages are given in my abridgement.

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(I give the passage more fully than in my abridgement)

his fellow countrymen, he says of the two great evils that have fallen upon his house:—

(Sm. t.) "The first of these, is the loss of my excellent father, who was chief among all you here present, & was like a father to every one of you. The second is much more serious, & ere long will be the utter ruin of my estate. The sons of all the chief men among you are pestering my mother to marry them against her will. They are afraid to go to her father Icarius, asking him to choose the one he likes best, & to provide marriage gifts for his daughter, but day after day they keep hanging about my father's house, sacrificing our oxen, sheep, & fat goats for their banquets, & never giving so much as a thought to the quantity of wine they drink. No estate can stand such recklessness" (ii 45–58)

(L.t.) Moreover it is clear throughout books iii & iv, in which Telemachus is trying to get news of his father, that what he really wants is evidence of his death, not of his being alive, though this may only be because he despairs of the second alternative. The indignation of Telemachus on the score of the extravagance of the suitors is noticeably shared by the writer all through the poem; she is furious about it; perhaps by reason of the waste she saw going on in her father's house. Under all she says on this head we seem to feel the rankling of a private grievance, & it often crosses my mind that on the suitors, she also saw the neighbours who night after night came sponging on the reckless good nature of Alcinous, to the probable

* Od. ii 45–58.

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eventual ruin of his house.

Woman, religion, & money are the three dominant ideas in the mind of the writer of the Odyssey. In the Iliad the belli causa is a woman, money is a detail, & man is most in evidence. In the Odyssey the belli causa is mainly money, ~~the particular woman around whom the story turns is a detail~~, & woman is most in evidence, often when ~~they do~~ she does not appear to be so ~~as even~~ just as in those books of the Iliad in which the Trojans are supposed to be most triumphant over the Achæans, ~~the reader may note that~~ it is the Trojans all the time ~~who are being killed most they losing more than the Achæans~~ whose slaughter is most ~~in evidence~~ dwelt upon.

It is strange that the Odyssey, in which money is so constantly present to the mind of the writer, should show not even the faintest signs of having been written from a business point of view, when the Iliad, in which money appears but little, abounds with evidence of its having been written to take with a certain audience ~~which~~ whom the writer both disliked & despised — & hence of having been written with an eye to money.

I will now proceed to the question whether Penelope is being, if I may say so, whitewashed. Is the version of her conduct that is given us in the Odyssey the ~~one which was then current among the writer's fellow citizens~~ then current one, or is ~~she~~ the writer manipulating a very different story, & putting ~~a di~~ another face on it — as all poets are apt to do with any story that they are re-telling? Tennyson, not to mention many earlier writers, has done this with the Arthurian legends, the original form of which ~~pre sents us with~~ takes us into a moral atmosphere as different as can well be conceived from the one we meet with in Idylls of the King.

There is no improbability ~~in a thing for~~ (for ~~many~~ other instances will occur to the reader so readily that I need not quote them) in the supposition that the writer ~~s~~ of the Odyssey might choose to recast a story which she

deemed insulting to her sex, as well as disgusting in itself; the question is, has she done so or not? Do traces of an earlier picture show up through the one she has painted over it, so distinctly as to make it obvious what the original picture represented? If they do not, I will give up my case, but if they do, I shall hold it highly improbable that a man in the Homeric age would undertake the impossible task of making Penelope at the same time plausible & virtuous. I am afraid I think he would be ~~more~~ likely to make her out blacker than the last poet who had treated the subject, rather be at any pains to whiten her.

S. BUTLER
AUTHORESS
OF THE ODYSSEY
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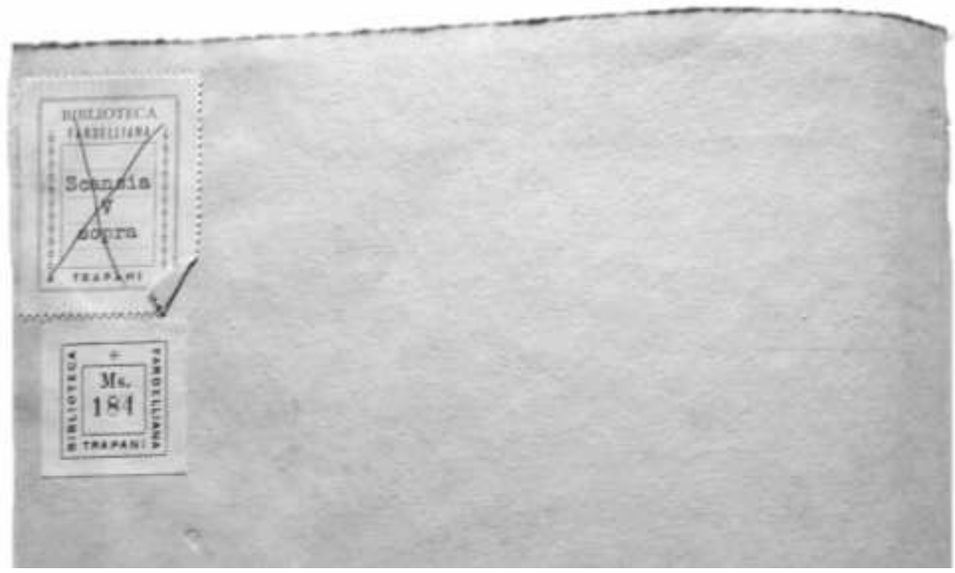
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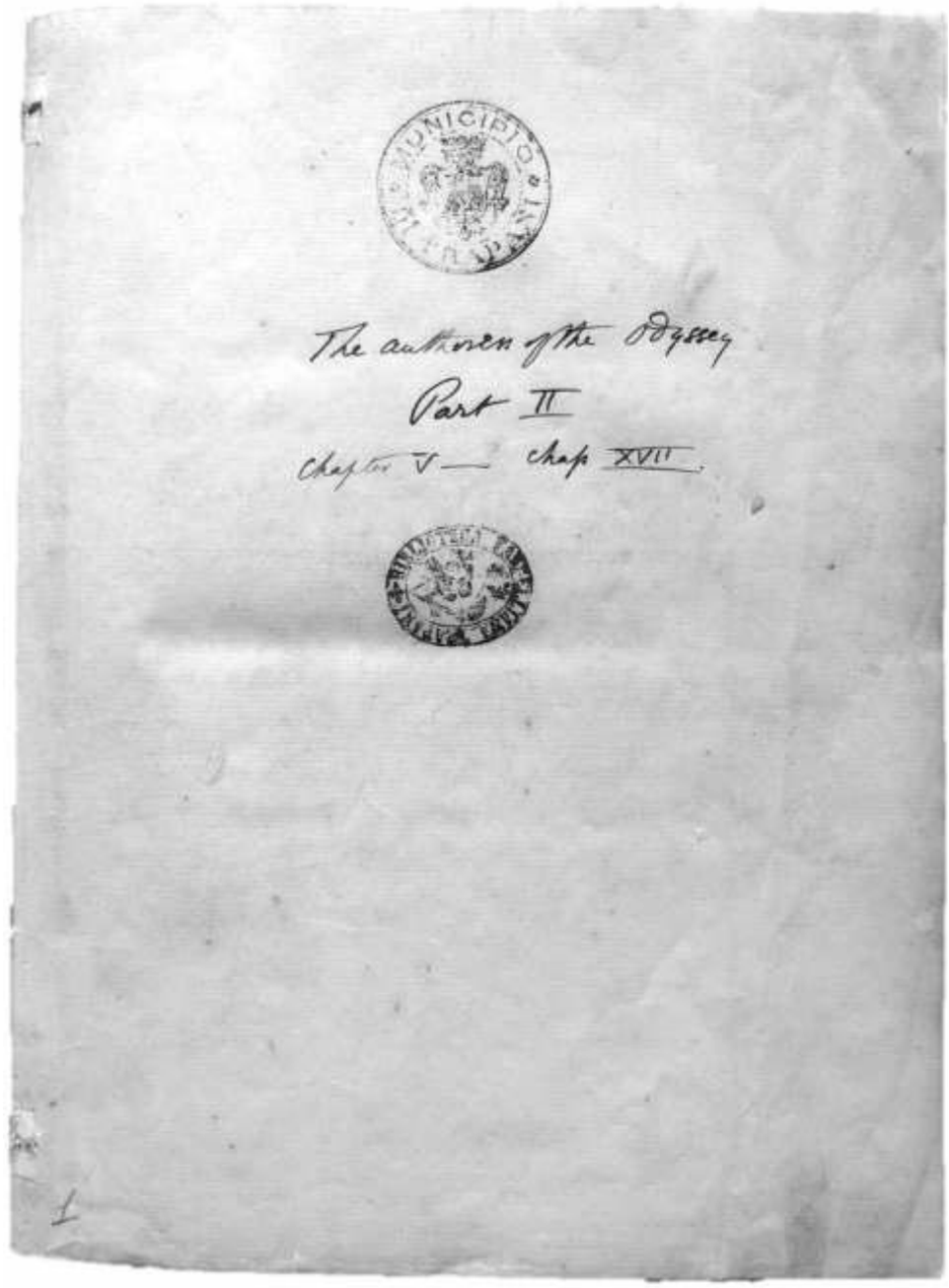
The authoress of the Odyssey
Part II
Chapter V — Chap XVII.
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Chapter ~~iii~~ V

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5bis

On the question whether or no Penelope is being whitewashed.

It is ~~well~~ known that ~~very~~ scandalous versions ~~stories of the~~ of Penelope's conduct were current among the ancients; indeed they seem ~~indicated~~ to have ~~been~~ prevailed before the completion of the Epic cycle, for in the Telegony, ~~by Eugammon~~, which is believed to have come next in chronological order after the Odyssey, we find that when Ulysses had killed the suitors he did not go on living with Penelope, but ~~left Ithaca &~~ settled in ~~Elis~~ Thesprotia ~~where he~~ and married Callidice the queen of the country. He must, therefore, have divorced Penelope, & he could hardly have done this if he accepted the Odyssean version of her conduct. (run on According to ~~him~~ the author of the Telegony Penelope & Telemachus go on living in Ithaca, where eventually Ulysses reigns and is killed by ~~he is killed by~~ Telegonus, a son who had been born to him by Circe. For further references to ancient, though ~~but~~ a good deal later, ~~scandalous~~ scandalous versions, see Smith's dictionary under "Penelope". ~~We have therefore~~

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~~to consider whether the story of Penelope's constancy is sufficiently plausible to make it acceptable as an original story.~~

Let us see what the writer asks us to believe, or rather, swallow. We are told that more than 100 young men fall violently in love, all at the same time, with a supposed widow, ‡who before the close of their suit can hardly have been under forty, & who had a grown up son,— pestering her for several years with addresses that they know are most distasteful to her. They are so madly in love with her that they cannot think of proposing to any one else,* (ii 205—207) till she has made her choice. When she has done this they will go; till then, they will pay her out for her cruel treatment of them by eating her son Telemachus out of house & home. This therefore they proceed to do, & Penelope, who is a model both wife & mother, suffers agonies of grief, partly because of the death of ~~the widow~~ her husband, & partly because she cannot get the suitors out of the house.

One would have thought all she had to do was to bolt the doors as soon as the suitors had left for the night, & refuse to open them in the morning; for the suitors never sleep on the same house with Penelope. ~~This could not be tolerated for a moment.~~ They sleep at various places in the town, in the middle of which Ulysses house evidently stands; ~~All one of them~~

~~* Od. ii 205—207~~ ~~‡ Od ii 397 & elsewhere~~

and if they were meek enough to let them-
-selves be turned out, they would be meek enough
to let themselves be kept out, if those inside
showed anything of a firm front. Not one of them
ever sees Penelope alone; when she comes into
their presence she is attended by two respectable
female servants who stand on either side of her
& she holds a screen or veil modestly before her
face. The suitors were not men of scrupulous
delicacy & in spite of their devotion to Penelope
they lived on terms of improper intimacy with her women ser-
-vants — none of whom appear to have been dismissed instantly on detection.
It is a little strange
that not one of those suitors who came from a long
distance should have insisted on being found
in bed as well as board, & so much care is
taken that not one breath of scandal should
attach to Penelope that we infer a sense
on the writer's part that it was necessary to
put this care well in evidence. I cannot think, for example, that Penelope would have been represented as nearly so incredulous about the return of Ulysses in bk xxiii, if she had been nearly as virtuous as the writer wishes to make her out. The amount of caution to some extent a gauge of the thickness of the coat of whitewash which the writer considers necessary.

— true, she was forty, but neither she nor the poetess seem to bear this in mind, so we may take it as certain that it was mo-
-desty & nothing else that made her hold up the veil.

Still stranger, however, is the fact that these
ardent passionate lovers never quarrel among
themselves for the possession of their middle-aged
paragon. The survival of the fittest does not seem
to have had any place in their system. They show
no signs of jealousy, but jog along cheek by jowl
as a very happy family, aiming spears at a mark,
playing draughts, playing

In all Penelope's dealings with her suitors there is an over present sense that the lady doth protest too much.

goats & singeing pigs in the yard, drinking an untold quantity of wine, & generally holding high feast. They insist that Penelope should marry somebody, but who the happy somebody is to be is a matter of no importance.* No one seems to think it essential that she should marry himself in particular. Not one of them ever finds out that his case is hopeless & takes his leave; & thus matters drift on year after year — during all which time Penelope is not getting any younger — the suitors dying of love for Penelope, & Penelope dying only to be rid of them.

you can put the reference in the text or at the foot of the page as you think best

Granted that the suitors are not less in love with the good cheer they enjoy at Telemachus's expence, than they are with his mother, but this mixture of perfect lover & perfect sponger is so impossible that no one would have recourse to it unless aware that he (or she) was in extreme difficulty. If men are in love they will not sponge; if they sponge they are not in love; we may have it either way but not both; when, therefore, the writer of the Odyssey not only attributes such impossible conduct to the suitors, but asks us also to believe that a clever woman could not keep at any rate some few of her hundred lovers out of the house although their presence had been for many years in a high degree distasteful to her, we may know that we are being hoodwinked as far as the writer can hoodwink us, & shall be very inclinable to

* Od. II 127, 128 and 203–207.

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believe that the suitors were not so black nor Penelope so white as we are being given to understand. [As for her being overawed by the suitors, she talks very plainly to them at times, as for example in xviii 274–280, and again in xix 322, where she speaks as though she were perfectly able to get rid of any suitor who was obnoxious to her.

Over and above this we may infer that the writer who can tell us such a story with a grave face ~~can know nothing~~ cannot have even the faintest perception of the way in which a man feels towards a woman he is in love with, nor yet much (so far as I may venture to form an opinion) of what women commonly feel towards ~~men~~ the man they choose. I conclude, therefore, that she was still very young, & unmarried. At any rate the story told above cannot have been written by Homer; if it is by a man at all it must ~~have~~ be by some prehistoric Fra Angelico, who had known less in his youth, or forgotten more in his old age, than the writer of the Iliad is at all likely to have done. If he had still known enough to be able to write the Odyssey, he would have remembered more than the writer of the Odyssey shows any signs of having ever known.

A man, if he had taken it into his head (as the cat, Lord Tennyson might very conceivably have done) ~~to make~~ represent ~~without~~ to represent Penelope as virtuous in spite of current scandalous stories to the contrary — a man would not ~~would not have~~ have made the suitors a band of lovers at all. He would have seen at once that this was out of the question ~~felt the absurdity of asking any one to believe that over a hundred young men should become enamoured all at one time with a woman nearly~~

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~~twice their own age~~, & would have made them mere ~~band of~~ marauders, who over-awed Penelope by their threats, & were only held in check by ~~Penelope's~~ her mother wit and by say, some three or four covert allies among the suitors themselves. Do what he might he could not make the permanent daily presence of the suitors plausible, but it would be possible; whereas the combination of perfect sponge & perfect lover which is offered us by the writer of the Odyssey is grotesquely impossible. Nor do I imagine that she would have ~~attempted it but~~ ~~which is to accept it but~~ ~~for her~~ ~~for her desire to~~ or her desire to exalt her sex by showing how a clever woman can bring any number of men to her feet, hoodwink them, spoil them, & in the end destroy them. This, however, is surely a woman's theme rather than a man's — at least I know of no male writer who has attempted anything like it.

Lord is only not repulsive by reason of its naiveté, & of its absurdity.

We have now seen the story as told from Penelope's point of view; let us proceed to hear it from that of the suitors. We find this at the beginning of bk ii, & I will give Antinous's speech at fuller length than I have done in my ~~second chapter~~ abridgement. After saying that Penelope had for years been encouraging every single suitor by sending him flattering messages (in which, by the way, Minerva fully corroborates him in bk xiii 379—381) he continued;

~~he would recover. "I could go," he says, "from house to house & serve you with writs, till all was repaid, whereas you now put me in a position for which I have no remedy."~~ *

~~To this Antinous, the leading suitor replies that it is all Penelope's own doing. She is an incorrigible flirt. For years past she has been encouraging every single one of them, by sending him flattering messages without meaning one word of what she said.~~

(on P.) "~~*~~ And then ~~"he continues,"~~ there was that other trick she played us. She set up a great tambour frame in her room, & began to work on an enormous piece of fine needlework. ~~*~~ Sweethearts, ~~*~~ said she, ~~*~~ Ulysses is indeed dead, still, do not press me to marry again immediately; wait — for I would not have my skill in needlework perish unrecorded — till I have completed a ~~shroud~~ pall for the hero Laertes, to be ready against the time when death shall take him. He is very rich, & the women of the place will talk if he is laid out without a ~~shroud~~ pall.

"~~*~~ This was what she said, & we assented; whereon we could see her, working on her great web all day, but at night she would unpick the stitches again by torch light. She fooled us in this way for three years & we never found her out, but as time wore on & she was now in her fourth year, one of her maids, who knew what she was doing, told us, & we caught her in the act of undoing her work; so she had to finish it, whether she would or no.

~~*~~ The suitors, therefore, make you this answer that both you & the Achaans may understand;

~~*~~ Od ii 77–74

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"Send your mother away, & bid her marry the man of her own & of her father's choice; for I do not know what will happen if she goes on plaguing us much longer with the airs she gives herself on the score of the accomplishments ~~that~~ Minerva has taught her, & because she is so clever. We never yet heard of such a woman. We know all about Tyro, Alcmena, Mycene, & the famous women of old, but they were nothing to your mother any one of them. It was not fair of her to treat us in that way, & as long as she continues in the mind with which heaven has now endowed her, so long shall we go on eating up your estate; & I do not see why she should change, for it is she ~~who~~ who gets the honour & glory, & it is you, not she, who lose all this substance. We, however, will not go about our business, nor any where else, till she has made her choice & married some one or other of us." * (ii 93—128)

(L.t.) Roughly, then, the authoress's version is that Penelope is an injured innocent, & the suitors that she is an artful heartless flirt who prefers having a hundred admirers rather than one husband. Which comes nearest, not to the truth—for we may be sure the suitors could have said a great deal more than the writer chooses to say they said—but to the original story which she was sophisticating, and retelling in a way that was more to her liking? The reader will have noted that on this one occasion the suitors seem ~~after all~~ to have been in the house after nightfall.

We cannot forget that when Telemachus first told Minerva about the suitors he admitted

~~* Od. ii 93—128.~~

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~~that~~ his mother had not point blank said ~~that~~ she would not marry again. "She does not," he says, "refuse the hateful marriage, nor yet does she bring matters to an end." * (249, 250) Apparently not; but if not, why not? Not to refuse at once is to court courtship, and if she had not meant to court it she seems to have been adept enough in the art of hoodwinking men to have found some means of "bringing the matter to an end."

Sending pretty little messages to her admirers was not exactly the way to get rid of them. Did she ever try snubbing? Nothing of the kind is placed on record. Did she ever say, "Well Antinous, whoever else I may marry, you ~~make~~ may make your mind easy that it will not be you." Then there was boxing – did she never try that? Did she ever read them any of her grandfather's letters? ~~any poetry~~. Did she sing them her own songs, or play them music of her own composition? I have always found ~~this~~ these courses successful when I wanted to get rid of ~~them. Did she ever read them any of her grandfather's letters~~ people. There are indeed signs that something had been done in this direction, for the suitors say that they cannot stand her high art nonsense & aesthetic rhodomontade any longer, but it is more likely she had been trying to attract than to repel. Did she set them by the ears by repeating with embellishment to what they had said to her about one another? Did she ask Antinous or Eurymachus to sit to her for

~~* Bi 249, 250~~

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her web – give them a good stiff pose, & talk to them all the time? make them stick to it? Did she find errands for them to run, & then scold them, & say she did not want them? or make them do commissions for her & forget to pay them, or keep on sending them back to the shop to change things, & they had given ever so much too much money & she wished she had gone & done it herself? Did she insist on their attending family worship? In a word did she do a single one of the thousand things so astute a matron would have been at no loss to hit upon if she had been in earnest about not wishing to be courted? With one touch of common sense the whole fabric ~~story~~ crumbles into dust.

Telemachus in his rejoinder to the Suitors does not ~~so~~ deny a single one of their facts. ~~facts alleged by the suitors~~. He does not deny that his mother had been in the habit of sending them encouraging ~~notices~~ messages, nor does he attempt to explain her conduct about the web. This, then, being admitted, & it being also transparent that Penelope had used no due diligence in sending her lovers to the right about, can we avoid suspecting that there is a screw loose somewhere, & that ~~some~~ a story of a very different character is being manipulated to meet the exigencies of the writer? And shall we go very far wrong if we conclude that according to the original version, Penelope picked out her

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web, not so much in order to delay a hateful the mar-
-riage as to prolong a very agreeable ~~a prodigate~~ courtship?

It was no doubt because Laertes saw what was going on that he went to live in the country, and left off coming into the town (i 189, 190) & Penelope probably chose the particular form her work assumed in order to ~~get him out of the house the sooner~~ ensure that he should not come near her. Why could she not set about making a pall for somebody else? Was Laertes likely to continue calling, when every time he did so he knew ~~the was only interrupting the~~ that Eurycleia would only only tell him her mistress was upstairs working at his shroud, but she would be down directly? Do let the reader try & think it out a little for himself.

~~Naturally enough Laertes goes to live in the country & never comes to town now.~~ As for Laertes being so badly off as ~~his being so badly off as we are given to understand in book xi~~ Anticlea says he was in bk xi, ~~stand in book xi~~ there is not one grain of truth in that story. The writer had to make him out poor in order to explain his not having interfered to protect Penelope, but Penelope's excuse for making her web was that he was a man of large property. ~~She ought to have a large pall though it is short.~~ ~~Shroud~~. It is the same with the suitors. When ~~they are wanted~~ it is ~~wanted~~ desired to explain away Telemachus's not having sued ~~them~~, or tried in some way to recover from them, they are so ~~very~~ poor that it would be a waste of money to ~~proceed against~~ sue them; when, on the other hand the writer wants Penelope to air her woman's wit by getting presents out of them (xviii 274–280) just before Ulysses

~~* Od i 189 190~~ ~~† Od i 189~~

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V. (N)

X 167

killed them, they have any amount of money. One day more, & she would have been too late. The writer knew that very well, but she was not going to let Penelope lose her presents. She suddenly looks upon man as fair game, which male writers are much less apt to do. Of course the first present she receives is a new dress.

~~Besides, Laertes must have had money, or how could Ulysses have been so rich himself?~~

Returning to Laertes, he must have had money, or how could Ulysses be so rich? Where did Ulysses' money ~~shall~~ come from? He could hardly have made much before he went to Troy, & he ~~brought~~ does not appear to have sent home anything thence. Nothing has been heard from him, & in bk X*, he appears to be bring-ing back his share of the plunder with him — in which case it was lost in the shipwreck off the coast of the Thrinacian island, ~~which can hardly be other than Sicily~~. He seems to have had a dowry of some kind with Penelope, for Telemachus says that if he sends his mother away he shall have to re-fund this to his grandfather Icarius, & urges this fact as one of the reasons for not sending her (ii 132, 133); the greater part, however, of Ulysses' enormous wealth must have come to him from Laertes, who we may be sure kept more for himself than he gave his son. What, then, had become of all this money — for Laertes seems to have been a man of very fru-gal habits? The answer is that ~~nothing~~ it was still in Laertes' hands, & the reason for his never coming to town now, was partly, no doubt, the pall; partly the scandalous life which his daughter in law was leading; but mainly ~~the~~ the writer's inability to explain his non-interference unless she got him out of the way.

The account, again, which Ulysses' mother gives him, in Hades (xi 180 sqq.), of what is going on in Ithaca shows a sense that there is something to con-ceal. She says not one word about the suitors.

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* Od. x 540, ~~& Od ii 132, 133~~ this passage is not given in my abridgement.

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~~IV~~ V. (A)

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All she says is that Telemachus has to see a good deal of company, which is only reasonable ~~but she supposes he cannot well help it~~ seeing that he is a magistrate & is asked out everywhere himself. Nothing can be more coldly euphemistic, nor show a fuller sense that there was a good deal more going on than the ~~writer~~ speaker chose to say. If Anticleia had believed her daughter in law to be innocent, she would have laid the whole situation before Ulysses. (xi 185–187)

It may be maintained that the suitors were not yet come to Ithaca in force, for the visit to Hades comes early in the wanderings of Ulysses, & before his seven years sojourn with Calypso, so that Anticleia may really have known nothing about the suitors; but the writer has forgotten this, & has represented Telemachus as already arrived at man's estate. In truth, at this point Telemachus was at the utmost only 12 or 13 years old, & a children's party was all the entertainment he need either receive or give. The writer has made a slip in her chronology, for throughout the poem Telemachus is represented as only just ~~arrived~~ arriving at man's estate in the twentieth year of Ulysses' absence. It is evident that in describing the interview with Anticleia the writer has in her mind the state of things existing just before Ulysses' return, when the suitors were in full riot; ~~& has forgotten the fact that she is placing it seven years too soon~~. This, indeed, appears still more plainly lower down,

~~Od. xi 185 – 187~~

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when Agamemnon, also in Hades, says that Tele-
-machus was a baby in arms when the Trojan war
broke out; & that he must now be grown up* (xi 448, 449).

The silence therefore of Ulysses' mother is wil-
-ful so far as the writer is concerned. She must
have conceived of Anticlea as knowing all about
the suitors perfectly well – for, ~~Telema~~ she did not
die till Telemachus was, by her own account, old enough
to be a magistrate. The explanation I believe to be,
that at the time bk xi was written the writer had as yet
no intention of adding bks i—iv, & xiii 187—xxiv
on to her poem, but ~~intended~~ proposed to ignore the cur-
-rent scandalous stories about Penelope, and to
say as little as possible about her. I will deal with
this more fully when I come to the genesis and
development of the poem, ~~in the hands of the~~
~~writer~~, but may as well say at once that the dif-
-ficulty above pointed out will have to remain
unexplained except as a slip in chronology on
the part of a young writer who was piecing new
work on to old. Any one but the writer herself
would have seen it & avoided it; but it is quite
possible that the writer came to see it, and did
not think it worth her while to be at the trouble
of altering it. If this is so I, for one, shall think
none the worse of her.

~~* Od xi, 448, 449~~

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Chapter VI α

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Further considerations regarding the character of Penelope — The journey of Telemachus to Lacedemon.

The question whether or no ~~whether~~ the writer of the Odyssey is putting her own construction on ~~certain~~ grosser versions of Penelope's conduct ~~then generally accepted~~ current among her countrymen, has such an important bearing on ~~the question~~ that of the writer's sex, that I shall bring further evidence to show ~~that the~~ how impossible ~~the writer~~ she finds it to conceal the fact that those who knew Penelope best had no confidence in her.

Minerva with quick womanly instinct took in the situation at a glance, & went straight to the point. On learning from Telemachus that Penelope did not at once say that she would not ~~get~~ marry again, ~~but at the same time did not bring matters to an ends, she does not waste words by asking whether Telemachus thinks his mother hates the idea of a second marriage as much as she says she does~~, she wastes no words, but says promptly, "If your mother's mind is set on marrying again" & surely this implies that the speaker had no doubt

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that it was so set) "~~send her~~ let her go back to her father" (i. 276). From this we may infer ~~Minerva's opinion to have been, not only as I have said, that Minerva~~ that Minerva had not only formed her own opinion about Penelope's intentions, but saw also that she meant taking her own time about the courtship, ~~which she found so gratifying to her self esteem~~, & was not likely to be brought to the point by any measures less decisive than sending her back to ~~live with~~ her father's house.

We know, moreover, what Minerva thought of Penelope from another source. Minerva appears to Telemachus in a dream when he is staying with king Menelaus, & gives him to understand that his mother ~~was~~ is on the point of marrying Eurymachus, one of the suitors ~~& this~~ (xv. 1–42). This was, (so at least we are intended to suppose) a wanton falsehood on Minerva's part. Nevertheless if the matter had ended there, nothing probably would have pleased Telemachus better, for in spite of his calling the marriage "hateful," there can be no question that he would have been only too thankful to get his mother out of the house, if she would go of her own free will. Penelope says he was continually urging her to marry & go, on the score of the ~~protracted~~ expense he was being put to by the protracted attentions of the suitors. Penelope indeed seems to have been fully as adept at lying that ~~though Penelope is such a liar that~~ it is very difficult to know when to believe her,

~~* Od. i 275, 276~~ ~~† Od. xv. 1–42~~

~~Od.~~ (xix 530–534).

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but Telemachus says enough elsewhere to leave no doubt that, in spite of a certain decent show of reluctance, he would have been glad that his mother should go. Unfortunately Minerva's story does not end with saying that Penelope means marrying Eurymachus; for she adds that ~~but goes on to add that~~ in this case she will probably steal some of his property, ~~the family plate &c~~ & she says to him:—

(Pm. F.) "You know, ~~she says,~~ what women are; they always want to do the best they can for the man who is married to them at the moment; they forget all about their first husband & the children that they have had by him. Go home, therefore, at once, & put everything in charge of the most respectable housekeeper you can find, until it shall please heaven to send you a wife of your own ~~*~~ (XV 20–26).

(C. F.) This passage not only betrays a want of confidence in Penelope which is out of keeping with her ostensible antecedents, but it goes far to show that Minerva had read the Cypria, in which poem (now lost) we are told that Helen did exactly what is here represented as likely to be done by Penelope; but leaving this, surely if Penelope's antecedents had been such as the writer wishes us to accept, Telemachus would have made a very different answer. ~~to the one he~~ to the one he actually made. He would have said, "My dear Minerva, what a word has escaped the boundary of your teeth. My mother steal ~~the plate~~ my ~~goods~~ property & go off with an unprincipled scoundrel like Eurymachus?

~~*, Od. XV 20–26~~

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No one can know better than yourself that she is the last woman in the whole world to be capable of such conduct". And then he would have awoke up as from a hideous dream.

What, however, happens in reality? Telemachus does indeed wake up (xv. 43) in great distress ~~of mind~~, but it is about ~~the plate, not~~ his property, not about his mother. "Who steals my mother steals trash, but whoso pilches from me my ~~family plate~~ family heirlooms the" He kicks poor Pisistratus to wake him ~~up~~, & says they must harness the horses & be off home at once. Pisistratus ~~remonstrates & says~~ reasons that it is pitch dark; ~~plate or no plate~~ come what may they really must wait till morning. Besides, they ought to say good bye to Menelaus, & get a present out of him; he will be sure to give them one, if Telemachus will not be in such an unreasonable hurry. Can anything show more clearly what was the inner mind both of Minerva & Telemachus about Penelope — and also what kind of ideas the audience had formed about her?

How differently, again, do Minerva & Telemachus regard the stealing. Telemachus feels it acutely & at once. Minerva takes it as a matter of course — but then the ~~plate was not hers~~ goods were property was not hers. The authoress of the Odyssey is never ~~very~~ severe about theft. Minerva evidently thinks it not very nice of Penelope to want to marry again, ~~not that~~ before it is known for certain that Ulysses is dead, but she explains that Eurymachus has been exceeding all the other suitors in the magnificence of his presents, and has lately increased their (xvii. 78) ~~his proposals in the matter of settlements~~.* After all, Penelope had a right

~~* Odyssey 17, 78.~~

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to please herself, & as long as she was going to be bonâ fide married, she might steal as much ~~plate~~ as she could ~~lay hold of~~ without loss of dignity or character. The writer puts this view into Minerva's mouth as a reasonable one for a woman to take. So I have no doubt it was, but it is not a man's view.

~~As we happen to be ~~ at Sparta, let me~~ ~~Lacedæmon~~

I say what more occurs to me in connection with ~~this~~ the visit of Telemachus to King Menelaus that bears on the question whether the writer is a man or a woman. N.B. [When Telemachus & Nestor's son Peisistratus reached Lacedæmon, at the beginning of book iv, Menelaus was celebrating the double marriage of his son Megapenthes, & his daughter Hermione. ~~Let~~ The writer says:—

(Sm. t.) ~~"~~ . . . they reached the low lying city of Lacedæmon, where they drove straight to the house abode of Menelaus, [& found him in his own house feasting with his many clansmen in honour of the wedding of his son, & also that of his daughter, whom he was giving in marriage to the son of that valiant warrior Achilles. He had given his consent & promised her to him, while he was still at Troy, & now the gods were bringing the marriage about; so he was sending her with chariots & horses to the city of the Myrmidons over whom Achilles' son was reigning. For his only son he had found a bride from Sparta, the daughter of Alector. This son, Megapenthes, was born to him of a bond woman, for heaven had vouchsafed Helen no more children after she had borne Hermione who was fair as golden Venus herself. ~~"~~ (iv 1–14)]

(l. t.) I have enclosed part of the above quotation in brackets ~~for reasons that I will give when I deal with the development of the poem~~ ~~I have no~~ not because I have any doubt that ~~whatever that they are by~~ the whole is by the same hand as ~~all~~ the rest of the poem, but because I am ~~sure, but I may say, I think, certainly, that they are~~ ~~I am convinced~~ convinced that the bracketed lines were ~~interpolated by the writer after the poem had been~~ interpolated by the writer after ~~the~~ her work ~~poem~~ had been

I can give it in the space at my disposal for the view that the writer of the Odyssey was a woman who was king Penelope. As, however, we happen to be at Lacedæmon let me

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been completed: or at any rate the after books iv & xv had assumed their present shape. The reason for the interpolation I take to be that ~~the writer~~ she could not ~~excuse~~ forgive herself for having said nothing about Hermione, ~~in either the two books above named, and attempt to explain her~~ whose mn- appearance in bk xv and in the rest of bk iv she attempts to explain by interpolating the passage above quoted & thus making ~~[illegible]~~ Lacedæmon for said ~~by marrying her & sending her away~~ at the very beginning of this last named book. ~~There must~~ But whatever the cause of the interpolating may have been, an interpolation it certainly is, for ~~be some reason of the sort, for it is clear from~~ nothing can be plainer than the rest of bk iv than ~~the rest of bk iv~~ that there were no festivities ~~at~~ going on, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ that the ~~[illegible]~~ only guests were ~~the~~ uninvited ones — to wit Telemachus & Pisistratus.

True, the writer tried to cobble the matter ~~there is, according to my view, an attempt to conceal the cobble~~ by introducing lines 621–624, which in our texts are always inclosed in brackets as suspected — I suppose because Aristarchus ~~so~~ marked them with obeli though he did not venture to exclude them. The ~~attempt~~ cobble, however, only makes ~~matters~~ things worse, for it is obviously inadequate, & its abruptness puzzles the reader.

Accepting, then, lines 2–19 and 621–624, of bk iv as by the writer of the rest of the poem, the reader will note how far more interesting she finds the marriage of Hermione than that of Megapenthes — of whose bride, by the way, there is no trace in bk xv. ~~I grant that~~ The marriage of the son is ~~put~~ indeed mentioned in the first instance before that of the daughter; but surely this is only because υἱὸς ὀ δὲ θυγάτηρ lends itself so much more readily to a hexameter verse than any transposition of the nouns would do. ~~This, however, having been~~ Having mentioned that

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both son & daughter are to be married ~~submitted to for convenience sake~~, the writer at once turns to Hermione, and appears only to marry Megaperthes because, as his sister is being married, he may as well be married too. ~~I believe~~ A male writer would have married Megaperthes first and Hermione afterwards. ~~Also do~~ Nor would he have thought of ~~he would have made the whole cobble in his poem for the sake of getting Hermione in at all~~ worth while to make a very awkward interpolation in his poem merely in order to bring Hermione ~~her~~ onto it, for by this time she must have been over thirty, & it would have been ~~perfectly~~ easy to suppose that she had been married years ago during Menelaus's absence.

As regards the second and shorter interpolation (iv 621–624) ~~-lation~~, it refers to the day after the pretended marriages & runs ~~thus~~ as follows:—

(Sm. t) Thus did they converse [& guests ~~who brought~~ Sm. t] kept coming to the king's house. They brought sheep & wine while their wives had put up bread for them to take with them & so they were busy cooking their dinners in the courts. ~~† Od. iv 621–624~~

(L. t) Passing over the fact that on such a great occasion as the marriage of his son & daughter, Menelaus would hardly expect his guests to bring their own provisions with them (though he might expect them as Alcinous did ~~(iv 621–624)~~ * do their own cooking) I would ask the reader to note that ~~the~~ writer cannot keep the women out even ~~when not~~ from a mere ~~perfunctory~~ cobble. A man might have told us that the guests brought meat & wine & bread, but his mind would not instinctively turn to the guests wives putting up the bread for them.

~~† Od. iv 621–624~~

* Od. viii 38–40 cf also 61. It would seem that Alcinous found the provisions ~~which~~ which the poorer guests cooked for themselves & ate outside on the courtyards. The magnates ate in the covered cloister, ~~(ἐν ὀλκοῖς ὀκιόεντα) that was round the inner court~~, & were no doubt cooked for.

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VI. (8)

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I say nothing about the discrepancy between the chronology of Telemachus's visit to Sparta, & of Ulysses' journey from the island of Calypso to Ithaca, where he arrives one day before Telemachus does. The reader will find it dwelt on in Colonel Mure's Language & Literature of ancient Greece Vol I pp 439, 440. I regard it as nothing more than a slip on the part of a writer who felt that such slips are matters of very small importance; but will call attention to the manner in which the gorgeousness of Menelaus's establishment as described in bk iv has collapsed by the time we reach bk xv, though as far as we can determine, the length of Telemachus's stay with Menelaus, the interval between the two books did not exceed one entire day.

When Telemachus has informed Menelaus that he must go home at once he prays his guests to stay & have something to eat before they start; this, he tells them, will not only be more proper & more comfortable for them, but also cheaper. We know from VII 470–475 that Menelaus used to sell wine; perhaps he may be not very, as also did Agamemnon, but Homer has not been the wine trade – but there is a frank bourgeoisie about this invitation which a male writer could hardly reach. The king explains that they will have to take pot luck, but says he will tell the women to see that there is enough fritter

still franker, however is the offer of Menelaus to take them on a personally conducted tour round the Peloponnesus. It will be very profitable, for no one will send them away empty-handed; every one will give them either a bronze tripod or a cauldron, or two mules, or a gold chalice. As for the refreshments which they are to have immediately the king explains that they

(XV. 75–85)

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of what there might happen to be in the house.

That is just like Menelaus's usual fussiness, why could he not have left it all to Helen? After ~~the~~ reading the Odyssey I am not surprised at ~~Helen~~ Paris's having run away with Paris; the only wonder is that a second great war did not become necessary ~~on her account~~ very shortly after the Trojan matter had been settled. Surely the fact that two young bachelors were going to ~~stay~~ dine with ~~lunch~~ was not such a frightful discord but that it might have been taken unprepared ~~indeed~~ or at any rate without the monarch's personal interference. We can see the ~~lunch is going to be sumptuous~~ dinner is not going to be profusely sumptuous. If there did not happen to be anything good in the house — & I ~~strongly~~ suspect this to have been the case, Menelaus should have trusted Helen to send out & get something. ~~before lunch time~~. But there should have been no sending out about it; Menelaus & Helen ought never to have had a meal without ~~celery, salt, Tamagra butter, & all the rest of it~~ every conceivable delicacy.

What a come down, again, is there not as regards the butler Eteoneus. He was not a real butler at all — he was only a kind of char-butler. ~~for~~ he did not sleep in the house, ~~&~~ (xv. 96) for aught we know may have combined a ~~green grocery~~ shop round the corner with his position in Menelaus household. Worse than this, he had no footman, not even a boy, under him, for Menelaus tells him to light the fire & set about cooking dinner ~~&c.~~ (xv. 97, 98),

~~* Od. xv. 96~~

~~† Od. xv. 96, 97, 98~~

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which he proceeds to do without one syllable of remonstrance. What has become of Asphalion? Where are the menservants who attended to Telemachus & Pisistratus on their arrival? They have to yoke their own horses now. The upper & under ~~servants~~ women servants who appear at all Odyssean meals ~~to~~ are here as usual, but we hear nothing more of Adraste, Alcippe & Phylo. ~~appear no longer.~~ It seems as though after describing the splendour of Menelaus's house in bk iv the writer's nerve has failed her & by page xv her instinctive thrift has reasserted itself.

And now let me return, as I said in chapter IV that I intended doing, to the very singular, ~~and I am afraid~~ – for I do not like to say feminine – nature of the arrangements made by Minerva for her protégé in the matter of his voyage to Pylos & Lacedæmon.

When Minerva first suggested it to him, she knew that Ulysses was on the point of starting from Calypso's island for Scheria, & would be back in Ithaca almost immediately. Yet she must needs choose this particular moment, of all others, for sending Telemachus on a perilous voyage in quest ~~of him. He is~~ of news concerning him. We have seen how she preached to him; but surely if Telemachus had known that she was all the time doing her very utmost to make his voyage useless, he might have retorted with some justice, that whether he was going to be a fool henceforward or no, he should not make such a fool of any young friend of his own as she was now making of him.

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VI (11) 180 11

Besides, he was to be away, if necessary for a two or three months, yet here before he has been gone more than 4 or 5 days, Minerva fills him with an agony of apprehension about his property & sends him post haste back to Ithaca again.

The authoress seems to have felt the force of this, for in bk xiii. 416 & 428 she makes Ulysses remonstrate with Minerva in this very sense, and asks, "Why did you not tell him, for you knew all about it? Did you want him too, to go sailing about amid all kinds of hardship when others were eating up his estate?"

Minerva answered, "Do not trouble yourself about him. I sent him that he might be well spoken about for having gone. He is in no sort of difficulty, but is staying comfortably with Menelaus, & is surrounded with abundance of every kind. The suitors have put out to sea and are on the watch for him, for they mean to kill him before he can get home. I do not much think they will succeed, but rather that some of those who are now eating up your estate will first find a grave themselves."

What she ought to have said was, "You stupid man, can you not understand that my poetess had set her heart on bringing Helen of Troy into her poem, & could not see her way to this without sending Telemachus to Sparta? I assure you that as soon as ever he had interviewed Helen & Menelaus I took steps to bring him back at once."

— or will take, for my poetess's chronology puzzles my poor head dreadfully —

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* Od i. 288 ii 219. † Od xiii 416 428

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VI 12 181

At the end of Bk iv ~~In another place~~ Penelope shows a like tendency to complain of the manner in which she is kept in the dark about information that might easily have been vouchsafed to her.

Minerva has sent her a vision in the likeness of her sister Iphthime. This vision comes to Penelope's bed side & tells her that her son shall come safely home again. She immediately says;

Sm. t. "If then, (E. t.) ~~Enchanting Penelope~~, (Sm. t.) you are a goddess, or have heard news from heaven, tell me about that other ~~poor fellow~~ unhappy one. Is he ~~dead~~, still alive, or is he dead & in the house of Hades?"

"And the vision answered, "I shall not tell you for certain whether he is alive or dead, & there is no use in idle conversation".

E. t. On ~~which~~ this ~~the vision~~ it vanished through the ~~latchet~~ thong-hole of the door.

I may add that I never quite understood the fastening on the Odyssean bed room door, till I found my bedroom at the Hotel Centrale, Trapani, fastened ~~exactly~~ in the Odyssean manner.

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Chapter VII. (1) 182

Further indications that the writer is ~~you~~ a woman – young – headstrong – & unmarried.

I will now touch briefly on the principal passages, over and above ~~the~~ large general considerations & the details to which I have already called attention, which seem ~~throughout the Odyssey which suggest a woman's hand, over & above the large considerations insisted on in earlier chapter.~~ to me to suggest a woman's hand rather than a man's. I shall omit countless more doubtfull instances, many of which the reader will ~~doubtless~~ have noted, or ~~will~~ easily discover.

At the ~~very~~ outset of the poem ~~(i-13)~~ (i-13) the writer represents Ulysses as longing to get back to his wife. He had stayed a whole year with Circe, & but for the remonstrances of his men would have stayed no one can say how much longer. He had stayed seven years with Calypso, & seems to have ~~been~~ remained on excellent terms with her ~~the whole time, till~~ until the exigences of the poem made it necessary to send him back to Ithaca. Surely a man of his sagacity might have subtracted Calypso's axe & auger, cut down the trees at the far end of the island, & made his raft years ago without her finding out anything about it; for she can have hardly wanted ~~her~~ either axe or auger very often.

As for the provisions, if ~~he~~ Ulysses was not capable of accumulating a private hoard, his cunning has been much overrated. If he had seriously wanted to get back to Penelope ~~what~~ his little cunning that is put in evidence would have been exercised in this direction. I am convinced, therefore,

~~* (1) i-13~~

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that though the authoress chooses to pretend that Ulysses was dying to get back to Penelope she knew perfectly well that ~~Ulysses did not care two straws about her~~ he was in no great hurry to do so; she was not, however, going to admit anything so derogatory to the sanctity of married life, or at any rate to the power which a wife has over her husband.

An older woman ~~would be likely enough~~ might have been at less pains to conceal the fact that Penelope ~~had~~ or Ulysses was in ~~really~~ hastening him, slight, ~~[illegible]~~ but the writer of the Odyssey is nothing if she is not young, self willed, & unmarried. No matron would set herself down to write the Odyssey at all. ~~the idea has only to be pressed to at~~ she would have too much sense, & too little daring. She would have gained too much, & lost too much in the gaining. ~~be instinctively rejected.~~

The poem is such a tour de force as none but a high spirited headstrong girl who had been accustomed to have her own way would have ~~dreamed of even~~ attempted, much less ~~would she have~~ carried ~~out her design~~ to such a brilliantly successful conclusion; I cannot, therefore, conceive the writer as older than the original of the frontispiece at the beginning of this book — if indeed she was so old.

The very beautiful lines in which the old nurse Eurycleia lights Telemachus to bed & folds up his clothes for him (i. 428–442) suggests a woman's hand rather than a man's. So also ~~in the same~~ does the emphasising Laertes' respect for his wife's feelings (i 429–433) & this jealousy for ~~for a woman~~ a wife's rights suggests a writer who was ~~more~~ bent on purifying her age, & upholding a high ideal as regards the relations between husband & wife than a man in the Homeric age would be likely to insist on.

I will deal later on with the price paid for Eurycleia (i 431) which is,

A for chap. VII 3

When Helen mixes Nepenthe with the wine which was to be handed round to Menelaus, Telemachus, & Peisistratus, we learn its virtues to be so powerful that a man could not weep during all the day on which he had drunk it, not even though he had lost both his father & his mother, or had seen a brother or a son cut to pieces before his very eyes. (iv 220–226). From the order in which these relationships present themselves to the writer's mind I opine that her father & mother were ~~still the dominant ones~~ to more with her ~~and that she had no children.~~ ~~had neither husband nor child.~~ & the most important persons in her world and that she was ~~still unmarried~~ still young & unmarried.

A little lower we find Helen more or less penitent for having run away with Paris. Helen was Jove's own daughter, and had therefore a right to do pretty much as she chose; ~~she was not to be judged by the ordinary order of humanity~~, still it ~~would be~~ was held better to redeem her as far as possible by making her more or less contrite. ~~but~~ The contrition, however, is of a very curious kind. It was Venus, it seems, who ought to be penitent for having done Helen such so great a wrong. It is ~~the~~ wrong that has been done ~~to~~ to her ~~&~~ that she laments, rather than any misdoing of her own.

VII. 3 184

I do not doubt, a rejoinder to the Iliadic insults of XXIII 262–264 in which a woman & a tripod are put up in one lot as a prize, & also of insult of XXIII 702–705 in which a tripod is represented as worth 12 oxen, & a good serviceable matron maid of all work only 4 oxen. A ~~man~~ would ~~not have taken~~ have let Homer's passage ~~entirely~~ alone, and a man would not have resented it, however much he might have laughed at it.

The Iliadic passage of some length is interrupted (III 447–463) for the purpose of bringing in Nestor's wife & daughter, and describing their delight at seeing a heifer killed; ~~the~~ the Iliadic passage is then resumed. A man, or ~~a~~ woman, ~~we~~ once launched on an Iliadic passage would have stuck to it till it failed them. ~~They~~ would not have cared whether the ladies of Nestor's household liked seeing the heifer killed or no.

Insert A

Is a man, or matron, likely to have conceived the idea of making Helen walk round the wooden horse, pat it, ~~& we~~ call out the names of the heroes who were inside, and mimick the voices of their wives (IV 274–279)? ~~mimick the voices of the wives of all the heroes that were within it (IV 274–279)~~ ~~I have a lady who is staid enough now, but have [illegible] her some years since and mimicked their wives.~~ Ulysses must have told her the horse was coming & what it would contain, when he entered ~~who ~~ dismayed her friends by calmly walking all round the top of the Napoleon column at Boulogne, outside the iron rails, ~~yawning head to tail~~ ~~high spirited girls do these things. It make their heroines do these, but young men, men, & matrons, ~~do~~ dare not either do them or desire the same sake under compulsion.~~ ~~Her hair blown off as she was doing it.~~ ~~& came sailing down to~~ gracefully to the ground. Troy in disguise & talked with her. A man might have made Helen walk round the horse, ~~& pat it~~ ~~but he would not make her mimick the voices of those who were inside~~ and even call out the names of the heroes, but he would never have ~~dared to the height of~~ contented himself with making her mimick their wives.

The writer finds the smell of fish intolerable, and ~~finds it~~ thinks it necessary to achieve ~~the~~ Menelaus & his three men from a distressing situation, ~~but~~ getting Idothea to put some scent under ~~the nostrils of each~~ ~~(IV 441–446)~~ (IV 441–446). Each man's nostrils. There is however an amiable pensée here to which I will call attention later. (See chap. XII near the end)

31 ~~* ad in 274–279~~ ~~† iv 441–446~~

A For VII 185

Book vi is perhaps the loveliest in the whole poem, but I can hardly doubt that if it were given to a Times critic of today as an anonymous work, & he was told to determine the sex of the writer he would ascribe it to a young unmarried women without a moment's hesitation. Let the reader note how Nausicaa has to keep her father up to having a clean shirt on when he ought to have one, (vi. 60) whereas her younger brothers appear to keep her up to having one for them when they want one. These little touches ~~as a feminine & it is just like that they~~ suggest drawing from life by a female member of Alcinous' own family who knew his little ways from behind the scenes.

Take, again, the scene in which Ulysses first meets Nausicaa. A girl, such a girl as Nausicaa herself, young, unmarried, unattached, ~~have been with~~ & without knowledge of what men commonly feel on such points, having by a cruel freak of fortune got her hero into such an awkward predicament, might conceivably imagine that he would ~~might~~ argue as the writer of the Odyssey ~~she~~ has made Ulysses ~~him~~ do, but no man, except such a woman's tailor as could never have written the Odyssey would have got his hero into such an undignified position ~~situation~~ at all, much less have made him talk as Ulysses is made to talk. ~~not the Odyssey~~ ~~It was indeed necessary to keep him in his place, or "accordingly", future she'd never long know that he was in attempting~~

How characteristic, again, of the man-hatress in Nausicaa's attempt to make out that in Ulysses she had found a man to whom she really might become attached — if there were no obstacle to their union.

~~* Divide~~

Very daughterly also is the pleasure which Idothea evidently feels in playing a trick upon her father. Fathers are fair game — at all events for young goddesses.

The whole of iv 625–847 is strongly suggestive of a woman's writing, but I cannot expect ~~the~~ any one reader to admit this without reading either the original or some complete translation.

Calypso's jealousy of Penelope (V 203 ~~sq~~) ~~(v. 203 sq.)~~ is too prettily done for a man. A man would be sure to overdo it. ~~In line 255 of the same book the poet says that Ulysses explains that he gave his raft a rudder, "in order that he might be able to steer it" & in line 270 she tells us that Ulysses actually did use his rudder for the purpose of steering. The writer who could think it necessary to explain this is quite capable of not knowing at which end of a ship the rudder ought to be.*~~ ~~see~~

~~*~~ ~~Ad. v. 203 sq.~~ ~~foot of page~~

insert A as a separate note

~~The Book vi is perhaps the loveliest in the whole poem, but I cannot doubt that if ~~it was given~~ ~~present~~ to a Times critic of today as an anonymous work it would be impossible to determine the sex of the writer he would assume it a young unmarried woman without a moment's hesitation. So also would he assume the vii & viii.~~ I find it hard to pass over the vii especially ~~vii~~ 230 sq., where Arete wants to know how Ulysses came by his clothes, ~~&~~ 294, in which it is said that young people ~~is~~ are apt to be thoughtless. Surely this is a girl giving a rap on the knuckles to older people.

~~In book viii I would remind the reader of the modesty of the female goddesses in not coming to see Mars & Venus in the toils by ~~Vulcan~~ line 434, of Ulysses' absurd speeches to Euryalus, & especially of line 453 which tells how particular Ulysses had been about his toilette as long as he had been with Calypso.~~

* See note ~~&~~ p. ? of Chapter I

VII. 4 bis

In book viii, the games, which are no doubt suggested by those in Sly XXIII are merely labelled "sports", not a single detail being given except that Ulysses' disc ~~hurtled~~ made a sound of some sort as it went through the air, (viii 190) which I do not believe it would do. In the Iliad details are given of every contest, and the games do not take place as they do in the Odyssey immediately after a heavy meal, from which we can hardly suppose that the competitors would be excluded.

I say nothing about the modesty of the female goddesses in not coming to see Mars & Venus caught in the toils of Vulcan (viii. 324) nor yet about the ~~new~~ lovely new dress with which the Graces consoled Venus when she had been liberated (viii 366) for I have omitted the whole of this episode in my abridgement.

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A. ~~for continuation of the~~
~~middle note on VII.~~ 186 (2)

~~As to~~ The distress which Polyphemus caused to Ulysses & his men by flinging down a bundle of firewood, ~~the touch~~ is too graphic a touch to be any thing but drawn from life. I have often fancied that the whole Cyclops episode may have been suggested by one of those serenade, or p[illegible] which Italians & Sicilians are still so fond of. ~~& that the writer of the Od[illegible] is the case where the scene is laid~~ It is that the writer of the Odyssey went with her friends to Scoglitto, & the cave where the scene was laid which was then really much what an alpe is now – an abode of shepherds who made cheese in the cave itself. I like to fancy, (for I know it is nothing more than fancy) that the writer of the Odyssey was delighted with all she saw, but that as she was looking at the milk dishes some huge unkempt shepherd came in with a load of firewood on his back & gave a sudden shock to her ~~frightened her by throwing it down~~ nervous system by flinging it down too violently. Him she transformed into the local giant who exists on Mt Etna now under the name of Cuturriano *

Polyphemus gives each ewe her lamb when he has done milking her. There is no hint of his ever taking the lambs away again. Besides what would the lambs get to keep them alive unless they were allowed to have what milk the ewes made during the night? They had been shut up in the yard all day

* See chapter X.

~~Tail in ends~~

Note B - to follow A inserted in Chapter VII page 5 as a separate note. 186(3)

It is very hard to say what the authoress thought that Polyphemus did in the matter of his ewes & lambs. The lambs were in the yards all day, for Ulysses' men saw them there, and wanted to ~~steal~~ steal them (ix 226, 227). Besides, Polyphemus could not have got any milk from the ewes, if their lambs had been with them in the daytime. ~~Lastly we are expressly t~~ Having driven the ewes into his cave (I omit the she-goats for brevity) he milked them, and then put their lambs with them (ix 245). The question is, did he take them away again after they had got what they could from a milked ewe, or did he leave them with their mothers all night?

On the one hand we have no hint of their removal, which would be a long & troublesome job; on the other we are told in line 309 that he milked the ewes in the morning, & again gave each one of them her lamb; ~~and~~ on the ~~following~~ evening of the same day he repeats this process (line 342), and he would hardly give the ewes their lambs unless he had first removed them ~~the lambs being yarded as soon as they were removed~~. N.P. [The difficulty is that ~~in the first~~ if he removed them they would certainly die in a very few days of such diet as Polyphemus allows them, for whatever he did was κατὰ μοῖραν, according to his usual practice; while if he did not remove them he could not have got any milk. Whatever he did, we may be sure that the writer of the Odyssey had got it wrong, and there is not much to be gained by trying to find out what she thought, for it is obvious that she did not think.

I asked my friend Sig^r Giuseppe Pagoto of

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1864

Mr Cryse, what was the practise of Sicilian shepherds now, and received the following answer; –

Sm t. In Sicily they do not milk ewes that have lately lambed; they keep the lambs shut up, & take the ewes to feed. In the evening they let the lambs suck, & then shut them up again. During the night the ewes make a great deal of milk, and this is again sucked by the lambs in the morning, & not milked. Our shepherds do not take any of the milk until the lamb has been killed. Perhaps in those days the pastures were so abundant that the ewes gave milk enough to nourish the lambs, & still have some for milking. This is the only way in which what Polyphemus did can be explained.

C.T. I believe the true explanation to be ~~that Polyphemus drove in a number of ewes~~ that the shepherd from whose alpe the scene was in part drawn, drove in a number of ewes some of whom had lambs, while the lambs of others had been already killed & eaten. The authoress saw the shepherd milk a number of ewes, and then bring in ~~afterwards~~ a number of lambs, but she did not understand that the ewes which had been milked had got no lambs, while those that had lambs still living had not been milked. I think she knew she was hazy was about it, otherwise she would not have cut her version short with a πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν – "all in due course", ~~but would have told us more about it as she does in iv 783, about the suitors getting their ship under way ready for a voyage~~

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VII (5)

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The love of her own home & parents which is so obvious throughout the poem is never more apparent than in the speech ~~put into the mouth of Ulysses~~ throughout (ix 34 — 36). He says that however fine a house a man may have in a foreign land he can never be really happy away from his father & mother. How different this from the ~~speech~~ saying which ~~Euripides~~ Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Mercury, (Plut. 1151) or again from Euripides, who in a fragment of Phaethon says that a man's fatherland is any place in which he is making money. It is only a young and affectionate girl who could have made Ulysses (who is not much given to sentiment) speak so warmly. Middle-aged people, whether men or women, ~~do not put such speeches into the mouths of middle aged men~~ are too much spotted with the world to be able to say such things. They think as ~~Aristophanes & Euripides do.~~

[In lines 120, 121 of book ix the writer tells us that hunted men as a general rule will face all sorts of hardships in ~~fact~~ fact & on mountain tops. This is quite true, but it is not the way in which men speak of chamois-hunters.

As for the Cyclops incident, delightful as it is, it is impossible as a man or matron's writing. It was very kind of Polyphemus, drunk though he was, to stay without moving a muscle, ~~so quiet, however drunk he may have been,~~ till Ulysses & his men had quite ~~done~~ finished boring out his eye with a burning beam that was big enough for a ship's mast, but Baron Munchausen is the only male writer who ~~would have had offered~~ could offer us anything of the kind, and this is not case in point. Neither, after all, is the Odyssey; for the writer is not taking Polyphemus seriously.

It being evident that Circe is quite as capable a prophet as Tiresias, why should poor Ulysses be sent down to Hades? Obviously because the writer had set her heart on introducing colloquies with the dead. ~~into her poem~~ Granted; but a writer who was less desirous of making out that women ~~are~~ know as much as men would not have made ~~her~~ Circe know quite so much. Why, as soon as Ulysses has returned from Hades, repeat to him the warning about the cattle of the Sun which Tiresias had given him in the same

(~~ma a with A a opposite page~~ Insert A as a new note)

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For VII. & 187

Continuation of the third note.

servants of a house at which they were staying. He is very nice about not saying good bye to Nestor (xv. 199-281) and he never says good bye to Peisistratus as he ought.

Ulysses, again, seems to have no sense of obligation whatever to Circe or Calypso. He has no other idea than that of taking as much & giving as little as he can. So in Hades he does not begin by asking how Penelope is, but how she is behaving & whether she is protecting his estate (xi. 177 sq.).

* Od. xi. 177 sq.

VII &

187

words, & add a great deal more of her own? Why, again, did she not tell Ulysses to be particularly careful to ask Tiresias about the Wandering Rocks in respect of which she had confessed that her information was deficient? Ulysses does not appear to have said anything, but he must have thought a good deal. Young people are impatient of such small considerations. Who, indeed, can let fancy, naïveté, & the charm of spontaneity have free & graceful play, if he or she is to be troubled at every turn by the suggestions of common sense? The young disdain precision, too contemptuously, while older people are apt to think of nothing else.

The same desire to exalt the capabilities of woman appears in making the Sun leave his sheep & cattle in the sole charge of the two nymphs Lampetie & Phaethusa, who, by the way, proved inefficient, quite unable to protect them. But then the Sun was a man, and capable of any folly. (XII. 132)

The comparison of Ulysses to a hungry magistrate (XII 439, 440), which is obviously humorous, is neither a man nor a matron's simile for such a thrilling situation. To me it suggests the hand of a magistrate's daughter, who had often seen her father come home tired & cross at having been detained in court.

The present from Helen to Telemachus of a wedding dress (XV 125–129) was more likely to occur to a young woman than to a man. I think also that a male writer would have given something to poor Pisistratus, who has been very good & amiable all through. It does not appear that Telemachus tipped Eteoneus or any other of Menelaus' servants, though from XX 296, 297 it is plain that it was quite usual for visitors to give something to the servants of a house at which they were staying. (run on with A. on opp. page)

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Transpose the

In book xvii. 495 the old nurse & housekeeper, who has hitherto been always Eurycleia, suddenly becomes Eurynome, a name which we have not yet had. Eurynome from this point is frequently mentioned though the context always suggests, & sometimes compels, the belief that Eurycleia is intended. In book xx 4, for example, we are told that Eurynome threw a cloak over Ulysses after he had lain down to rest, but in line 143 of the same book Eurycleia says she threw the cloak over him herself — for surely this is intended, though the plural according to very common custom is used instead of the singular. The alternation of the two names becomes very baffling, till finally in book xxiii 289 — 292 both Eurynome & Eurycleia appear on the scene together, which cobbles the difficulty but does not make a good job of it, & for one woman would have been quite enough to do all that there was to do.

What happened I take it was this. ~~On the~~ In the first line where we meet with Eurynome, the name Eurycleia could not be made to ~~does not~~ scan very easily, & the writer, thinking she would alter it later, wrote Eurynome. ~~The~~ Having done so once, she used the names Eurynome & Eurycleia according as musical convenience inspired her. This went on for some time, till in the end she found it would be a great deal of trouble to rewrite all the passages in which Eurynome had appeared; ~~appears~~; she therefore determined to brazen it out, ~~along with the~~ and pretend ~~pretend~~ that she had all along meant ~~them to~~ ~~two~~ Eurycleia & Eurynome really were ~~to be two people~~ to be two people. To put their separate existence beyond question she brings them both on together. ~~bringing them both on together~~. I do not say that this is feminine, but I can find nothing like it in the Iliad. I have sometimes thought the last six or seven books ~~of the poem~~, though they contain some of the most exquisite passages in the whole poem, were written in greater haste than the earlier ones, while the last hundred lines or so of bk xxiv suggest that the writer was determined to end her work ~~somehow~~ without much caring how. I have also ~~sometimes~~ wondered whether the husband who in bk vi was yet to find may not have been found before bk xxiv was written; but I have nothing to urge in support of this speculation.

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VII 7

A man would have taken more pains with the names of the men who had made the fountain in xvii 207. The island being called Ithaca, she settles it that one of the men shall be called Ithacus. Ithaca had a mountain in it (which was really another island) called Ne-ritum, so there shall be a Nerites; as for Polnetor, I really believe she would have called the man Polnedor only it would have been too barefaced.

Argus (xvii 291) is just a very good name for a dog. The whole scene between Ulysses and Argus is perhaps the most disappointing in the Odyssey. If the dog was too old or feeble to come to Ulysses, Ulysses should have gone up to him and hugged him, fleas or no fleas, and Argus should not have been allowed to die till this had been put in evidence. True, Ulysses does wipe away one tear, but he should have broken utterly down — and then to ask Eumaeus whether Argus was any use, or whether he was only a show dog — this will not do even as a thing. The scene is well conceived but badly executed; it betrays the lazier side of the writer's nature, and has none of the pathos which Homer would have put into it.

When Eumaeus says what kind of man he would be likely to ask to the house if he was free to choose, he puts a divine first, a physician next, then a carpenter, then a bard. The only wonder is that she did not put the bard before the carpenter, and doubtless she would have done so had she not wanted to give the bard a whole line to himself.

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A. for vii 8

Penelope* seems firmly convinced that she is keeping excellent guard over son's estate all the time, and that if she were to leave the house every thing would go to sack & ruin. She implies this to Ulysses when he is dis-guised as a beggar (xix 524) and wonders how Ulysses could restrain himself from saying, "Well, Madam, if you cannot prove more successful as a guardian than you have been doing this many years past, the sooner you leave the house the better for Telemachus."

*

VII (5) (8)

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I do not believe that any man living could wash Ulysses' feet, & he upset the bath so delightfully as Eurycleia does (xix 386 &c), and at the same time make Penelope sit by & observe nothing of what was going on. He could not rise to the audacity of saying that Minerva had directed Penelope's attention elsewhere, notwithstanding the upsetting of a bath full of water, which must have run all over that part of the cloister. A man would have made Penelope desire suddenly to leave the cloister, just before the accident happened, the noise which Ulysses leg made, and the upsetting of the bath, & lie down upon that couch which she had never ceased to water with her tears &c; she could then have come back, remembering that she had forgotten something, after the footbath had been refilled, and the maids cleaned up. But he could not have done it at all.

It will be observed that the indications become that Ulysses is on the point of returning, the more imperative Penelope finds it to marry one of the suitors without a day's delay. She has heard about the hawk tearing the dove; she has heard Telemachus sneeze; she has been assured that Ulysses was among the Thesprotians, quite near, & would be in Ithaca immediately; she has had a dream which would have made any one wait, say, for at least a week longer, unless determined to take the gloomiest possible view of the situation; but no, on the following day she must marry & leave the house. Her words seem to me like those of a woman gloating over the luxury of woe as drawn by another woman who has never known real trouble. Nothing can better show the hollowness of Penelope's distress from first to last. A woman who felt herself really grieving would have chuckled at any one who had so drawn her up for weeks or months; and any woman who had known real sorrow would also know how certain she wd be to do this.

A man could only do so if he was laughing in his sleeve; whereas the writer of the Odyssey is drawing her very almost to take herself seriously.

insert A

No great poet would compare his hero to a black pudding, cooking before the fire. (xx 24–28) The humour, for of course it is humorously intended, is not man's humour, unless he is writing burlesque. This the writer of the Odyssey is not

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doing here, though she has intentionally ap-
-proached ~~the~~ it very nearly in a great part of the
Phæacian episode. ~~It as I believe began her poem~~
~~rather in just that case. But I will reserve~~
~~what I shall have to say on this subject.~~

The only other two points which suggest a
female hand in bk XX – I mean with especial pre-
-are the sympathy which the writer ~~obviously feels~~ betrays
with the poor weakly woman who could not finish
her task (105 ff.) ~~(105 ff.)~~ and the speech of Telemachus
about his mother being too apt to make much
of second rate people. ~~(Ulysses)~~ (129–133).

The twelve axes set up in book XXII re-
-main in the court during the whole time that
the suitors are being killed. How, I wonder, is it
that not one of the suitors picked up a single axe?
A dozen men with a dozen axes should have
made short work ~~with~~ of Ulysses and his men.

The instinctive housewifely thrift of the writer is nowhere more marked than near the beginning of book XXII where amid the death-throes of Antinous and Eurymachus she cannot forget the good meat and wine that were spoiled by the upsetting of the tables at which the suitors had been sitting.

The killing of the suitors ~~is done with~~
~~a perfunctoriness that a can only call aggressive.~~ is aggressive on its ~~childish~~ want of plausibility.
If Melanthius ~~go~~ could go to the store-room,
no matter how, the other suitors could have
followed him & attacked Ulysses from behind.

~~Moreover~~ Again the outer yard was open to the
suitors all the time. Surely with the axes still
~~in~~ at command they could have cut the Byblus-~~fibre~~
rope that was the only fastening of the main gate;
Some of them at any rate might have ~~escaped, & brought~~ got out.
~~help to the others that were inside.~~ the The first ninety
lines of the book are as fine as the Iliad. But from ~~the~~
line (say) 100 to line 330 the writer is ~~clearly~~ out of her

~~* Od XX n 105 ff.~~ ~~† vs 129 – 133~~

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Odyssey VII. 7a A 191

~~I will not~~ I would, however point out, that in book xvi 281 sqq. where the ~~ca~~ taking away of the armour from the cloister walls was first mooted, it was proposed that enough to arm Ulysses & Telemachus should be left accessible so that they might snatch it up in a moment, without having to go all the way down into the store room after it, at the risk of Telemachus's forgetting to shut the door as young people so often do. I suppose Ulysses ~~so wily as he was too~~ forgot all about this sensible precaution when he & Telemachus were hiding the armour at the beginning of book ~~xix~~ xix. Or shall we suppose that the idea of catching Melanthius in the store-room had not occurred to the poetess when she was writing book xvi, but had struck her before she reached book ~~xix~~ xix, and that she either forgot, or did not think it worth while, ~~to cancel~~, or found it inconvenient, to cancel lines 295, 296 of bk xvi? From what I have seen of the authoress I incline to this last opinion, & hold that she made Ulysses omit to leave a little of the armour ~~not~~ accessible to himself & Telemachus ~~out his original intention~~, because she had by this time determined to string Melanthius up in the store-room and did not see how to get him inside it, unless she made ~~Melanthius go~~ Telemachus go there first & leave the door open, & again, did not see how to get Telemachus down to the store-room if she left any armour near at hand, which for him ~~he could~~ snatch up.

As for Telemachus bringing up four helmets, four shields & eight spears, ~~it is a heavy load, and as for himself~~, he was already fully armed when the fight began (xxi 434), so 3 helmets, 3 shields & 6 spears did have done. Four helmets, four shields & eight spears is a heavy load, but Melanthius carried 12 shields, 12 helmets, & 12 spears apparently all at one time.

[We are in an atmosphere of transpontine melodrama, but the only wonder is that the absurdities are not even grosser than they are, seeing that the writer was a young woman with a strong will of her own. Woman she must have been;

depth, & knows it. The most palpably feminine part is where Minerva comes to help Ulysses disguised as Mentor. (xxii 205–240). The suitors menace her, & in a rage she flies at them but at Ulysses, whom she scolds soundly. Having done this, she flies away & sits on a rafter like a swallow — which again suggests, though it does not compel, that the scene is in an upper room

All readers will help poets, playwrights, & novelists, by making believe a good deal, but we like to know whether we are in the hands of one who will flog us up hill, or who will make as little demand upon us as possible. In this portion of the xxii the writer is flogging us up hill. She does not care how much she may afflict the reader in his efforts whether to believe or understand her — the only thing she really cares for is her revenge. She must have every one of the suitors killed stone dead, & all the guilty women hanged, & Melanthius first horribly tortured & then cut in pieces. Provided these objects are attained, it is not necessary that the reader should be able to believe or even follow, all the ins & outs of the processes that lead up to them.

I will therefore not pursue the absurdities with which the killing of the suitors abounds. Insert A If the writer was as I suppose, a very young woman the only wonder is that they should not be more & grosser than they are. And that she was so I would conclude even. She must have been a young woman; no male writer could have resisted the temptation to kill Eumaeus. It is the faithful servant's rôle to be mortally wounded on occasions

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of this sort. There are very few more suitors to be killed, & Minerva is going to raise her Ægis immediately so that he could be perfectly well spared; possibly ~~[illegible]~~ the writer felt that she should be ~~very~~ shorthanded with the cleaning up of the blood & the removal of the dead bodies, but more probably she hated the suitors so bitterly that she would not let them score a single point.

How evidently writers ~~the writer~~ she feels when she has got the killing over and can return to ~~incidents that~~ ground on which she feels her is strong, ~~strength~~ such as the saving of Phemius & Medon, & the cleaning down of the house—

What are we to say of making Penelope, whose room ~~suddenly~~ looked out upon the cloister, sleep soundly all through the killing of the suitors? What of her ~~di~~ remarks to Eurycleia when she has been waked? What again of her interview with Ulysses, and the ~~[illegible]~~ dance which Ulysses presently advises? What, indeed, of the whole book? Surely it is all perfectly right as coming from some such person as the one portrayed in my frontispiece, but who can conceive the kind of man or matron who could write it? The same applies to book xxiv. What man or middle-aged woman could have written the ineffably lovely scene between Ulysses & Laertes in the garden? or have made Ulysses dine with old Dolius whose son & daughter he had killed on the preceding day? A man would have been certain to make Ulysses tell Dolius that he was very sorry but there ~~was~~ had been nothing for it, but to hang his daughter & to cut his son's nose & ears off, draw out his vitals, & then cut off his hands & feet. Probably, however, he would have kept Dolius and his sons out of the book altogether.

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VII " bis.

When Ulysses and Penelope are in bed (XXIII 300 – 343) and are telling their stories to one another, Penelope tells hers first. I believe a male writer would have made Ulysses' story come first and Penelope's second.

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VII. (12)

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I have now given, though far more briefly than the subject requires, some of my ~~my principal~~ reasons for believing that from the first book of the Odyssey to the last we are in the hands of a young woman. Who, then, was she? Where did she live and write? She was flesh & blood, lived in time & place, looked on sea & sky, came & went somewhither & somewhen – but where? & when? & above all, who? It will be my object to throw what light I can upon these subjects in the following chapters.

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Chapter VIII (4)

That Ithaca & Scheria are both of them drawn from Trapani and its immediate neighbourhood.

I will follow the same course that I have taken earlier, & retrace the process whereby I was led to my conclusion.

~~Than Though~~ By the time I had finished ~~reached~~ Ok X ~~I~~ I was satisfied that the Odyssey was not ~~written~~ ~~was in the hands~~ ~~by a man but~~ a man's work, but I had seen no ~~of a young woman had formed seen no~~ - thing to make me think that it ~~guide me to the conclusion that the Odyssey~~ was written rather at one place than at another. When, however, I reached xiii 159–164, in which passage Neptune turns the Phæacian ship into a rock at the entrance of the Scherian ~~of a~~ harbour, I felt sure that an actual feature was being drawn from, & made a note that no place, however much it might lie between two harbours, would do for Scheria, unless at the end of one of them there was a small half sunken rock. Presently I set myself to consider ~~and later on I considered~~ what combination of ~~other~~ natural features I ought to look for on the supposition that Scheria was a real place, and made a list of them as follows:- ~~I found these to be as follows:~~

1. The town must be placed on a point of land jutting out as a land's end into the sea between two harbours, or bays in which ships could ride; it must be connected with the mainland by a ~~by a neck~~ narrow neck of land,

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and as I have just said, must have a ~~half~~ sunken formidable rock at the entrance of one of the Harbours.

2 There must be no river running into either harbour, or Nausicaa would not have had to go so far to wash her clothes. The river when ~~went~~ reached might be nothing but a lagoon with a spring or two of fresh water running into it, for the clothes were not, so it would seem, washed in a river; they were washed in public washing cisterns (od vi, 40, 86, 92) which a small spring would keep full enough of water "to wash clothes even though they were very dirty". The scene is laid close on the sea shore, for the clothes are ~~laid~~ put out to dry on a high bank of shingle which the sea had raised, & Nausicaa's maidens fly from Ulysses along the beach & spits that ran into the sea.

3 There must be a notable mountain at no great distance from the town, so as to give point to Neptune's threat that he would bury it under a high mountain. Furthermore the whole combination above described must lie greatly further West of Euboea than Ithaca was, & hence greatly West of Ithaca (od vii 320). Surely if a real place is being drawn from these indications are ample to ensure its being easily found.

Men of Science, so far as I have observed them, are apt, in their fear of jumping to a conclusion, to forget that there is such a thing as jumping away from one, and Homeric ~~students~~ scholars seem

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to have taken a leaf out of their book in this respect. How many striking points of correspondence I wonder, between an actual place & one described in a novel, would be enough to create a reasonable assurance that one ~~conclude that the place in question was being drawn from~~ place in which they were found combined was the place that was drawn from? I should say four well marked ones would be sufficient to make it extremely improbable that a like combination could be found elsewhere; ~~& to warrant conclude that the writer was drawing from the place where they were found.~~ Make it five, and unless we find something to outweigh the considerations which ~~make~~ so close a correspondence between the ~~actual place~~ ~~& the novel to exist in an unknown~~ actual place and the one described in the novel ~~or unknown~~ would suggest, or unless by ~~the features already drawn,~~ some strange coincidence the ~~coincidence can be brought forward whereby it can be shown that the~~ same combination in all its details ~~occurs~~ can be shown to occur in some other & more probable locality, ~~place, a reasonable man will not hesitate~~ place, we may be sure that the novel was drawn from the place. Every fresh detail in the combination required ~~increases~~ ~~by the one & complied with increases~~ decreases the probability of error in geometrical ratio, ~~provided it be found complied with in the place~~ & if it be duly complied with.

Take the following for example.

~~Dartmouth, like other fair cities, was built on a hill. The highest point was the fine old Elizabethan School, then, & now, of European reputation. Opposite it was the old Cheltonhall & ruined Castle, overlooking the babbling & boiling shallows of the broad & rapid river Sabor ..... From the hill the town sloped rapidly down on every side towards the river which made it a peninsula studded with habitations.~~ (The Bracclerres, father & son, by Charles Clarke, Chapman & Hall. Vol I. p. 28)

~~Is there a man of ordinary intelligence, who acquainted with Shrewsbury, the~~ ~~who will doubt that Shrewsbury, was the~~

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VIII (4) 197

~~place that Mr Clarke was drawing from?~~
~~Surely if he does, it is incumbent upon him to~~
~~bring forward some very convincing reasons in~~
~~favour of some other place before he can expect his readers~~
~~others to agree with him.~~

Let us suppose ~~again, to take another illustration,~~
that a policeman is told to look out for an elderly
gentleman of about sixty; he is a foreigner, speaks
a little English but not much, is lame in his
left foot, ~~&~~ has ~~a~~ blue eyes, a bottle nose, &
is about 5 ft. 10 in. high. How many of these fea-
-tures will the policeman require before he
feels pretty sure that he has found his man?
If he sees any foreigner he will look at him.
If he sees one who is about 5 ft. 10 ~~in~~ high he
will note his age, if ~~he observes that the man~~ this proves to be about 60 years & further of the man
limps on his left foot, he will probably feel
~~reasonably sure that he is~~ safe in stopping him.
If, as he is sure to do, he finds he has a bottle
nose, he will leave the blue eyes & broken Eng-
-lish alone, ~~but~~ and will bring the man before
the magistrate.

~~And Suppose~~ If it is then found ~~the magistrate finds~~ that the
man's eyes are hazel, & that he either speaks
English fluently or does not speak it at all – is the magistrate
~~he~~ likely ~~of~~ to discharge the prisoner ~~for these~~ on account of these small
discrepancies ~~between him~~ & the description ~~of him~~ given of him,
~~in the description~~, when so many
other ~~feature~~ of the required characteristics are found present? Will he not rather
require the prisoner to ~~Surely he will require the most convincing proof~~ ~~make~~ ~~prove~~ bring for-
~~that it is a case of mistaken identity before he~~ -ward very convincing proof that it is a case of
~~let the man go.~~ mistaken identity?

~~Happily for my case the writer of the Dogstoy has~~
~~adhered so closely to Trapani & its environs.~~

Found

54

VIII - ~~A~~ ~~(a)~~ bis 198

Or to take another illustration which is perhaps more strictly to the point, as involving comparison between an actual place & one described in a novel. Here is an extract from a novel; —

"Cranmerton, like other fair cities, was built on a hill. The highest point was the fine old Elizabethan School, then, & now, of European reputation. Opposite it was the old shattered & ruined Castle, overlooking the babbling & boiling shallows of the broad & rapid river Sabor, ... From the hill the town sloped rapidly down on every side towards the river, which made it a peninsula studded with habitations." (The Bracelets, father & son, by Charles Clarke, Chapman & Hall. Vol I p. 28) (Sh. t.)

Is there any man of ordinary intelligence and acquainted with Shrewsbury who will doubt that Shrewsbury was the place that Mr Clarke was drawing from? (C. t.)

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VIII. 2. (ter)

When I have urged the more numerous & weightier points of agreement between Schería as described in the Odyssey, & Trapani as it still exists, eminent Homeric scholars have told me, not once nor twice & not meekly, but with an air as though they were crushing me — that my case rests in the main on geographical features that are not unknown to other parts of the coast, & upon legends which also belong to other places.

Grammerton, they argue — to return to my illustration — must not be held as Shrewsbury, as at Harrow as well as Shrewsbury the school is on the highest part of the town. There is a river, again, at Eton, so that Eton may very well have been the place intended. It is highly fanciful to suppose that the name Saber may be a mere literary travesty of Sabrina, & Nottingham there is a castle which was in ruins but a few years since & from which one can see the Trent. Nottingham, therefore, is quite as likely to be the original of Grammerton as Shrewsbury is. And so on ad infinitum. This line of argument consists in ignoring that the force of the one appeal to it lies in the demonstrable existence of a highly complex combination, the component items of which are potent when they are all found together in the same place, but impotent unless combined. It is a line which eminent Homeric scholars almost invariably take when discussing my Odyssean theory, but it is not one which will satisfy those before whom even the most eminent of Homeric scholars must in the end bow — I mean, men of ordinary common sense. These last will know that Grammerton can only be dislodged from Shrewsbury on proof either that the features of Shrewsbury do not in reality correspond with those of Grammerton, or else that there is another town in England which offers the same combination, & is otherwise more acceptable.

So with Trapani & Schería. Eminent Homeric scholars must either show that I have exaggerated the points of correspondence between the two places which in the face of the Admiralty charts & the Odyssey they will hardly venture, or else they must bring forward another place in which all the same points of correspondence are found combined, which they cannot do, or they must show reason for thinking that the very numerous & striking coincidences between Trapani and all Scherian & Ithacan scenes is not due to mere accident, and that they may be allowed to be misled or no. Need I hardly say that no attempt in either of the two directions above indicated has been made during the five & a half years since my theory was first put before readers of the Athenæum Jan. 30. 1892.

[Neither will it be made, when they can show cause for thinking that a man who has thirteen times in his hand for three months running, has not been cheating.

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Chapter VIII

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So with Trapani & Scheria. Eminent Homeric scholars must ~~either~~ show that I have exaggerated the points of correspondence between the two places — which in the face of Admiralty charts & of the Odyssey they will hardly venture; or they must bring forward some other place in which all the same points of correspondence are found combined — which they will not attempt; or they must show reason for thinking that the very numerous & precise correspondences between Trapani & all Scherian & Ithacan scenes is referable to mere accident — and this will satisfy those only who will believe that a man has held thirteen trumps in his hand three deals running, without having tampered with the cards. I need not discuss this last supposition, and as for the other two, I can only assure the reader that no attempt has been made to establish either of them during the close on six years since my theory was first put before the public.

Neither will it ever be made. For Scheria should be looked for on some West Coast to the West of Greece, and there are no such West Coasts except those of Italy & Sicily, both of which I know well enough to be sure that of the Scherian combination could be found elsewhere than at Trapani I should long since have found it. Even could

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such a place be found ~~they find it~~, with its rock Malconsiglio, legend and all, ~~the~~ before it could compete with Trapani in claiming the Odyssey it would have to offer the Ithacan combination as well as the Scherian; for surely a place which provides us with ~~all~~ both Ithacan & ~~the~~ Scherian topography would have a greater right to be considered as ~~the place~~ that from which the Odyssey was drawn, than ~~any of it~~ one which could only offer ~~to~~ the details of Scheria. Furthermore, could they find another place with all both Scherian & Ithacan features, ~~and even if~~ ~~th~~ my opponents would ~~find that~~ be only ~~they were only~~ half way through their troubles; for Trapani could still ~~hold~~ hold it own against ~~any~~ it, unless it also ~~place that~~ had ~~not~~ four islands (neither more nor fewer) lying off it, one of them long & narrow, and all of them corresponding with the inaccurate Odyssean description of the Ionian islands. ~~And~~ ~~when~~ Nor would ~~they~~ it even then begin to be on equal terms with Trapani, ~~vanquish Trapani~~, till it was shown ~~without showing~~ that the effective part of the voyages of Ulysses begins ~~the place that th~~ and ends with it ~~the civil site that they are bringing forward~~. When all this has been done, but not before, it will be time to weigh the comparative claims of the two sites.

~~Small wonder then, that on finding how strong a faggot they must break, they should have preferred to unbind it, instead that they have broken a stick or two, (which they have never and said that there has been no deception.~~

For I rest my case on the harmonious concurrence ~~for been and~~ of four lines of argument, each ~~one of them~~ requiring the fulfilment of many & very rigorous conditions, and each ~~one of them~~ by itself sufficient to raise a strong presumption that Trapani was the place which was most prominent in the mind of the writer of the Odyssey. They are;—

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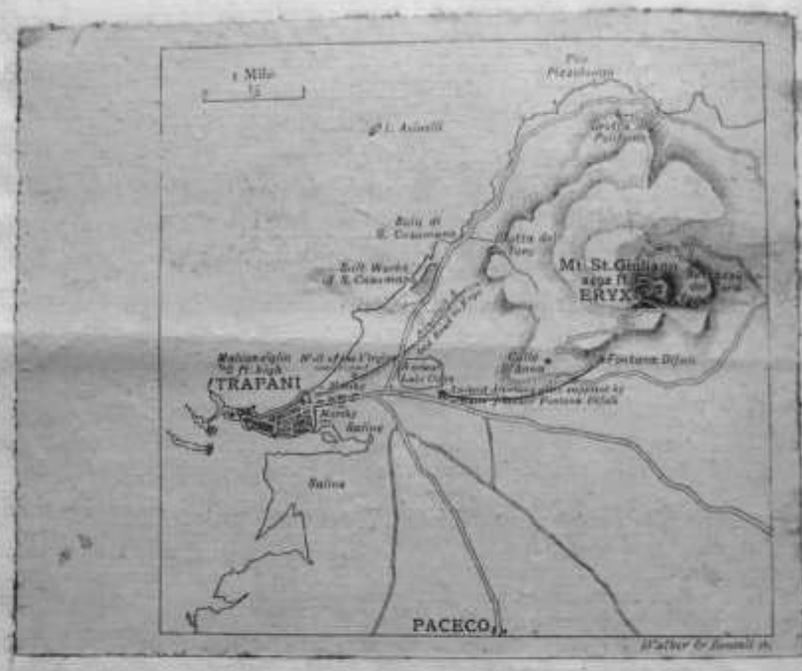

~~neighbourhood that I have not a single dis-~~
~~-crepancy to explain away.~~

~~These are four lines of argument by which I propose to prove my case. They are~~

1. That Scheria is drawn from Trapani ~~and from nowhere else~~. This I will substantiate by bringing forward a ~~greatly~~ much ~~greater~~ stronger combination of correspondences ~~that~~ than exist between Grantmesnil & Shrewsbury. ~~and seeing that the Phaacian episode is the eye of the Odyssey, this alone would appear to suggest that the poem might hail hailed from that place, though it would not prove it.~~

2. That Ithaca also is drawn from Trapani and its immediate neighbourhood. My case for this will be found even stronger if possible than that by which I established that Scheria was Trapani.

3. That the Ionian islands as described in the Odyssey cannot have been drawn from the actual Ionian islands, nor from any others but those of Trapani; and that the writer sinned against her own knowledge in order to force these islands into her narrative.

4. That the voyages of Ulysses practically resolve themselves into a voyage from Troy to the neighbourhood of Sicily, ~~as soon as he had got well away from Troy~~ and thence onward, into a sail round Sicily ~~from Trapani back to the~~ beginning with Trapani and ending with the same place.

It will be necessary that no argument adduced in support of any of these propositions should clash with one in support of any other, but all the four lines of argument must corroborate each other, so that they fit into one another as the pieces of child's puzzle. It is inconceivable that any thing but a true theory should comply with conditions ~~that are~~ so exacting. (run on)

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and will return to the steps by which I arrived at this conclusion.

I will now proceed to show that Scheria is Trapani, armed with the list of points I had to find in combination as given at the beginning of this chapter, I went down to the Map room of the British Museum intending to search the Mediterranean from the Troad to Gibraltar ~~the end to the other, Black sea and~~ if necessary, but remembering that ~~having to begin somewhere I reflected that~~ I ought to look, (for reasons already given) ~~on a West coast~~ some distance West of Greece, and ~~that~~ also that the writer of the Odyssey appeared to have lived on a Coast that looked West at East, I resolved to ~~had better~~ search the West Coast first, ~~whenever I might see one, as~~ I knew that Colonel Mure ~~&~~ a respectable weight of ancient testimony had ~~others had~~ placed the Cyclopes on Mt. Eryx, ~~& that at the end of the last century local tradition at that place as recorded by Stolberg Trapani pointed to the rocks which Polyphemus had thrown at Ulysses & still existed to this effect~~* and it seemed to me that the island ~~from~~ where Ulysses hunted the goats, & the whole Cyclops incident suggested drawing from life more vividly than any other part of the voyages. I knew moreover that the writer was a young woman, who was & little likely to have travelled, and hence I felt sure that if one place ~~can~~ could be found none of the others would be long in finding; ~~&~~ I asked, therefore, for the map of the ~~West~~ Lilybœan promontory, as the West Coast West of Greece that offered the greatest prospect of success, and hardly had ~~Hardly~~ I got it in my hand ~~that~~ before I found the combination I wanted for Scheria. lying right under Mt. Eryx. The land's end jutting into the sea, the two harbours one on either side of it, the narrow

*

entrance between two marshes ~~now~~ the high mountain hard by — the rock at the entrance of one of the harbours — the absence of any river — will be found in the map here given, which Messrs Walker & Boutall have made for me from the Italian government survey & from our own admiralty chart.

But this was not all. Not only was the rock of the right height, & so turned as to ~~suggest~~ give the idea of a ship coming into port, but it bore the strange name of Malconsiglio, or "Evil counsel". I was so much struck with this that I wrote to Trapani ~~&~~ enquiring whether there existed any local tradition in connection with the rock, & was told that there were two — the one absurd, & ~~discredit~~ the other to the effect that the rock had been a ship of Turkish Pirates who were coming to attack Trapani, but were turned into stone at the entrance of the harbour by the Madonna di Trapani. I ~~under~~ did not doubt that ~~between them~~ ~~both~~ the name & the legend between them preserved the Odyssean version, ~~&~~ in a christianized form — the legend recording the fact of ~~the rock had been~~ a ship having been ~~that was~~ turned into stone as it was entering harbour, & the ~~other~~ name, the fact that ~~that~~ this had been brought about in consequence of an evil counsel. — query Italics

I believe ~~Those who do not find~~ the above sufficient ~~to~~ for reasonable assurance ~~satisfy them~~, that Scheria was drawn from Trapani and will ~~will remain unconvinced no matter how many more arguments I may adduce. I shall~~ therefore proceed to establish that the Ithaca scenes are drawn also from the same place & its immediate neighbourhood ~~Trapani and its immediate neighbourhood.~~

To this end it will be incumbent upon me to find that near Trapani, ~~one to find a town near which there is but not immediately adjacent with a harbour a little actually in the town~~ ~~there is a harbour way off it, which has a current in it, and lies~~ though not actually at the town, there exists, or can be shewn to have in all reasonable probability existed, a harbour which has, or had, a current in it, & which lies hard by the foot of a mountain. This harbour ~~under a mountain.~~ It should have a shelving bottom, for the Phæacian crew which brought Ulysses to Ithaca ran half ~~its~~ the ship's length on shore before the way was off it. At no great distance ~~from this harbour~~ there must be two caves ~~apparently~~ near together (Od. xiii. 109–112 & 347–349). One of them ~~these caves~~ must have two entrances ~~the~~ one turned towards the North, by which people can go down into the cave, & the other towards the south, by which the gods alone can enter. It must have water in it, & also prehistoric implements should be found there. From ~~it~~ near it one must be able to see harbours (in the plural) and it should be on the side of a mountain. Here Ulysses hid the treasure that the Phæacians had given him. The other cave need present no special features.

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A man ascending the mountain from Lacca Cayes & keeping along the top of it should come to a place on ~~the~~ ground commanding an extensive prospect, where there is a spring & a rock that is called Raven. This site must be bitterly cold in winter, and must be ~~at~~ about two hours walk from ~~the~~ Trapani; ~~town that does duty in the writer's mind for Ithaca~~; ~~and~~ the path to the town must be so ~~very~~ rugged that a man in ordinary vigour would not like to take it without having a stick; ~~Lastly~~ + Lastly it must pass a notable mound or hill much nearer ~~the town~~ Trapani than the high ground ~~on which summons a hut was placed~~ above alluded to, and commanding a full view of the city and harbour. The reader who turns to ~~look~~ the abridgement of books xiii, xiv, xv & xvi & xvii given in this work will find that all these points are necessary.

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A

~~Note~~ for VIII. p. 205

*. The existence of this bed was pointed out to me by Sig^r Sugameli of Trapani. He assured me that till 1848 when the salt works were made, the whole space covered by them was an open mere where his father used to go to shoot wild ducks. The great difficulty in making the salt works was the abundance of fresh water springs which made it necessary to cement the salt pans in order to keep the fresh water from mixing with the salt. It was perhaps from some of these springs that the ~~ἀν~~ ἀνιοί or washing cisterns of VI,40 were supplied – unless indeed Nausicaa washed the clothes in sea water as I have seen women in the island of Pantelleria still do.

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They all of them exist at this day, even to the calling of the rock "Raven", except one – I mean the ~~entrance to~~ mouth of the harbour where the Phæacians entered: ~~the mouth of~~ this which is now silted up, like ~~that~~ the harbour of Selinunte, which I might almost call ~~th~~ on the same coast. ~~A~~ few years ago the stone work at the entrance to the harbour of Selinunte was excavated, but it was ~~buried by the sea~~ silted over again in a single winter. — put this in a note

The ~~upper~~ inner part of the harbour is still ~~exists~~ full of sea water, ~~but~~ and ~~some forty years ago was~~ but has been converted into salt works† which are slightly below the level of the sea. The bed of the old exit is clearly seen, and there are still rushes in it though it is quite dry: It is very narrow, ~~and~~ is often full in winter, and is marked with dotted lines in the Italian ordnance map, but not in our admiralty chart. ~~It is now called the Salt works of S. Cusumano.~~ — Insert A and give illustration to be found overleaf.

Given a mass of water, nearly a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad ~~and~~ with a narrow exit, and the tide, which here has a rise & fall of from two to three feet, would cause a current ~~it which~~ that at times would be strong, & justify its being described as a river, and also as a harbour with a current in it; ~~which~~ returning for a moment to Scheria I suppose this to be the river at the mouth of which Ulysses landed, and the river's staying his flow (V. 451) ~~his flow~~ I take to mean that he arrived there just at the turn of the tide. I may also say that this harbour is used five times in the Odyssey; –

1. as the "flowing harbour," in the country beyond the town under Mt. Neritum" – reading, as explained earlier, Νηρίτου for Νηίου – where Minerva left her ship, when she was talking with Telemachus ~~p. 185~~ 185, 186. 2. as the place where Ulysses landed in Scheria & where Nausicaa washed her clothes. 3. as the place where Ulysses landed in

† shown in the plan as the ~~Salina~~ Salt works of S. Cusumano.

~~ξ 89 – V. 451~~

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The salt wake of S. Cusumano –
give the better negative which
I have just taken.

Ithaca 4. as the place where Telemachus landed in Ithaca on his return from Pylos, (xv 495) 4. 24 57. as the spot pointed to by Ulysses as the one where his ship was lying, "in the country beyond the town" (xxiv 308 E)

I will now return to the two caves which ought to be found at no great distance from the head of this harbour. It is clear from the text that there were two caves not one, but some one has enclosed in brackets the two lines in which the second cave is mentioned, I presume because he found himself puzzled by having a second cave sprung upon him when up to this point he had been only told of one.

for there are two caves, distant about 80 or 100 yards from one another, at the place marked in my map as the grotta del toro. The one is conspicuous, but without special feature; the other which is very easily seen, and which is called by the peasants the grotta del toro, looks due North, and is universally believed to contain a treasure, which a bull who lives in its recesses is continually grinding, but which can only be found by a virgin, who will eat a whole pomegranate without spilling a single pip. I suspect the toro to be a children's corruption of tesoro. The bull having thus got into the cave has never got out again, and as the treasure is also confidently known to exist — well — what can the bull be there for but to grind the treasure?

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The cave ~~narrows and then~~ runs due South into the rock by a passage so rough and narrow that no one is likely to go ~~so south~~ more than a very few feet with it. ~~Run on~~

~~My friend Mr H. J. Jones & Signor Sugameli of Trapani hovered, explored & found that after about thirty feet it appears to be cut off by a mass of solid rock. At any rate whether I found it so rough & uncomfortable that being still lame I did not venture to go with them. This was early in May 1896. I may add that they found water.~~

No one therefore can enter the cavern from the South – it is only the gods who can do so.

In August 1894 I visited the ground with some Sicilian friends, & we discoursed with the contadino who had charge of the farm on which the caves are found. While we were talking there came up a nice intelligent lad on a donkey, & he seemed ~~very~~ much interested in our conversation.

"~~Has~~ Is there", we asked, pointing to the grotta del toro, "a treasure in the cave?"

"Certainly," was the immediate answer. Here the boy broke in. He was quite sure there was one, every body knew it. It could not be doubted.

"Is there a treasure in the other cave?"

"Oh no".

"Which of the two caves is called the grotta del toro?"

"That one" – from both peasant & boy, who pointed at once to the cave that corresponded with the Odyssey.

"You are quite sure that the other cave is not called 'la grotta del toro'?"

"Quite."

"Where does the grotta del toro go to?"

"It gets narrow, & goes far into the rock."

"Has any one ever been to the end of it?"

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"No, no; no one knows where it ends. There was a cattle driver who went in once to explore it, but he never came back, & they say that after this there was a wall built to stop any one from going further."

"Have you ever been inside the cave yourself?"

"yes."

"Have you been as far as the wall?"

"No"

"How far did you go?"

"Not very far; I was afraid."

"Then you have no idea how far the cave goes?"

"No."

"Is there water in the cave at all times?"

"yes."

"Have you seen it?"

"yes, I was there in May last, & there was water then."

"Is there water there now?"

"I should think so, but cannot be certain."

"Can you take us to it?"

"No: the key of the ground is at Trapani."

"They say there is a bull living in the further recesses of the cavern?"

"They say so, but we have never seen him; all we know for certain is that there is a treasure."

Here the boy again brightened up, & said that this was certain.

When we had finished our questions the contadino took one of our party aside, & said confidentially, "Be sure of me, for I have a strong stomach", (i.e. I can keep a secret)." When you come to remove the treasure, which I can see that you intend to do, you must take me with you & give me my share. If you come by night

Say 300
2951
3251

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the dogs will bark, & I shall know that you are there. I will then come down & help you, but you must give me my share."

I wrote the above conversation down, in Italian, immediately on my return to Trapani, and my Sicilian friends signed it, at my request, as a correct report. It occurs to me to add that there is no other cave near Trapani to which any story of a hidden treasure attaches.

Last year (May, 1896) I visited the ~~second~~ cave again, ~~accompanied by~~ this time with my friend Mr H. Festing Jones, who has gone over the whole of the ground described in this book, ~~at my~~ to make sure that I have not overstated my case. We were accompanied by Sig.r Sugameli of Trapani, to whom I owe the correction of my error in believing the more conspicuous of the two ~~second~~ caves to be called the grotta del toro ~~(or~~ — for so, on my first visit to Trapani in 1892, my friends in the town had assured me, not knowing the existence of the one which really bears this name. ~~and the two penetrated the~~ Jones & Signor Sugameli scrambled into the interior of the cavern, but I, being elderly & somewhat lame, did not venture. They found the cave end, after about 30 feet, in a mass of solid rock; but ~~none~~ few who had gone above 10 or 12 feet ~~is~~ will be likely ~~to wish~~ to go any further, & I can well believe that the writer of the Odyssey, ~~shared the belief held~~ like the peasants of today, believed ~~it to be~~ that no one could get to the end of it. My friends found water.

The cave is full of bees' nests, in summer, as are all the caves hereabouts. They are small, ~~cup-like~~ solitary, of red clay, & about the size of the cup of an acorn. All the caves in the neighbourhood of Mt. Eryx abound in remains of stone-age man, some fine examples of which may be seen in the museum at Palermo. These remains would doubtless be more common & more striking three thousand years or so ago than they are at present, & I find no difficulty in thinking that the poetic imagination

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of the writer of the Odyssey ascribed them to the nymphs & naiads.

From hard by ~~the~~ both the caves one can see, of course, the precipices of Mt. Eryx, which I suppose to be Neritum in the mind of the writer, the long straight paths on the cultivated land some couple of hundred feet below, the harbour of the old merman Phorcys, and also the harbours of Trapani, all which are requisite by lines xiii 195, 196, & 345–357.

The reader will note that while more than one Scherian detail is given casually & perhaps unintentionally, as for example the harbour ~~of the old man Phorcys~~ merman, where Ulysses landed in Scheria, & the harbours, which I do not doubt are the two harbours of Trapani, there is no Ithaca detail given so far which conflicts with any feature in the description of Scheria. ~~It~~

The number ~~of~~ and value of the points of correspondence between the cave in which Ulysses hid his ~~precious~~ treasure, & the grotta del Corvo greatly exceeds those between Grammeron & Shrewsbury, ~~I shall therefore conclude that the writer of the Odyssey was drawing from this cave just mentioned & from none other.~~ Nevertheless it will be well to see ~~how~~ whether ~~for Ulysses~~ his movements on leaving the cave confirm my view or ~~and how~~ ~~militate~~ make against it.

I suppose ~~Ulysses~~ him to have ascended the steep, & then, doubtless, wooded slopes of Mt. Eryx & to have passed along its high & nearly level summit (δι' ἀκρωρείας, xiv. 2) to the other end of the mountain where the Norman Castle ~~stood~~ stands now 2500 ft above the sea level. Here he descended some two or three hundred feet to the spot now called i Runzi, where there is a spring near a precipice which is still

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called il muccarii dei corvi, i.e. "the rock of the ravens", it being on this part of the mountain that these birds breed most freely. This walk would take him about two hours more or less.

The site is seen from far & wide, it is bitterly cold in winter, & is connected with Trapani by a rough mountain path which Ulysses may well have been afraid to travel without a stick (xvii 195) ~~(xvii 195)~~ * The path passes close to the round topped Colle di Sta Anna which ~~does not doubt~~ answers perfectly to the Ἐρειδιος λόφος of xvi 471. The time it takes to walk from the runzi to Trapani corresponds with all the indications furnished us in the Odyssey concerning the distance between Eumaeus's hut and the town of Ithaca ~~roughly, that is to say, as~~ which seems roughly to have been a winter's day walk there & back.

The reader will see, therefore, that we have the whole road taken by Ulysses from his landing in ~~Ithaca~~ the harbour of the Phaeacians, to the cave, (with all its complex requirements) in which he hid his presents, up Mt Neritum, along its long top to the spring & the Raven Rock, & finally the path passing the hill of Mercury down to Ithaca, as accurately presented to us by the road from the salina di S. Cusumano to the grotta del toro Mt. Eryx, the fountain, the Raven Rock, & the road to Trapani, as though the Odyssey had been written yesterday. When the ~~non~~ reader can find me, in any literature ancient or modern any like chain of correspondences, ~~so many & so complex~~ between an actual place and one described in a work of fiction, as an effect of mere chance, I will accept the

* ~~Of recent years~~ An excellent carriage road has been made from Trapani to the town on the top of Mt Eryx, but pedestrians still use the old path, which in places is very rough.

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VIII . 76 A 212

Young people when transferring familiar stories ~~which they are familiar~~, to their own neighbourhoods, as almost all young people do, never stick at inconsistencies. They are ~~something~~ like eminent Homeric scholars, & when they mean to have things in any given way they will not let the native hue of resolution be ~~sicklied over~~ balked by thought, & will find it equally easy to have an Ithaca in one place & also in another, ~~as to see~~ and to see the voyages of Columbus to the tropics in their own sliding over a frozen pool. So Lord Selborne writes:—

As we grew, the faculty of imagination increased in power. It coloured all our childish pleasures; it accompanied us on the ice, & into the woods; it mixed the dreams of the supernatural with the most ordinary things. Our resting-places when sliding over a frozen pool were the islands discovered by Columbus or Cook, in whose voyages we delighted. (pm. t)

(Memorials &c. by Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne. Macmillan 1896 Pt. I p. 66).

Before I leave the Ithaca scenes ~~(Pt. I p. 66)~~ ~~While dealing with Ithaca~~ I ought to show that there may well have existed at Trapani a ~~ferry~~ sheet of water which cattle would be likely to cross in a boat as described in Od. XX, 186, 187. The land on the East side of Trapani was artificially raised in 1860, till which time the two seas on either side ~~Trapani~~ the town were often joined in winter, after a continuance of Northerly Winds. ~~Many~~ Several people have assured me that they remember having to ~~cross from Trapani to~~ be carried over the water between Trapani & the main land ~~in carts~~. I was at first tempted to believe that Philoetius had come to the town when the narrow entrance to it was flooded, ~~& that we could thus explain the ferry~~; but a few lines above we find that Eumaeus had also come to the town with three pigs, & Melanthius with some goats. These men had both unquestionably come from Mt. Syx, & the text seems to forbid the idea that they had had to cross water. There is nothing however, to imply that Philoetius had come from Mt. Syx; indeed it is more likely that his cattle would feed on the flat land South of the harbour, ~~and had put his two stock away by which he had worked out~~ ~~the ferry was across the harbour~~ to save the long détour which would have been otherwise necessary. If the ~~ferry~~ water had been ~~used~~ thick any such river as is to be found in this island would probably have been enough, whereas there seem to have been several ~~cases~~ ferries for hire, as in a port or harbour. (L. t.)

coincidences to which I have called attention as possibly accidental only; but I am convinced that no such case nor anything approaching it can be adduced. ~~I then~~

I therefore claim that Ithaca, like Scheria, must be taken as drawn from ~~Scheria~~ Trapani. There is, however, this important point to be remembered, that though the writer ~~draws Ithaca details from Trapani & its neighbourhood, so she always~~, when she has to consider ~~it~~ Ithaca ab extra, as an island & nothing more, pictures it to herself as the high & striking island of Marettimo some 22 miles off Trapani, ~~by far the highest & most striking of the Egadean islands~~ when she wants details she takes them from ~~the~~ her own immediate neighbourhood on the mainland. ~~Trapani was virtually on the mainland, & when therefore the writer wants it to be an island ~~it~~ she puts it on Marettimo, but draws its details from an original nearer home.~~ I ~~need~~ should ~~hardly say~~ ~~perhaps not~~ that having examined ~~the Admiralty charts of Ithaca, the real Ithaca~~ ~~with care~~ I find ~~no correspondence whatever between~~ ~~it and the scenes described in the Odyssey~~

Insert A

The ~~fact~~ fact that Scheria & Ithaca ~~were the same place~~ would be perfectly well known by the audience as drawn from their own neighbourhood explains another difficulty. "How," some hypercritical listener might ask, "could so sagacious and experienced a mariner as Ulysses have failed to note that he was only travelling two miles, or even less, from Scheria to Ithaca? And how again could he fail to recognise the place at which he landed as the one where he had met Nausicaa a few days previously?"

~~A reader will accept such a very lame apology~~ explanation ~~of his author acknowledges that an explanation of some kind is due to him, but he will kick if the he is treated without even a show of respect, however insufficient.~~ The writer of the Odyssey admits with some naivete that the Phaeacian

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mariners were already acquainted with the harbour ~~in Ithaca~~ in which they left Ulysses. They probably would be. But how ~~to persuade~~ prevent Ulysses from remonstrating both during the voyage and on being landed? It is not easy to see what better course ~~the sailors~~ could take than the one she actually did take, i.e. put ~~him to sleep~~ Ulysses to sleep ~~so fast asleep~~ as soon as ever he was on board, and not wake ~~up~~ him till after the sailors were gone. Asleep, therefore, is prepared for him (viii 318 & viii 445) ~~(viii 445)~~ and he falls into apparently ~~before~~ before we ~~as soon as he gets on board~~ leaving the harbour; it is so profound that ~~the ship leaves the harbour, it is so deep that~~ it is more like death than sleep (xiii 80) ~~and~~ that even the ~~sailors~~ men lifting him off the ship, next morning, laying all his treasures hard by him, or going away, can disturb him till ~~they sailors~~ the Phaeacian sailors are beyond all reach of question. Then, of course, the sooner he wakes up the better.

As for the other difficulty of his not seeing that he was only at the ~~place~~ spot where he had met Nausicaa two days earlier, this was got over by making it a misty morning, and muddling Ulysses generally so that he ~~did~~ does not even recognise ~~the place~~ the place as Ithaca, much less as Scheria, till Minerva meets him and has a long talk with him, in the course of which the audience slides into ~~accepting~~ accepts the situation, & ~~takes~~ the neighbourhood of Trapani for that of Ithaca without more demur.

~~A remoter audience, such as no doubt the writer contemplated would find a difficulty of a~~

IX

The Ionian & the Egadean islands — The voyages of Ulysses shown to be practically a sail round Sicily from Trapani to Trapani.

In a later chapter I propose to show that the writer of the Odyssey had the Iliad before her in the state in which we have it now, unimportant copyists errors alone excepted. I shall show that those books on which most doubt has been cast by eminent Homeric scholars both on the continent & in England, are quoted from just as fully & freely as those which are admitted to have been by Homer. I have seen no sufficient reason alleged for doubting that the catalogues of Il. II 484–877) II of the Iliad formed part of the poem as Homer left it, though it is quite likely that he may have got some one with greater knowledge of Greece to help him with it. I will return to this question, but for the present will ask the reader to accept my assumption that the writer of the Odyssey knew the Catalogues above referred to. The group of the Echinades, and the Ionian islands are described as follows in the catalogue of the Achaean forces;—

Sm. t. "And they of Dulichium with the sacred Echinean islands, who dwelt beyond the sea of Elis — these were led by Meges, peer of Mars, the son of Phyleus, who had erewhile migrated to Dulichium in consequence of a quarrel with his father. And with him there came forty ships.

Sm. t. Ulysses led the brave Cephallenians, who held Ithaca, wooded Neritum, Crocylea, rugged Aegilips, Samos,* & Zacynthus, with the mainland

* In the Odyssey more generally called Same.

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~~Insert page~~

Point in text

The famous city of Motya was on the southernmost of the two small islands between the Isola Grande and the mainland

also that is over against the islands. These were led by Ulysses, peer of gods in counsel, & with him there came twelve ships (Il II 625–637)

Insert Map — (Here insert map)

The reader will note that Dulichium, which means "Long Island", does not belong to the Ionian islands but to the neighbouring group of the Echinades. Let us now see how the islands in the neighbourhood of Ithaca are described in the Odyssey. Ulysses says (ix 21–26):—

"I dwell, says Uly, in Ithaca, an island which contains a high mountain called Neritum. In its neighbourhood there are other islands, near to one another, Dulichium, Same & Zacynthus. It lies on the horizon all highest up in the sea towards the West, while the other islands lie away from it to the East."

In the Odyssey there are never more than three islands besides Ithaca. When mentioned all together they are always named in the order given above – probably for reasons of scansion – but Dulichium is the most important in the eyes of the writer, being more frequently mentioned separately, & sending fifty two suitors ~~to Penelope~~, as against twenty four from Same, twenty from Zacynthus, & twelve from Ithaca itself (xvi 247–251).

A glance at the map given above will show that there is no island in the neighbourhood of Ithaca which can with poetical propriety be held to have sent nearly as many suitors as the other three put together. At least all could Dulichium be so held. It seems, then, that it was the name, & not the island, that the writer wanted; & further that she wanted this so badly as to lay violent hands upon it & raid it from another group.

Why should she strain so considerable a point

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Print in text – ~~with~~ give it a whole page but with text at the back – (block made)

Trapani from Mt. Eryx. showing Marettimo
(all highest up in the sea) Od. ix 25. The Isola Grande (Dulichium)
could not be got in to the picture.

in order to get hold of it? The Iliadic cata-
-logue ~~the~~ agrees with the map & gives us
six Ionian islands. After suppressing the
small islands of Crocylea & Cephalonia, which, it seems, was the exact number ~~which~~
there remained four, & ~~the writer of the Odyssey meant to introduce~~
~~that the writer of the Odyssey meant to introduce~~
~~have any larger number~~. Why, then, should not
Neritum have been good enough for her? It
evidently did not answer her purpose, or she
would ~~never~~ not, in the face of the Catalogue, have
stowed it away inside Ithaca & some further afield for her dominant island. These things are
never done without a reason, & in this case a
reason is particularly necessary, for it would
have been more easy and also suitable, conside-
-ring the insignificance of the real Dulichium,
to make the ~~50~~ two suitors come from the very con-
-siderable island of Neritum.

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All difficulty is removed by supposing that the writer lived at Trapani & was drawing the Ionian islands from the, to her, familiar Egadean group. ~~Egadean islands~~ ~~Cendeas group~~. ~~A glance at the following map~~ A glance at the following map will show that ~~she cannot have been~~ drawing ~~that she, that~~ she cannot have been drawing from the real Ionian islands. Ithaca cannot be tortured into lying "all highest up in the sea towards the West." It is completely covered by Samos. Nor do the other islands lie away from it to the East. It is clear, then, ~~It is clear, then~~ ~~East. Not only, then, is it clear~~ that the Ionian islands were not those present to the mind of the writer, but we may infer in passing, firstly that her audience lived ~~so far from the Ionian~~ at a sufficient distance from Greece to make the ~~the~~ islands as to make inspection of topographical accuracy a matter of no importance, ~~but also~~ & secondly that the islands from which she was in reality drawing lay ~~off a West Coast~~ lay, like the true Ionian group, off a West Coast.

I will now ~~give a map~~ of the islands off Trapani - I see that Professor Freeman in his map of the West Coast of Sicily as he supposes it to have been in ancient times has joined the Isola ~~or Grande~~ to the main land, but he gives no authority for doing so. I can find none ~~during~~ in ancient writers, & having examined the ground I see nothing to indicate any change in the distribution of land & water, as having taken place within ~~one hundred~~ distance of our own times.

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A. Insert on p. 6 of chapter ix

goats. Indeed this incident seems introduced as though purposely to suggest the ~~Egadean~~ to, or "goat," islands to the audience, as also does the line ~~iv~~ iv 606 in which Ithaca – that is to say, in reality, the island of Marettimo – is said to be an island fit for ~~f~~ goats. * Very considerable consent accompanies us also to Mt Eryce as the site of the adventure with Poly-phemus. Here, as with the island on which the goats were hunted,

Egadean

*. The name Farognana is derived from Faronius, this wind blowing on to Trapani from off the island. It is, however, also perhaps more frequently called Farignana.

on the same page for "details of Trapanese coregraphy" read "~~the~~ neighbourhood of Trapani."

I may add here that I take what the writer says about the Cyclops having no ships, to be satirical, & to be intended to be taken by the audience as meaning: "you have no excuse for colonizing this fertile island, for you have any number of ships

*. The name Farognana is of course derived from Faronius – this wind blowing on to Trapani from off the island of ~~Fag~~ Farognana. ~~The island Lucia is also perhaps called Farignana.~~

*. The reader will observe that I have said nothing about the island of Acitrezza between Acireale & Catania, which is confidently claimed by those who live on the East Coast of Sicily as the one on which goats were hunted. I have been on it, & find it not to contain more than two acres. The idea that ~~so~~ such a writer as the authoress of the Odyssey should make Ulysses & his large body of men ~~hunt~~ spend half a day in killing & hunting goats on such a site need not be discussed seriously.

IX (A)

27

Print in text

I suppose the lofty rugged island of Marettimo ~~to have~~ did duty in the writer's mind for ~~have done duty for~~ Ithaca, though, as I have said, when details are wanted they are taken from Trapani & Mt. Eryx. The long island, now the Isola Grande, low lying, & wheat growing, was ~~the~~ for Dulichium; this must have been, for the most important of the four as regards Trapani, being accessible in all weathers, and probably already pregnant with the subsequently famous city of ~~Motya, Hulas Dulichium~~. Motya, of which hardly any thing remains, but which stood on the Southern most of the two islands that lie between the Isola Grande & the main-land.

The other two islands stood for ~~these~~ Same & Zacynthus, but which was which I have not been able to determine. Marettimo can hardly be seen from Trapani being almost entirely hidden by Levanzo, from the heights, however, of Mt. Eryx, with which, for other reasons, I suppose the writer to have been familiar, it is seen "On the horizon, all highest up in the sea towards the West." I do not doubt the ~~most~~ poetess was describing it as she knew it from ~~at~~ the top of Mt. Eryx.

Opposite this part ~~here~~ give my sketch as a whole page but with text behind it, i.e. not insert.

If what I have said above is not enough to satisfy the reader that the writer of the Odyssey was drawing the Ionian islands from the Ægadean, nothing that I can add is likely to convince him. I will therefore now ~~leave~~ go on to my fourth point, namely that the voyages of Ulysses are, as nearly as the writer could make them, a voyage round Sicily from Trapani ~~to round Sicily~~ by the North coast, through the straits of Messina, to the island of ~~Pantellaria~~ Pantellaria and ~~back~~ so back to Trapani; ~~beyond which, for reasons abundantly explained, we need not go~~ beyond which we need not go, for Ithaca & Scheria are, both of them, Trapani, as I have already shown.

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The main episodes of the voyage occur in the following order. 1. The Cicons. 2. The Lotus-eaters, ~~at~~ arrived at after passing the island of Cythera. 3. The island where Ulysses & his men hunted the goats, & the adventure with Polyphemus. 4. The island of Æolus, ~~with~~ and a ten days sail towards the East with a fair wind all the time, till Ithaca is well in sight, followed by an immediate return to the island from which Ulysses had started. This sail to Ithaca over the toe of Italy & the island of Samos has no topographical significance except as showing that the writer conceived of the island of Æolus as lying a long way west of Ithaca. The episode is introduced merely for the purpose of bringing the cup close to Ulysses' lips & then dashing it from them. 5. The Læstrygonians 6. The island of Circe and the journey to Hades, which again ~~is~~ has no topographical significance, being nothing but a peg on which to hang colloquies with the dead, & bringing us back to the ~~point from which the journey began~~ island of Circe. 7. The Sirens 8. Scylla and Charybdis. 9 The cattle of the Sun. 10 The island of Calypso, & 11. Schenia, & Ithaca. ~~Here the voyage ends, for~~ I have shown that the ~~further voyage to Ithaca was in reality only a sail from Taormina to the Salina d'S Giovanni say a couple of miles or less.~~

There is no difference of opinion among scholars as to the sites of the Cicons, the island of Cythera, & the Lotus eaters; the reader will therefore see that we are taken without waste of time to a point at no great distance from Sicily ~~there is no local colour whatever in the description of the adventure or purpose to take us away from Greek localities either of the Cicons or of the Lotus eaters.~~ the contrary wind off Cape Malea being apparently raised λ (ix. 81)

It is not quite easy to see why the Cicons ~~are introduced~~ were brought in ~~introduced at all~~ introduced unless it was that Ulysses might become possessed of the wondrous wine of Ismarus with which he intoxicated Polyphemus. The wine

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of this neighbourhood was famous many centuries after the Odyssey was written, & presumably was so in the time of the Odyssey itself. A gas condensing ~~[illegible]~~ of this may well have existed ~~among~~ the people of Trapani which might prompt the reader to introduce it, poke fun at it, & make Polyphemus drunk with it.

Or again, knowing as we do from Thucydides (vi. 2) that the original Sican inhabitants of this part of Sicily received ~~a large~~ an influx of ~~the~~ fugitives from the neighbourhood of Troy after the fall of that city, it is possible that traditions may have existed among the writer's audience to the effect that ~~many~~ some of them were of Sicon origin, & she may have wished to flatter them, by telling them that they had ~~rehearse~~ repulsed Ulysses. Nothing can be said with any confidence upon this head; all we may note is that the country is quite featureless, & hence does not suggest drawing from personal knowledge, any more than does the land of the Lotus-eaters.

~~Here exactly where the local colour becomes stronger than in any other part of Ulysses' voyage, being much stronger in the poem than I have been able to give it in my~~ In Gaviopa the land of the Lotus-eaters ~~Here~~, the full consent which has accompanied us so far fails us; nevertheless a considerable weight of authority, ancient, medieval, & modern, carries us to the island of Farognana, anciently called ~~Aegusa~~ Aegusa, or Goat Island, as the one on which Ulysses & his men hunted the ~~goats, and also to Mt Erice as the site of the adventure with Polyphemus.~~ ~~*~~ ~~It~~ In these two places the local colour is stronger than anywhere else in Ulysses' voyages, ~~(being much stronger in the poem than I have been able to give it in my abridgement)~~ as indeed might be reasonably expected from a writer whom I have shown to have been so intimately acquainted with the ~~details~~ neighbourhood of Trapani ~~in~~ ~~geography~~.

run on with A

~~* I see the writer in Smith's dictionary places the Cyclopes in the South West of Sicily - this is impossible; he must mean West, or North West.~~

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Even partial consent, however, now fails us. The island of Eolus and the country of the Laestrygonians have been placed in almost as many ~~places~~ sites as there have been writers upon the Odyssey. I shall return to these ~~latter~~ on a later page as also to the island of Farognana & the Cyclopes. My present object is to show how much of the voyage we may consider as known, how much as ~~bed~~ supported by considerable authority, & how much we have yet to find.

The partial consent which we lost at ~~the~~ the cave of Polyphemus returns to us with the island of Circe, the Sirens, & the Wandering rocks, which are generally considered to have been the Lipari islands, ~~in the minds of the writers~~ and universal consent again joins us for Scylla & Charybdis. I can hardly say that ~~the~~ consent is universal for placing the Cattle of the Sun on the West Coast of Sicily, ~~as very far South of the straits of Messina, say perhaps~~, somewhere about Tauromenium now Taormina; but it is very general, & ~~the opinion~~ is so obviously well founded ~~that~~ I shall claim this point as certain, ~~I may say also that traces of Long, the Odyssean settlement have been found by Dr Schliemann near of Calypso's cave, almost directly under Taormina.~~

For the name of the island sufficiently indicates Sicily, the winds that detain Ulysses show him to have been on a West Coast, & the South wind that blew him back on a night shows that he was supposed to be at no great distance South of the Straits.

The island of Calypso has been generally held to ~~have been~~ be Malta, but on no foundation either ~~in~~ internal or external to the Odyssey. I shall therefore consider Calypso's island as yet to find.

I have no consent for Scheria being Trapani but after what I have written above, shall claim this point too as ~~fixed~~ certain. The map, therefore, which I here give will show the reader how we stand as regards assent and otherwise ascertained points. I have used strong lines for the parts of the voyage that may be claimed as certain, ~~dotted~~ interrupted lines for the parts that are backed by considerable authority, ~~I have made~~ these and dotted lines for ~~fragments~~ which I would supply. I have made

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Ulysses approach Trapani from the South, on the strength of Calypso's directions to him that he was to sail towards the Great Bear, keeping it on his left hand (v. 276, 277).* This indicates certainly a Northerly, & one would say a N.N. Easterly course; at any rate such a course would in no way conflict with Calypso's instructions. Perhaps I had better give the words of the poem which run:—

(Sm. & C.) He sat keeping his eyes upon the Pleiades,† late setting Boötes, & on the Bear, also called the Wain, which turns round & round facing Orion, & alone never sinks beneath the sea — for Calypso had bidden steer by this, keeping it on his left hand (v 272–277).

(C.E.) All the places in Ulysses' voyage have been generally referred to some actual locality, which was present to the writer's mind either under its own or a fictitious name; & when we have once got into Sicilian waters, all those about which is there is any considerable amount of consent, or which we may now, with or without consent, claim as ascertained — I mean Circe's island, the Sirens, Scylla & Charybdis, the ~~Cattle of the Sun~~ Thrinacian island, Scheria, & Ithaca, are on, or hard by the coast of Sicily. Is not the temptation irresistible to think that the three unknown sites — the ~~Island~~ island of Æolus, the Land of the Lestrygonians & the Island of Calypso — are also real places, however fictitious the names may be, & to hold that they should be looked for on, or near, the coast of Sicily, in the same order as that in which we find them described?

If, on the hypothesis that Favignana & Mt Eryx are the true sites of the island on which Ulysses & his men hunted the goats, ~~on~~ & of the cave of Polyphemus, we are immediately led to others, in due order of sequence, which commend themselves as being those of the Island of Æolus, the Land of the Lestrygonians, Circe's island, the other established sites, & lastly Calypso's Island

* Gr. τὴν γὰρ δὴ μὲν ἄνωγε Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων
πουτοπόρευ ἐμμεναι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρὸς ἔχοντα.

† We may neglect the Pleiades, as introduced simply because they are in the Iliadic passage (XVIII. 486–489) which the writer of the Odyssey is adopting with no other change than ~~the~~ taking out the Hyades & Orion, & substituting Boötes. This she was bound to do, for she could not make Ulysses steer towards both the Bear & Orion, when she is just going to tell us, as the Iliad does, that Orion is on the other side of the sky. The Pleiades she has allowed to stand — which of us knows in what quarter the heavens (let alone the Procession of the Equinoxes) they are to be looked for? — and it is made quite clear that the Bear is the constellation by which Ulysses is steering

should we not ~~reasonably~~ conclude at any rate provisionally that the hypothesis is a true one? ~~and see the voyage of Ulysses as being practically a sail round Sicily from Taormina to Trapani, regarding the Great & the Lotus eaters as merely, as introduced merely for the purpose of bringing Ulysses home into the neighbourhood in which the writer was most interested.~~

I will make ~~the hypothesis~~ it and proceed to look for the island of Ædus ~~at~~ in some ~~solitary~~ island, apparently solitary, a good way to the West of the Lipari islands, & at no great distance from Mt. Eryx.

I should first correct a very general mis-apprehension ~~about this island as the description of this island given in the Odyssey~~. The word πλωτῆ (X. 3) ~~πλωτῆ (X. 3)~~ has been unduly pressed into meaning that the island floated about, & thus changed its place. But ~~surely if so extraordinary a feature~~ if so singular a phenomenon were intended more would have been made of it. It would not ~~never~~ have been dealt with in a single word, ~~& that too one capable of~~ admitting easy explanation as mere metaphor. ~~No one pressed the "swiftly moving" islands into meaning that they actually moved.~~ No one presses the "swiftly moving" islands of XV. 299 into meaning that the islands actually moved. All that is meant is that ~~the islands~~ they "seemed to ~~float~~ move", as the ship sailing past them; and so with the island of Ædus – "it seemed to float on the horizon". It shows no signs of having moved during the month that Ulysses stayed on it, & when he returns to it after an absence of three weeks, we have no hint given of its having changed its place.* I conclude, therefore, that it was as fixed as any other island, & proceed to look for it.

This is no ~~very~~ hard matter, for the island of Ustica offers itself ~~to us~~ at once. In ~~very~~ clear weather it can ~~be seen~~ faintly seen from Mt. Eryx and would naturally have impressed itself on the mind of a writer to whom Eryx & its neighbourhood

* At Messina a few ~~months~~ months since I saw a printed hand bill about the hours when the boat would start for Reggio, in which Italy was called "Terra firma", as though a sense of instability attached itself to any island.

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all in all.
was ~~to there~~ It is in the quarter from which the winds blow most fiercely on Trapani during the winter months, & may fitly ~~therefore~~ have been selected by a Trapanese writer as the home of the winds. The distance, a long way West of the Lipari islands, & a greatly longer distance West of Ithaca, is all as it should be. I ~~go~~ accept it, therefore, & go on ~~on therefore~~ to look for the land of the Laestrygonians, & their city Telepylus, at some point on the North Coast of Sicily between Motica & the Lipari islands. [The name of the Laestrygonians or ~~the land of the~~ ~~The name Laestrygonians or stone of the~~ Workers in Stone, ~~this name~~ like all names of places or people inside Sicily, is ~~probably~~ fictitious. If there had ever been any people really so called in Sicily Thucydides would have been able to find out some little, at any rate, about them; whereas he declares (vi. 2) that ~~(vi. 2) he cannot do so, & his Sicilian reference of the his readers~~ "to the poets or to whatever other information his readers can command" ~~shows that he~~ for both the Cyclopes & the Laestrygonians, shows that he did not believe ~~that there had ever been~~ in them, except as poetical fictions. ~~Hence probably for the Italian.~~ But this is no reason for thinking that the writer of the Odyssey had not in her mind the most ancient known inhabitants of Sicily, concerning the most ancient inhabitants of the island, ~~the name of their~~ whom she was describing under names of her own coinage. We know from Thucydides (vi. 2) that the most ancient historic inhabitants of Sicily were the Sicans, the name of their city, Telepylus, (with gates far asunder) is certainly fictitious. Cities never have ex post facto names; ~~& Telepylus is~~ the name is given before it is known what the city will prove to be. All that we can gather from the name is that ~~in the days~~ the writer intended the city to be considered as one of the Odyssey ~~the city was~~ of great extent.

The people, like the Cyclopes, are giants & ogres, ~~savage, extreme, rude, & not to be trust~~. ~~Being~~ giants, we should ~~look~~ for remains of buildings made with gigantic stones, & being ogres, we should expect cannibalism.

*The name ~~seems from~~ seems derived from λάας, τρυγάω, λίθος, ~~or ἔα~~ as Anotria from ὄνος, τρυγάω, λίθος ~~which~~ I have read, but forget where, that Anotria is only a Greek wandering of Italia, which is derived from ~~Italia~~ ἔθνος, also, & ~~Italia~~ some Latin equivalent for lido. The modern Italian word lastricare, ~~is probably~~ "to pave roads with stone", is probably derived from the same root as ~~Laestrygonian~~ Laestrygonian.

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~~to the poets, or to whatever other sources of information his readers can command, for~~ he cannot do so, & subrisively refers his readers to the poets, or whatever other sources of information they can command. Clearly he does not believe in them except as poetical fictions concerning the most ancient inhabitants of Sicily — of whom none are known to him as more ancient than the Sicans.

But why should not the writer of the Odyssey be referring under names of her own coinage to these same Sicans, for both the Cyclopes & the Lœstrygonians? The name of the Lœstrygonian city, Telepylus, is certainly fictitious. It means "with gates far asunder," which can only be an ex post facto name: a city receives its name long before it is known what it will prove to be in the matter of its growth. All that we can gather from the name is that the writer of the Odyssey intended her audience to understand the city was a large one.

Its inhabitants, like the Cyclopes, are giants & ogres. They being giants, we should look for remains of megalithic buildings, and being ogres we should suspect identity

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of race between them & the Cyclopes whom they so closely resemble. The writer hates them, & looks down upon them much as the Normans looked down upon ~~them~~ the Saxons for some generations after the Conquest.

The Cyclopes appear to have been subdued & outlawed; not so the Laestrygonians. These last are a flourishing & very industrious people who work by night as well as by day (X. 84–86). There is a poor little prehistoric joke about them, to the effect that in their country a man could earn double wages if he could only do without sleep. Moreover they were so wealthy & luxurious, that they used to have relays of fresh milk ~~[illegible]~~ (X. 82, 83), instead of being contented with a morning supply, as Sicilian towns generally are even at the present day. More than this I cannot collect about them from the Odyssey.

Can we, then, find a place answering to the description of Telepylus on the North Coast of Sicily between Ustica & the island of Lipari? I have no hesitation in saying that Cefalù will give us all we want. It has two fine examples of megalithic work such as ~~no other city, sea coast city in Sicily can show~~ except Syracuse. They must be both of them ~~be~~ centuries earlier than the Odyssey. They are about three quarters of a mile apart, one, ~~[illegible]~~ a wall rising from the sea, the other a building on the hill, ~~showing two well marks~~ behind the town, in part ~~poly~~ polygonal, and ~~very~~ very rude, & in part ~~very~~ much later & singularly exquisite work – the later work being ~~which is~~ generally held to be of the Mycenean age.

~~give photo sketch made from my photos~~ inset page for illustrations

The city therefore must have been for those days extensive. The whole modern town, ~~I mean the [illegible] enclosed by the town walls & all~~, is called among the common people ~~potolina~~, Portazza ~~potazza~~ or i.e. portaccia, ~~or~~ or "wide gate", which seems too like a corrupt mistranslation of Telepylus to allow of my passing it over.

There can, I think, be no doubt that Eryx & Cefalù were built in a very remote age by people of the same race. I have seen no other megalithic remains in Sicily than at the two places just named; ~~at Collesano~~ I have been remains of ancient buildings at Collesano about 15 miles S.W. of Cefalù, which are commonly called Cyclopean, but ~~great doubt~~ ~~about 15 miles S.W. of Cefalù~~ ~~be a fort~~ & I have little doubt correctly! ~~doubt~~ they are very doubtful, & Dr Orsi suspects them ~~to be Byzantine~~ ~~Or to be certain to be quite strikingly different~~ Byzantine. I have also seen a few neither striking, nor yet certain ones at Capo Schiso near Taormina. ~~Capo Schiso~~ ~~for~~ What little is left of the walls of Segesta is of a greatly later age, and I find it very difficult to think that Segesta was in existence when the Odyssey was being written.* I have heard of the remains of a Cyclopean ~~of~~ acropolis behind Termini, a monogram about which by Sig. Luigi Mancesi will be found in the British Museum. At ~~[illegible] 15 miles S.W. of Cefalù~~ Isnello two hours inland from Collesano, an a very early necropolis has been discovered not long since, & the efforts of local archæologists will, I doubt not, lead to the finding of others at or near many of the little known mountain sites in the North of Sicily; Dr Orsi, indeed has recently discovered the remains of a megalithic house at Pantalica some 40 miles inland from Syracuse. No megalithic work, however, that has yet been found ~~even at Collesano~~, will compare in importance with ~~that~~ the remains at Eryx & Cefalù, nor does it seem likely that any other such remains will be discovered.

*. Segesta would ~~be~~ have been seen from the top of Mt Eryx gleaming in the summer sunset, & I think there would have been some kind of allusion to it.

Bearing in mind, then, the situation of Lepalin, both as regard Mtrce & Lipari, the ~~characters of~~ affinity between its founders & those of Eryx as evinced by existing remains, its great extent, & the name it still bears among the common people, I do not hesitate to accept it as the city of the Laestrygonians, nor does it affect me that the details of the harbour as given in the Odyssey have no correspondence with the place itself. I may mention, ~~that when~~ ~~that when at Calatafimi~~ ~~my friend Mr H. F.~~ that when my friend Mr H. F. Jones & myself were at Lepalin in the spring of 1896, we met ~~the~~ go a flock of goats coming into the town to be milked about five in the afternoon, and on our return from a walk we met another flock coming out after having been just milked. These two flocks must have met & the shepherds must have saluted one another, ~~and it~~ as in X 82, 83, but unfortunately we did not happen to be at their point of meeting. ~~[illegible]~~

N.P. [On enquiry we found that relays of fresh milk come into the town ~~between~~ from six till eight in the morning, and from five till seven in the afternoon, and were told that there was no other town known to our informant which had more than a morning supply. ~~At a town~~ ~~like~~ At Trapani, a town with 30,000 inhabitants, there is no evening supply and though I have no doubt that fresh milk can be had in an evening at Palermo & Catania & Syracuse, it is not easily procurable even in these large towns, while in smaller ~~towns~~ places as I know them, it is not to be had at all. At Rome

Chapter IX 12

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I asked the landlord of my hotel whether the goats came to be milked in the evening as in the morning, & he said it would be only in exceptional cases that they would do so.

I have now only to find ~~the~~ the island of Calypso which in the Odyssey is called the navel of the sea (1.50), a metaphor absolutely impossible of application to any but a ~~very~~ solitary island, & ~~in itself~~ prohibitive of either Gozo or Malta, or ~~either~~ of the other two small islands of the same group! ~~Moreover it is always described as a solitary island in the poem;~~ Calypso lives by herself & is cut off from every one else - Ulysses cannot be supposed to have other islands in sight as he sits on the sea shore weeping & looking out upon the waves. Moreover Scheria being fixed at Trapani, ~~and the cause by which Ulysses reached it having been off apparently from the S.S.W as explained already, Ulysses could never have made Trapani if he followed Calypso's directions - not if he started from Malta~~. We are therefore compelled to look for some other island which shall be more solitary and more S.S.W of Trapani. ~~and happily the island of Pantellaria fulfils both these conditions~~; N.B. The island of Pantellaria ~~offers as the best thing we want~~ true, ~~true~~, that in clear weather the coast of Africa can sometimes be just ~~be~~ made out - I have seen it from Pantellaria, but it is not sufficiently near ~~to afford any kind of comfort to shipwrecked sailors~~ or sufficiently often seen to have obtruded itself on Ulysses notice; still less so is that Eryx, which can also be seen sometimes, but very rarely. No doubt the island is represented as being ~~a~~ a good deal further off ~~Scheria~~ Trapani than it really was, but the liberty taken in this respect is not greater than is generally conceded in poetry. ~~I do not hesitate therefore that the island of Calypso was Pantellaria, and that as she be the winter began her~~ Ulysses voyage

Ulysses could never get there from either Gozo or Malta if he followed the directions of Calypso and steered towards the great Bear, keeping it on his left hand.

As, therefore, the winter begins the voyage, when Ulysses is once clear of Trapani, with an island interesting to herself and her audience as being well within their ken, so, she ends it ~~with for the last place before he reaches Scheria~~, with another island and their which has like claims on her attention.

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Further details regarding the voyages of Ulysses, to confirm the view that they were ~~nothing but~~ mainly a sail round Sicily, beginning & ending with Mt. Eryx & Trapani.

What I have said in the preceding chapter should be enough to establish that the course taken by Ulysses was the one indicated in my map, but I have remarks to make on ~~several of the~~, the Cyclopes, the wall round the island of Æolus, ~~and~~ the Sirens, the Wandering Rocks, ~~which have~~ and other matters connected with the voyage which I have observed in order to keep the general view ~~of the voyage as given in the preceding chapter~~ more broad & simple.

The habitat of the Cyclopes on Mt. Eryx is the point which it is most incumbent on me to establish, for if this be conceded, and both Scylla & Charybdis, & Scheria be taken as found, all the other places fall so spontaneously on to the sites I have marked for them, that I fear no dispute concerning them. Let us turn, then, to Zangnana & accept it for the moment as the island on which Ulysses hunted the goats. ~~which I take to be Zangnana~~

Why, I wonder, was the author so careful to invoke a thick darkness, ~~without a reason~~ so pompous & circumstantial, & to pilot Ulysses into the harbour of this island by divine assistance, rather than permit him to look about him? ~~rather than let him be able to look about him?~~ Evidently she did not intend that he should see anything of the land which was "not very far" from the island, ~~like he was sitting down with his shipmates this last day not have let him~~ But why not?

The answer is "not very far" to seek. If Ulysses had seen the main land of Sicily as he approached it from that of the Lotus-eaters, he would have been

Zangnana & accept it for the moment as the goats, or "Goat Island" of the ancients, and Zangnana.

was "not very far" off.

sure to have followed it up, & in this case he would have been taken straight into Trapani harbour. Now, though the writer, as all the audience would know, had already ~~described~~ dealt with Trapani as the last point in all Ulysses' voyages, ~~so it~~ Ulysses himself ought not to know anything about it ~~himself~~ ~~would be better that he should know nothing~~ & till he comes to it in due course, ~~while telling his story for himself~~ ~~about it yet~~. The cave of Polyphemus — still called among the peasants la grotta di Poli-phemo — was some six or seven miles North of Trapani; Ulysses ~~must~~ had not be taken there, & if possible, without unsettling either his own mind, or that of the audience, by showing him a city which eight years later he was to know as Scheria. He could, with the help of a little mist, be just supposed to go from the island of Farognana to the promontory of Pizzolungo & the cave of Polyphemus, without seeing the city of the Phoacians ~~(that was like)~~, if he did not look particularly hard in that direction, but urge Ulysses would have him ~~to~~ compelled to take note of Scheria if he had been allowed to go on till he reached its harbour. ~~It was better, therefore that some~~ It was better, therefore, that some god should take him to the island without letting him see any other land at all, ~~in~~ hence the intense darkness which the ~~the~~ writer has been so careful to describe. We shall see ~~later~~ that later on (as regards the supposed time, though earlier in the structure of her poem) ~~Ode (v 291–294) shows~~ ~~has invoked~~ she invokes a darkness which makes it im-possible for Ulysses to form any idea of his where-abouts, in exactly the same place, & for the same reasons (vs 291—294) — for here too it is necessary

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to get ~~home~~ from a point South of Trapani, to another on the North side of it without seeing the town. ~~All the Italian names in the Odyssey~~

~~The small map in the Corsair of any map of the voyages of Ulysses~~ My map of the Ægadean islands combined with that of Trapani & Mt. Eryx (page ?) will show the course Ulysses would make from Farognana to the Grotta di Polifemo - which is far the largest cave near Trapani, and is still used as a place in which to keep a large ~~mob~~ flock of sheep by night. The two rocks which Polyphemus threw should be seen as the Asinelli, and the first as the second as the two small islands ~~of Formica & Maraone~~ called Formiche, which, being close together, are taken as one.

[I find, therefore, in the care taken to prevent Ulysses from seeing Trapani, a considerable argument for the belief that Farognana was the island where Ulysses hunted the goats, & that the cave of Polyphemus was on Mt. Eryx.

Another indication, though one of no great strength, ~~however~~ seems to suggest that the Cyclopes were still near neighbours of the Phæacians. ~~& hence lived near what is now Trapani.~~

At the beginning of Bk vi we learn that the Phæacians used to live at a place called Hypereia, near the lawless ~~men~~ Cyclopes, but had of late years been moved to Scheria, which, as I have said, means Sotland. In a passage which I have not given in my abridgement Alcinous says casually (vii 205, 206) that the Phæacians are as closely related to the gods as the Cyclopes & the giants are. ~~The~~ Passing over the fact that Alcinous being grandson to Neptune was half nephew to Polyphemus, the spontaneousness with which ~~the idea of~~ the Cyclopes rise to his ~~Cyclopes & the giants (these last doubtless the suppose descendants of the people that built the walls to Alcinous~~ mind suggests that the Cyclopes, though less near than they had been, then were still about the nearest neighbours that ~~the Phæacians~~ they had. ~~In this case~~ [the giants are only the Cyclopes over again & are doubtless the descendents of the people who built the noble mega lithic walls of Eryx. ~~that still exist~~. Hypereia, or Upper-town, was probably ~~where the Phæacians~~ ~~and to [illegible]~~ ~~near~~ at the eastern end of the top of Mt. Eryx on a site where a very ancient wall, ~~can~~ of totally different character to those

* The Asinelli is a single islet much in ~~the form of a~~ the shape of a ship heading straight for Farognana. There is nothing plural about it, & one does not see why it should have a plural name. Who were the "asses" or "fools"?

of the Sican city at the West end of the mountain, may yet be traced. They, remains of the wall are just above the Raccazzu dei corvi, in Count Pepoli's grounds, & were first shown me by the Count. A stranger is little likely to find them unless conducted by one who has seen them.

As regards Hypereia I would repeat that all the names of places in Sicily with one exception are fictitious, even Trinacria, which Thucydides tells us was the most ancient name, becoming "the Thrinacian", or "three-pointed", island; whereas as soon as we are outside Sicily the names are real. This affords ground for thinking that the writer was drawing real people as well as real places, and travestying them under flimsy disguises that she knew her audience would see through. Once only is the mark dropped for a moment when Ulysses says that he had not come from Sicania (xxiv 307) but this does not count, for Ulysses is supposed to be lying.

The name Cyclopes, for example, or "round faces", for there is nothing in the word to show that it means anything else than this, & I see from Liddell & Scott that Parmenides calls the moon Cyclops — is merely an author's nickname. As there is nothing in the word, so neither is there in the Odyssey, to suggest that the Cyclopes were a people with only one round eye in the middle of their foreheads. Such a marked feature does not go without saying, & that it did not go with the earliest Greek artists appears from the fact that they always gave Polyphemus two eyes. It is not till Roman times that he becomes monophthalmic, and the Odyssey gives him eyebrows in the plural, (ix 389) which should involve eyes in the plural also. True, the writer only blinds one eye, but she could trust to the sympathetic inflammation which so serious an injury would excite in the other eye, & would

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consider that she had sufficiently blinded both ~~eyes~~ by roasting one of them. She could see her way moreover to a single weapon. The eye, alone, we may be sure, was blinded, not because Polyphemus had not got two, but because his pole had not got two prongs, & the writer saw neither how to get a bifurcated instrument into the cave, nor how to wield it now that so many of the men had been eaten.

"Cyclopes," therefore, we may be sure, means nothing more than "moon-faced." The name Polyphemus is found as that of a hero in the Iliad, & is perhaps a pseudonym for the local giant (if there was one) taken from that poem. Whatever his name may have been, & whether he was a pre-Odyssean giant, or whether the writer of the Odyssey called him into being, he exists now under the name of Conturràno. I have sometimes wondered whether this name may have any connection with the Greek words κόρυς & οὐρανός, and may indicate that the giant was so tall as to be able to knock a hole in the sky with his staff. Should this be so, his name, as likely as not, was Conturràno, or something near it, in the days of the Odyssey, and it was commemorated in his own name that Ulysses blinded him. The giant has grown greatly since the Odyssey was written, and large as the grotta di Polifemo is, he could never get inside it; for he rests his feet on the plain while he props his stomach on the top of Mt. Gryx, & bending forward plunges his huge hands into the sea between Bonagia & Cofano, to catch turnies. When disturbed he tears great rocks from the top of Mt. Gryx, & dashes them at all who interrupt him.

Chronico Mezzina & Sig. Giuseppe Parato, both natives of the town or the top of Mt. Gryx

To repeat, I will argue this point no further, I take the Cyclopes to be the conquered remnant of the old Sican inhabitants of Mt. Gryx.

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page found later

~~who according to Thucydides (vi 2) were the earliest known inhabitants of the West Coast of Sicily~~. They owe their ~~fabled~~ gigantic ~~stature~~ stature & the huge size of the stones with which the walls of their city on Mt. Eryx were built. These stones show few or no signs of having been worked with a tool of hardened bronze or iron, save in so far as the Phoenicians may have trimmed them here & there, when they rebuilt the walls, in part de novo, with stones some of which bear quarry men's marks in Phoenician characters.* The old Sican work, a good deal of which ~~they~~ has been allowed to stand, belongs to the true mega-lithic ~~& apparently pre iron age~~ age, when it was cheaper to carry than to cut; ~~but~~ later generations, failing to consider the revolution which the introduction of improved methods of cutting ~~iron~~ had effected, argued that the men who built with such large stones must have been large men, whereas in reality they were only economical men.

Here give illustration wherever most convenient –

As soon as it became cheaper to cut than to carry, the huge unwieldy blocks that we see at Eryx, at Cefalù, and at Segni, Arpino, Alatri, & many another city in Southern Italy, became obsolete, but it was still long before ~~some~~ all irregularity in the courses was abandoned for that perfect regularity which we find at Syracuse, Selinunte, the temple of Segesta, and nearly all the Greek & Roman architecture of historic times. Indeed I know many buildings as late as the 6th century after Christ, in which the courses are far from regular; nevertheless the tendency ~~of was~~ almost immediately after ~~the~~ cutting had become cheaper, ~~introduction of iron~~ was towards greater regularity of courses, & the use of smaller stones, until there

* There is no Phoenician work in the bastion shown in my illustration, the restorations here are medieval.

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~~Before I leave the Cyclopes~~ Furthermore, I would ~~too~~ ask the reader to remark how closely the description of ~~them~~ Cyclopes in the Odyssey tallies with that of the modern Sicilian brigands published in the Times of September 24. 1892 (Sm. t.)

The writer - Mr Stigand - says;- "S. Mauro, the head quarters of the brigands, is a town on the top of a mountain 3000 ft high, & in sight of Geraci Siculo, another town of about the same height, & of Pollina, also on the summit of another mountain. The roads among the mountains, connecting these towns, are mere mule paths. The mountains abound in caves known only to the brigands & shepherds."

The Odyssey says of the Cyclopes:- (C. t.)

"They have neither places of assembly nor laws, but they live in caves on the tops of high mountains; each one of them rules over his own wife & children, and they take no account of any one else (ix 112-115). (Sm. t.)

I saw several families of cave-dwellers at a place called "Le grotte degli Scurate" on lying about 15 miles North of Trapani. There was, however, nothing of the Cyclops about them. Their caves were most beautifully clean, & as comfortable as the best class of English cottages. The people, who were most kind & hospitable, were more fair than dark, & might very well have passed for English. (C. t.) (Sm. t.) N.B. It is ~~notice~~ noticeable that forms of the word σπεος or ~~σπη~~ ἄντρον (cave) appear forty five times in the Odyssey as against only six in the Iliad, which, allowing for the greater length of the last named poem is about in the proportion of 10:1. We may surmise, therefore, that the Odyssey hails from a district in which caves abounded.

They provided us with ~~beautifully~~ very white clean table cloths & napkins for the lunch which we had brought from Trapani, & they gave us any quantity of almonds fried in a little salt & butter; most unexpected of all the salt they brought us was mixed with chervil seed. There was an atrocious case of brigandage on Ufano about a fortnight later than our pic nic. A Palermo merchant was kept a whole month on the mountains till he was ransomed, but I am sure that our cave-dwellers had nothing to do with it. The caves bore ~~many~~ traces of prehistoric man by way of ancient meals rejected.

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arose another ~~kind of~~ megalithicism, ~~of a~~ of a kind ~~kind~~ diametrically opposed to ~~the~~ that of the earlier builders – I mean the megalithicism of display.

There are ~~larger~~ stones at Selinunte, used in buildings ~~of~~ the 5th century before Christ, that are larger than the largest at Syme, or Cefalù; there are columns ~~that~~ thirteen feet in diameter at the base, and in a flute of which my friend Mr H. F. Jones could stand; but they are written all over in clear though invisible characters with the word "Glory", whereas ~~the~~ stones at Syme bear not less ~~visibly~~ clearly the word "Economy". I do not think that any true megalithic polygonal walls constructed for defence can be dated much later than 2000 B.C. By the time we reach such buildings as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycene, or the ~~walls~~ Heads wall of Hissarlik, which are of hardened bronze, or more probably, as ~~that time~~ cutting, whether with chisels with iron, has ~~generally as early as the 17th century B.C.~~ ceased to be troublesome; nevertheless as late as ~~we are in full iron. Nevertheless as late~~ ~~So much for the Cyclopes~~ as Hesiod, who is not generally dated ~~can hardly be~~ earlier than 1000 B.C, the memory of ~~a time~~ an age when "as yet swart iron was not," had not been lost. (Hes. Works & Days 148–151) insert A.

~~So much for the Cyclopes~~. As regards "the wall of bronze" which the writer of the Odyssey tells us ran round the island of ~~the~~ Eolus, it is hard to say whether it was ~~a~~ purely ~~poetical~~ fiction or no. ~~Certainly~~ We may be sure that it was no more made of bronze than Eolus was king of the winds, but all round the island of Maretimo, wherever the cliffs do not protect it naturally, there existed ~~also exist~~ a wall of long pre Odysseian construction, traces of which were shown me by Sig. Fidesco

(which, however, is built in far less regular courses)

here give illustration ~~from photo~~ to be found opposite p. 4

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Sig.r Tedesco and Prof. Spadaro without whose assistance I should not have observed them. I have sometimes wondered whether the writer may not have transferred this wall to Utica, as we shall see later that she transferred the hump on Thersites' back to that of Eurybates; but no traces of any such wall exist, so far as I know on Utica, nor yet ~~on my whether there may not be traces of such a wall on Utica itself, but I have never been there; able to go to Utica, and nor have I been told that any traces exist. No traces of any such wall exist at~~ on the islands of Farognana or Levanzo. The ancient name of Marettimo was Hiera, & about 1900 feet above the sea I was shown ~~traces~~ some (not striking) of exceedingly ancient walls on a small plateau, which the inhabitants ~~of the island~~ dare not cross by night, & which is believed to have been the site of the cult ~~which~~ that gave its name to the island.

What I have to say about Circe's island is so speculative that I write it in fear & trembling. ~~As Helen says is the in "Shall I guess right or wrong, but I really must say what I think"~~ I see that Circe's house is, like Eumæus's pig farm, "in a place that can be seen from far ~~to~~ ~~inside~~ (X. 211), and I see also that Ulysses approaches it "over the top of the mountain" (X. 281) he ~~did~~ does Eumæus's hut ~~(X. 281)~~ (XIV. 22) remember the pigs, and I cannot refrain from thinking that though the writer tells us in the first instance that the island was a low one (X. 196), her inability to get away from her own surroundings is too much for her & she is drifting ~~back~~ on to the top of Mt Eryx & Eumæus's pig farm. ~~top of Mt Eryx~~ ~~& for his father's pig farm.~~ She does not mean to have pigs at first – the men whom Circe had bewitched ~~as~~ on previous occasions were ~~far back been~~ turned into wolves & lions – but the force of association is too strong for her, & ~~having so to~~ Ulysses' men are turned into pigs after all.

The fall of Elpenor from the top of ~~Circe's~~ Circe's house is a very singular way of killing him;

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If he had been at Sumæus's hut ~~it would have~~ she could not have killed him more naturally ~~better~~ than by letting him ~~been the most natural thing in the world to have let him~~ tumble off the precipice that overhangs it, and on the top of which the temple of Venus stood in later ages - I suspect, not without shame, that the ~~top~~ wave of Circe's house is made to do duty for this precipice.

On the island of Panaria, anciently Euonymus, among the Lipari group, there is a small bay called La Caletta dei Zummari, which suggests a corruption of Cimmerii, but I have already explained that no attempt should be made to localise the journey to Hades.

The two Sirens can be ~~localised~~ placed with, I should say, confidence, on the island of Salina, anciently called Didyme from the two high mountains, each about 3000 ft. high, of which it consists. Sudden cat's paws of very violent wind descend at times from all high points near the sea in this part of the Mediterranean, as from Cofano near Trapani, where there is a saying among the fisherman "wave Cofano". My friend Sig. E. Biaggini whose loss I have to deplore within the last ~~few months~~ twelve months, ~~since I took up this question~~, & who has furnished me over & over again with local details, told me that he was once all but capsized by a gust from Cofano, that came down on ~~him~~ his boat in perfectly calm weather, & lasted hardly more than a few seconds. ~~The~~ I take it that the two Sirens, ~~that~~ who are always ~~represented as flying~~ winged, in the earlier Greek ~~representations~~ representations of them are, as indeed their name suggests, the whistling gusts or avalanches of air that descend ~~at times~~ without the slightest warning from ~~there the island of the two mountains~~ which are of Salina ~~the most notable of the Lipari group. The legend turned from poetry into prose~~ & the two mountains of Didyme. The story turned from poetry into prose

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means, "Woe to him who draws near the two treacherous mountains of Dido one; the coast is strewn with wreckage, & if he hears the wind from off them shriek in his rigging his bones will whiten the shore." The reader will remember that the Siren's island is very near Circe's.

The reason why the poet found herself in such difficulties about the Wandering Cliffs is because the story, as Buttmann has said, does not refer to any two islands in particular, but is derived from travellers tales about the difficulties of navigating the Lipari islands as a whole. "They close in upon you", it was said, "so quickly one after another that a bird can hardly get through them." The "hurricanes of fire" (xii. 68) suggest an allusion to the volcanic nature of the Eolian islands generally. Such an allusion to the same one of the volcanoes Stromboli or Etna, or perhaps to all three.

Still more so does the dark cloud that never leaves the top of Scylla's rock (xii. 74) neither in summer nor winter. The terrors of Scylla & Charybdis are exaggerated on the same poetic view as the Sirens, and the wandering Cliffs. Instead of its being possible to shoot an arrow from the one to the other, they are about eight miles apart. Scylla is a dangerous point, a large ship was wrecked on it only some six or seven years ago, but there are plenty worse. Charybdis according to Admiral Smyth is just

N.B. [A Speaking of the Eolian islands Admiral Smyth says:- "Whether from the heat of the water by volcanic springs, the steam of Vulcanella, the incessant hot injections from Stromboli or all of them added to the general temperature, it is certain that there are more frequent changes in this group than in the neighbourhood." (The Mediterranean, Parkes, 1854, p. 250.)

C.B. Speaking, again, of the Straits of Messina, he says:- "Precautions should also be taken against the heavy gusts, which at times, from the mountainous nature of the coasts, rush down the Fiumare, & are dangerous to small vessels. I have twice, with grief, seen the neglect of them prove fatal." Sicily & its Islands, Murray, 1824. p. 116.

8 miles apart. We ought not to look for the accuracy of one of Mr. Murray's hard books in a narrative that tells us of a monster with six heads & three rows of teeth. It is enough if there are a few grains of truth, and there is for Scylla is a high rock looking West, and Charybdis is (for those days) a formidable whirlpool, on the other side the straits, lower ground, and hard by the approach to a three pointed island. According to Admiral Smyth it is just

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outside Messina harbour, ~~of it~~ of is now called Galofaro. Admiral Smyth says of it:—

"To the unskilled boats of the Rhegians, Locrians, Zancleans, & Greeks, it must have been formidable; for even in the present day small craft are sometimes endangered by it, & I have seen several men of war, & even a seventy four-gun ship, whirled round on its surface; but by using due caution there is generally very little danger or inconvenience to be apprehended. (Sicily & its islands, Murray, 1824, p. 123.)

(m. t.)

I do not doubt that the Galofaro is the ~~source from~~ nucleus round which the story of Charybdis ~~chiefly rose~~ gathered, but I have seen considerable disturbance in the sea all through the ~~f~~ Straits of Messina. Very much depends upon the state of the winds, which sometimes bank the water up ~~considerably~~ in the angle between the ~~tail~~ toe of Italy & the North Coast of Sicily, on which a ~~strong~~ current & strong eddies occur in the Straits of Messina. At other times there is hardly anything noticeable.

(l. t.)

N.P. [Passing over the nine days drifting in the sea, which take Ulysses from Charybdis to the island of Calypso, i.e. Pantellaria — and we may be sure he would have been made to take longer time if the winter had dared to keep him longer without food & water — it only seems for me to deal at somewhat fuller length than I have yet done with the voyage from Pantellaria to Trapani. On the eighteenth day after Ulysses had left Pantellaria, steering towards the Gt. Bear, but keeping it on his left, he saw the long low line of the Sicilian coast rising on the horizon. He does not appear to have seen the

~~It only remains for me to deal with the journey of Ulysses from the island of Calypso to Scheria. I have already explained that was in reality one from Pantellaria to Trapani. On the eighteenth~~

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island of Faroqnana, which must have been quite near, ~~but this was~~ and it was perhaps as well, that he did not, for he could ~~have~~ hardly have failed to recognise it as the one on which he had hunted the goats some eight or nine years previously, & this might have puzzled him, ~~hence as~~

But though he is allowed to see the land he must not be permitted to follow it up, or, as I have explained already, he ~~in the case referred to, this ship~~ would have gone straight into the harbour of Scheria, whereas he ~~was~~ is particularly wanted to meet Nausicaa on the North side of the town, & to know nothing about Scheria till she brings him to it. Neptune, therefore, is made to catch sight of him at this moment and to raise a frightful hurricane; sea & sky become obscured in clouds with a darkness as dense as night, (V 291–294) and thus Ulysses is carried a long distance apparently to the North, for when he has been taken far enough, Minerva blows him two ~~re~~ days & two nights before a North wind & hence Southwards, till he reaches the harbour ~~hard by which~~ near which Nausicaa could ~~find~~ meet him.

There are no other such noticeable darknesses in the Odyssey, as this, and the one of Bk IX 144 above alluded to. They both occur in the same place, & for the same reason — to keep the town of Scheria in secure.

Go on with ~~the~~ next page, either after a line, or leaving ~~page~~ a slightly longer gap between this last paragraph & the following one than you generally do

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I have now shown that all the Ithacan scenes of the Odyssey are drawn with singular fidelity from Trapani & its neighbourhood, as also all the Scherian; moreover I have shown that the Ionian islands are in reality drawn from the Peadcan group off Trapani; lastly I have shown that the voyage of Ulysses in effect begins with Trapani and returns to Trapani again. I need not deal with Pylos & Lacedamon beyond showing that they were far removed from the knowledge of either writer or audience.

There is not a single natural feature mentioned in either ~~of these~~ case. The impossible journey of Telemachus & Pisistratus ~~on~~ from Phera to Lacedamon ~~over~~ in a chariot & pair over the lofty & ~~still~~ rugged roadless range of Mt. Taygetus causes no uneasiness to the writer. She gives no hint of any mountain to be crossed — from which we may infer, either that she knew nothing of the country between Pylos & Lacedamon, or that at any rate her audience would not do so. It may, however, be remarked that the West wind which Minerva provided in order to take Telemachus from Ithaca to Pylos, was more suitable for taking him from Sicily. A North wind would have been better for him if he had been coming from the real Ithaca, but Minerva manages things so strangely that I would not press this point.

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XI

Who was the writer?

I believe the reader will by this time feel no doubt, from my earlier chapters that the Odyssey was written by ~~a~~ one woman, & from my later ones that this woman knew no other neighbourhood than that of Trapani & therefore must be held to have lived & written there.

Who, then, was she? ~~writer of the immortal work which we have been considering~~?

I cannot answer this question with the confidence that I have felt hitherto. So far I have been able to demonstrate the main points of my argument; On this, the most interesting question of all, I ~~must~~ can offer nothing stronger than presumption.

We have to find a ~~nature~~ woman of Trapani, young, fearless, self willed, & exceedingly jealous for the honour of her sex. She seems to have moved in the best society of her age & country, for we can imagine none more polished on the West Coast of Sicily in Odyssean times than the one with which the writer shows herself familiar. She must have had leisure, or she could not have carried through so great a work. She puts up with men when they are necessary or illustrious, but she is never enthusiastic about them, & likes them best when she is laughing at them; but she is cordially interested in fair & famous women.

I think she should be looked for in the household of the person whom she is travestying under the name of King Alcinous. The care with which his ~~the~~ pedigree ~~of him~~ & that (vii 54–77) of his ~~queen~~ wife Arete is ~~di~~ explained, and the ~~at~~ warmth of affectionate admiration with which Arete is always treated,

have the same genuine flavour ~~of genuine history that~~
that has led scholars to see true history ~~in the pedi~~
and personal interest in the pedigree of Æneas,
given in Il. ~~XX~~ 200—241. Moreover, she must be
a sufficiently intimate member of the household
to be able to laugh at its head as much as she
chose. No pedigree of any of the other dramatis
personæ of the Odyssey is given save that of Theo-
-clymenus, whose ~~introduction into~~ presence in the poem
at all requires more explanation than I can
give. I can only note that he was of august descent,
more than sub-clerical, and of a different stamp
from any other character, whom we ~~meet with~~
~~in the Odyssey poem~~ are introduced. ~~The fact~~ The fact that the writer should be looked for
~~I think it evident further that she was a~~
~~seems further supported by the~~ in a member of King Alcinous' household, ~~from the~~ seems further supported by
zest with which ~~his house~~ this household & garden are de-
-scribed. [VII 81 → 132] despite the obvious sadness or asseration which pervades the telling.
There is no such zest in the description
of any other ~~house &~~ household, and the evident
pleasure which the writer takes in it, is more like
that of a person drawing her own home than either describing some
one else's, or ~~drawing from her own imagination~~ creating an imaginary scene. ~~Some~~ So long having begun in the past
tense she slides involuntarily into the present as soon as
she comes to the ~~inmates~~ women of the house & to the
garden. She never does this in any other of her descriptions.

Lastly she must be looked for in one to whom
the girl described as Nausicaa was all in all.
No one else ~~in the whole poem~~ is drawn with
like livingness and enthusiasm, & no other ~~scene~~ episode is ~~be~~ written
~~is described~~ with the same, or nearly the same,
buoyancy of spirits & resiliency of pulse & movement, or brings the scene before us
with anything approaching the same ~~freshness~~ freshness
~~& verisimilitude~~, as that in which Nausicaa
takes the family linen to the washing cisterns. The whole of bk vi can only
have been written by one who was thoroughly herself into it heart & soul.
~~This indeed that~~ All the three last paragraphs
are based on the supposition that the writer was drawing
real people. That she was drawing a real place, ~~does lead at that~~
~~not admit of question, no more does the fact that~~
~~she~~ lived at that place, & knew no other, ~~The scene~~,
does not admit of further question; we can

pin the writer down here, by reason of the close-ness with which she has kept to natural features that remain much as they were when she pour-trayed them; but no traces of Alcinous's house and garden, nor of the inmates of his household, will be even looked for, ~~much less found~~, by any sane person; it is open, therefore, ~~for~~ to an objector to contend that though the writer does indeed appear to have drawn permanent features from life, we have no evidence that she drew houses & gardens, & men & women from anything but her own imagination.

Granted; but surely in the first place if we find her keeping to her own neighbourhood as closely as she can, wherever the permanency of the features described enables us to be certain of what she did, ~~of her having done so~~, there is a presumption that she ~~must~~ was doing the same thing in cases where the evidence has been ~~is of too~~ fleeting ~~a nature~~ to allow of our bringing her to book. And secondly, we have abundant evidence that the writer did not like inventing; ~~when she could help it~~

Richly endowed with that highest kind of imagination which consists in wise selection and judicious application of materials derived from life, she fails, as she was sure to do, when cut off from ~~any~~ a base of operation in her own surroundings. This appears most plainly in the ~~four~~ three books which tell ~~the~~ of the adventures of Ulysses after he has left Mt. Eryx & the Cyclopes. There is no ~~so plausibility~~ of local

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detail in the places described; ~~in fact the local features are cut down to a minimum, and when she gets to Ithaca where detail is necessary, she abandons all attempt to invent, & returns with the utmost frankness to her own immediate neighbourhood.~~ & nothing, in fact, but a general itinerary such as she could easily get from the mariners of her native town. With this she manages to rub along, helping herself out with fragments taken from nearer home, but there is no approach to such plausible invention as we find in Gulliver's travels, or Robinson Crusoe, or Pilgrim's Progress; and when she puts a description of the entry to Hades into the mouth of Circe (x 511 – 515) – which she is aware must be something unlike anything she had ever ~~seen~~ witnessed, she breaks down, and gives us a scene which carries no conviction. Fortunately not much detail is necessary here; in Ithaca, however, a great deal is wanted, and feeling invention ~~here~~ to be beyond her strength she does not even ~~try to invent~~ attempt it, but ~~returns~~ has recourse, with the utmost frankness to ~~scenes~~ places with which she is familiar.

Not only does she shirk invention as much as possible in respect of ~~places~~ natural features, but she does so also as regards incident. She can vilipend her neighbours on Mt. Eryx, as the people at Trapani continue doing to this day, for there is no love lost between the men of Trapani & those of Mte S. Giuliano, as Eryx is now called. She knows Utica: the wind comes thence, & she can make something out of that; then there is the other great city of Lepalii – a point can be made here; but with the Lipari islands ~~she finds that~~ her material is running short. She has ten years to kill, for which, however, eight ~~the half~~ or eight years may be made to pass. She cannot

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have killed more than three months before she lands her hero on Circe's island; here, then, in pity's name, let him stay for at any rate twelve months — which he accordingly does.

She soon runs through her ~~material~~ resources for the Sirens' island, Scylla & Charybdis; she knows that there was nothing ~~(as yet)~~ to interest her on the West Coast of Sicily below Tadmina — for Syracuse (to which I will return) was still a small pre-~~Dorian~~ Hellenic settlement, while on the South coast we have no reason to believe that there was any pre-Hellenic ~~any~~ ~~well known~~ considerable city. What, ~~then~~, she asked herself, could she do but shut Ulysses up in the most lonely island she could think of — the one from which he would have the least chance of escaping — for the remainder of his term? She chose, therefore, the island which the modern Italian government has chosen, for exactly the same reasons, as the one in which to confine those who cannot be left at large — the island of Pantellaria; but she was not going to burden Calypso for seven long years with all Ulysses' men, & so his ship had better be wrecked.

This way out of the difficulty does not indicate a writer of fecund or mature invention. She knew ~~about~~ the existence of Sardinia, for Ulysses smiles a grim Sardinian smile xx 302. Why not send him there and describe it with details taken not from the North side of Trapani but from the South? Or she need not have given details at all — she might have sent him very long journeys on trending over her so many years in half a page. ~~Why not let him exploit Crete, Cyprus, or even Egypt as Menelaus does?~~ If ~~the winter came~~ she had been of an inventive turn there were abundant means of keeping him occupied without having recourse to the cheap & undignified expedient of shutting him up first for a year in one island and then for seven in another. Having made herself so noble a peg on which to hang more travel & adventure, she would have hung more upon it had either strength or inclination pointed in that direction.

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~~a year in one island & then seven years in another~~.

See ~~again~~ how hard put to it she is whenever she is away from her own actual surroundings. ~~I pass over here repeating at Pylos (iii 372) the flight of Minerva which she had already used in Ithaca (i 320) when st~~ She does not repeat her incidents so long as she is at home, for she has ~~a wealth~~ plenty of material to ~~which she &~~ can draw from; when she is away from home, do what she may, she cannot make things so easily, ~~& she~~ has a tendency to fall back on some-thing she has already done. Thus, ~~when~~ at Pylos, she repeats the miraculous flight of Minerva (iii ~~320~~ 372) which she had ~~already~~ used i. 320. (~~Ulysses~~ is conducted to the house of Alcinous by a girl who had come out of the town to fetch a pitcher of water (vii 20); this is repeated (X 105) when Ulysses' men are conducted to the house of the Lestrygonian Antiphates, by a ~~lot~~ girl who had come out of the town to fetch a pitcher of water. The winter has invented a ~~nap~~ sleep to ruin Ulysses just as he ~~was walk~~ in sight of Ithaca (X, 31 9th) It is not good invention, for such a moment is the very last in which ~~that~~ Ulysses would be likely to feel sleepy — but she ~~is that going to invent another expedient~~ effort of inventing something else to ruin him when his men are hankering after the cattle of the Sun god is too much for her, and she repeats (xii 366) the sleep which had proved so effectual already. ~~I am glad that men of the Ulysses stamp are rare in the British army & navy. Long may they remain so~~. Calypso having been invented once, must do duty again as Circe; so again with the Cyclopes & the Lestrygonians.

Such pregnant examples of what I can only

On reaching the land of the Lestrygonians Ulysses climbs a high rock to reconnoitre & sees no sign of inhabitants save only smoke rising from the ground — at the very next place he comes to he again climbs a high rock to reconnoitre, & apparently sees no sign of inhabitants but only the smoke of Circe's house rising from the middle of a wood. He

So, as I have said above, she ~~does~~ repeats the dark-ness on each occasion when Ulysses seems likely to stumble upon Trapani.

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Still consecutive scholars indicate a writer to whom invention does not come easily; & also is not likely to have invention to it more than she can help. Having shown this as regards both places and incidents, it only remains to point out that the writer's dislike of invention extends also to the people whom she introduces. The principal characters in the Odyssey are all of them Scherian. Nestor, Ulysses, Menelaus and Alcinous are every one ~~very thinly disguised, but are all~~ of them the same person ~~person made up~~ playing other parts, & the greater that with which Alcinous is drawn suggests, ~~that~~ as I have already said, & that the original from whom they are all drawn was better known to the writer in the part of Alcinous than in that of any of the other three. Penelope & Helen ~~again~~ and Arete, are only one person, & I always suspect Penelope to be more the original than either of the other two. Iphthea & Ino are both of them Nausicaa; so also are Circe & Calypso, only made up a little older, & doing as the writer thinks Nausicaa would do if she were a goddess, & ~~had~~ had an establishment of her own. I am more doubtful about these two last, for they both seem ~~quite~~ somewhat more free from that man-hatred which Nausicaa hardly attempts to conceal — Still, ~~even Nausicaa~~ she Nausicaa contemplates marrying as soon as she can find the right person, & even the common people of Ithaca are Scherians, and make exactly the same fault-finding ill-natured remarks about Penelope (xxiii 146–151) as the Phaeacians did about Nausicaa in vi 273–288. ~~But the Scherian literature, & with the exception of Penelope, the Scherian character of all the characters~~

and as we have seen, neither Circe had so nor Calypso had a single manservant of their own, & Circe was in the habit of turning all men who came near her into pigs or wild beasts. So Calypso moreover is only made a little older by being made to send Ulysses away. She does not seem to have been broken hearted about it. Neither of them, therefore, must be held to be more fond of men than the convenience of the poem dictated.

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~~is the most spontaneous~~.

If, then, we observe that where the writer's invention is more laboured she is describing places foreign to her own neighbourhood, while when she carries conviction she is at or near her own home, the presumption becomes very strong that the more spontaneous scenes are not so much invention as a rendering of the writer's environment, so far as the scheme of her work & a love of caricaturing members of the baser sex will permit. I therefore dismiss the supposition of my supposed objector that the writer was not drawing Alcinous' household ~~house~~ & garden from life, & am confirmed in this opinion by remembering that the house of Ulysses ~~(the effective part of which I will deal with later)~~ corresponds ~~will do~~ perfectly with ~~well~~ for that of Alcinous, ~~so far as any details that are given in the poem~~ – then, ~~as I have already said~~ to the number of the women ~~maid~~servants kept in each establishment.

~~In earlier chapters we have settled that the whole poem is written by a young woman who lived at Toapani~~. Being limited ~~therefore~~ to a young woman who was an intimate member of Alcinous' household, we have only to choose between some dependent who idolized Nausicaa & wished to celebrate her with ~~her~~ all her surroundings, or Nausicaa (whatever her real name may have been) herself. or ~~possibly even~~ some bosom friend of Nausicaa's who was very intimate with ~~her~~ the family, as for example Captain Dymas's daughter. ~~may have written it and transferred all her own~~ ~~if she is not, as one would gather from her not going to the wash with Nausicaa, a pure invention~~.

It may be urged that the poem was written by

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The intimate friend theory may be dismissed at once. High spirited girls, brilliant enough to write the Odyssey are not so self effacing as to keep themselves ~~to forever giving themselves a niche in the epic they are creating~~ completely out of sight. If a friend had written the washing day ~~Odyssey~~ episode, the friend would have come a washing too – especially after having said she would in Nausicaa's dream.

If, again, a dependent had written it, ~~to our whom~~ Nausicaa ~~might exercise some control,~~ ~~she~~ would neither have had the heart nor the ~~will~~ power to suppress her altogether; ~~th~~ for if she tried to do so the dependent ~~would have~~ so daring & self willed as the writer proves herself to be would have been more than a match for her mistress. ~~To~~ We may be sure that there were not two such spirits in Trapani as we must suppose if we make Nausicaa able to bow the will of the authoress of the Odyssey. The fact that in the washing day episode so far as ~~the exigencies of the scene~~ possible allow, we find Nausicaa, all Nausicaa, & nothing but Nausicaa among the female ~~dramatis~~ persons, indicates that she was herself the young woman of Trapani, a member of the household of king Alcinous, whom we have got to find, and that ~~in the~~ she is giving herself the little niche in her work which ~~one also~~ a girl who was writing such a work was sure to ~~do~~ give herself.

A dependent would not have dared to laugh at Alcinous with such playful malice as the writer has done. Again she would have made more of Nausicaa herself in the scenes that follow.

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At present she is left rather as a ragged edge, and says good bye to Ulysses in bk viii 457 &c. with much less ~~pomp & circumstance~~ delay, both as regards her own speech & that of Ulysses in reply, than a courtier-like dependent would have permitted. She does not hear Ulysses' account of his adventures - which she might perfectly well have done under her mother's wing. She does not appear to take her meals with the rest of the family at all. When she returns from washing, Eurymedusa brings ~~her~~ her supper into her own room. She ~~does~~ is not ~~appear~~ present at any of Alcinous banquets, nor yet at the games, and her absence from the farewell scene in bk xiii is too marked to be anything but intentional. It seems as though she wished the reader to understand that she lived apart, and however much she might enjoy an outing with her maids, would have nothing to do with the men who came night after night drinking her father's best wine, & making havoc of his estate. In passing I may say that the strangeness of the ~~place~~ manner in which Nausicaa says good bye to Ulysses is one of the many things ~~that~~ which convince me that the Odyssey has never been edited by a later hand. A later editor would have been literally sure to have transposed the leave-taking to bk xiii.

Nausicaa, again, would have been more than human if she had permitted any one but herself to put into her mouth the ill-natured talk about her which ~~passes~~ she alleges to pass current among the Phæacians. She would not mind saying it herself when her audience, ~~would be~~ private or public, would know that she was doing so, but an attendant would have ~~to~~ been acquitted to be less purgent. ~~This is her~~

~~apologia pro vita sua~~, ~~as~~

~~Lastly~~ I admit as I have already done that these arguments are not ~~a~~ absolutely demonstrative, but it being, I may say, demonstrated that we must chose between ~~her~~ Nausicaa and some other young woman of Trapani who lived in, or was very closely intimate with, the household of king Alcinous, I have no hesitation in saying that I think Nausicaa herself more likely than this other unknown young woman to have been the writer we are seeking.

Let the reader look at my frontispiece, & say whether he would find the smallest difficulty in ~~accy~~ crediting the original of the portrait with being able to write the Odyssey. Would he refuse so to credit her merely because all he happened to know about her for certain ~~about her~~ was that ~~on one occasion~~ she once went out washing clothes with her attendants? Nausicaa enjoyed a jaunt ~~day out~~ on a fine spring morning and helped her maids at the washing cisterns – therefore it is absurd to suppose that she could have written the Odyssey. I venture to think that this argument will carry little weight outside the ~~the circle of the lower kinds of rank Homeristo~~ ranks of pipe of our Homeristo – greatly as I dislike connecting this word however remotely with the Odyssey.

~~The existence again of the work of art from which my frontispiece is take, as also that of the Venus of Milo & other Greek statues proves that such women actually existed. They can be seen abundantly in Italy even now~~ No artist can ~~attain~~ reach an ideal higher than his own best actual environment. ~~To try to and go one better~~ Trying to materially improve upon

~~than any thing~~ that with which ~~the artist is~~ he or she is fairly familiar invariably ends in failure; ~~be mieux vaut~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~going two worse~~. It is only adjuncts that may be arranged, and varied – the essence ~~must~~ may be taken or left, but it must not bettered. The attempt to take nature & be content with her save in respect of details which after all are unimportant, leads to Donatello, Giovanni Bellini, Holbein, Rembrandt, & De Hooghe. The attempt to improve upon her leads straight to Michael Angelo & the barocco, To Turner & the modern stage scene. There is not a trace of the barocco in my frontispiece; We may be confident therefore, that such women, though doubtless comparatively rare, yet existed as they exist in Italy now ~~with~~ in considerable numbers. Is it a very great stretch of imagination to suppose that one among them may have shown to equal advantage whether as driver, washerwoman, or poetess? At the same time I think it highly probable that the writer of ~~Nausicaa~~ the Odyssey was both short & plain, and was laughing at herself, & intending to make her audience laugh also, by describing herself as tall & beautiful. She may have been either plain or beautiful without its affecting the argument.

I wish I could find some one who would give me any serious reason why Nausicaa should not have written the Odyssey. For the last five years I have pestered every scholar with whom I have been able to scrape acquaintance by asking him to explain why the Odyssey should not have been written by a ~~woo~~ young woman. One or two have

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said ~~at~~ that they could see none whatever, but should not like to commit themselves ~~to~~ to a definite opinion without looking at the work again. One ~~man~~ well known & very able writer said that when he had first heard ~~of~~ of the question as being mooted, he had supposed it to be some paradox of my own, but on taking up the Odyssey he had hardly read a hundred lines ~~before~~ before he found himself saying, "Why of course it is." The greater number, however, ~~gave~~ gave me to understand that they should not find it a difficult matter to expose the absurdity of my contention, if they were not otherwise employed, but that for the present they must wish me a very good morning. ~~Not only do~~ They gave me nothing; but to do them justice before I had talked with them for five minutes I saw that they had nothing to give, with which I was not already familiar. the Odyssey is far too easy simple & straightforward for ~~scholars~~ the understanding of scholars — as I said in my Life of Dr Butler of Shrewsbury, if it had been much harder to understand it would have been much sooner understood — ~~but~~ and yet I do not know; The Iliad is indeed much harder to understand, ~~it is incomprehensible~~ but scholars seem to have been perfectly able to misunderstand it.

Every ~~one of them~~ scholar has read a book or two of the Odyssey here & there; some have read the whole; a few have read it through more than once; but none that I have asked ~~not one of them~~ have as my wife as ~~had~~ been able to tell me whether Ulysses had a sister or no — much less what her name was. Not one of those whom I have as yet had the good fortune to meet in England — for I have met with such in Sicily — have saturated themselves with the poem, and ~~that too~~ too, unhampered

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by a single preconceived idea in connection with it. Nothing short of this is of the smallest use.

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A. to be inserted in ~~XII~~ X as a new paragraph

I see that I may claim Professor Jebb's authority as to some extent, at any rate, supporting the later of these two dates. He writes:—

With regard to the age of the Odyssey, we may suppose that the original "Return" was composed in Greece Proper as early as the eleventh century B.C., & that the first enlargement had been made before 850 B.C.* (Sm. type)

I have shown why I cannot admit that any part of the Odyssey was written in Greece Proper, and while admitting that the poem has been obviously enlarged by the addition of books i—iv & xiii 187,—— xxiv - a matter with which I will deal fully in a later chapter - I cannot think that the enlargement was by another hand than that of the authoress of the poem in its original form. Nevertheless I am glad to claim Professor Jebb's support as far as it goes. (C.E)

* Introduction to Homer, Ed 1888, pp 172, 173.

XII. (X) 255

The date of the poem and a comparison of the state of the North Western part of Sicily as revealed to us in the Odyssey with the account given by Thucydides of the same territory in the earliest known times.

The view that the Odyssey was written at Trapani will throw unexpected light upon the date of the poem. We can never date it within a hundred years or so, but I shall attempt to show that we must place it very little, if at all, later than 1050 B.C., & not earlier than 1150 B.C.

Insert A

I will begin by giving my reasons for thinking that the Odyssey must at any rate be earlier than 734 B.C.

When Eumaeus is telling the story of his childhood to Ulysses XV 403 &c, he says that he was born in the Syrian island over against Ortygia, and I have rendered "the Syrian island" "the island of Syra", guided by the analogy of the "Psyrian island" iii 171, which unquestionably means the island of Psyra.

The connection of an island Syra with a land Ortygia, suggests Syracuse, in spite of the fact that in reality Ortygia was an island, & Syracuse both on the island & on the adjacent mainland — for as I have already too often said all Sicilian places in the Odyssey are travestied, however thinly.

The impression that Syracuse* is being alluded to is deepened by our going on to read that "the turnings of the sun" are "there" — which I presume may be extended so as to mean "thereabouts".

* On its earlier coins Syracuse not unfrequently appears as Syra.

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Now what are "the turnings of the sun"? I looked in Liddell & Scott, for whose work no one can feel a more cordial admiration, nor deeper sense of gratitude, and found that ~~they~~ the turnings of the sun are "the solstices, or tropics, i.e the turning points of mid summer & midwinter." This may do very well as regards time, but not as regards place. In reference to the Odyssean passage I read that "the turning of the sun denotes a point in the heavens probably to the Westward."

But we want the sun to turn not at a point in the heavens, but in the neighbourhood of Syra & Ortygia, and to do so here in a way that he does not do elsewhere. The simplest way of attaining this end will be to suppose that the writer of the Odyssey was adopting a form of speech which we often use on a railway journey, when we say that the sun has turned & is coming in at the other window — meaning that the line has taken a sharp turn, & that we are going in a new direction. Surely I am not wrong in thinking that the author meant no-thing more recondite than that near the two places named the land turns sharply round, so that sailors who follow it will find the sun on the other side of their ship from what it has hitherto been.

A glance at the map will show that the site which the combination of Syra & Ortygia has sug-gested is confirmed by the fact that shortly South of it the coast of Sicily turns abruptly round, and continues thence forward in a new direction. Indeed it begins to turn sharply with the promontory of Plemmyrium itself. Eumaeus, therefore, should be taken as indicating that he was born at ~~so~~ the place which we know

as Syracuse, and which was then, so he says, an aggregate of two small towns, without many inhabitants. It seems to have been a quiet easy-going little place, where every one had enough to eat & drink, & ~~where~~ nobody died except of sheer old age, diseases of all kinds being unknown.

This is not the description of a busy newly founded settlement as ~~it~~ Syracuse would be in 734 B.C. Still less will it apply to any later Syracusan age. The writer modernises when dealing with an earlier age as frankly as Shakespeare: I have never detected a trace in her of any ~~with~~ ~~to deal with things as she might imagine them to have been in times gone by~~ archaeological instinct. I believe, therefore, that she was telling what little she knew of the Syracuse of her own day, and that that day was one prior to the arrival of the Corinthian Colony.

Business must have been carried on in a very leisurely fashion for it took the Phoenicians a twelve month to freight their vessel, and the largest ship of those times cannot have been very large.

It may be urged that we have no other evidence of any ~~earlier settlement at Syracuse than the~~ considerable civilisation as having existed at Syracuse before the one founded by the Corinthians, and as regards written evidence this is true, so far at least as I know; but we have unwritten evidence of an even more conclusive kind. The remains of pottery and implements of ~~all kinds~~ found at or in the near neighbourhood of ~~Sicily~~ Syracuse go back in an unbroken line from post-Roman times to the age of stone, while commerce with the Peloponese, at any rate from the Mycenean age is shown by the forms & materials of the ~~implements~~ objects discovered in countless ~~Syracusan~~ tombs. I had the advantage of being shown over the museum at Syracuse by Dr Orsi, than whom there can be no more cautious & capable guide on all matters

I think it likely also that ~~the writer~~ the Cyclops made ~~the~~ Cyclopes come from Syracuse because she ~~rather~~ felt that she rather ought to have done something at Syracuse during the voyage of Ulysses, but could not, ~~break his own journey~~ well under the circumstances, break his journey between Charybdis & Calypso's Island. She therefore ~~took~~ some other way of bringing Syracuse into her story.

For XII. & 258
a new para - after the one ending "Corinthian times."

The two communities of which Syracuse & Ortigia were probably, one, on the promontory of Plemmyrium, and the other, at a place between three & four miles distant, now called Cozzo Pantano, on each of which sites Dr Orsi has discovered the burying grounds of an extensive village or town (borgo) to which he had assigned the date XII – XI centuries B.C, before his attention had been called to the existence of a reference to prehistoric Syracuse in the Odyssey. Many examples of implements found on these two sites may be seen in the Museum at Syracuse. I did not gather that any other prehistoric burying grounds had been found at or in close proximity to Syracuse.

Whether the people whose burying grounds have been found at the above named places were Greeks, who were displaced later by Sicels, as the Sicels in their turn were displaced by the Corinthians, ~~B.C 734~~, or whether they were Sicels of an earlier unrecorded immigration, I must leave Dr Orsi and others to determine, but the name of the sea which washes the East Coast of Sicily points to the existence at one time of extensive Ionian settlements on the East Sicilian shores. The name again, Aci, which is found in Aci Reale & Aci-Castello, Aci Trezza & which among the common people is and always sounded Jaci suggests a remote Ionian origin – for we may assume that there was no Ionian migration later than 734 B.C of sufficient importance to give the name Ionian to Sicilian waters, towns, & islands.

Sumbous was so young when he was carried off that even though Greek was not his native language, he would have become Grecised in a few years; I incline to think, however, that the writer of the Odyssey would have said something about his being a Sicel if she had so conceived of him in her own mind. She seems to think of him as a Greek by birth.

The Sicels, however, were also, probably, the Greek. The inhabitants of Temesa on the toe of Italy do not indeed seem to have done so – (Od iii 183) but we do not know that they were Sicels. No writing has been found at Plemmyrio nor yet at Cozzo Pantano; We have therefore very little to go upon.

connected with the earliest history of Sicily, and he repeatedly insisted on the remoteness of the age at which commerce must have existed between the South East, & indeed all the East, Coast of Sicily, & the Peloponese. The notion, therefore, so generally held in the very face of Thucydides himself that there were no people living at & near Syracuse till the arrival of the Corinthians ~~came thither~~, must be abandoned, & I believe we may feel confident that in the story of Eumaeus we have a peep into its condition in pre-Corinthian times. ——— Insert A

But postulating that we may accept Thucydides, whose accuracy as regards by-paths & details proves that, even though he had not been at Syracuse himself ~~and many have the power of personal observation~~ he had at any rate means of informing himself on Sicilian history, who is evidently taking pains, and whose reputation is surpassed by that of no other historian — postulating that we may accept his statement (vi 2) that the ~~for~~ great irruption of Sicels which changed the name of the country from Sicania to Sicelia (~~for there were as would appear from the objects found in tombs to have been earlier & probably less extensive migrations of the same people to the West Coast of Sicily~~) took place about 300 years before B.C. 734, I think we may safely put the date of the Odyssey to a time before ~~say~~ B.C 1000.

For the Odyssey conveys no impression as though Sicily at large had been lately ~~dominated~~ subdued & oppressed by ~~a foreign pop.~~ Sicels. indeed the city & the bk of Alcinoos had, as we have seen (Od. vii 60), both engaged & overthrown. ~~locally, All Scyre had accidat~~ ~~but I bring reason from~~ Thucydides, as well as other evidence, to show that in this case the victors are more likely to have been Asiatic Greeks than Sicels. The poem indicates a time ~~not only~~ of profound present peace,

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~~but also~~ and freedom from apprehension, and on the one occasion in which the writer speaks of Sicily ~~without any kind of disguise~~ under its own name, she calls ~~it Sicania~~ by its pre-Sicelian name of Sicania.* The old Sicel woman who waited on Laertes (XXIV 211 & elsewhere) is not spoken of as though there were any ill will on the part of the writer towards the Sicels, or as though they were a dominant race. Lastly ~~when~~ one of the ~~suitors~~ (XX. 382) advises Telemachus to ship Theoclymenus & Ulysses off to the Sicels. Now if the writer had the real Ithaca in her mind, the Sicels could only have been reached by sea, whether they were in Italy or in Sicily, but I have already ~~abundantly~~ shown that ~~the writer~~ she never ~~conceived of~~ ~~had the~~ pictured to herself any other Ithaca ~~in her mind~~ than the one she had created ~~for herself~~ at Trapani; and the fact therefore that Theoclymenus & Ulysses were to be put on board ship before they could reach the Sicels, shows that ~~the writer pictured~~ she imagined these last as (except for an occasional emigrant) outside the limits of her own island.

If the foregoing reasoning is admitted ~~as sound~~, 1050 B.C. will be about as late as it is safe to place the date of the Odyssey, but a few years ~~so~~ later is possible though hardly, I think probable. Unfortunately this date will compel us to ~~date the~~ fall ~~remove the date~~ fall of Troy to a time very considerably earlier than the received date. For a hundred years is, one would think, the ~~very~~ shortest interval that can be allowed between the Odyssey & the Iliad. The

* The fact that Σικανίης (XXIV 307) should not have got corrupted into Σικελίης—which would scan just as well—during the many centuries that the island was called Σικελία, suggests, I need hardly say that I should not rely on so small a matter, if it stood by itself.

30 written original, though

development of myth, & of the Epic cycle, of which we find abundant traces in the Odyssey, is too considerable to render any shorter period probable. I therefore conclude that 1150 B.C. is the latest date to which we should assign the Iliad.

The usually received date for the fall of Troy is 1184 B.C. This ~~date~~ is arrived at from a passage in Thucydides (i. 12) which says that 60 years after the fall of Troy, the Boeotians were driven from Arne & settled in what was originally called Cadmeis, but subsequently Boeotia. Twenty years later, he tells us, the Dorians & the Heraclidæ became masters of the Peloponese, but as he does not fix this last date, probably because he could not, so neither does he fix ~~the date~~ that of the fall of Troy.

The date commonly accepted for the return of the Heraclidæ and their conquest of the Peloponese is 1104* but those who turn to Müller's History of the Doric race† Vol. I. p. 53, will see that there is no authority for this date which is worth a moment's consideration, and with the failure of authority here, we are left absolutely without authority for 1184 B.C as the date of the fall of Troy.

Admitting for the moment 1150 B.C as the latest date ~~of the~~ to which we should assign the Iliad, the question arises, how much later than the fall of Troy did Homer write? Mr Gladstone has argued very ably in support of the view that he wrote only some 40, or 50 years after the events he is recording, in which case ~~I imagine~~ it would seem that he must date the Iliad ~~very little~~ hardly at all later than the latest date to which I would assign it. I should be only too glad to find that ~~this is so, but~~ I can claim no, or at most so far. But further I cannot expect to do so, for the ~~the~~ impression left upon me by the Iliad is that Homer was writing of a time that was to him much what the middle ages are to ourselves.

If he had lived as near the Trojan war as Mr Gladstone supposes, he would surely have given us some hint of the manner in which Troy fell, whereas he shows no signs of knowing more than the bare fact that the city had fallen. He repeatedly tells us ~~of~~ this much, but always more curtly & drily than we should expect him to do, & his absolute silence as to way in which the capture of the city was effected, goes far to prove either that all record of the modus in quo had perished – which would point to a very considerable ~~time~~ lapse

* See Prof. Jebb's Introduction to Homer Ed. 1888 Note 1 on p. 43.

† Murray. 1830.

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of time — or else to suggest a fact which, though I have often thought it possible, I hardly dare to write — I mean that Troy never fell at all, or at any rate that it did not fall with the close of the Trojan war, & that Homer knew this perfectly well. The infinite subtlety of the Iliad is almost as unfathomable as the simplicity of the Odyssey has so far proved itself to be, & its author, writing for a Greek audience whom he obviously despised, and ~~was~~ whom he was fooling to the top of their bent ~~but~~ though always sailing far enough off the wind to avoid ~~detection~~ disaster would take very good care to tell them that — if I may be allowed ~~a sudden transition~~ the anachronism — Napoleon won the battle of Waterloo, though he ~~knew~~ very well knew that it was won by Wellington. It is certain that no even tolerably plausible account of the fall of Troy existed among the Greeks themselves; all plausibility ends with their burning their tents & sailing away baffled (Od viii 500, 501) — see also the epitome of the Little Iliad, given in the fragment of Proclus. The wild story of the ~~Wooden~~ wooden horse only emphasizes the fact that nothing more reasonable was known.

But let us suppose that Troy fell, and that Homer's silence was dictated by the loss of all record as to the manner of its falling: ~~& let us also suppose that he says nothing about the wooden horse, because that myth was the development of a later age than his own.~~ In this case one would think that two, ~~hundred~~ or even three, hundred years must have passed between the fall of Troy & the writing of the Iliad. Let us make it the same distance of time as that between the parliamentary wars & the present day. This would throw back the Trojan war to about 1400 B.C., and if we accept Homer's statement that the wall of Troy (i.e that which Dr Dörpfeld excavated in 1893 — for that this is the Iliadic wall may be taken as certain) was built in the time of Priam's father Laomedon, we should date the wall roughly as 1450 B.C. I may ~~be~~ add, ~~for what it is worth~~ that it seems to me to be of considerably earlier date than the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae.*

I see by the latest work on the subject that Dr Dörpfeld dates it as between 1500 & 1000 B.C. I know how perilous it is to date a wall by the analogy of other walls in distant countries, which walls are themselves undateable with anything like precision, but having seen the ~~walls of Troy~~ Iliadic wall ~~and~~ as also those of Tiryns & Mycene, as well as most of those that remain in the Latin & Volscian cities, I should say that the wall was much later than those of the Pelasgic ages, but still not by any means much later than those of the Mycenaean ones. I should date it roughly at not later than 1300 B.C & not earlier than 1500 B.C.† (but am not quite ~~sure about it~~, for my notes about it were not written on the spot)

cf Mycenae, & hence still earlier than that which bears the name of Cyclopean

* The Mycenean age by Dr Chester Tountas, & Dr J. Irving Manatt, Macmillan, 1897. p. 369

† The dark line across my illustration is only due to an accident that happened to my negative. I believe the bit of wall given in my second illustration ~~has~~ nothing ~~whatever~~ to do with the Iliadic wall, and is of greatly later date. I give it to show how much imagination is necessary in judging of any wall that has been much weathered.

I will, however date the Iliadic wall as 1400 B.C. The Trojan war will then ~~come in~~ be supposed to have taken place from 1360—1350 B.C.; the writing of the Iliad will be about 1150, & that of the Odyssey about 1050 B.C. (Ruskin)

This is a ~~very~~ light fit, and I should be ~~glad~~ ~~alike on internal & very~~ glad to throw the Iliadic wall back ~~to a later~~ to the earlier of the two dates between which Dörpfeld has placed it. But precision is out of the question; ~~and still, but~~ 1400 B.C. will be as near the truth as any thing that we are likely to get, and will bring the archæological ~~and chronological~~ evidence as derivable from the wall of Troy, & the internal evidence of the Iliad & Odyssey, ~~and also that of the Iliad into line with one another, & also with~~ the statement of Thucydides that the last & greatest inroad of the Sicels occurred about 1030 B.C., and ~~& with~~ our conclusion that the Odyssey was written before that date, ~~true, he says nothing about any earlier inroads, but the evidence of the tombs at Thapsos & many other places in the neighbourhood of Syracuse leaves no doubt of their having existed~~ into line with one another.

The date 1050 B.C ~~as the latest that we can accept as probable for the Odyssey~~ will explain the absence of all allusion in the Odyssey to Utica, the land near which on certain rare days can be seen from Mt. Eryx. The Phoenicians are known in the Odyssey, disliked, & distrusted, but they do not seem to be feared as they would surely be if so powerful a maritime nation were already established so near the writer's own abode. She does not seem ~~either~~ to know much about the Phoenicians after all, ~~them~~ for in iv 83 she makes Menelaus say that he had gone to Cyprus, Phoenicia, & the Egyptians, and in the next line she adds that he ~~had~~ had also ~~gone~~ been to the Ethiopians & the Sidonians, as though she ~~did n~~ was not aware that Sidon was a Phoenician city.

The absence of all allusion to Olympia when Telemachus was on his return from Pylos is not

naturally explained, ~~though I grant that other explanations are possible~~, by supposing that Olympia was not yet famous. The principal hero at Athens appears to be the earliest known object of the national cult. I mean Erechtheus, (vii 81); the later, though still very early, cult of Theseus is not alluded to. ~~There is no apparent knowledge of the memorable invasion of the Peloponnese by the Dorians, which is generally dated about 1100 B.C. The same Peloponnese indeed is never mentioned, but it seems to be still in Achaean rather than in Dorian hands. In fact~~ There is no ~~mention~~ allusion, however vague, to any ~~a~~ event known as having happened in Greek history later than 1100 B.C, and though the absence of reference to any particular event may be explained ~~away~~ by indifference or forgetfulness, the absence of all reference to any event whatever suggests, I should say strongly, that none of the events to one or other of which reference might be expected had as yet happened.

~~I~~ While, ~~therefore~~ however, placing 1050 B.C. as the latest limit for the Odyssey I do not see how we can place it as earlier than 1150 without throwing the date of the Iliadic wall farther back than we can venture to do, for we can hardly ~~place it~~ date it earlier than 1500 B.C, and 350 years ~~is~~ as short an interval as we can well allow between the building of that wall and the writing of the Odyssey.

Let us now compare the history of the N.W corner of Sicily as revealed to us in the Odyssey — always assuming that the pedigree of Alcinous

A for XII . 10

sides by Ionian territory. I see from Professor Jebb's introduction to Homer* ~~(ed 1888 at p. 91)~~ that Aristarchus when editing the Iliad & Odyssey, and settling the text ~~as~~ to all intents & purposes as we now have it ~~made most~~ by comparison of the best copies known, made most frequent use of the civic editions of Marseilles which contained both Iliad & Odyssey. It will be remembered that Marseilles was a Phocean colony.

~~Another slight and not at all conclusive very satisfactory suggestion~~

* Ed 1888, note on p. 91

and Arete in book vii is in its main facts historic, with the account given by Thucydides concerning the earliest history of the same district.

In the Odyssey we have seen the Sicans (whom I think that I have sufficiently identified) ~~though their names are never mentioned~~, as originally in possession of Mt. Eryx under a king whose Odyssean name is Eurymedon. He, it seems, was overthrown ~~and killed~~ by the power of his people broken, by enemies whose name is not given, about a hundred years before the writing of the Odyssey, as nearly as we can gather from the fact of his having been Nausicaa's great, great grandfather.

Nausicaa wrote in a language which, though mainly Ionian, contains a considerable Æolian element. It must be inferred therefore that her family and audience — that is to say the Phæacians — spoke ~~the~~ a dialect in which these characteristics are to be found. ~~The Phæacians in the time of the Odyssey were~~ The place of all others where such a dialect might be looked for is Phocæa a little South of the Troad; for Phocæa was an Ionian city entirely surrounded on its land ~~sides by Æolian territory~~. The name Phæacians ~~is exactly the kind of travesty who~~ is not unsuggestive of a ~~travesty o~~ thin disguise for Phocæans; ~~and~~ lines iv 441 — 443, moreover, will gain greatly in point, ~~force and malice~~ if we imagine that the seals, or Phocæ, ~~(primer) and are~~ with their disgusting smell ~~is~~ are ~~intended as a cut at~~ meant for the writer's countrymen, whom she evidently dislikes, and that the words, "who, indeed, would go to bed with a sea monster if he could help it?" ~~to be~~ are her rejoinder to the alleged complaint of

(run on with A)

the young Phaeacians that she would marry none of them (vi 276 sq.) Apart therefore from any external evidence, I should ~~expect~~ suspect the Phaeacians to have been Phocaeans, who had settled on this part of the island.† From the fact that the Phaeacians in the time of the Odyssey were evidently dominant on Mt. Eryx as well as at Trapani, I conclude that they must have had, by the aegis of it, a considerable share in the overthrow of Eurymedon & the Sican power in that part of the island. If they had allies with them, these allies seem to have gone on ~~ward possibly to Segesta~~, ~~and~~ to other ~~Elymite~~ sites ~~of~~ on which Elymite cities are known to have existed, for we find no reference in the Odyssey to any other people as sharing Hypersia & Scheria with the Phaeacians.

Though the power of the Sicans at Eryx was broken, & the Phaeacians were established at Hypersia, also on the top of Mt. Eryx & less than a mile from the Sican city, ~~there seems to have been a~~ the Sicans were still troublesome neighbours; there seems, however, to have been a marriage between some chief man among the Phaeacians & Periboea, youngest daughter of the old king Eurymedon, and this no doubt would lead

† Herodotus tells us (I. 163) that the Phocaeans were the first people to undertake long voyages, ~~and that they explored~~ exploring the Tuscan sea, and going as far as Cadiz. He says that their ships were not the round ones commonly used for commerce, but long vessels with fifty oarsmen. The reader will recollect that this special feature of Phocaean navigation is found also among the Phaeacians, who sent Ulysses to the place that we are to take as Ithaca, in a vessel that had fifty oarsmen.

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~~of the Old King Eurymedon, & the offspring of this marriage and this as we all would lead~~ to some approach to fusion between the two peoples. The offspring of this marriage, Nausithous, is said in the poem to have been ~~the~~ by Neptune, from which I infer that the marriage may have been of a more or less irregular kind, but there can be no doubt that Nausithous came of ~~an Asiatic~~ ~~from a Phaeaca~~ a Phoacian father, and would speak the Phoacian dialect, which the Sicans, though in all probability a Greek-speaking race, cannot be supposed to have done. Nausithous seems ~~to seem to~~ to have been a capable man, & finding the continued raids of semi outlawed Sicans still harassing, ~~and~~ perhaps, also, induced by the fact that the promontory on which Trapani stands was better suited to a race of mariners than the ~~&~~ lofty and inhospitable top of Mt. Eryx, he moved his people down to the sea side & founded the city ~~that he no~~ (now bears the name of Trapani) retaining however the site of Hyperia as his own property, ~~to~~ on which his pigs and goats would feed, and to which also his family would resort ~~&~~ as the people of Trapani still do, during the excessive ~~height~~ heat of summer.

The reader will have noted that Eumaeus, who we must never forget is drawn not from Ithaca but from Mt. Eryx, when watching over his pigs by night thought it necessary to be fully armed (xiv 526). He seems also to have had neighbours from xvi 8.9 from which we may infer that the old Sican city of Eryx was not yet entirely abandoned, the Sicans ~~they~~ appear in the Odyssey ~~The Sicans are transfered~~ under the names of Cyclopes & Lastrygonians, & the Sicels are not yet come. This is all that we can collect from the Odyssey & ~~we~~ will now see what support the sketch given above will derive from ~~the~~ Thucydides (vi & 2) (turn on

Nevertheless ~~But but~~ Eumaeus would not be there at all, unless the fusion between the Sicans & the Phoeaeans had been fairly complete.

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According to him the Lestrygonians & the Cyclopes, mentioned as the earliest inhabitants of Sicily are mere poetical fictions. This, however, does not preclude their having had their prototype in ~~reference to~~ some real Sicilian people who bore another name; and at any rate, ~~located them~~ however fictitious they may be, he places them in Sicily.

He continues that the oldest historic inhabitants of the island were the Sicans, who by their own account had been there from time immemorial. This he denies, for he says they were Iberians, and he says it as though he had satisfied himself after due enquiry, but since as he gives no hint as to the date of their arrival, he does not impugn their statement that their settlement in the island ~~belongs to a~~ dated from a remote time. It is most likely that he is right about the Sicans having come from Spain, & indeed at Tarragona some fifty or sixty miles north of the mouth of the river Ibenus there are megalithic walls that bear, so far as I can judge from photographs, a very considerable analogy with those of Eryx. In Thucydides' own times there were still Sicans in the ~~North West~~ western part of Sicily.

He then goes on to say that after the fall of Troy, but he does not say how much after, some of the Trojans who had escaped the Greeks migrated to Sicily. They settled in the neighbourhood of the Sicans and were all together called Elymi, their cities being Eryx & Segesta. There were also settled with them, but whether at the same date, or earlier or later, & if so, how much, ~~later~~, Thucydides does

not say, certain Phocians of the Trojan branch, i.e. Phocaeans – Phocaea having been founded by Phocians from the gulf of Corinth under the leadership of the Athenian chiefs Philogenes & Damon. (Strab. xiv. 633; Pausan. VII. 3. 10; Herod. i. 146) Here Phocaeans had been carried first by a tempest to Libya*, & thence to Sicily.

We need not follow him to the arrival of the Sicels, for I have already, I hope, satisfied the reader that the Odyssey belongs to a pre-Sicelian period, & I am only dealing with the period which the Odyssey & Thucydides cover in common.

I should perhaps put it beyond doubt that Thucydides ~~not says~~ means Phocaeans & not Phocians. In the first place it is difficult to understand how Phocians, who were on the the Achaean side (H. II (518)), should amalgamate with Trojans, and in the next Thucydides' words cannot be made to bear the meaning that is generally put upon them, as though the Phocians in question were on their way back from Troy to Phocis. His words are Φωκέων τινες τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας, and this cannot be construed as though he had said Φωκέων τινες τῶν ἀνεχομένων ὑν νόστῳ ἀπὸ Τροίας. If ἀπὸ is to imply motion from, it should have a verb or participle involving motion before it; without this it is a common way of expressing residence in a place. For example Ὀρέστης ἤλυθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν iii 307 means Orestes came from Athens, whereas Ὀρέστης ὁ ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν would mean "Orestes the Athenian," or quasi-Athenian", as Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης means the Lacedaemonians from Sparta. Neither ~~passage can~~ of these last two passages can be made to bear the meaning "Orestes, who was on his way from Athens" or "the Lacedaemonians who

* ~~We~~ One cannot help wondering whether ~~[illegible]~~ the episode of the Lotus-eaters may not be due to the existence of traditions among the Phocaeans that their ancestors had made some stay in Libya before reaching Sicily.

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A- for XII. 15

It is just possible that the known con-
-nection between Phocians & Phoceans may
explain why ~~Autolycus~~ Ulysses maternal grandfather
should have been made to live on Mt. Parnassus*
which is in Phocis. Ulysses, to the writer of the
Odyssey, was ~~much more of~~ a naturalised Phea-
-cian, for her native town had become in her eyes both Scheria
& Ithaca. It would not be unnatural, therefore,
that she should wish to connect his ancestry with
Phocis, ~~but we can have no confidence that she~~
~~actually did so~~ the ancestral seat of the Phoceans.

Returning to Thucydides, the only point
in which he varies, run on with "the
Odyssean version"

* Od. XIX. 410, & 432.

~~I should put it beyond doubt that Thucydides~~ ~~really does mean Phocaeans from the neighbour-~~ ~~hood of the Troad and not from Phocians from the~~ ~~gulf of Corinth~~ were on their way from Sparta. The reader who looks out ἀπό in Liddell & Scott will find plenty of examples. ~~For~~ To Thucydides, ~~both~~ Phocaeans in Asia Minor & Phocians on the gulf of Corinth would be alike Phocians in virtue of their common descent, but to avoid misapprehension he calls the Phocaeans, "Phocians of the Trojan ~~ex~~ stock." by "Trojan" meaning not very far from Troy. It should be noted ~~how-~~ ~~ever~~ that the Phocians of the gulf of Corinth are called Φωκῆες not Φωκέες in Η IX = 517, ~~XV~~ = 516, XVII = 307. I see ~~[illegible]~~ that Bolzee (Ad. versaria in Thucydidem) ~~accepts the reading~~ supposes of the reading Φωκεῦσι in the passage of Thucydides which we are now considering. He evidently considers that Φωκεῦσι must mean Phocians. So it would if it were not qualified by the words τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας which qualify it and negative the possibility of Phocians from the gulf of Corinth being intended. Insert A

~~The only point in which Thucydides varies~~ ~~from~~ the Odyssean version is that he makes other Trojans migrate to Crisa as well as the Phocaeans, whereas the writer of the Odyssey mentions only the Phaeacians without saying ~~who~~ anything about their having been of Phocaean descent. She has however betrayed herself very sufficiently. Thucydides again does not tell us that the Phocaeans settled themselves at Drepanum, but a man who is giving a mere outline of events which happened some seven hundred years before he was writing, can hardly be expected to give so small a detail as this. The wonder is that the Odyssey should bear ~~them~~ him out & confirm his accuracy in so striking a way as it does. We now, therefore, see that instead of there being any cause for surprise at finding an ~~Ionic~~ Ionic Aeolian poem written ~~at Trapani~~ near Mt. Eryx, this is the very neighbourhood in which ~~to~~ we might expect to find one.

Finally let us turn to Virgil. His authority as a historian is worthless, but we cannot suppose that he would make Aeneas apparently found Drepanum, ~~if~~ if he held the presence of a Greek speaking people at Drepanum ~~before the~~ even before the age of Homer to be so absurd as it appears to ~~be~~ our modern eminent Homeric scholars. I say "apparently found Drepanum" for it is not quite easy to fix the site of the city founded by Aeneas ~~in~~ (Aen. V. 755–761; and at the close of Aen. III Anchises died at Drepanum, although this ~~was~~ passage is omitted in ordinary editions. But whether the city founded by Aeneas was actually Drepanum, or another city hard by it, it is clear that Virgil ~~assumed~~ places Greek-speaking people at Drepanum immediately after the fall of Troy. He would hardly do this ~~unless~~ unless Drepanum was believed in his time to be a city of very great antiquity, & founded by Greek-speaking people. If the Trojans ~~were~~ spoke Greek language was Greek will not be disputed.

Further evidence in support of an early Ionian settlement at, or close to Trapani

I am often asked how I explain the fact that we find no trace in ancient authors of any tradition to the effect ~~that~~ either that the Odyssey was written at Drepanum, or that ~~it was~~ the writer was a woman. This difficulty is laid before me as one that is almost fatal, ~~to my~~ strongly. I confess, however, that I find it small in comparison with that of explaining how both these ~~points~~ facts should have ~~failed~~ been ~~failed to have been~~ long since rediscovered. Neptune indeed did not ~~bury~~ overwhelm Scheria under Mt Eryx, but he, or some not less spiteful god, seems to have buried both it & its great poetess under another mountain which I fear may be found even more irremoveable. — I mean a huge quasi geological formation of academic erudition.

The objection is without sufficient foundation in its implied facts; ~~the fact that Scheria &~~ for that the Phæacians were a real ~~place &~~ people who lived at a ~~place town~~ place bearing the name of Drepane, (which is near enough to Drepanum for all practical purposes) † has never been lost sight of at all except by those who find it convenient to lose sight of it. ~~when discussing any Odyssean theories~~. Thucydides tells us that the inhabitants of Corfu were the descendants of the Phæacians (§1-25) and the rock into which their ship was turned as it was entering the harbour after having escorted Ulysses to Ithaca is still shown at Corfu as an island 58 feet high with a monastery at the top of it. But the older name of Corfu was Drepane.* and when the Carthaginians had established

* See Smith's Dictionary under Corcyra, where full references will be found.

† Drepanum means a curved sword or scymitar; Drepane is a sickle.

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themselves at the Sicilian Drepanum, it would ~~be an easy matter it would~~ be an easy matter for the inhabitants of the Corfu Drepane to claim Phaacian descent, ~~Scheria as their own~~, and – as they proceeded to do – to ~~sub~~ call their island Scheria, in spite of its offering no single point of correspondence with the description given on the Odyssey.

The Athenian writers, Thucydides included, would be biassed in favour of any site which brought Homer, as they ignorantly called the writer of the Odyssey, nearer their own doors. The people, moreover, of Eryx & Segesta, & hence also of ~~the Sicilian Drepanum~~ ~~Drepanum~~, were held to be barbarians ~~by~~ and are so called by Thucydides himself (viz.) in his eyes it would be little less than sacrilege to hesitate between the Corfu Drepane & the Sicilian Drepanum, did any tradition, however vague, support Corfu. ~~It~~ But it is not likely that Thucydides was unaware of the Elymite claim ~~to the Odyssey~~ not only to the Phaacian episode, but to the entire poem, for as late as 430 B.C., ~~but~~ only a little before the date of his own work, there were still people on or near Mt. Eryx who present every appearance of having claimed it, as I will almost immediately show.

I grant that no explicit tradition exists to the effect that the Odyssey as a whole was written at in Corfu, but the Phaacian episode is the eye of the poem. ~~It is evidence~~ I submit that tradition to the effect that the poem ~~one~~ has, & still does, in implication connect it with a place of which the earliest known name was ~~Drepane~~ Drepane & intents & purposes the same as that of the town where I contend that it was written.

As for losing sight of its having been written by a woman, the people who could lose sight of the impossibility of its having been written by Homer could lose sight of anything. A people who could not only do this, but who could effectually snuff out those who pointed out their error, were not likely to know more about the differences underlying the two poems than the average English ~~clergyman~~ layman does about those between ~~St Matthew's & St John's accounts of the Resurrection~~ the synoptic gospels & that of St. John. ~~I have often asked clergymen to tell me these, or at any rate some of them, offhand, but I never found one who could tell me anything whatever about them.~~

I will now return to my assertion that in the time of Thucydides there seem to have been not

a few who knew of, and shared in, the Elymite claim to the authorship of the Odyssey.

The British Museum possesses a ~~coin~~ unique example of a small bronze coin which is classed with full confidence among those of Eryx & Segesta. It is of the very finest period of the numismatic art, & is dated by the Museum authorities ~~of the Museum catalogue~~ about 430 B.C. ~~In the descriptive letter press it is~~ ~~the head upon the drome~~ ~~is said to have a pointed ear, but the artist who figured the coin~~ ~~has seen correctly that what at a first glance looks like a pointed ear is in reality an hairy~~ ~~he and he made this appear in his illustration, & the writer of the descriptive letter press do not appear to have detected.~~

[Print in text not inset] [Illustration] [you have the block]

The reader will see that the obverse bears the legend IAKIN, & the reverse a representation of the brooch described by Ulysses, Od xix 225–231. A translation of this passage is given in my abridgement, ~~of~~ Chapter II.

The cross line of the A is not visible in the original, but no doubt is felt at the Museum about its having existed.

There seems, however to be more doubt whether the legend should be IAKIN, or # ΓIAKIN – Γ being the older form of Π. Possibly from a desire to be right at any rate once, the Museum catalogue gives it as IAKIN in the illustration, & ΓIAKIN in the descriptive letter press. The one reading will do nearly as well as the other for my argument, which only requires that the coin should belong to the Eryx & Segesta group & be dated about 430 B.C – neither of which points are doubted. I will, however, give the reasons that convince me as to IAKIN being the true reading.

Firstly neither I nor some others whose opinion on such matters is infinitely better worth having than mine, can find any traces of a Γ between the lowermost boss & the neck. I am aware that some experts of the highest competence profess to be able to detect such traces, but the artist who figured the coin evidently could not do so, & the experts do not seem to have had such confidence in their own opinion as to make him alter his drawing.

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Secondly the composition ~~of the coin~~ is obviously and intentionally symmetrical. It would be abhorrent to the instincts of the man who could design so exquisite a coin to destroy its balance by crowding a Γ into the place which must be assigned to it if it exists at all.

Thirdly, Piacus to which town the ~~city~~ coin had been ~~des~~ ascribed by the dealer from whom the Museum bought it, is mentioned very briefly by Stephanus Byzantinus, but by no other writer, as a Sicilian city, and he expressly states that its citizens were called ΠΙΑΚΗΝΟΙ, so that the coin, if it was one of theirs, should bear the legend ~~Π~~ Γ ΙΑΚΗΝ instead of the alleged ΓΙΑΚΙΝ. Stephanus Byzantinus did not write till about 500 A.D, & in the absence of any statement from him to the effect that Piacus was an old city, it argues some recklessness to conclude that it had existed at least for nearly a thousand years ~~at the time~~ when he mentioned it; there is no evidence from any quarter to support such a conclusion, & ~~the~~ a safer one will ~~would seem to~~ be that the dealer above referred to, not knowing where the coin came from, & ~~&~~ looking for a city in Stephanus Byzantinus, found he could get nothing nearer than Piacus - whereon he saw a Γ as the smallest thing he could do in P's into his coin, & sold it to the British Museum, probably for ~~about~~ a song, as compared with the ~~its~~ value which it now proves to have. Thus the Museum authorities having got it into part of their notes (for they seem to have got ΙΑΚΙΝ into another part) that the legend was ~~Π~~ ΓΙΑΚΙΝ have been tempted to ~~the face of~~ the coin than those who have no notes will see ~~a little~~ more on ~~quite~~ bear them out in seeing. But I will add no more. The legend is obviously ΙΑΚΙΝ. No Γ This is an abbreviation for ΙΑΚΙΝΩΝ as ΕΡΥΚΙΝ, & ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝ are for ΕΡΥΚΙΝΩΝ & ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΠΩΝ not to quote further examples. It means that the people who struck it were called ΙΑΚΙΝΕΣ

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and though we cannot determine the precise name of their city we may infer with confidence that it was some derivative of ΙΑΚΟΣ, which is given in Liddell & Scott as meaning Ionian, ~~and that was intended~~ it ~~[illegible]~~ I hold therefore that as late as B.C. 430 there was a town, still more or less autonomous, which claimed Ionian descent, and which also claimed to be in some special way connected with the Odyssey; for I am assured that nothing would be ~~admitted~~ afforded on ~~such~~ a coin ~~but something that~~ except what had an important bearing on the anterior history of those ~~that~~ who struck it. ~~I am assured~~ Admitting that the reverse of the coin in question must be taken as a reproduction of Ulysses' brooch, ~~as can any~~ and I find no difference of opinion among the numismatists at the Museum on this head — it is hard to see what more apposite means of saying "Odyssey" upon a coin can be suggested than to stamp ~~the reverse~~ it with the subject which invites numismatic treatment more than any other in the whole poem. It ~~find, therefore,~~ seems to me, then, that though the theory that there was an Ionian city in the neighbourhood of Eryx which could claim connection with the Odyssey will stand perfectly well without the coin, the coin cannot stand without involving the existence of an Ionian city near Eryx which claimed connection with the Odyssey. Happily, though the coin is unique, there is no question as to its genuineness.

The name may very likely have been ΙΑΞ though I cannot find any such word ~~existed~~ in classical Greek.

To those therefore who ask me for monuments, ruins of buildings, historical documents to support a ~~of my contention that there existed as a Sicili~~ Sicano-Ionian civilisation near Eryx in times ~~that have~~ heretofore ~~been considered~~ prehistoric, I reply that as late as 430 B.C. all these things appear to have existed. Letting alone the testimony of Thucydides, surely an Ionian

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coin is no small historical document in support of an Ionian city. A coin will say more in fewer words & more authoritatively than anything else will. The coin in question cannot belong to an Ionian colony on Mt. Eryx or thereabouts recently established in 430 B.C. We should have heard of such a colony; how inconceivable again is the bringing in of the Odyssey on this supposition. If the city existed at all it can only have done so as a survival of the Phocaean settlement of which Thucydides tells us. [I want no evidence for the survival of such a settlement in later times; it is not incumbent upon me to show whether it survived or no; the abundant, I might almost say superabundant, coincidences between all both Sicelian and Ithacan scenes in the Odyssey, and Trapani with its immediate neighbourhood, is enough to demonstrate the Trapanese origin of the poem. Its pre-Syracusan & pre-Sicelian indications, its dialect Ionic-Eolian connects it with the Phocaeans, about which does not concern me to show what became of these Phocaeans after the Odyssey had been written; what I have said about the coin IAKIN is said more in the interests of the coin than of the Odyssey, which is a more potent and irrefragable proof of its own provenance & date than any coin struck some 600 years later can conceivably be. Still, the coin being there, I use it to answer those who demand some evidence external to the Odyssey itself. When they ask me where are my monuments, I answer that they are within the coin, circumscribed by the small circlet of an inch & a half at most.

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For a coin is a city in little; he who looks on ~~a coin~~ one beholds ~~the~~ a people, an evidence of life, a whole civilisation with its buildings of every kind. ~~whether for business or pleasure~~. ~~If~~ Destroy these, ~~the a city~~, but so long as single one of its coins remains the city though dead is yet alive, and the fact of its having had buildings that could become ruinous is as palpable as though the ruins themselves had come down to us.

The exact situation of this city Iax, Iacca, or Iace, ~~or possibly even Iuaxe for there is a coin identical in all respects except in the legend which has been found bearing this name also~~ ~~The coin is very small, of bronze, of the date about 450 B.C.; it shows~~ cannot be determined, but I incline to place it about a mile or a mile and a half East of Trapani at or near a place called ~~# E~~ Argenteria. This place is ~~suf.~~ said ~~found~~ to have yielded silver, but no one ~~accepts~~ believes that it ever did so. ~~this fact explanation~~. It was a quarry and ~~that~~ by no means a large one, just at the beginning of the rise to Mt. Eryx. ~~The land adjoining it is called in my friend Sig. Biaggini informed me Cachello.~~ Some say that Argentina is a corruption of Cetaria and refers to a monster fish that was killed here, though how it got so far from the sea is not apparent; ~~but~~ I think it much more likely, however, ~~that~~ it is a corruption of Iacinteria and that the town Iax, or Iace, ~~or even Iuaxe for a coin of about 450 B.C. exists among the Mosya, Drepane, & Eryx group bearing the legend Iuaxe, exists~~ ~~though they have no example of it at the British Museum~~ was a quasi autonomous Suburb of Drepanum, to which the Greek inhabitants ~~of the town~~ were permitted to retire when the Carthaginians took possession of the parts ~~of the town~~ of the town bordering ~~that bordered~~ on the harbour.

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149 ~~* I am indebted to my friend Cavaliere Pietro Ingoria of Calatafimi for knowledge of the existence of this coin as well as for much other of the local information~~

My friend Sig. Sugameli of Trapani, whose zeal in this matter so far outstrips even my own, as that I would gladly moderate it if I knew how to do so, assures me that in his younger days he used to employ a stone in building that the mason who hewn it came from a quarry at the foot of Mt Eryce called Dacinoi, d'Alcinoi. This was years before any one thought of bringing Ionians to Trapani. Sig. Sugameli suggested that the name might be a corruption of D'Alcinoo. but we may be sure that whatever else Alcinous's name may have been it was not Alcinous. I asked Sig. Sugameli to produce the mason, but he could neither find him nor hear of the quarry Dacinoi. Nevertheless I feel sure that he was told what he said he was, & as the quarry cannot have been far from the Egesta, I think it probable that its name was a corruption of Dacinoi.

Whether this is sound or not, I do not doubt that the Dacenses who figure so largely in Sicilian history during the eleventh century of our own era are to be connected with the Ionian settlement that produced the Odyssey. The Dacenses were then settled chiefly about 40 miles East of Trapani, but the interval of some 1400 years & more between the date of the coin Dakin and the conquest of Sicily by the Normans will leave plenty of time for them to have spread or migrated.

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That the Iliad which the writer of the Odyssey knew was the same as what we now have.

It remains for me to show ~~cause for thinking~~ that the writer of the Odyssey had the Iliad before her to all intents and purposes as we now have it, and to deal with the ~~gro~~ ~~development~~ manner in which the poem grew under her hands. To ~~do~~ this end I shall have to quote more Greek than I like doing in a work which is intended for the general public, but ~~I see no other way~~ cannot help myself.

~~I shall~~ In my own copies of the Iliad and Odyssey I have underlined all the passages that are common to both poems, ~~and in~~ giving the references. It is greatly to be wished that one or other of our university presses would furnish us with an ~~Iliad and~~ Odyssey in which all the Iliadic ~~common~~ passages ~~have been~~ are printed in a slightly differently ~~be~~ and with a reference ~~given~~ to the passages ~~are given~~ to be found at the end of Dunbar's concordance to the Odyssey, but the marking of them as they occur in the course of the poem is infinitely more instructive, than their perusal without their context. In my ~~rough~~ complete translations of both the poems ~~have done~~ (and finished) I have ~~this, and~~ translated identical passages as nearly as possible in identical words. ~~I mean have~~ In the Odyssey I propose to print them ~~in another page~~ and give the references to the Iliad. In the ~~marks I can in the Odyssey, for in the Iliad~~ translation of the Iliad ~~there is no use in doing this for no one~~ ~~there is no use in doing so inasmuch as no one~~ suppose that ~~the writer of~~ Homer took ~~any of them~~ anything from the Odyssey. The publication, however, of these translations must, I fear, be indefinitely post poned, & in this chapter I can only give as many instances as I think will be sufficient to satisfy the reader that the writer of the Odyssey's Iliad was our own Iliad.

* somewhat in the style of the extracts from Il. I & XXIV here given.

* I have every reason to hope that very shortly after the publication of this book a copy of both Iliad & Odyssey with the common passages marked and referred to in MS will be found in the British Museum library

XIV. 2

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I will begin by giving two passages from the Iliad, one from book I, the other from book XXIV, the references in all cases being to the Odyssey. These are perhaps fuller of lines adopted by the writer of the Odyssey than any other in the Iliad, though there are some that run them closely.

Iliad I 455–485

~~All the references are to the Odyssey.~~

16 ΓΑΙΛΔΟΣ Α.

~~cf κεφαλαι ἔλλοιο~~ iii 413

ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἐπικρήηνον ἔλλοιο 455

ἤδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀέκεα λοιγὸν ἐμπνεῖ·

iii 385 ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε ~~Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων~~ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

iii 447 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο, cf xii 359–361

αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν,

μηροὺς τ' ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν 460

δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.

cf iii 456–462 καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζης ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον

λείβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρα κάη καὶ σπλάγχνα πάσαντο, xii 364 365

xiv 430, 431 μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν, 465

xiv 423 ὀπτήσάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα, cf xvi 478–480

xix 425 δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐίσης.

i 150 cf αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο,

compare i 148 κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο, xxiv 270 271, 272

νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν → vii 183

iii 339 346 οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,

καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,

μέλποντες ἑκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων.

ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν, 475 cf iii 329

cf xix 426–428 δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός.

ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, cf (xii 31, 32) → 20 times in

καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἀνάγοντο μετὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν· 20 times in Od. only twice in Il.

cf ii 420 xv 292 τοῖσιν δ' ἵκμενον οὖρον ἵει ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

οἱ δ' ἱστὸν στήσαντ' ἀνά θ' ἱστία λευκὰ πέτασσαν· 480 → iv 783

ii 427–429 ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἱστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα

στείρῃ πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε νηὸς ἰούσης·

ἡ δ' ἔθεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἵκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν,

xvi 325 νῆα μὲν οἵ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἔρυσσαν 485

all underlined passages are to be printed in the next size larger type, or to be spaced wider between the letters.

If the printer cannot understand my references he can always settle it by referring to an Odyssey.

ἦ καὶ ἀναΐξας ὃν ἄργυφον ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς
σφάξ· ἕταροι δ' ἑδερόν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον εὖ κατὰ κόσμον,
μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πείραν τ' ὀβελοῖσιν,
ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.
Αὐτομέδων δ' ἄρα σῖτον ἐλὼν ἐπένειμα τραπέζῃ
καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν· ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο,
ἦ τοι Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος θαύμαζ' Ἀχιλῆα,
ὅσσος ἔην οἷός τε· θεοῖσι γὰρ ἄντα ἐῴκει·
αὐτὰρ ὁ Δαρδανίδην Πρίαμον θαύμαζεν Ἀχιλλεύς,
εἰσορόων ὄψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ μῦθον ἀκούων.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁρόωντες,
τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής·
„λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη
ὕπνῳ ὕπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντε·
οὐ γάρ πω μύσαν ὄσσε ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ἐμοῖσιν,
ἐξ οὗ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἐμὸς πάις ὤλεσε θυμόν,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενέχω καὶ κήδεα μυρία πέσσω,
αὐλῆς ἐν χώρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.
νῦν δὴ καὶ σίτου πασάμην καὶ αἴθοπα οἶνον
λαυκανίης καθέηκα· πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι πεπάσμην."
ἦ ὅ, Ἀχιλεὺς δ' ἑτάροισιν ἰδὲ δμωῇσι κέλευσεν
δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
χλαίνας τ' ἐνθέμεναι οὖλας καθύπερθεν ἔσασθαι.
αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δέος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι,
αἶψα δ' ἄρα στόρεσαν δοιὼ λέχε' ἐγκονέουσαι.
τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
„ἐκτὸς μὲν δὴ λέξο, γέρον φίλε, μή τις Ἀχαιῶν
ἐνθάδ' ἐπέλθῃσιν βουληφόρος, οἵ τέ μοι αἰεὶ

It is beyond my scope to point out the slight and perfectly unimportant variations from the Iliad which are found in some of the Odyssean lines to which I have given a reference; they are with hardly an exception such as are occasioned by the difference of context. ~~The reader may~~ Though unimportant they are not uninteresting, but I must leave them for the reader to examine if he feels inclined to do so.

He will observe that some lines are nearly, and some quite common to the two extracts above given, and I should add that not a few other lines are repeated elsewhere in the Iliad, but enough remains that is peculiar to either of the two extracts to convince me that the writer of the Odyssey knew them both; and not only this, but they seem to have risen in her mind as spontaneously, and often ~~so~~ no doubt as unconsciously, as passages from the bible, prayer book, & Shakspeare do to ourselves.

If, then, we find the writer so familiar with two such considerable extracts from the first & last books of the Iliad, can we avoid ~~thinking that~~ concluding that thinking it probable that she was acquainted, to say the least of it, with the intermediate Books? the whole of the poem? Such surely should be the most natural & least strained conclusion to arrive at, but I will bring further evidence.

I ~~will~~ pass over the way in which Mentor's name is coined from Nestor's. cf. Il. II 76, & Od. ii 224, ~~&~~ 225, & 228, and will go on to ~~show that~~ do the striking case of Ulysses' servant Eurybates. In ~~book~~ Od. xix 218, 219 ~~of the Odyssey~~ Penelope has asked Ulysses (who is disguised so that she does not recognise him) ~~for some details as what fell~~ for details as to the followers Ulysses had with him on his way to Troy, and Ulysses answers that he had a servant ~~with~~ named Eurybates who was ~~among other details~~ hunched in the shoulders. (xix 246, 247) Turning to Il. II 184 we find that Ulysses had a servant from Ithaca named Eurybates, but he does not seem to have been hunched in the shoulders; ~~but~~ on reading further, however, we ~~find that the next man he came to in Ithaca~~ immediately come to Euryalus, "whose shoulders were hunched over his chest" ~~and~~ (Il. II 217, 218) ~~I do not think there will be many who will doubt~~ I fear I have been too hasty in concluding that the writer of the Odyssey, wanting an additional detail for Penelope's greater assurance, and not finding one in the Iliad, took the hunchiness off the back of the ~~next man to him~~ first next man to him & ~~clapped~~ set it on to the back of Eurybates?

XIV 5

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I often wondered why Menelaus should have been made to return on the self same day as that on which Orestes was holding the funeral feast of Egisthus & Clytemnestra; ~~to~~ the Greek which tells us that he did so ~~stands~~ runs:—

~~αὐτόματος~~ ~~αὐτόματος~~ αὐτῆμαρ δὲ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ~~ἀγαθὸς~~ ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος (od. iii 311)

I did not find the explanation till I remembered that in Iliad II 408 when Agamemnon has been inviting the Achaan chieftains to a banquet, he did not ask Menelaus for Menelaus came of his own accord:—

αὐτόματος δὲ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,

on remembering this, and observed that it would be less trouble to make Menelaus come home on the very day of his wife's funeral feast, than ~~to~~ to alter αὐτόματος in any other way which would leave the rest of the line available ~~and found any difficulty removed~~ [I can see no sufficient reason ~~whatever of sufficient weight~~ for even questioning that ~~that~~ the catalogues of the Achaan and Trojan forces in the second book of the Iliad ~~was~~ were part of the Iliad as it left Homer's hands. It is wanted in order to explain who the people are of whom we are to hear in the body of the poem, its position, therefore, is quite natural; it is carefully prepared in Nestor's speech II 360–368; Homer almost tells us that he has had assistance in compiling it, for he invokes the Muse as he does more than once in later books, and declares that he knows nothing of ~~what he is going to tell us of~~ his own ~~personal~~ knowledge, * but depends entirely upon what has been told him;* the lines quoted or alluded to in the Odyssey are far too marked to allow of our ~~doubt~~ doubting that the writer knew ~~it~~ both catalogues familiarly; I cannot within my limits give them, but would call the reader's attention to Il. III 488 (cf. Od. IV 240); to the considering Sparta & Lacedaemon as two places Il. II 580, 581, which the writer of the Odyssey does (iv 10) though ~~it~~ she has abundantly shown that she knew ~~that Sparta & Lacedaemon were~~ them to be but one;

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* ἠμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν, Il. II 486

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to line 600, cf. Od iii 386; to the end of line 614, θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλειν, cf. Od. v 67 θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν; to 670, cf. Od. iii 12; to 673, 674 cf. Od. xi 469; to 706, αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐδαο, which must surely be parent of the line αὐτοκασίγνητον ὀλοόφρονος Αἰακίδαο Od. x 137; to 707, ὀπλότερος γενεῇ· ὁ δ' ἄμα πρότερος καὶ ἄριστος, cf. Od. xix 184, where the same line occurs; to 721, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κεῖτο κρατὺς ἄλγεα πάσχων, cf. Od. v 13 where the same line occurs but with κεῖται instead of κεῖτο, to suit the context, cf also Od. v 395, where we find πάτρῃσιν, ὅς ἐν νούσῳ κῆται, κρατὺς ἄλγεα πάσχων, a line which shows how completely the writer of the Odyssey was saturated with the Iliad; to Il. 755, Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπόῤῥωξ, cf. Od. x 514, where the same words end the line; to 774, διὸς κοίτῳ τέρποντο καὶ ἀγλαΐῃσιν ἔχοντες, cf. Od. iv 626, & xvii 168, where the same line occurs; to 776, where the horses of the Myrmidons are spoken of as λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, cf. Od. ix 97, where the same words are used for Ulysses' men when with the Lotus-eaters; to 873, νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τόγ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, cf. Od. iv 292, ἄλγιον, οὐ γάρ οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

None of the ~~above~~ passages above quoted or referred to are to be found any where else in the Iliad, so that if ~~taken~~ from the Iliad at all, they are ~~taken~~ from the catalogues.

Perhaps the prettiest example of unconscious cerebration in the Odyssey ~~of all~~ is to be found in the opening line of Od. iii which runs ἠέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλὲς ἄκοιτιν, which is taken from Il. v 20, Ἠέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλὲς ἄκοιτιν. One is at a loss to conceive how a writer ~~could change~~ so apparently facile ~~as the~~ should drift thus on to an Iliadic line of such ~~a~~ different signification except as the result of ~~a saturation so complete as to make her deposit them with~~ ~~a~~ saturation. It is inconceivable that she should have cast about for a line to say that the Sun was rising, & thought that Idomeus jumping off his chariot would do. ~~She must have had Iliad on the brain, was babbling over with the Iliad.~~ She ~~alludes to suddenly~~ again has this line in her mind when in Book xxii. 95 she writes, τῇ λέμβαχος δ' ἀπόρουσε λιπὼν ~~περικαλλὲς~~ δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.

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XIV. 6 bis

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The same kind of unconscious cerebration evidenced by the lines last ~~And yet she does very strange things~~ referred to leads her sometimes to repeat her own lines, without, probably, the least idea that she is ~~to~~ What, for example, can be stranger in a small way, than the ~~not unlike~~ close ~~resemblance~~ resemblance between

--- βασιλῆες ... εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
Od. i 394, 395.

and

εἰσὶ δὲ νῆες
πολλαὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ νέαι ἠδὲ παλαιαί.
ii 292, 293.?

The same kind of unconscious cerebration evidenced by the lines last referred to leads her sometimes to repeat lines of her own ~~in a singular way~~ in a strange way without probably ~~the smallest~~ being at all aware of it. As for example,—

βασιλῆες ... εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
(i. 394 395)

This passage ~~which~~ in the following Book becomes:—

εἰσὶ δὲ νῆες
πολλαὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ νέαι ἠδὲ παλαιαί.
(ii 292, 293)

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Another similar case is that of the famous line ~~out~~ about Sisyphus' stone bounding down hill in a string of dactyls Od. xi 598 it runs;—

αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

~~which I believe to be nothing but~~ "The cruel stone came bounding down again on to the plain." I believe this to be nothing but an unconscious adaptation from the one dactylic line that I can remember in the Iliad. I mean

ἀμφοτέρω δὲ τένοντε καὶ ὀστέα λᾶας ἀναιδὴς
ἀχρὶς ἀπηλοίησεν.

"The cruel stone shattered the bones of the neck, tendons & all." Granted, that there ~~is~~ may be (which is very doubtful) an accommodation of sound to sense in the Odyssean line, I contend that the suggestion came from the Iliadic line.

I would gladly go through the whole Iliad ~~to give~~ calling attention to the use the writer of the Odyssey has made of it, but ~~the reader will see that~~ to do this would require hardly ~~less than a small~~ almost a book to itself. I will therefore ask ~~the reader~~ him the reader to accept my statement that no one book in the Iliad shows any marked difference from the others as regards the use that has been made of it, and will limit myself to those books that have been most generally declared to be ~~non-homeric~~ later additions — I mean Bk X. & bk XVIII — for I consider that I have already ~~dealt sufficiently~~ sufficiently shown ~~that~~ the writer of the Odyssey ~~knew~~ has known bks I, XXIV, & the Catalogues with II. ~~I shall only call attention to passages that do not occur more than once in the Iliad.~~

It may be well, however, to include ~~bk~~ Book xi in my examination, for this is one of the most undoubted, and ~~book x is among~~ it will be interesting to note that the writer of the Odyssey ~~has both books~~ has both the most doubted & undoubted books equally at her finger's ends. I shall only call attention to ~~those~~ passages that do not occur more than once in the Iliad, & ~~certainly~~ will omit the very numerous ones passages that may be considered as common form.

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xiv 8 286

In Il. X, ~~I find~~ 141, 142 we find;-
τίφθ' οὕτω .....
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην, and in Od. ix 401, 402,
τίπτε τόσον .....
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην,
In Il. X 142, ὅτι δὴ χρείω τόσον ἵκεο;
cf. Od. ii 28 τίνα χρείω τόσον ἵκεο
Il. X 158 begins with the words λὰξ ποδὶ κίνησας.
So also does Od. xv 45.
~~Il. X 169, καὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, πόνος, κατὰ θυμὸν ἐείπας.~~
~~The same line occurs Od. xviii 170~~
Il. X 214 has, ὅσσοι γὰρ νήεσσιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι;
this line is found Od. i 245, xix 130, xvi 122, with
νήσοισιν instead of νήεσσιν.
Il. X 220 ends with ὀρούσει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ,
so also does Od. xviii 61
Il. X 221 has ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων δύναι στρατὸν ἐγγὺς ἰόντων,
cf Od iv 246 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν.
Il. X 243, 244 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην
οὐ περὶ μὲν ~~πόρρωθεν~~ .....
in Od. i 65, 6 we find ~~πῶς δὴ~~ the same words only with
~~ὅς τε~~ ὅς instead of οὐ. This is a very convincing case,
for the ~~word~~ ἔπειτα, which is quite natural in the Iliadic
line, is felt to be rather ~~brought in by the heels in order to the~~ out of place in
~~context~~ the Odyssean one, ~~the~~ and convinces me that the Odyssean passage
was taken from the Iliad, not vice versâ.
Il. X 255, ends with μενοπτολέμοιο Θρασυμήδης, so
also does Od. iii 442.
Il. X 278, 279, ... ~~ὅς~~ ἤ τέ μοι αἴσα
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίστασαι ---- cf Od. xiii 300, 301,
..... ἤ τέ τοι αἴσα
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίστασαι .....
Il. X 292–295 σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἤνιν εὐρυμέτωπον
ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὔ πω ἐπὶ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ·
τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας·
ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τῶν δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
The first three of these four lines is repeated verbatim
in Od. iii 382–384. In Od. 385 the fourth line becomes
ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

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Il. X 350 XIV. φ. ὁ ὄσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὖρα πέλονται, ἡμιόνων of od. viii 124
ὄσσον τ' ἐν νείῳ, οὖρον πέλει ἡμιόνων
Il. X 400. τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,
this line occurs od. xxii 371

Il. X 429 ends with ἠοῖ τε Πελασγοί, so also does
od. xix 177

Il. X 457 φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίῃσιν ἐμίχθη,
this line is found od. xxii 329.

Il. X. 534 ψεύσομαι ἢ ἔτυμον ἐρέω; κέλεται δέ με θυμός·
In od iv. 140 this line is found.

Il. X. 556 ἠεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καί, κ.τ.λ. od. iii 231

Il. X. 576 ἐς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες εὐξέστας λούσαντο.
See od. iv 48, xvii 87.

Here, then, are ~~sixteen~~ seventeen well marked quotations from bk X, omitting any claim on lines ~~that~~ which, though they are found in the Odyssey, are also found in other Books of the Iliad, from which, if not from Book X, it may be alleged that the writer of the Odyssey took them. This ~~cut~~ makes the writer of the Odyssey to have taken about one line in every ~~Odyssey~~ 33 of the ~~book~~ 579 lines of which Bk X consists. disciples of Wolf — no two of whom, however, are of the same opinion, so that it is hard to say who they are — must either ~~impugn~~ meet my theory that the Odyssey is all written at one place, ~~or~~ by one hand, and ~~at~~ ~~or~~ in the eleventh century B.C. ~~or they must more their reasons~~ with stronger weapons than during the last ~~five~~ six years they have shewn any sign of possessing, or they must ~~throw~~ throw back their "recensions" of the Iliad, and the insertion of the disputed Books, ~~to a date that will make Homer have written long before that of the Doom of a date long prior to the Trojan war, the second date of the but the date of Homer's original~~ to a date on which even they will hardly venture.

I will now deal with the undoubted Book XI, omitting as in the case of book X all lines that occur in other Books, unless I call special attention to them.

N.P. I do not forget ~~I and hardly say~~ that the opponents of the genuineness of ~~Book X~~ Il X may contend that ~~that it was not then later and~~ the passages above given were taken from the Odyssey, but this contention should not be urged in respect of Book X more than in respect of ~~all~~ the other Books which are all of them equally replete with ~~Odyssean~~ passages that are found in the Odyssey.

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The first two lines of Book XI are identical with the first two of Book V of the Odyssey, but Il. XI. 2 ~~Il. XI 2 of the Iliad~~ occurs also in Od. XIX. 2

Il. XI 42, 43, ἵππουςιν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.
εἵλετο δ' ἀλκιμὸν δοῦρε δύω, κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ,
These two lines are found Od. xxii 124, 125, but the first of them occurs three or four times elsewhere in the Iliad.

Il. XI. 181, ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ πτόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος
ἕξεσθαι τότε δή ... cf Od. iv 514, 515
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλεάων ὄρος αἰπὺ
ἕξεσθαι τότε δή, - - - - - -

Il. XI 201, προέηκε τεῖν τάδε μυθήσασθαι, cf Od. iv 829
where the same words occur.

Il. XI 531 253, ἀντικρὺς δὲ δίεσχε φαεινοῦ δουρὸς ἀκωκή.
cf Od. xix 453 where the same line occurs but with διῆλθε for δίεσχε

Il. XI. 531, ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους
cf Od. xv. 215 where the same line occurs but with ἔλασεν instead of ἵμασεν.

Il. XI. 624–639 The mess which Hecamedé cooked for Patroclus and Machaon was surely present to the mind of the writer of the Odyssey when she was telling about the mess which Circe cooked for Ulysses' men Od. X 234, 235.

Il. XI 668, 669, οὐ γὰρ ἐμῇ ἶς
ἔσθ', οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν
cf. Od xi 393, 394, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἔτ' ἦν ἶς ἐμπεδος οὐδέ τι κῖκυς
οἵη περ πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν

Il. XI 678, 679 - - - - ἀγέλας τόσα, πώεα οἰῶν
τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
These lines occur Od. xiv, 100, 101 but with ἀγέλαι instead of ἀγέλας

Il. XI 742 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προσιόντα βάλον χαλκήρεϊ δουρί,
This line is found Od. xiii, 267 but with κατιόντα for προσιόντα

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Il. XI 777 στῆμεν ἐνὶ προθύροισι τάφων δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς
cf. Od. xvi 12 ἔστη ἐνὶ προθύροισι τάφων δ' ἀνόρουσε Συβώτης.

Here we have only eleven well marked passages common to both poems, in spite of the fact that book XI is nearly 300 lines longer than book X but I ~~have~~ refrain from referring to any passages that occur also in any other book of the Iliad. Running my eye over the underlined lines in my copy of the Iliad, I do not find ~~any notable~~ difference between their frequency in Book XI for in the other Books ~~also~~ ~~in the whole poem and therefore the sufficient~~ ~~explanation of the having been [illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Furthermore I own to finding Book ~~XII~~ ~~[illegible]~~ perhaps the least interesting of the most perfunctorily written in all the Iliad, and can well believe that the writer of the Odyssey borrowed from it less because ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ was of the same opinion, but however this may be, the number of common passages above collected is ample to establish the fact that the writer of the Odyssey had book XI ~~well~~ in her mind as well as book X.

(much, though I admit that there is some)

I will now go on to examine the passages in Il. XVIII which the writer of the Odyssey has wholly or in part adopted. They are:—

Il. XVIII 22–24 ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα
ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς. ~~τὸ~~ χαρίεν δ' ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον.

These lines are found Od. xxiv 315–317 except that as they refer to an old man, instead of, as in the Iliad, to a young one, χαρίεν δ' ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον has become πολιῆς ἀδινὰ στεναχιζών. The first of the three lines occurs also in Il. XVII 591

Il. XVIII 108 καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονα περ χαλεπῆναι
cf. Od. xiv 464, ἠλεός, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονα περ μαλ' ἀεῖσαι.

Il. XVIII 250 Πανθοίδης· ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
cf. Od. xxiv 452 where however Πανθοίδης becomes Μαστορίδης.

Il. XVIII 344–349 ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στῆσαι τρίποδα μέγαν ὄφρα τάχιστα
Πάτροκλον λούσειαν ἄπο βρότον αἱματόεντα.
οἱ δὲ λοετροχόον τρίποδ' ἵστασαν ἐν πυρὶ κηλέῳ,
ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ ὕδωρ εὐρὺ χέαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα δαῖον ~~ἔκαιον~~ ἑλόντες·
γάστρην μὲν τρίποδος πῦρ ἀμφεπε, θέρμετο δ' ὕδωρ
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ ζέσσεν ὕδωρ ἐνὶ ἠνοπὶ χαλκῷ
cf. Od. viii 434–437. ὄφρα τάχιστα becomes ὅττι τάχιστα.
~~Line~~ Il. XVIII 345 is omitted. In the following line οἱ becomes αἱ, and in the one after this ἑλόντες becomes ἑλοῦσαι·
The last line of the Iliadic passage is not given in Od. viii but appears without alteration in Od. X 360.

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A. Insert on p. 290

Ἰ. XVIII. 424–427

τίπτε θέτι τανύπεπλε, θεάων ὀμέτερον δῶ
αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις.
ἀλλὰ σύ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστίν.
~~ἀλλ' ἔπεο~~

(V. 87–91)

The Odyssey has ~~combined~~ both these passages combined as follows:—

τίπτε μοι, Ἐρμεία χρυσόῤῥαπι, εἰλαφιόθυμε
αἰδοῖός τε φίλος τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις
ἀλλὰ σύ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστί
ἀλλ' ἔπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω.

B. for p. 290.

~~And now~~, to meet the possible objection that ~~the~~ Ἰ. XVIII was written later than the Odyssey & might therefore have borrowed from it I will quote the context of line 108 & dwelling the line itself. The passage runs (XVIII 107–110) &

ὣς ἔφατ· ἐκ τε θεῶν ἐκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο
καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι,
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος κατατείβομενοῖο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἠύτε καπνός.

The context of the Odyssean line which I suppose to be derived from this ~~was~~ noble passage is as follows (xiv 462–465):—

κέκλυθι νῦν Εὔμαιε, καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι.
εὐξάμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω· οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει
ἠλέος, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μαλ' ἀείδειν
καὶ θ' ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι, καί τ' ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκεν,

Larger type further due

which is the most likely — that the magnificent Iliadic ~~passage~~ lines were developed from Od. xiv 464, or that this line is an unconscious adaptation from Ἰ. XVIII. 108. ? For that the two lines are father & son will hardly be disputed.

Which again commends itself ~~as the parent passage~~ best — that ~~Homer~~ the writer of Ἰ. XVIII took the heating of Ulysses' bath water to heat water for Patroclus, or that the writer of the Odyssey omitted the line about Patroclus, & used the rest of the passage to heat water for Ulysses' bath?

As regards the two salutations, to Thetis Ἰ. XVIII 385–387, & 424–427, is it more likely that ~~Homer~~ the writer of Ἰ. XVIII made two bites of the Odyssean cherry of V. 87–91, or that the writer of the Odyssey, wanting but a single salutation, ~~&~~ combined the two Iliadic ones, as in the passage above given?

Lastly is the list of constellations which Vulcan put on the shield of Achilles more likely to have been amplified from Od. V. 272–275, or these last named lines to have been taken with such modification as was necessary, from Ἰ. XVIII. 486–489.?

Whatever may be the date of the Odyssey I cannot doubt that Ἰ. XVIII must be dated earlier.

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Ω·XVIII 363 ὅς περ θνητός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μήδεα οἶδεν
This line occurs οδ. xx 46

Ω·XVIII 385–387 ~~cf. also Ω XVIII 424~~
τίπτε θέτι τανύπεπλε, ἱκάνεις ἡμέτερον δῶ
αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις,
ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω ἵνα τοι πάρ ξείνια θείω·
~~cf. οδ. 87 qt~~
~~τίπτε μοι Ἑρμεία χρυσόρραπι εἰλήλουθας~~
Insert A ~~αἰδοῖός τε φίλος τε, πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις~~
~~ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πάρ ξείνια θείω.~~

Ω·XVIII 389, 390 . . . . . ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν·
These lines will be found οδ x. 314, 315

Ω·XVIII 430 ὅσσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πάντων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν
cf. οδ. iv 722, 723 . . . . πέρι γάρ μοι Ὀλύμπιος ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν
ἐκ πάντων

Ω·XVIII 457 τούνεκα νῦν τὰ σὰ γούνατ' ἱκάνομαι ~~ἄν~~ αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα
This line occurs οδ. iii 92 & οδ iv 322

Ω·XVIII 463 θάρσει, μή τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῇσι μελόντων·
This line occurs οδ. xiii 362, xvi 436, & xxiv 357.

Ω·XVIII 480 Πληιάδας θ', ἥν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,
ἥ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει
οἴη δ' ἄμμορος ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο·
These lines occur οδ. v 272–275.

Ω·XVIII 532 στησάμενοι, ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας
βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείῃσιν.
These lines are found οδ ix 54, 55 with
παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν instead of ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας.

Ω·XVIII 604 τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντε ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσον.
These lines occur οδ. iv 17–19.

Insert B

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I will again assure the reader that ~~there is no marked difference as regards~~ all the Books ~~books~~ of the Iliad are quoted from with the same freedom as that shown in ~~the books~~ those which I have now dealt with in detail, and also that I can find no part of the Odyssey which quotes any less freely from the Iliad than the rest of the poem; here and there difference of subject leads the writer to go three or four pages without a single Iliadic centō but this is ~~longer~~ rare. ~~A~~ One, or two, or even sometimes three or four, Iliadic ~~pages~~ passages in a page is nearer the average, but of ~~the~~ these some will be what may be called common form.

Their frequency raises no suggestion of plagiarism any more than the Biblical quotations in Pilgrim's Progress would do if the references were cut out. They are so built into the context as to be structural not ornamental, and to preclude ~~it is rarely possible to cut them out without destroying much content~~, and the idea of their having been added by copyists or editors ~~is out of all question~~. They are the natural spontaneous outcome of the fullness of the writer's ~~a~~ knowledge of the Iliad. It is also evident that ~~the writer~~ she is not making a résumé of other people's works: she is telling the story de novo from the point of view of herself, her home, her countrymen, & the whole island of Sicily ~~Everything~~ Other peoples & places may be touched but they raise no enthusiasm in her mind.

When we ~~hear in mind~~ remember, however, that the Odyssey is thus impregnated and learned with a man's work — and possibly with more than one man's work, for ~~she~~ the writer seems to have known other poems of the Epic Cycle as well as the Iliad — it is ~~less~~ not surprising that the veneer of virility thus given to a woman's work, should have concealed the less ~~obvious~~ patent, but

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~~Ma~~ XIV. 13 bis

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~~But however much~~ Nevertheless, ~~she may be telling the story anew~~, a certain similarity of style & feeling between the Odyssey and all the poems of the Epic cycle, ~~including the Iliad~~ is certain to have existed, & indeed can be proved to have existed from the fragments of the lost poems that still remain. In all art ~~with~~ whether literary ~~or~~ pictorial, musical, or architectural, a certain character will be common to a certain age & ~~peo~~ country. Every age has its stock subjects for artistic treatment; the reason of this is that it is convenient for the reader, spectator, or listener, to be familiar with the main out-lines of the story. Written literature is peer in this respect than painting or sculp-ture, for it can explain & prepare the reader better for what is coming. ~~Literature~~ Literature which, though written, is inten-ded mainly for recitation before an audience few of whom can read, ~~literature that~~ exists only on condition of its appealing instantly to ~~a mixed audience~~ the understanding, & will perforce deal only with what ~~the audience~~ hearer is supposed already to know in outline. The writer may take any part of the stock national subjects that he or she likes & within reasonable limits may treat it ac-cording to his or her fancy, but it must fitch on to the old familiar story, and hence will arise a certain similarity of style between all ~~the~~ poems of the same class that belong to the same age, language, & ~~the same~~ people. This holds just as good for the mediaval Italian painters as it does for the Epic cycle. They

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offer us a similarity in dissimilarity & a dissimilarity in similarity.

When we remember however that the style of the Odyssey must not only perforce gravitate towards that of all the other then existing Epic poems, but also that the writer's mind is as strongly leavened with the mind of Homer, let alone the other Cyclic poets as we have seen it to be, it is not surprising that the veneer of visibility thus given to a woman's work should have concealed the less patent, but

far more conclusive evidence, that the writer was not of the same sex as the man, or men, whom she was borrowing from.

At the same time in spite of the use she makes of Homer, I think she was angry with him, & perhaps jealous, on which head I will say more in my next chapter. Possibly the way he laughs at women & teases them, not because he dislikes them, but because he enjoys playing with them, irritated her; & she was not disposed to play on such a serious subject. We have seen how she scolds him for having made a tripod worth three times as much as a good serviceable woman of all work. His utter contempt again for the gods, which he is at no pains to conceal, would be offensive to a writer who never permits herself to go beyond the occasional mild irreverence of the Vicar's daughter. Therefore she treats Homer, as it seems to me, not without a certain hard-ness; and this is the only serious fault I have to find with her.

For example, she takes the concluding lines of Hector's farewell to Andromache, a passage which one would have thought she would have shrunk from turning to common uses, & puts it into the mouth of Telemachus when he is simply telling his mother to take herself off. She does this in i. 356–359 & not as it should be. Nor yet again is again in xxi. 350–353. This is so. See again her taking the hot water which was heated to wash the blood from the body of poor Patroclus Il. xviii 344 &c., and using it for Ulysses' bath Od. viii 434–437. Surely the irreverence here is deeper than any that can be found in Homer towards the gods.

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~~Surely the irreverence~~

But, ~~however~~ whatever the spirit may have been ~~with~~ in which the writer of the Odyssey has treated the Iliad, there can be no doubt that she knew ~~it~~ this poem exceedingly well in the shape in which we have it, and this is the point which I have thought it worth while to demonstrate at such length in the foregoing chapter.

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XV. X

The Odyssey in its relation to the other poems of the Trojan cycle, and its development in the hands of the authors.

The writer of the Odyssey appears to have known most of the lost poems of the Epic cycle – eight in number – that relate to Troy, but as all we know about them is from the epitome ~~of them that is~~ given in the fragment of Proclus, and from a few lines here & there quoted in later authors, we can have no irrefragable certainty that she had the poems before her ~~own~~ when she alludes to incidents mentioned by Proclus as being dealt with in any given ~~work~~ one of them. Nevertheless passages in Od. i & iii make it probable that she knew ~~the poem called~~ the Nosti or the Return of the Achaeans from Troy, and we may suppose that Nestor's long speeches Od. iii 102 — 200 and 253 — 328 are derived mainly from this source, for they contain ~~some~~ particulars that correspond closely with the epitome above referred to. We can thus explain the correctness of the topography of the Aegean sea that is manifested in ~~the Odyssey~~ Nestor's speeches ~~above referred to~~, but nowhere else in the poem beyond a bare knowledge of the epic tradition of crime in the cities of Delos, and in (Od. vi, 162) & an occasional mention of Crete. I see Prof. Jebb says that the Odyssey "shows a familiar ~~knowledge~~ of knowledge of Delos; ~~but~~ but there is no warrant for ~~which there~~ this assertion ~~is nowhere~~ ~~from anything~~ from anything in the poem.

~~The~~ The writer seems in book iv to have also known the Cypria, which dealt with the events that led up to the Trojan war.

Book xxiv of the Odyssey (35 — 97) suggests a knowledge of the Aethiopis, So also does the mention of Memnon Od xi 522. No knowledge of the Little Iliad may be suspected from Od. iv ~~276~~ 271 — 283 where Helen seems to be now married to Deiphobus, and from xi 543 — 562; as also from xi 508, 509 where Ulysses says that he took Neoptolemus to Scyros. Ulysses entering Troy as a spy Od. iv 242 — 256 is given also given by Proclus as one of the incidents in the Little Iliad. I do not see that these can be

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* Introduction to Homer Macmillan 88 - p. 172

much doubt about the writer of the Odyssey's having been acquainted with the little Iliad, a poem which was apparently of no great length being only in four books.

From the two books of the Sack of Troy we get the account of the council held by the Trojans over the wooden horse Od. viii 492–517.

We have seen how familiar ~~there~~ the authoress of the Odyssey was with the Iliad; there only remains, therefore, one of eight Trojan ~~be~~ poems of the cycle which she does not appear to have known—I mean the Telegony, which is generally and we may say correctly placed later than the Odyssey, ~~The silence however of the Odyssey in regard to it~~ but even though it were earlier we may sure that the writer of the Odyssey would have ~~let it severally alone~~ ignored it, for it will hardly bear her out in the character she has given of Penelope.

~~But why though she seems to have no objection~~

In passing I may say that though Homer (meaning, of course, the writer of the Iliad) occasionally says things that suggest ~~a knowledge of~~ the Cypria, there is not a line that even suggests knowledge of a single one of the incidents given by Proclus as forming the subjects of the other Trojan ~~Books~~ books of the Trojan Cycle; ~~and~~ the inference, therefore, would seem to be that none of them except ~~the~~ possibly, though very uncertainly, the Cypria, had ~~as yet been written~~ appeared before ~~when~~ he wrote ~~the Iliad~~. Nevertheless we ~~can~~ cannot be sure that this was so.

The curious question now arises why the writer of the Odyssey, ~~whose acquaintance with our Iliad cannot be easily gainsaid~~, should have avoided referring to a single Iliadic incident, while ~~on~~ showing ~~no dislike~~

no unwillingness to treat more or less fully of almost all ~~the incidents~~ those mentioned by Proclus as dealt with in the other poems of the Trojan cycle, and also while laying the Iliad under such frequent contributions.

I remember, ~~not~~ saying to a great publisher ~~Mr Murray~~ ~~not many weeks ago~~, that a certain book was obviously much indebted to a certain other book to which no reference was made. "Has the writer," said ~~Mr~~ the publisher in ~~Murray, made reference~~ a question raised to other modern books on the same subject?" I answered, "Certainly." "Then," said he, "let me tell you ~~that~~ it is our almost unvaried ~~invariable~~ experience that when a writer ~~makes~~ mentions ~~of~~ a number of other books and omits one which he has evidently borrowed from, the omitted book is the one which has most largely suggested his own." ~~We have found this~~ His words seemed ~~this exp~~ ~~true~~ to explain my difficulty about the way in which the writer of the Odyssey lets the incidents of the Iliad so severely alone. It was the poem she was trying to rival if not to supersede. She knew it to be far the finest ~~poem~~ of the Trojan cycle; she was so familiar with it that appropriate lines from it were continually suggesting themselves to her, ~~that she could not refrain from quoting a large~~ ~~helping herself to~~ number of its lines, ~~but she would say that the thought appropriate~~ — or what is an appropriate line good for if it is not to be appropriated? — ~~but she would steer clear of incidents that would immediately recall the Iliad to the mind of her audience~~. She knew she could hold her own against the other poems, but she did not feel so sure about the Iliad, and she would not cover any of the ~~other~~ ground which it had already occupied.

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A to be inserted in chapter XIV. (24) 299

And now let me explain what I con-
-sider to have been the development of the
Odyssey in the hands of the poetess. I cannot
think that she deliberately set herself ~~down~~ to
write an Epic poem of great length. The work
appears to have grown on her hands piece-~~meal~~
-meal from small beginnings, each additional
effort opening the door for ~~a~~ further development,
till at last, there the Odyssey was — a spon-
-taneous growth rather than a thing done by
observation. Had it come by observation no
doubt it would have been freer from the ano-
-malies, inconsistencies, absurdities, & small
slovenlinesses which are inseparable from the
development of any long work the plan of which
has not been fully thought out beforehand. But
surely in losing these it would have lost not
a little of its charm.

XIV. A

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Of course there is always this other explanation possible, I mean that traditions ~~as may~~ about Homer's private life may have been known to the writer of the Odyssey, which ~~made him~~ displeased her. He may have beaten his wife, or run away with somebody else's ~~wife~~ or both, or done a hundred things which made him not exactly the kind of person ~~which~~ whom ~~she would like her~~ Arete would like her daughter ~~like to be seen to encourage~~ to countenance more than was absolutely necessary. ~~But I believe the explanation given in the preceding chapter to be the most reasonable.~~

Substitute A

~~And now let me explain the development of the Odyssey in the hands the poets,~~

N.P. [From Professor Jebb's introduction to Homer Ed 1888 p. 131 I see that he agrees with Kirchhoff in holding ~~the~~ that the Odyssey contains "distinct strata of poetical material from different sources & periods, & also that the poem owes its present unity of form to one man; he continues: but under this unity of form ~~but~~ there are perceptible traces of a process by which different compositions were adapted to one another." In a note on the preceding page he tells us that Kirchhoff regards the first 87 verses of Bk i as having formed the exordium of the original Return of Ulysses,

"Your poem, my dear, she may be supposed to have said, will last long after Homer's has been forgotten; ~~and~~ I do not therefore object to your taking a liberty or two here & there which nobody ~~would~~ will ever notice, but you must know nothing whatever about any of his many facts." I believe, however, that the explanation given in the preceding paragraph is the most reasonable.

My own conclusions, arrived at to the best of my belief before I had read a word of Prof. Jebb's introduction, agree in great part with the foregoing. I find the ~~poem~~ Odyssey to consist of two distinct poems, with widely different aims, and united into a single work, not unskillfully, but still not so skilfully as to conceal ~~serious~~ a change of ~~purpose~~ scheme. The two poems are 1, The visit of Ulysses

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to the Phaeacians with the story of his adventures as related by himself. 2. The story of Penelope & the suitors with the episode of Telemachus's voyage to Pylos. Of these two the first was written before the writer had any intention of beginning with the second, while the second goes in the ~~[illegible]~~ more important than the first.

I cordially agree with Kirchoff that the present exordium ~~in the~~ belongs to the earlier poem, but I would break it off at line 79 and not at 87. It is a perfect introduction ~~to the~~ Return of Ulysses, but it is no ~~[illegible]~~ fit opening for the ~~a~~ Odyssey as it stands. I had better perhaps give it more fully than I have done in my abridgement. It runs; (Sm t.)

"Tell me oh Muse of that ingenious hero, who travelled far & wide after he had sacked the strong citadel of Troy. He saw many cities, & learned the manners of many ~~countries~~ nations; moreover he suffered much by sea while trying to save his own life & bring his men safely home; but do what he might he could not save his men, for they perished through their own sheer folly in eating the cattle of the Sun-god Hyperion; so the god prevented them from ever getting home. Tell me, too, about all these things, oh daughter of Jove, from whatever source you may know them." (i. 1-10)

Then follows the statement that Ulysses was with the nymph Calypso, unable to escape, & that his enemy Neptune had gone to the Ethiopians (i. 11-24), the gods meet in council & Jove ~~begins~~ makes a speech about the revenge taken by Perseus on Ægisthus. (i. 26-43) Minerva checks him, turns the subject on to Ulysses, & upbraids Jove with neglecting him. (i. 44-62) Jove answers that he had not forgotten him, ~~"and he continues~~ and continues:— (C. t.)

"Bear in mind that Neptune is still furious (Sm t.)

with Ulysses for having blinded an eye of Polyphemus, king of the Cyclopes. Polyphemus is son to Neptune by the nymph Thoösa, daughter to the sea-king Phorcys, but instead of killing him outright he torments him by preventing him from getting home. Still, let us lay our heads together & see how we can help him to return. Neptune will then be pacified, for if we are all of a mind he can hardly hold out against us unsupported." (i. 68–79).

C.P. Let us now omit the rest of book i, the ii. iii. & iv and go on with line 28 of Bk v, which follows after a very similar council to the one that now stands at the beginning of Bk i. Beginning with line 28 of Bk v we read;—

Smt. "When he had thus spoken he said to his son Mercury, 'Mercury, you are our messenger, go therefore, & tell Calypso we have decreed that poor Ulysses is to return home. He is to be conveyed neither by gods nor men, but after a perilous voyage of twenty days upon a raft he is to reach fertile Scheria ...' " (v. 28–34).

C.P. From this point the poem continues without only one certain, & another doubtful reference to the suitors and Penelope, until (according to Kirchhoff) line 184 of Bk xiii. I had thought that the point of juncture between the two poems was in the middle of line 187 and that the ΕΥΔΕΤΟ in the second half of the line had perhaps been originally ΕΥΔΕΥ, but it must be somewhere close about this line, and I am quite ready to adopt Kirchhoff's opinion, now that I have come to see why Ulysses was made to sleep so profoundly on leaving Scheria. Till I had got hold of the explanation given on page 173 I naturally thought that the strange sleep of Ulysses had been intended to lead up to something that was to happen in Ithaca, and which had been cancelled when the scheme was enlarged & altered, for without this explanation it is pointless as the poem now stands.

I do not now think that there was ever any account of what happened to Ulysses on his washing up in Ithaca, other than what we have, but rather that the writer was led to adopt a new scheme at the very point where it became incumbent upon her to complete an old one. For at this point she would first find herself face to face with the difficulty of knowing what to do with Ulysses in Ithaca after she had got him there.

She could not ignore the suitors altogether; their existence, and Penelope's profligacy were too notorious. She could not make Ulysses & Penelope meet happily, while the suitors were still in his house; and even though he ~~took his revenge on them and~~ killed them, he could never condone Penelope's conduct — not as an epic hero. The writer of the Odyssey had evidently ~~the~~ thought that she could find some way out of the difficulty, ~~without mentioning the suitors at all~~ but when it ~~she~~ came to the point ~~the place where in reality she had to do this~~, she discovered ~~found~~ that she must either make Ulysses kill his wife ~~Penelope~~ along with ~~as well as~~ the suitors, or ~~take the bull by the horns and~~ contend that from first to last she ~~Penelope~~ ~~She~~ had been pure as new fallen snow. ~~whereon~~ She chose the second alternative, as she would be sure to do, & brazened it out with her audience as best she could. At line ~~185~~ 187, therefore, of bk xiii, or thereabouts, she broke up her 'Return' camp, and started on a new campaign.

To bring the two poems together she added ~~the~~ lines xi 115—137, ~~and probably line ix 535~~ in which Teiresias tells Ulysses about the suitors, and his further wanderings when he shall have killed them. I suppose Teiresias' prophecy to have originally ended where Circe's does when she repeats his warning about the cattle of the sun-god verbatim, (xii ~~140~~ 137–140) with the line

ὄψὲ κακῶς νεῖαι ἁλόσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους·

~~this line it also added to the imprecation of Polyphemus (ix 534)~~

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~~which does not appear in my abridgement.~~
The first line of the addition to Teiresias's original prophecy (xi 115) is also found ~~in ix~~ with a slight variant ~~a~~ in ix 45-35, but it merely states that Ulysses will find trouble in his house, without mentioning ~~the sea to~~ what the trouble is to be.

With the two exceptions above noted, there is not only ~~is~~ nothing in the original poem (i.e. Book i 1–79 & v 28 – xiii 187 or thereabouts) to indicate any intention of dealing with the suitors, but there are omissions which make it plain that no such intention existed. In the proem the Muse is only asked to sing the Return of Ulysses. In the speech of Jove at the Council of the Gods (i 32 – 43) he is not thinking about the suitors, as he would assuredly do if the writer had as yet meant to introduce them. In repeated speeches of the gods, & especially in bk v which is really book i of the original poem, (see lines 36–42, 288, 289, & 346) it seems that Ulysses' most serious troubles were to end when he had reached Scheria. So again Calypso (v 206 – 208) tries to deter him from leaving her by saying that he little knows what he will have to go through before he gets home again, but she does not enforce her argument by adding that when he had got to Ithaca the worst was yet to come. I have already dealt with the silence of Ulysses mother in Hades, ~~who must have known all about the suitors perfectly well.~~

& none of these three passages will be found in my abridgement.

N.B. Noting, therefore, that omission is a more telling indication of Scheme than lines which, when ~~the work was changed~~ a new subject is being grafted on to an old one, are certain to be inserted where necessary in order to unify the work, I have no hesitation in believing that ~~Books~~ i 1–79 & v 28 – ~~xiii~~ 187 or thereabouts or Book xiii) formed as much as was ever written of the original poem; I have the less hesitation in adopting this conclusion, because, though I believe that I came to it independently as any one must do who studies The Odyssey with due attention, I find myself in substantial agreement with Kirchhoff, in spite of much difference of detail, for I cannot admit that the two poems are by two or more separate people.

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A for XV. 9

That lines xi 115—137 were not existent when book xiii was being written is ~~I think I may say~~ demonstrated, by the fact of Ulysses' saying to the Phaeacians ~~(xiii 42, 43)~~ that he hoped he should find his wife living ~~happily~~ with her friends ~~in peace~~ * ~~(xiii 42, 43) whether or [illegible] what is intended~~. He could not have said this if ~~he~~ Teiresias had already told him that ~~he should find~~ his house would be full of enemies ~~who he would~~ who were eating up his estate, & whom he would have to kill. He could hardly forget such a prophecy ~~and indeed in book xiii he alludes~~ after having found Teiresias quite correct about the cattle of the Sun god. Indeed he tells Penelope ~~(xxiii 323)~~ about his visit to Hades & his interview with Teiresias (xxiii. 323). Again ~~at~~ xiii 382 so it is plain he remembered it. It is ~~also~~ plain from ~~xiii 382~~ vn. that ~~he~~ Ulysses was then learning from Minerva about the suitors for the first time — which could not be, if ~~xx~~ Teiresias's ~~wonderful~~ prophecy ~~xi 115—137~~ had been already written.

* ~~Od. xiii 42, 43~~

† ~~xxiii 323~~

~~at~~ ~~xiii 382 vn~~

XV. 8.

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[The introduction of lines xi 115—137 and of line ix 535 with the writing of a new Council of the gods at the beginning of bk v ~~xxx~~ to take the place of the one that was removed to book i 1—79, were the only things ~~done~~ that were done to give even a semblance of unity to the old scheme & the new, & to conceal the fact that the Muse after being asked to sing of one subject spends two thirds ~~of~~ of ~~the~~ her time in singing a very different one, with a climax for which no one had asked her. For roughly the Return occupies 8 bks & Penelope & the Suitors 16. Insert A

It is surprising, ~~the~~ seeing what a little further modification would have put ~~made~~ everything quite straight, that the writer should have been con-tent to leave passages here & there which she must have known ~~can~~ could betray the want of homogeneity in her work, ~~to any one who studied it closely, but~~ but we should be very thankful to her for not having tidied it up ~~her work~~ ~~with~~ with greater care. We learn far more about ~~the writer~~ her than we should do if she had made her work go more perfectly upon all fours, & it is ~~the writer~~ herself that we value even more than her poem. She evidently preferred cobbling to cancelling, and small wonder, for ~~alteration~~ if, as was very probably the case, the work was traced with a ~~st of~~ sharply pointed style of hardened bronze, or even steel,* on plates of lead, alteration would not be so easy as ~~they are~~ it is with us. Besides, we all cobble rather than cancel if we can. It is quite possible, but I need hardly say that it is at most more than a mere possibility that the abruptness of the inter polation ~~at the~~ in Book iv lines 621—624, may be due simply to its having been possible to introduce four lines without cutting the MS about very badly, when a longer passage would ~~these might~~ have necessitated a more radical ~~alteration~~ interference with it.

* cf. Od. ix 391—393

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XV. 2

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We look, then, for the inception of the poem in Books i 1—79 & vs 28 — xiii 184 or thereabouts, or more roughly in Books v — xii inclusive. These Books, though they contain no discrepancies among themselves except the twenty lines added to the prophecy of Teiresias above referred to, are not homogeneous in scope, though they are so in style & treatment. They split themselves into two groups of four, viz. v — viii & ix — xii. The first group is written to bring Ulysses to Scheria & to exhibit the Phaeacians & the writer herself, the interest in Ulysses being subordinate; the second is written to describe a periplus of Sicily. ~~and to interest the hearer in a thrilling tale of travel & adventure; but the mention of force in viii 184 suggests that an allusion at any rate of the second group was present to the writer's mind while she was writing the first group (bks v — viii).~~

It is in bks vi. vii & viii that the writer is most in her element. We will differ from Col Mure who says of ~~these books,~~ Scheria, (Sm. t.)

(Sm. t.) There can, ~~be little doubt~~ however, be little doubt from the distinctive peculiarities with which the poet has invested its inhabitants, & the precision & force ~~with which~~ of the sarcasm displayed in his portrait of their character, that the episode was intended as a satire on the habits of some real people with whom he was familiar (L.T.) I think, but have no arguments in support of my opinion on which I can lean with any confidence, that Nausicaa had written sundry small poems of a humorous mock heroic kind, laughing at herself and her kith & kin, for the amusement of her family circle, before she conceived the idea of writing the return of Ulysses at all, and that she made use of these when she set herself to a more serious composition, rewriting them and introducing Ulysses where necessary. These would form the nucleus of the poem, and I have

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305 A

For xv. 10 bis

Books ix — xii appear to have been written before bks v — viii. We may gather this from the total absence of Minerva. It is inconceivable that having introduced the God-dess so freely in Bks v — viii the writer should allow her to drop out ~~so completely~~ from the story when there was such abundant scope for her interference. These Books are certainly by the same hand as the rest of the poem. They show the same amount of Hadic influence; nowhere does a woman's hand appear more plainly. Elsewhere in Sicily, & more particularly Trapani, more direct or indirect, ~~the islands off no where is Trapani more~~ in evidence. It is from the beginning of bk ix that we get our conviction that the Ionian islands were drawn from the Hadean, and the voyages of Ulysses, as I have already shown ~~made clear off~~ begin effectively with Mt. Eryx and ends with Trapani. ~~though the end was away from Pantelleria to Trapani was not not given, having been removed to an earlier book when bks v — viii were added~~ We may therefore dismiss all idea that bks ix — xii are by another writer.

Not only is the absence of Minerva inexplicable except by supposing that at the time these Books were written it was no part of the writer's scheme ~~to give Minerva the prominence~~ to make her such a dea ex machina as she becomes later, but the writer shows ~~that she is~~ herself aware that the absence of the goddess in Bks ix — xii requires apology, and makes Ulysses upbraid her for having ~~left him~~ neglected him from the time he

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left Troy till she took him into the city of the Phaeacians. (xiii 314–323) when the goddess excuses herself by saying she had known all the time that he would get home quite safely. She had kept away because she did not want to quarrel with her uncle Neptune, an excuse which we also find at the end of Bk vi. in which they are actually flattering Ulysses & making herself otherwise unpleasant to him. I know how my own books, especially the earlier ones got cut about & managed to and called to hide alteration so that I never fairly knew altered in scheme, that my scheme was till the book was three quarters done, and I credit generally young writers with a like tentativeness, want of homogeneity though in small things they will be homogeneous.

I suppose Neptune did not mind how much his niece helped Ulysses, provided she did not let him see her.

~~What is this that we have just read about Minerva's taking Ulysses into the city of the Phaeacians. Is it possible that in an earlier study for the Odyssey it was Minerva not Nausicaa who took Ulysses into the town?~~

Possibly traces of an earlier version appear on Bk V. 105–110 where Minerva is represented as having been the cause of Ulysses' shipwreck and the loss of all his men, and as having persecuted Ulysses & his men on their homeward journey, and indeed as having been the main cause of their destruction & destruction. This is inconsistent with the proem, in which the anger of the Sun-god is assigned as the cause of the loss of Ulysses men, and also with the passionate interest in Ulysses taken by Minerva both in the original introduction (i. 1—79) & the the passage that was substituted for it (v. 1—28).

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XV. 12

305 C

I have now I believe shown sufficient cause for thinking that books ix – xii i.e the voyage of Ulysses round Sicily, were the part of the Odyssey that was written first. ~~which first assumed the shape in which we have it.~~ I am further confirmed in this opinion by finding Ulysses fasten his box ~~in~~ (viii 448) ~~of the Mast~~ with a knot that Circe had taught him – as though the writer knew all about ~~him, her~~ Circe, though the audience of course could not yet do so. A knowledge of Bk ix moreover is shown in a passage in Bk ii. 19 ~~where~~ which does ~~[illegible]~~ in my edy ~~[illegible]~~ we learn how Antiphus had been eaten by Polyphemus; ~~for~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~suppose~~ Bk ix is also presupposed in i. 68 ~~[illegible]~~ which tells of the blinding of the Cyclops by Ulysses.

We may also confidently say that bks v – viii were written before i – iv, ~~&~~ xiii – xxiv, (roughly), but what the vicissitudes of ~~these books~~ Book v – viii were, and whether or no they ~~[illegible]~~ drew upon earlier girlish sketches – as without one shred of evidence in support of my opinion I nevertheless incline to think – these are points which it would be a ~~[illegible]~~ waste of time to even attempt to determine.

It is in bks v – viii and especially in the three last of these books that the writer is most in her element. Few will differ from Col Mure who says of Scheria,

(Sm. b) There can be little doubt from the distinctive peculiarities with which the poet has invested its inhabitants, & the precision & force displayed in his portrait of their character, that the episode was intended as a satire on the habits of some real people with whom he was familiar. (Language & Literature of ancient Greece Vol I. p. 404)

(L. & S) Speaking on the same page of the obviously humorous spirit in which the Phaacian episode

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is conceived ~~to~~ Col Shore says;—

(Sm. t.) This episode is, perhaps, the most brilliant specimen of the poet's combined talent for the delineation of character & for satirical humour. While there is no portion of his works a right understanding of which is so indispensable to a full estimate of his genius, there is none, perhaps, which has been so little understood. Appeal may be made to the tenor of the most esteemed commentaries, still more, perhaps, to the text of the most popular translations, where the gay sarcastic tone of description & dialogue which seasons the whole adventure, is replaced by the tragic solemnity of the gravest scenes of the Iliad.

C. t. People find what they bring. Is it ~~not~~ possible that our more eminent Homeric scholars have found so much seriousness in the more humorous parts of the Odyssey, because they brought it there? To the serious all things are serious. N.B. At the same time I take it that the writer was one half laughing & the other half serious, & would sometimes have been hard put to it to know whether she was more in the one vein than in the other. So those who know the Cantata Narcissus, advertised at the end of this volume, will admit that there are people who are fully aware that there is no music in this world so great as Handel's, but who will still try to write music in the style of Handel, & when they have done so hardly know whether they ~~are~~ have been more in jest or earnest, though while doing it they fully believed that they were only ~~not~~ writing, so far as in them lay, the kind of music which Handel would have written for such words ~~were he living~~ had he lived a hundred years or so later than he did.

(Act II. sc. 1 of Temple Shakspeare)

Coleridge, so I learn from the notes at the end of Mr Gollancz's ~~edition of Hamlet~~ saw no burlesque in the speeches of the player which are introduced into Hamlet. ~~He writes~~ He said;— (Sm. t.) The fancy that a burlesque was intended strikes below criticism; the lines, as epic ~~poetry, are~~ narrative are superb. C. t. ~~"Perhaps"~~ As Mr Gollancz ~~[illegible]~~ has given no reason, so neither can I. Mr Gollancz continues that if Coleridge had read Dido & Æneas, ~~but a play~~ left unfinished by Marlowe, he would have changed his mind, but I do not believe he would.

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A. (for XV. 14) for 306

I ought ~~hardly~~ also perhaps hardly to pass over the fact that amber which is ~~not~~ never mentioned in the Iliad appears three ~~or four~~ times in the Odyssey*. This may be mere accident, nevertheless Sicily was an amber-producing country and indeed still is so; a large collection of ~~Sicilo~~ objects in Sicilian amber exists in the museum of Castrogiovanni, the ancient Enna, and ~~as I am was assured by the Davis author Baron Grimaldi that an uncle of his owe gave~~ I have been assured on good authority. but have not verified my informant's statement, that some fine specimens ~~of Sicilian amber~~ may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. Speaking of Sicilian amber the Encyclopedia Britannica says:—

Sm-t.

The most beautiful specimens are, perhaps, those which are found at Catania. They often possess a beautiful play of purple not to be observed in the product of other places.

* iv. 73, xv. 460. xviii 296

XV 14

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We may note, without being able to deduce anything from it as regards the dates at which the various parts of the poem were composed, that in the first four books of the Odyssey the season appears to be summer rather than winter. In all the other books (of course excluding those in which Ulysses tells his story) the season is unquestionably winter, or very early spring. It is noticeable also that snow, which appears so repeatedly in the Iliad, & of which Homer evidently felt the beauty very strongly, does not appear, ~~or~~ is hardly if ever mentioned, in the Odyssey. I ~~and hardly tell~~ should perhaps tell some ~~western~~ readers that winter is long & severe in the Troad, while on the West coast of Sicily snow is almost unknown, and the winter is even milder than that of Algiers. Insert A as a separate para.

I cannot make out whether the first four books were written before the last twelve or after; probably they were written first, but there is something to be said also on the other side. I will not attempt to settle this point, and will ~~on~~ only add that when we bear in mind how both the two main divisions of the Odyssey — the Phaacian episode with the Return of Ulysses,

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and the story of Penelope + the Suitors ~~bear~~ show unmistakeable signs of having been written at one place, by ~~a~~ woman, by ~~a~~ woman of the same mental characteristics, and that not a trace of difference in versification, style or idiom can be found between the two divisions, the only conclusion we should come to is that ~~is~~ the poem was written by one ~~&~~ the same woman from the first page to the last. I think we may also conclude in the absence of all evidence to the contrary — for assuredly none exists that deserves the name of evidence — that we have the poem to all intents and purposes in the shape which it had assumed ~~under~~ in the hands of the authoress. ~~herself~~.

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Chapter ~~XVII~~ XVI. ~~XX~~ 308

Conclusion

Before I quit my subject I should per-haps answer a question which the reader has probably long since asked himself. I mean, how it is conceivable that conside-rations so obvious as those urged in the ~~preceding~~ foregoing chapters should have been over-looked by so many capable students for so many hundreds of years, if there were any truth in them. For they lie all of them upon the surface; they are a ~~mere~~ mere wash-ing in the Jordan & being clean; they require nothing but that a person should read the Odyssey as he would any other book ~~that interested him~~, noting the physical cha-racters described in the Scherian & Itha-can scenes, & looking for them on some West coast of the Mediterranean to the West of Greece.

The answer is that ~~the~~ the considerations which I have urged have ~~they have been~~ been overlooked because, for very obvious rea-sons, it never occurred to any one to look for them. "Do you suppose, then," more than one ~~Homeric~~ eminent scholar has said to me directly or indirectly, "that no one has ever read the Odyssey except yourself?" I sup-pose nothing of the kind, ~~for I suppose~~ and know that it was only possible for the truth when once lost (as it soon would be ~~when the the Phoeni-cians~~ on the establishment of the Phoeni-

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cians at Drepanum) to be rediscovered, when people had become convinced that the Odyssey was not written by the writer of the Iliad. This idea has not yet been generally accepted for more than a hundred years,* if so long, but until it was seized & held firmly no one was likely to ~~entertain the idea~~ suspect that the Odyssey could have come from Sicily, much less ~~to conceive~~ that it could have been written by a woman, for there is not one line in the Iliad which even hints at the existence of Sicily, or makes the reader suspect the ~~human sex~~ author to have been a woman, while there are ~~a large~~ any number of passages ~~& number~~ which seem absolutely prohibitive of ~~such~~ any other opinion than that the writer was a man, & ~~an or odd~~ a very strong one.

Stolberg in the last century, & Colonel Mure in this, had the key in the lock when they visited Trapani, each of them with the full conviction that the Cyclops incident, and the hunting the goats should be placed on Mt. Eryx & the island of Favognana — but they did not turn it. Professor Freeman, Schliemann, & Sir H. Layard, all of them visited Trapani & its immediate neighbourhood either as students or excavators, & failed to see that there was as splendid a prize to be unburied there without pick & shovel, outlay, or trouble of any kind, as the one of Nineveh, Mycenæ & Hissarlik — and why? because they were still hampered by the long association of the Iliad & Odyssey as the work of the same person. Knowing that the Iliad could hardly have been written elsewhere than

* I see that my grandfather Dr Butler of Shrewsbury accept it in his Ancient Geography published in 1813, but I do not know where he got it from.

in the Northern half of the West coast of Asia Minor, it would never occur to them to look for the Odyssey in a spot so remote as Trapani. They probably held it to be the work of some prehistoric Herodotus, who would go on from scene to scene without staying longer than he could help in any one place, instead of feeling sure, as I believe they should have done, that it was the work of ~~written by~~ one who was little likely to have travelled more than a very few miles from her own home. Moreover Admiralty charts are things of comparatively recent date, and I do not think any one would be likely to have seen the Odyssey to ground ~~I should ever have found out what it~~ without their help. ~~here, without their help.~~

But however this may be, I do not doubt that the habit of ascribing the Odyssey to Homer has been the main reason of the failure to see the obvious in connection with it. Surely it is time our eminent ~~Homeric~~ Iliadic & Odyssean Scholars left off misleading themselves & other people by including the Odyssey in their "introductions" to the work of "Homer". It was permissible to do this till within recent years; anything else, indeed, would have been pedantic, but what would have been pedantic a hundred years ago, is slovenly & unscholarly now.

Turning from her commentators to the authoress herself, I am tempted to wonder whether she would ~~have~~ be more pleased

or angry, could she know that she had been so long mistaken for a man — & that man Homer. It would afford her an excellent opportunity for laughing at the dullness of man. Angry, however, as she would no doubt be, she could hardly at the same time help being flattered, & would perhaps console herself by reflecting that poets as great as she was, are bound to pay the penalty of greatness in being misunderstood.

Horace tells us that mediocrity in a poet is forbidden alike by gods, men, & publishers, but, whether ~~permitted~~ forbidden or no, there are a good many mediocre poets who are doing fairly well. So far as I can see, indeed, gods, men, & more particularly publishers, will tolerate ~~nothing but~~ anything in a poet except mediocrity, ~~in a poet, if a genuine~~ and if a true poet by some rare accident slips in among the others, it is because ~~the~~ gods and publishers & readers did not find him out till it was too late to stop him.

And after all it is well that ~~this~~ things are as they are; ~~should be so~~; for the mediocre poet, though he may hang about for many years, does in the end die, or at any rate become such a mere literary Struldbrug as to give plain people no ~~further~~ trouble. ~~but~~ whereas the true poet will possess himself of us, & live on in us — whether we will or no, & unless the numbers of such people were ~~seriously kept in check~~ ~~clearly reduced~~ they would clog the wheels of the world. ~~by their very numbers~~. Half a dozen first class poets in prose or verse are

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as many as the world can carry in any comfort; twenty Shakespeares, twenty Homers, twenty Nausicaas would make literature impossible, yet we may be sure that every country in every century could yield two or three first class writers, if genius were to be known at once & fostered by those who alone know how to foster it. Genius is an offence; like all other offences it must needs come, but woe to that man or woman through whom it comes, for he or she must pass through the Scylla & Charybdis of being either torn in pieces on the one hand, or so misunderstood on the other, as to make the slipping through with life in virtue of such misrepresentation, more mortifying than death itself.

So that we may we cannot help it. Dead mind like dead body must after a decent interval be buried out of our sight if living mind is to have fair play, and it might perhaps not be a bad thing if our great educational establishments had more of the crematorium & less of the catacomb about them than they have at present. Our notions of intellectual sanitation are deplorably imperfect, & unless the living become more jealous of letting dead mind remain unconsumed in their system, a fit of intellectual gout must ere long supervene which if not fatal, will still be excruciatingly painful. Since, therefore, there are such insuperable difficulties in the way of:

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eliminating ~~geniuses from our~~ geniuses when we have once absorbed them, ~~we~~ and since we also do what we may, we can ~~know~~ no more ~~tell~~ detect ~~the rascal~~ the rascal who may be born ~~geniuses~~ genius among ~~the 500~~ the multitude of commonplace children, than Herod could detect the king of the Jews among the babes of Bethlehem, we have no course but to do much as Herod did, & ~~seduce them all~~ lay lay violent hands upon ~~them~~ all young people till we have reduced every single one of them to such mediocrity as may be trusted to take itself off sooner or later.

(Sama) To this end we have established schools & schoolmen; nor is it easy to see how we could more effectually foster that self sufficiency which does so much towards helping us through the world, and yet ~~repress not the~~ ~~stamp out anything like~~ any originality or independence of thought which may be prejudicial to its possessor during his own life, & ~~to posterity~~ burdensome to posterity when he is dead & gone.

Obviously wise, however, & necessary as our present system is, we nevertheless grumble at it. We would have any number of first class geniuses in art literature & music & yet ~~find~~ leave plenty of room for ourselves, ~~we must not be crowded out by any body~~. Our children too; they ~~must~~ cannot show too many signs of genius, but at the same time we blame them if they ~~cannot~~ do not get on in the world & make money as genius next to never does. Like the authoress of the Odyssey we are always wanting to have things both ways; we would have others be forgotten, & yet not be forgotten ourselves; when we have shuffled off this mortal coil, we would fain shuffle on another that shall be at once less coil & less mortal, in the good thoughts of coming generations, but if this desire is so universal as to be called natural, it is one which the best & sanest of us will ~~repress as far as we can~~ fight against rather than encourage; such people ~~they~~ will do their work as well & cheerfully as they can, & make room for others with as little fuss as ~~possible~~ when they have had their day.

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eliminating genius when we have once got it, we do well to stamp it out as soon as we see it, and be content with such mediocrity as may be trusted to take itself off sooner or later.

We do not quite like this; we want to have any number of geniuses, & get not to be crowded out of our own existence by them; we want our children to show ~~all the~~ signs of unmistakeable genius, and yet to make money & succeed generally as geniuses ~~can rarely do, but never yet have had to do~~ seldom do. We would serve God & Mammon; we would have our cake & eat it. We like to think that when we have ~~shuffled off this mortal coil, we shall shuffle on another that shall be at once less coil & less mortal~~ in the affections of coming generations. but the best & sanest ~~man will trouble themselves with no such thoughts; they~~ will do their work, enjoy life as long and as well as they can, & make room for others as little as may be ~~without fuss for them~~ when they have had their day.

If, however, any man resents this common course of nature & sets himself to looking upon himself & cursing his fate that he was not born to be of the number of them that enter into life eternal even in this world, let him console himself by reflecting that until he is long dead there is no certainty knowing whether he is in life or no, and also that ~~if he~~ though he prove to be ~~a true class~~ an immortal after all, he cannot escape the treatment which he is the more sure to meet with according as he is the more immortal — let alone the untold misery which his works will inflict upon young people.

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If ever great classic could have been deterred ~~debarred~~ from writing by a knowledge of how posterity would treat her, the writer of the Odyssey should have been so, for never has poem more easy to ~~be gone over~~ understand failed more completely of being ~~judged aright~~ understood. If she was as lovely as I should like to think her ~~she was must have been~~, was ever sleeping beauty hid-den behind a more impenetrable hedge of ~~dullness~~ scholasticism? How could it be otherwise? The Odyssey, like the Iliad, has been a school book for nearly 3000 years, & what more cruel wrongs could dullness take on genius? What has the ~~genius~~ erudition of the last 2500 years done for the Iliad & the Odyssey, but to mend the ~~text~~ ~~letter~~ in small things & to obscure the spirit in great ones?

There was indeed, as I said in my opening chapter, a band of scholars a century or two before the birth of Christ, who refused to see the Iliad & Odyssey as the work of the same person but erudition snubbed them & snuffed ~~them out, & for more than~~ out so effectually that for some 2000 years they were held to have been fi-nally refuted. Can there be any more sca-thing satire on the value of scholastic criticism? It seems as though Minerva had shed the same darkness over both the poems that she shed over Ulysses, that they might go in & out among eminent Homeric scholars from generation to generation, & none should see them.

The world does indeed know little of its greatest men & women, and bitterly has it been

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reproached for its want of penetration, but there are always two sides, & it should be remembered that its greatest men & women commonly know very little of the world in its more conventional aspects. They are continually flying in the face of all that we ~~see~~ expect of greatness, & they never tell us ~~that~~ what they are; ~~they are great~~ they do not even think that they are great, if they do, we may be sure that they are mistaken; how then can we be expected to appreciate people ~~to have who are who~~ correctly till we have had plenty of time to think them over? N.P [And when we have thought them over, how little have our canons of criticism to do with the verdict which we in the end arrive at. turn on

Look at the Odyssey. Here is a poem in which the hero & heroine have been already married many years before it opens; from the first page to the last there is no young couple in love with one another, there is in fact nothing amatory in the poem, ~~at all~~ for though the suitors are supposed to be ~~passionately~~ madly in love with Penelope, they never say or do anything that carries conviction as to their being so. We accept the fact, as we do the sagacity of Ulysses, because we are told it, not because we see it. The interest of the poem ~~turns~~ ostensibly turns mainly on the revenge taken by a bald middle-aged gentleman, whose little remaining hair is red, on a number of young men who have been eating him out of house & home, while courting his supposed widow. ~~call any sub. ject throw a gravis-hunter off the scent more completely?~~

Moreover, this subject, so initially faulty, is treated with a carelessness in respect of consistency & plausibility, an ignorance of commonly

known details, & a disregard of ordinary canons which it would not be easy to surpass, & yet, such is the irony of art that ~~yet~~ it is not too much to say that there is only one poem which can be decisively placed above it. If the Odyssey enforces one artistic truth more than another, it is that living permanent work in literature (and the same holds good for art & music) can only be done by those who are either above, or below, conscious reference to any rules or canons whatsoever — & in spite of Shakespeare, Handel, & Rembrandt, I should say that ~~it~~ on the whole it is more blessed to be below than above. For after all it is not ~~what~~ the outward & visible signs of what we read, see, or hear, in any work, that bring us to its feet in prostration of gratitude & affection; what really stirs us & is the communion with the still living mind of the man or woman to whom we owe it, & the conviction that that mind is as we would have our own to be. All else is mere clothes & grammar.

As regards the mind of the writer of the Odyssey there is nothing in her work which impresses one more profoundly than the undercurrent of melancholy which I feel throughout it. I do not mean that the writer was always, or indeed generally unhappy; she was often, at any rate let us hope so, supremely happy; nevertheless there is throughout her work a sense as though the world for all its joyousness, was nevertheless out of joint — an inarticulate indefinable half pathos, half baffled fury, which even when lost sight of for a time soon reasserts itself. If the Odyssey was not written without

laughter, so neither was it without the tears. Now that I know the writer to have been a woman I am ashamed of myself for not having been guided to my conclusion by the exquisitely subtle sense of weakness as well as of strength that pervades the poem, rather than by the considerations that actually guided me.

The only approach to argument which I have seen brought forward to show that the Odyssey must have been written by a man, consists in maintaining that no woman could have written the scene in which Ulysses kills the suitors. I cannot see this; ~~for the whole~~ a woman can kill a man on paper as well as a man can, & with the exception of the delightful episode in which Ulysses spares the lives of Phemius & Medon, the scene, I confess, appears to me to be the most mechanical & least satisfactory in the whole poem. The real obstacle to a general belief that the Odyssey was written by a woman, is not anything that can be found in the poem, but lies ~~itself, but~~ as I have already said in the long prevalence of an opinion that it was written by the same person as the Iliad was. The age & respectability of this opinion, ~~even that~~ even though we have at length discarded it, ~~still~~ will not allow us to go beyond ascribing the Odyssey to another man — we cannot jump all at once to the view that it was not by a man at all. A certain invincible scholasticism prevents us from being able to ~~take in~~ see what we should see at once if we would only read the poem

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slowly & without considering anything that critics have said concerning it.

This, however, is not an easy thing to do. I know very well that I should never have ~~such~~ succeeded in doing it, if I had not passed some five & thirty rebellious years during which I never gave the Odyssey so much as a thought. The poem is so august; it is hallowed by the veneration of so many ages; it is like my frontispiece, so mysterious, so imperfect, & yet so divinely beyond all perfection; it has been so long associated with the epic poem which stands supreme — for if the Odyssey be the Monte Rosa of literature the Iliad must, I suppose, ~~still~~ for ever remain as the Mt. Blanc; who can lightly vivisect a work of such ineffable prestige as though it were an overlooked *parvenu* book picked up for a few pence at a second hand book ~~stall~~ stall? Lightly, no, but inexorably, yes, if its natural health & beauty are to be restored by doing so.

One of our most accomplished living scholars chided with me in this sense a year or two ago. He said I was ruthless. "I confess," he said, "I do not give much heed to ~~all these~~ the details on which you lay so much stress: I read the poem not to theorise about it, but to revel in its amazing beauty."

It would shock me to think that I had done anything to impair ~~his~~ the sense of that beauty which I trust I share in ever measure with himself, but surely if the Odyssey has charmed us as a man's work, its charm & wonder are

~~one~~ infinitely increased when we see it as a woman's. Still more must it charm us when we find the writer to be an old friend & see no inconsiderable part of her work as a reflection of her own surroundings. N.B. [Have we then a right in sober seriousness so to find her? I have shown that in the earliest known ages of Greek literature ~~female~~ prelates abounded, & ~~claimed~~ claimed a high reputation. I have shown that by universal consent the domestic & female interest in the Odyssey predominates greatly over the males. I have shown that it was all written in one place, & if so, pre-sumably by one hand: I have shown that the writer was extremely jealous for ~~the~~ the honour of woman, so much so, as to be daunted by no impossibilities when trying to get rid of a story that she held to be an insult to her sex. These things being so is it too much to ask the reader to believe that the poem was not written, as Bentley held, by a man for women, but ~~that it was written~~ for both men & women, by one who was her-self a woman?

~~Wed. May 26th 1897~~

~~Hotel d'Angleterre~~

~~Palermo~~

And now as I take leave of the reader I would ~~ask him to believe that he when I began~~ & say that if when I began

this work I was oppressed with a sense of the hopelessness of getting Homeric scholars to take ~~my book~~ it seriously and consider it, ~~so when I look back upon it and see~~ I am even more oppressed and dismayed when I turn over its pages & see how certain they are to ~~offend~~ displease ~~with~~ many whom I would far rather conciliate than offend. ~~I do not care~~ What can it matter to me ~~what does it matter to me~~ where the Odyssey was written, or whether it was written by a man or a woman? From the bottom of my heart ~~I believe~~ I can say truly that I do not care ~~care the tost of a sixpence about either of~~ which way about the way in which these points, ~~but I do care very greatly about knowing whether it was by what the way in which I believe the way in which I propose to settle them is the right one~~ an decided but I do care, and very greatly, about knowing which way they are decided by sensible people who have considered what I have urged in this book. I believe I have settled ~~them~~ the points sufficiently, but come what may I know that my case in respect of ~~both points~~ them is amply strong enough to justify me in having stated it. And so I leave it.

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