

## LEUKAS-ITHAKA.

IT was in 1900 that Dr. Dörpfeld<sup>1</sup> first proclaimed, to the German Institute at Athens, that Leukas and not Thiaki was the Ithaka of Homer. In 1902 he read to the *Archäologische Gesellschaft* of Berlin a paper on the subject, which in 1903 was published in *Mélanges Perrot*. To this paper Wilamowitz gave a scathing and even contemptuous reply in 1903, and Dörpfeld rejoined in his *Leukas*, 1905, which also contains his original essay. Since then the controversy has raged without intermission, but it has been almost confined to Germany. This country has not so far contributed any comprehensive paper on the subject,<sup>2</sup> and it would not be easy, so many are the matters that the dispute embraces, and so warm and minute has the discussion become, to prepare a statement with less than a considerable volume at one's disposal. I therefore propose to confine myself here to one of the points in the controversy, and I select that which the Leukadists, as they are called for short, regard as supplying the best evidence in their favour, and which is consequently noticed in nearly all papers and treatises on the subject. This includes the incident of the return voyage of Telemachus from Pylos to Ithaka, his escape from the ambush laid for him by the Wooers at the island Homer calls Asteris, and the identification of that island on the modern map.

A sketch map accompanies, on which, to avoid confusion, the localities are described, for reference in this paper, by their modern names. At the end will be found set out the passages of the *Odyssey* on which a decision of the points at issue must be based.

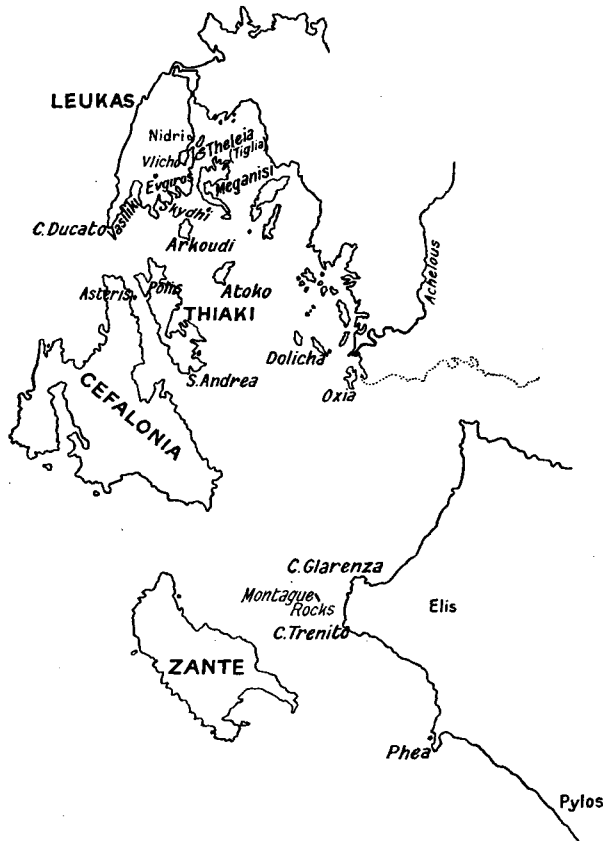
The Leukadists affirm that Asteris is to be found in the island of Arkoudi, believed by some to be the Krokyleia of B 633, which lies, or can be said to lie, between the N. coast of Thiaki and the S. of Leukas. The Ithakists contend that Asteris is the rock Daskalio near the E. coast of Cefalonia, in the strait between that island and Thiaki, and opposite the bay, still preserving the name of Polis, on or near which they place the

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<sup>1</sup> Draheim had really anticipated him, in a review of Jebb's *Homer* in *W. kl. Ph.* 1894, 63 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See a short Bibliographical Note at the end of this paper.

capital of Ithaka according to the *Odyssey*. Croiset seems to receive no support for his suggestion (*Légende primitive d'Ulysse*, 20) of Atoko, W. of the N. coast of Thiaki, though Goessler (*B. ph. W.* 1912, 355), in condemning it because too large, forgets that the objection applies to his own Arkoudi, which is about the same size as Atoko. Mr. Samuel Butler, who thinks (note, in his *Translation of the Odyssey*, to *ι* 26) Nausikaa conceived Telemachus' voyage as from Pylos to Trapani, does not appear to deal with the position of Asteris.



The evidence for identification groups itself about certain points, the first of which is, where were the *νήσοι θαλάσσιαι* (or *Θαλασσιαι*) of *ο* 299?

Early in *ο* Athené directs Telemachus to return home. She warns him that the Wooers have laid an ambush at Asteris; therefore he is to sail by night, to keep away from the islands (*ἐκὰς νήσων*), and to land on the nearest shore (*πρώτη ἀκτή*) of Ithaka. She does not mention the *νήσοι θαλάσσιαι*; the poet does so when describing the ship's run. If we accept Dr. Monro's rearrangement of *ο* 295–300, Telemachus sails at sunset and

heads for Phea, passes 'Krounoi and Chalkis,'<sup>3</sup> coasts along Elis, and then,—  
*ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν, ο 299.* Which islands are meant?

Some think, Leukadists and Ithakists alike, that *θοῆς* is simply to be taken as 'swift,' *νήσοι θοαί* being islands that glide swiftly by as a vessel passes them. So, for instance, Merry, Pierron, and Gröschl. Goessler gives *sich bewegend* or even *hellleuchtend*. Monro and Hayman, on the other hand, refuse to regard the rendering seriously, and surely 'he steered his course for the swiftly gliding islands' is an absurdity.<sup>4</sup> And of course this interpretation does not help us to identify the islands.

Dr. Monro, in his note on *ο 299 f.*, written in or before 1901, and so *ante litem motam*, finds it 'on the whole likely' that the islands are the three always associated with the Homeric Ithaka, viz. *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ Ἰλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος*, i.e. in his view, Dulichium (wherever it may be), Cefalonia, and Zanté. But he frankly 'leaves *θοῆσιν* unexplained,' and the usual interpretation, 'which has satisfied many scholars' (that the *νήσοι θοαί* are the Echinades), practically undiscussed. Nor does he explain which islands Athené means Telemachus to 'keep his ship away from.' If, after leaving the shores of the Peloponnesus, Telemachus makes at once for the big islands to the N.W., there are no islands for him to avoid.

The Leukadists identify the *νήσοι θοαί* with the Montague Rocks, following Bérard (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, i. 138 ff.), who describes them from the *Instructions Nautiques*, and with the help of an extract from the chart, as a line of rocks, about a mile in length, covered in these days with water to a depth of about thirteen to thirty feet, and lying a little to the N. of W. of the middle point of the coast between C. Glarenza and C. Trenito.<sup>5</sup> And Telemachus' fear, expressed *ο 300*, (he made for the *νήσοι θοαί*) *ὄρμαιῶν ἢ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἢ κεν ἀλώη*, is that he may stick (*rester pris*) on these rocks. But all this is extremely doubtful.<sup>6</sup> First, the interpretation of *ἀλώη* is new and against all authority. And see *ξ 183 f.* Secondly, if these rocks, 'presumably visible in ancient times' (Dörpfeld, *Leukas*, p. v., followed by Goessler), were a danger to mariners, why should Telemachus not rather steer clear of them? Thirdly, Telemachus has been coasting along Elis from the S. The first three words of *ο 299*, *ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν*, evidently mean that now comes a change; he leaves the coast. But by this time he must be past C. Trenito and some way up to C. Glarenza. That is, he is at or nearly abreast of the Montague Rocks. What then is the sense of *ο 299*? Why should Telemachus strike away to the W. in the direction of the serocks? For what, Michael asks (*Heimat des Odysseus*, 31), do they serve as a *Richtungspunkt*? Dörpfeld says, *l.c.*,

<sup>3</sup> Small streams S. of the Alpheus (Sikes and Allen on *Hym. Ap.* 425).

<sup>4</sup> The interpretation might be justified if *θοῆς* were a standing *epitheton ornans* of *νήσος*. But common as *νήσος* is, the combination does not recur.

<sup>5</sup> Exact position given by Gruhn, *Kyklopen*

*u. Phäaken*, 60, as 37° 54' N., and 21° E.

<sup>6</sup> The Rocks are accepted by Mr. Agar, *Homericæ*, 266, admitting *θοῆς* = 'sharp,' 'pointed.' But Telemachus' fear, he insists, is not of shipwreck, as Bérard thinks, but of capture by the Woers.

they are admirably suited as a point to be made for by a ship from Pylos going outside, *i.e.* to the W. of, Cefalonia, as he formerly thought was Telemachus' course to Leukas. But he no longer believes that, and so the making for the rocks is meaningless. Fourthly, if the poet means the Montague Rocks, he has described the commencement of the voyage and left all the rest out. We must also assume with Dörpfeld that the rocks were in those days above water, *i.e.* that they have since sunk or that the sea has since risen. These are possibilities which both sides admit. The region is *Erdbebenland*, one in which earthquakes are not uncommon. In Zanté 'earthquakes are frequent and at times disastrous' (*Encycl. Brit. s.v.*). But I need not quote authorities on a point which is generally admitted,<sup>7</sup> or regarding the possibility of erosion. Even accepting these rocks as a then visible obstruction to navigation, Telemachus' heading for them is unintelligible.

The Ithakists' view is as old as Strabo. It makes the *νήσοι Θοαί* the Echinades, off the mouth of the Achelous. Telemachus, if he returned the way he had come, would, when leaving the Peloponnesian coast, shape his course for the S.E. end of Cefalonia and sail up its E. coast and along the strait to Polis. But warned by Athené he keeps away from Cefalonia, makes what Paulatos calls a *λοξοδρόμησις*, heads for the Echinades and, as he is nearing them, cuts across to the S. end of Thiaki mentioned by Athené as *πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης*, where he lands in the bay of S. Andrea unobserved by the Wooers, who are cruising in the strait.

The difficulties here are first, that Athené says nothing about the Echinades; but that is not a great matter. Next, the run across from them to Thiaki is not described, but that is a much smaller omission than has, as we have seen, to be assumed in the case of the Montague Rocks. Thirdly, the Leukadists contest the identification with the Echinades. In the *Catalogue*, B 625, these are not called *νήσοι Θοαί* but *Ἐχίμαι*. That is in the description of the realm of Meges, who rules the men *ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων, νήσων αἰ ναίουσι πέρην ἀλός Ἥλιδος ἅντα*. But where is Dulichium? That has always been a crux. It has been found in Dolicha, now Makri, an island off the mouth of the Achelous; in an island, now part of the mainland, E. of Makri; in Meganisi, E. of Leukas; in Cefalonia; in the W. part of Cefalonia; in Leukas; it has even been said to be now at the bottom of the sea. Cefalonia and Leukas are decidedly the favourites, and opinion is about equally divided between them. I hazard the suggestion that Leukas will prevail eventually.<sup>8</sup> In that case, if the *Catalogue* means

<sup>7</sup> But see von Marées in *N. Jbb. f. d. kl. Alt.* xvii. 236.

<sup>8</sup> For recent statements see Mr. Allen in *J.H.S.* xxx. 304 ff. and Stürmer in *B. ph. W.* 1913, 1660 f. The former refers to Bunbury, *Hist. of Anct. Geogy.* i. 69 f., and Vollgraff, *N. Jbb. f. d. kl. Alt.* xix. 627 ff. The suggestion had also been made by Prof. Warr

in *C.R.* xii. 304, and apparently by Kuruklis in *W. kl. Ph.* 1894, 697 ff. Mr. Thompson, in *Liverpool Annals* iv. 133, seems to approve. Dörpfeld appears to make Dulichium part of the kingdom of Odysseus, which would involve a discrepancy between the two epics. I have seen this view contested, and can find no warrant for it in the *Odyssey*. Ferrabino, *Le*

to give Meges a continuous realm—as Mr. Allen, *l.c.* 306, seems to understand—the Echinae must include the islands between Leukas and the Achelous, and the νῆσοι Θοαί would be the group of rocky islets, certainly ‘pointed’ in form, at the extreme S. of the line, and looking towards Elis. This is a possible and satisfactory explanation of the difference in nomenclature. In the *Catalogue* the poet is describing the long line; he is the Geographer for the nonce. In the *Odyssey* he merely mentions the southern end which he requires for his story.

But there is positive ground for this identification. Strabo accepted it, and has been followed by many authorities,<sup>9</sup> as Monro admits. He wrote (viii. 3. 26), *θοός δὲ εἶρηκε τὰς ὀξείας τῶν Ἐχινάδων δ’ εἰσὶν αὐταί, πλησιάζουσαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀχελφού.* These islands have most of them become part of the mainland, but the old name survives in one of them, still an island and now called Oxia. But is the equation *θοός* = *ὀξύς* correct? In other words, did *θοός* ever bear the meaning ‘pointed’? For a full discussion Lang refers to Oberhummer’s *Akarnanien*, and all the Homeric material is collected by Buttmann in a lengthy discussion in his *Lexilogus*, *s.v.* *θοός*. The chief piece of evidence is *ἐθόωσα*, *ι* 327, which certainly means ‘I pointed,’ ‘made sharp,’ and shews that *θοός* once had the meaning ‘pointed.’ When it ceased to have that meaning, the islands would cease to be called by it and become *Ὀξείαι*. Lang says they can be seen at a great distance, and, again quoting Oberhummer, that they are in these days a guiding point for navigators. And certainly they are ‘pointed.’ A drawing at p. 102 of Mure’s *Journal of a Tour in Greece* leaves no doubt about the appropriateness of the epithet. Hayman compares the ‘Needles.’

In addition to the above it seems only necessary to say this, that for all those who are satisfied that the νῆσοι *θοαί* are *not* Cefalonia and Thiaki, and *not* the Montague Rocks, the matter is really settled. What other islands have ever been said to be, or can be, the νῆσοι *θοαί*? I think judgment on this point must undoubtedly be given against the Leukadists.

The next question is this. In two places in the *Odyssey*, δ 672 and ο 29, Asteris is said to lie ἐν πορθμῷ (in δ 845, *μεσσηγύς*) Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης. Does this location better suit Arkoudi, between Thiaki and Leukas (Dörpfeld’s Samé and Ithaka), or Asteris between Thiaki and Cefalonia (the Ithaka and Samé of the Ithakists)?

A decision depends on what we understand by πορθμός, and the Leukadists, as Goessler in *W. kl. Ph.* 1906, 57ff., affirm that the word is just as applicable to the Meerenge between Leukas and Thiaki as to that between Cefalonia and Thiaki. That can hardly be admitted. The former

*Interpolazioni nel Catalogo Omerico (Atti d. R. Accad. d. Scienze d. Torino, xlvi.)* makes the same assertion.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, among the old writers on the

Ithaka question, von Lilienstern, *Ueber das homerische Ithaka*, 1832, and more recently Gustav Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee*, 40 f.

might be described, loosely, as a strait;<sup>10</sup> the latter is an indubitable strait, and strait is *the* term to use of it. A glance at the map suffices. And indeed the Leukadists have felt the difficulty. I refer to Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaka*, 50, quoting Gallina, and to Csengeri in *W. kl. Ph.* 1909, 318. Gallina says *πορθμός* is synonymical with *πόρος*, 'which does not always mean "ford" or "strait," but also in general "path" or "way" by water or by land,' and Goessler that '*πορθμός*, connected with *πόρος*, μ 259—"path over the sea," means "water-way," not "strait."' So that G. Lang, after setting out and illustrating the uses of *πορθμός* and quoting the statements of his opponents, asks in despair, 'what then in all the world is the Greek for "strait"?' Goessler in reply (*W. kl. Ph.* 1906, 93) can only repeat that his *Meerenge* is as good as Lang's. That does not appear to be so, and here again the Ithakists must be allowed to have scored a point.

Next, the Homeric Asteris is *μέσση ἀλί*. The phrase might seem to suit Arkoudi better, as Daskalio is much nearer to Cefalonia than to Thiaki, while Arkoudi is more in the open sea. But *μέσσος* is often used in an indefinite way and the point has not been pressed. Asteris is also *οὐ μεγάλη*, and again the phrase is not enlightening, unless, as some Ithakists suggest, there is *litotes* and the phrase means 'very small.' In that case it is much better of Daskalio, which is about 240 yards long (von Marées), than of Arkoudi, which is fully two miles in length.<sup>11</sup> And Asteris is *πετρήεσσα* or 'rocky,' and that applies perfectly to Daskalio, but not to Arkoudi, which Paulatos describes as *γαιώδης* and not *πετρώδης*, and which has pasturage in places.

So far the description favours Daskalio, but the rest of it—*λιμένες δ' ἔνι ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ ἀμφίδυμοι*—raises much difficulty. The Leukadists point with triumph to 'twin havens' in Arkoudi, and photographs of these are given by Goessler and Seymour (*Life in the Homeric Age*). This is perhaps the best piece of evidence in favour of Leukas. Bérard in fact declares (*op. cit.* ii. 483) that it is the 'one solid argument' in Dörpfeld's whole Leukas-Ithaka case.

The meaning of the words has first to be determined. *ναύλοχος* has not attracted the attention of the commentators or the disputants. It is generally accepted as 'suitable for the accommodation of a ship' or 'affording a safe anchorage' (L. and S.), as in its only other Homeric occurrence, κ 141. Thomopoulos, *Das homerische Ithaka*, 15, gives 'suitable for lying in wait in,' that is, for a proceeding that must have been common in Homeric times. The rendering is supported by *ναυλοχέω* in later Greek, and by the eight occurrences of *λόχος* and *λοχάω* in the references to the Wooers' plot. But the point must be left open, and it is doubtful if the

<sup>10</sup> Manatt (*Aegean Days*, 384) gives its width as 18 miles, which is too great—Arkoudi really seems not to be in a strait at all. If it were 5 miles further W., it might be so described.

<sup>11</sup> There is room on Daskalio for the ruins of

two churches, a reservoir and a tower. Probably, as Mr. Wace tells me, there had been a monastery there or some such religious institution, whence, as in other similar cases, the name, corrupted from *Διδασκαλείον*.

Ithakists could derive much benefit from the interpretation, even if they could establish it.

The words *λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι* are more important and are variously translated,—‘havens with double entrance,’ ‘a haven with a double entrance,’ or simply ‘a double haven’ or ‘two havens.’ Consulting some eighteen commentaries and lexica, I find a decided preponderance in favour of the last.<sup>12</sup> The word *ἀμφίδυμοι* is treated as the equivalent of *δίδυμοι*, and the presence of *ἀμφί* is taken by four editors as meaning that the two havens were on opposite sides of the island. This would be against the Leukadists as is also the possible interpretation given by Seymour, *op. cit.* 72, “‘with a double entrance,’ like Sphacteria.’ But it cannot be denied that the meaning may be only ‘twin havens’ or ‘a pair of havens,’ and that the pair found in Arkoudi may correspond to what the poet had in his mind.

One thing is certain, the Ithakists cannot shew a real *λιμὴν* on Daskalio at the present day, and some of them in consequence abandon the islet. Bérard (*op. cit.* ii. 492) finds a double *brèche* or indentation in the rocky shore, and it may be the remains of a double *λιμὴν*.<sup>13</sup> And see Paulatos, *ἡ πατρὶς τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως*, 123, and Vollgraff, *l.c.* 621, both of whom speak from personal observation. The Ithakists here in fact have recourse to the possible changes that the sea, the atmosphere and earthquakes may have wrought in 3000 years.<sup>14</sup> These must, as stated above, be borne in mind, especially as Daskalio is formed of a calcareous rock,<sup>15</sup> and the great erosion which Heligoland has suffered is brought in evidence (Lang, *op. cit.* 46, replied to by Goessler, *W. kl. Ph.* 1906, 95). Part of Daskalio may have been destroyed, or much of its shore may have been worn away by wind and tide. But it is only a possibility. The fact remains that to-day, as in Strabo’s time, Daskalio offers *οὐδ’ ἀγκυροβόλιον εὐφύες*.

At Arkoudi the Leukadists have found and photographed the twin havens. These must have been hard to find, for Professor Manly, *Ithaca or Leukas*, 36, declares there was nothing of the sort on the island, and he accompanied Dörpfeld on a visit to it (Gröschl, *Dörpfelds Leukas-Ithaku Hypothese*, 26). Paulatos says the same. But there are the photographs! But do these exhibit two real ‘havens’? A short strip of land, called by Dörpfeld a ‘natural mole,’ runs out to a knoll called an islet and has a bay on either side. The bay to the left can hardly be so called, for the shore seems to stretch away in a straight line. If these are ‘havens,’ then sandy shores on either side of any jutting spit of land may be so designated. Paulatos sees only a *διπλὴ ἐγκόλπωσις*, and Michael only ‘landing-places.’ They are said to be on the S.E. of the island, and are no

<sup>12</sup> *ἀκτὰ ἀμφίδυμοι*, in *Argonautica*, A 939 f., is rendered by Mr. Seaton, ‘(and the isthmus has) double shores.’ Thomopoulos’ explanation based on Apoll. Rhodius’ words seems untenable (*op. cit.* 17 f.)

<sup>13</sup> See the photographs he gives, and the frontispiece to G. Lang’s work.

<sup>14</sup> But there does not seem to have been great change between Strabo’s days and now.

<sup>15</sup> A particularly *hard* variety, von Marées says! The discrepancies as to such matters are, as Rothe has observed, a remarkable feature of this controversy.

doubt protected from northerly winds, but they appear to be open to wind and wave from the S. It would be a poor swell that this 'mole' would be a protection against. But at least the Leukadists can say they are much better than anything that Daskalio can shew. Professor Manatt accepts them, though he is not, I gather, a Leukadist (*op. cit.* 384 and 358 n.).<sup>16</sup>

Besides, however, the possibility of change between Homer and Strabo, and another consideration which will be noticed presently, the Ithakists can supply one other identifying mark. In Strabo's time Daskalio was still known as Asteria. That is at least as good evidence as the havens of Arkondi, though Gustav Lang, when he sees the name Asteris,<sup>17</sup> *Sternchen*, change to Asteria, *sternähnliche*, as the spits of rock which gave the former name disappeared under the onslaughts of natural influences, seems to yield to that weakness for pushing arguments to an extreme length which is characteristic of this Leukas question.

The view of that patient investigator, Bérard, remains to be stated. There is a double haven at Phiscardi, on the coast of Cefalonia, some two miles N. of Daskalio. He takes these as the Twin Havens, comparing the *Καλοὶ Λιμένες* known elsewhere. He points out, though he does not, as some have asserted, adopt the resource, that, if we read *ἐπι* for *ἐν* in δ 846, there is no difficulty. 'There is an island Asteris, with twin havens hard by.' But he prefers to rely on erosion for the disappearance of the havens from Daskalio itself, and to find the *ἄκριας ἡνεμοέσσας*, along which the Wooers set their watch (π 365) while waiting for Telemachus, on the mainland of Cefalonia. And that is no improbable suggestion, for, as others have observed, it is difficult to believe that the poet conceived of 'windy heights' in a very small island. *ἡπίερον* in π 367 may possibly point in the same direction. The uses of the word are discussed by La Roche, *Ithaka*, 489.

This leads to a further consideration which is insisted on strongly by the Ithakists, and freely admitted by the more moderate among their opponents, as Cauér, *Grundfragen*,<sup>2</sup> 255, and Reissinger, quoted by Michael, *op. cit.* 14,—that the poet must be allowed some (Cauer says 'full') freedom with the scenes he requires for his stories, even though, as the poems abundantly shew, he had considerable local knowledge. There are two extreme views on this point. One is that certain places,<sup>18</sup> as this islet of Asteris, existed only in the poet's imagination, that they are, as the Germans

<sup>16</sup> This paragraph was written before I had seen Professor Manly's paper. I now add the following extract from it, p. 36, opposite which will be found a photograph of the double harbour. 'An examination of the coast line under the guidance of Dr. Dörpfeld showed, however, no such harbour. The eastern shore of the island, where the double harbour is said to lie, is practically a straight line from which a rocky strip, a few yards wide and four to six feet high, extends at right angles to the shore to a distance of about seventy-five yards. The

surface of this rocky strip shows, as may be seen from the accompanying cut, that the water dashes over it readily, so that the whole shore is entirely unprotected and cannot be said to have any harbour at all.'

<sup>17</sup> Paulatos, *op. cit.* 122, explains the name from the sparkling of the stone—*δίκην ἀστέρως μαρμαίρει ἐν τῇ κνανῇ θαλάσῳ*.

<sup>18</sup> The places mentioned in the Wanderings of Odysseus, commonly included in the 'Outer Geography' of the *Odyssey*, are not here in question, but only the *Schauplätze* of the epics.



put it, *rein erdichtet*<sup>19</sup>; the other, represented by Dörpfeld above everybody, that Homer's descriptions are accurate representations of then existing facts, and that we can, by careful enquiry, recover every feature which he mentions. Both are, one might almost say by general consent, erroneous. The truth seems to lie between them. Homer knew the ground on which the action of each poem took place, but that is not to say that he knew it with fulness and exactitude, or that he did not at times, for the purposes of his story, take a certain amount of liberty with it. Dörpfeld knows as well as any one how true this is of Troyland; yet he will not contend that we can identify every Homeric point in that region, though those which elude us seem to become fewer year by year. But in the Ionian islands he insists, as Gruhn says, on 'every pebble,' and Cauer, *l.c.*, describes this initial assumption as a cardinal error in the great archaeologist's investigation.<sup>20</sup> Cauer's demand for full freedom for a poet is reasonable.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Gladstone reminded us long ago (on the 'Dominions of Odysseus', *Macmillan's Mag.* xxxvi.) that 'Homer had no map. He had his eye, and he had the reports of others; and out of these he had to construct a map in his own brain.' That map cannot have been perfect. His fancy had to complete it, and his story prescribed what have been called 'accidental details.'

This being granted, Bérard perhaps points the way to a satisfactory solution for Asteris. We have in Daskalio a rocky islet that has much correspondence in its nature and position with Homer's description, and, as we shall see, admirably suited for the poetical purposes for which the poet uses Asteris. It had, one may concede for the moment, no haven. The poet wants one. Near by on the mainland are the Twin Havens, of which he has doubtless heard. He transfers them, and even perhaps 'windy heights' for scouts to look out from, from the mainland to his small rock. Is the assumption that he altered things as he found them to this extent for his story a violent one? *Petimusque damusque vicissim*. Let not Leukadists object. It seems trivial compared with some of their expedients,—as the voyage W. of Cefalonia, the submergence of the Montague Rocks, or the interpretation of *ékás* or *πολυβενθής*. This latter word, in its accepted signification of *valde profundus*, suits the bay at Polis, but not that of Vlichó. Therefore it must be rendered *ein tief sich ins Land erstreckender Hafen!*

There remains to be considered the comparative suitability, in regard to position—which, as Vollgraff observes, *l.c.* 621, is much more important than mere local character—of Daskalio and Arkoudi respectively for the ambush described, and this involves the question of the return voyage of

<sup>19</sup> Herkenrath, who is not a partisan, finds in the later name Asteria sufficient ground for holding that Asteris is not an invention (*B. ph. W.* 1910, 1270).

<sup>20</sup> Dörpfeld's full confession of faith on the subject of the verity and actuality of all in Homer will be found in his review of Croiset's

*Légende* in *W. kl. Ph.* 1912, 1081 ff.

<sup>21</sup> La Roche (*op. cit.* 488) recalls the familiar lines of Horace,

*pictoribus atque poetis  
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.  
scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque  
vicissim.*

Telemachus. As regards suitability, honours seem to be even. If Telemachus returned to Skydhi, as Dörpfeld alleges, Arkoudi is well placed, though, as Paulatos notes, it is unnecessarily far from the capital at Nidri. There is a small island, Theleia,<sup>22</sup> much nearer home, lying between Leukas and Meganisi. But the Ithakists have equally good ground for approving the situation of Daskalio. It is opposite Polis and only some two miles from it. It commands the strait, and, low as it is, one can see over the sea to the S. as far as the Peloponnesus (Bérard, *op. cit.* ii. 493). The objection taken by the Leukadists, and one which they will apparently never give up, is that Telemachus might land, as he actually does, at the S. end of Thiaki. See e.g. Goessler, *op. cit.* 50, von Marées, *l.c.* 237, and even Seymour, *op. cit.* 71. The objection seems futile. The Wooers did not know of Athené's warning, and would assume as a matter of course that Telemachus would return to Polis the way he left it.<sup>23</sup>

As regards the return journey and the injunction that governed it, *ἐκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα*, we have seen how the Ithakists conceive it. On the other side I need only state Dörpfeld's case as he propounded it and has since changed it. First, he maintained that Telemachus sought the high sea to the West of Cefalonia and landed in Vasiliki bay in the S. of Leukas. But the objections were so formidable that he gave Telemachus' course a new direction, *ἐκὰς* being made a veritable 'portmanteau word' into which was packed the complicated meaning, *zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen*. But this was just as bad,<sup>24</sup> as Reissinger appears to admit (Gröschl, *op. cit.* 27 f.). We are now to suppose (see the *Zusatz* in Dörpfeld's *Leukas*, 16) that Telemachus proceeds up the strait past Asteris to Leukas, where he lands in the bay of Skydhi.<sup>25</sup> What then is the meaning of the warning? Telemachus, in this view, not only cannot get any good from keeping away from the coast of Thiaki on one side and that of Cefalonia on the other, but, more and worse than that, his course takes him close to the ambush at Arkoudi.

But in fact further discussion of the return journey is unnecessary, for

<sup>22</sup> Apparently Tiglia on the chart in Bérard, ii. 419.

<sup>23</sup> The vexed question of the site of the capital on Thiaki cannot be discussed here, but my impression is that opinion preponderates in favour of Polis. Among the old papers on the Ithacan question Mr. Gladstone's is still good. Among the moderns, von Marées is against Polis, and Vollgraff's paper, which I have quoted more than once, is in reply to him. See also Bérard, and Mr. Allen in *J.H.S.* xxx. 304. But there is no want of literature on the subject. The name Polis looks like a survival, and the depth of water in the bay corresponds to the Homeric *πολυβενθής*. With Polis there is little difficulty in getting a satisfactory conception of the events in Ithaka, the

incidents of Telemachus' trip, and the departure of Hermes in  $\omega$ , according to the narrative of the *Odyssey*. It may at least be said that there are fewer difficulties with Polis than with any other site.

<sup>24</sup> So bad that Goessler (*op. cit.* 52) seems disposed to adhere to the first interpretation of *ἐκὰς νήσων*, which he declares to be not only grammatically accurate but also *sachlich notwendig*.

<sup>25</sup> Chosen because apparently Dörpfeld fixes on Evgiros, near Skydhi, for the dwelling-place of Evmaeus. Hennings, however (*B. ph. W.* 1908, 620), denies that the swine could get shelter from the North wind (§ 533) at Evgiros. They could in the site for the steading and *Κόρακος πέτρα* N. of S. Andrea.

Dörpfeld now holds that the opening passage of *o* is a late insertion. As he had himself objected to the excision of lines by other authorities, he was naturally blamed for resorting to the same plan himself. His reply to that is in *W. kl. Ph.* 1905, 1342, and is to the effect that *he* did not excise the lines; he only accepts the athetesis of others made on philological grounds. But the receiver in such a case is surely as responsible as the original depredator, and to those who do not admit the spuriousness of the passage this part of Dörpfeld's case seems to fail entirely. I cannot of course discuss the grounds on which the critics (see Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*) mangle the lines in question, no two of them agreeing as to the spurious parts. They are really excellent specimens of the stuff that the Homeric criticism of the nineteenth century was made of. They will be found in Kammer, *Einheit der Odyssee*, 622 ff. It is enough to say that Monro and Hayman and other editors do not consider them worth noticing, that Blass' manipulation of the passage leaves Athené's instructions intact, and that, if any one be curious to see how the reasons appear in the light of common sense, he will find a full reply in Bärwinkel's *Zur Odyssee*, 23 ff. Dörpfeld promised to support the athetesis by a *Tagesplan* of the *Odyssee*, but I am not aware that this has ever appeared. The discovery that Theoclymenus was Athené was also to help the Dörpfeldian view, but nothing more has been heard of it.

The result seems to be that in situation, character, and suitability for the ambush, Daskalio is at least as good a claimant as Arkoudi. As regards the *νήσοι θοαί*, the injunction to keep clear of the islands, and the course of the journey back to Ithaka, we get, on the supposition that Daskalio is Asteris, a clear and consistent view with a minimum of difficulty. We cannot say the same of Arkoudi. The balance of probability is thus against Dörpfeld's position, and I think the same may be said of nearly every other branch of his case, and that he falls far short of the discharge of the onus which is on him.<sup>26</sup> I venture here to state summarily the conclusions which I have come to on some points after a somewhat close examination of the voluminous literature. On others the battle may be allowed to be drawn.

1. That the *Catalogue of the Ships* in the *Iliad* and the last book of the *Odyssey* are 'late' is assumed by Dörpfeld, and described by Rüter as the *Fundament von Dörpfelds Hypothese*. It is really its fatal weakness. It used to be a commonplace of old Dissecting criticism that the *Catalogue* is late, but Messrs. Allen, and Thompson and Wace (*Prehistoric Thessaly*, 254 n.) and others are of a very different opinion. The *Catalogue* reflects pre-Dorian conditions, and *Dörpfeld admits that in it Ithaka is Thiaki*.

<sup>26</sup> He has been subjected to merciless criticism even in his own country, especially by Engel (*Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus*), who is not an armchair critic but speaks after visiting the islands. Strong as his exposure of Dörpfeld's methods is, it must be admitted there is good foundation for it. Dörpfeld

impresses one as establishing a point with satisfaction to himself by giving some evidence for it and then insisting on it strongly as proved to demonstration. 'I believe . . . . and I can prove it' is a sort of final formula with him (Manatt, *op. cit.* 381, 383, 387).

It is the same with  $\omega$ . More than one defence of the genuineness of that book have appeared recently. I refer especially to those by Rothe and Belzner. See also three papers in *Class. Philology*, viii. and ix.

2. The ease with which Dörpfeld recovers all the Homeric landmarks in Leukas should not deceive us. Engel, who knows the ground, questions them all, *op. cit.* 4 f. But, apart from that, we must remember that all have been found in Thiaki, that Goekoop (*Ithaque la Grande*) has found them all in Cefalonia, and that Mr. Samuel Butler found them all, in very convincing fashion, years ago at Trapani in Sicily! *Omne solum forti Ithaca est*; for hills and havens, and caves and cliffs and springs, and even Mycenaean remains are not rare in these islands.

3. Dörpfeld has not proved<sup>27</sup> that Leukas was an island in Homeric days, and some refuse to believe that all the engineers and geologists the Kaiser may depute can ever prove it. Others, again, are satisfied that it does not matter whether it was so or not. Leukas could be regarded as an island, perhaps merely for the poet's purpose, as Wilamowitz at once objected; or again, it might be regarded as part of the mainland. See Finsler, *Homer*,<sup>2</sup> 14, Cauer, *op. cit.* 242, Michael, *op. cit.* 12 f. and Engel, *op. cit.* 31 f.

4. Dörpfeld cannot prove that the settlement he has found at Nidri is Odysseus' palace. The appeal to Hissarlik is nugatory; in that case there was good reason *aliunde* for believing that Priam's fortress had once existed in the very locality. In the present case there is reason for believing on the Homeric text that Odysseus was not housed in a Mycenaean keep, but rather in a building that would not leave much sign after 3000 years. Mycenaean remains may prove too much. Goekoop is confident that Kavvadias will find Odysseus' palace in Cefalonia, and that he will live to hear 'the  $\phi\acute{o}\rho\mu\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$  of Phemios played in the Megaron.' The remains in Leukas have yet to be dated and co-ordinated with others. The descriptions of them are various,—prehistoric, Achaean, Mycenaean, Achaean-Mycenaean, mid-European. See Prof. Myres' remarks in *The Year's Work*, 1906, 6 f., and 1907, 30, and Mr. Thompson, *l.c.* 133 and n. And cf. Seymour, *op. cit.* 76, Sitzler, *Aesth. Kommentar*<sup>2</sup>, 176, Engel, *op. cit.* 13 f. and 40 ff., and Dörpfeld in *W. kl. Ph.* 1909, 1185 ff. and 1912, 1081 ff., and his *Vierter Brief*. Hennings, in *B. ph. W.* 1908, 619 f., objects strongly to Nidri as the site of Odysseus' palace. The ground has been described as low-lying and even swampy.

5. Dörpfeld believes, and tells it *als ob er dabei gewesen wäre* (Engel), that the Dorians came into the then Ithaka, drove its inhabitants into Thiaki,<sup>28</sup> and called the then Ithaka Leukas. It is a mere suggestion, and there is nothing in the tradition to support it. Seymour, who seems to approve, can cite no evidence. Sitzler, *op. cit.* 175, considers it most unlikely,

<sup>27</sup> The discussion has become very involved, and many authorities might be quoted pro and con. I note that Vollgraaf (*l.c.* 617 n.) is not convinced. The statement in *J.H.S.* xxvii. Procs. xliii. that it had been shewn *conclusively* that Leukas was an island in 1000 B.C.,

was extremely premature.

<sup>28</sup> Rothe (*Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, 335) thinks it strange the outcasts did not go further on, as to the richer and more distant Zanté. They remained just on the other side of the 'strait' from the Dorian fiends.

See also Rothe, *op. cit.* 317, Engel, *op. cit.* 8 f. and 11, Gröschl, *op. cit.* 39, *Athenaeum*, No. 4087, 241, etc.

6. The famous passage, *ι* 21 ff., will probably never be satisfactorily interpreted in every particular as it stands. But one thing is taken as certain by many authorities, that the first word in the sentence, ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι, cannot be applied to Leukas, which has not a single island either to W. or N.

7. I cannot ascertain that it ever occurred to any one before the days of Leukas-Ithaka to take the line, which occurs four times in the *Odyssey*, and is addressed to new arrivals in the Homeric Ithaka, οὐ μὲν γὰρ τί σε πεζὸν οἴομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι, as anything but a small joke.<sup>29</sup> See the commentaries. The reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, *l.c.*, refuses to take seriously the argument Dörpfeld bases on the line. So Miller in *Preuss. Jahrb.* cxvii. 304. When he, Dörpfeld, goes on to say that the *Witz* is not appropriate at the 'solemn moment' when Odysseus is recognised by his son, he seems to forget the freedom with which Homeric formulae are at times employed.

8. The positive evidence from the epithets which Homer gives to his Ithaka is on the whole against the new theory. Especially, the descriptions οὐδ' εὐρεία, *ν* 243, and οὐχ ἰππήλατος . . . . περὶ πασέων, *δ* 607 f., are much less appropriate of Leukas. Engel affirms that there are 30 sq. km. of pasture on it. If that be so, one wonders that Odysseus, its lord, should ever have sent his herds to the mainland. See Hennings in *B. ph. W.* 1908, 618, Rothe, *op. cit.* 328 f., Engel, *op. cit.* 23 and 30 f., and Dörpfeld, *W. kl. Ph.* 1909, 1186.

There is also, as first pointed out by Wilamowitz, strong negative evidence in this, that Homer does not refer by epithet or otherwise to what is described as a most imposing feature of Leukadian scenery, the white cliffs which are said to rise from the sea to a height in places of 300 m. or over 900 feet. A photograph of these great grey walls in the vicinity of C. Dukato may be seen opposite p. 48 of Weber's *Im Banne Homers*.

9. The *Λευκάς Πέτρη* of *ω* 11, now generally identified with C. Dukato, cannot be inside Homer's Ithaka. Hermes, with the souls of the Wooers under his wing, leaves Odysseus' abode for the ζόφος. Be that due W. or N.W., the god, starting from Nidri, would not go first S.W. to the cape. The description suits Thiaki. From Polis, Hermes makes for the sea (Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοαί) and then passes the Πέτρη on his way to the Beyond.

10. Homer in *χ* 197 (and cf. *ψ* 244 and 347) represents the sun as rising to dwellers in his Ithaka from the streams of Ocean. That again is less appropriate of Leukas, lying W. of an enclosed bay, than of Thiaki with a much wider stretch of sea between it and the mainland.

If there were any hope that Dörpfeld's book on the whole subject, promised as far back as 1905, would add some additional arguments, one might well pause before coming to a final conclusion, but there seems to be

<sup>29</sup> Paulatos quotes modern Greek equivalents. But Vollgraff, though he objects to Dörpfeld's inference, does not admit a *Witz*.

none. Dörpfeld has spoken frequently since he first propounded his hypothesis, but, apart from the local excavations and investigations into the *Inselnatur* of Leukas, there seems to be nothing new. Meantime the opposition gathers strength with every year, and now includes Rothe, Finsler, Vollgraff and Drerup. The Leukadists are certainly outnumbered. Cauer is nonplussed. Also *Fragen über Fragen! statt befriedigender Lösung neue Rätsel!* (*op. cit.* 255). He would believe, if he could, but Dörpfeld requires of his disciples a whole-hearted view of Homeric realities which to Cauer is impossible of acceptance. It is a view that must incline all who hold the Homeric Unitarian creed to pray for Dörpfeld's full success, but the present position of the question does not warrant the hope that that prayer will be answered, and the controversy must apparently continue to be carried on. Of enquiries on the spot there have been plenty; Mr. Gladstone's hope, in his last words on the old Ithakan dispute, has been fulfilled over and over again. But still there is no peace. Dr. Leaf, a convinced Leukadist, would lay us all under a lasting obligation if he could but be induced to give us an autopsy such as he has given us for Troyland.

A. SHEWAN.

#### NOTE.

Partial bibliographies of Leukas-Ithaka will be found in Draheim's *Die Ithaka-Frage*, Berlin, 1903, and *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Ithaka-Frage* (*W. kl. Ph.* 1906, 1351 ff.), in *Class. Phil.* vii. 210, and in Drerup's *Omero*, 246 n. Rüter in his *Mit Dörpfeld nach Leukas-Ithaka* (Halberstadt, 1911) mentions many names, and Paulatos in his ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΩΣ seems to quote almost every work that has ever been published about Ithaka. Add to these the volumes of the *W. kl. Ph.* and *B. ph. W.* since 1900, and Rothe's reports in the *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* for 1905-7, 1909-10, and 1912.

The only discussions in English known to me are Professor Manly's *Ithaca or Leucas*, *Missouri Studies*, 1903, Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*, 69 ff., Manatt, *Aegean Days*, 376 ff., Leaf in *Proceedings of the Hellenic Travellers' Club*, 1911, 21 ff., *J.H.S.* xxvii. Procs. xliii. ff., and xxx. 304 ff. (Mr. Allen on the *Homeric Catalogue*), and Dr. Monro in *C.R.* xix. 240 f. Besides these notices, none of them very exhaustive, a few reviews have appeared, the only one of any importance being of Goessler's work in the *Athenaeum*, *l.c.*

#### PASSAGES IN THE ODYSSEY.

The Wooers plot against Telemachus, and Antinous asks for a ship, δ 670 ff.:

ὄφρα μιν αὐτὸν ἰόντα λοχῆσομαι ἠδὲ φυλάξω  
ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης.

A ship is got ready, δ 778 ff. and sets out, 842 ff.:

μηστήρες δ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ἠγρὰ κέλευθα,  
Τηλεμάχῳ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντες·  
ἔστι δὲ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλὶ πετρήεσσα,  
μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
Ἄστερίς, οὐ μεγάλη· λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ  
ἀμφίδυμοι· τῇ τὸν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

In the fifteenth book Athené proceeds to Lacedaemon and instructs Telemachus as to his return journey, ο 28 ff.:

μνηστήρων σ' ἐπιτηδὲς ἀριστῆες λοχόωσιν  
 ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
 ἰέμενοι κτείνειν, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' οὐκ οἶω· πρὶν καὶ τινα γαῖα καθέξει  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἳ τοι βίοντον κατέδουσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ ἐκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα,  
 νυκτὶ δ' ὁμῶς πλείειν· πέμψει δέ τοι οὖρον ὅπισθεν  
 ἀθανάτων ὅς τις σε φυλάσσει τε ῥύεται τε.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν πρῶτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης ἀφίκηαι,  
 νῆα μὲν ἐς πόλιν ὀτρύναι καὶ πάντας ἐταίρους,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτιστα συβώτην εἰσαφικέσθαι, . . . .

His departure is described later in the same book. The ship is prepared for sea, and Athené provides a breeze, 292 ff.:

τοῖσιν δ' ἴκμενον οὖρον ἴει γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 λάβρον ἐπαιγίζοντα δι' οἰθέρος, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
 νηὺς ἀνύσειε θέουσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.  
 [βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον].  
 δύσετό τ' ἥελιος σκιδώοντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγνυαί·  
 ἡ δὲ Φεάς ἐπέβαλλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὐρῳ,  
 ἥ δὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα διαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί.  
 ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπρόεηκε θοῆσιν,  
 ὀρμαίνων ἢ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἢ κεν ἀλώη.

The scene then changes to the hut of Eumaeus, where he and the disguised Odysseus converse and sleep. At dawn Telemachus and party reach Ithaka, and disembark and take δειπνον, 495 ff., and Telemachus bids his men row the ship to the town, while he himself proceeds to the stading of Eumaeus. There the swineherd is sent to the town to inform Penelopé, Telemachus recognises his father, and the poet reverts to the ship, π 322 f.:

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ' Ἰθάκηνδε κατήγετο νηὺς εὐεργής,  
 ἡ φέρε Τηλέμαχον Πυλόθεν καὶ πάντας ἐταίρους.

The company disembark and send a messenger, who foregathers with Eumaeus, to tell Penelopé that her son is in the country. The Wooers hear the news and take counsel together, and Eurymachus asks for a ship, that he may go and bring back Antinous and the ship they had sent out. But, as he is speaking, Amphinomus sees from where he sits their ship itself already inside the haven, and Antinous, when all are again together, tells how their plan had miscarried, π 364 ff.:

ὦ πόποι, ὡς τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν.  
 ἤματα μὲν σκοποὶ ἴζον ἐπ' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσης  
 αἰὲν ἐπασσύτεροι· ἄμα δ' ἥελίφ καταδύντι  
 οὐ ποτ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου νύκτ' ἄσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 νηὶ θοῇ πλείοντες ἐμίνομεν Ἡῶ διαν,  
 Τηλέμαχον λοχόωντες, ἵνα φθίσωμεν ἐλόντες  
 αὐτόν· τὸν δ' ἄρα τῆος ἀπήγαγεν οἰκαδὲ δαίμων.

Just how Telemachus' ship slipped past them and got to the town before them is not explained. That they did see her and follow her may be inferred from the fact that they arrived immediately after her. The only reference to the point is in Amphinomus' words, π 355 ff., after he has seen the Wooers' ship already in harbour.

μή τιw' ἔτ' ἀγγελίην ὀτρύνομεν· οἶδε γὰρ ἔνδον.  
 ἢ τίς σφιν τούδ' ἔειπε θεῶν, ἢ εἰσίδον αὐτοὶ  
 νῆα παρερχομένην, τὴν δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο κιχῆναι.