

- P* = Parisinus Latinus 8242 (Puteaneus), saec. ix
E = Coll. Etonensis 150 (Bl. 6.5), saec. xi
G = Guelferbytanus extrav. 260, saec. xii
F = Francofurtanus Barth. 110, saec. xii/xiii
Plan. = Metaphrasis Planudis

- ω = codices recentiores omnes uel plures
 ς = codices recentiores aliquot uel pauci uel unus
codd. = codicum omnium consensus

*** lacuna
 [] delenda

P. OVIDI NASONIS EPISTVLAE HEROIDVM SELECTAE

I PENELOPE VLIXI

Haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Vlixē;
 nil mihi rescribas attinet: ipse ueni.
 Troia iacet certe, Danaïs inuisa puellis;
 uix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit.
 o utinam tum, cum Lacedaemona classe petebat,
 obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis!
 non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto,
 nec quererer tardos ire relicta dies,
 nec mihi quaerenti spatiosam fallere noctem
 lassaret uiduas pendula tela manus.
 quando ego non timui grauiora pericula ueris?
 res est solliciti plena timoris amor.
 in te fingebam uiolentos Troas ituros,
 nomine in Hectoreo pallida semper eram.
 siue quis Antilochum narrabat ab hoste reuictum,
 Antilochus nostri causa timoris erat;
 siue Menoetiaden falsis cecidisse sub armis,
 flebam successu posse carere dolos.
 sanguine Tlepolemus Lyciam tepfecerat hastam;
 Tlepolemi leto cura nouata mea est.
 denique, quisquis erat castris iugulatus Achiuis,
 frigidius glacie pectus amantis erat.
 sed bene consuluit casto deus aequus amori:
 uersa est in cinerem sospite Troia uiro.

I 1 haec Palmer: hanc *codd.* 2 attinet *Aphthonius* (*CLK* vi 109.33, 111.24):
 attamen *Gco*: sed tamen *Eg* 15 ab hoste reuictum *Housman*: ab Hectore
 uictum *codd.* 24 cinerem *Eg*: cineres *Gco*

Argolici rediere duces, altaria fumant,
 ponitur ad patrios barbara praeda deos.
 grata ferunt nuptae pro saluis dona maritis;
 illi uicta suis Troica fata canunt.
 mirantur iustique senes trepidaeque puellae,
 narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore uiri.
 iamque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa,
 pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero:
 'hac ibat Simois, haec est Sigeia tellus,
 hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.
 illic Aeacides, illic tendebat Vlixes;
 hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.'
 omnia namque tuo senior te quaerere misso
 rettulerat nato Nestor, at ille mihi.
 [rettulit et ferro Rhesum Dolonaque caesos,
 utque sit hic somno proditus, ille dolo.]
 ausus es, o nimium nimiumque oblite tuorum,
 Thracia nocturno tangere castra dolo
 totque simul mactare uiros, adiutus ab uno!
 at bene cautus eras et memor ante mei.
 usque metu micuere sinus, dum uictor amicum
 dictus es Ismariis isse per agmen equis.
 sed mihi quid prodest uestris disiecta lacertis
 Ilios et, murus quod fuit, esse solum,
 si maneo, qualis Troia durante manebam,
 uirque mihi dempto fine carendus abest?
 diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant,
 incola captiuo quae boue uictor arat.
 iam seges est ubi Troia fuit, resecandaque falce
 luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.
 semisepulta uirum curuis feriuntur aratris
 ossa, ruinosas occulit herba domos.

27 nuptae *Heinsius*: nymphae *codd.* 31 iamque *G5*: atque *E5* 36 lacer
 admissos *5*: alacer missos *EG5* 37-40 *del. Bentley*, 39-40 *delendos censeo*
 48 esse *G5 Plan.*: ante *E5*

uictor abes, nec scire mihi, quae causa morandi
 aut in quo lateas ferreus orbe, licet.
 quisquis ad haec uertit peregrinam litora puppim,
 ille mihi de te multa rogatus abit,
 quamque tibi reddat, si te modo uiderit usquam,
 traditur huic digitis charta notata meis.
 nos Pylon, antiqui Neleia Nestoris arua,
 misimus; incerta est fama remissa Pylo.
 misimus et Sparten; Sparte quoque nescia ucri.
 quas habitas terras aut ubi lentus abes?
 utilius starent etiamnunc moenia Phoebi.
 irascor uotis, heu, leuis ipsa meis!
 scirem ubi pugnares, et tantum bella timerem,
 et mea cum multis iuncta querela foret.
 quid timeam, ignoro; timeo tamen omnia demens,
 et patet in curas area lata meas.
 quaecumque aequor habet, quaecumque pericula tellus,
 tam longae causas suspicor esse morae.
 haec ego dum stulte metuo, quae uestra libido est,
 esse peregrino captus amore potes.
 forsitan et narres, quam sit tibi rustica coniunx,
 quae tantum lanas non sinat esse rudes.
 fallar, et hoc crimen tenues uanescat in auras,
 neue, reuertendi liber, abesse uelis.
 me pater Icarius uiduo discedere lecto
 cogit et immensas increpat usque moras.
 increpat usque licet: tua sum, tua dicar oportet;
 Penelope coniunx semper Vlixis ero.
 ille tamen pietate mea precibusque pudicis
 frangitur et uires temperat ipse suas.
 Dulichii Samique et quos tulit alta Zacynthos,
 turba ruunt in me luxuriosa, proci,
 inque tua regnant nullis prohibentibus aula;
 uiscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes.

75 metuo *G5*: meditor *E5* 83-4 *del. Bentley* 85-6 *del. Sedlmayer*

quid tibi Pisandrum Polybumque Medontaque dirum
 Eurymachique aidas Antinoique manus
 atque alios referam, quos omnes turpiter absens
 ipse tuo partis sanguine rebus alis?
 Irus egens pecorisque Melanthius actor edendi
 ultimus accedunt in tua damna pudor.
 tres sumus imbelles numero, sine uiribus uxor
 Laertesque senex Telemachusque puer.
 ille per insidias paene est mihi nuper adeptus,
 dum parat inuitis omnibus ire Pylon.
 di, precor, hoc iubeant, ut euntibus ordine fatis
 ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos!
 hac faciunt custosque boum longaeuaque nutrix,
 tertius immundae cura fidelis harae;
 sed neque Laertes, ut qui sit inutilis armis,
 hostibus in mediis regna tenere ualet.
 Telemacho ueniet (uiuat modo) fortior actas;
 nunc erat auxiliis illa tuenda patris.
 nec mihi sunt uires inimicos pelleret tectis.
 tu citius uenias, portus et ara tuis.
 est tibi, sitque precor, natus, qui mollibus annis
 in patrias artes erudiendus erat.
 respice Laerten: ut tu sua lumina condas,
 extremum fati sustinet ille diem.
 certe ego, quae fucram te discedente puella,
 protinus ut redeas, facta uidebor anus.

95 actor *G*: auctor *E*ω 103 hac *Tyrrell*: haec *EG*: hoc *5* 105 armis
 5: annis *EG*ω 106 ualet *E*5 *Plan*: potest *G*ω 110 ara *5*: aura *EG*ω
 113 tu *Bentley*: iam *codd*. 116 redeas *E*ω: uenias *G*5

II PHYLLIS DEMOPHOONTI

Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia Phyllis
 ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.
 cornua cum lunae pleno semel orbe coissent,
 litoribus nostris ancora pacta tua est.
 luna quater latuit, toto quater orbe recreuit,
 nec uehit Actaeas Sithonis unda rates.
 tempora si numeres, bene quae numeramus amantes,
 non uenit ante suam nostra querela diem.
 spes quoque lenta fuit. tarde, quae credita laedunt,
 credimus: inuita nunc es amante nocens.
 saepe fui mendax pro te mihi, saepe putau
 alba procellosos uela referre Notos.
 Thesea deuoui, quia te dimittere nollet,
 nec tenuit cursus forsitan ille tuos.
 interdum timui, ne, dum uada tendis ad Hebri,
 mersa foret cana naufraga puppis aqua.
 saepe deos supplex, ut tu, scelerate, ualeres,
 cum prece turicremis sum uenerata focis;
 saepe uidens uentos caelo pelagoque fauentes,
 ipsa mihi dixi, 'si ualet ille, uenit.'
 denique fidus amor, quidquid properantibus obstat,
 finxit, et ad causas ingeniosa fui.
 at tu lentus abes; nec te iurata reducunt
 numina, nec nostro motus amore redis.
 Demophoon, uentis et uerba et uela dedisti;
 uela queror reditu, uerba carere fide.
 dic mihi, quid feci, nisi non sapienter amau
 crimine te potui demeruisse meo.

11 10 inuita *E*ω: inuito *G* es amante *F*2: et amante *E*ω: et amore *G* nocens
*EF*2: nocent ω: nocens *G*5 14 incipit *P* 17 deos *PG*ω: deo *5*: diis *E* 18-
 19 habuit *5*: om. *PEG*ω 18 cum ... sum uenerata *5*: sum ... deuenerata *5*
 19 fauentes *5*: secundos *5* 25 uerba et uela *PE*ω: uela et uerba *G*5

COMMENTARY

I Penelope Vixi

The first of the *Heroides* serves as an introduction to the entire collection, illustrating by example both the major themes of the following epistles and the manner of treatment. Its primary reference is to a single literary model, Homer's *Odyssey*, and O.'s selection of Homeric epic for eroticized treatment in the introductory elegy should be regarded as an implied statement of his own literary principles. O.'s epistle is the earliest surviving example of a trend towards romanticizing the story of Ulysses' return to Penelope (Stanford (1963) 143); but he was surely not the first poet in antiquity to read the *Odyssey* as a love story, as he himself characterized it several years later in a defence of his poetry to Augustus: *Trist. 2.375-6 aut quid Odyssea est nisi femina propter amorem, | dum vir abest, multis una petita prociis?* Poets for centuries had treated Penelope as an *exemplum pudicitiae* (*RE* xix 483-4), but there are traces of a reaction against this tendency in Horace's suggestion of an erotic treatment of the *Odyssey* as a subject for a music girl in an invitation to a symposium: *Hor. Carm. 1.17-17-20 hic in reducia ualle Canticulae | uitabis aestus et fide Teia | dices laborantes in uno | Penelopen uitraquam Circe*. Prose summaries by the Greek poet Parthenius of two stories of the amorous escapades of Odysseus with Polyemele (*Erot. 2*) and Euippe (*Erot. 3*) offer further evidence of an inclination by Hellenistic Greek writers to focus upon the erotic conquests of the Homeric hero. An interesting twist is provided later by Lucian, who produces the text of an epistle from Odysseus to Calypso (*Ver. hist. 2.35*) expressing regret for his decision to leave her for Penelope. Our evidence for the role of Penelope in post-Homeric accounts of the story is scanty (Jacobson (1974) 245-6), but it seems clear that it was O. who took the imaginative step of representing the events of the *Odyssey* from her point of view. In so doing, he has taken her character far beyond the traditional role of a paradigm of fidelity.

Penelope's epistle is not simply a prolonged lament for her unfortunate position; more than in any of the other poems O. sustains the fiction that this is a real letter. Penelope aims at persuading

Ulysses to return, with the implied reproach that return lies within his power if only he wishes it (1, 7-10, 81-60nn.). This tone is sustained by the sophisticated interplay of references to the text of the *Odyssey*, against which O.'s reader will test the 'facts' as presented by Penelope. The imagined time of composition is fixed within very narrow limits by references to events described by Homer. The opening section of the poem makes it clear that Penelope writes after the fall of Troy and the return of the Greeks, but three references to Telemachus' mission to Pylos and Sparta (37-8, 63-5, 99-100) place the epistle after her interview with Telemachus, which in the *Odyssey* (17.107-65) takes place the day before the suitors are killed. The epistle's many ironic references to the text of the *Odyssey* are further emphasized, as Kennedy (1984) 417-18 suggests, by the fact that the intended carrier of the letter would therefore be none other than Ulysses himself, recently arrived in Ithaca in the guise of a Cretan stranger. Thus conceived, O.'s epistle of Penelope is not simply a rhetorical reworking of a Homeric theme, but a masterly exploration of character, making new the material of the oldest literary tradition available to him.

1-22 Penelope follows the salutation of the opening line with a recapitulation of all her former fears for Ulysses while he was fighting at Troy. This part of the epistle avoids any overt note of reproach, although it contains some hints of her present state of mind; e.g. the suggestion that her fears were worse than the reality (11 *grauora pericula ueri*) or the coy description of herself at the loom with no mention of the celebrated ruse used to put off the suitors. As a whole this section serves to evoke the atmosphere of the Trojan war, the epic backdrop against which this domestic drama is played.

1 *Haec*: sc. *uerba*, as in 10.3 *quae legis*; cf. *Pont. 4.14.1 haec tibi mittitur*, 2.10.2 *haec ... scribere uerba*, 3.4.1 *haec ... uerba*. Palmer's correction of *haec*, the reading of the MSS, removes the awkward ellipse of *epistulum* or *salutem* postulated by editors. Such an ellipse is too harsh for O. and it is not defended by Cic. *Att. 15.20.4*, where modern editors read *haec putauit mea manu scribenda*, referring not to the entire letter but only to the preceding passage. In Cicero's letters ellipse of *litterae* is common (see Shackleton Bailey on *Att. 13.12.1*), but there is only one example of ellipse of *epistula*, and none of *salutem*. The error perhaps arose through a scribe's recollection of other Ovidian

epistolary openings such as *Trist.* 5.13.1 *hanc ... salutem*, *Pont.* 1.3.1 *hanc ... salutem*.

lento: not simply 'slow', but 'larrying'. The adjective forms a standard component in the elegists' arsenal of reproachful epithets for the less amorous partner in a love affair. Numerous examples in Pichon (1902) 186; cf. 2.23, 6.17, 19.70. Here it introduces the theme, elaborated throughout the epistle (cf. 66), that Ulysses' absence is not entirely involuntary.

Vixit: vocative. This form is supported by Priscian (*GLK* II 277 and 288), although it is anomalous in the Latinized name of Odysseus, which draws its forms from the fifth and later the third declensions; see Leumann (1977) 458 and Housman (1910) 259-60 (= *Class. pap.* 834-5). Some MSS read *Vixit*, the regular vocative in early Latin, as in Pacuvius, *trag.* 256; cf. *Met.* 13.83 where some MSS also have *-es*, and for further details, see N-W I 447-9.

2 nil ... attinet: it is no good your writing me a reply: the subjunctive *scribas* should be construed with *attinet*, a unique example of this construction that may be explained by analogy with *oportet*, *necesse est*, and *opus est*. *attinet* is not found in any MSS of the *Heroides*, the majority of which offer *attamen* or *sed tamen* here, but the verse is quoted four times in this form in the fourth-century metrical treatise of Aelius Festus Aphthonius, *GLK* VI 109.3 and VI 111.24. As Housman (1922) 88-91 (= *Class. pap.* 1052-4) demonstrates, this must have been what stood in the text known to the grammarian and *attinet* is thus attested by a witness at least seven centuries older than E or G.

3 iacet: 'is fallen': no special point is intended by the repetition of the verb in 7 *iacuisset*. Such casual iteration is more common in Latin poetry than critics are often prepared to admit. As Housman notes in the preface to *Lucan*, p. xxxiii: 'Each author has his own principles and practice. Horace was as sensitive to iteration as any modern ... Virgil was less sensitive, Ovid much less; Lucan was almost insensible.' For further discussion, see Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 2.505; Shackleton Bailey (1956) 9; and, with special reference to O., Kenney (1959) 248. Examples of repetition without point in this poem are 12 *timoris* ... 16 *timoris*; 40 *dolo* ... 42 *dolo* (but see 40n.).

certe 'to be sure', anticipating the pentameter.

Danaïs 'Greek': cf. 21 *Achuis*, 25 *Argolica*.

puellis includes, presumably, Penelope herself, now some 20 years older than when Ulysses left for the Trojan War. Although Penelope takes pains in this letter to portray herself as a desirable young woman, she is none the less conscious of the passage of time, as indicated by the pointed contrast in the final couplet of the poem (see 115-16n.).

4 utx ... tanti ... fuit: 'Priam and all of Troy were hardly worth so great a cost': i.e. your long absence. *tanti* is genitive of price; cf. *Am.* 3.6.37-8 *ne tanti Caydon nec tota Aetolia tanti, | una tamen tanti Delantia fuit*, Prop. 3.20.4 *tantine, ut lacrimas, Africa tota fuit*? The pentameter restates and amplifies the idea expressed in the hexameter, a common manner of exposition in elegy.

5-6 A wistful complaint, framed as a wish in highly stylized language. Penelope's complaints against Paris are the subject of a fragment (1st cent. BC) of Greek hexameter verse (*SH* 952). O. may be reworking a familiar topos.

5 o utinam: a poetic combination for introducing a wish; cf. *Am.* 2.5.7, Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.37. Likewise, *tum cum* is a combination of particles largely limited to poetry (H-S 619); cf. 3.23, 5.109. Because they are taken closely together, they can stand before the third-foot caesura, where O. otherwise avoids a monosyllable; cf. *Fast.* 5.625 *fama uetus, tum cum Salurnia terra uocata est*. The hiatus after *o* and other interjections is very common in elegy; cf. Platnauer (1951) 57.

Lacedaemona: the Greek form of the accusative singular is regular in proper names. In the *Her.* we find: *Theset* (2.13), *Demophoonia* (2.98), *Phyllida* (2.105, 2.147), *Agemennona* (3.83), *Briseida* (3.137), *Troezena* (4.107), *Hectora* (5.93), *Iasona* (6.77), *Simoenta* (7.145), *Phasida* (16.345, 19.176), *Gnosida* (*ES* 25).

6 insanias: not simply a reference to the conventional wildness of the elements (for which cf. 7.53 *insana* ... *aequora*, 18.28 *incant* ... *feti*), but suggestive of the madness of Paris and his enterprise.

adulter is a commonplace word, avoided by Tibullus and Propertius, who prefer the more discreet *amans* or *amator*. O., however, is less circumspect in his portrayal of illicit affairs and employs it often in his elegies. In the high style it refers almost exclusively to the celebrated miscreants of mythology: it is found only twice in the *Aeneid*, of Paris (10.92) and Aegisthus (11.268); so, too, of Paris in

the only occurrence in Propertius (2.34-7). In Helen's epistle to Paris the subject of adultery is much on her mind and the word is often used: cf. 17.18, 17.46, 17.217.

7-10 Penelope's complaint that she must sleep alone and pass the night in weaving echoes Cynthia's complaint in a particularly well-known Propertian elegy: 1.3.41 *nam modo purpureo falletam stamine somnum*. O. neatly reverses a common motif in Hellenistic epigram where the male lover, alone at night, laments the faithlessness of his mistress; cf. e.g. Meleager, *AP* 5.191 (= *HE* 4378). For Horace this theme is a commonplace: *Epist.* 1.1.20 *nox longa quibus mentitur amica*. The note of reproach in *deserto* (7) is reiterated in *relicta* (8) and *uiduas* (10).

7-8 O. recasts in elegiac terms as a complaint the description given by Homer's Penelope of her days and nights in her secret interview with the disguised Odysseus (*Od.* 19.513-17): 'The day times I indulge in lamentation, mourning | as I look to my own tasks and those of my maids in the palace. | But after the night comes and sleep has taken all others, | I lie on my bed, and the sharp anxieties swarming | thick and fast on my beating heart torment my sorrowing self' (Lattimore).

7 deserto ... lecto: perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of *Cat.* 68.29 *frigida deserto tepefacti membra cubili*; cf. 81 below, 5.106, and *Met.* 7.710 *primaque deserti regebant foedera lecti*.

frigida frequently refers to 'one who spends the night alone, abandoned by her lover' (Pichon (1902) 156), but it is also a term for the chilling of affections; cf. *Am.* 2.1.5, 2.7.9, *Rem.* 492.

8 quererer: the switch to the imperfect tense implies that the complaint is continual. The theme of complaint, signalled by *queri*, *querela*, *el sim.*, is a leitmotiv of the *Her.*, especially appropriate in light of the ancient view that elegy originated in lamentation; cf. *ES* 711.

9-10 O.'s reader has heard of Penelope's weaving before, but in a different context. In the *Odyssey* one of the suitors complains (2.93-110) about the ruse that she had used to put them off, when she claimed that she could not remarry until she had woven a funeral shroud for her husband's father, Laertes. In the daytime she worked at her loom, at night she secretly unravelled what she had done. Penelope later describes this trick to Odysseus in his disguise as a

beggar (19.137-55). There is only the faintest allusion to this scene here, and as Barchiesi (1992) 24 notes, the absence of a reference to this deception at a point where it would be appropriate is deliberate. A Roman sensibility would instantly have responded to this depiction of a faithful wife at her loom, a scene which typified for them all the essential feminine virtues; see Ogilvie's comments on Livy's portrayal of Lucretia at 1.57.7.

9 spatiosam fallere noctem 'to beguile the spacious night': the adjective *spatiosus* is a favourite with O., who introduced a great many such formations in -*osus* into Latin poetic diction (Knox (1986b) 99-101). Its application to time is O.'s innovation: cf. *Am.* 1.8.81, *Met.* 8.530, 12.186, 13.206, 15.623. With *fallere* (*TLL* s.v. 188.1ff.) it makes a striking phrase, but one that is an easy step from Propertius' *purpureo falletam stamine somnum* (1.3.41) with *fallere noctem*, i.e. to make the night seem less long, cf. *Trist.* 4.1.13-14 *cantantis pariter, portiter data pensa trahentis, | fallitur ancillae desipitque labor*. There is perhaps also a touch of irony by O. in using this verb: Penelope's weaving is still a trick, but one used only to while away the time.

10 lassaret ... manus 'nor would the hanging web continually [imperfect] wear out my widowed hands': O. perhaps hints at other associations as well; in Greek epigram weaving is often portrayed as a concomitant of unwanted chastity: cf. Nicarchus, *AP.* 6.285 (= *HE* 2737), Anon. *AP.* 6.48 (= *HE* 3812), 6.283 (= *HE* 3818), 6.284 (= *HE* 3822), and in Latin poetry, 19.16, *Am.* 1.13.24, *Ars* 1.689, 2.219, *Med.* 14, Tib. 1.3.85-92, Prop. 3.6.9-14. The homely image is further enhanced by the use of *lassare*, apparently, like the adjective *lassus*, a word of colloquial tone (10.145n.). *delassare* is attested in Plautus, but the simplex is first found in Tib. 1.9.55, and is much favoured by O., who uses it almost as often as the synonymous *fatigare* (14.16). From O. the word spread to later poetry and after the elder Seneca to prose.

uiduas agrees grammatically with *manus* though in sense it refers to *nihil*, a trick of style known as enallage or a 'transferred epithet'. It is quite common in Latin poetry: cf. Bell (1923) 319, H-S 159-60.

pendula tela: on the ancient loom, the warp (*tela*) hung down from a cross-beam.

11 grauiora pericula ueris implies at least that Penelope's fears were out of proportion to reality and suggests another note of

reproach: perhaps Penelope suffered more than Ulysses; cf. Jacobson (1974) 251.

12 res est: an idiomatic phrase, favoured by O. in the more conversational style of the poetic epistle: cf. 6.21 *credula res amor est*, *Pont.* 2.7-37, 2.9-11, 3.9-23, 4.15-31.

13 in te . . . ituros: sc. with hostile intent, a common usage of *eo* with this prepositional phrase.

Troas: a Greek form of the accusative plural.

14 nomine in Hecoreo 'at the mention of Hector's name': cf. *Am.* 2.1.5 *in sponsi facie* 'at the sight of her betrothed's face', Goold (1965) 30. The personal adjective takes the place of a genitive, a common feature of Latin poetic style, developed partly in imitation of Greek epic and tragic diction, but chiefly representing a development of an early feature of the Latin language by writers, including prose authors (K-S 1 209-12) seeking to avoid the more familiar usage: cf. Löfstedt (1942) 107-24, Austin on *Am.* 2.543, H-S 60-1. The possessive *Hecoreus* is first attested in a fragment of Cicero's verse (*Hom. fr.* III.2 Soubiran) translated from Greek.

semper should be construed (*ἀντὶ κοινῶν*) with both *finibam* and *palida eram*.

15 ab hoste reuictum 'laid low by the enemy': i.e. Memnon, leader of the Ethiopian allies of Troy and slayer of Antiochus, the son of Nestor (*Od.* 4.187, 11.52). The MSS are unanimous in offering a reading, *ab Hectore uictum*, which contradicts this well-established tradition. It is highly unlikely that O. is relying upon a variant unknown to us. Hyg. *Fab.* 113, which refers to Hector as his slayer, is probably corrupt, but in any event, since O. is one of his sources, may only show that the corruption in this passage is ancient. Nor is it probable that O. deliberately portrays Penelope in error on this trivial point. The corruption is also betrayed by the feeble repetition of *nomine in Hectoreo* . . . *Hectore*. Housman (1897) 102-3 (= *Class. phil.* 381-2) restores the sense of the passage, if not perhaps O.'s exact words. The three examples cited by Penelope in 15-20 thus refer to the three great champions of Troy: Memnon, Hector, Sarpedon.

17 Menoeiadem: Patroclus, son of Menoetius.

falsis 'deceptive', not simply = *alienis*. Patroclus led the Greeks into battle wearing the armour of Achilles in order to deceive the Trojans into believing that Achilles himself had returned to the

fight, and was in that sense a 'false Achilles'. O.'s transference of the epithet is bold; the line was subsequently reinterpreted by Seneca in imitation at *Ag.* 618 where Patroclus is called *falsus Achilles*.

18 posse carere dolos: indirect statement dependent upon *ferre*, a construction limited to poetry; cf. *TLL* s.v. 900.57-8. For Ulysses these words carry a special meaning, since *dolus* was a fixed feature in the characterization of Odysseus as a wily trickster in literature, although *δόλος* is not a pejorative word in Homer; cf. Stanford (1963) 249 n.17. In Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.3 the epithet *dolosus* is used alone to identify Ulysses.

19 Tlepolemus: a son of Heracles, slain by Sarpedon, king of Lycia (*Lyciam* . . . *hastam*), who fought for the Trojans (*Il.* 5.627-62).

sanguine . . . tepefecerat: the periphrasis gives the line a heroic tone; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.418-19 *hasta . . . hausti tepefacta crebro*, 9.701, 10.570, adapting a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 16.333, etc.).

21 denique 'in sum'.

quisquis erat . . . ingulatus 'whoever had had his throat slit': *ingulare* is a harsh word, avoided by the poets and in prose by the historians (*TLL* s.v. 634.75). It is found at *Am.* 3.8.21, where O. uses it with deliberate crudeness to refer to a competitor: *fortitan et quoniam hominem ingulauerit ille | indiget*. In his other works it occurs only once in 14.11, five times in the *Met.*, and once in the *Ibis*.

22 frigidus glacies: the result of fear; cf. 10.32.

23-56 O.'s Penelope now passes to the immediate aftermath of the war and the return of the Greeks, a happy theme that she uses to point the contrast between her circumstances and the fortunate women whose men have already come home.

23 bene . . . amor 'a sympathetic god took good care of my chaste love': the dative *amori* should be construed with both *consuluit* and *aquas*, a usage known as amphibole (Bell (1923) 293-303), which is often impossible to render succinctly into English. *bene* is redundant with *consuluit*, a colloquial combination found in O. otherwise only at *Pont.* 2.9.34. In *casto* . . . *amori* O.'s Penelope perhaps points a contrast between herself and Helen who was punished for her adulterous love.

24 cinerem: most MSS have the plural. In this idiom (*in cinerem uertit*), the singular seems to have been preferred; cf. *Met.* 2.216, *Tib.* 1.9.12, Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.39. It is likely that O. would avoid *cineres* be-

fore a word beginning with *s*, while it is only at *Trist.* 5.12.68 that we find *cinetes* before a vowel to avoid elision; cf. Maas (1902) 518-20, 525.

sospite ... **uero**: ablative absolute.

26 ponitur ad patrios ... **deos**: i.e. is hung up in the temples of the gods. *ponere* is the proper word for a dedication.

barbarae: Trojan, from Penelope's point of view.

27 grata ... **dona** 'thank-offerings'.

nuptae: restored by conjecture for *nymphae* in the MSS, a Graecism occasionally found in Latin verse with the meaning 'young women', e.g. 9.50 *Ornemi nymphae* (Asydamia), 9.103 *nymphae* ... *Iardani* (Omphale), *Ciris* 435. That sense is not appropriate here for the wives of the Greek warriors, nor is a different meaning 'wife' supported by 16.128, where Paris pays Helen a compliment by calling her a Spartan nymph. Heinsius' conjecture has indirect MS support in the translation by Planudes, who has αἱ γυναῖκες here, his regular rendering of *nuptae*, although in one instance (12.207) he does translate *nuptam* by γυναῖκα. In some MSS of the *Fasti* at 2.605 and 5.205 *nymphae* also appears in error for *nuptae*.

28 uicta suis Troica fata 'the fate of Troy has yielded to their own', a bold phrase: *fata vincere* usually has a different meaning, as at Virg. *Aen.* 11.160 *uiuendo uici mea fata*, with Servius' comment: *id est naturalem ordinem uita longiore superauit*. This use is well-attested (*TLL* s.v. *fatum* 364.76-9), but by saying that one nation's fate has overcome another's, O. extends the idea inherent in Virgil's conception of opposing fates of two peoples as expressed at *Aen.* 7.293-4 *fatis contraria nostris* | *fata Phrygum*. O.'s bold usage is in turn imitated by Manilius 1.512 *fatis Asiae iam Graecia pressa est*, itself a daring expression for the conquest of Greece by Troy (by way of Rome).

29 iustitiae: the epithet is conventional for elders, from whom the magistrates of the city would be drawn; cf. *Fast.* 4.524 *Met.* 8.704.

-que ... **-que**: polysyndetic *-que* was a native feature of the Latin language (H-S 515), but it is never used in classical prose, and its use in poetry from Ennius on is probably due to imitation of Homeric *τε* ... *τε* and Greek usage. It is always more common in epic than in other genres (see Smith on Tib. 1.1.33), but, interestingly, it is completely avoided by Propertius in his first book, nor is it favoured by

Horace. By O.'s time it was a standard element in the poetic language.

30 narrantis ... **pendet ab ore uiri** 'hangs upon the lips of her husband as he tells his tale': a clear reminiscence of *Aen.* 4.79 *pendet* ... *narrantis ab ore*, of Dido in her eagerness to hear the tale of Troy again from Aeneas. O.'s imitations of the *Aeneid* in this epistle evoke the epic background with which Penelope's domestic situation makes a sharp contrast.

coniunx: the epic word for 'wife' (Axelson (1945) 57-8), found 19 times in the single epistles. In the epistles from heroines of epic (1, 3, 6, 7) it is decisively the preferred term, with 11 occurrences compared with four of the everyday *uxor*; but in the remaining poems the choice is almost evenly balanced (8:9), and in each case is determined by the tone O. is trying to effect: see Lyne (1989) 43-8, 60-2.

31-2 O.'s description of returning husbands outlining their campaigns on the table-top (*mensa* ... *posita*) lends a touch of realism to this scene. Tibullus had already described such a vignette in brief: 1.10.29-32 *alius sit fortis in armis* | ... *ut militi polanti possit sua dicere facta* | *miles et in mensa pingere castra mero*. In a later imitation of this passage, O. adapts it to a different but appropriate context to show Ulysses diagramming his battles in the sand by the seashore as he tells his story to Calypso: *Ar.* 2.133-6 *haec inquit Troia erat* (*muris in hitorie fecit*) | *hic tibi sit Simois; haec mea castra puta* | *campus erat* (*campumque facit*) | *quem caede Dolonis* | *sparsumus*.² The ironies of O.'s imitation of Penelope's envious recounting of the stories heard by other Greek women will not be lost on the reader of the *Ar.*

32 et: postponed: a neoteric mannerism (Norden (1927) 402-4 and Ross (1969) 67-9) especially common with this conjunction: in the single *Her.* it occurs at 9.118, 11.16.

exiguo ... **mero**: the word-order, with noun and epithet enclosing the direct object *Pergama*, reflects the sense, showing Troy entirely (*totam*) encompassed 'in a drop of wine'. *Pergama* (always plural, *metri causa*), the citadel of Troy, is often a synonym for the city.

33-6 These verses echo somewhat ironically the most celebrated after-dinner conversation in Roman poetry: Aeneas describing the Trojans' inspection of the deserted battlefield before Troy: Virg. *Aen.* 2.29-30 *hic Dolopum manus, hic senus tendebat Achilles*; | *classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant*. The Trojan war is evoked by reference to

the literary landscape, with which O.'s readers would have an easy familiarity.

33 *Sigeia tellus*: i.e. the land of Troy, so called after the promontory Sigeum, the burial place of Achilles and Patroclus; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.294 *Sigeis ... campis*. The periphrasis with *tellus* adds a bit of epic colour: in O. it occurs only once in the *Amores* (3.9.47), but in the *Met.* and *Fasti* it is found 12 times. The more common form of the adjective is *Sigeus*; the four-syllable form is found only in O., here and at *Met.* 13.3. Such variation in proper adjectives is frequent in O.; see Bömer on *Met.* 12.9.

34 *steterat*: the pluperfect is used in place of the imperfect or perfect to denote remote time with considerable freedom by the elegists (H-S 320, Platnauer (1951) 112-15). The change of tenses, *ibat ... est ... steterat ... tendebat ... tenuit*, vividly renders the course of the impromptu dinner-table campaign.

Priami ... senis 'old Priam', his standard sobriquet in Latin poetry since Ennius, *Ann.* 14 Sk. *ueter ... Priamus*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.368, 21.526.

35 *Aecides*: Achilles, grandson of Aeacus.

tendebat 'used to pitch his tent': an elliptical usage common in military language, but an anachronism in referring to the huts of the heroic age; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.29 *hic saevis tendebat Achilles*.

36 hic ... equos 'Hector's mangled corpse terrified the horses into headlong gallop': *admissos* has predicative force. The line refers to the desecration of Hector's body as Achilles dragged it behind his chariot; cf. *Epicl.* *Dryas* 319-20 *uir reliquus ad axem | tenuit admissos sanguinolentus equos*. After Achilles killed Hector and stripped him of his armour, the Greeks mutilated his corpse (*Il.* 22.367-75) and Achilles then dragged it behind his chariot around the walls of Troy. Attention is focused on the graphic scene in a patterned line (p. 33).

37-8 Penelope appears to be taking credit for Telemachus' mission to Pylos, although the *Odyssey* tells us that he went without his mother's knowledge. Strictly interpreted her words *te quaterne misso* are not false, since he was indeed sent to seek word of his father, but by Athena, not her. In the *Odyssey* Penelope never learns of Athena's role, and many readers have been disturbed by what appears to be a deliberate lie by O.'s character. But O. found a precedent in his reading of Homer for a cunning Penelope willing to stretch the

truth: at *Od.* 18.257-73 Penelope is lying when she reports Odysseus' injunction to her to marry; cf. Büchner (1940), Winkler (1990) 129-61.

37 *namque*: postponed (cf. 32n.) *namque* is not commonly found in this position: this is the earliest example in O.'s poetry and the only one in the *Her.*: cf. *Fast.* 1.129, *Met.* 2.474, 8.273, 10.315, 14.312, *Trist.* 1.10.47, *Pont.* 3.3.99. O. blends formal stylistic features with the conversational tone of Penelope's epistle. For this type of parenthesis, explaining why Penelope knows something she might be expected not to know, cf. 4.51-2 *namque mihi referunt, cum se fauor ille remittit, | omnia*, where Phaedra explains her knowledge of the Bacchic revels.

senior: emphasized by its separation from *Nestor*, the noun it modifies: Nestor's great age was proverbial. The comparative *senior* is a metrically convenient substitute for *senex*.

te quaterne misso: the infinitive after a verb of motion to indicate purpose is not used in classical prose (K-S 1 680-81, H-S 344-45), but is found occasionally in poetry as an archaism; cf. Tränkle (1960) 14-15. This instance is unique in O.

38 *nato*: Telemachus.

39-46 The expedition of Diomedes and Ulysses to the camp of Rhesus, king of the Thracians, is related in *Il.* 10.331-502. The Trojan spy Dolon was met by the heroes on their way; before being killed he informed them of the location of Rhesus' camp. The Thracian king was surprised in his sleep and slain along with twelve of his men.

39-40 Many critics have suspected *dolo* in 40. Although O. is tolerant of iteration (32n.), the repeated *dolo* at the end of successive pentameters is rhetorically emphatic but without point, and that is not O.'s manner. As Bentley saw, the couplet should be abetized, although 37-8, which he would also delete, should probably be retained. The interpolation provides an identification of the *Dolencia* alluded to in the following couplets. The interpolator was knowledgeable: he imitates Virg. *Aen.* 1.469-70 *Rhesi ... tentoria ... prodita somno*, and makes the etymological link between Dolon and *dolus*, a word often associated with Ulysses (18n.), as by O. in 42. But the clumsy transition *retulit et ... retulit et* and the repetition of *dolo* give him away. For a similar interpolation glossing a name only alluded

to, cf. *Met.* 8.317, which is followed in some MSS by a line naming Alalanta.

40 hic ... ille refer to the further (Rhesus) and nearer (Dolon) objects respectively; for this reversal of the usual order, cf. *Met.* 3.205, *Fast.* 1.674, *Trist.* 1.2.24, and see Shackleton Bailey (1956) 259, H-S 182, *TLL* s.v. *hic* 2715.40ff.

41 o: the interjection adds a note of pathos to these lines (41-6) in which Penelope knowingly misrepresents Ulysses' role in the expedition: most of the hard work was done by Diomedes.

nimum nimumque: expressive gemination is a feature of colloquial speech rarely found in classical verse (Hofmann (1951) 58-60, H-S 808-9) except in the more common *iam iam*. The only other example of this combination is [Tib.] 3.6.21, an imitation of this passage. Elsewhere O. has *iterumque iterumque* (*Ars* 2.127), *nimum nimumque* (*Trist.* 5.6.35); cf. 2.129n. As she expands upon her fears about this adventure, O.'s Penelope slips into less elevated style.

42 nocturno ... dolo: O. cleverly reverses the more familiar associations of this phrase, which is used by Propertius (2.9.6) and O. (*Am.* 3.9.30) to refer to Penelope's weaving. *tangere casta* = *pernere in casta*; cf. *Met.* 4.779 *Gorgoneas testigis domos*, *Trist.* 3.2.18 *poenae telhus est mihi laeta meae*.

43 totque: thirteen, including Rhesus (*Hom. Il.* 10.483-9), but the killing was done by Diomedes, while Ulysses only dragged the bodies out of the way and secured the horses.

mactare 'to slaughter', a very strong word, transferred from the vocabulary of sacrifice and rarely found in this secular context: it is so used only twice in the *Aeneid* (2.667, 10.413). In O.'s verse, with the exception of the *Met.* and *Fasti*, it occurs only three more times in the *Heroids* (7.113, 10.77, 10.101). Its use here may be ironic, since Penelope's exaggeration of Ulysses' role in the expedition appears to be deliberate.

adiutus ab uno: sc. Diomedes.

44 bene cautus 'very cautious': this use of a qualifying adverb with an adjective or another adverb is colloquial; cf. *ES* 67 *bene milia*, *Trist.* 1.7.15, Hofmann (1951) 70-5, H-S 163. The irony of this line is biting, as O. plays upon the reader's familiarity with the events described in the *Iliad*.

45 usque ... dum 'until': the perfect indicative is unusual in

this construction (H-S 615); O. has only one other example (*Met.* 3.91) and there are few other examples in classical Latin.

metu micuere sinus 'my heart fluttered with fear': a successful phrase varied at 5.37 *attoniti micuere sinus*; cf. *Ars* 3.722, *Fast.* 3.36, 3.331, 6.338.

45-6 amicū | ... per agmen: the Greek camp.

46 Ismaris: i.e. Thracian, identified by Mt Ismarus.

47 uestris 'yours and your comrades'.

disiecta = 'sic evertere et destruere, ut in diversas partes tamquam iactum frangatur' (Loers); cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8.290 *disiecti urbes*, *laceratis* 'strength'.

48 Ilios: Greek form of the nominative.

murus ... solum 'that what once was wall is now level ground': the accusative and infinitive construction is coordinate with *Ilios* as subject of *prodest*. O. reworks *Aen.* 10.59-60 *non salius cineres patriae insedisse supremos | atque solum quo Troia fuit*.

50 uirque ... carendus abest 'and I must forever submit to my husband's absence': the regular construction is impersonal, as in *Trist.* 1.5.83 *mihi ... patria tellure carendum est*. This is the only attested instance of a personal passive of *careo*; since it is found as a transitive verb with accusative object in comedy and post-classical prose (*TLL* s.v. 454.67-455.9) this should perhaps be considered a colloquial usage. The phrase *dempto fine* = *sine fine* recurs at *Trist.* 3.11.2; cf. *Am.* 1.9.10 *exempto fine*.

51 diruta sunt aliis ... Pergama: O.'s Penelope ironically echoes the words of Diomedes to the Rutulian ambassadors who ask his help against Aeneas: *Virg. Aen.* 11.279-80 *nec mihi cum Teucris ul-lum post diruta bellum | Pergama*.

uni ... restanti: O. himself reworks this passage in a later poem in a characteristically clever self-imitation, referring to the same circumstances from the very different point of view of Hecuba: *Met.* 13.507 *soli mihi Pergama restant*.

52 incola ... victor: a deliberate anachronism, for the Greeks did not stay to colonize the Troad. O. is thinking of the Roman practice of settling colonists in conquered territories, which he uses here as a background against which to present the exaggerated picture of the devastated site of Troy.

53-6 A vivid picture of the site of Troy that is again anachron-

istic: although ten years have passed since the Greek victory, it is still too early to speak of crops growing on the site of the city and of farmers coming unexpectedly upon the bones of fallen warriors. The image gains resonance from recognition of the context of the passage in Virgil's *Georgics* that O. here imitates: 1.491-7 *ne fuit indignum superis his sanguine nostro | Ernathum et lato Haemi pinguescere campos. | scilicet et tempus uniet, cum finibus illis | agricola incurio terram molibus aratro | exesa inueniet scabra robigne pila, | aut granibus rastrois galeas pulsabit inanis | grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris*. Virgil writes of the battles of Pharsalus (48 BC) and Philippi (42 BC), perhaps twelve years after the event and tells of a time far in the future when the farmer will unwittingly till the battlefield. O.'s Penelope writes as if that time has already come for Troy, a pathetic exaggeration made plausible only because it comes from a disheartened spouse.

53 rescandaque ... humus 'fertilized with Phrygian blood, the overgrown soil awaits the sickle': there is a note of irony in these lines because the soil of Asia Minor, which was proverbially rich (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.12-22), is here said to be rich with the blood of the Trojan War. *humum rescare* is a striking phrase.

54 luxuriat: the proper term for abundant vegetation; cf. *Ar.* 1.360 *ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo*.

55 semiseputa: a striking word, attested only here, to render Virgil's *effossis* ... *ossa sepulchris*. O. is fond of such compounds in *semi* while the other elegists avoid them entirely; O. uses a number of them, including in the *Her. semiantinis, semidus, semivictus, semisupinus, semivir*, cf. Linde (1891) 47, 51.

uirum: genitive plural, an archaic form familiar in epic verse; Virgil uses genitive *uirum* 34 times in the *Aeneid*. Its use is severely restricted by O., who has the very common form *daum* only at *Am.* 1.13-45, *Met.* 2.280, 2.848, 4.574, 10.686, *Trist.* 1.5-70, 2.37, *Pont.* 2.8-58, *diuum* at *Met.* 6.542, 12.561, *Graium* at *Met.* 13.281. This is O.'s only example of *uirum*, which is common in all the epic poets except Lucan: for the details see N-W 1176.

56 ossa: enjambment with a sense pause after the 'first trochee' in the pentameter, even a light pause as here, is rare in Propertius, Tibullus, and O.'s early elegies. It becomes a mannerism in O.'s later elegiac verse; cf. Platnauer (1951) 25-6.

57-80 Penelope describes her attempts to secure information

about Ulysses' whereabouts, which are always without success. This leads easily to an expression of vague fears about the unknown, and an interesting digression on her worst fear, that Ulysses' absence is deliberate because he has abandoned her for another woman.

57 victor 'though victorious', concessive.

58 in quo ... orbe 'in what part of the world'.

ferrens 'with a heart of steel': a common epithet in elegy for one immune to love (Pichon (1902) 146); cf. 3.138, 4.14, 10.107.

59-62 In *Od.* 19 Penelope does in fact question a newly arrived stranger (Odysseus in disguise) about her absent spouse. O. deftly incorporates the ironies implicit in the Homeric scene into his own account, adding a further twist: in 61-2 Penelope outlines her practice of giving to each departing sailor a letter to transmit to Ulysses in the event their paths should cross. If she adheres to this policy, we may infer from the dramatic date of this epistle (see introd. note) that the next visitor to receive such an epistle, the very one she is now writing, will be Ulysses himself in disguise; cf. Kennedy (1984) 417-18. O.'s Penelope is represented as a figure not unlike Propertius, as he describes himself when his mistress is travelling overseas: 1.8a-23 *4 nec me deficit nautas rogare citatos | vitare, quo portu clausa puella mea est?*

59 quisquis ... peregrinam ... puppin: an easy enallage (1.10n) for *quisquis peregrinus. puppin* does not here stand for *nautis* by synchdoche: the phrase *vertere puppin* refers to landing a ship stern first.

60 mutes: 'retained' accusative; the regular construction with the active verb is with two accusative objects, of the person questioned and the thing asked.

60-2 ille ... huic refer to the same person.

61 reddat: the subj. indicates purpose.

62 charta 'a letter': from Greek χάρτης, the papyrus roll containing Penelope's complaint; cf. *Pont.* 4.3-26 *verbis charta notata tribus*.

63-4 Pylon ... | **misimus** 'I have sent to Pylos': the ellipse of direct object is common with this verb (*TLL* s.v. 1184.80ff.), but in this case the ambiguity is more deliberate. There is no explicit reference to Telemachus' journey, although it is the most obvious reference for the reader familiar with the *Odyssey*. After the fact Penelope implies that *she* (emphatic *nos*) was behind Telemachus' mission.

63 antiqui: he had outlived three generations of men (*Il.* 1.250).

Neleia ... arua: the line imitates in rhythm and articulation *Od.* 3.4-5 οἱ δὲ Νηλεΐων, Νηληϊὸς ἐκκρίετον τροχόπερον, | ἴξον 'they came to Pylos, Neleus' strong-founded citadel'. The epithet Νηληϊὸς, which O. introduces here to Latin verse, is found only once each in the *Odyssey* (4.639) and *Iliad* (11.682) as an epithet of Pylos. The accusative without preposition to indicate place to which is a common poeticism: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.2-3 *Laviniaque venit | litora.*

64 incerta ... famae: on the morning of the day before the suitors are killed, Telemachus reports to his mother (*Od.* 17.108-17) what he learned from Nestor, saying simply that Nestor had no news of Odysseus at all.

65 et is emphatic, 'Sparta too'. The Greek form of the name is preferred in the nominative and accusative by poets after Propertius and is the only form used by O.; cf. N-W 178.

nescia ueri: O.'s Penelope is being disingenuous: in *Od.* 17.118-49 Telemachus repeats substantial parts of Menelaus' words to him, enough to inform Penelope that Ulysses is being kept captive by Calypso.

66 quas ... abes: Penelope now turns abruptly to address Ulysses again.

lentu: in.

67 utlius starent 'it would be more to my advantage if they stood' (Housman).

moenia Phoebi: the walls of Troy, so called because they were built by Apollo and Neptune; cf. 16.182 *moenia, Phoebeae structa canore lyrae.*

68 levis 'inconstant': because she would have prayed for the fall of Troy (*uotis ... meis*) for many years.

69 scirem: sc. 'if Troy still stood', a condition implied by 67 *starent.*

70 multis = *cum quereis multarum mulierum*, by brachylogy.

querela: 8n.

71 timeam ... timeo: the repetition here is emphatic, playing perhaps upon the maxim offered in 12. The expression is proverbial: cf. Kenney on Apul. *Met.* 5.4.2.

72 area lata 'broad scope': the metaphor for a field of endeavour is a favourite of Ovid's: e.g. *Trist.* 4.3.84 *et patet in laudes area*

lata tua, *Am.* 3.1.26, *Fast.* 4.10. Penelope's meaning is explained in the following couplet.

73 quaecumque aequor habet: the object *pericula* must be supplied from the following clause, an example of the *δρό κοινοῦ* construction, in this case made easier by the anaphoric repetition of the relative pronoun. Likewise, the verb *habet* must be supplied in the second clause.

75 metuo: after suggesting in the previous couplet that she fears only the dangers of a hazardous voyage, Penelope changes direction. Her resentment is now in the open, and as it gets the better of her, her language becomes more familiar: *stulte* and its related forms (*stulus*, *stultitia*) are avoided in the high style (Axelson (1945) 100), where synonyms such as *furo*, *insania*, *demens* are preferred. They are common in amatory elegy, but 7.28 *stilla* is the only other example in the single *Her.*

quae uestra libido est 'knowing you men and your lust': this type of loosely connected relative clause may be colloquial. The earliest example is in Cicero, *Verr.* 2.1.105 *quae est ipse segatiae in his rebus*, but it is frequent only in his letters (e.g. *Fam.* 7.2.1, 4.5.6). It is not common in prose; and in O. the only other examples occur in 17.29 *quae tua nequitia est*, *Met.* 5.373, *Pont.* 1.7.59, 2.2.2; cf. *OLD* s.v. *qui* 12a, K-S II 314, H-S 565. *uestra* is a generalizing plural: O. puts into Penelope's mouth the accusation levelled at Propertius: 3.19.1-2 *obicitur uicinis a te mihi nostra libido: | crede mihi, uobis imperat ista magis*. Cf. *Ar.* 1.281 *parcor in nobis nec iam furiosa libido*, *Ar.* 1.341-2 *omnia feminea sunt ista libidine mola: | actor est nostra plusque furoris habet*.

76 peregrino ... amore: i.e. *amore peregrinae mulieris*. At the time when Penelope is writing this epistle she has already heard from Telemachus that Ulysses is being detained by Calypso. Hellenistic Greek writers may well have focused on Ulysses' amorous adventures. Parthenius, *Erol.* 2 provides a sketch of his love affair with Polymele, the daughter of Aeolus, and a scholiast notes that this story was touched upon by the influential poet-scholar Philetas in his *Hermes* (*CA*, p. 91). Ulysses' affair with Euippe in Epirus after the murder of the suitors, also summarized by Parthenius (*Erol.* 3), may have figured in a tragedy by Sophocles (fr. 205 Radt). In referring to Ulysses as a wandering philanderer, O.'s Penelope gains credibility from the non-Homeric tradition.

77-8 Again a note of irony is introduced by the reference to a scene known to readers of the *Odyssey* (5.214-20) but not to 'Penelope', in which, as Jacobson (1974) 268 notes, Ulysses does tell Calypso about his wife: 'circumspect Penelope | can never match the impression you make for beauty and stature ...' (Lattimore). The portrait that he paints, of a plain and ordinary woman, although not intended as criticism in a comparison with the goddess Calypso, is far from flattering.

77 rusticus 'provincial', O.'s favourite epithet for describing the lack of sophistication that he especially criticizes in women: e.g. 4.102, 16.287, 17.12, 17.13, *Am.* 2.4.13, 2.8.3, 3.10.18, *Ars* 2.566, *Rem.* 329-30. The same idea is played on in *nudis* in the pentameter.

78 quae tantum ... sinat 'the sort of wife who objects to coarseness only in wool': the subjunctive *sinat* is generic. The adjective *nudis*, while properly referring to the unworked wool, also connotes lack of refinement. The plural *lanas* is not introduced out of metrical necessity, but possibly by analogy with the Greek word for wool (ἐρίδα), which is commonly found in the plural; cf. Maas (1902) 494.

79 tennes uanescat in auras: a proverbial expression; cf. *Am.* 2.14.41 *ista sed aetherias uanescant dicta per auras*, Otto (1890) 364.

80 reuertendi liber 'free to return': the construction with the defining genitive (or genitive of respect) is unique. More regular would be the impersonal *alicui libertum esse* with an infinitive (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 1.12). A similar use is found at Luc. 6.106 *liber terrae ... hostis*, Sil. 2.441 *ut liber campi pastor*. It should not be confused (as it is at *TLL* s.v. *liber* 1286.24) with the separative genitive used by analogy with Greek. The extension of such genitives is a feature of the poetic language (H-S 77-8) and O. would have been emboldened by the example of such experiments as Virgil's description of Aeneas as *certus animi* (*Aen.* 4.554).

81-96 Events in Ithaca during Ulysses' absence are briefly sketched to point the contrast between Penelope's steadfast fidelity, in the face of pressure from her father as well as the suitors, and the frivolous affairs in which she fears Ulysses may be indulging. Penelope's illustrations of her difficulties are clearly intended to persuade Ulysses to return: some criticism of him is thus implied since it is thereby suggested that he needs to be persuaded.

81-4 In the *Odyssey* (15.16-17), Athena reports to Telemachus the growing pressures on Penelope in order to speed his return to Ithaca: 'now her father and her brother are urgent with her | to marry Eurymachus' (Lattimore). No incident in the text indicates that this pressure is real, but Penelope makes the same claim in her private interview with the beggar who is Odysseus in disguise (*Od.* 19.158-9). Her emphasis on the point in this epistle is designed to impart a sense of urgency, but her insistence on her determination to wait for him in 83-4 represents a significant departure from events in the *Odyssey*, where Penelope determines to settle the issue immediately by marrying the man who can successfully string Odysseus' bow. Some critics have taken these lines as a straightforward representation of Penelope as a paradigm of fidelity and suggested that lines 85-6 be deleted and this couplet be transposed to follow 114 (Sedlmayer (1880) 6-7). But at the end of the poem the couplet makes a false climax; indeed, as Jacobson (1974) 260 notes, 'the language is rather stiff, formal, impassive, almost cold'.

81 Icaricus: father of Penelope.

uiduo ... lecto 'a deserted bed', as in 5.106, 10.14, 16.318, *Trist.* 5.5.48, Prop. 2.9.16.

82 cogit: conative present, 'tries to force me'; cf. *Od.* 15.16 κέλομαι 'urge' (above 81-4n.).

immensas ... moras 'my endless delaying': i.e. in remarrying.

83 inceperet usque: the repetition (epanalepsis) suggests indignation.

oporet: a prosaic word; that is to say, although metrically convenient, it is rare in hexameters. It occurs once in Virgil in the *Ecloues* (6.5) and four times in Propertius (2.4.1, 2.8.25, 3.7.72, 4.1.70) and only ten times in O.'s works, including this instance and 6.14; cf. Axelson (1945) 13-14, Clausen on Virg. *Ecl.* 6.5. Perhaps the shift to less 'poetic' diction underlines the rising indignation of Penelope.

85-6 pietate ... frangitur 'he is moved by my sense of duty': cf. *Met.* 8.508 *nunc animum pietas matremque nomina frangunt*, *pietas* is rarely used to characterize the relationship between husband and wife; but cf. Prop. 3.13.23-4 *hic nulla puella | nec fida Euandri, nec pia Penelope*. **pudicis** = Greek σώφρων 'self-controlled', which became a by-word for Penelope in post-Homeric literature; cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 547, Eur. *Iro.* 422, Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.77 *pudica*.

86 uires ... suas: cf. *Pont.* 3.6.24 *uires temperat ille suas*.

87-90 In the first book of the *Odyssey* (245-51 = 16.122-8), Telemachus complains about the suitors: 'For all the greatest men who have power in the islands, | in Doulichion and Same and in wooded Zakynthos, | and all who in rocky Ithaka are holders of lordship, | all these are after my mother for marriage and wear my house out | ... and these eating up my substance | waste it away; and soon they will break me myself to pieces' (Latimore). O.'s Penelope means to worry Ulysses, not only about the damage being done to his possessions, but about the existence of powerful rivals, a tactic advocated for women in *Am.* 1.8.95-100 and *Ars* 3.593-6.

87 alta Zacynthos: a short open vowel is not normally allowed to stand before initial *sc*-, *sm*-, *sp*-, *st*-, or *z*-, but O. allows exceptions to the rule here and at *Am.* 2.6.21 *hebetare zmaragdus*, in order to introduce foreign words into the line. Propertius was much freer in this respect: cf. Platnauer (1951) 62. O. reproduces as precisely as Latin permits *Od.* 1.246 (= 16.123, 19.131) *Δουλίχιοι τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ Ὑάκυνθῳ* Zakynthos. Zacynthos is incorporated into the relative clause for metrical reasons: *Zacynthii* cannot be made to scan. Virgil also initiates the line at *Aen.* 3.270-1 with altered wording: *iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos | Dulichiumque Samoque et Neritos ardua saxi*.

88 turba ... luxuriosa: construe in apposition to *proci*.

ruunt in me 'descend upon me': as of a hostile attack, with perhaps some suggestion of sexual aggression (Jacobson (1974) 269); cf. *Hor. Carm.* 2.5.3-4 *ruentis | in uenerem*; *Plaut. Cas.* 890 *libet in Castinam irruere*.

89 inque tua regnant ... aula 'play the king in your castle': a paradox.

90 uiscera nostra 'our vitals': the metaphor is not uncommonly applied to the resources of a state (e.g. *Cic. Dom.* 23, 124 *uisceribus aeterni*, *Pls.* 28 *rei publicae uisceribus*) or of a household (e.g. *Q. fr.* 1.3.7 *cum de uisceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturus sis quibus debes*); cf. *Trist.* 1.7.19-20 *libellos | imposui rapidis, uiscera nostra, rogas*, where the apposition follows the object, the more usual order.

dilacerantur 'are being torn apart': the verb is literally appropriate to the appositive *uiscera* and metaphorically to the subject *opes*; cf. *Plaut. Capt.* 670-2 *me nequam rem ... dilacerasti*, *TLL* s.v. 1159.82ff. O.'s Penelope renders *Od.* 16.315 'they overbearingly consume our

goods, and spare nothing', where the Greek verb διαβόρηνται, which properly refers to the actions of a wild beast, is itself a powerful metaphor.

91 Medontaque dirum: in the *Odyssey* Medon is the herald of Odysseus, not a suitor, and is generally portrayed as loyal to Penelope, although he is mentioned in the company of the suitors at 16.252 and 17.172-3. Perhaps, as Jacobson (1974) 260 suggests, O.'s Penelope exaggerates deliberately, but it is perhaps more likely that O. is drawing on another tradition. In *Od.* 16.247-51 Homer gives 108 as the number of Penelope's suitors, but we learn the names of only 14 of them from him. Scholars in antiquity eagerly supplied the gap, and in one list of 129 names found in Apollodorus, *Epit.* 7.27-30 the name of Medon from Dulichium appears. Pisander and Polybus are mentioned at *Od.* 22.243. The epithet *dirum* applies to them as well, since it need only agree with the nearest noun.

92 Eurymachique auidas Antinoique manes: the two chief suitors. Noun (*manus*) and epithet (*auidas*) are distributed over two parts of the phrase and should be construed with each, a form of artful word patterning with which we may compare *Am.* 1.11.1 *colligite incertos et in ordine ponere crines*, 3.9.21 and other examples collected by Housman in his note on *Manil.* 1.269-70. For the enallage, *auidas ... manus*, cf. 1.10n.

93 turpiter 'to your disgrace' may be construed with *abstems* or *dis*.

94 tuo partis sanguine rebus 'with the goods won at the cost of your blood': the interlocking word-order (abAB) underlines Penelope's indignation, while *sanguine* is deliberate exaggeration: Penelope refers to Ulysses' labours before the Trojan war. *partis* is ablative of the past participle of *pario*.

95 The rhythm of this line is unusual: the trochaic caesura in the third foot is followed by a quadrisyllabic word which coincides with the end of the fourth foot ('bucolic' diaeresis). There is only one other such line in O.'s elegiacs (*Fast.* 3.86g). O. has the trochaic caesura in approximately 1 out of 11 hexameters in the single *Hec.*, compared with a rate of c. 1 in 25 in his later elegies and the double epistles.

Irus egeus renders Homer's Ἴριος ἐγγήτης (*Od.* 18.25), the beggar who fought with the disguised Ulysses.

Melanthius: the goatherd of Ulysses.

actor = *pastor*, a unique attestation of the word in this sense. As noted by Barchiesi (1984) 159-60, O.'s periphrasis does not simply reproduce the description of Melanthius as ἀνθρώπος αἰγῶν in the *Odyssey* (17.247), but recalls those passages in which he is represented as driving the flocks of Odysseus for the suitors to dine on, especially his first mention in the *Odyssey* (17.212-14): 'there Melanthios, son of Dolios, came upon them | as he drove his goats (αἴγας ἄγων), the ones that were finest among his goatflocks, | for the suitors' dinner' (Latinore). Cf. also *Od.* 22.198-9 'when you drive (ἄγεις) the goats'.

96 ultimus ... pudor 'as the crowning disgrace': predicative with *accedunt*. By its position at the end of the line and separation from its epithet, *pudor* has climactic effect.

accedunt in tua damna 'are added to your losses': that his servants should conduct themselves in such a manner is a disgrace to be calculated in addition to the financial losses Ulysses has already suffered. *damnum* is properly a legal term (*TLL* s.v. 22.54ff.): it is not common in Latin poetry, and is not found at all, for example, in Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil or Tibullus. In contrast, *damnum* is found 75 times in O.'s verse. It owes its frequent appearance in O.'s lexicon to his readiness to incorporate legal language into poetry: Kenney (1969).

97-116 In the final section of the epistle, Penelope emphasizes her isolation and the precarious position of Ulysses' household. The sequence of thought here is confused and several editors have suggested rearrangement of couplets in order to smooth the argument. The most likely candidate for transposition is 103-4 (to follow 96), where the mention of the three faithful servants intrudes awkwardly into a passage otherwise devoted to members of Ulysses' family; but if it follows 96, the reference in *haec* (see 103n.) points to the suitors. It is likely that the disorganized sequence of thought is intended to reflect Penelope's state of distress, culminating in her despairing reference to her own old age.

97-8 The couplet echoes *Od.* 14.173-4 where Eumaeus enumerates the faithful members of Ulysses' household, with an especially close imitation in the pentameter of 173 Ἀδερτὸν θ' ὁ γέρον καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδὴς. Laertes the old man and godlike Telemachus'.

97 sine uiribus = *inuidia*; adnominal prepositional phrases with *sine* often take the place of adjectives formed with privative *in-*; cf. H-S 428, Bömer on *Met.* 3.250.

uxor: three times before in this epistle Penelope has referred to herself as *coniux* (γον.); now she uses the everyday word, as she tries to elicit sympathy.

98 puer: he is twenty when the *Odyssey* begins, but Penelope wants to emphasize his youth; cf. 107-8.

99-100 Penelope's assertion here that the suitors plotted to ambush Telemachus while he was making preparations for his departure to Pylos is at odds with *Od.* 4.701 where Penelope learns from the herald Medon that the trap is to be sprung upon him on his homeward voyage (οἰκδὲ νειοόμενον). Her account of Telemachus' mission is becoming muddled as she now appears to suggest, contradicting the claim made in 63-5, that he went on his own initiative (*inuitis omnibus* = *Od.* 4.665 τόσσων ... ἐκρητι).

101 euntibus ordine fati: the fates proceed in order when parents die before their children: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 16.11 *seruanique ordinem fortuna ac seniores prius, tum cui proxima aetas exstinguntur*.

102 comprimat: i.e. close the eyes, like *condas* below (113).

103 haec faciunt 'are on our side': for the use of *haec*, cf. *Enn. Ann.* 232 Skutsch *Iuppiter haec stat* (= Virg. *Aen.* 12.565). This use of *facere* is colloquial, being largely confined to Cicero's letters, the continuators of Caesar, etc. (*TLL* s.v. 121.30ff.); cf. *Ann.* 1.3.11-12 *at Phoebeus comitaeque nouem uisique reperor | haec faciunt*, where MSS read *haec* as *here*.

custosque boum: a periphrasis for *armentarius* or *pastor*, the ordinary words, to characterize the loyal cowherd, Philoetius.

longaenaeque nutrix: Eurycleia, the faithful nurse who recognized her master through his disguise when she bathed his feet. She is dignified by the epic epithet *longaena*, a compound coined by Virgil on the model of Greek μακράων; cf. Norden (1927) 177, Tränkle (1960) 42. Such forms are used sparingly by O.; this one recurs at 5.40, *Fast.* 3.68, *Met.* 10.462. On *-que* ... *-que*, cf. 29n.

104 immunda cura fidelis harae 'faithful warden of the unclean sty': a somewhat grandiose periphrasis for *subulus*. In *Hom. Od.* 13.404-6 Eumaeus is characterized by Athena to Odysseus as 'the swineherd who is in charge of your pigs, but always his thoughts

are kindly and he is a friend to your son and to circumspect Penelope: *cura* = *curator*, anticipating the much later use of *cura* in official terminology (TLL s.v. 1469, 57ff.) for a public functionary.

105 ut qui sit: causal, a prosaic construction (K-S II 293, H-S 560). The only other example in classical verse is *Met.* 1.605-6 *ut quae* ... *nosset*.

inutilis armis 'of no use in fighting': a common expression for those unfit for military service; cf. *Caes. BG* 7.78.1 *ei qui ualentine aut acule inutilis sunt bello*, TLL s.v. *inutilis* 277.62ff.

107 uiuat modo 'only let him live': with something of the force of a conditional clause; cf. *Prop.* 1.7.3-4 *primo contendis Homero | (sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus)*.

108 erat ... tuenda: the indicative mood is regular when the suggestion of potential is carried by the gerundive. By analogy with the subjunctive the imperfect tense is used for present potential; cf. 112, K-S I 173, H-S 328.

illa: his present age.

109 pelleret: for the infinitive dependent upon the noun *uires*, cf. H-S 351.

110 citius 'quickly': the comparative of *cito* is early used in the same sense as the positive, like *ocius*, especially in colloquial Latin (H-S 168-9).

portus et ara tuis 'safe harbour and sanctuary': a familiar pairing, cf. *Trist.* 4.5.2 *unica fortunis ara repta meis*, *Pont.* 2.8.68 *portus et ara fugae*, *Cic. Verr.* 2.5.48 *hic locus est unus quo perfugiant, hic portus, haec ara sociorum*.

111 sitque precor 'and I pray you may have still': the subjunctive in parataxis without a subordinating *ut* or *ne* is common with verbs of wishing, etc.; cf. *Fast.* 6.219, *Trist.* 1.10.1, *Epiced. Drusi* 471, *Mart.* 1.108.1.

112 in patrias artes erudiendus erat 'ought to have been trained in his father's ways': the more common idiom is with *ad* (TLL s.v. *erudio* 829.75ff.).

113 respice 'have a thought for'.

tu: the pronoun emphasizes that Laertes wants Ulysses and no other to perform this final service of closing his eyes for burial; cf. Austin and Reeve (1970) 5.

sua: the reflexive refers to the subject (*ille*) of the main clause.

114 extremum fati suetinet ... diem 'puts off the final day of fate': a regular use of *susineo* in prose (*OLD* s.v. 8b). For the periphrasis for 'dying day', cf. *Val. Max.* 7.2 *ad ultimum usque fati diem*.

115-16 certe ego: a rare instance in the *Her.* of a long open vowel elided before a short; elsewhere we find only 12.91 *uidi etiam*, 19.81 *certe ego*, 20.178 and 21.211; cf. Platnauer (1951) 74-5.

puella ... anus stand in pointed contrast at line-end. The cheated expectations of lovers long separated is a theme that O. later adapts to his own situation in an epistle addressed to his wife: *Pont.* 1.4.47-8 *te quoque, quam inuenem discens urbe reliqui, | creditile est nostris insensuisse malis*. In the *Odyssey* Penelope is portrayed as still youthfully beautiful (18.187-213), although she herself denies this (18.251-3, 19.124-6). As O.'s Penelope turns to contemplate her own position in the final couplet, she laments the wasted years of waiting and thinks of herself as an old woman.

115 fueram: pluperfect for imperfect (34n.); cf. *Trist.* 3.11.25 *non sum ego quod fueram*, *Prop.* 1.12.11 *non sum ego qui fueram*.

116 protinus ut redeas 'though you return immediately': concessive *ut*, though common in prose, is relatively rare in Augustan poets other than O.: cf. 2.137, 3.134, 7.15, 7.21, 7.55, 10.65, 17.121, H-S 647.

facta ... anus: an ironic reference to *Prop.* 2.9.8 *illum expectando facta remansit anus*, an approving comment on Penelope as an example of fidelity.

II Phyllis Demophooni

Phyllis' epistle to Demophoon represents a variation on a theme often developed in Hellenistic narrative, the foreign princess seduced by a travelling hero, who (sometimes) marries her but inevitably leaves her. In its broad outlines the story is summarized by a late mythographer (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.16-17): 'Demophoon put in to the land of the Thracian Bisaltians with a few ships; and there Phyllis, the king's daughter, fell in love with him and was given to him in marriage with the kingdom for her dowry. But he wished to depart to his own country, and after many entreaties and swearing to return, he did depart. Phyllis accompanied him as far as the place called the "Nine Roads", and she gave him a casket, telling him that