# HOMER

## ILIAD
### BOOK XVIII

EDITED BY R. B. RUTHERFORD

# CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

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# CAMBRIDGE
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*For*
**OLIVER TAPLIN**

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# PREFACE

The name of Isaac Asimov seldom occurs in prefaces to editions of classical authors. Nevertheless, I am convinced that my first acquaintance with this book of the *Iliad* was through reading a short essay included in his collection *The Rest of the Robots* (so called because it followed on from the better-known *I, Robot*). There Asimov briefly observed that 'I wasn't the first in the field by the not-so-narrow margin of 2500 years', citing the passage from *Iliad* 18 in which humanoid females assist the lame Hephaestus and quoting lines 416–20 in Rouse's translation. I read the Asimov volume in 1969. It would be pleasant to recount that this tantalising extract sent me hurrying off to read the entire *Iliad*, but in those days my inclination was towards tales of the future, not the past. I began studying Latin in 1968 and Greek in 1970, but did not read book 18 of the *Iliad* until my first year at university, in the winter of 1974. Despite this belated start, ever since that time Homer has been an important part of my life, as a student, teacher and researcher.

When I wrote my commentary on books 19 and 20 of the *Odyssey*, published in this series in 1992, it was reasonable to begin with a section defending the poem and especially its second half against disparagement by many modern critics. No such apologia is needed in the present volume, since book 18 of the *Iliad* is widely recognised as a high point of the poem. It marks a key stage in the plot, at which Achilles learns of Patroclus' death; we witness his reaction, his self-reproach (questions of shame/guilt are relevant here), his determination to avenge Patroclus at the cost of his own life. We also see Hector making one of his worst misjudgements, emphatically signalled by the narrator's comment. The sequence of scenes with Thetis can be related fruitfully to both book 1 and book 24, and the references to her marriage raise intriguing questions about the mythology of Thetis as Homer understood it. The home life of Hephaestus sheds a different kind of light on the gods. The *ecphrasis* on the shield is a magnificent set piece and provided a pattern for many later authors (most obviously Apollonius, Theocritus, Catullus and Virgil), and its interpretation has been a fruitful area of debate since antiquity. All these aspects are addressed in this volume.

I hope that this edition will be useful to scholars, while also giving sufficient guidance to undergraduates and graduate readers who may have read little or no Homer before using this book. The introduction deals with the main themes and subjects of book 18, including a section on the shield, but also provides orientation in the 'Homeric Question' and a survey of some important features of Homeric narrative technique and style. As in my earlier commentary, I have included sections on metre and grammar for quick consultation: these will seem jejune to

experts, but they are not intended for experts, who will naturally seek
more detailed and authoritative guidance elsewhere.

I have become rather more cautious in using the name Homer, but see
no reason to banish it entirely from scholarly discourse. Although
I continue to think that the *Odyssey* is probably by a different poet from
the *Iliad*, the two poems have much in common, and probably more than
either had with other early epics. 'Homer' is a convenient shorthand for
'the text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*', and I doubt if readers will be seriously
misled by this convention.

Of older editions I have chiefly consulted Van Leeuwen, Leaf, Willcock
and especially Edwards, whose commentary in the six-volume Cambridge
*Iliad* series, published in 1991, remains indispensable. I had all but com-
pleted a first draft of my own commentary when in early 2016 Marina Coray
generously sent me a copy of her excellent volume on book 18 in the Basel
series initiated by Joachim Latacz. I have learned much from it and hope not
to have exploited its riches too shamelessly in the process of revision.

It was a pleasure to contribute again to this series, and like many others
I have benefited from the close scrutiny provided by the editors (Pat
Easterling in the early stages, subsequently replaced by Neil Hopkinson;
and Richard Hunter throughout). Most of their suggestions I have grate-
fully incorporated. I owe much also to those who have read portions in
draft or offered advice on particular points. Gregory Hutchinson read the
whole of the introduction, and offered generous advice on specific points
elsewhere, while Robert Parker scrutinised the whole of the commentary:
I am grateful not only for their comments but for many friendly conversa-
tions over the past thirty years. Christopher Metcalf kindly commented on
the Appendix. John Penney read the section on Grammar and did his best
to sort out my misconceptions. Henry Mason also offered useful comments
on most of the Introduction; and I learned still more from reading his
excellent doctoral thesis on the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*. My notes on
the cognate material in the *Iliad* owe a good deal to his researches, which
I hope will one day be published. For reactions to specific questions or
extracts I am happy to thank Deborah Beck, Evert van Emde Boas, Bruno
Currie, Peter Haarer, Irene de Jong, Emily Kearns, Philomen Probert, and
Nicholas Purcell. Any errors which remain are my responsibility. As always,
Catherine Whistler has given encouragement and reassurance at the right
moments.

As in the past, I have been gratified by the professionalism of the
Cambridge University Press. Michael Sharp provided genial oversight;
Sarah Starkey has been prompt in replying to any queries at each stage;
Revathi Thirunavukkarasu handled the conversion into proof with great
efficiency. A special word of thanks is due to Anna Oxbury for her meti-
culous copy-editing.

Oliver Taplin's article on the Shield of Achilles appeared in 1980, at a time when I was first getting to know him and teaching some of his excellent Magdalen students. In that paper as in all his work there is a vigour of argument and a love of great poetry which all who know him recognise as characteristic of an outstanding teacher. It is a pleasure to dedicate this volume to a much-valued friend.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *Arch. Hom.* | *Archaeologia Homerica. Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos,* ed. F. Matz, H.-G. Buchholz et al. (Göttingen 1976–2015) |
| Beekes | R. Beekes, *Etymological dictionary of Greek* (2 vols., Leiden and Boston 2010) |
| *CAH* | *Cambridge ancient history,* 2nd edn (Cambridge 1970–2005) |
| *CEG* | P. A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca* (2 vols., Berlin and New York 1983, 1989) |
| Chantraine | P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* (2 vols., Paris 1948–1953) |
| Cunliffe | R. J. Cunliffe, *A lexicon of the Homeric dialect* (Glasgow 1924) |
| Denniston | J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles,* 2nd edn (Oxford 1954) |
| *EGM* | R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek mythography* (2 vols., Oxford 2000–2013) |
| Erbse | H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)* (7 vols., Berlin 1969–1988). |
| Gantz | T. N. Gantz, *Early Greek myth: a guide to literary and artistic sources* (Baltimore 1993) |
| *GEF* | M. L. West, *Greek epic fragments* (Loeb series: Cambridge, Mass. 2003) |
| *HE* | *The Homer encyclopedia,* ed. M. Finkelberg (3 vols., Oxford 2011) |
| *Homer* | R. B. Rutherford, *Homer,* 2nd edn (Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics 41, Cambridge 2013) |
| *LIMC* | *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich 1981–1999) |
| *LfgrE* | B. Snell, H. Erbse et al. (eds.) *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1955–2010) |
| *LSCG* | F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) |
| Monro | D. B. Monro, *A grammar of the Homeric dialect* (Oxford 1882; 2nd edn 1891) |
| *OCD* | S. Hornblower, A. J. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.) *The Oxford classical dictionary,* 4th edn (Oxford 2012) |
| Parry, *MHV* | M. Parry, *The making of Homeric verse: the collected papers of Milman Parry,* ed. A. Parry (Oxford 1971) |
| *PMG* | D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *PMGF* | M. Davies, *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta* I (Oxford 1991) |
| Schwyzer | E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (4 vols., Munich 1934–1971) |
| Smyth | H. Weir Smyth, *A Greek grammar*, revised by G. M. Messing (Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. 1956) |
| West | (without further specification) refers to his edition of the *Iliad* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998, 2000) |
| West, *Studies* | M. L. West, *Studies in the text and transmission of the Iliad* (Munich 2001) |

Ancient authors and their works are normally abbreviated as in the list given in *OCD*.

In addition, citations of Coray, Edwards, Leaf and Willcock without further details refer to the commentaries by these scholars on the line in question (these editions are listed in the Bibliography).

# INTRODUCTION

## 1 BOOK 18 AND THE CHOICE OF ACHILLES[1]

Book 18 cannot be fully understood without a wider knowledge of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, some of the book's qualities may be outlined in general terms before considering the characters and themes in a wider context. Those who originally divided the poem into books or 'rhapsodies' were not without some aesthetic perception, in particular of the design of the plot and the pace of the action.[2] The book opens with a change of scene: after a long narrative of noisy and crowded battle over the body of Patroclus we turn to the solitary figure of Achilles, sitting by the ships and unaware of the recent events. It ends with another change of scene, from Olympus to the Greek camp; the transition from book 18 to book 19 also coincides with the dawning of the last great day of combat in the poem.

Book 18 itself may be divided into three parts. Part 1 (lines 1–242) concerns the reaction of Achilles when he receives the news of Patroclus' death: it includes his decision to die by re-entering the war, and he takes the first step towards that outcome by appearing on the ramparts, a terrifying figure, bringing panic to the Trojan armies. The coming of night brings relief to the Greeks. Part 2 (243–368) deals with the events of the night: we witness the Trojans in council and the dispute on tactics between Poulydamas and Hector, prudent counsellor and rash warrior; we hear Achilles grieving over the body of his friend; the gods' reactions to events are glimpsed through a brief sparring exchange between Zeus and Hera. In each scene the setting contributes to the atmosphere: Hector and Poulydamas face each other in open debate, surrounded by Trojan soldiers; Achilles mourns Patroclus in the much smaller gathering of his own followers, the Myrmidons, the rest of the Greek army being forgotten; the final scene, between Zeus and Hera, strikes a more austere note, as the two deities voice their antagonism with chilly dignity. Part 3 (369–617) begins with the arrival of Thetis at the home of Hephaestus, fulfilling her promise to obtain fresh armour for her son. It continues with a conversation between the two divinities, after which Hephaestus sets to work on a task which occupies him throughout the night, the forging of armour worthy of a great hero. The rest of Achilles' equipment is mentioned only in passing; the focus is on the creation of the magnificent shield and the description of its intricate design.

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[1] For a survey of the book aimed at the general reader or student, see Edwards 1987: 267–86.

[2] It is unlikely that the book-divisions go back to the original poet (see p. 90), but that does not make them random or incidental.

The book thus highlights the transition from the long phase of Achilles' inactivity, during which Hector has enjoyed his greatest successes, to the subsequent day on which Achilles will fight his hardest and show himself at his most ruthless. Achilles' return to battle means Hector's certain defeat and death. The book dramatises two major decisions by these central figures: both decisions determine the remaining action of the poem, at least as far as book 22. Achilles decides to accept his fate, avenge his friend, and die at Troy; Hector decides to remain outside Troy and do battle next day, confronting Achilles, which will in fact mean his own death. The second of these decisions is strongly marked as misguided by the narrator's comment (p. 12 below). How we are to evaluate Achilles' great choice is harder to judge, and is left to the audience to decide. At an early stage of the book it is made clear that the hero cannot re-enter the combat unless he is provided with fresh armour; the closing section of the book ensures that when dawn arrives that condition is satisfied. The first scene of book 19 shows Achilles receiving and putting on the new armour; we then expect battle to commence, though in fact the poet finds further means to keep us in suspense, through the insistence of Agamemnon and the rest of the Greeks on a process of formal reconciliation. These scenes chiefly serve to stress Achilles' ferocious impatience to re-enter the fray: the audience shares his eagerness while also anticipating with some trepidation the violence which will follow once his wrath is unleashed.

The anger of the hero is announced in the opening lines as the central theme of the *Iliad*.[3] The reference there is to the anger arising from Agamemnon's insult to his honour; it is this conflict, specified a few lines later, which is central to book 1 and drives the main plot for many books thereafter. But in book 16 Achilles' closest friend, Patroclus, is killed in battle by Hector, and when this news reaches Achilles, the situation is radically altered. His grief and fury lead to a passionate desire for revenge; his emotional turmoil is further complicated by the sense of guilt and responsibility which he feels, having allowed Patroclus to enter the battle in his place. From this point on the audience will be anticipating a deadly confrontation between Achilles and Hector.

The beginning of this new and greater wrath is narrated in a way that plainly recalls the start of the earlier quarrel. In particular Achilles is separated from his fellow Greeks, near his camp by the sea, and in his grief he is visited by his divine mother Thetis, who last appeared in book 1.

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[3] Any study of the poem will provide discussion of Achilles. See the entry in *HE* s.v.; also (e.g.) Schein 1984: chs 4–5. For a book-length study see Zanker 1994; on the mythological variants, Gantz 228–31, 580–630; for the history of the figure of Achilles in literature, King 1987; for representation in ancient art, *LIMC* I.1: 37–200 (selective treatment in Shapiro 1994: 11–44, Carpenter 1991: 199–206).

Verbal parallels bring out the similarity between the scenes: in both, Thetis asks him why he is weeping and begs him to speak out (1.362–3a = 18. 73–4a). But in the later episode, by a common Homeric pattern, the emotional intensity is greater. Thetis laments even before she joins her son; instead of coming alone, she is accompanied by an entourage of Nereids; rather than simply caressing Achilles, she cradles his head in her hands, uttering a wail of sorrow. The gestures and the situation as a whole evidently anticipate a funeral scene (cf. 15–69 introductory n. and *Od.* 24.36–94). In book 18 Thetis reminds her son that Olympian Zeus has fulfilled the promise that she extracted from him in book 1: the Achaeans are humbled, Agamemnon humiliated, their need of Achilles is patent. Her comment enables the audience to relish the irony of Achilles' 'success': his triumph over Agamemnon has resulted in a far greater misfortune than his earlier loss of face. A further analogy between the books is that here too Thetis proceeds to Olympus to seek a favour for her son: in book 1 it was Zeus's promise of support, here the divine armour which Hephaestus will prepare, so that Achilles may re-enter battle and slay Hector.

The contrast between the earlier wrath against Agamemnon and the new situation needs further comment. In book 1 Agamemnon is presented in a highly negative light from the start (his rejection of the suppliant Chryses despite the army's murmurings; his vindictiveness feared by Calchas; his disparaging comment in public about his wife Clytemnestra). Although Achilles too is quick-tempered and may be seen as over-reacting to Agamemnon's provocation, there can be little doubt that Agamemnon puts himself in the wrong. Achilles is assured by Athena that he will in due course receive ample compensation; later, in book 9, Phoenix assures him that 'up to now there was no way that anyone could find fault with your anger' (523). In short, Achilles' aggression is plainly and comprehensibly directed at a personal enemy, and he receives considerable sympathy from other leaders. The position in book 18 is more complex than in book 1 or book 9. Whereas Phoenix and the others envisaged Achilles rejoining the battle in person, Patroclus in book 16 entreated Achilles to send him instead, so as to aid the Greeks and save the ships from destruction. Achilles agreed to this plan, though warning him not to overreach himself (16.83–96). Consequently Achilles' reaction to the clamour at the start of book 18 is first misgiving on Patroclus' behalf, then vexation at his friend's disobedience; when he hears the news his overwhelming grief is combined with fury at Hector but also with self-reproach; he is responsible for Patroclus' death. If he had relented in response to the embassy in book 9, or if he had not yielded to Patroclus' entreaties in book 16, his friend would still be alive. The new wrath is partly self-directed; in the first onset of despair he no longer desires to live. The Greek messenger Antilochus is

filled with alarm that Achilles may actually take his own life on the spot (34, with n.).

The earlier wrath arose because Agamemnon high-handedly threatened to take away the slave-girl Briseis, whom Achilles had received as part of the spoils of war. Erotic desire or affection mattered less here than the offence to his honour, although it is true that later, in a speech rejecting the appeal of the Greek embassy, he claims to 'love' the girl and even draws an analogy between his loss of her and Menelaus' loss of Helen (9.340–1, 'Are the sons of Atreus the only men who love their wives?'). But Patroclus means more to Achilles than any concubine. The intensity of the relationship was taken by many later Greek readers to imply that the two were lovers, and they were so presented in a famous tragic trilogy by Aeschylus (see esp. *Myrmidons* F 135–7 Radt). Yet not all were convinced: although the orator Aeschines treated Homer's reticence as a sign of civilised discretion, the Xenophontic Socrates denied the erotic element and cited other pairs of comrades in myth where no such factor seems to be in play (Theseus and Peirithous, Orestes and Pylades).[4] At all events, Homer is never explicit: there is no hint of a physical bond between the two men, and indeed they each go to bed separately with slave-girls at the end of book 9 (664–7). Homoerotic relations are mentioned nowhere else in Homer: even the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus is treated in asexual terms, and we are told only that the boy was to become Zeus's cup-bearer, not his companion in bed (5.266, 20.232–5). It is possible that the erotic link between Achilles and Patroclus did indeed pre-date Homer and underlies the Iliadic version (this might be a case of Homeric 'censorship'), but that remains unproven; it is equally possible that later readers found the passionate intensity of Achilles' grief inexplicable if the two men were not lovers. That extreme reaction is indeed characteristic of Achilles as presented in the *Iliad*: he is swift, violent, demanding, intensely emotional in all matters.

The end of the first wrath does not lead at once to reconciliation or reunion between Achilles and his fellow Greeks. In book 18 he saves them from disaster when he appears on the ramparts, a terrifying figure crowned with flame, and sends the Trojan forces into panic; but in the following scenes he is concerned only with tending and grieving over Patroclus' body. In this book, after Antilochus has brought him the bad news he speaks only with gods or in lamentation over Patroclus. The next day, which begins with book 19, opens a new phase but sustains our perception of Achilles as a figure set apart from other men. There, acting

[4] Aeschin. 1.142, Xen. *Symp.* 8.31; Dover 1978: 196–201; Halperin 1990: 75–87. On Achilles and the erotic in tragedy see Michelakis 2002; for later developments of the theme, Fantuzzi 2012.

on instructions from his mother, he summons the Greek army to an assembly and declares his anger with Agamemnon at an end; his present concern is to avenge Patroclus. An awkward scene ensues, which serves chiefly to show the continuing difficulty Agamemnon has in dealing with a subordinate who far surpasses his own prowess, and the difficulty the Greeks in general have in understanding Achilles. Agamemnon wants to save face and secure Achilles' acceptance of his gifts; Odysseus wants Achilles to eat and to allow the rest of the army to do so (a long day of fighting lies ahead, and an army marches on its stomach). Both want to integrate the headstrong Achilles through the customary courtesies and rituals, to ensure his renewed loyalty to the Greek cause. Neither truly understands that Achilles is beyond caring for gifts and that his grief impels him to reject food and drink (esp. 19.209–14). Nevertheless, the gods take steps to build up his strength for combat by providing him with divine sustenance of nectar and ambrosia, food which no other mortal in the *Iliad* is permitted to eat (19.347–54).[5]

Achilles' special status in the poem depends on two crucial points which are closely related. On the one hand, as the son of a goddess and the greatest of heroes he is close to the gods (they are even said to have attended his parents' wedding, 24.61–3). On the other, he is doomed to an early death, a prospect he has foreseen since the start of the poem, and in book 18 he takes a decision that brings it suddenly closer. Other demi-gods do figure in the *Iliad,* but they play subordinate roles and are differentiated markedly from Achilles. The most conspicuous are Sarpedon and Aeneas. The former, a son of Zeus, is slain in battle but miraculously transported to his native Lycia, where he is given honorific burial and a tomb worthy of a hero (cult after death is probably implied). The latter, son of Aphrodite, is also a figure with a destined future, but a positive one: he is fated to survive the Trojan War, and he and his descendants will rule in the Troad thereafter; for this reason he is rescued from a confrontation with Achilles which would surely have been fatal. In neither case does the hero himself seem to have foreknowledge of his destiny;[6] and neither is built up as a tragic figure comparable with Achilles.

The hero of the *Iliad* thus stands near the boundary between mortality and divinity but cannot cross it; it is part of the poet's vision that this gulf is never crossed. Even Heracles, or Castor and Polydeuces, dwell in the land of the shades after death; there are no special privileges or apotheoses. The test of a hero's quality is how he confronts death.

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[5] On the importance of food and fasting see Griffin 1980: 15–17. On the differentiated diet of men and gods see e.g. Vidal-Naquet 1970.
[6] In the *Homeric hymn to Aphrodite* Anchises is told by Aphrodite what is in store for their offspring (191–290), but that need not imply anything about the *Iliad.*

Any of the warriors fighting at Troy might anticipate an early death, and in describing individual deaths the poet frequently dwells on the loss of family, children, homecoming. But for most of them the future is uncertain, and so they fight on in hope that they will indeed survive and make it home again (or, in the Trojans' case, preserve their community and live on into better times). Achilles is exceptional because he knows he is doomed to an early death. This is not unique to Achilles: in book 13 we hear of the minor Greek warrior Euchenor, the son of a prophet. His father warned him that he had a choice between dying of a slow, cruel disease at home, or in battle at Troy. He chose death in battle, and we see him slain by Paris in book 13 (660–72). For the hero of the poem the motif is amplified and given much deeper significance. Since the option of a long and painful illness is an easy one to reject, the alternative is made more tempting: if Achilles abandons the war and returns to his homeland, he is guaranteed a long life of prosperity and comfort – but without glory (9.410–16). In book 9 he declares that he prefers this option, that he will return to Greece next day, but in the end he refrains from doing so. The poet powerfully brings out the blend of pride, anger, frustration, desire for glory, desire to see the end result of his wrath; many factors combine to inhibit Achilles from taking the decisive step and setting sail.

There are several complicating elements in the poem's presentation of Achilles' destiny. The theme is repeatedly mentioned, but a consistent picture is elusive. First there is the question how well known it is to others. In the initial quarrel with Agamemnon he makes no reference to it; only when alone by the sea and praying to his mother Thetis does he declare that 'since you bore me to be short-lived indeed, Olympian Zeus ought to confer honour upon me' (1.352–3). When the embassy appeal to Achilles, his long and complex speech in response includes a statement that he faces a choice of lives, and this seems to be news to the ambassadors (although they fail to react). Yet in book 16 Patroclus, who was present in that earlier scene, refers only to the possibility that Thetis may have given him some warning about the future (36–7): was he not listening? Second there is the question how much has actually been foretold. Vague at first, the predictions become more specific as the poem goes on. In book 18 itself Thetis declares that Achilles' death will follow 'straight after Hector' (96); in book 19 the horse Xanthus warns him that he will be slain by 'a god and a man' (19.417); in the battle with the river god Achilles recalls that his mother had warned him that Apollo would slay him (21.277–8); and with his dying breath Hector predicts that Achilles will be slain by Apollo and Paris at the Scaean Gates (22.359–60).[7] With

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[7] See further e.g. Kullmann 1960: 308–13, 320–5; Griffin 1980: 163.

successive revelations the reader learns more, and in some of these passages we are probably meant to assume that Achilles too is hearing fresh details for the first time. Third, when so much is foreshadowed, does Achilles have a real choice at all? It could be argued that the various references are inconsistent on this point. In book 1 both he and Thetis speak of his 'short life' as if there is no alternative: it is because he has so little time to live that he demands recognition and honour during what time remains. In book 9, however, he speaks as if he still has a choice, and as if departing with his forces next day represents a real escape route. In the end, of course, he does not sail away, and we are left wondering if that was ever a possible outcome: Achilles is not the man to choose safety in obscurity. The problem is bound up with the larger issue of the gods' oversight of human affairs and the nature of fate, which will be considered further below (section 3). Here it is enough to note that the poet is willing to sacrifice total consistency if it enhances the effect of particular scenes or speeches.

At all events, it is clear that from book 18 onwards there is no doubt remaining: Achilles is doomed by his own choice to re-enter battle and seek revenge. He dominates the battle scenes of books 20 onwards; no other Greek warrior slays a Trojan victim; his new ruthlessness is shown by his determining to offer human sacrifice of Trojan captives to the ghost of Patroclus, a resolution fulfilled at the funeral of his friend (336–7n., cf. 23. 175–6). His new mood is unforgettably captured in the confrontation with Lycaon.

> ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
> κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
> οὐχ ὁράαις οἷος καὶ ἐγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
> πατρὸς δ' εἴμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ·
> ἀλλ' ἔπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή·
> ἔσσεται ἢ ἠὼς ἢ δείλη ἢ μέσον ἦμαρ
> ὁππότε τις καὶ ἐμεῖο ἄρηι ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληται
> ἢ ὅ γε δουρὶ βαλὼν ἢ ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστῶι. (21.106–13)

> Die now yourself, friend; why are you weeping so? Patroclus died
> too, a better man than you by far. Do you not see what a man
> I am myself, how handsome and great? My father is a hero,
> a goddess was the mother who bore me. Yet over me too hang
> death and mighty fate: there will come a morning or an evening
> or a middle of the day when someone will take the life from me
> in battle, striking me down either with a spear or with an arrow
> shot from his string.

Achilles confronts the prospect of death unflinchingly, but also bitterly. The loss of Patroclus does not mean he no longer recognises any value in

life. At the very least, he still cares about his old father Peleus and grieves
that he must leave him bereaved, without an heir. In the remaining part of
the poem his moods fluctuate: grief and anger over Patroclus are domi-
nant until he has succeeded in slaying Hector, but in the episodes that
follow other, gentler and more generous emotions are allowed to come to
the fore. In particular in book 23 he engages with his fellow Greeks during
the funeral games. Although tensions are not absent from these scenes,
they serve in part to show how skilfully Achilles can deal with others when
his own status is not threatened. Finally the episode with Priam in the final
book brings the wrath-theme to a fitting conclusion, as passionate desire
for revenge is displaced by resignation and pity for a defenceless old man
who, like Peleus, has lost his beloved son.

When the *Iliad* ends Achilles still lives, but the audience is left in no
doubt that his death is very near.[8] That expectation hangs over the last part
of the poem and especially the final book, colouring all that Achilles says
and does. Similarly, the final defeat and the sack of Troy overshadow the
ending: they are already anticipated much earlier, particularly in the
narrative of Hector's death (esp. 22.410–11). But although the killing of
Hector makes the fall of Troy inevitable, Achilles will not play a part in the
final victory (it is in fact unlikely that Achilles was integral to the myth of
the Trojan War, though Homer's poem has made him inseparable from
it).[9] The *Iliad* gives only very vague indications of the further course of the
war. The complications of other versions involving the bow of Philoctetes,
the theft of the Palladium, and the Wooden Horse are excluded from
the main narrative, though they may well have been known to the poet:
Philoctetes' return is anticipated in the Catalogue of Ships (2.724–5), and
Zeus is allowed a passing reference to Troy being finally taken 'through
the counsels of Athena' (15.71). Nevertheless, the title of the epic is the
*Iliad*, not the *Achilleid*.[10] The tale of the wrath of Achilles is made to include
not only the exploits of many lesser heroes on both sides, but also episodes
that stand for or represent the Trojan War as a whole. Early scenes look
back to the beginnings of the war, whereas in the later books there is
increasingly ominous anticipation of its end. Achilles, himself the supreme

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[8] On the problems raised by 18.96 in relation to the stories of Penthesilea and
Memnon, see n. on that line.

[9] Achilles was too young to be one of the suitors of Helen who according to
later sources swore an oath to support her husband if need be (a motif which the
*Iliad* ignores). See further West 2011a: 42–7, for persuasive arguments that Achilles
was incorporated in the war-narrative at a relatively late stage in the pre-Iliadic
tradition.

[10] It is however unlikely that the title goes back to the original poet. The modern
titles *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are not attested earlier than Herodotus; indeed, few if any
titles can be traced with certainty before the fifth century, though early tragedies
presumably had some designation.

warrior, is in some ways representative of heroic manhood, of human potential developed to its highest point. Needless to say, that does not make him an admirable or even a sympathetic figure at all points; he is criticised within the poem by gods and men alike. Neither is he infallible: indeed, one of the ways in which the *Iliad* resembles tragedy is in the recognition by Achilles of his own folly and the frustration of his expectations.[11] In a fragment of Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*, Achilles laments the death of Patroclus, comparing himself to the eagle slain by an arrow sped by his own feather.

ὧδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτωι τοξικῶι τὸν αἰετὸν
εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος·
"τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἁλισκόμεσθα."

This is what is said about a fable they tell in Africa: an eagle was hit with an arrow from the bow, saw the way it was flighted, and said 'In this way we are vanquished, not by others but with our own feathers!' (Aesch. fr. 139, tr. Sommerstein)

As one critic has memorably put it, 'the meaning of the whole *Iliad* is there *in parvo*.'[12] That formulation is doubtless overstated, but the comparison does highlight a central strand in the poem's design.

## 2 HECTOR

Most interpreters of Homer in classical Greece took it for granted that the *Iliad* is fundamentally a national epic, glorifying the Greek crusade against the Trojan barbarian. Modern scholarship has rightly stressed the importance of the conflicts between Greece and Persia in establishing this patriotic reading of the poem.[13] That reading is generally rejected as a distortion of the *Iliad*. 'The noblest character is a Trojan,' objected C. S. Lewis, alluding to Hector; and James Redfield subtitled his study of the poem 'The Tragedy of Hector'.[14] Many readers find Hector a more attractive character than Achilles.[15] It is more important to recognise that

[11] Plato (e.g. *Rep.* 10.595c, 607a) and Aristotle (e.g. *Poet.* 26) already saw Homer as the pathfinder of tragedy. For more detailed discussion see Rutherford 1982.
[12] Reinhardt 1979: 4.
[13] See Hall 1989, with the update in Hall 2006: 184–224; Mitchell 2007: xv–xxv.
[14] Lewis 1942, 29; Redfield 1975. For philhellenic references in the scholia, which generally denigrate Hector, see Richardson 1980: 273–4 (= Laird 2006: 189–90)
[15] For further discussion of Hector see e.g. Erbse 1978; Reichel 1994: 156 n. 1 has bibl. up to that date. The most recent study is that of Kozak 2017. For

Hector is not only Achilles' chief opponent but defined in opposition to
him. Whereas Achilles is fighting essentially for glory and to show his own
prowess, Hector is defending his city and people. Achilles is son of
a goddess and through her can even influence the plans of Zeus himself;
Hector by contrast is of human birth, with all that this implies: we see the
links between him and his community above all in book 6, where he re-
enters Troy and meets relatives of those out on the battlefield, before
encountering his own mother Hecuba, his sister-in-law Helen (who sees in
him the bravery and integrity that Paris lacks), and finally his wife Andro-
mache and their infant child. Achilles in book 9 questions why he is at
Troy, why he should go on fighting; but for Hector the reasons are all
around him, and the love he feels for his family is reflected in the intensity
of mourning after his death. That death is witnessed with horror by both
parents; the lamentation on the walls of Troy brings his wife running in
panic from their home, only to see Hector's body being dragged in the
dust behind Achilles' chariot. The poet leaves us in no doubt how much
Hector means to his fellow Trojans.

   Achilles, despite the companionship of Patroclus, is an isolated figure,
partly because he is far from home, partly because of his withdrawal after
the conflict with Agamemnon, but above all because of his foreknowledge
of his death. He is not married (that forms part of the alternative future he
describes, if he should return home: 9.393–400); and despite his fury at
the removal of Briseis, in her absence he makes do with another, who is no
more than a name (9.664–5). There is no parallel here to the touching
family scene in which Hector parts from Andromache and Astyanax in
book 6. In one passage Achilles refers to a son named Neoptolemus, who
plays an important part in later versions of the sack of Troy (in Virgil and
elsewhere it is he who kills Priam). He seems to be a bastard child by
a woman taken as a prize in war; but what Achilles says is that he has no idea
whether the boy is still alive (19.326–7).[16] His personal ties are few and
fragile. In all this he can be contrasted with Hector.

   A further contrast involves their interaction with their fellow heroes.
Here the position is less clear-cut. It is obvious that Achilles is a wilful,
headstrong figure who does not readily follow orders or heed advice; he

representations in art see *LIMC* IV.1.482–98 (most frequent are scenes of the
combat with Achilles).
   [16] This passage and its context are deleted by West as a rhapsodic interpolation
(also 24.466–7, where Hermes urges Priam to plead with Achilles invoking 'his
child' among others). 24.538–9 is naturally read as indicating that Achilles has no
offspring. For the sacking of Scyros see 9.668. If the deletion is correct, it would not
necessarily mean that the poet knew nothing of Neoptolemus, but the exclusion of
all reference to him from the epic would further reinforce Achilles' status as
a loner.

does not care to plan strategy or cooperate, but enters battle as a lone fighter, devastating in his supreme *aristeia*. The original quarrel begins because Achilles is so conscious of his own superiority to the king who claims authority over the entire Greek army.[17] That personal conflict is never finally settled, but set aside because it has become insignificant to Achilles (though not to his antagonist).[18] On the Trojan side the situation is at first sight more straightforward: Hector, the leading fighter and the most admirable of Priam's sons, is effectively commander in chief. Nevertheless there are areas of tension, for instance with the leaders of Priam's allies; Paris is something of a loose cannon, whom Hector often upbraids, usually with justice; and two rather cryptic passages allude to enmity between Aeneas' family and the house of Priam, which even induces Aeneas to stand apart from the combat and refrain from playing his part.[19] It is not so much that these difficulties damage the Trojan war effort, but rather that they indicate the need for diplomacy and collaboration on the Trojan side, since they have no single fighter of superlative quality such as Achilles.

Because Achilles can fight alone with overwhelming force, he has little need to call upon his followers, the Myrmidons (though in book 16 he is aware of their discontent with his intransigence: 200–9). Hector by contrast needs to be a leader for the whole army of Trojans and allies. Two scenes show him addressing his forces with powerful oratory in anticipation of victorious battle on the following day. The first comes at the end of book 8. At 8.484–8 night falls after a day of Trojan successes. The Trojans remain out on the plain (previously they have long been obliged to withdraw at night within the walls because of the threat of the invading army). Hector holds a council of war, exultant and full of optimism about the next day's prospects. He makes a stirring and on the whole a prudent speech, which the Trojans greet with enthusiasm (8.542 Ὣς Ἕκτωρ ἀγόρευ᾽, ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν: 'Thus Hector addressed them, and the Trojans shouted approval'). The next day of fighting occupies a massive portion of the poem, from the opening of book 11 to the point in book 18 at which Hera sends the sun to its rest (239–42). By this time Achilles has appeared on the ramparts and struck terror into the Trojan forces. Poulydamas, who has given Hector advice in earlier scenes, now makes his most important speech, recommending withdrawal, but his warnings are violently rejected by Hector.[20] At the end of Hector's reply we find the

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[17] On the nature of Agamemnon's authority and position see Taplin 1990.
[18] Continuing signs of tension can be detected at 24.653–5, 686–8.
[19] See 13.459–61, 20.178–83.
[20] On the function of Poulydamas see 249–52n.

same concluding formula as in the eighth book (8.542 = 18.310), but this time a grim authorial comment follows:

῍Ως ῞Εκτωρ ἀγόρευ', ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν,
νήπιοι· ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας εἵλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
῞Εκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήινησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,
Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔ τις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν. (18.310–13)

Thus Hector addressed them, and the Trojans shouted approval, poor fools; Pallas Athena had robbed them of their wits. For they praised Hector, whose plans were disastrous, but not one of them praised Poulydamas, who uttered sound advice.

These are the only two places where the line in question is used. The echo evidently draws attention to the difference between the two scenes and shows how much Hector has changed since the earlier occasion. His growing over-confidence has been a leitmotif of the intervening books.[21]

An important factor is the message which Zeus sends to Hector early in the fighting in book 11. Zeus dispatches Iris to tell Hector that he should hold back until he sees Agamemnon being carried off wounded; after that 'I shall give him power to kill, until he reaches the well-benched ships, and the sun sets and holy darkness comes upon them' (11.192–4, 207–9). Hector alludes to this promise at several later points (e.g. 11.288–9), and the rest of that day does indeed allow him to gain successes far beyond his normal capacity: Zeus enhances his strength and makes possible his onslaught on the Greeks; Hector drives them back to the coastline and threatens to fire the ships.[22] It is at this point that the day is brought to an end, but only after Achilles' menacing appearance on the wall. In his reply to Poulydamas Hector alludes to Zeus's promise, but in such a way as to ignore the time limitation (293n.). He even dares to think of killing Achilles – if he has indeed returned to the fray, so much the worse for him (18.305–9). The decision is emphatically marked as mistaken, by Poulydamas' 'wise adviser' role, by the narrator's comment quoted above, and indeed by Hector's own retrospective judgement later – too late – when he stands alone outside the walls preparing to fight Achilles and quailing at the prospect.

ὤι μοι ἐγών, εἰ μέν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω,
Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,
ὅς μ' ἐκέλευε Τρωσὶ ποτὶ πτόλιν ἡγήσασθαι

[21] See 12.230–50, 13.824–32, 16.859–61, 17.183–208, and later 20.366–72, 434–7.
[22] Taplin 1992: 153–61 discusses 'Hector's day'.

νύχθ' ὕπο τήνδ' ὀλοὴν ὅτε τ' ὤρετο δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην· ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν. (22.99–103)

Woe is me! if I now go inside the gates and the walls, Poulyda-
mas will be the first to heap humiliation on me, the man who
urged me to lead the Trojans into the city on that night of doom
when godlike Achilles rose up; but I did not heed him. Far
better if I had!

Thus book 18 presents us with two crucial decisions – that of Achilles
to re-enter battle in order to avenge Patroclus, and that of Hector to
keep his forces out on the plain and prepare to face Achilles in the
morning. Both decisions are self-destructive. The difference is that
Achilles knows this, and accepts the inevitability of death as
a consequence, while Hector fails to see the fatal outcome of his
decision, and indeed deludes himself with anticipation of still greater
success.[23]

To sum up, Achilles and Hector are crucially different in their heroic
stature and their personal motivations. Nevertheless, they are alike in their
mortality, which includes their inferiority to the gods and their undue
confidence at crucial stages that they themselves are masters of their
situations. 'But always the mind of Zeus is greater than that of men'
(16.688, cf. 17.176). Both Achilles and Hector are in some sense favoured
by Zeus, but the Olympian's plans ultimately go beyond favours for any
individual hero. This is part of a wider pattern: in the *Iliad* gods may care
for mortals, but cannot or will not give them unbroken success, still less
immortality.[24]

# 3 THE GODS[25]

Greek religion, and hence the poetic version of it found in epic, is poly-
theistic. Many divinities appear or are mentioned in the poems; some
other supernatural or immortal beings are related to the gods or at least
interact with them (e.g. Sleep and Death, the Winds, or the Nereids).
Complex genealogies are largely taken for granted by the *Iliad*-poet; we are
given much more detail of the gods' family relationships in other texts,
notably Hesiod's *Theogony*. The epic is highly selective: some gods who
were very important in cult are barely mentioned or do not appear at all
(especially Demeter and Dionysus). In the *Iliad* most of the more

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[23] Cf. Schadewaldt 1997b.
[24] Different rules apply elsewhere in what we know of the early epic tradition.
Even in the *Odyssey* the bar on immortality is not absolute: Calypso tempts the hero
with such an offer (5.203–13).
[25] For more extensive discussion and bibl. on the gods, see *Homer* 64–70.

conspicuous divine figures are members of the immediate family of Zeus, and divine activity mainly arises from particular gods wishing to support or oppose his designs.

As already implied, the Olympian gods and goddesses are imagined in human form, though they are larger and stronger than mortals, do not grow old, and if wounded are swiftly healed. The divine community on Olympus sometimes resembles a royal court, with opposing factions and rebellious attempts to resist the king's rule or undermine it by trickery. Although in the *Iliad* Zeus's rule is well established, the poet refers to an earlier period when this was not so, especially during the war with the Titans which ended with Zeus's succession to the throne of the gods; and the possibility of renewed conflict is mentioned on several occasions, though Zeus never actually has recourse to violence.[26] The gods are also a family, with Zeus the eldest of three brothers (15.187–95); like any family, they have their disagreements: quarrels and resentments are often mentioned. Zeus's many adulteries arouse Hera's jealousy, and there seems to be some suspicion surrounding his bond with Thetis.[27] Favouritism is evident in Zeus's affectionate treatment of Athena; Ares objects to the way in which she is allowed to misbehave with impunity (5.875–80). The divine squabbling is a rich source of humour, but the consequences for the mortal characters are deadly serious.

Though immortal and invulnerable, the gods are not omniscient. When they observe human affairs they seem able to see whatever they wish from a lofty vantage point with a kind of telescopic vision, and can intervene swiftly, even instantaneously. But if they have not been attending to events, they may be unaware of important developments: Poseidon and others step in to promote the Greek cause when they know that Zeus's attention is elsewhere (13.1–7, 14.352ff.). Their curiosity can be frustrated: Hera in book 1 is aware that Zeus and Thetis have been in conclave together, shrouded in a mist, but is forced to question him as to what they actually discussed, without success. Gods can deceive one another: Hera spins a plausible tale to explain why she needs to borrow Aphrodite's love-charm, then seduces her husband, distracting him so that she and the other gods can help the Greeks (14.198–210, 301–53). All of this may be theologically perplexing, but it has obvious narrative advantages.

As these examples illustrate, the gods are keenly interested in the affairs of mortals and particularly in the fortunes of the Greeks and Trojans at war. They not only observe the action but participate, aiding one side or the other or giving added strength and courage to particular heroes. Their partisanship is sometimes explained by personal motives: Poseidon is

[26]  1.396–406, 5.897–8, 8.5–27, 15.14–33 are the main passages.
[27]  See *Homer* 114–17, and esp. Slatkin 1991.

against the Trojans because King Laomedon once cheated him of his promised reward; Hera and Athena are vindictive because of the adverse judgement of Paris, who found Aphrodite the fairest in a beauty contest; Aphrodite also favours Troy because it is the home of her son Aeneas. But these justifications are seldom mentioned and some gods are not consistent in their loyalties (Ares is accused of unreliability because he supports different sides day by day, 5.831, 889 – though from one viewpoint this reflects the shifting fortunes of war). The gods often seem to treat the war as a form of entertainment: there is a real sense of a divine audience watching a particularly fascinating game or spectacle.[28] That the gods take such interest in the conflict serves to dignify the human activity: the Trojan War is a great epic subject partly because the gods are so bound up in it and play a part in it. Yet the gods can also turn away and withdraw from the conflict, or dismiss the human species as trivial. Why should we spoil the feast by feuding over mere mortals, asks Hephaestus in book 1 (573–6); and the rest of the immortals see his point, and turn to music and song. At the height of the combat Zeus wearies of the sight of killing and turns his eyes elsewhere, 'gazing far away at the land of the horse-rearing Thracians' (13.3–4). This divine capacity for detachment sets human affairs in perspective. The exceptional case is Thetis, because of her special relationship with her son. Immortal herself, she is constantly preoccupied with her son's mortality.

Hardest to interpret is the position of Zeus, who reigns supreme among the gods but is sometimes obliged to take account of rival views. His superiority is marked by his greater remoteness from the action: unlike other gods he does not descend to earth or intervene in person, though clearly he must have done so in other epic poems, not least in order to conduct his amorous affairs.[29] When he wishes to communicate with mortals he uses an intermediary, such as Iris or Hermes or a personified dream. His foresight seems greater than that of the other gods, and on occasion he gives an extended prophecy of future developments (8.470–83, 15.49–77). He seems to take a longer view of events, though he too can be influenced by personal appeals, as with Thetis' supplication, and like other gods he has his favourites among mortals: Troy is dear to him, and so are Priam and Hector. In book 4 he even teasingly proposes bringing the war to a peaceful conclusion, and is forcefully resisted by Hera (5–68); in other passages his preference would be to show compassion and spare an unfortunate mortal (in one case his own son Sarpedon),

[28] Griffin 1978; see esp. 22.166–70, but also e.g. 4.1–4, 8.51–2, 11.82–3, 20.20–3.

[29] See 14.315–27, where Zeus catalogues his past lovers; cf. [Hes.] *Catal.* fr. 30. 15–19, 140–1.

but again he is overruled. But in book 24, despite the antagonism of Hera and Athena, Zeus insists that Hector deserves better treatment and should receive honourable burial: his piety and sacrifices have earned him that much (24.65–70). In general Homer leaves Zeus's motives somewhat opaque: sometimes, as in book 4, he appears to make concessions in order to keep the peace, but in other episodes it is suggested that his role is to guarantee a future sequence of events, which it is dangerous or impossible to tamper with. There is little room for 'divine justice', though ideas of the gods as having oversight of human morality were familiar to the poet of the *Odyssey* and to Hesiod; the conception is indeed reflected in a famous simile in the *Iliad* (16.384–93), but in this case the simile touches on matters deliberately excluded from the main narrative.

On turning to the role of fate in this complex picture, it is important to avoid treating an epic poem as a philosophic argument. We can be sure that the poet did not have a fully developed and rationally justified position on fate and its relation to the gods: he was concerned with the dramatic effect in specific contexts.[30] From the human point of view things are relatively simple: fate is what happens to you. If it happens, it was your destiny; if it was not, it would not have happened. The one thing that is certain to happen sooner or later is death; hence a number of words for 'fate' in Greek also mean death (e.g. μόρος). Mortals normally do not discriminate between what is brought about by the gods and what is fated: from their point of view it hardly matters, since either way it is out of their hands. Hence they may speak of things happening 'as Zeus wills', or 'as the gods will', or both; or they may speak of 'my fate', or the two can be combined (e.g. 16.849, 21.82–4). For the most part man does not know his fate, but must simply accept it as it comes. That is Hector's attitude in book 6: 'no one will send me down to Hades contrary to my portion. But I declare that no human being has ever evaded his apportioned lot, not good man, not bad man, once his life has first begun' (6.487–9).

Difficulties arise when the gods give a mortal a glimpse of the future, foreknowledge of his fate. Achilles is allowed to know that he has a choice of futures, but how and why this can be so is not explained; what matters is that he seems to have a limited time to choose, and in this book makes his choice and accepts the prospect of an early death. Elsewhere predictions are vaguer or more remote. Calchas, we are told, predicted that Troy would fall in the tenth year, interpreting an omen which is ascribed to Zeus; but that leaves much unsettled, especially who will live to see it. In 5.714–18, we are told that Athena and Hera made promises to Menelaus that he would sack Troy and come safely home again, but no human being in the *Iliad* ever recalls that promise (it would have been relevant when

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[30] See Janko 1992: 1–7.

Menelaus is wounded in book 4). For Menelaus to have that kind of guarantee, effectively an assurance of invulnerability for the course of the war, would have radically altered his relations to his peers. But in any case, mortals are aware that the gods can deceive; perhaps for that reason, divine assurances are sometimes forgotten or misunderstood or simply ignored (9–11n.).

What of the gods' own perspective? As we have seen, the gods are not omniscient. If they all knew the entire future course of human history, there would be no uncertainties; were they unable to change it, it would be pointless for them to try to intervene at all. But the *Iliad* envisages a much less rigid system. It appears that some things are fixed, others flexible. The Greeks will eventually defeat the Trojans, but Thetis' request and Zeus's consent seem to introduce delays unforeseen by the other gods. Whether they are foreseen by Zeus himself depends partly on the interpretation of the enigmatic line 'the plan of Zeus was brought to fulfilment' (1.5). In general it appears that Zeus can overrule any other god (at the risk of general discontent), but can he go against fate? In several scenes he puts forward a suggestion which is opposed by other gods: in particular, Hera and Athena insist that he should not try to rescue 'a man long apportioned to fate' (16.440–3, 22.178–81). There it looks as if Zeus is trying to revoke an earlier collective decision, and that model works for most cases. But in book 8 Zeus, having prevented Athena and Hera from descending to help the Argives, tells them what will take place next day, declaring that on that day they can see Zeus bringing death upon the Greeks: 'for mighty Hector will not cease from warfare until he has stirred up from the ships swift-footed Achilles, on the day when they are fighting by the prows of the ships, in the narrowest space, over the corpse of dead Patroclus. For thus it is divinely proclaimed'. (8.473–7). The last phrase, ὡς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι, is unparalleled. Here it is evident that this is the first Hera and Athena have heard of this unwelcome series of developments. It seems that Zeus is laying down the future on his own decision, so that θέσφατον here cannot refer to 'the voice of the gods' but only the voice of Zeus. In this scene it looks as if Zeus has the authority to determine fate, though the scenes in which he is overruled point in the opposite direction. In the passage from book 8 Zeus is in a sense speaking for the poet, since fate is embodied in the plot of the *Iliad* itself; there are analogies with the tragic *deus ex machina*, who regularly steps in to foretell the future and sometimes to avert undue deviations from the mythical tradition.[31] But whoever takes the decisions, the mortals reap the consequences.

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[31] West 2011a: 211, adopts this approach: 'Zeus represents the destined course of events as fixed by something more unalterable than his own will; it has in fact

This much as an overview of the gods and their place in the *Iliad*; we turn now to their appearances in book 18 itself. It is important to distinguish three different categories into which references to the gods may be distributed. First there is the viewpoint of the human characters as they engage in prayer or sacrifice or other rituals involving the gods. Here there is no interaction, only the utterance or ritual act of the mortal; we are close here to the 'normal' activities of men, to the way in which Homer's original audience and later Greeks would engage in religious practice. Second there are scenes in which the communication is two-way, where gods communicate with human beings either *en masse* (usually by an omen or some other signal such as thunder) or with individuals. Often gods come in disguise, taking human form (though sometimes they reveal their divinity on departure). It is quite rare for any god to appear openly to a mortal; when this happens, as with Achilles, it normally indicates that they enjoy special status or are being particularly favoured.[32] The third category consists of scenes in which gods are presented on their own, unwitnessed by mortals, on Olympus or elsewhere, conversing, quarrelling, bargaining with or sleeping with one another. Such scenes develop conceptions of the gods as characters with personality, involved in a society of their own – conceptions which are distant from the needs of ritual and cult. It is in these episodes that we probably see the poet at his most inventive in relation to the gods.

It would be hard to overstate the importance of the gulf between the third category, the gods on their own, and the rest. To the mortals the gods are awesome figures whom they must revere and respect; their interventions are momentous. But in the scenes where we witness the gods by themselves we find much more light-heartedness, and the gods can even provide comic relief. There is a carefully preserved gap between the character's perceptions and the narrator's view of the action. This is clearest in the way that we, the audience, are able to see which god is intervening, but the character involved often speaks vaguely of 'some god' or a *daimon*.[33]

If we survey book 18 with these categories in mind, it is at once striking that we find no examples of the first type (mortals praying to the gods or performing acts of worship) in the narrative portion of the book. This is in part because of Achilles' privileged position. In book 1 the priest Chryses

been determined by a higher power, namely P (and whatever poetic tradition P regards as fixed).' ('P' is West's name for the poet of the *Iliad*.)

[32] Achilles is only once deceived by Apollo, at the end of book 21 (595–611); he resents the fact, and speaks defiantly to the god at the opening of book 22.

[33] E.g. 15.461–70: Teucer's bowstring breaks, and he cries out that a *daimon* is thwarting him. It was in fact Zeus who broke the string, as the poet has told us, but naturally Teucer cannot know this. See Jörgensen 1904; Dodds 1951: 23 n. 75; West 2011a: 308.

prayed for aid to Apollo, but until the army was afflicted with plague he had no means of knowing that his prayer had been heard. In the same book Achilles in distress prays to his mother, and she comes to his side at once; in book 18 he does not even need to invoke her, as she hears his grief and hastens to comfort him. Outside the narrative proper, there is a scene on the shield which includes the sacrifice of an ox (559), and some of the other activities may have a ritual aspect, particularly the festive dancing which is set in a round *choros* compared with the Cretan labyrinth (590–606) (the Linos-song too is a religious lament; see 570n.). This fits the argument that the shield generally presents a vision of normal human life (see section 4 below).

The second category, of divine interaction with mortals, is well represented. Most cases involve Achilles. First there is the reaction of Thetis, who senses that he needs her; when she emerges from the sea, she is accompanied by a host of Nereids (they contribute nothing in practical terms, but their presence honours the hero and brings out the importance of the crisis: see also 15–69n.). Then Iris is sent by Hera to urge Achilles to enter battle, or at least appear to the battling armies, in order to save the day. This is a typical form of communication between god and man: a major deity sends a message via a minor one. In many cases the message would be a command, but here Achilles' exceptional status allows him to question the messenger, and Iris makes a concession, agreeing that full-scale battle is not yet possible. In the scene which follows, Athena joins in the task of glorifying Achilles and terrifying the Trojans: here the involvement of the gods is made plain by the kindling of supernatural fire to enhance the shock of Achilles' reappearance. A fourth intervention is that of Hera, and it demonstrates the power of the gods over nature, since she brings the day to an end by making the sun set prematurely, so allowing the Greek army to rest after its seemingly endless ordeal of battle.

Athena's intervention to make Achilles look even more formidable resembles various other passages where a god beautifies or enhances the appearance of a mortal, but here the device is transferred to the martial sphere. Within this book it can be contrasted with a later reference to action on her part, at line 311 (see p. 12), where the poet has just commented on the folly of the Trojans in cheering Hector and accepting his advice. 'Pallas Athena robbed them of their wits', he remarks. We may be tempted to see this as no more than a *façon de parler*, but the temptation should be resisted. We see elsewhere that the gods often intervene to assist or inhibit mortals, sometimes without their knowledge; the human characters are themselves aware of this risk (they may even try to use such an argument as an excuse – 'a god made me do it').[34] Athena is associated

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[34] See Rutherford 1986: 153 n. 43 (esp. Hutchinson on Aesch. *Sept.* 4–9).

with intelligence and planning, so that she is a natural deity to play a part
when prudence is needed, or when it is to be set aside. In book 4 we see
a more elaborate dramatisation of the process, when she appears in
disguise to Pandarus, normally a man of good judgement, and persuades
him to act imprudently and break the truce (4.86–104, esp. 104 'and she
persuaded the wits of that witless man'; contrast 93). In due course
Pandarus is killed, probably a matter of poetic justice, since in general
and despite occasional attempts at self-defence, the fact of divine involve-
ment does not exonerate the human from responsibility.

In the last part of the book we have excellent examples of the third
category given above, scenes where we see the gods on their own. First
there is the rather short scene between Zeus and Hera, a further stage in
their feuding over the fortunes of the Trojans (356–68). The exchange is
brief and on Hera's side defiant. It forms a coda to the day rather than
introducing any fresh element: we have already seen her vindictive hatred
of the Trojans, especially at the opening of book 4. More extensive is the
scene in which Thetis visits Hephaestus. Here as elsewhere the poet vividly
imagines a divine society, the courtesies and formalities of which mirror
those of mortals, though with crucial differences. Like any hostess,
Hephaestus' wife Charis makes her visitor welcome and complains that
they do not see enough of her (386); Hephaestus just has a few things to
finish off before he can help her attend to their guest; Thetis pours out her
distress to sympathetic ears. Although the subjects of her complaints
belong to the world of myth, they echo concerns no doubt familiar to
the poet's audience: discontent in marriage, anxiety about the future of
offspring. But for all the parallelism between divine and human existence,
we are regularly reminded of the differences. Hephaestus' workshop is
full of wonders – self-propelling tripods, self-inflating bellows, robots in
the form of women who assist the lame god on his unsteady feet. So too in
other parts of the poem divine artefacts or actions are immeasurably
superior to their human equivalents. Instead of mortal food they eat
nectar and ambrosia, the food of immortality (1.598, 4.3, etc.).[35] Even
commonplace objects are made of precious metals such as gold – Hermes'
sandals are an example (24.341). Hera and Athena ride to earth on
a chariot, but one drawn by horses that can fly between heaven and
earth; when not in use the vehicle is housed within the clouds.[36] In the
present scene Hephaestus has himself constructed the devices just
mentioned, as well as the beautiful ear-rings and trinkets he gave Thetis

[35] Cf. *Od.* 5.194–9 (the contrast between the foods eaten by Calypso and Odys-
seus conveys the fact that they belong to different worlds). Compare what was said
above about Achilles and food in book 19.
[36] Cf. 'Longinus' *De sublim.* 9.5 on a closely related passage, *Il.* 5.770–2.

and Eurynome in the past (400–1), to say nothing of his own house on
Olympus (371n.). But his masterpiece, and the greatest work of art
described within the *Iliad*, is the shield of Achilles, to which we now turn.

## 4  THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES[37]

### *4.1  Context and Mythological Background*

The end of book 18 is dominated by the forging and decoration of the
shield of Achilles, the description of which occupies more than a hundred
lines. Hephaestus makes it himself, without help from the androids who
are shown supporting him in the preceding scene or from the Cyclopes
who are often mentioned as his assistants in later texts (see 372–3n.).
Again this brings out Achilles' special status, when an Olympian god is
prepared to work through the night to equip him with suitable armour
(though Hephaestus himself emphasises his debt to Thetis rather than the
importance of her son). No other warrior in the *Iliad* possesses such
a splendid array; here and in later writers, the divine armour enhances
still further the power of the hero (for later examples and imitations, see
end of this section).[38]

   Achilles needs a new shield because he lent his previous armour to
Patroclus and it is now being worn by Hector. It is probable that this plot
sequence is an innovation by the *Iliad*-poet.[39] Patroclus, a minor figure at
best in the tradition of the Trojan War, has been given a more prominent
role in the *Iliad* in order to motivate Achilles' self-destructive determina-
tion on revenge. Later sources such as Euripides' *Electra* make clear that
there was a rival tradition that the shield forged by Hephaestus was the one
with which Achilles set out to war. Even in the *Iliad* the earlier armour is
said to have been among the gifts of the gods to Peleus on his wedding day
(18.84–5). The consequence of this is that Achilles finishes up with two

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[37] Schadewaldt 1944 (4th edn 1965): 352–74; Reinhardt 1961: 401–11; Taplin
1980; Becker 1995; Purves 2010: 46–55. For ancient representations of the shield
in art see *LIMC* 'Achilleus' I.1 nos. 506–41a (only 506–9 precede the fifth century;
earliest is no. 506, a neck amphora from Mykonos (c.670), with a Gorgon head; cf.
n. 43 below [= Friis Johansen 1967: 104–5 pl. 34]). There is much scope for
confusion between representations of the Iliadic scene and those showing the
earlier arming of Achilles when he set out for the Trojan War: see Lowenstam
1993, who argues for relating a number of scenes to the Iliadic event; Snodgrass
1998: 143–5 is sceptical.
[38] Hephaestus is said to have made other artefacts which are given as magnifi-
cent gifts to mortals: see e.g. 2.101–8, the sceptre of Agamemnon, an heirloom of
his house. In Moschus' *Europa* (37–62) the princess's beach-basket is incongruously
made of gold, and it too is a μέγα θαῦμα, a wondrous object made by the smith-god
(38). Epyllion whimsically plays variations on the epic *topos*.
[39] P. J. Kakridis 1961; accepted e.g. by Griffin 1980: 33.

sets of divine armour, the new set and the old, which he will naturally strip from Hector. This creates a difficulty with the story of the rivalry between Ajax and Odysseus, each of whom lays claim to Achilles' armour after the hero's death. The *Iliad* can avoid this difficulty because it never reaches that stage in the saga; the *Odyssey*'s reference to the conflict is brief and evades the issue. We can conclude that the *Iliad*-poet saw strong positive reason to introduce the need for this new armour and to develop the theme in such detail.[40]

## 4.2 Design and Layout

The armour needed to be provided, but did not have to be described; the other items are mentioned only in passing, but the shield is treated in detail.[41] Taking up a term used in some ancient art criticism, scholars normally designate a passage of this kind an *ecphrasis*: the word can mean 'description' of any type, but is usually restricted by moderns to an account of a work of art or artefact.[42] The Homeric epics include several descriptions of this type, though this passage is by far the longest. Other instances include Agamemnon's sceptre (2.101–8) and Odysseus' brooch (*Od.* 19.226–31). But the technique is especially used to describe items of weaponry: the shield of Agamemnon (11.32–40), the boar's-tusk helmet worn by Odysseus (10.261–71), the aegis of Zeus (5.736–42), Heracles' baldric (*Od.* 11.609–14). The first of these for obvious reasons repays comparison. Apart from decorative knobs, the shield of Agamemnon has a Gorgon-head at its centre, 'and Fear was inscribed on it, and Terror' – daemonic figures intended to horrify the king's opponents.[43] Nothing like this appears on Achilles' shield except at the end of the description of the city at war, but the lines in question are probably an interpolation (535–40n.). Instead we have a series of scenes which portray a wide range of human activities, many of them delightful –

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[40] See Currie 2016: 60–1, with older references. Edwards 140 notes that divine armour might be expected to be invulnerable. Hephaestus is allowed explicitly to deny that his gift will protect Achilles from death (18.464–7).

[41] Zenodotus expunged the entire description, preserving only the introductory lines 478–82: see Schol. A, which mentions the sensible riposte of Aristonicus (a scholar of the Augustan period) that the poet would not have amplified the description of the bellows in so grandiose a fashion if he had not intended to give a detailed account of what Hephaestus did with them.

[42] Webb 2009 is a detailed and informative study of the term and its uses in the later rhetorical tradition. Webb has written numerous studies in the field: see esp. 1999: 7–18. See also Krieger 1992.

[43] Gorgon heads are a standard motif on shields (Chase 1902), and appear on some representations of Achilles' shield in art (Friis Johansen 1967: 93–109, 181–3; Taplin 1980: 16).

weddings, scenes of feasting, gathering in the grape-harvest, dancing, and much else.

Here is an outline of the scenes represented:

1   The universe viewed as a whole: earth, sea and sky, and especially the heavenly bodies (483–9).
2   Two cities:
    (a)   a city at peace, with scenes of weddings and of a legal trial in progress (490–508);
    (b)   a city at war, with scenes of defensive and offensive action (509–40).
3   Three scenes of rural activity, representing different stages of the agricultural year:[44]
    (a)   ploughing (541–9);
    (b)   reaping (550–60);
    (c)   gathering in the vintage (561–72).
4   A scene of oxen being led to pasture, and attacked by lions (573–86).
5   A scene including sheep grazing (587–9).
6   A scene of young men and women dancing, presumably as part of a festival (590–606).
7   The river Ocean surrounding the entire world (607–8).

This is not a description of a typical artefact which the audience might recognise. The shield, a divine creation, is meant to be extraordinary, something beyond human fabrication. But it still makes sense to ask how the poet and his hearers visualised the artefact, its size, shape and design. Most other shields described in the epic appear to have an ox-hide base, and this should probably be assumed for Achilles' as well: it is not solid metal. But the poet focuses on the metal exterior because the figures there represented are his main concern.[45] It is imagined as circular in form, and around the rim flows the stream of Ocean, mentioned at the end of the catalogue of scenes (607–8). In the eighth and early seventh centuries we can see from actual metalwork and still more from illustrations on pottery how artists are developing from the more repetitive patterning of the so-called Geometric period toward a more varied pictorial style. Some of the scenes on the shield are recognisable as 'geometric' – the advance of armed warriors, the circular motion of dancing men and women. Some

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[44] Others include scene 4 in this group, but the change in phrasing in the introductory words to each counts against this (541, 550, 561 versus 573). See 541–9 introductory n. for criticism of the common view that these scenes represent the four seasons.

[45] For the composition of the shield see 472–5 and 481nn.

are paralleled on surviving vases or other objects.[46] It must however be admitted that the poet gives us no hints of the arrangement; ecphrasis tends to be vague on such points, introducing new scenes with imprecise expressions such as *at parte ex alia* (Catull. 64.251).[47]

On the Iliadic shield the heavenly bodies which are mentioned first are probably in the middle, perhaps with a central boss representing the sun.[48] The usual view is that the rest of the scenes are shown in concentric circles, moving outwards toward the rim (so that the reference to Ocean comes in its proper sequence); the three (or four?) scenes presenting phases of the agricultural year might all figure at different points in a single circle. An objection is that this means the two scenes described in most detail, the city at peace and the city at war, will be smaller than the rest (hence the alternative reconstruction which supposes the designs set out in more heraldic fashion, in rows from the top to the bottom, with certain scenes larger than others; but this does not correspond to early Greek practice).[49] Since a god is at work, we can overlook improbabilities; in any case, amateurs in all ages have been astounded by the degree of detail which artists are able to represent in their different media. Modern sketches have produced more or less plausible suggestions as to how the different scenes might be disposed within a shield-type. Perhaps none of these represents exactly what the poet had in mind, but combined with the evidence from ancient metalware they suggest that the audience would have been able to visualise some version of the complete artefact as well as the individual scenes.[50]

[46] Snodgrass 1998 is an attractive survey, with illustrations: on the shield see 40–4. See further Coldstream 1977 (more up-to-date and readable than the magisterial account in Coldstream 1968); Osborne 1997: 129–36.

[47] Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.642 *haud procul inde*, 675 *in medio*, 711 *contra.*

[48] Snodgrass 1964, 37–51, 170 discusses the evidence for shield-bosses, and notes that they do not necessarily imply a round shield. But there are other reasons, esp. the presence of Ocean, for supposing Achilles' shield to be of that shape.

[49] That arrangement is adopted in the representation of the shield on the so-called *Tabulae Iliacae* (marble reliefs mostly dating from the late first century BC or the early first century AD): see Squire in Fantuzzi and Tsagalis 2015: 524 (fig. 27.10). The description of the shield in Philostr. Iun. *Imag.* 10 also assumes the scenes are set out in horizontal bands. Leaf, vol. II, 605 (fig. 5) provides another design on this assumption.

[50] Other attempts to illustrate or show its layout are many: see e.g. that of Alexander Pope (both his original sketch and the version by his illustrator are reproduced in the Twickenham edition of his works, vol. VIII, plates 18 and 19); Leaf, vol. II, 603 and 605 (the latter implausible); Fittschen 1973, plates III and VII; *HE* 'shield', p. 795 (fig. 33). Comparative illustrations e.g. in Fittschen 1973 (both figures and plates), Edwards 204–6. M. M. Willcock's illustration is reproduced in this book as Figure 2 on p. 192.

## 4.3 *Interpretation*

The choice of scenes has often been thought anomalous; the martial scenes on Agamemnon's shield and the shield of Heracles as described in the Hesiodic *Scutum* confirm that impression. The poet makes Hephaestus turn to themes that seem remote from the Trojan War and from Achilles' commitment to revenge. (In reaction to this, W. H. Auden in his poem 'The Shield of Achilles' represents Thetis as expecting scenes similar to those on the Homeric shield, but being shocked to find instead scenes of cruelty and horror, described in terms which make the reader think of twentieth-century politics and warfare.) The Homeric shield thus poses a problem of interpretation: in this it sets a precedent for many later ecphrases. Already ancient readers adopted a variety of approaches, and some of their readings persist, sometimes in more sophisticated form, in modern scholarship.

**Historicising.** Although the human characters on the shield are anonymous, the locations unspecified, there were ancient critics who tried to place them in history and geography. The scholia and Eustathius preserve a reading of the shield scenes as a narrative of the history of Attica: the two cities of peace and war are Athens and Eleusis. Human marriage ritual (it is said) was first instituted in Athens, and the murder trial is the mythical trial of Ares (!) for the murder of Halirrothius, which in many accounts was the first trial held in the court of the Areopagus. The city at war is Eleusis, and the conflict is the mythic war involving Eumolpus and Erechtheus. Later scenes too are related to Athens: the king presiding over the harvest is said to be Triptolemus, who inaugurated agriculture.[51] The additional line after 551 (see n.) referring to Eleusinian Demeter seems to have been composed with a view to localising these scenes. The scene of dancing and celebration on a circular floor described as 'like that which Daedalus made for Ariadne' prompted speculation that this scene was related to the Attic hero Theseus' adventures in Crete (591n.).

Presented in these terms, the 'historical' explanation seems plainly to distort what the poem gives us. But it may not be misguided to think of the shield-scenes as somehow separate from the world of the poem. Clearly this is not just a vision of aristocratic life: especially in the later rustic scenes, the figures portrayed are farmers and herdsmen, peasants or simple people: even the *basileus* mentioned in one scene (556) is evidently no more than a local lord. It is of course hard to say whether the world of the shield belongs in the heroic age or in the poet's own day, since conditions of life, especially rural life, changed little over the centuries

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[51] Schol. DT 483–606 (Erbse IV.528–31); Hardie 1986: 343–6.

of antiquity. But the legal case (497–508) does seem to involve a formality of procedure unfamiliar in the rest of the poem: rather than the slayer being driven into exile, here we see him facing some legal authority, with an organised system of conflict resolution involving not kings or chieftains but a group of judges who are guided in part by the people's verdict. Like the simile describing Zeus's anger at the perversion of justice in the *agora* (16.386–8), this passage seems somewhat anachronistic in the heroic world.

*Cosmic allegories.* A different line of argument treated the shield as an allegory, a metaphorical representation of the universe (the references to its including earth, heaven and sea, the heavenly bodies, the Ocean and so forth encourage this reading).[52] Hephaestus the divine artificer is like the Demiurge in Plato's *Timaeus*, shaping the cosmos and bringing order out of chaos. Some analyses take this reading down to the level of pressing every point in the description for significance: the circular shield is said to be a symbol of the spherical universe; the four metals gold, silver, bronze and tin represent the four elements; the five layers (481n.) stand for the five zones into which the earth's surface is divided ([Heracl.] 50). Particularly notable is the tendency to import philosophical ideas, for instance treating the City at Peace and the City at War as representing the opposing principles of the cosmos in Empedocles' philosophy, Love and Strife.[53] But here too, even if allegorists have carried the method too far, there is a nub of truth in the interpretation. The shield does embody a representation of the world and of human life: its generality points to a certain universality. Thus Taplin in a well-known treatment accepts as a broad principle that 'the shield presents ... a kind of microcosm or epitome of the world'.[54]

*Relation to the main plot.* A third approach is to ask what relation the scenes portrayed have to the poem as a whole, and why they might be relevant to Achilles in particular. Many critics see the shield as an idealised and universalised version of the world familiar to the poet and his audience, the 'normal' world with which we should contrast the world of suffering and death which Achilles must soon re-enter. To put it another

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[52] On allegorical readings of the shield see Buffière 1956: ch. 6; see further Hardie 1985 and 1986: 340–3.

[53] The most important text is [Heracl.] *Homeric allegories* 43–51 (well edited by Pontani 2005; see also Buffière in the Budé series; tr. by Russell and Konstan 2005). See also Cornutus 19, [Plut.] *De vita et poesi* 2.182 (political allegory). Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 5.14.101.4 sees Homer as describing the creation of the world, following Moses' account in *Genesis*.

[54] Taplin 1980: 12–13.

way, this is the life that Achilles could have enjoyed had he not been a hero, or if he had abandoned the war and returned to Phthia, as he considered doing in book 9. On this reading, the shield offers a vision of human life as it is, perhaps as it should be. It is not a perfect world: the city at peace includes the trial of a murderer, and the inhabitants of the city at war will at best face the loss of most of their possessions; men ambush their enemies as part of that war, and elsewhere there is danger from predatory lions. But these dangers form a part of the world, not the whole of it, and there is much else shown that would justify an observer in feeling glad to be alive. Yet the shield is being prepared for a man who has little time to live, and who will bring death to many others before his own death.

An ecphrasis in ancient literature regularly has this kind of relationship to the framing text, complementing or contrasting with the frame narrative. Often there are specific links, connections and contrasts that may not be apparent at first sight. It is a regular critical strategy to seek out these links and find analogies or contrasts at every point. In the present case, it is fairly clear that both the cities, which receive detailed and prominent treatment, invite comparison with the main plot-line of the *Iliad*. In the city at peace we witness a lawsuit, a scene in which arbitration and public justice resolve a dispute concerning a homicide; there are contrasts both with the more anarchic debate in book 1 and with the vendetta which Achilles pursues against Hector. The city at war is more obviously relevant; here the conflict seems to be less intense than the warfare of the *Iliad*: these armies seem well matched and appear to lack individual heroic champions. Further details in these and other scenes are discussed in the commentary. On this interpretation the relation of the shield to the rest of the poem resembles that of the similes: they too seem generally to show scenes remote from the extreme horrors and intense emotional turmoil of the battlefield; they too usually show generic types (shepherds, ploughmen and the like), rarely localised but set in a timeless world. Some of the scenes on the shield, particularly the attack of the lions on the herds, are strongly reminiscent of similes.[55] By contrast most later ecphrastic descriptions of shields (and indeed of other artefacts) tend to be more specific, portraying identifiable mythical or historical figures (a tendency already evident on the Hesiodic *Scutum*). The shield of Aeneas in Virgil shows images from future Roman history; similarly, the reliefs on the shrine in Silius Italicus' epic show specific scenes from earlier times (*Pun.* 6.653–97).

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[55] See esp. 573–86n. Taplin 1980 develops these points in some detail; see also Redfield 1975: 186–8.

*God as poet.* A further dimension is added by interpretations which see Hephaestus not just as a creator god but as a creative artist analogous with the poet himself. The shield, a microcosm of the universe, is a form of 'sub-creation', like the *Iliad* in its wondrous inclusiveness and breadth of perspective. The poet would thus be granting his own art divine status; elsewhere the same idea is expressed by the claim that his utterances are inspired by the all-knowing Muses (2.484–93 and other invocations). This approach has much to commend it, but some reservations are necessary. Certainly the *Iliad*, and still more the *Odyssey*, shows interest in the nature of poetry and reflects upon its powers.[56] There are several passages where singers and artists in other media can be seen as figures for the master-poet himself. Apart from the obvious cases of the bards Phemius and Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, the embassy find Achilles playing a lyre and singing of 'the glorious deeds of men' (*Il.* 9.189); and in book 3 Helen is shown in her chamber weaving a tapestry which portrays 'the many toils of the horse-taming Trojans and bronze-tunicked Achaeans, all those toils that they suffered under the hands of Ares on her own account' (3.125–8). The making of the shield resembles these passages but differs from them in that the 'artist' in question is a god, and in the nature of the subject matter, which markedly avoids the 'glorious deeds' that seem to be the typical subject of poetry when it figures in the Homeric poems.[57]

These differences may well be connected: perhaps it is natural for a god, even when manufacturing weapons of war, to make them beautiful rather than horrific, to celebrate what is best in the human sphere rather than the misery and hardship so prominent in other parts of the poem. On this argument it would be unwise to go so far as saying that Hephaestus' vision of the world is that of the poet.[58] Like the other singers and narrators of inset stories in the epics, he is both like and unlike the poet. As we have seen, the world of the shield is definitely not the world of the *Iliad*; indeed, it excludes the central concerns of the poem, heroic prowess and passion and destruction on a grand scale. The shield portrays the unheroic and unmemorable lives of lesser men and women, even of children (555, 567, 569); yet here again there is paradox, for these are lives which for all their small significance in history offer more in terms of happiness and fulfilment than the path of heroic warfare brings for Achilles. Further, the divine perspective affects the representation of reality. The scenes are distanced (as if Hephaestus were looking at earth through a telescope) – they are vivid, lifelike, but unspecific: there is no

[56] Marg 1971 (see 33–7 on Hephaestus), Macleod 1983, Halliwell 2012: ch. 2, and other works cited in *Homer* 23–4.

[57] But Demodocus' song about the love affair of Ares and Aphrodite is an exception, and curious in other respects.

[58] Edwards 1987: 284–5 does present the case in these terms.

clue to the identity of the litigants or the location of the city under siege (despite the eager attempts of ancient critics to pin down the occasions: see above). In the *Iliad* as a whole Hephaestus is not a god with particular interest in any of the mortal characters of the poem: indeed, in book 1 it is he who objects to the spoiling of the heavenly feast by disputes over 'mere mortals' (1.574). Perhaps it is not altogether surprising that his vision is a general one, that of an onlooker rather than a committed supporter.[59] The beauty of the shield's vision is only possible because of the god's detachment, which the poet does not wholly share (cf. p. 31 below).

### 4.4 *The Verbal and the Visual*

The shield is a visual artefact, but it is described in words, and by a poet who is accustomed to narrate events as they unfold. Sometimes the description of scenes suggests a developing situation; often the poet seems to go beyond what could realistically be presented in a single image. Narration takes over from description: we are shown the situation as imagined by the poet or by Hephaestus (or both).[60] As in Keats's *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, the poet in this passage plays on the paradox that static art is being used to commemorate activity involving movement – as in the references to processions, dancing, ploughing, reaping and so on. Numerous verbs of motion are to be found throughout (e.g. 493, 494, 501, 506, 527, etc.). An artefact like the shield can only be perceived by sight, not sound, but the poet mentions singing, music, shouting, the lowing of cattle, the bellowing of a bull, barking of dogs, and so forth: the scenes seem to come alive as they are described (e.g. 494, the wedding song; 525–6, the shepherds' pipes; 570–1, the lament for Linos). Sound and motion are combined when the dancers sing as they move in time to the music (571–2). The references to sound do not go as far as introducing direct speech: this is universally avoided in ecphrasis.[61] There is the

[59] It is true that Hephaestus does take part in the Theomachy in book 21, intervening on Achilles' behalf against the River Scamander. This however is in response to an appeal from his mother Hera (331–41, cf. 379–80). In general he is not a partisan of one or other side in the war.
[60] In a seminal treatment G. E. Lessing emphasised this point, which has been taken up by many later theorists ('Laokoon: Oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie' (1766), in G. E. Lessing, *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden* v.2, ed. W. Barner (1990); Eng. tr. E. A. McCormick (1962)). For orientation in modern discussions see Fowler 1991 (= 2000: 64–85); Laird 1993; Giuliani 2013: 1–18.
[61] The reader may well think of the speeches of Ariadne and Aegeus in Catullus 64, but these are included in a further digressive narrative elaboration by the poet arising from the description: it is nowhere suggested that the characters on the coverlet actually give utterance (see e.g. Hutchinson 1988: 301–3).

occasional suggestion of illusionistic effect: in the ploughing scene the furrow that has already been ploughed 'was black behind, and resembled ploughed earth, golden though it was; that indeed was a wonder' (548–9, cf. 562).

Indeed, the poet moves easily between a 'realistic' narrative of the scene that is represented and a description that includes reference to the metals used to represent it, which militates against illusionism. The skill of the god as he manipulates his raw material is mirrored by the poet's ability to represent these scenes in words. Some lines quite explicitly mention Hephaestus' choice of gold or other metals (e.g. 517, 562, 564–5, 574, 577). Other cases seem deliberately ambiguous: the armies besieging the city at war are 'glittering in their armour', as they would be in real life, but this is partly because they are represented on the shield in gleaming metal images (cf. 507, 522, 534). Still more ingenious are lines 597–8, where the male dancers are wearing daggers made of gold, slung from sword-belts of silver: presumably this again means the materials that Hephaestus has used, but since daggers and belts might indeed have gold and silver ornamentation, the ambiguity remains.[62] The shield itself, indeed, has a silver belt attached! (480).

A final point related to the argument for an analogy between Hephaestus and the poet is that the shield itself includes a number of references to other arts. It is not just that song, music and dance are mentioned several times (see above: wedding-song, shepherds piping, Linos-song, etc.). Most intriguing is the passage introducing the longer dancing-scene, where we are told that 'the god fashioned (ποίκιλλε) a dancing space, like the one which Daedalus once fashioned in spacious Cnossos for Ariadne of the lovely tresses' (590–2). Daedalus was the archetypal mythical sculptor, whose wondrous works according to later tradition rivalled those of Hephaestus himself.[63] (According to Plato's Socrates, his statues moved around of their own accord, like Hephaestus' robots: see 376n.) The verb δαιδάλλω ('fashion with skill') was used earlier as Hephaestus began his work on the shield, and in the same passage he is said to place on it δαίδαλα πολλά (479, 482) (the same phrase was used of the trinkets he manufactured when he was young for Thetis and Eurynome: 400–1).[64] Although Daedalus is not actually portrayed on the shield, the mention of his creative ingenuity, exerted on behalf of a beautiful female, seems to be

[62] There is similar ambiguity at various points in the Hesiodic *Scutum*: see e.g. 183, 225–6, 312.

[63] It has been argued that both figures derive from an Ugaritic divine craftsman known as Kothar (Morris 1992: ch. 4), but presumably the poets would not have been aware of this.

[64] Cf. lines 390, where the adjective δαιδάλεος is used of a chair probably made by Hephaestus, and 612, where it is used of the helmet he is forging for Achilles.

a deliberate echoing of Hephaestus' own craftsmanship; but the god out-does Daedalus, since the dancing-floor is only one of many scenes which he creates (gods are mightier than men). Later in the same passage the movement of the circling dancers is compared to the motion of a potter's wheel as its user shapes the swiftly-forming clay (600–1). These lines and those on Daedalus are the only similes that are introduced into the description of the shield. It seems beyond coincidence that both allude to different kinds of creative act. The poet is wittily playing with the analogies between the plastic arts. He is surely conscious of the further comparison with his own art that is implicit in the text.

### 4.5 Viewing the Shield

With any ecphrasis it is pertinent to ask through whose eyes the description is mediated; who is the focaliser?[65] In some examples it is evident that the reaction of the viewer in the text is inadequate, through lack of knowledge or insight. For example, Aeneas in book 8 of Virgil's poem can admire the scenes from Rome's future but is unable to identify them (730 *rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*); the Roman and the modern reader can look over his shoulder with the benefit of superior knowledge. In the present case the shield is work in progress, and we see it through Hephaestus' eyes; even Thetis does not look at the armour until the end of the book, and her reaction is not reported.[66] Hence the shield represents a god's perspective on human life, as it is or as it should be. That perspective, as already discussed, is more detached than the poet's, and more remote. The scenes are generic: no individuals identified, no place-names given (apart from the reference to Daedalus on Crete), and the two cities are anonymous and unlocated. The scene of the city at war includes two divinities, Ares and Athena, who are described as armed for battle and leading the attacking forces, larger than the human figures (516–19). The description leaves us uncertain whether the human armies are aware of their presence or not; the main narrative would offer parallels for either situation, but Hephaestus naturally visualises the scene as he would himself see it. Finally, the human characters are described in external terms: virtually nothing is said of their hopes or feelings. All this

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[65] For the terminology see Bal 1997: 142–61; de Jong 1987: 31–2. In recent criticism discussions of the ambiguity between narrator and character viewpoint have often preferred the term metalepsis (defined by de Jong as 'the blending of narrative voices': see de Jong 2009 and 2012).
[66] Later poets and artists took more interest in her attitude; besides Auden's poem mentioned above, see Hardie 1985 on the representations of the scene in Pompeiian wall-painting. On the reactions of Achilles and his Myrmidons when they see the shield, see 467n.

is explicable in part by the static and externalised nature of the plastic arts; but it also shows how differently the god and the poet are involved in 'their' characters.

Discussions of ecphrasis often have recourse to the concept of *mise en abyme*, 'sending into the depths', which has become common coin in art criticism and literary theory.[67] In art the expression is generally applied to scenes in which either a mirror is portrayed, displaying reflections of the sitter or subject, or some other means is used of representing a replication or repetition of the scene. In literary criticism the term is used rather loosely, often simply to refer to a 'tale within a tale', or more specifically a figuring of the artist and his work in the text.[68] In the *Iliad* there are many tales within tales, but even the longer cases (the stories told by Phoenix and Nestor) are clearly subordinate to the main plot. In the *Odyssey* things are more complex, with Odysseus in particular being compared to a poet at several points, and taking over the narration of his own adventures for an extended portion of the text. As for the shield, we have seen that Hephaestus can be fruitfully compared with the poet while remaining clearly distinct, and that the scenes he portrays invite comparison with the world of the framing narrative. In a few places there are hints of future developments in which further recursive framing is introduced (see above on Daedalus and the potter-comparison).[69] Much more extreme techniques are found in later literature, notably in Ovid, who is especially fond of Russian-doll structures of tales:[70] these, however, do not necessarily involve ecphrasis.

### 4.6 Influence

As we have seen, Homeric epic contains other ecphrastic passages in the modern sense, but the shield is by far the most extensive and has had most influence. A full survey would be out of place here, but some indications of the main lines can be given. Friedlaender in a well-known account presented the material by genre.[71] Another approach would be according

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[67] The term derives from heraldry: it was applied to literary texts by André Gide, *Journal 1889–1939* (Paris 1948) 41, who cited for instance the performance of 'The Murder of Gonzago' in *Hamlet* (Act III sc. 2). See further Dällenbach 1977.

[68] E.g. Fowler 2000: 10, 29, 301.

[69] For a reading of the shield which makes extensive use of the concept see Aubriot 1999; de Jong 2011: 9–10 is more cautious.

[70] A classic instance is *Met.* 5.250–678, where the Muses narrate a tale which involves Calliope recounting the story of Ceres and Proserpina, a tale which includes a number of subordinate narratives including a speech by Arethusa telling Ceres *her* story.

[71] Friedlaender 1912. Among other important treatments are Fowler 1991 (= 2000: 64–85); Krieger 1992. Collections of essays on the subject include Goldhill

to the type of object described. Thus (a) some later authors give different versions of Achilles' own shield.[72] (b) Some describe shields which Hephaestus made for others: the shield of Heracles in the Hesiodic *Scutum*, the shield of Aeneas in Virgil, the shield of Dionysus in Nonnus.[73] (c) A further category includes works of art of a different kind and in different media – embroidered cloth in Apollonius (Jason's cloak) and Catullus (the coverlet on the wedding couch), architectural reliefs in books 1 and 6 of the *Aeneid*, paintings and statuary in the Greek and Roman novel.[74] Many examples could be cited. A particularly sugges- tive case occurs in Theocritus' first *Idyll*, in which a goatherd promises an engraved wooden bowl as reward to his companion in return for the song of Daphnis' death (1.27–56). The contrasts with the Homeric shield are manifold.[75] Instead of a combination of richly wrought metals we have simple wood; no instrument of war, but a symbol of peace and sustenance, perhaps of Dionysiac revelry (ivy and acanthus figure among the decora- tive details). Where the scenes on the shield partly represent different phases of the agricultural year, the figures on the cup seem to show the ages of man (youthful wooing,[76] an aged fisherman, a boy neglecting his tasks). Here too we find art within art, as the boy who is failing to guard the vineyard from foxes is wholly absorbed in a self-chosen task, weaving a little cage for crickets out of rushes and asphodel. Like the cup itself, the cage is a figuration of artistic creativity; and the crickets themselves, like cicadas,

and Osborne 1994; Bartsch and Elsner 2007 (a special issue of *CPh*), but these are concerned with later ecphrastic literature, and seldom shed retrospective light on the epic versions.

[72] Eur. *El.* 442–86 (though the shield in question is the earlier one), Ov. *Met.* 13. 110–11, 288–95, Max. Tyr. 9.6, Philostr. Iun. *Imagines* 10, Quintus Smyrn. 5.1–101.

[73] *Scutum* 141–317; Virg. *Aen.* 8.326–731; Silius, *Pun.* 2. 395–452 (Hannibal's shield); Nonn. *Dion.* 25.384-587 (a bizarre mixture of astronomy, Theban and non-Theban myths). In the *Aethiopis* Memnon wore armour made by Hephaestus (Proclus' summary §2, *GEF* 110), and the shield probably received extended description (perhaps reflected in Virgil's references at *Aen.* 1.489, 751). See also Quintus Smyrn. 6.200–93 (the shield of the minor hero Eurypylos, engraved with the exploits of his father Heracles). Lucian (*De conscr. hist.* 19) mentions with derision a historian whose description of the Emperor Lucius Verus' shield occu- pied an entire book.

[74] Apoll. *Arg.* 1.730–67 (ingeniously, Apollonius includes a shield among the scenes on the cloak, but adds erotic colouring: Aphrodite is admiring her reflection in the mirror-like surface of Ares' shield, 742–6); Catull. 64. 50–266; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 453–93, 6.20–33, and e.g. Apul. *Met.* 2.4, and Bartsch 1989 on the Greek novel. See also Silius, *Pun.* 6.653–97, with Fowler 1996 (= 2000: 86–107).

[75] See further the discussion and notes in Hunter 1999; also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 141–5.

[76] This scene in particular re-works the shield in a different mode, as two men alternate in appeals to the woman they are pursuing; instead of a lawsuit over a homicide, the debate is presented in erotic terms, as a contest of wooers (see esp. 34–5, echoing *Il.* 18.506).

can be regarded as singers.[77] Thus we have a singing creature who will be enclosed in the boy's construction, which is itself only part of a single scene represented on the wooden cup intricately described in an intricate poem: *mise en abyme* indeed.

There is one other respect in which the Homeric shield and the Theocritean cup are comparable: the timelessness of their images. Other ecphrases are normally exemplary, premonitory, or predictive: they represent specific scenes which stand in a relationship to the frame-narrative, even if that relationship may be a complex one. The story of Io on Europa's beach-basket prefigures Europa's own fate; the statue of Actaeon's disastrous viewing of Diana offers a warning to the over-inquisitive Lucius.[78] Specific mythic scenes can be identified even if they carry multiple meanings. But on the shield of Achilles, as on the cup, we are offered a vision of human existence, freed from specific legends and locales, without didacticism or moralising. This universality is one reason that the Iliadic episode has proved inexhaustibly inspiring to later writers.

## 5 HOMERIC LANGUAGE AND STYLE: SOME IMPORTANT FEATURES

### 5.1 Preliminaries[79]

In order to understand something of the nature of the poetic language in which the epics are composed, it is necessary to outline a few basic assumptions about the background to the surviving poems. These will be presented in brief and somewhat dogmatic propositions, but the footnotes provide references to works that offer detailed argument and documentation.

(a) Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed in something fairly close to their final form in the late eighth or early seventh centuries BC. Attempts to establish a place of origin are largely guesswork, though various islands, notably Chios, claimed the poet in later times.[80]

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[77] Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 144 n. 47.

[78] Moschus, *Europa* 37–62, Apul. *Met.* 2.4.

[79] For more detailed discussion of the origin and transmission of the epics see *Homer* ch. 1; also Rutherford 1992: 38–57. Other short accounts include R. L. Fowler in Fowler 2004: 220–32; Powell 2004 (2nd edn 2007): 3–35.

[80] For arguments on chronology see *Homer* 19–22. A date for the *Iliad* in the mid-seventh century is advocated esp. by West (e.g. 1995, 1999, 2011a: 15–19); but see my comments in *BMCRev* 2012.11.33. (West dates the *Odyssey* still later, in the 630s). On the poet's location and the scope of his travels see West 2011a: 20–7. Very different views can be defended: e.g. Lane Fox 2008: 381–4.

(b) The *Odyssey* is the later of the two works (though probably quite close in time) and is by a different poet, though clearly one with deep knowledge of the *Iliad*, who may have thought of his own poem as a kind of sequel.[81]

(c) The surviving poems form part of a tradition of epic poetry in hexameters, probably going back many generations and possibly preserving some authentic information from much earlier times.[82] There is no question of exact historical reliability, but it is reasonable to accept that there was indeed a war between Greek states and Troy, and archaeology sometimes confirms the existence of armour or artefacts comparable to those described.[83]

(d) The poets who preceded the *Iliad* had already narrated many mythical tales about gods and heroes, establishing a canon of epic material; some of these tales concerned the Trojan War, its origins and its aftermath. The *Iliad*-poet can assume knowledge of the broad outlines of mythic history and often alludes to events outside the time-frame of his own poem.[84]

(e) The poets had evolved a special kind of epic language, composed of elements drawn from different linguistic phases and combining features of different dialects, which facilitated composition at length in hexameters (particularly through the use of set phrases and expressions, lines or half-lines, and the availability of alternative forms for different metrical needs).[85]

(f) The epic diction is broadly shared by the various poets from the early period – not only by the poets of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* but (with due allowance for different subject matter) by Hesiod and the composers of the earlier Homeric Hymns. Although there is both variation and development, the common ground is extensive.[86]

(g) These phenomena are best explained by the assumption that the epic developed out of a tradition of oral performance, with successive bards passing on their craft to their offspring or pupils or successors. The representation of bards at work in the *Odyssey*,

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[81] Rutherford 1991–1993; Usener 1990; West 2014: esp. 25–7, 70–6.

[82] West 1973, 1988.

[83] For an optimistic reconstruction of the historical background see Latacz 2004; other approaches e.g. in Sherratt 1990, Crielaard 1995. A short synthesis of arguments is Osborne 2004.

[84] *Homer* 6–9; Kullmann 1960; West 2011a: 28–37 (valuable synthesis, but too definite on exactly what was present in the *Iliad*-poet's own repertoire).

[85] Palmer 1980: 83–101 and more fully 1962; Horrocks in Morris and Powell 1997. See further section 7.2 below.

[86] E.g. West 1966: 77–91; Richardson 1974: 30–56; Janko 1982 and 1992: 8–19; Faulkner 2008: 23–47.

though perhaps archaising or idealising, probably gives some idea of the conditions of performance in the poets' times.[87]

(h) Many other epics were current in the archaic period, some of which survived well into Hellenistic times or beyond.[88] Their authorship and their relation to the more famous epics was uncertain, but Aristotle and others generally thought them inferior; they mostly seem to have been shorter.[89] Most modern scholars think some at least were later than the Homeric epics though often drawing on earlier material. At an uncertain date, those which dealt with the Trojan War were organised in chronological order around the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: the whole sequence is usually referred to as the Epic Cycle. None of these poems survives today, but we do have some quotations and citations, as well as a summary of their content ascribed to a scholar called Proclus.[90] One epic in particular, the *Aethiopis*, treated the aftermath of the *Iliad* including the death of Achilles. Its relevance to the *Iliad* in general and book 18 in particular has been much discussed, particularly by critics who adopt the approach generally known as 'neo-analysis', seeking to reconstruct the lost sources which helped shape the existing poems.[91]

(i) The date at which the *Iliad* was committed to writing cannot be determined. On one view the original poet was literate or learned the art of writing during his career, so that a written version existed from the start; on another it was at first transmitted by oral performers alone, and transcription came only later.[92] Even when written down, the poem was probably performed orally, as a whole or in part. Complete performances may have been rare, but they became a part of the programme of the Panathenaic festival at Athens under the rule of the Pisistratids (at latest by 510 BC, probably earlier).[93]

(j) Whether or not the poems were written down at once, they were subject to interference or later editing. The extent of the changes resulting from the process of transmission was the subject of the long-running debate between the 'analysts' (those who divided the

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[87] *Homer* 23–4; Halliwell 2012: ch. 2.
[88] What survives is most accessible in *GEF*; more advanced and inclusive is Bernabé 1987 in the Teubner series.
[89] Arist. *Poet.* 8.1451a22–4, 23.59a29–59b4, 24.60a5–11; Callim. *Epigr.* 29; Hor. *Ars* 132, 136. For modern discussions see Griffin 1977, Davies 1989, Burgess 2001, Dowden 2004, West 2013, Fantuzzi and Tsagalis 2015.
[90] On his identity and date (2nd century AD?), see West 2013: 7–11.
[91] Willcock 1997; *Homer* 117–21. On the *Aethiopis* in particular see West 2003; West 2013: 129–62. For a contrary view, see Kullmann 2005. See now Currie 2016: 16, 55–72; Davies 2016.
[92] *Homer* 31–3.
[93] The crucial ancient text is Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b; see *Homer* 34–5.

poem into different poems or layers) and the 'unitarians' (who saw each poem as essentially the product of a single mind).[94] This debate, at its height in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has since lost its momentum because of the modern emphasis on oral tradition, but the arguments are not all invalidated by the assumption that the poems emerge from such a tradition.[95]

(k) It is widely agreed that the tenth book of the *Iliad*, the so-called *Doloneia*, is composed by a later poet and has somehow become part of the inherited text: suspicions about this book were already aired in antiquity.[96] The Athenians were accused of introducing additional lines here and there to boost their own minor status in the epic narrative.[97] Although the heyday of 'analytical' criticism is past, problems continue to be detected and may sometimes be explained by textual interference (especially interpolation of extra lines).[98] Possible cases in book 18 are discussed in the commentary.

(l) The scholarly tradition inaugurated by Milman Parry focused on the concept of oral tradition and the ways in which an oral poet might be thought to compose.[99] As a result less emphasis was placed on the ability of the poet to diverge from tradition, to innovate in plot and language. Homer was sometimes seen as almost a slave to the formulaic system he inherited. More recently there has been a healthy reaction to this approach: for instance, scholars have found many cases where the standard formula is adapted or modified, and where there are clear indications that a story is being told in a new way, or indeed in new words.[100] (On the level of diction, we find a number of absolute *hapax legomena*, words that occur only once in the *Iliad* and never elsewhere. It is overwhelmingly probable that these are coined by the poet for this specific occasion.[101])

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[94] The review of these debates by A. Parry in Parry, *MHV* ix–lxii (reprinted in A. Parry 1989) remains invaluable; see also e.g. Clarke 1981.

[95] West 2011a is essentially concerned to revive many analytic views, but adapting them to the hypothesis that the *Iliad*-poet (whom he dubs P) himself used writing to compose and revise his epic over many years.

[96] Klingner 1940; Hainsworth 1993; Danek 1988 (cf. Danek 2012, in English); West 2011a: 233–5.

[97] E.g. *Il.* 1.265, 3.144, *Od.* 11.631; also Arist. *Rhet.* 1375b29–30, on *Il.* 2.557–8.

[98] West *Studies* 12–14 lists varieties of interpolations and collects examples of each.

[99] Parry, *MHV* passim; *Homer* 23–31. More recent work is represented e.g. by J. M. Foley 1999 etc. (see n. 106); Bakker 2005; Tsagalis 2008.

[100] Further details in *Homer* 30–1.

[101] Kumpf 1984 has lists of *hapax legomena*, variously arranged. This work was compiled before the revolution in electronic texts, which means that his results need to be checked against the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*. He finds 98 hapaxes in

(m)  Whether we are dealing with an oral poet or one who makes use of
     writing, innovation must have occurred, both on the level of narra-
     tive content and on that of verbal expression: otherwise we are faced
     with the absurdity of an infinite regress, with every predecessor of
     the *Iliad* re-telling the story of Achilles and Hector in identical form
     and style. Because of the loss of earlier poetry we can never prove
     that a word or phrase or simile or incident must be the poet's own
     invention, but common sense tells us that such invention must
     have occurred, and that audiences welcomed novelty (as Telema-
     chus remarks at *Od.* 1.351–2), even though it may be novelty in a
     traditional context.

   This summary may be open to dispute at various points, but it describes
what may be regarded as a broad scholarly consensus. In any case it will
suffice as background for some of the more detailed observations here and
in the commentary.

### 5.2 *Diction and Formulae*[102]

As we have seen, Homer's is an artificial language, which even to his
contemporaries probably seemed accessible but archaic and sometimes
obscure. It is a style which preserves an elevated level of dignity and
decorum, a style from which the crude and commonplace are excluded.
This suits the poet's subject matter, a world of the distant past, a time when
gods walked among men and when mortals might themselves be the
children of gods. The Homeric world is characterised by nobility and
grandeur; it is a world in which men were taller, stronger, more good-
looking than in later times. The audience's perception of this world is
shaped by the language in which it is described, not least through the
famous Homeric epithets. Heroes are godlike, dear to the gods, nurtured
by gods, descendants of Zeus; individual chiefs are given honorific
epithets (swift-footed Achilles, Hector of the glistening helm), and

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book 18, but of these 33 are proper names; of the remaining 65, some are
compounds which are easily understood from their component elements (e.g.
ἀπ-αμάω). According to Kumpf 1984: 204, 18 of the hapaxes are found only here
in all classical literature, namely ἀμφιζάνω, δυσαριστοτόκεια, ἀεκήλιος, τροπέω, κατα-
δημοβορέω, μεταπρεπής, αἴητος, εὔπρηστος, τρίπλαξ, ὑποθωρήσσομαι, ὑπολίζων (but
the word in the text is better divided as ὑπ' ὀλίζονες, see 518n.), δραγμεύω, ῥοδανός,
ἐρύγμηλος, ἐνδίημι (I omit three proper names from this list, all of which occur in the
catalogue of nymphs). On the whole the *TLG* confirms his findings, though
εὔπρηστος is quite common in Byzantine Greek.
    [102] Definitions of 'formula' vary: see Hainsworth 1993: 1–31. Edwards 1968
discusses variations on formulae in *Iliad* 18.

patronymics remind us of their ancestral heritage (Peleides, Aiacides, Laertiades). Gods too have their dignities: Zeus is 'son of Kronos, lord of the dark cloud', Athena 'the grey-eyed goddess'. Even features of the landscape are granted their epithets. The sea is wine-dark, sparkling, sounding, unharvested, ever-roaring, of broad paths, teeming with fish. Troy is 'strong-walled', Mt Ida is 'many-fountained'; the examples are endless.

The frequent recurrence of the stock epithets is paralleled on a larger scale by the formulae, repeated set phrases or lines, sometimes whole blocks of lines.[103] Any reader of Homer soon notices this tendency. Common events tend to be described in the same terms on different occasions: the entertainment of guests, feasting, sacrifices, the coming of dawn. There are standard lines with which speeches are introduced, and a number of regular expressions to describe the moment of death. The practice must originate in the convenience of such 'routine' lines for oral composition and performance. But there are important qualifications to make. First, not everything in Homer is formulaic: even passages of the same generic type are not repeated verbatim throughout. This applies even to the commonest types of scenes, deaths in battle. Although repeated phraseology and parallelism of ideas can be detected, no death-scene simply replicates another. The same thing applies to similes: comparisons involving lions, for example, are one of the commonest categories, but no two lion-similes in the *Iliad* are identical.[104] Further, although some lines are repeated so often that they are presumably part of the bard's standard repertoire (e.g. 18.1, 5, 15, 169, 368), we must distinguish these from cases where one line or several appear only twice, and where it is possible to see a relation between the passages in question. In other words, repetition need not be formulaic in the sense of automatic, but can be significant (for an important case in this book, see

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[103] Pavese and Boschetti 2003 is an ambitious compilation intended to show the degree of formularity in the poems on a line-by-line basis. In their analysis each line is given a score, with 24 indicating 100% formularity. The analysis involves questionable features: no distinction is made between lines repeated once and often; no weight is given to the repetition of sequences of lines; any parallel in an early Greek hexameter text is considered fair game, which means that some lines which may be direct imitations of Homeric passages are treated as formulae; and some of the alleged formulaic parallels dissolve on inspection (as with 18.399, to which Pavese and Boschetti give a score of 23; most of the parallels cited are loosely analogous at best).

[104] Repeated similes are very rare indeed: for a list see Edwards 24. Two lion-similes in the *Iliad*, 11.548–55 and 17.657–64, share most of their lines, but the later case was judged spurious by Wilamowitz. There is a repeated lion-passage in the *Odyssey*, but that involves Telemachus quoting the earlier words of Menelaus.

115–16n.).[105] In other cases we may be dealing with lines newly created for a given context and re-used in close proximity within the same context (e.g. in this book 56–62 = 437–43, 385–6 = 424–5; see nn.). Here we presumably do see one of the consequences of the oral poetic tradition. A literate poet might think it necessary to vary such utterances in the second instance, but the oral poet sees no objection to re-using a passage which remains in his mind and is perfectly adequate to his needs.

Other approaches to the formulaic element of epic diction are possible. One which has gained currency in recent work (though to some extent prefigured in Milman Parry's writings) is the concept of traditional referentiality.[106] This expression describes the way in which the recurring diction and phraseology evoke a whole epic world in which the formulae have recurring meaning and associations beyond the single poem in progress. In particular, the advocates of this approach believe that one use of a phrase evokes its other uses, so that the audience intuitively knows what to expect or how to react. The method is open to criticism: what is valid in it was arguably already well known to criticism, whereas problems arise if it is applied too dogmatically. How far did different bards vary in their styles and subjects? How well does the method accommodate unusual or innovative uses? Most relevantly, the referentialists may be reluctant to concede that echoes like those mentioned above, between Thetis' questions in book 1 and in book 18, are of special significance within the *Iliad* and possibly devised for their present contexts, as opposed to being part of the stock in trade of the bardic profession.[107]

## 5.3 Narrative[108]

The epic narrator conventionally avoids giving autobiographical detail or intervening in his own voice. Although the *Iliad* begins with an invocation of the Muse and includes further appeals for inspiration at key points,

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[105] Especially persuasive is the parallel between the death-scenes in books 16 (Patroclus) and 22 (Hector): see esp. 16.855–7 = 22.361–3 (though according to West '[363] is a concordance interpolation'). See further on this example Fenik 1968: 217–18; Janko 1992: 417; Richardson 1993: 139–40.

[106] A principle expounded esp. by J. M. Foley: see Foley 1997 and other works cited in *Homer* 30. A commentary applying this approach to a whole book is Kelly 2007a.

[107] As regards the echo discussed on pp. 11–12 above, between the Trojans' responses to Hector's harangues in books 8 and 18, Kelly 2007a: 68 and 73 assimilates these to his general category of Assembly scenes. The specific correspondence 8.542 = 18.310 is not discussed in sufficient detail for the emphatic νήπιοι to be quoted.

[108] See further Edwards 1–10 (also Edwards 1987, chs 2 and 6–8); de Jong 1987; S. Richardson 1990.

there is nothing comparable to Hesiod's description of his encounter with the Muses on Mt Helicon. For the most part the narrative is descriptive, not evaluative. When characters first appear, it is rare for the poet to describe or comment on them: the case of the clownish demagogue Thersites is exceptional, and even here the emphasis falls on his physical ugliness (2.212–19). On the whole the characters are allowed to speak for themselves, and our assessment of them rests on their own speeches and actions.

Some guidance is offered also by their style of dress, including armour and trappings: Paris in book 3 is showily sporting a leopard-skin (17), whereas the priest Chryses bears the symbols of his office, which Agamemnon foolishly mocks (1.14–15, 28). Gesture and physical contact give us indications of relationships, as when one person strokes or caresses another (e.g. 1.361, Thetis with Achilles; cf. 18.384 = 423). The lines introducing speeches often give a clear hint of the tone of what follows, of the kind that might be provided in modern stage directions to a play, as when Hera's first speech to Zeus in book 1 is introduced by the phrase 'at once she addressed Zeus son of Kronos with taunts' (1.539, cf. 4.6).

Nevertheless, the narrator is not wholly self-effacing. Although the text generally gives the impression that the story is being told 'straight', as if we had unmediated access to the events, it is obvious on closer analysis that the narrative is shaped in such a way as to guide audience responses. Some techniques which intensify the drama of the action do not appear in book 18 – among them, the narrator's rhetorical question (e.g. 22.202–4 'how could Hector have outrun Achilles . . . had not Apollo come to his aid, for the last and final time?'), or the direct address to a character, especially prominent in the account of Patroclus' *aristeia*: e.g. 16.786–7 'but when he came rushing forward a fourth time, god-like, then it was, Patroclus, that the end of your life appeared to you'. Here the unexpected shift from third-person narration to second-person address brings the audience face to face, so to speak, with Patroclus at the very moment of crisis (cf. 788–9). The two devices are combined earlier in book 16, where the poet asks 'whom first, whom last did you slay, Patroclus, as the gods called you on to your death?' (692–3). In these lines a question which is typical of appeals to the Muses (e.g. 11.299–300) is magnificently transferred to Patroclus, and the poet appears to seek information from his character while in the next words showing his own superior knowledge of the warrior's fated end. Another device which draws the audience's attention to the shaping of the narrative appears when the poet comments on what almost happened, and would have done had not a god intervened: these are often referred to as 'if not' situations (165–8n.).

Sometimes, though exceptionally, the poet may express an opinion or a judgement, as when he remarks with a dry touch of humour that the gods robbed Glaucus of his wits in making him exchange gold armour for

bronze (6.234–6), a fitting end to a light-hearted, non-tragic episode. The narrator's superior knowledge is shared with the audience when he comments on the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of a prayer or aspiration, as when the Trojan women make offerings to Athena in her temple, pleading for her support, but the poet states that the goddess refused them (6.311). The audience is allowed an insight into the purposes of the gods.

This brings us to the most significant type of narrator-intervention, those which comment on mortal hopes or predict future events which the characters cannot foresee. Critics regularly discuss dramatic irony (as in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*), where the audience know something that the characters do not. Similarly in Homer we can speak of epic irony, where the omniscient narrator shares his knowledge with the audience.[109] Thus in *Iliad* 2 Agamemnon wakes up optimistic and eager to launch an attack, because the deceptive dream has convinced him Zeus is on his side. In fact Zeus is planning to humiliate Agamemnon and vindicate Achilles. The audience knows this, having seen him give his promise to Thetis in book 1, and the poet underlines the point with specific comments: the dream leaves the king 'thinking in his heart of things that would not be fulfilled' (2.35–6). Later in the same episode Agamemnon offers sacrifice to Zeus and prays for victory on that very day, but the poet comments: 'Thus he spoke, but the son of Kronos did not yet bring his hopes to fulfilment. He accepted the offerings, but gave them in return unbounded toil and trouble' (419–20).[110]

Passages like these are concerned with future events. An ironic effect is also achieved when a character is unaware of something that has already happened which affects him or her closely. In the *Iliad* this is particularly common in relation to the death of a friend or kinsman. Helen looks in vain across the battlefield for her brothers Castor and Polydeuces, and wonders whether they are refraining from battle out of shame on her account. The poet comments that the two men are in fact not at Troy, but dead and buried in their native Lacedaemon (3.243–4). A striking pathos is achieved by the revelation of their early death and by Helen's ignorance; this emphasises how cut off she is from her past and her own family. More common is the use of the device in relation to death on the battlefield. A central example occurs in book 17, when the fighting over Patroclus' body is at its height.

τοῖον Ζεὺς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλωι ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων
ἤματι τῶι ἐτάνυσσε κακὸν πόνον· οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι

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[109] On tragedy's use of these techniques see my discussion in Rutherford 2012: ch. 8.
[110] For more examples of this type of irony see 2.859–61, 10.336–7, 15.610–14 (perhaps spurious), 16.799–800, and Duckworth 1933: 37–80.

ἤιδεε Πάτροκλον τεθνηότα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
πολλὸν γὰρ ῥ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν μάρναντο θοάων
τείχει ὕπο Τρώων· τό μιν οὔ ποτε ἔλπετο θυμῶι
τεθνάμεν, ἀλλὰ ζωὸν ἐνιχριμφθέντα πύληισιν
ἂψ ἀπονοστήσειν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἔλπετο πάμπαν
ἐκπέρσειν πτολίεθρον ἄνευ ἕθεν, οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτῶι·
πολλάκι γὰρ τό γε μητρὸς ἐπεύθετο νόσφιν ἀκούων,
ἥ οἱ ἀπαγγέλλεσκε Διὸς μεγάλοιο νόημα.
δὴ τότε γ' οὔ οἱ ἔειπε κακὸν τόσον ὅσσον ἐτύχθη
μήτηρ, ὅττι ῥά οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος. (17.400–11)

Such was the hard toil of men and horses that Zeus extended over Patroclus' body on that day. And in fact godlike Achilles knew nothing as yet of the death of Patroclus; for they were fighting a very long way from the swift ships, beneath the Trojan wall. This was something he never anticipated, that he was dead, but he supposed that after skirting the gates he would soon come back alive; for he did not at all expect that he would sack the citadel without him, or even with him. For many a time had he heard this from his mother as he sat apart listening to her words, as she bore him news of mighty Zeus's intentions. But at that time she brought him no word of the great disaster which had occurred, that his dearest friend by far had limits.

Since the death of Patroclus, the audience has been waiting for the news to reach Achilles. The long interlude of fighting over his corpse which delays that development is another characteristic epic technique (retardation), but the brief glimpse we are given here of Achilles' continued ignorance whets our expectations further; it also brings out how even the greatest hero of the *Iliad* remains subject to human limits.

Besides giving the audience advance warning, the poet may include retrospective comments after the outcome is known. Here there is no longer an ironic effect, but the comment provides closure, underlining the importance of an episode while heightening pathos. The similarity of the predictive and retrospective comments can be illustrated again from the account of the death of Patroclus.

Ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεύς.
τῶι δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσε·
νηῶν μέν οἱ ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε
δῶκε, σόον δ' ἀνένευσε μάχης ἐξ ἀπονέεσθαι. (16.249–52)

Thus he spoke in prayer, and Zeus in his wisdom heard him; and the father granted him part of his wish, but part he denied. He granted that Patroclus should drive back the war and combat

away from the ships, but he denied him his safe return out of the
combat.

τόν ῥ' ἤτοι μὲν ἔπεμπε σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν
ἐς πόλεμον, οὐδ' αὖτις ἐδέξατο νοστήσαντα. (18.237–8)

In truth he (Achilles) had sent him forth with horses and chariot
to the war, but he did not welcome him back returning
homeward.

Moral comment or criticism of the characters is rare, perhaps non-
existent: the closest thing to an exception is the poet's regular use of the
adjective νήπιος, which may be rendered 'foolish', 'blind', 'rash fool' or the
like. The word is applied to Patroclus when he begs Achilles to send him
into battle (16.46, cf. 686); it is used of Andromache when she is preparing
the bath water for Hector, unaware that he is dead and in Achilles' power
(22.445). Above all in this book, it is used of the Trojans when they cheer
Hector's over-confident speech and thus endorse a plan which will lead to
death for many of them at Achilles' hands (18. 311, see above). Even here,
however, it is arguable that the term denotes ignorance or poor judgement
rather than expressing outright condemnation. It is less strong than (say)
σχέτλιος or ὑβριστής, words which are confined to speeches.[111] Also, it is
important that it can have overtones of pity or affectionate concern
('foolish' as in 'childish') (e.g. 16.8). The narrator's attitude to his char-
acters in such passages may be balanced between reproachfulness and
compassion. Despite the anonymity of the poet, there is in these passages
a distinctive authorial voice.

    Not all authorial guidance of the reader is as explicit as this. In some
passages there is a kind of symbolic indication of what is to come (some-
times following on from explicit comment). When Patroclus arms for
battle, he dons most of Achilles' armour, disguising himself to terrify the
Trojans. But he does not take with him the great spear 'which no other of
the Achaeans could wield, but only Achilles could wield it' (16.141–2).
The significance is clear: Patroclus is trying to play a part that he cannot
sustain. Similarly Homer describes how the charioteer Automedon pre-
pares the horses – two of them immortal steeds but one, Pedasos, 'mortal
though he was, followed alongside the immortal horses' (154). Pedasos is
killed later in the book: again, the imperfection in Patroclus' equipage
symbolises his weakness. In the opening scenes of book 18 there is
a comparable symbolism in relation to Achilles, who is shown grovelling

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[111] For an important discussion of the differences between narrator-text and
character-text see Griffin 1986 (p. 40 on νήπιος).

in the dust and lying outstretched like a dead man; his mother cradles his head in her hands, a gesture also seen in archaic vase-paintings representing funerals (71n.), and her fellow-Nereids utter cries of lamentation. In the scene which follows Achilles takes the fateful decision that makes his death certain; it is appropriate that it should be prefigured here. The foreshadowing is obvious even without invoking the parallels which suggest that the poet may be echoing earlier poetry in which the funeral rites of Achilles were described (see 15–69 introductory n.).[112]

### 5.4 Speeches[113]

Many passages of the *Iliad* illustrate the importance of the spoken word. Achilles' mentor Phoenix was sent to Troy by king Peleus 'to teach you all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds' (9.442–3). When Achilles is angry he does not go forth either to the war or to the ἀγορὴν κυδιάνειραν; it is the assembly, not just the battlefield, that brings glory to men (1.490). Homer and his characters are connoisseurs of the speaker's art: the disparagement of Thersites by both the poet and Odysseus includes criticism of his utterances as ἄκοσμα, lacking order or structure (2.213, cf. 212, 244). By contrast Antenor recalls admiringly the differing style and delivery of Menelaus and Odysseus when they visited Troy at the start of the war, demanding the return of Helen (3.212–24). That passage usefully demonstrates the characters' awareness of different types of eloquence, each impressive in its own way; similarly in book 9 we can see the ambassadors to Achilles deploying quite different styles of persuasion.

Speech is important; it is also constantly present in the poem. Of the 15,690 lines of the *Iliad*, 7,018 (45%) are in direct speech; the proportion in the *Odyssey* is even higher. In this respect book 18 is typical, with 262 lines spoken out of a total of 617,[114] ranging from one-line utterances (lines 182, 392) to the lengthy speech of Thetis recounting her own woes and the misfortunes of Achilles (33 lines, 429–61). Achilles and Thetis are especially prominent, but the book also includes speeches by Antilochus, Iris, Poulydamas, Hector, Zeus, Hera, Charis and Hephaestus. The poet avoids potentially tedious recapitulation and editorial comment by allowing his characters to speak for themselves. Moreover, speeches advance the

[112] Similes too may not only illuminate the event to which they are compared but also hint at its consequences. See p. 49 below.
[113] See Lohmann 1970; Latacz 1974 (bibliographical survey); Edwards 1987: chs 10–11; Griffin 2004. For other aspects of Homeric rhetoric see Rutherford 1992: 58–73 (mainly on the *Odyssey*, but with some points relevant to both epics).
[114] The long description of the shield biases the figures toward the narrative side. Without the shield the proportion of direct speech would be 55%.

action, as is especially clear with those of Antilochus (the dreadful news is communicated to Achilles), of Achilles to Thetis (stating his decision), and of Thetis and Hephaestus (she delivers her request, and he accedes). Speeches of this kind move the plot forward as well as being expressive of character. By contrast the short, isolated exchange between Zeus and Hera represents only a stage in their protracted feud over the progress of the war; their dialogue does not initiate action, but marks the close of a phase, while making clear that their differences remain unresolved. The poet is also interested in speeches which fail to achieve their ends, for all their rhetorical skill (as the embassy in book 9 amply shows). In this book the key example is the debate in the Trojan camp, which is introduced as the summoning of an ἀγορή, an assembly (245, 246). The object of such a gathering is to deliberate on the best course of action, and we are told at the start that Poulydamas is a man of intelligence and foresight; he should be listened to. But his prudent counsel is rejected aggressively by Hector, whose overbearing reply imposes his will without further argument. The whole scene reminds us of the confrontations in tragic *agôn*-scenes, particularly those in Euripides, which typically end with the disputing parties even further apart than before.[115] Here as in the original quarrel, the poet shows the difficulty of reaching a satisfactory conclusion through debate, however able the speakers.

More detailed analysis belongs in the commentary, but a few other general points may be made here. Homer's technique often anticipates that of a dramatist, and so it is appropriate to visualise the action as we read. In particular it is important to distinguish between private and public discourse. The *Iliad* is a very public poem: most episodes take place in the open air and in plain view – in the assembly or council meetings, on the plain, on the battlements of Troy. This goes far to explain the values of the heroes, especially the importance placed on honour, status, respect.[116] The speeches of the quarrel are preeminently public; likewise those in the 'reconciliation' in book 19. In this book the Trojan assembly falls into the same category: Hector is proud of what he has achieved so far and refuses to adopt what he sees as a pusillanimous strategy. But private or more intimate encounters also take place, including the exchange between Achilles and his mother (where the presence of her entourage of Nereids can be ignored), and still more the dialogue between Thetis and Hephaestus (where her resentment of Zeus's treatment of her and his indignation at his mother Hera can be openly aired because their words are not overheard). The speeches in these more private conclaves are just as eloquent but often have different qualities, sometimes more tender and

[115] See Lloyd 1992, e.g. 37–41 on *Alcestis*; Rutherford 2012: 190–200.
[116] See e.g. Cairns 1993, Scodel 2008.

poignant, as in the scene between Hector and Andromache in book 6, or charged with deep emotion, as in book 24 where Priam comes unexpectedly in the night to plead with Achilles. That scene would be totally different in mood and effect if it were an appeal in daylight, made to Achilles in the public assembly.[117]

The poet's subtlety is also seen in the handling of the relationship between speaker and addressee. Again the Trojan debate in this book is a good example. In all his earlier interventions Poulydamas has addressed Hector directly, man to man. In this scene he addresses the Trojan army in general and avoids direct engagement with Hector, whom he nowhere mentions. In reply Hector responds directly to him, attacking his arguments and attitudes, and only later turns to exhortation of the army. The transition comes at 296–7: 'not one of the Trojans will obey your counsel, for I shall not permit it. Come now [2nd person plural], let us all do as I say.' It is as if his own reference to the rest of the army has reminded him that they are present and need an alternative proposal. A quite different effect is achieved in the scene in which the Greeks mourn Patroclus throughout the night. The line introducing Achilles' lament at first implies that his speech will be addressed to the rest of the Myrmidons (323 μετεφώνεε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν), but in fact he says nothing to them, being first lost in recollection of the past; then at 333 he addresses Patroclus, and continues to do so for the rest of the speech. His obsession with his dead friend and indifference to others are powerfully conveyed. Similar techniques are used elsewhere, with varying effect: Ajax and Agamemnon in different scenes conspicuously fail to address Achilles directly when it would be natural for them to do so: in the one case the device expresses Ajax' disgust at Achilles' behaviour, in the other Agamemnon's embarrassment and amour-propre (9.624, 19.78).[118]

Monologue or soliloquy represents a special case.[119] In this book there is only one example, Achilles' worried self-address in the opening scene. In general, speeches of this type emphasise the speaker's confusion of mind and uncertainty about the next course of action (as in the battlefield monologue, which represents a 'typical scene'[120]). But here Achilles feels not so much confusion as misgiving, swiftly modulating into anger at Patroclus (13 σχέτλιος) for failing to heed his warnings. There are multiple ironies here, since in this very speech Achilles reveals that he himself had failed to grasp the importance of a warning from his mother (9–11); in the

[117] As in the Latin epitome the *Ilias Latina* (1025 *mirantur Danaum proceres*).

[118] For other examples of the technique see Rutherford 2012: 16.

[119] Leo 1908 considers Homeric practice as background to his main subject, drama; see also Edwards 1987: 94–6; de Jong on *Od.* 5.299–312.

[120] Fenik 1978.

scene which follows, the reproaches he directs towards Patroclus will be turned with greater force against himself.

## 5.5 Similes[121]

Book 18 includes a fair number of short comparisons, from the first line onwards (1 'so they fought on like blazing fire'; 154 Hector is 'like flame in his strength'; 616 Thetis leaped down to earth 'like a hawk'). Expressions of this type are common to poetry in many languages.[122] More typical of Homeric epic, and hugely influential on the later tradition that sprang from Homer, is the extended simile of several lines, normally diverging from the narrative in subject and mood.

The functions of the similes are diverse: they can make an extraordinary situation more imaginable; they can characterise individuals or groups, or capture the essence of a relationship; they can add weight or significance to an occasion.[123] Usually they are drawn from the familiar world of everyday life (it goes with this that they sometimes include anachronisms, ideas or customs alien to the heroic world[124]). They describe practices which would be commonplace for Homer's audience: farming, hunting, dancing, craftsmanship and so forth (though we may grant that even these practices are stylised). The poet can thus create a powerful tension between the normal or everyday experiences described in the simile and the shocking or extreme experiences of the hero.[125]

Book 18 has rather few of these characteristic Homeric similes (this may be partly because the shield provides a comparable change of perspective), but at least four passages stand out.[126] Two belong to the very common category of lion-simile. The first covers familiar ground in this type: warriors who are trying to drive off an assailant and rescue the body of a comrade are compared to shepherds trying to drive off a ravenous lion (161–4, on the two Ajaxes and the attacking Hector). The second is an interesting variation on the motif. At 318–23 the poet is describing Achilles' groaning as he stands over the corpse of his friend.

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[121] The short and rather superficial work by Lee 1964 is chiefly useful for the lists he provides. See further the book-length treatments by Fränkel 1921; Moulton 1977; Scott 1974, 2009. Edwards in his commentary has excellent discussion (24–41), and there is a brief but penetrating essay by Buxton in Fowler 2004. I discuss some other aspects and examples in Rutherford 1992: 73–7.
[122] See e.g. West 2007: 95–9.      [123] Rutherford 1992: 74–5, with examples.
[124] The trumpet in 18.219 is an example of this; see further my remarks in *HE* s.v. anachronisms.
[125] See e.g. Macleod 1982: 48–9; *Od.* 12.245–59, with *Homer* 124–5.
[126] For marginal cases see 55–6 (= 437–8), 591–2, 600–1. The last two cases figure in the ecphrasis and were discussed on pp. 30–1 above. Lines 109–10 are part simile, part metaphor: cf. Moulton 1979: 285.

The comparison is to a lion whose cubs have been stolen away by a hunter from a deep thicket when the lion was absent. The cubs of course correspond to Patroclus, the thieving hunter to Hector. The lion returns too late, just as Achilles has returned to battle too late (320). The simile does not end there, however, but goes on to anticipate the lion's revenge.

πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι· μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ. (321–2)

Through many a valley he (the lion) journeys, seeking to find anywhere the trail of the man; fierce indeed is the frenzy that seizes him.

The comparison thus looks forward as well as backward: the events of the next day are foreshadowed. Although the key term μῆνις is not used, χόλος, also often associated with Achilles, stands in for it.

The other two similes come in swift succession in the passage where Achilles terrifies the enemy forces by his sudden appearance on the ramparts, crowned with a blazing fire kindled by Athena. First the rising supernatural flames are compared to the smoke and fire rising from a besieged city; the fire at least is a beacon, as the inhabitants are signalling desperately for aid from their neighbours (207–14). The second simile compares the petrifying yell of Achilles to the blast of a trumpet, again in the context of a city under siege (219–21); it is not made altogether clear which side sounds the blast, but the natural assumption is that it is a rallying call to the citizens, who thus correspond to Achilles taking the offensive. These two similes are highly unusual in that they draw for their material on the same world of martial conflict as the narrative itself.[127] The closer the subject matter, the less the simile is needed. The extreme case would be a comparison of the Trojans under siege with another city under siege, but the passage in question handles the subject differently. The aim seems to be to draw attention to the shifting situation: in the preceding books the Greeks have been gradually driven back to take refuge in their camp by the ships, recently reinforced by a defensive wall, so that they have become the besieged rather than the besiegers. The arrival of Achilles on the scene is like the hoped-for arrival of a rescue force of allies in the first simile; but the blast of a trumpet sounds like a signal to attack. The comparisons draw the audience's attention to the changed fortunes of the Greeks: led by Achilles, they will stage

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[127] The only clear analogy in the *Iliad* is the brief passage at 22.410–11, again signalling a crucial turning point. In the *Odyssey* comparisons relating to war and the battlefield occur at 8.523–30. But the narrative of that poem is of course not concerned with conventional warfare.

a counter-attack the next day, culminating in a renewed siege of the Trojans, virtual prisoners within their city.

So much attention has been given to similes that the contribution of metaphor in Homer has sometimes been underrated.[128] But the *Iliad* includes many examples, which again enrich the poetic texture. Some are enshrined in formulae, such as ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις 'wind-footed swift Iris' (166), or ἔπεα πτερόεντα 'winged words' (169). Others mark a dramatic crisis in memorable terms, as at line 22 (when Achilles has just heard of Patroclus' death): 'and a black cloud of pain engulfed him'. When Hera defends her behaviour in plotting to assist the Greek forces, her final words use the verb ῥάπτω, which refers to sewing or stitching, as a metaphor for her scheming (367). The image suggests her determined attention to detail; it also seems to have malignant associations in epic, since other metaphorical examples all refer to harmful or deadly schemes. Again, when Poulydamas voices his forebodings about the conflict, he doubts that they will be fighting on the open plain, 'where Trojans and Achaeans both on middle ground divide the might of Ares' (264); rather, they will be forced on to the defensive. The verb δατέομαι, 'divide' or 'share out', is more usually applied to sharing loot or property; here it is applied to the two sides' joint participation in the work of war. The use of the war-god's name as a metonymy for war itself is a further touch of poetic language,[129] repeated by Hector in his reply: tomorrow, he urges, let us rouse fierce warfare by the hollow ships (304 ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν ἄρηα). ὀξύς, here rendered 'fierce', also means 'sharp', 'swift' or 'keen', and in Homer is frequently applied to weapons: the language associates the war-god not only with his sphere of action but with the deadly tools of his trade.

More examples could be given, but enough has been said to show that the poet's style and technique are well suited to enhance the power and impact of book 18 and of the *Iliad* as a whole.

## 6 METRE[130]

The metre of Homeric epic, as of all Greek epic thereafter (and its Latin imitators), is the dactylic hexameter ('six-measure line'). It is traditionally

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[128] Moulton 1979 is a valuable contribution. Stanford 1936 also collects useful material.

[129] See further e.g. *ad Herenn.* 4.43; Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.23–4.

[130] This account adapts the equivalent section in Rutherford 1992, but with new examples mainly from book 18. For more detailed study of the subject the standard work is West 1982: 35–9, abridged as West 1987: 19–23 (though even the latter is quite hard for the complete beginner); more discursive essay in West 1997. See also Raven 1962: 17, 21–6, 43–5; Bowra in Wace and Stubbings 1962: 19–25. For a simple summary see Howatson 1989 s.v. Metre. The other volumes in this series dealing with books of Homer each include a similar survey, with varying emphases.

divided into six 'feet' which are potentially of equal length (though the last foot of each line is a special case). Its scheme is as follows:

1        2        3        4        5        6

$- \cup \cup$  $|- \cup \cup$  $|- \cup \cup$  $|- \cup \cup$  $|- \cup \cup$  $|- \times$
$- \; -$      $- \; -$      $- \; -$      $- \; -$      $- \; -$

In this notation, – is a long or 'heavy' syllable, ⌣ a short or 'light' one. Two long syllables form a spondee (– –), while one long and two short form a dactyl (– ⌣⌣). Thus all but the last foot can be either a dactyl or a spondee (but a dactyl is much commoner than a spondee in the fifth foot). The last foot is – x, where x indicates that the syllable can be either long or short. A syllable normally contains only a single vowel or diphthong (a diphthong is a combination of vowels pronounced as one, e.g. ευ in Ἀχιλλεύς).

In Greek, the vowels ε and ο are naturally short, η and ω naturally long. The other vowels, α, ι and υ, are sometimes long, sometimes short. All diphthongs (e.g. αι οι ει) are long (but see below on correption). But it is necessary to distinguish between the length of a vowel and the metrical quality of a syllable: though the difference is often blurred in ancient treatments and modern handbooks, these are different things. A syllable containing a long vowel or diphthong is 'heavy', and both syllable and vowel may then be described as long. But a syllable containing a short vowel may be either 'light' or 'heavy' according to what follows: there is no question of the vowel itself becoming long. What matters is whether the syllable ends with a consonant; if it does so, or if it contains a long vowel or diphthong, the syllable is long. Thus in the first word of the *Odyssey*, ἄνδρα, the first α is short but the syllable is 'heavy' and therefore long.[131]

When two consonants are found together, they are normally divided between syllables: e.g. in καρδίη the first syllable is καρ (long syllable), the second δι (short). The aspirate or 'rough' breathing does not count as a consonant. ζ ξ ψ count as double consonants (σδ, κσ/χσ, πσ/φσ). However, a short syllable is permitted (though not often) before certain combinations of consonants: a 'mute' or 'plosive' (π β φ τ δ θ κ γ χ) followed by a 'liquid' or 'nasal' (λ μ ν ρ). For example, in 18.72, which ends ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, the last syllable of πτερόεντα must be short, despite the fact that the two consonants πρ follow. Some of these combinations are rare, a few are never found, and in all cases where this shortening is found it is a special licence, usually in order to fit into the hexameter words which otherwise would not scan.

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[131] See further West 1982, 8–11, with discussion of exceptions; Allen 1987: 104–10.

Diphthongs, as explained above, are normally pronounced as one syllable. When this is not so, modern texts usually print a double dot (diaeresis) above the second letter concerned. This indicates that the vowels are to be pronounced and scanned separately; again this allows greater metrical flexibility. There are examples on every page of Homer: see e.g. 18.2 (Ἀχιλῆϊ); also 18.18 δαΐφρονος, 28 ληΐσσατο, 30, 48, 52, etc. Some editors omit this diaeresis when the placing of the accent or breathing makes clear that a combination is disyllabic. But where it is present, the double dot must never be ignored in scansion.

When vowels meet at the end of one word and the beginning of another within the line, there may be elision of a short vowel, which is always indicated in modern texts (though not in the earliest manuscripts surviving from antiquity). Effectively this means that the first vowel is dropped or ignored in pronunciation. Examples are frequent: e.g. at 18.167 ἦλθε θέουσα ἀπὸ Ὀλύμπου becomes ἦλθε θέουσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου and is scanned accordingly; at 310 ἀγόρευε ἐπί becomes ἀγόρευ' ἐπί; at 416 χιτῶνα ἕλε becomes χιτῶν' ἕλε; and so forth. As the last example shows, the aspirate or rough breathing does not prevent elision. In Homer there are no 'hypermetric lines'; that is, elision never occurs between the end of one line and the beginning of another (as occasionally happens in later Greek and Latin poetry), but it may occur at the caesura: see e.g. *Iliad* 1.2, where the caesura falls after μυρΐ'.

However, it often suited poets to follow other procedures when vowels meet at word-end.

(a) Of these the most important is *correption* (from the Latin *corripere*, 'tighten up'). This means the shortening of a vowel which is naturally long, or of a diphthong, before another vowel (which is almost always long). Examples are 18.19 πεύσεαι ἀγγελίης, where the first word must be scanned as a dactyl, despite the natural quantity of the diphthong -αι; 18.101 ἐπεὶ οὐ (-εὶ short), 130 τοι ἕντεα (τοι short). Correption also happens in mid-word, though very rarely. It is one of the ways in which the epic poet makes his verses more flexible and fits recalcitrant words into the hexameter.

(b) *Crasis* ('mixing', 'blending'). This means that two or more vowels are slurred together and produce one long syllable: e.g. *Od.* 3.255 καὶ αὐτός becomes καὐτός. This is also known as 'synecphonesis' ('joint pronunciation'), or 'synizesis' ('sitting together'), though some handbooks draw fine distinctions between these terms. But this phenomenon is distinct from elision. It is most common when the first word is monosyllabic (e.g. καί δή μή ὦ). Crasis is also quite common within words, especially when the first vowel is ε. Examples are *Il.* 23.834 χρεώμενος, where the vowels εω are pronounced as one sound; 4.308 ἐπόρθεον (often printed as ἐπόρθουν); 2.811 πόλιος.

(c)  *Hiatus* ('gap', 'opening'). This means that both vowels simply retain their normal pronunciation: e.g. 18.142 καί οἱ, 201 τειρόμενοι ὀλίγη. This is especially common when the second word originally began with a digamma (ϝ), the Greek letter which is pronounced 'w', lost at an early date from some dialects, including Attic and Ionic, and not represented in their alphabets.[132] Some important words which originally began with digamma are ἄναξ, ἄστυ, ἔπος, ἔργον, ἐρέω, οἶνος, οἶκος and the pronouns ἑ and οἱ. Examples of phrases in which the presence of digamma causes hiatus are 60 οὐδέ τί οἱ, 61 ὄφρα ἴδωμι, 137 παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο ἄνακτος.

All Homeric verses have at least one strong break, the *caesura* (the Latin equivalent for the Greek τομή, 'cut' or 'severance'). This term is conventionally applied to the one main break in the line, though it is more loosely applicable to any division between words which does not coincide with the end of a foot. All Homeric verses have a caesura in the former sense. This may fall at one of three places: (a) after the first syllable of the third foot (the so-called 'masculine' caesura): e.g. *Il.* 18.371:

– ◡◡| –    – |–    –|– ◡ ◡| –  ◡ ◡| – –
χάλκεον, ὅν ῥ αὐτὸς    ποιήσατο κυλλοποδίων

(the broad gap in mid-line indicates where the caesura falls)

(b) after the first short syllable of a dactylic third foot (the 'feminine' caesura), e.g. 18.370:

– ◡◡| – ◡◡|– ◡   ◡| – ◡ ◡|– ◡ ◡ | – –
ἄφθιτον ἀστερόεντα    μεταπρεπέ̓ ἀθανάτοισιν

or (c) after the first syllable of the fourth foot, e.g. 18.312:

– ◡◡|–  ◡ ◡| – –| –    ◡ ◡| –◡◡|– –
Ἕκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήινησαν    κακὰ μητιόωντι

Of these (b) is the commonest type, (c) the least common by far (occurring only about nine times per thousand lines).

Most of the notable features of Homeric metre can be illustrated from a relatively short passage. Here is an extract from book 18 with metrical annotation.

– ◡ ◡| –  ◡ ◡| – ◡    ◡| – ◡ ◡| –  ◡ ◡| – –
Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ'    ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις,            285

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[132] Cf. Monro §§388–46; Palmer 1962: 100–1. The old edition of Homer by Van Leeuwen reinstates digammas (first attempted by Payne Knight in his editions of 1808, 1820).

‒ ⌣⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ⌣    ⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒ ‒
ὃς κέλεαι κατὰ ἄστυ     ἀλήμεναι αὖτις ἰόντας.                    286

‒ ‒|‒   ⌣⌣ | ‒ ⌣   ⌣|‒  ⌣⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣ |‒   ‒
ἦ οὔ πω κεκόρησθε     ἐελμένοι ἔνδοθι πύργων;                    287

‒   ‒ | ‒   ⌣⌣|‒⌣    ⌣ | ‒ ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ‒  | ‒ ‒
πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο    πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι                  288

‒   ‒|‒ ‒ | ‒ ⌣     ⌣|‒  ‒|‒   ⌣ ⌣|‒   ‒
πάντες μυθέσκοντο     πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον·                      289

‒   ⌣  ⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ⌣     ⌣| ‒ ‒ ‒|‒ ⌣⌣| ‒ ⌣
νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐξαπόλωλε     δόμων κειμήλια καλά,                      290

‒  ⌣ ⌣|‒   ⌣ ⌣|‒     ‒| ‒⌣⌣|‒  ⌣⌣|‒ ‒
πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην     καὶ Μηιονίην  ἐρατεινὴν                   291

‒ ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣ |‒⌣    ⌣|‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒⌣ ⌣|‒  ‒
κτήματα περνάμεν' ἵκει,     ἐπεὶ μέγας ὠδύσατο Ζεύς.              292

‒   ⌣ ⌣| ‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒⌣    ⌣| ‒ ⌣⌣|‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒   ‒
νῦν δ' ὅτε πέρ μοι ἔδωκε     Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω              293

‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒ ⌣ ⌣|‒ ⌣    ⌣|‒  ‒ | ‒   ⌣⌣|‒‒
κῦδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσί,     θαλάσσηι τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιούς,            294

‒  ⌣⌣ |‒ ⌣⌣|‒  ⌣    ⌣|‒⌣ ⌣| ‒  ⌣⌣| ‒ ‒
νήπιε, μηκέτι ταῦτα     νοήματα φαῖν' ἐνὶ δήμωι·                  295

Comments:

(i)   285, 286, 292, 293 and 295 all have five dactyls, the maximum number.

(ii)   Correption occurs at the following places: 286 ἀλήμεναι αὖτις, 287 ἐελμένοι ἔνδοθι, 290 δὴ ἐξαπόλωλε, 292 ἵκει ἐπεί, 293 μοι ἔδωκε, 294 ἔλσαι Ἀχαιούς.

(iii)   At three other places where vowels meet, there is no elision and the hiatus is simply tolerated: 286 κατὰ ἄστυ and ἄστυ ἀλήμεναι, 287 κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι. In all three cases the second word originally began with a digamma, and its residual presence explains the hiatus.

(iv)   In 293 the final syllable of ἀγκυλομήτεω is subject to synizesis: i.e. -τεω, properly two syllables, is compressed into one.

(v)   In 291 we have an example of type (a) caesura ('masculine'). All the other lines have a caesura of the commonest type (the 'feminine' caesura).

(vi)   293 well illustrates the principle that standard formulae often occupy the first or (as here) the second half of the line, before or after the caesura.

(vii)   288 may well strike the reader as curious. As scanned above, Πριά-
μοιο πόλιν are split by the caesura, but do they not belong together?
In fact the poet seems to be combining but modifying two standard
phrases. Πριάμοιο πόλιν occurs eight times elsewhere in Homer; and
the expression πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (where πόλεις is accusative
plural) is found twice in this book (342, 490). This is the only place
in which the formula μερόπων ἀνθρώπων is used in any case other
than the genitive plural, and the artificial lengthening of the last
syllable of μέροπες betrays the poet's adjustment of an older phrase
to a new context.[133]

Aesthetic evaluation of metrical features is a perilously subjective area,
in which critics must generally steer an uneasy course between the self-
evident and the unduly speculative. In particular, too much can be read
into the number of long and short syllables in a line, and large deductions
are made about the poet's intention to make sound mirror sense.
The archaeologist Schliemann is said to have fallen in love with the beauty
of Homer's verse on hearing it read aloud, before he knew a word of the
language; but it could hardly be supposed that he actually understood,
however intuitively, the subject matter of the verses he heard. There are
undoubtedly some passages in which a deliberate metrical effect is being
cultivated for a discernible end: the most famous example, much discussed
by ancient critics, is the scene in book 11 of the *Odyssey* in which Sisyphus
painfully heaves his boulder up to the top of the hill, his efforts being
described in slow-moving lines, and then the stone rolls down to the foot of
the hill again in a rapid, entirely dactylic line (11.593–8; cf. Dion. Hal.
*On the composition of words* 20).[134] There are also some onomatopoeic
words in Homeric Greek, and in lines including these, or lines which
seem to contain a preponderance of harsh letters such as kappa, we may
legitimately speak of sound echoing sense;[135] but on the whole it is more
prudent to think of the sound and metre as being well adapted or well
suited to the sense; they cannot normally convey the meaning of the line
independently of the listener's understanding.

[133] Hoekstra 1965: 112, Parry, *MHV* 198.
[134] Cf. Pope, *Essay on criticism* (1711):
          When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
          The line still labours, and the words move slow;
          Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
          Flies o'er the unbending corn, and skims along the main.
[135] For words which can be plausibly considered onomatopoeic see e.g. *Il.* 1.49
κλαγγή, 4.125 λίγξε βιός, *Od.* 9.394 σίζ᾽ ὀφθαλμός, 20.13, 15 ὑλάκτει ... ὑλάει.
In general see Stanford 1969; Silk 1974: 173–4; Richardson 1980: 283–7.

It is unprofitable to separate metre from the poet's other stylistic resources, such as repetition, rhetorical figures, the shaping of long and short sentences, or devices which emphasise or isolate particular words or phrases. Of these the most familiar is probably the running over of the last word(s) of a clause or a sentence into the next line. This is one variety of a larger category known as enjambement, when a sentence or sense-unit does not end with the end of a verse but continues into the next. Critics normally distinguish between necessary enjambement, where a sentence is syntactically incomplete at the end of the verse (for instance because a subject needs a verb, as at 18.175–6), and unperiodic or progressive enjambement, where the sentence was apparently complete, but something new is added (as at 18.21, where γυμνοῦ provides the added information that Patroclus has been stripped of his armour). For examples of enjambement which seem deliberately emphatic, see 18.13, 62 (= 443), 84, 115, 227, 311, 491.[136]

There is a tendency for the caesura to provide a sense pause as well as a metrical division; often a new clause will begin at this point, and sometimes the two halves of the line will be in contrast, or opposed in sense: e.g. at 217 ἔνθα στὰς ἤϋσ', ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, where the first half of the line focuses on Achilles, whereas the second shifts to Athena; or 310 ὡς Ἕκτωρ ἀγόρευ', ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν (again a shift of subject, from Hector to the listening Trojans). In both these cases the caesura coincides with the comma in modern texts. For other examples of verses in which the two halves are contrasted in some way, see 14, 35, 59, 241, 252, 576.

Successive lines may present opposed or antithetical points, so clarifying the structure of an argument. Similarly there is a tendency for gnomic pronouncements, generalising about a particular case, to be self-contained lines: e.g. 18.309 ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καί τε κτενέοντα κατέκτα (cf. the many proverbial one-liners in Hesiod's *Works and Days*). Sometimes, as in this example, such lines form the conclusion of a speech: cf. 1.218, *Od.* 19.163, 360, and de Jong on *Od.* 7.307.

Not the least of the hexameter's effects, however, is subliminal. The regularity and stately movement of the metre reinforces the listener's consciousness of the heroic age as a time of dignity and splendour. Aristotle remarked that this metre had been found best for epic 'through experience... as the heroic metre is the steadiest and most weighty of all (which is why it is most ready to admit dialect terms (γλῶτται) and metaphors)' (*Poet.* 24.1459b34–6). The hexameter and the artificial epic dialect work together, creating a world

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[136] See further Bassett 1926, Parry *MHV* 251–65, Higbie 1990, Friedrich 2000.

which is more beautiful and more glorious than the everyday world which the audience inhabits.

# 7 GRAMMAR[137]

The form of the Greek language which is normally encountered first at school and university, and which is given pride of place in all standard grammars, is Attic Greek, the formal prose of Athenian literature of the fifth and fourth centuries, the Greek written by Thucydides, Plato and the orators. Even in the work of writers who aim at a plainer style, such as Xenophon and Lysias, it is a more formal and sophisticated language than the Greek commonly spoken by the ordinary Athenian of the period. But the gulf between fifth-century Attic prose and the language of Homeric epic is much greater. First, the epics are poetry, of an elevated and dignified kind; second, they were composed at least 250 years before the earliest surviving Attic writers were active, and draw on poetry going back even further; third, they are composed in an artificial poetic style which is a composite of different dialects, primarily Ionic and Aeolic, with an additional element of Arcado-Cypriot. An Attic element may have been imposed later, perhaps as a result of regular performance in Attica from the time of Pisistratus (p. 36 above), but for the most part the language of Homer seems remote and often opaque, just as the language of Chaucer or Shakespeare is difficult even for the well-read modern reader (though ancient Greek readers were much more intimately familiar with Homer than most modern readers are with these writers). A very large number of authoritative works have been written which describe and analyse the Homeric language. The following pages cannot replace or summarise these, but they offer some basic guidance. Unless otherwise stated, examples are drawn from *Iliad* 18.

## 7.1 Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the Homeric poems is very large, and includes many words which are never or rarely employed by later Greek writers. Some which seldom occur are used exclusively by authors who are consciously imitating or adapting a particular Homeric phrase or passage. Moreover, there is a remarkably large number of words which occur only once in

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[137] The major grammars are Monro, Chantraine, Palmer 1962; see also Wachter 2000 (now available in English, 2015), Hackstein 2010. Other students' editions of Homer normally include a sketch of the main aspects of Homeric grammar: see e.g. Pulleyn 2001: 51–8. A number of volumes in this series offer comparable accounts, e.g. de Jong 2012: 29–31; more ambitious in scope is Bowie 2013: 29–54. For the historical dimension see Palmer 1980: 83–101.

Homer – the so-called *hapax legomena* ('once-only words') (n. 101 above).
Many words used in the epics are incomprehensible to modern readers;
from ancient commentaries and lexica we know that scholars in Hellenistic
times were also frequently baffled.[138] The best example in book 18 is the
adjective αἴητον at 410. In fact, it is plausible that a limited number of words
(many of them embedded in formulae) carried no clear meaning even for
the epic poets who used them: a good example is the adjective μέροπες,
found only in formulaic phrases with terms meaning 'mortals' (cf. 288n.).
Usually a conventional 'poetic' rendering has developed in English for even
the words which perplex experts; the lexicon by Liddell and Scott, and still
more the works by Cunliffe and Autenrieth, suggest translations for even the
most obscure words and titles. For more advanced analysis of etymology and
meaning see Ebeling 1880–1885 (in Latin); Chantraine 1968; and espe-
cially the massive *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (*LfgrE*), a multi-fascicle
work initiated in 1955, which finally reached completion in 2010.

### 7.2  *Homeric Grammatical Usage, Including Variations in Linguistic Forms*

The sheer variety of grammatical forms in Homer causes beginners much
difficulty. The greatest obstacles lie in the forms of verbs: by comparison
nouns and adjectives are much more straightforward, but even here there
are many unfamiliar endings and alternative forms.

### 7.2.1  General

We may distinguish between matters of sound-change, as in changes in the
pronunciation of words, which give rise to changes in spelling ('phonol-
ogy') and the differences in form which arise from dialect mixture and
linguistic development ('morphology'). Both of these also affect metre,
since the poets have to accommodate the words within the constraints of
the hexameter. Phonological change thus gives rise to modifications of
syllable length or deliberate adjustment of forms.

(a)    ε appears as ει: e.g. χρύσειος, σπεῖος, θείω.
(b)    ο appears as ου: e.g. πουλύς, γούνατα, οὔνομα, Οὐλύμποιο.
(c)    η may be shortened to ε, and ω may be shortened to ο: this should be
       noted especially with reference to misleading forms of the subjunc-
       tive, e.g. εἴδετε for εἴδητε, 266 ἴομεν, 304 ἐγείρομεν. In earlier Greek it
       seems that some verbal stems had subjunctives with long vowels,

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[138] Indeed, the difficulties began earlier: see Ar. *Banqueters* fr. 233 (= D2 in
Olson 2007, with commentary), where one character interrogates another, asking
him to explain certain γλῶτται ('glosses', i.e. rare poetic words) from the Homeric
text, including the *hapax* κόρυμβα, the formula ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, and the archaic verb
ὀπύειν. See Silk 1983 for the problem of poetic words whose meaning is already
obscure to the poets who use them.

others with short; in later Greek the long-vowel type has been generalised (completely so in Attic), but Homer preserves some short forms when they are metrically convenient. Hence we see in the text alternatives such as παύσομεν/παύσωμεν.

(d) Vowels may undergo contraction, so that they are pronounced differently, and changes in spelling may result. φάος ('light') evolved into φῶς, but the new form, a single syllable, seems to have been found less useful, and the poets added a short vowel to lengthen the word to two syllables again, producing φόως. φάος still figures at 102, but in e.g. 16.39 φόως is used in exactly the same sense.

## 7.2.2 Verbs

(a) The augment which in later Greek regularly precedes the verb in past tenses is frequently omitted: e.g. 17 φάτο; contrast 1.33 ἔφατο. Originally it seems that the augment was an optional adverbial form, which later became obligatory. The 'gnomic' use of the aorist normally includes the augment (as in 309 κατέκτα).

(b) Verbs in -άω -έω -όω which in Attic would contract are often given in their uncontracted form, e.g. γοάω, φιλέω, ὁράω (in epic often ὁρόω).

(c) Reduplication of the initial syllables of a verb in the second aorist active and middle is frequent (this is familiar with the perfect tense in Attic). For example, φράζω produces a reduplicated aorist active indicative πέφραδον (seen in the compound διεπέφραδε at 18.9), as well as πεφραδέειν and πεφραδέμεν as aorist active infinitives.

(d) Homeric poetry includes a wide range of infinitives. These derive from different dialects. Ionic, like Attic, uses the infinitive ending in -ειν (87 νάειν) and -αι (99 ἐπαμῦναι), but we also meet infinitives ending in -μεν, typical of Aeolic (e.g. 129 ἀμυνέμεν, 260 αἱρησέμεν), and -μεναι (374 ἑστάμεναι), a speciality of Lesbian Aeolic. Different infinitive forms appear for the same verb: e.g. there are five different forms of the infinitive 'to be', each with different metrical shape: εἶναι, ἔμεν, ἔμμεν (364), ἔμεναι, ἔμμεναι (cf. 472 παρέμμεναι); and for the aorist infinitive of δίδωμι we find not only δοῦναι (499 ἀποδοῦναι), but also δόμεν (458) and δόμεναι (144).

(e) As in many languages, the verbs 'to be' and 'to go' include many variant forms and irregularities.

(i)   εἰμί 'I am'

## Present

|              | Indicative        | Imperative | Subjunctive       | Optative        |
|--------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1 sing.      | εἰμί              | ἔω         | εἴην              |                 |
| 2 sing.      | εἶς, ἐσσί         | ἴσθι       | ἔῃς               | εἴης, ἔοις      |
| 3 sing.      | ἔστι (ἐστί)       | ἔστω       | ἔῃ, ἔῃσι, εἴῃ     | εἴη, ἔοι        |
| 2 and 3 dual | ἐστόν             | ἐστόν      | ἦτον              | εἴητον, εἶτον   |
| 1 plur.      | εἰμέν             | ὦμεν       | εἴημεν, εἶμεν     |                 |
| 2 plur.      | ἐστέ              | ἐστέ       | ἦτε               | εἴητε, εἶτε     |
| 2 plur.      | εἰσί, ἔασι        | ἔστων      | ὦσι, ἔωσι         | εἴησαν, εἶεν    |

### Present participle
ἐών ἐοῦσα ἐόν

### Present infinitive
ἔμμεναι, ἔμεναι, ἔμμεν, ἔμεν, εἶναι are all possible.

## Imperfect indicative

| 1 sing. | ἦα, ἔα, ἦν, ἔην | 1 plur. | ἦμεν       |
|---------|-----------------|---------|------------|
| 2 sing. | ἦσθα, ἔησθα     | 2 plur. | ἦτε        |
| 3 sing. | ἦεν, ἦν, ἔην    | 3 plur. | ἦσαν, ἔσαν |
| 2 dual  | ἦστον           |         |            |
| 3 dual  | ἤστην           |         |            |

## Future indicative ('I shall be'; in this tense the variation between one and two sigmas is frequent)

| 1 sing.      | ἔσσομαι                  | 1 plur. | ἐσσόμεθα |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------|----------|
| 2 sing.      | ἔσσεαι, ἔσεαι, ἔσῃ        | 2 plur. | ἔσσεσθε  |
| 3 sing.      | ἐσσεῖται, ἔσεται, ἔσται   | 3 plur. | ἔσσονται |
| 2 and 3 dual | ἔσεσθον                  |         |          |

### Future participle
ἐσ(σ)όμενος, -η, -ον

### Future infinitive
ἔσ(σ)εσθαι

## Past iterative ('I used to be')

| 1 sing. | ἔσκον |
|---------|-------|
| 3 sing. | ἔσκε  |

The other parts of this tense are not found.

(ii)    εἶμι ('I go') (in Homeric Greek this is used as a present, whereas in later authors it has a future sense, ἔρχομαι functioning as the present)

**Present**

|            | Indicative | Imperative | Subjunctive    | Optative   |
|------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| 1 sing.    | εἶμι       | ἴω         | ἴοιμι, ἰοίην   |            |
| 2 sing.    | εἶ         | ἴθι        | ἴησθα, ἴῃς     | ἴοις       |
| 3 sing.    | εἶσι       | ἴτω        | ἴῃ             | ἰείη, ἴοι  |
| 2 dual     | ἴτον       | ἴτον       | ἴητον          | ἴοιτον     |
| 3 dual     | ἴτον       | ἴτων       | ἴητον          | ἰοίτην     |
| 1 plur.    | ἴμεν       | ἴομεν      | ἴοιμεν         |            |
| 2 plur.    | ἴτε        | ἴτε        | ἴητε           | ἴοιτε      |
| 3 plur.    | ἴασι       | ἰόντων     | ἴωσι           | ἴοιεν      |

**Imperfect indicative ('I was going')**

| 1 sing.   | ἤϊα            | 1 plur.   | ἤϊομεν                   |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 2 sing.   | ἤιεισθα        | 2 plur.   | ἤϊτε                     |
| 3 sing.   | ἤϊε, ἴε, ηἴει  | 3 plur.   | ἤισαν, ἴσαν, ἤϊσαν, ἤϊον |
| 2 dual    | ἤϊτον          |           |                          |
| 3 dual    | ἴτην           |           |                          |

### 7.2.3 Nouns and Adjectives

(a)    Greek originally used a long *a* which in Homer's Ionic generally becomes long *ẹ*, as in τιμά which becomes τιμή (τιμά survives later in Doric). This is most obvious with feminine nouns of the first declension (e.g. Τροίη, χώρη, πυρή), but extends further.

(b)    The genitive singular of second declension nouns and adjectives ends in -οιο as well as -ου: e.g. θανάτοιο, αἰθομένοιο. -οιο is certainly the older form, so that this is a case of the poets moving freely between linguistic forms of varying date. The noun δόμος 'house' has two genitive singular forms, δόμοιο and δόμου. There seems also to have been an ending in -οο, nowhere found in manuscripts but reconstructed by philologists as a middle stage between -οιο and -ου. In modern texts of 18.242 editors normally print ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο, but the correct form is ὁμοίοο πτολέμοιο.

(c)    The genitive singular of nouns and adjectives ending in -ης often ends in -αο or εω (e.g. 193 Τελαμωνιάδαο, 293 ἀγκυλομήτεω).

(d) Dative plural of nouns and adjectives often ends with an additional iota: i.e. -οισι, -ησι. Originally -οις and -οισι go back to different cases (instrumental and locative, which merged with the dative). Dative plural of third declension words may end in -εσσι, e.g. 317 στήθεσσιν, 233 and 352 λεχέεσσι. The first of these examples illustrates the practice of adding nu (ν) to dative plurals before a vowel (known as the 'nu ephelkustikon' or moveable nu).

(e) Special suffixes may be added to nouns, personal pronouns and proper names (especially place-names) in addition to the regular cases.

-θε(ν) 'from x': e.g. Τροίηθεν or Ἰλιόθεν 'from Troy/Ilium'; τηλόθεν 'from far away'; ἐγγύθεν 'from nearby'; ἐμέθεν 'from me'; οὐρανόθεν 'from heaven'.
-φι(ν) equivalent to genitive or dative singular or plural: e.g. βίηφι 'by force'; θεόφιν 'from the gods'; διὰ στήθεσφιν 'through the chest'.
-θι 'at' or 'in x': e.g. οἴκοθι 'at home'; ἄλλοθι 'elsewhere'; ὑψόθι 'on high', 'high up'.
-δε, -ζε, -σε indicating direction towards, 'to x': e.g. Τροίηνδε 'to Troy'; Οὔλυμπόνδε 'to Olympus'; οἶκόνδε or οἴκαδε 'homeward'; χαμᾶζε 'to the ground'.

## 7.2.4 Pronouns

### (a) The main (personal) pronouns

| 'I' | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | ἐγώ(ν) | ἡμεῖς, ἄμμες |
| Accusative | με, ἐμέ | ἧμας, ἡμέας, ἥμεας, ἄμμε |
| Genitive | μευ, ἐμεῖο, ἐμέο, ἐμεῦ, ἐμέθεν | ἡμέων, ἡμείων |
| Dative | μοι, ἐμοί | ἡμῖν, ἄμμι(ν) |

| 'You' | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | σύ, τύνη | ὑμεῖς, ὔμμες |
| Accusative | σε | ὑμέας, ὔμμε |
| Genitive | σεῖο, σέο, σέθεν, τεοῖο | ὑμέων, ὑμείων |
| Dative | σοί, τοι, τεῖν | ὑμῖν, ὔμμι |

| 'He', 'she', 'it' | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | [not found: Homer occasionally uses (ἐ)κεῖνος, ὅδε or οὗτος] | |
| Accusative | ἑέ, ἕ, μιν, αὐτόν | σφε, σφέας, σφας |
| Genitive | εἷο, ἑοῖο, ἕο, εὖ, ἕθεν | σφείων, σφέων |
| Dative | ἑοῖ, οἱ | σφι(ν), αὐτοῖς |

| Duals ('both') | First person | Second person | Third person |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ('both of us') | ('both of you') | ('both of them') |
| Nom./Acc. | νώ, νῶι | σφώ, σφῶι | σφωε |
| Gen./Dat. | νῶιν | σφῶιν | σφωιν |

## (b) The definite article

In later Greek the normal use of the definite article (ὁ ἡ τό) is the so-called demonstrative use, in combination with a noun (as in ὁ γέρων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι). This usage is certainly found in Homer (e.g. 1.11 τὸν Χρύσην), but it is not common: in book 18 it is found at 10, 202, 495, 503, 559, 574, 583 (for some reason it is especially frequent in the ecphrasis). Much the most common use of the article is as a pronoun, 'he, she, they', etc. See e.g. 15 ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε ('he pondered these things'); also 33, 65 αἵ ('they'), 222 (οἵ), 406 ἥ ('she'), etc. In this use it regularly introduces a new clause. The other common usage is as a relative pronoun, 'who, which'. Examples include 81 (Achilles speaking): 'my dear comrade has perished, Patroclus, <u>τὸν</u> ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῖον ἑτάρων' ('whom I honoured more than all my other comrades'), 57 = 438. In 382–3 we meet the two uses in swift succession: τὴν δὲ ἴδε προμολοῦσα Χάρις ... τὴν ὤπυιε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις ('Charis, approaching, saw her ... Charis, whom the glorious limping god had wedded'). Here the first τήν is equivalent to αὐτήν, the second has a relative sense and is equivalent to ἥν (which is used later in the scene, at 444).

The Attic forms of the definite article are as follows. Homeric variations are given after the familiar forms.

| Nom. sing. | ὁ | ἡ | τό |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acc. sing. | τόν | τήν | τό |
| Gen. sing. | τοῦ | τῆς | τοῦ (Hom. τοῖο) |
| Dat. sing. | τῶι | τῆι | τῶι |
| Nom. acc. dual | τώ | τώ | τώ |
| Gen. dat. dual | τοῖν | τοῖν | τοῖν (Hom. τοῖιν) |
| Nom.pl. | οἱ | αἱ | τά (Hom. masc. and fem. τοί ταί) |
| Acc. pl. | τούς | τάς | τά |
| Gen. pl. | τῶν | τῶν (Hom. τάων) | τῶν |
| Dat. pl. | τοῖς | ταῖς | τοῖς (Hom. τοῖσι τῆισι/τῆις/ταῖσι) |

## (c) The relative pronoun

As explained above, ὁ ἡ τό may be used as a relative, but ὅς ἥ ὅ is the more common pronoun to fulfil that role in Homer. Examples in book 18 are too numerous to list: in the first two hundred lines we find 4, 28 ἅς (contrast 341 τάς), 49, 55, 103, 108, 109, 118, 171, 186.

## (d) Possessive adjectives and pronouns

| | |
|---|---|
| τεός = σός | 'your' |
| ἑός = ὅς | 'his/her' |
| ἀμός = ἡμέτερος | 'our' |
| ὑμός = ὑμέτερος | 'your' |
| σφός = σφέτερος | 'their' |

### 7.2.5  Particles

The following particles should be noted; in some cases their meaning differs from that normally found in Attic.

| | |
|---|---|
| ἄρα (= ἄρ, ῥά) | 'so, next' |
| δή | 'indeed' |
| εἰ or αἴ (as in εἰ δ' ἄγε) exclamatory: | 'come on', 'come now' |
| ἦ | 'surely' |
| οὖν | 'in fact' |
| περ | 'just', 'even' |
| τε | 'and'; but notice the use of τε to indicate a general or gnomic statement, e.g. *Il.* 20.198 ῥεχθὲν δέ τε *νήπιος* ἔγνω: 'a fool understands something when it is done' (note here also the 'gnomic' aorist, often used in such generalisations; so also in 201). This generalising use is sometimes designated 'the epic τε' (see Ruijgh 1971). It is common in similes, which have a generalising quality (see 211, 219, 318, 518). |
| τοι | 'I tell you' (assertion); but the word may be equivalent to σοι, dative singular of the second-person pronoun: 'to you' |

### 7.2.6  Prepositions: Some Variant Forms

ἄν, ἄνα, ἄμ
εἰς, ἐς
ἐν, εἰν, ἐνί, εἰνί
κατά, καταί, κάτ, κάμ
παρά, παραί, πάρ
πρός, προτί, ποτί
σύν, ξύν
ὑπό, ὑπαί

## 7.2.7 Syntax: A Few Hints

(a)  Compound verbs are often broken up (tmesis, 'cutting' or 'sever-
     ance'): e.g. 311 ἐκ... εἵλετο, 92 ἀπό... ὀλέσσῃ, 94, 168, 218. This in
     fact reflects a much earlier stage in the development of Greek, when
     these prefixes were still separate adverbs or preverbs.[139]
     The adverbial function is especially clear in 347 ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ
     ἔχεαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα δαῖον ἑλόντες ('then they poured in the water, and
     taking wood they kindled it underneath'). In later Greek (e.g. tra-
     gedy) tmesis becomes a mark of high poetic style.

(b)  Prepositions frequently follow the noun which they govern (as is
     found to a lesser degree in classical Greek, e.g. with ἕνεκα (cf.
     Latin *causa, gratia*)). See e.g. 7 and 58 νηυσὶν ἔπι, 11 χερσὶν ὕπο,
     14, 191. (When the order is reversed in this way, the accent
     shifts to the first syllable: ἔπι rather than ἐπί ('anastrophe').)
     Another variation on prosaic word order is to place the preposi-
     tion in between adjective (or possessive pronoun) and noun:
     e.g. 92 ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρί, where the preposition is framed by the
     possessive and the noun (cf. 53).

(c)  The accusative of respect and double accusative are very frequent.
     See for the former 2, 33, 154, 446, 557 γηθόσυνος κῆρ ('joyful at
     heart'); for the latter 73, 178, 345.

(d)  Homeric style has a strong tendency to parataxis ('setting along-
     side'). This means that a self-contained clause is used, and then
     the sentence is continued with the addition of another clause,
     the two being connected merely by a word for 'and' (καί, δέ),
     whereas in later Greek we might expect one to be subordinate
     to the other ('periodic' construction). Good examples can be
     found in the descriptions on the shield, for instance 490–508
     (the city at peace). Here individual details are added in a long
     sequence of short clauses or sentences, with little subordination,
     as if each point was added as it occurred to the poet. The later
     passage 574–86 has a similar quality. The importance of this
     principle has been exaggerated, however. There are many com-
     plex and periodic sentences in Homer, not least in speeches
     (e.g. in this book 88–93, 121–5, 364–7). Occasionally sentence
     structure breaks down ('anacoluthon'), as in Achilles' outburst
     at 101–13, where the syntactical incoherence probably reflects
     his emotional turmoil.

(e)  The particle κε or κεν is common; it has the same force as ἄν, which
     Homer also uses. Both introduce some degree of uncertainty,

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[139] Horrocks 1980, Haug 2012.

hypothesis about the future, or conditionality: e.g. 91, 115, 143, 151,
165, 213.
(f)   The subjunctive often conveys a simple future intention; the optative
      tends to be used in contexts where the event is more unreal or
      hypothetical than the subjunctive would cover.[140]

## 8 TEXT[141]

Because of the extraordinary prestige of the *Iliad* throughout antiquity and
thereafter, its textual tradition is extremely rich – the evidence is far more
abundant than for the *Odyssey*. The sources for the text are as follows: (a)
The medieval manuscripts, of which the earliest containing the entire
poem are from the tenth and eleventh centuries AD. These are not the
oldest testimonies to the text, but the earliest which are complete: older
evidence is partial and often preserves only a small part of the whole. (b)
The fragmentary papyri, mostly from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, which
are much older than any of our complete manuscripts. (c) The quotations
of Homer by ancient authors, grammarians, scholiasts, lexicographers and
many others. With these authors too, we are dealing with manuscripts
much later than the author's own time, with ample scope for error and
distortion. Moreover, ancient authors often quoted from memory, so that
the variations in their quotations are not necessarily significant for the
constitution of the Homeric text. However, many comments in the scholia
and other sources of ancient scholarship are concerned with details of the
text and sometimes with ascertaining correct spelling or readings; in such
cases they contribute to our knowledge of the state of the text as known to
the authors.

    The problems confronting an editor of Homer do not, then, arise from
lack of evidence. The difficulties are rather (a) the nature of the Homeric
language (in large part an artificial poetic creation which can be recon-
structed systematically only from its use in the poems, and which is only
partly obedient to external philological rules), and (b) the uncertainties of
transmission, as outlined in section 5.1 above, which may mean that the
'text' was oral, or orally revised, or at any rate fluid, in the earlier stages.
Early papyri and quotations often show considerable divergence from our
standard text: in particular, they include additional lines and exclude
some which are in all or most of our manuscripts. It seems likely that the
text was regularised, and therefore perhaps stabilised, only in Hellenistic

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[140] This greatly oversimplifies a complex range of issues. For detailed discussion
of the moods of Homeric Greek see Willmott 2007 (helpfully reviewed by Goldstein
*BMCRev* 2009.01.29).
[141] Haslam, *HE* 'Text and transmission'; Pasquali 1952: 201–47; Janko 1992:
20–37; West, *Studies* ch. 6 (explaining esp. the principles of his Teubner edition)

times (i.e. third to first centuries BC), and it is customary to associate this process especially with the name of the great Alexandrian scholar and editor Aristarchus (c.150 BC).[142]

We would be much better informed about the history of the text if the commentary by Aristarchus had survived. Unfortunately this is not the case. What we do have is the reports of his and other views as digested and summarised in scholia which reached their present form at a much later date, in particular the scholia preserved in the manuscript Venetus A (tenth century). This material was first made available in printed form by Villoison in 1788. It provides the chief source for our knowledge of the major Alexandrian critics, of whom the most frequently cited are Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium (so called to distinguish him from the comic poet), and Aristarchus himself.[143] Although they had some precedent in work done in the fifth and fourth centuries, moderns generally view these men as the founder-figures of systematic scholarly criticism. Prominent in the comments reported in the scholia are judgements on the authenticity or suitability of particular lines of Homer: we are told that a particular critic suspected or did not include a given line or passage, and sometimes the reason is recorded. Few questions are more controversial than whether Aristarchus and others relied mainly on their own judgement or based their verdicts on manuscript evidence available to them; but in any case, while their views need consideration, a modern editor must use independent judgement.

Despite the uncertainties about the early stages, the difference between the problems of editing the *Iliad* and those involved in editing any other classical text should not be exaggerated. In all cases the editor is faced with a body of evidence which needs to be assessed and on the basis of which a text must be established; variants must be weighed, impossible or unlikely readings rejected. Sometimes this involves the ejection of a suspect line or a longer passage, with or without support from manuscripts or papyri. Sometimes the text as transmitted seems unacceptable (ungrammatical, unmetrical, illogical or nonsensical), and the editor must either delete the line or lines in question (if they are detachable), or obelize (indicating that the true reading is beyond recovery), or remedy the text by conjecture (introducing a wording for which there is no authority).

The aim, as with other authors, is normally taken to be the establishment of a text as close as possible to the 'original' authorial version. Here lies the main difference between editing all or part of a Homeric poem and

[142] On Alexandrian scholarship in general see Pfeiffer 1968: 87–279; Fraser 1972: 447–79.

[143] The magisterial edition of most of the *Iliad* scholia is that of Erbse 1969–1988; for discussion of ancient scholarship and commentaries generally, and bibliographical guidance, see Dickey 2007.

editing most other ancient authors, since in dealing with the Homeric epics it is much harder to define exactly what we mean by the original version. This is especially the case for those who envisage a period of purely oral transmission: should we regard the canonical text as the earliest version or the end-point of the process? The problem is reduced but hardly removed for those who believe that the poem was written down by (or in the lifetime of) the master-poet: it surely developed in his hands, and the 'final' version must again elude precise definition. It is also often maintained that a poem composed in this fashion, and at such an early date, would be more easily tampered with than in later times when the sense of a poet's identity and a poem's integrity was stronger. The addition of the *Doloneia* indicates that the poem could be substantially modified at an early stage, and less conspicuous additions may well have found their way into the text.

These problems have led different scholars to adopt widely varying editorial policies. Two major editions have recently been published. H. van Thiel has edited the poem largely on the basis of the medieval manuscripts, taking these as a modern vulgate or consensus; he cites papyri selectively and tends to treat their readings with great caution, as probably errors or misguided conjectures; he is even stricter in excluding the variants preferred by ancient scholars.[144] By contrast, M. L. West's Teubner *Iliad* gives an exhaustive statement of the evidence, listing and citing the readings from a staggering total of over 1,500 papyri,[145] and catalogues the ancient citations up to Byzantine times.[146] Even if the reader disagrees with him on the text, his is the most informative edition now available. On the whole West is readier than Van Thiel to introduce readings from papyri and other ancient testimonies, and bolder than most editors both in using conjecture and in obelizing. Many readings which he cites in his apparatus have no chance of being right, but are included because of their intrinsic interest (for instance to show the preoccupations of ancient readers): a good example is Crates' emendation in line 489, introduced to save the poet from astronomical error (see n.). A different approach from both is advocated by Nagy, who has repeatedly argued that the Homeric text remained freer and more fluid than others believe well into the Hellenistic period, and that an 'evolutionary' model is appropriate, one which must be adequately represented in an edition that

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[144] Van Thiel's *Odyssey* (1991) appeared earlier than his *Iliad* (1996); in the former he explains his editorial principles for both volumes in an introduction in English (pp. xxi–xxxiii, esp. xxi–iv).

[145] Just over 700 are listed in the preface to his Teubner edition, but for a fuller list including many unpublished papyri see West, *Studies* 86–129, followed by a listing of additional witnesses such as ancient glossaries (130–8).

[146] Kassel 2002 supplements West's list (two items relate to *Iliad* 18).

foregrounds multiple variants, a goal best realised today in electronic form.[147] Others are resistant to Nagy's views, maintaining that he has exaggerated the case for a fluid text and that his method gives undue credit to readings which are plausibly seen as inferior or erroneous.

When all is said and done, these debates have limited impact on the text which we read today: given the heat of the arguments, readers may be surprised how little the various editions in use differ in the actual text presented.[148] Comparison of Van Thiel's text of book 18 with West's shows a large number of differences of punctuation and orthography, and a rather smaller number of differences in accentuation; but the number of divergences which involve changes to the sense does not even go beyond single figures.[149] Uncertainties of course remain. On the level of orthography and dialect, we must acknowledge that we can hardly hope to recover the 'original' text with certainty; the poet himself, if he wrote down the poem at all, may not have spelt words consistently or as modern linguists would wish. As for lines which can be regarded as interpolations, some deletions can claim support from textual evidence (for instance, when early papyri of the passage omit the line(s) in question), but others remain a matter of critical judgement and taste.[150] One category of suspect lines has been labelled 'concordance interpolations'.[151] This means that the editor believes the line to be authentic in one place but wrongly repeated in another because of similarities in context. Critics exclude such lines with a view to eliminating repetition or expansion, but deletions without manuscript support should be regarded with great caution, given the obvious repetitiousness of Homeric style in general. In book 18 I have advocated only a very few deletions of lines which distinctly jar or which have little support from the tradition.

[147] See Nagy 2003, 2009 etc.; the developing project of the multitext *Iliad* may be seen at http://www.homermultitext.org.

[148] The supplementary information is a different matter. To take one case from this book, we will not learn from Van Thiel of the alternative version of lines 155–6 (see n. ad loc.), because that does not rest on manuscript evidence but is cited in the scholia from Zenodotus; Van Thiel excludes such reports, regarding them as ancient conjecture or deliberate re-writing. In this case he is probably right.

[149] I count as such the differences at 90, 176, 309, 519, 576, 605–6, but even these are very minor. I may of course have failed to note all divergences.

[150] In his edition West deletes 18.26–7, 34, 39–49, 200–1, 272, 381, 427, 441, 461, 535–8, and 604b–5a; he has textual basis for ejecting 200–1, 381, 427, 441, and follows Zenodotus and Aristarchus in deleting 39–49 (but their views evidently did not affect the tradition). In West 2011a he is more cautious about 26–7, 39–49.

[151] The term was coined by Bolling 1925, 1944. West defines this type as 'insertion of a line or lines which occur elsewhere in a similar context' (2011a: 73; cf. West, *Studies* 12–14, with a list of cases so designated in 13 n. 31). In book 18 West counts 200–1, 427 and 441 as concordance interpolations. I retain 200 but not 201, and bracket the other two lines.

The most frequent questions arise when different sources give alternative versions of a line. Sometimes one alternative is clearly preferable on contextual or aesthetic grounds, but at other times the choice may seem less clear, and I have mentioned a few of these alternatives in the commentary, to remind the reader of the degree of small-scale variation in our Homeric texts.

The text in this volume is based on West's. I differ from him only in a few respects: I have not obelized at 458, but printed what seems an acceptable reading; to ease matters for readers, I have occasionally preserved a more familiar form of a word even if a different spelling may be more scientifically correct (thus at 490 I print πόλεις, not πόλις to represent the accusative plural); I prefer to omit the so-called nu ephelkustikon at line-end in dative plurals unless a vowel follows; and I have often punctuated more or less emphatically (this mainly affects commas and semi-colons). There are a few other minor differences of capitalisation.

Since this does not pretend to be a new edition of the book, I offer only a minimal apparatus criticus; points of significance are discussed in the commentary. I do not list the manuscripts which preserve particular readings, as this would make the apparatus too bulky: the details can easily be sought out in West's edition. Instead I present variants in the form ἀπαμήσειε: ἀποτμήξειε, a notation which indicates that both readings have manuscript authority. When a name follows a reading, that means that the reading is a conjecture by that scholar. Although the apparatus is in English, I utilise a few abbreviations commonly employed in editions which use Latin: 'del.' (= deleted by), 'susp.' (= suspected by), 'om.' (= omitted by/in). The names of Hellenistic scholars are abbreviated as follows: Ar. = Aristarchus, Arph. = Aristophanes of Byzantium, Zen. = Zenodotus.[152]

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[152] For more detail on the nature of an apparatus criticus and guidance on the conventions used by editors see Reynolds and Wilson 2013: ch. 6, and Tarrant 2016: 157–68.

# ΟΜΗΡΟΥ

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Σ

# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Σ

Ὣς οἳ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
Ἀντίλοχος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ πόδας ταχὺς ἄγγελος ἦλθε.
τὸν δ' εὗρε προπάροιθε νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων,
τὰ φρονέοντ' ἀνὰ θυμόν, ἃ δὴ τετελεσμένα ἦεν·
ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·            5
"ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί ταρ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί
νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο;
μὴ δή μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῶι,
ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε, καί μοι ἔειπε
Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο            10
χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο.
ἦ μάλα δὴ τέθνηκε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός,
σχέτλιος· ἦ τ' ἐκέλευον ἀπωσάμενον δήϊον πῦρ
νῆας ἔπ' ἂψ ἰέναι, μηδ' Ἕκτορι ἶφι μάχεσθαι."
        ἕως ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,            15
τόφρά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἀγαυοῦ Νέστορος υἱός
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων, φάτο δ' ἀγγελίην ἀλεγεινήν·
"ὤ μοι, Πηλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος, ἦ μάλα λυγρῆς
πεύσεαι ἀγγελίης, ἣ μὴ ὤφελλε γενέσθαι.
κεῖται Πάτροκλος, νέκυος δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται            20
γυμνοῦ· ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ."
        ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.
ἀμφοτέρηισι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἤϊσχυνε πρόσωπον·
νεκταρέωι δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζανε τέφρη.            25
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίηισι μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθείς
κεῖτο, φίληισι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἤισχυνε δαΐζων.
δμωιαὶ δ', ἃς Ἀχιλεὺς ληΐσσατο Πάτροκλός τε,
θυμὸν ἀκηχέμεναι μεγάλ' ἴαχον, ἐκ δὲ θύραζε
ἔδραμον ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα δαΐφρονα, χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι            30
στήθεα πεπλήγοντο, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἑκάστης·
Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὀδύρετο δάκρυα λείβων,
χεῖρας ἔχων Ἀχιλῆος· ὃ δ' ἔστενε κυδάλιμον κῆρ·

1 del. Heyne      6 ταρ: τ' ἄρ      9–11 del. Düntzer      10–11 om. Rhianus and
Arph.      13 σχέτλιος: νήπιος one MS      26–7 del. Düntzer

δείδιε γὰρ μὴ λαιμὸν ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρωι.
σμερδαλέον δ' ὤιμωξεν· ἄκουσε δὲ πότνια μήτηρ          35
ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι.
κώκυσέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα· θεαὶ δέ μιν ἀμφαγέροντο
πᾶσαι, ὅσαι κατὰ βένθος ἁλὸς Νηρηῖδες ἦσαν.
ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔην Γλαύκη τε Θάλειά τε Κυμοδόκη τε,
Νησαίη Σπειώ τε Θόη θ' Ἁλίη τε βοῶπις                    40
Κυμοθόη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη καὶ Λιμνώρεια
καὶ Μελίτη καὶ Ἴαιρα καὶ Ἀμφιθόη καὶ Ἀγαυή
Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε Φέρουσά τε Δυναμένη τε
Δεξαμένη τε καὶ Ἀμφινόμη καὶ Καλλιάνειρα,
Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ ἀγακλειτὴ Γαλάτεια                  45
Νημερτής τε καὶ Ἀψευδὴς καὶ Καλλιάνασσα·
ἔνθα δ' ἔην Κλυμένη Ἰάνειρά τε καὶ Ἰάνασσα,
Μαῖρα καὶ Ὠρείθυια ἐϋπλόκαμός τ' Ἀμάθεια,
ἄλλαι θ' αἳ κατὰ βένθος ἁλὸς Νηρηῖδες ἦσαν.
τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀργύφεον πλῆτο σπέος· αἳ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι          50
στήθεα πεπλήγοντο. Θέτις δ' ἐξῆρχε γόοιο·
"κλῦτε, κασίγνηται Νηρηῖδες, ὄφρ' ἐῢ πᾶσαι
εἴδετ' ἀκούουσαι ὅσ' ἐμῶι ἔνι κήδεα θυμῶι.
ὤι μοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὤι μοι δυσαριστοτόκεια,
ἥ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ τέκον υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε,           55
ἔξοχον ἡρώων, ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος,
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὣς γουνῶι ἀλωῆς
νηυσὶν ἔπι προέηκα κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἴσω
Τρωσὶ μαχησόμενον· τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις
οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα δόμον Πηλήϊον εἴσω.                     60
ὄφρα δέ μοι ζώει καὶ ὁρᾶι φάος ἠελίοιο,
ἄχνυται, οὐδέ τί οἱ δύναμαι χραισμῆσαι ἰοῦσα.
ἀλλ' εἶμ', ὄφρα ἴδωμι φίλον τέκος ἠδ' ἐπακούσω
ὅττί μιν ἵκετο πένθος ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο μένοντα."
        ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα λίπε σπέος· αἳ δὲ σὺν αὐτῆι       65
δακρυόεσσαι ἴσαν, περὶ δέ σφισι κῦμα θαλάσσης
ῥήγνυτο. ταὶ δ' ὅτε δὴ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοντο
ἀκτὴν εἰσανέβαινον ἐπισχερώ, ἔνθα θαμειαὶ
Μυρμιδόνων εἴρυντο νέες ταχὺν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα.

34 del. Bothe  ἀπαμήσειε: ἀποτμήξειε    39–49 del. Zen. and Ar.    42 om. in
one papyrus    49 εἰσίν Lehrs    58 ἔπι προέηκα: ἐπιπροέηκα    68 εἰσανέβαι-
νον: ἐξανέβησαν Cauer

τῶι δὲ βαρὺ στενάχοντι παρίστατο πότνια μήτηρ,                    70
ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύσασα κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἑοῖο,
καί ῥ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;
ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε. τὰ μὲν δή τοι τετέλεσται
ἐκ Διός, ὡς ἄρα δὴ πρίν γ᾽ εὔχεο χεῖρας ἀνασχών,            75
πάντας ἐπὶ πρύμνηισιν ἀλήμεναι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν
σεῖ᾽ ἐπιδευομένους, παθέειν τ᾽ ἀεκήλια ἔργα."
        τὴν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
"μῆτερ ἐμή, τὰ μὲν ἄρ μοι Ὀλύμπιος ἐξετέλεσσεν·
ἀλλὰ τί μοι τῶν ἦδος ἐπεὶ φίλος ὤλεθ᾽ ἑταῖρος,               80
Πάτροκλος, τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῖον ἑταίρων,
ἶσον ἐμῆι κεφαλῆι; τὸν ἀπώλεσα, τεύχεα δ᾽ Ἕκτωρ
δηιώσας ἀπέδυσε πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
καλά· τὰ μὲν Πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα
ἤματι τῶι, ὅτε σε βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμβαλον εὐνῆι.             85
αἴθ᾽ ὄφελες σὺ μὲν αὖθι μετ᾽ ἀθανάτηις ἁλίηισι
ναίειν, Πηλεὺς δὲ θνητὴν ἀγαγέσθαι ἄκοιτιν·
νῦν δ᾽ ἵνα καὶ σοὶ πένθος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μυρίον εἴη
παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο, τὸν οὐχ ὑποδέξεαι αὖτις
οἴκαδε νοστήσαντ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐδ᾽ ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἄνωγε                90
ζώειν οὐδ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μετέμμεναι, αἴ κε μὴ Ἕκτωρ
πρῶτος ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπεὶς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσηι,
Πατρόκλοιο δ᾽ ἕλωρα Μενοιτιάδεω ἀποτείσηι."
        τὸν δ᾽ αὖτε προσέειπε Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα·
"ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ᾽ ἀγορεύεις·              95
αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ᾽ Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος."
        τὴν δὲ μέγ᾽ ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
"αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλον ἑταίρωι
κτεινομένωι ἐπαμῦναι· ὃ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης
ἔφθιτ᾽, ἐμεῦ δ᾽ ἐδέησεν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι.              100
νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαί γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλωι γενόμην φάος οὐδ᾽ ἑτάροισι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ δὴ πολέες δάμεν Ἕκτορι δίωι,
ἀλλ᾽ ἧμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης,
τοῖος ἐὼν οἷος οὔ τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων                  105
ἐν πολέμωι· ἀγορῆι δέ τ᾽ ἀμείνονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι. —

92 πρῶτος: πρῶτον Herwerden        100 ἐδέησεν Grashof (δὲ δέησεν Thiersch): δὲ
δῆσεν MSS    ἀρῆς: Ἄρεω        105-6 del. Heyne (106 Leaf)

ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο
καὶ χόλος, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι,
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἠῦτε καπνός,          110
ὡς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ,
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον δαμάσαντες ἀνάγκηι. —
νῦν δ' εἶμ' ὄφρα φίλης κεφαλῆς ὀλετῆρα κιχείω,
Ἕκτορα· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι ὁππότε κεν δή          115
Ζεὺς ἐθέληι τελέσαι ἠδ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα,
ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι,
ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρα δάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης.
ὣς καὶ ἐγών, εἰ δή μοι ὁμοίη μοῖρα τέτυκται,          120
κείσομ' ἐπεί κε θάνω. νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην,
καί τινα Τρωϊάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων
ἀμφοτέρηισιν χερσὶ παρειάων ἀπαλάων
δάκρυ' ὀμορξαμένην ἀδινὰ στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην,
γνοῖεν δ' ὡς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι.          125
μηδέ μ' ἔρυκε μάχης φιλέουσά περ· οὐδέ με πείσεις."
       τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα·
"ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε, τέκνον, ἐτήτυμον· οὐ κακόν ἐστι
τειρομένοις ἑτάροισιν ἀμυνέμεν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.
ἀλλά τοι ἔντεα καλὰ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἔχονται          130
χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα· τὰ μὲν κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ
αὐτὸς ἔχων ὤμοισιν ἀγάλλεται· οὐδέ ἕ φημι
δηρὸν ἐπαγλαϊεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ φόνος ἐγγύθεν αὐτῶι.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μή πω καταδύσεο μῶλον ἄρηος
πρίν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδηαι·          135
ἠῶθεν γὰρ νεῦμαι ἅμ' ἠελίωι ἀνιόντι
τεύχεα καλὰ φέρουσα παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο ἄνακτος."
       ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα πάλιν τράπεθ' υἷος ἑοῖο,
καὶ στρεφθεῖσ' ἁλίηισι κασιγνήτηισι μετηύδα·
"ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,          140
ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ' ἅλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός,
καί οἱ πάντ' ἀγορεύσατ'· ἐγὼ δ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον
εἶμι παρ' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην, αἴ κ' ἐθέληισιν
υἱεῖ ἐμῶι δόμεναι κλυτὰ τεύχεα παμφανόωντα."

ὣς ἔφαθ', αἳ δ' ὑπὸ κῦμα θαλάσσης αὐτίκ' ἔδυσαν·            145
ἣ δ' αὖτ' Οὔλυμπόνδε θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
ἤϊεν ὄφρα φίλωι παιδὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἐνείκαι.
      τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Οὔλυμπόνδε πόδες φέρον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
θεσπεσίωι ἀλαλητῶι ὑφ' Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
φεύγοντες νῆάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἵκοντο.                  150
οὐδέ κε Πάτροκλόν περ ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ
ἐκ βελέων ἐρύσαντο νέκυν, θεράποντ' Ἀχιλῆος·
αὖτις γὰρ δὴ τόν γε κίχον λαός τε καὶ ἵπποι
Ἕκτωρ τε Πριάμοιο πάϊς φλογὶ εἴκελος ἀλκήν.
τρὶς μέν μιν μετόπισθε ποδῶν λάβε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ          155
ἑλκέμεναι μεμαώς, μέγα δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὁμόκλα·
τρὶς δὲ δύ' Αἴαντες θοῦριν ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκήν
νεκροῦ ἀπεστυφέλιξαν· ὃ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαΐξασκε κατὰ μόθον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
στάσκε μέγα ἰάχων, ὀπίσω δ' οὐ χάζετο πάμπαν.              160
ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σώματος οὔ τι λέοντ' αἴθωνα δύνανται
ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι μέγα πεινάοντα δίεσθαι,
ὣς ῥα τὸν οὐκ ἐδύναντο δύω Αἴαντε κορυστά
Ἕκτορα Πριαμίδην ἀπὸ νεκροῦ δειδίξασθαι.
      καί νύ κεν εἴρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἤρατο κῦδος,      165
εἰ μὴ Πηλεΐωνι ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις
ἄγγελος ἦλθε θέουσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι,
κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν· πρὸ γὰρ ἧκέ μιν Ἥρη.
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"ὄρσεο, Πηλεΐδη, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν·                170
Πατρόκλωι ἐπάμυνον, οὗ εἵνεκα φύλοπις αἰνή
ἕστηκε πρὸ νεῶν· οἳ δ' ἀλλήλους ὀλέκουσιν,
οἳ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι νέκυος πέρι τεθνηῶτος,
οἳ δὲ ἐρύσσασθαι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν
Τρῶες ἐπιθύουσι. μάλιστα δὲ φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ                175
ἑλκέμεναι μέμονεν· κεφαλὴν δέ ἑ θυμὸς ἄνωγε
πῆξαι ἀνὰ σκολόπεσσι ταμόνθ' ἁπαλῆς ἀπὸ δειρῆς.
ἀλλ' ἄνα, μηδ' ἔτι κεῖσο· σέβας δέ σε θυμὸν ἱκέσθω
Πάτροκλον Τρωιῆισι κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γενέσθαι.
σοὶ λώβη, αἴ κέν τι νέκυς ἠισχυμμένος ἔλθηι."             180

148–50 del. Düntzer      153–65 susp. Leaf      155–6: alternative version pro-
posed by Zen.: see n.

τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
"Ἶρι θεά, τίς τάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἧκε;"
      τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις·
"Ἥρη με προέηκε, Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις·
οὐδ' οἶδε Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος οὐδέ τις ἄλλος                    185
ἀθανάτων, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἀγάννιφον ἀμφινέμονται."
      τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
"πῶς τὰρ ἴω μετὰ μῶλον; ἔχουσι δὲ τεύχε' ἐκεῖνοι·
μήτηρ δ' οὔ με φίλη πρίν γ' εἴα θωρήσσεσθαι,
πρίν γ' αὐτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι·                  190
στεῦτο γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο πάρ' οἰσέμεν ἔντεα καλά.
ἄλλου δ' οὔ τεο οἶδα τέο κλυτὰ τεύχεα δύω,
εἰ μὴ Αἴαντός γε σάκος Τελαμωνιάδαο.
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅ γ', ἔλπομ', ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ
ἔγχεϊ δῃόων περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος."                         195
      τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις·
"εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὅ τοι κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἔχονται.
ἀλλ' αὔτως ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν Τρώεσσι φάνηθι,
αἴ κέ σ' ὑποδείσαντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο
Τρῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν                      200
[τειρόμενοι· ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο]."
      ἣ μὲν ἄρ' ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·
αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὦρτο διΐφιλος. ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη
ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν·
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δῖα θεάων                        205
χρύσεον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαῖε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν.
ὡς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ' ἵκηται
τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου, τὴν δήϊοι ἀμφιμάχονται,
οἳ δὲ πανημέριοι στυγερῷ κρίνωνται ἄρηϊ
ἄστεος ἐκ σφετέρου, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι                     210
πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ὑψόσε δ' αὐγή
γίγνεται ἀΐσσουσα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι,
αἴ κέν πως σὺν νηυσὶν ἄρης ἀλκτῆρες ἵκωνται,
ὣς ἀπ' Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ' ἵκανε.
στῆ δ' ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν ἀπὸ τείχεος, οὐδ' ἐς Ἀχαιούς             215
μίσγετο· μητρὸς γὰρ πυκινὴν ὠπίζετ' ἐφετμήν.

194 πρώτοισιν: Τρώεσσιν    198 αὔτως: αὐτὸς    200–1 (= 11.800–1, 16.42–3)
one or both lines susp. many critics    209–10 susp. Hutchinson    213 ἄρης:
Ἄρεω (cf. 100)

ἔνθα στὰς ἤϋσ', ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
φθέγξατ'· ἀτὰρ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον ὦρσε κυδοιμόν.
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ
ἄστυ περιπλομένων δηίων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων,                    220
ὣς τότ' ἀριζήλη φωνὴ γένετ' Αἰακίδαο.
οἳ δ' ὡς οὖν ἄϊον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο,
πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός· ἀτὰρ καλλίτριχες ἵπποι
ἂψ ὄχεα τρόπεον· ὄσσοντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῶι.
ἡνίοχοι δ' ἔκπληγεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἀκάματον πῦρ         225
δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος
δαιόμενον· τὸ δ' ἔδαῖε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.
τρὶς μὲν ὑπὲρ τάφρου μεγάλ' ἴαχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
τρὶς δὲ κυκήθησαν Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι.
ἔνθα δὲ καὶ τότ' ὄλοντο δυώδεκα φῶτες ἄριστοι         230
ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
ἀσπασίως Πάτροκλον ὕπεκ βελέων ἐρύσαντες
κάτθεσαν ἐν λεχέεσσι· φίλοι δ' ἀμφέσταν ἑταῖροι
μυρόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφι ποδώκης εἵπετ' Ἀχιλλεύς
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων, ἐπεὶ εἴσιδε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον         235
κείμενον ἐν φέρτρωι, δεδαϊγμένον ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι,
τόν ῥ' ἤτοι μὲν ἔπεμπε σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν
ἐς πόλεμον, οὐδ' αὖτις ἐδέξατο νοστήσαντα.
      ἠέλιον δ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
πέμψεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι·         240
ἠέλιος μὲν ἔδυ, παύσαντο δὲ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ
φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς καὶ ὁμοιΐοο πτολέμοιο.
      Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀπὸ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης
χωρήσαντες ἔλυσαν ὑφ' ἅρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους,
ἐς δ' ἀγορὴν ἀγέροντο πάρος δόρποιο μέδεσθαι.         245
ὀρθῶν δ' ἑσταότων ἀγορὴ γένετ', οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
ἕζεσθαι· πάντας γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος, οὕνεκ' Ἀχιλλεύς
ἐξεφάνη· δηρὸν δὲ μάχης ἐπέπαυτ' ἀλεγεινῆς.
      τοῖσι δὲ Πουλυδάμας πεπνυμένος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν
Πανθοΐδης· ὃ γὰρ οἶος ὅρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω·         250
Ἕκτορι δ' ἦεν ἑταῖρος, ἰῆι δ' ἐν νυκτὶ γένοντο,
ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἂρ μύθοισιν, ὃ δ' ἔγχεϊ πολλὸν ἐνίκα·
ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·

"ἀμφὶ μάλα φράζεσθε, φίλοι· κέλομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἄστυδε νῦν ἰέναι, μὴ μίμνειν ἠῶ δῖαν                                    255
ἐν πεδίωι παρὰ νηυσίν· ἑκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεός εἰμεν.
ὄφρα μὲν οὗτος ἀνὴρ Ἀγαμέμνονι μήνιε δίωι,
τόφρα δὲ ῥηΐτεροι πολεμίζειν ἦσαν Ἀχαιοί·
χαίρεσκον γὰρ ἔγωγε θοῆις ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἰαύων,
ἐλπόμενος νῆας αἱρησέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.                                   260
νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα·
οἷος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος, οὐκ ἐθελήσει
μίμνειν ἐν πεδίωι, ὅθι περ Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ
ἐν μέσωι ἀμφότεροι μένος ἄρηος δατέονται,
ἀλλὰ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχήσεται ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.                            265
ἀλλ' ἴομεν προτὶ ἄστυ, πίθεσθέ μοι· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσται.
νῦν μὲν νὺξ ἀπέπαυσε ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα
ἀμβροσίη· εἰ δ' ἄμμε κιχήσεται ἐνθάδ' ἐόντας
αὔριον ὁρμηθεὶς σὺν τεύχεσιν, εὖ νύ τις αὐτὸν
γνώσεται· ἀσπασίως γὰρ ἀφίξεται Ἴλιον ἱρήν                              270
ὅς κε φύγηι, πολλοὺς δὲ κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται
Τρώων· αἲ γὰρ δή μοι ἀπ' οὔατος ὧδε γένοιτο.
εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοῖς ἐπέεσσι πιθώμεθα κηδόμενοί περ,
νύκτα μὲν εἰν ἀγορῆι σθένος ἕξομεν, ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι
ὑψηλαί τε πύλαι σανίδες τ' ἐπὶ τῆις ἀραρυῖαι                            275
μακραὶ ἐΰξεστοι ἐζευγμέναι εἰρύσσονται·
πρῶϊ δ' ὑπηοῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες
στησόμεθ' ἂμ πύργους. τῶι δ' ἄλγιον, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησιν
ἐλθὼν ἐκ νηῶν περὶ τείχεος ἄμμι μάχεσθαι.
ἂψ πάλιν εἶσ' ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους                      280
παντοίου δρόμου ἄσηι ὑπὸ πτόλιν ἠλασκάζων·
εἴσω δ' οὔ μιν θυμὸς ἐφορμηθῆναι ἐάσει,
οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκπέρσει. πρίν μιν κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔδονται."
      τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ·
"Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις,                    285
ὃς κέλεαι κατὰ ἄστυ ἀλήμεναι αὖτις ἰόντας.
ἦ οὔ πω κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι ἔνδοθι πύργων;
πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι
πάντες μυθέσκοντο πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον·
νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐξαπόλωλε δόμων κειμήλια καλά,                               290

259 γὰρ: μὲν Düntzer      272–6 susp. Leaf; 272 del. Bekker

πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην καὶ Μηιονίην ἐρατεινήν
κτήματα περνάμεν' ἵκει, ἐπεὶ μέγας ὠδύσατο Ζεύς.
νῦν δ' ὅτε πέρ μοι ἔδωκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω
κῦδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσί, θαλάσσηι τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιούς,
νήπιε, μηκέτι ταῦτα νοήματα φαῖν' ἐνὶ δήμωι·            295
οὐ γάρ τις Τρώων ἐπιπείσεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐάσω.
ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες.
νῦν μὲν δόρπον ἕλεσθε κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέεσσι,
καὶ φυλακῆς μνήσασθε καὶ ἐγρήγορθε ἕκαστος·
Τρώων δ' ὃς κτεάτεσσιν ὑπερφιάλως ἀνιάζει,              300
συλλέξας λαοῖσι δότω καταδημοβορῆσαι·
τῶν τινὰ βέλτερόν ἐστιν ἐπαυρέμεν ἤ περ Ἀχαιούς.
πρωῒ δ' ὑπηοῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες
νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῆισιν ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν ἄρηα.
εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,          305
ἄλγιον, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησι, τῶι ἔσσεται· οὔ μιν ἔγωγε
φεύξομαι ἐκ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος, ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἄντην
στήσομαι, ἤ κε φέρηισι μέγα κράτος, ἤ κε φεροίμην.
ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καί τε κτενέοντα κατέκτα."
    ὣς Ἕκτωρ ἀγόρευ', ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν,          310
νήπιοι· ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας εἵλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
Ἕκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπῄνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,
Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔ τις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν.
δόρπον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο κατὰ στρατόν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες.             315
τοῖσι δὲ Πηλείδης ἁδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο,
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους θέμενος στήθεσσιν ἑταίρου,
πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων, ὥς τε λὶς ἠϋγένειος,
ὧι ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἁρπάσηι ἀνὴρ
ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς, ὁ δέ τ' ἄχνυται ὕστερος ἐλθών,       320
πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι· μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ·
ὣς ὃ βαρὺ στενάχων μετεφώνεε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν·
"ὢ πόποι, ἦ ῥ' ἅλιον ἔπος ἔκβαλον ἤματι κείνωι
θαρσύνων ἥρωα Μενοίτιον ἐν μεγάροισι·                  325
φῆν δέ οἱ εἰς Ὀπόεντα περικλυτὸν υἱὸν ἀπάξειν
Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντα, λαχόντά τε ληΐδος αἶσαν.

306 ἐθέλησι: ἔλθησι Herwerden    308 φέρη(ι)σι: φέροιτο p    309 τε: τὸν

ἀλλ' οὐ Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι νοήματα πάντα τελευτᾶι·
ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίηι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα　330
δέξεται ἐν μεγάροισι γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα καθέξει.
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν, Πάτροκλε, σεῦ ὕστερος εἶμ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
οὔ σε πρὶν κτεριῶ πρίν γ' Ἕκτορος ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖκαι
τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλήν, μεγαθύμου σεῖο φονῆος·　335
δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε πυρῆς ἀποδειροτομήσω
Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς.
τόφρα δέ μοι παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσι κείσεαι αὔτως,
ἀμφὶ δὲ σὲ Τρωιαὶ καὶ Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι
κλαύσονται νύκτάς τε καὶ ἤματα δάκρυ χέουσαι,　340
τὰς αὐτοὶ καμόμεσθα βίηφί τε δουρί τε μακρῶι
πιείρας πέρθοντε πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων."
　　　Ὣς εἰπὼν ἑτάροισιν ἐκέκλετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στῆσαι τρίποδα μέγαν, ὄφρα τάχιστα
Πάτροκλον λούσειαν ἄπο βρότον αἱματόεντα.　345
οἱ δὲ λοετροχόον τρίποδ' ἵστασαν ἐν πυρὶ κηλέωι,
ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ ἔχεαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα δαῖον ἑλόντες.
γάστρην μὲν τρίποδος πῦρ ἄμφεπε, θέρμετο δ' ὕδωρ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ ζέσσεν ὕδωρ ἐνὶ ἤνοπι χαλκῶι,
καὶ τότε δὴ λοῦσάν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίωι,　350
ἐν δ' ὠτειλὰς πλῆσαν ἀλείφατος ἐννεώροιο·
ἐν λεχέεσσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῶι λιτὶ κάλυψαν
ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καθύπερθε δὲ φάρεϊ λευκῶι.
παννύχιοι μὲν ἔπειτα πόδας ταχὺν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα
Μυρμιδόνες Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες.　355
　　　Ζεὺς δ' Ἥρην προσέειπε κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε·
"ἔπρηξας καὶ ἔπειτα, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
ἀνστήσασ' Ἀχιλῆα πόδας ταχύν· ἦ ῥά νυ σεῖο
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί."
　　　τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη·　360
"αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες.
καὶ μὲν δή πού τις μέλλει βροτὸς ἀνδρὶ τελέσσαι,
ὅς περ θνητός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μήδεα οἶδε·
πῶς δὴ ἔγωγ', ἥ φημι θεάων ἔμμεν ἀρίστη,
ἀμφότερον, γενεῆι τε καὶ οὔνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις　365

341 αὐτοὶ: αὐτὼ Herwerden　　356–68 del. Zenodorus　362 βροτός: κότον Brandreth

κέκλημαι, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις,
οὐκ ὄφελον Τρώεσσι κοτεσσαμένη κακὰ ῥάψαι;"
    ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·
Ἡφαίστου δ' ἵκανε δόμον Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
ἄφθιτον, ἀστερόεντα, μεταπρεπέ' ἀθανάτοισι,						370
χάλκεον, ὅν ῥ' αὐτὸς ποιήσατο Κυλλοποδίων.
τὸν δ' εὗρ' ἱδρώοντα ἑλισσόμενον περὶ φύσας
σπεύδοντα· τρίποδας γὰρ ἐείκοσι πάντας ἔτευχεν
ἑστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο,
χρύσεα δέ σφ' ὑπὸ κύκλα ἑκάστωι πυθμένι θῆκεν,					375
ὄφρά οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα
ἠδ' αὗτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοίατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.
οἳ δ' ἤτοι τόσσον μὲν ἔχον τέλος, οὔατα δ' οὔ πω
δαιδάλεα προσέκειτο· τά ῥ' ἤρτυε, κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς.
    ὄφρ' ὅ γε ταῦτ' ἐπονεῖτο ἰδυίηισι πραπίδεσσι,				380
τόφρά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα.
τὴν δὲ ἴδε προμολοῦσα Χάρις λιπαροκρήδεμνος
καλή, τὴν ὤπυιε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις·
ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
"τίπτε, Θέτι τανύπεπλε, ἱκάνεις ἡμέτερον δῶ						385
αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις.
ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω."
    ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα πρόσω ἄγε δῖα θεάων.
τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν·						390
κέκλετο δ' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην εἶπέ τε μῦθον·
"Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὧδε· Θέτις νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει."
    τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις·
"ἦ ῥά νύ μοι δεινή τε καὶ αἰδοίη θεὸς ἔνδον,
ἥ μ' ἐσάωσ' ὅτε μ' ἄλγος ἀφίκετο τῆλε πεσόντα					395
μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἰότητι κυνώπιδος, ἥ μ' ἐθέλησε
κρύψαι χωλὸν ἐόντα· τότ' ἂν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῶι,
εἰ μή μ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Θέτις θ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπωι,
Εὐρυνόμη, θυγάτηρ ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.
τῆισι πάρ' εἰνάετες χάλκευον δαίδαλα πολλά,						400
πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε καὶ ὅρμους
ἐν σπῆϊ γλαφυρῶι· περὶ δὲ ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο

367 ῥάψαι: ῥέξαι    381 absent from papyri, susp. eds    396 κυνώπιδος: βοώπι-
δος    399 del. Payne Knight

ἀφρῶι μορμύρων ῥέεν ἄσπετος· οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
ἠίδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλὰ Θέτις τε καὶ Εὐρυνόμη ἴσαν, αἵ μ' ἐσάωσαν.                405
ἣ νῦν ἡμέτερον δόμον ἵκει· τώ με μάλα χρεώ
πάντα Θέτι καλλιπλοκάμωι ζωιάγρια τίνειν.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν οἱ παράθες ξεινήϊα καλά,
ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ φύσας ἀποθείομαι ὅπλά τε πάντα."
        ἦ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀκμοθέτοιο πέλωρ αἴητον ἀνέστη                410
χωλεύων· ὑπὸ δὲ κνῆμαι ῥώοντο ἀραιαί.
φύσας μέν ῥ' ἀπάνευθε τίθει πυρός, ὅπλά τε πάντα
λάρνακ' ἐς ἀργυρέην συλλέξατο, τοῖς ἐπονεῖτο·
σπόγγωι δ' ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόργνυ
αὐχένα τε στιβαρὸν καὶ στήθεα λαχνήεντα,                        415
δῦ δὲ χιτῶν', ἕλε δὲ σκῆπτρον παχύ, βῆ δὲ θύραζε
χωλεύων· ὑπὸ δ' ἀμφίπολοι ῥώοντο ἄνακτι
χρύσειαι ζωῆισι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι.
τῆις ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδή
καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.                  420
αἵ μὲν ὕπαιθα ἄνακτος ἐποίπνυον· αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔρρων
πλησίον, ἔνθα Θέτις περ, ἐπὶ θρόνου ἷζε φαεινοῦ,
ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
"τίπτε, Θέτι τανύπεπλε, ἱκάνεις ἡμέτερον δῶ
αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις.                425
αὔδα ὅ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν,
[εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστίν]."
        τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα·
"Ἥφαιστ', ἦ ἄρα δή τις, ὅσαι θεαί εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπωι,
τοσσάδ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἧισιν ἀνέσχετο κήδεα λυγρά                  430
ὅσσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν;
ἐκ μέν μ' ἀλλάων ἁλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν
Αἰακίδηι Πηλῆϊ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν
πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα. ὁ μὲν δὴ γήραϊ λυγρῶι
κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀρημένος, ἄλλα δέ μοι νῦν·                435
υἱὸν ἐπεί μοι δῶκε γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε
ἔξοχον ἡρώων· ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος·
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὣς γουνῶι ἀλωῆς
νηυσὶν ἔπι προέηκα κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἴσω

427  (= 14.196) absent from papyri, known to sch. bT        439 see 58

Τρωσὶ μαχησόμενον· τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις                    440
[οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα δόμον Πηλήϊον εἴσω].
ὄφρα δέ μοι ζώει καὶ ὁρᾶι φάος ἠελίοιο,
ἄχνυται, οὐδέ τί οἱ δύναμαι χραισμῆσαι ἰοῦσα.
κούρην, ἣν ἄρα οἱ γέρας ἔξελον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
τὴν ἄψ ἐκ χειρῶν ἕλετο κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων.                        445
ἦτοι ὃ τῆς ἀχέων φρένας ἔφθιεν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιούς
Τρῶες ἐπὶ πρύμνηισιν ἐείλεον, οὐδὲ θύραζε
εἴων ἐξιέναι· τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
Ἀργείων, καὶ πολλὰ περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμαζον.
ἔνθ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἠναίνετο λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι,                   450
αὐτὰρ ὃ Πάτροκλον περὶ μὲν τὰ ἃ τεύχεα ἕσσε,
πέμπε δέ μιν πόλεμόνδε, πολὺν δ' ἅμα λαὸν ὄπασσε.
πᾶν δ' ἦμαρ μάρναντο περὶ Σκαιῆισι πύληισι·
καί νύ κεν αὐτῆμαρ πόλιν ἔπραθον, εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων
πολλὰ κακὰ ῥέξαντα Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμον υἱόν                       455
ἔκταν' ἐνὶ προμάχοισι καὶ Ἕκτορι κῦδος ἔδωκε.
τοὔνεκα νῦν τὰ σὰ γούναθ' ἱκάνομαι, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα
υἷ' ἐμῶι ὠκυμόρωι δόμεν ἀσπίδα καὶ τρυφάλειαν
καὶ καλὰς κνημῖδας ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας
καὶ θώρηχ'· ὃ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀπώλεσε πιστὸς ἑταῖρος                  460
[Τρωσὶ δαμείς· ὃ δὲ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ θυμὸν ἀχεύων]."
    τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις·
"θάρσει· μή τοι ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ σῆισι μελόντων.
αἲ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ὧδε δυναίμην
νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἱκάνοι,                   465
ὥς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται, οἷά τις αὖτε
ἀνθρώπων πολέων θαυμάσσεται, ὅς κεν ἴδηται."
    ὣς εἰπὼν τὴν μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ, βῆ δ' ἐπὶ φύσας·
τὰς δ' ἐς πῦρ ἔτρεψε κέλευσέ τε ἐργάζεσθαι.
φῦσαι δ' ἐν χοάνοισιν ἐείκοσι πᾶσαι ἐφύσων,                     470
παντοίην εὔπρηστον ἀϋτμὴν ἐξανιεῖσαι,
ἄλλοτε μὲν σπεύδοντι παρέμμεναι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε,
ὅππως Ἥφαιστός τ' ἐθέλοι καὶ ἔργον ἄνοιτο.
χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν ἀτειρέα κασσίτερόν τε

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441 (=60) absent from some witnesses     444-56 del. Ar., defended by
sch. bT     453 περὶ: ἐπὶ     458 υἱεῖ ἐμ' ὠκυμόρωι υἷι most witnesses; υἷ' some
later MSS; υἷί μοι ὠκ- Nauck     460 ὃ: ἃ schol. bT     461 del. Düntzer     466 -
παρέσσεται: παρέξομαι     473 ἄνοιτο: ἄνυτο, ἄνῦτο

καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα                                   475
θῆκεν ἐν ἀκμοθέτωι μέγαν ἄκμονα, γέντο δὲ χειρὶ
ῥαιστῆρα κρατερήν, ἑτέρηφι δὲ γέντο πυράγρην.
    ποίει δὲ πρώτιστα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε
πάντοσε δαιδάλλων, περὶ δ᾽ ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν
τρίπλακα μαρμαρέην, ἐκ δ᾽ ἀργύρεον τελαμῶνα.                                   480
πέντε δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔσαν σάκεος πτύχες· αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῶι
ποίει δαίδαλα πολλὰ ἰδυίηισι πραπίδεσσιν.
    ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ᾽, ἐν δ᾽ οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν,
ἠέλιόν τ᾽ ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν,
ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ᾽ οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται,                             485
Πληϊάδας θ᾽ Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος
Ἄρκτόν θ᾽, ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,
ἥ τ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ᾽ Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
οἴη δ᾽ ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.
    ἐν δὲ δύω ποίησε πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,                                 490
καλάς. ἐν τῆι μέν ῥα γάμοι τ᾽ ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε,
νύμφας δ᾽ ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὕπο λαμπομενάων
ἠγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ᾽ ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·
κοῦροι δ᾽ ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖσιν
αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες                                  495
ἱστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἑκάστη.
λαοὶ δ᾽ εἰν ἀγορῆι ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
ὠρώρει, δύο δ᾽ ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου. ὃ μὲν εὔχετο πάντ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι
δήμωι πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ᾽ ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἑλέσθαι·                                 500
ἄμφω δ᾽ ἱέσθην ἐπὶ ἴστορι πεῖραρ ἑλέσθαι.
λαοὶ δ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπυον ἀμφὶς ἀρωγοί·
κήρυκες δ᾽ ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἴατ᾽ ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶι ἐνὶ κύκλωι,
σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ᾽ ἔχον ἠεροφώνων·                                   505
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ᾽ ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον.
κεῖτο δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῶι δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.
    τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δύω στρατοὶ εἴατο λαῶν
τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι. δίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή,                              510

482 πολλά: πάντα    483–608 damn. Zen.    485 οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται: οὐρανὸν
ἐστεφάνωκε (?) Ar., οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται Zen.    487–9 susp. Leaf    492 ἐκ
θαλάμων: ἐς θαλάμους Zen.    505 ἠερο- : ἱερο-

ἠὲ διαπραθέειν ἢ ἄνδιχα πάντα δάσασθαι
κτῆσιν ὅσην πτολίεθρον ἐπήρατον ἐντὸς ἔεργεν.
οἳ δ᾽ οὔ πω πείθοντο, λόχωι δ᾽ ὑπεθωρήσσοντο.
τεῖχος μέν ῥ᾽ ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα
ῥύατ᾽ ἐφεσταότες, μετὰ δ᾽ ἀνέρες οὓς ἔχε γῆρας·
οἳ δ᾽ ἴσαν· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,          515
ἄμφω χρυσείω, χρύσεια δὲ εἵματα ἕσθην,
καλὼ καὶ μεγάλω σὺν τεύχεσιν, ὥς τε θεώ περ,
ἀμφὶς ἀριζήλω· λαοὶ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὀλίζονες ἦσαν.
οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δή ῥ᾽ ἵκανον ὅθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι,             520
ἐν ποταμῶι, ὅθι τ᾽ ἀρδμὸς ἔην πάντεσσι βοτοῖσιν,
ἔνθ᾽ ἄρα τοί γ᾽ ἵζοντ᾽ εἰλυμένοι αἴθοπι χαλκῶι.
τοῖσι δ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθε δύω σκοποὶ εἴατο λαῶν
δέγμενοι ὁππότε μῆλα ἰδοίατο καὶ ἕλικας βοῦς.
οἳ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δύω δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο νομῆες             525
τερπόμενοι σύριγξι· δόλον δ᾽ οὔ τι προνόησαν.
οἳ μὲν τὰ προϊδόντες ἐπέδραμον, ὦκα δ᾽ ἔπειτα
τάμνοντ᾽ ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ
ἀργεννέων οἰῶν, κτεῖνον δ᾽ ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας.
οἳ δ᾽ ὡς οὖν ἐπύθοντο πολὺν κέλαδον παρὰ βουσίν            530
εἰράων προπάροιθε καθήμενοι, αὐτίκ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἵππων
βάντες ἀερσιπόδων μετεκίαθον· αἶψα δ᾽ ἵκοντο.
στησάμενοι δ᾽ ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ᾽ ὄχθας,
βάλλον δ᾽ ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείηισιν.
[ἐν δ᾽ Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ὁμίλεον, ἐν δ᾽ ὀλοὴ Κήρ,        535
ἄλλον ζωὸν ἔχουσα νεούτατον, ἄλλον ἄουτον,
ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μόθον εἶλκε ποδοῖιν·
εἷμα δ᾽ ἔχ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοισι δαφοινεὸν αἵματι φωτῶν.]
ὡμίλευν δ᾽ ὥς τε ζωοὶ βροτοὶ ἠδ᾽ ἐμάχοντο,
νεκρούς τ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἔρυον κατατεθνηῶτας.                     540
       ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει νειὸν μαλακήν, πίειραν ἄρουραν
εὐρεῖαν τρίπολον· πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀροτῆρες ἐν αὐτῆι
ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
οἳ δ᾽ ὁπότε στρέψαντες ἱκοίατο τέλσον ἀρούρης,
τοῖσι δ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἐν χερσὶ δέπας μελιηδέος οἴνου              545
δόσκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιών· τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν᾽ ὄγμους,

519 om. pap. 239a      535–8  (= [Hes.] *Scutum* 156–9) del. Düntzer

ἱέμενοι νειοῖο βαθείης τέλσον ἱκέσθαι.
ἣ δὲ μελαίνετ' ὄπισθεν, ἀρηρομένῃ δὲ ἐῴικει,
χρυσείη περ ἐοῦσα· τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο.
    ἐν δ' ἐτίθει τέμενος βασιλήϊον· ἔνθα δ' ἔριθοι        550
ἤμων ὀξείας δρεπάνας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.
δράγματα δ' ἄλλα μετ' ὄγμον ἐπήτριμα πῖπτον ἔραζε,
ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδετῆρες ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δέοντο.
τρεῖς δ' ἄρ' ἀμαλλοδετῆρες ἐφέστασαν· αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
παῖδες δραγμεύοντες, ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι φέροντες,        555
ἀσπερχὲς πάρεχον· βασιλεὺς δ' ἐν τοῖσι σιωπῇ
σκῆπτρον ἔχων ἑστήκει ἐπ' ὄγμου γηθόσυνος κῆρ.
κήρυκες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὑπὸ δρυῒ δαῖτα πένοντο,
βοῦν δ' ἱερεύσαντες μέγαν ἄμφεπον· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
δεῖπνον ἐρίθοισιν λεύκ' ἄλφιτα πολλὰ πάλυνον.        560
    ἐν δ' ἐτίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἀλωὴν
καλὴν χρυσείην· μέλανες δ' ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν,
ἑστήκει δὲ κάμαξι διαμπερὲς ἀργυρέῃσιν.
ἀμφὶ δὲ κυανέην κάπετον, περὶ δ' ἕρκος ἔλασσε
κασσιτέρου· μία δ' οἴη ἀταρπιτὸς ἦεν ἐπ' αὐτήν,        565
τῇ νίσοντο φορῆες ὅτε τρυγόωιεν ἀλωήν.
παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠΐθεοι ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες
πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι φέρον μελιηδέα καρπόν.
τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πάϊς φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε        570
λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ· τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἁμαρτῇ
μολπῇ τ' ἰυγμῷ τε ποσὶ σκαίροντες ἕποντο.
    ἐν δ' ἀγέλην ποίησε βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων·
αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῖο τετεύχατο κασσιτέρου τε,
μυκηθμῷ δ' ἀπὸ κόπρου ἐπεσσεύοντο νομόνδε        575
πὰρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα, παρὰ ῥοδανὸν δονακῆα.
χρύσειοι δὲ νομῆες ἅμ' ἐστιχόωντο βόεσσι
τέσσαρες, ἐννέα δέ σφι κύνες πόδας ἀργοὶ ἕποντο.
σμερδαλέω δὲ λέοντε δύ' ἐν πρώτῃσι βόεσσι
ταῦρον ἐρύγμηλον ἐχέτην· ὃ δὲ μακρὰ μεμυκὼς        580
ἕλκετο· τὸν δὲ κύνες μετεκίαθον ἠδ' αἰζηοί.
τὼ μὲν ἀναρρήξαντε βοὸς μεγάλοιο βοείην

550 βασιλήϊον: βαθυλήϊον (or similar), cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 288, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*
1.830       after 551 a spurious line cited by sch.T and Eust.       576 ῥοδανὸν:
ῥαδαλὸν Zen.

ἔγκατα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα λαφύσσετον· οἱ δὲ νομῆες
αὔτως ἐνδίεσαν ταχέας κύνας ὀτρύνοντες.
οἳ δ' ἤτοι δακέειν μὲν ἀπετρωπῶντο λεόντων, 585
ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ' ἀλέοντο.
    ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
ἐν καλῆι βήσσηι μέγαν οἰῶν ἀργεννάων,
σταθμούς τε κλισίας τε κατηρεφέας ἰδὲ σηκούς.
    ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις, 590
τῶι ἴκελον οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῶι εὐρείηι
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμωι Ἀριάδνηι.
ἔνθα μὲν ἠΐθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῶι χεῖρας ἔχοντες.
τῶν δ' αἳ μὲν λεπτὰς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἳ δὲ χιτῶνας 595
εἴατ' ἐϋννήτους, ἦκα στίλβοντας ἐλαίωι·
καί ῥ' αἳ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἳ δὲ μαχαίρας
εἶχον χρυσείας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων.
οἳ δ' ὁτὲ μὲν θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι
ῥεῖα μάλ', ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμηισι 600
ἑζόμενος κεραμεὺς πειρήσεται, αἴ κε θέηισιν·
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι.
πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περιίσταθ' ὅμιλος
τερπόμενοι· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς 604/5
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.
    ἐν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο
ἄντυγα πὰρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.
    αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε,
τεῦξ' ἄρα οἱ θώρηκα φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς, 610
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κόρυθα βριαρὴν κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν
καλὴν δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δὲ χρύσεον λόφον ἧκε,
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κνημῖδας ἑανοῦ κασσιτέροιο.
    αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάνθ' ὅπλα κάμε κλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,
μητρὸς Ἀχιλλῆος θῆκε προπάροιθεν ἀείρας. 615
ἣ δ' ἴρηξ ὣς ἆλτο κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόεντος
τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο φέρουσα.

604–5 additional line mistakenly inserted by Wolf (from *Od.* 4.17–18)   606 a
additional line present in pap. 51, already marked there as suspect   608 a–d
additional lines present in pap. 51

# COMMENTARY

The ancient title of the book was *Hoplopoiia* ('The making of the armour') or *Aspidopoiia* ('The making of the shield'). The evidence for such titles is given in the ed. maior of Allen's edition at the start of each book. The earliest evidence in this case seems to be the usage of ancient rhetoricians such as Theon and Hermogenes. Menander Rhetor (p. 146.2 R-W) cites the book with the phrase παρ' Ὁμήρωι ἐν τῆι ἀσπίδι ('in Homer, in the "Shield"'), no doubt influenced by the existence of the Hesiodic work of that title.

Some of these titles were evidently current already in the classical period (e.g. *Litai* and *Teichomachia*, both found in Plato), but the earliest example of this kind of title, Herodotus' allusion (2.116) to the *aristeia* of Diomedes, is a warning that they were not necessarily co-terminous with modern books, since he ascribes to this section a passage from book 6, whereas those who devised the book-division evidently saw that episode as ending with the conclusion of book 5. See further Pfeiffer 1968: 115–16; Stanley 1993: 282–4.

It is overwhelmingly likely that the book divisions were introduced into the text at a date considerably later than the lifetime of the poet. Majority opinion ascribes this step to the Alexandrian editors (e.g Pfeiffer 1968: 115–16; Janko 1992: 31); another view is that it was done at some earlier date, perhaps even in Pisistratid Athens, to facilitate division of the task of recitation among rhapsodes (see further S. West 1967: 18–25; Skafte Jensen et al. 1999, including a variety of views: note esp. M. L. and S. R. West, ibid. 68–73 (= West 2011b: 182–7). Heiden 1998 still maintains that the book divisions go back to the poet.

## *1–14 Achilles, sitting by the ships, is filled with misgivings*

The action is continuous with the conclusion of book 17: there is a shift of location but no interval in time. Achilles last participated in the action at the beginning of book 16, when he conversed with Patroclus and sent him out on his mission. Since that point he has been mentioned on several occasions, and throughout much of book 17 the Achaeans are anxious that the news of Patroclus' death should be communicated to him. Especially notable is the interlude at 17.400–11 (see Introduction, pp. 42–3), where the poet briefly shifts the narrative away from the fighting and reminds us that Achilles has still not heard the bad news (it is not necessary to see a contradiction between 17.404–11 and 18.9–11: see 9–11n.).

**1** (= 11.596, 13.673) Ὣς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο: as is frequent in epic, a transition between scenes is made in two lines (and marked by the μέν/δέ contrast), the first looking back to or 'signing off' on the preceding episode, the second initiating the new sequence: for the same pattern in this book see 368–9; more loosely comparable, 202–3, 314–15, 354–6.

οἱ μέν: the opposing forces of Trojans and Achaeans.

δέμας: (adv., plus genit.) an epic expression for 'like', 'in the form of'. As a noun the word means the shape or appearance of someone/something; it is cognate with δέμω, 'build', so that it must refer to the way something is constructed or shaped. Hence the idea here is that the combating forces resemble blazing fire, though the similarity is in violent activity, not in literal appearance.

For the comparison of warfare with raging fire, besides the other occurrences of this line, see e.g. 154 below, 17.366.

**2** Ἀντίλοχος: Antilochus, son of Nestor, was last seen at 17.679–701, where Menelaus gave him the grim news of Patroclus' death and urged him to hurry to convey the message to Achilles; Antilochus, stricken with grief, was unable to reply (695) but hastened to perform this mission, weeping as he went (700). Lines 2–3 here slightly anticipate, since Achilles is clearly supposed to be voicing his sudden fears before Antilochus reaches him; the monologue is not a reaction to the sight of Antilochus, but precedes his appearance, as 16 makes plain.

There is a similarity of situation with the opening of book 16, where Patroclus returns weeping to Achilles. In both places a distraught Greek warrior arrives to bring Achilles news of misfortune on the battlefield; in both cases an important new phase of the action ensues (Achilles sends Patroclus into battle wearing his armour; Achilles resolves to resume the fight himself). The parallel is interesting because there is a sense in which Antilochus becomes Patroclus' successor as Achilles' close companion: he is especially favoured by him in the funeral games (where his behaviour evokes Achilles' only smile in the whole poem, 23.555–6), and in the underworld in the *Odyssey* (11.468) he and Patroclus are singled out as accompanying the ghost of Achilles when he appears to Odysseus. It seems probable that the *Iliad*-poet has in mind the plot of the *Aethiopis*, in which Memnon slays Antilochus and Achilles seeks revenge; that story-pattern is evidently parallel to that of the second half of the *Iliad* (Memnon corresponds to Hector, Antilochus to Patroclus). The so-called neo-analysts have explored the relation of *Iliad* and *Aethiopis* in detail; the general consensus is that the *Aethiopis* is later than the *Iliad*, though drawing on earlier material. See further 15–69 introductory n., 26n.; Willcock 1983; Currie 2016: 55–72, esp. 58–9. West 2003 doubts the Antilochus–Patroclus analogy, since he has a different view of the content of the Cyclic epic.

**3 τὸν δ' εὗρε . . .:** a common locution to initiate a scene: cf. 372 (Thetis finds Hephaestus hard at work), 10.34; with the plural verb, 1.329, 9.186, *Od.* 4.3.

**ὀρθοκραιράων:** in the *Iliad* this epithet is used twice of ships, twice of oxen (once at 573 below); it is applied to oxen also in the *Odyssey* (12.348) and at *Hom. Hymn. Hermes* 220. The word is extremely rare in later Greek, though occasionally applied to natural features (mountain-peaks in Dion. Perieg. 642 on the Taurus, anon., *Anth. Pal.* 14.121.5 on the Pyrenees). The root κραίρα is hardly more common. Hesychius says that it means 'head' or 'forehead'. The usual rendering of the epithet is 'with straight/ upright horns', literally of the oxen, metaphorically of ships: the 'horns' will be pointed projections at prow or stern or both.

Probably the use with oxen is the standard formula and the application here is an ad hoc move by the *Iliad*-poet, who needed an epithet for ships in a metrical slot for which the tradition did not supply a suitable adjective. The same innovation is then repeated at 19.344, in a closely similar line (Edwards 1968: 261–2).

**4 τετελεσμένα:** the verb τελέω ('complete', 'accomplish', 'finish') sometimes carries considerable weight; see esp. the statement in 1.5 that 'the will of Zeus was accomplished'. In the present scene the verb is used several times, and marks the conclusion of a phase in the main plot: Achilles' wish for satisfaction from Agamemnon has been met, Zeus's promise in book 1 is now fulfilled. Cf. 8, 74n.

**5 ὀχθήσας:** 'distressed', 'disturbed'. The word recurs at 97, where it conveys still greater emotional turmoil. On the Iliadic usage of this verb see Scully 1984 (it occurs 18 times, 9 of them with reference to Achilles, often in contexts of foreboding).

**εἶπε πρὸς ὃν . . . θυμόν:** monologue at a moment of crisis is quite frequent in epic, but this is the first time Achilles has been shown soliloquising. On monologues in the *Iliad* see Fenik 1968: 96–7 (including a full list). In book 22 Hector has two monologues, one as he awaits Achilles outside the walls of Troy, one at the point where he realises he is doomed (22.99–130, 297–305).

**ὃν . . . θυμόν** 'his heart': ὅς is the possessive adjective 'his, her, its'; also found as ἑός (originally σεϝός, cf. Latin *suus*). On the θυμός see 15n.

**6 ὤ μοι ἐγώ:** cf. 18, 54. The exclamation is spelt in various ways in modern editions, but the earliest evidence we have, a verse inscription of the fourth century BC (*CEG* 718), spells it thus; so also the papyrus preserving Sappho 94.4.

**τί ταρ:** ταρ should be understood as an interrogative particle, a single word, hardly translatable. Older texts normally print τ' ἄρ' here and in comparable passages (including 1.8), and Denniston 43 went so far as to say that the combination τ' ἄρα is 'common in surprised questions in

Homer'. However, since Watkins 1995: 150–1 there has been increasing consensus that ταρ is correct. The arguments are: (a) It parallels a similar usage in the Anatolian language Luvian. (b) τε is an odd particle to use in a question. (c) If τ' ἄρ' were correct here we might expect to find the unelided form (τ' ἄρα) in places where a consonant follows; but this never happens in interrogative sentences, whereas τ' ἄρα is common enough in narrative passages (e.g. 37 below). Consequently West prints ταρ here and also in 182, 188 (cf. West praef. xxix). For a very clear and readable account of the issues see Katz 2007.

αὖτε 'now', with an adversative sense, i.e. in contrast with what happened before.

κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί: a stock phrase, used again at 359 in this book, and many times elsewhere in the poem. The specific meaning of the epithet is barely perceived; at most it adds a certain glamour or dignity to the heroes so described.

7 νηυσὶν ἔπι: the word-order, with preposition following the noun, is common in poetry (in prose it is used only with a few prepositions, e.g. ἕνεκα); the same type of inversion is found at 11 χερσὶν ὕπο, 191, 509. It is a regular rule that the accent on disyllabic prepositions changes with this inverted order: thus ἐπί becomes ἔπι. This is known as anastrophe ('turning back' of the accent). See further Probert 2003: 126.

ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο 'fleeing across the plain'. For the use of the genitive with verbs of motion cf. 6.38 (almost identical phrasing), 2.785, 13.64, Od. 8.122 with Garvie's n. It describes the space or area within which the motion takes place (Monro §149).

8 μὴ δή μοι τελέσωσι: μή plus subjunctive here expresses a hope, wish or prayer: 'May the gods not bring about ... ' See Monro §278.

τελέσωσι θεοί: 74n. Here the reponsibility is vaguely assigned to 'the gods' (cf. Introduction n. 33); later the key role of Zeus is highlighted.

κακὰ κήδεα θυμῶι 'cruel sorrows for my heart', 'my' being expressed by the dative μοι.

9–11 ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε: Thetis said nothing of this in book 1, where we last saw her. The warning is to be regarded as something she told Achilles on some past occasion (ποτέ is deliberately vague). If Thetis was not specific but said only that 'the best of the Myrmidons' would perish, this resembles the ambiguities of oracular warnings; it is less natural in a relationship between mother and son, where Achilles might be expected to question Thetis as to her precise meaning. But this prediction is probably invented for the present passage (for such inventions in Homer cf. Bowra in Wace and Stubbings 1962: 71–2; Willcock 1964 and 1977). In any case, it follows a common pattern by which prophecies or oracular warnings are forgotten until the moment that they are fulfilled (e.g. Od. 9. 507–12, Hes. Op. 86–7 with West's note, Hdt. 1.13 and 91, Virg.

*Aen.* 6.343–6); alternatively, they are neglected because the point is not fully understood (e.g. Hdt. 1.59, 3.64, 4.163–4).

On Thetis' prophecies see also 9.410–16, 17.408–9. Many editors have regarded the latter passage as inconsistent with Achilles' comment here: 10–11 were cut out by Hellenistic scholars (Rhianos and Aristophanes cited by schol. A ad loc.), and in modern times Düntzer regarded lines 8–11 as suspect. But no contradiction is involved; what the poet says in book 17 is that Thetis at that time did not tell him that his dearest comrade had fallen (not 'would fall'), though the preceding lines in that passage do indeed make reference to other things which his mother had foretold. For an extended discussion see Barth 1989.

**10 ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο:** genitive absolute.

**11 λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο:** euphemism for 'die'. Cf. 61n.

**12 ἦ μάλα δή:** the combination expresses the intense emotion arising from Achilles' realisation: 'it is really, actually the case that ... '

**Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός:** a standard formula for Patroclus, used at a series of key points earlier in the action (esp. 11.605, 814, 16.278, 307).

**13 σχέτλιος** 'stubborn fool', describing Patroclus. On Homer's use of this word see Vanséveren 1998, who includes a useful catalogue of occurrences (268–73). She supports the view that the word is etymologically related to ἔχω (aor. inf. σχεῖν), and so signifies someone who insists on maintaining (holding on to) his previous position.

Although the first word in a line is not automatically emphatic, it is given emphasis here by the fact that there is a pause immediately after the word. Kelly 2007a: 309–10 collects thirteen examples of this word, two of which (22.41 and 86) are placed in this initial position and given similar emphasis by a syntactical break. More frequent is the initial position followed by elaboration in a dependent clause, e.g. 2.112. These examples are particular cases of enjambement, where a sentence-end spills over and is concluded before the end of the next line. Many cases of enjambment deserve no comment, but cases of this type, where there is a strong break after a single 'run-over' word, do seem to have rhetorical force ('strong' enjambement). Other cases of effective enjambement of a single word in this book include 21, 27, 62, 115, 218, 234, 311, 491. See also Introduction, p. 56.

Bassett 1926 discusses cases of 'the so-called emphatic position of the run-over word in the Homeric hexameter', attempting to deny significance to any example. For discussion of enjambement more generally, see Parry *MHV* 251–65, Higbie 1990; more recent bibliography in Tsagalis 2008: 241 n. 6.

**ἦ τ' ἐκέλευον** 'I certainly told him'. Achilles recalls the instructions he gave Patroclus when he despatched him in book 16 (see esp. 83–96).

The combination ἦ τε can normally be rendered 'assuredly', 'it is the case that' (Denniston 532; Ruijgh 1971: 795–803; Schwyzer 11.576).

**14** The caesura (after ἰέναι) aptly coincides with the sense pause, dividing the positive and the negative side of Achilles' instructions.

### *15–69  Antilochus brings the bad news to Achilles; he prostrates himself with grief; Thetis and the Nereids join him to mourn*

Immediately after we have heard Achilles voice his misgivings, Antilochus arrives to confirm them. The message is swiftly delivered (18–21n.), and the poet devotes much more space to the hero's reactions. The viewpoint then shifts to the reaction of his mother, last seen in book 1. On the links between this scene and the Achilles–Thetis encounter in the first book, see Introduction section 1. The present scene looks both backward and forward – backward, in that Achilles here recognises his own folly in sending out Patroclus and so causing his death, and forward in that the hero now resolves on revenge, even at the cost of his own life. The significance of the occasion is marked by the presence of a company of Nereids who accompany Thetis to the scene. They share Thetis's distress on her son's behalf. Also, this sequence in which Thetis and the Nereids emerge from the sea and embark on lamentation resembles the description of Achilles' own funeral, as recalled by the ghost of Agamemnon in the final book of the *Odyssey* (24.36–94, esp. 47–59). The funeral of Achilles certainly formed part of the epic *Aethiopis*. Proclus' summary of that poem, §4 says 'Thetis comes with the Muses and her sisters, and laments her son' (*GEF* 112; West 2013: 153–9). Modern scholarship of the 'neo-analytic' school concludes that the poet is aware of similar poetic accounts of Achilles' funeral, and is evoking them in this passage (see further Kakridis 1949: 65–75). For a different view, denying the links with earlier poems and insisting that the scene is explicable by Homeric conventions, see Kelly 2012. See also 26–7n.

**15 ἕως …:** picked up by τόφρα in the next line. Normally the sense is 'while (X was happening), meanwhile (Y)', but here we must understand 'while … at that very moment', or similar.

   Metrically the line-opening is eccentric, as ἕως should be a trochee. This is a case of a later form replacing an older one which would have fitted the metre (namely ἧος). This is known as quantitative metathesis (i.e. exchange of metrical quantity) (Palmer 1962: 77–8; West 1982: 39).

   **κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν:** 'in his heart and mind', a common formula which conveniently fills the second half of the hexameter. The doubling-up of expressions suggests the intensity of Achilles' brooding anxiety.

There has been much discussion of the distinctions between different words in the Homeric mental vocabulary: other terms commonly used include the plural φρένες; also κῆρ, κραδίη/καρδίη, ἦτορ, and πραπίδες. These have been called 'the θυμός family' (Clarke 1999: 60), the point being that they seem interchangeable as representing the seat of mental and emotional life. Their physical location is within the torso, and it is at least likely that some have a fairly precise anatomical sense: thus the κῆρ seems to be the heart; less certain, though persuasive, is the argument that the φρένες are the lungs. The θυμός seems not to have a physical location: its root meaning may well be 'breath' (cf. Latin *fumus*). Modern science has taught us to locate mental life in the brain, but if we think of the impact of strong emotion on the body and particularly the way in which we experience it internally, the Homeric way of viewing the psychological processes is not surprising. See further Jahn 1987; Clarke 1999: 52–5, 60–126; and the summary in *HE* s.v. 'mental organs' (Pelliccia). For other terms of this kind see 380, 419nn.

**16 οἱ:** dative, '(close) to him'(as in 62).

**17 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων:** cf. 17.694–700, describing Antilochus' emotional reactions when Menelaus broke the news to him of Patroclus' death and despatched him to tell Achilles. Antilochus' tears were mentioned there (696, 700); he has evidently been weeping ever since. On the possible significance of these tears see Currie 2016: 105–6, 126–9 (arguing for an allusive anticipation of Antilochus' own death in the parallel episode involving the death of Antilochus, who played a Patroclus-like role, as in the *Aethiopis*).

**18–21** Antilochus' message is remarkable for its brevity (praised by Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.49 *narrare vero quis brevius quam qui mortem nuntiat Patrocli* (sc. *potest)?*, Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.12). Schol. bT remark that the tragedians did not cultivate the same conciseness but provided long messenger speeches on such occasions (though the messengers often give the essence first in a brief utterance, e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1173, 1175, Eur. *Med.* 1125–6). Antilochus omits the request for help which formed part of the message Menelaus wanted to be delivered to Achilles (17.691–2); this is left to Iris to propose later in the book. The result is that his speech focuses solely on the death of Patroclus.

**18 ὤ μοι:** Antilochus' distress echoes that of Achilles (6).
**δαΐφρονος:** probably 'wise'. The adjective is variously interpreted: some take it to mean 'warlike' (connecting it with δαΐς, 'war'); others as 'skilled', whether at peaceful or warlike pursuits (connecting it with δάω 'learn'). But in the *Odyssey* it is applied e.g. to Alcinous, not the most martial of monarchs, and Peleus' days of prowess on the battlefield are long gone. Either way it is a stock epithet, in the sense that it is in common use of a wide variety of characters: see 30 below (Achilles); in other books it is

applied to Idomeneus, Bellerophon, Antilochus, Ajax and others. It is also formulaic, in that it tends to occur at this precise point in the line (even when there is variation of case).

**19** The line is almost identical to 17.686, where Menelaus broke the same news to Antilochus.

ἢ μὴ ὤφελλε γενέσθαι: an unattainable wish is often expressed using the imperfect (as here) or aorist of ὀφέλλω (or ὀφείλω), 'ought', followed by an infinitive (Smyth §1781); μή supplies the negative ('ought not'). For the futile wish that something might not be so, compare 86–7 (Achilles to Thetis).

**20** κεῖται: euphemistic: not 'he is dead' but 'he lies'. Lines 20–1 rise to a climax: first the bleak two-word delivery of the news, still falling short of explicitness; then the fuller declaration referring to 'the corpse' (with enjambement to bring out the added horror of 'naked'); finally the shocking revelation of the fate of the armour, and the identity of the slayer, with Hector's name held back to the end.

**21** = 17.122 (Apollo to Ajax), 693 (Menelaus to Antilochus).

**22** ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ᾿ ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα: = 17.591, where the line is used to describe Hector's dark reaction to accusations of cowardice and news of a comrade's death. The use here is much more effective, the distress more intense. Note that Achilles makes no reply to Antilochus: his emotion is too great to allow him to speak. Silence is dramatically exploited in several epic scenes, as later in tragedy: see Richardson on *Dem.* 197–201, Taplin 1972, Lateiner 1995: 13. 'Longinus' remarks that Ajax's silence in the face of Odysseus' overtures in Hades is more effective than any reply could have been (*de subl.* 9.2, on *Od.* 11.552–64).

Lines 22–4 also appear in *Od.* 24.315–17, describing the agonised grief of Laertes when he hears news which he interprets as proving that his son Odysseus is dead. (West 2014: 76 complains that it is 'an excessive reaction for Laertes' given what Odysseus has told him, but the poet evidently admired the lines and wanted to present Laertes in despair before the final reunion.)

**23–5** The scene reminds many readers of Gilgamesh lamenting his beloved friend Enkidu. For discussion see West 1997: 340–1 and my Appendix.

**23** αἰθαλόεσσαν 'blackened' by fire. This suggests that κόνις here means ashes, not just dust, and this is confirmed by the more specific noun τέφρη in 25. The Greeks must have lit camp-fires on a regular basis throughout the war, for cooking as much as for heat and light at night, so that ashes would be abundant.

**24** χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς 'he poured down upon his head'. κὰκ = κατά, by 'apocope', the cutting off or modification of a word. In Homer this happens frequently with prepositions: e.g. ἄνα becomes ἄν, πάρα becomes

πάρ. Moreover, there is sometimes assimilation of the last consonant of the preposition to the first consonant of the word it governs. So here κὰκ κεφαλῆς; elsewhere e.g. κὰρ ῥόον, κὰγ γόνυ.

χαρίεν δ' ἤισχυνε πρόσωπον: self-abasement in extreme grief and distress can take various forms. Here Achilles rolls on the earth and pours dust and ashes over his head and clothing. In other texts the sufferer may go further in self-harm, to the point of pulling out hair or tearing face and skin. Self-mutilation of this kind is a common motif in scenes of grief and mourning in Greek tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 1052–3, *Cho.* 22–31, 423–8, Eur. *Supp.* 48–51, *El.* 146–9), but less so in epic: although Priam rolls in the dung and tears out his hair, he does not tear his face (nor do Hecabe and Andromache). This suits the greater restraint of the epic genre (cf. 54n.). Nevertheless Achilles' extravagant grief was the object of criticism by Plato's Socrates (*Rep.* 3.388a). See Alexiou 1974: 14; Foley 2001: index s.v. 'lamentation'.

**25 νεκταρέωι δὲ χιτῶνι:** the same adjective is used of Helen's robe at 3.385. The sense may be 'perfumed' or generally indicative of beauty and quality. Nectar is the food of the gods, so the implication is that these garments are of heavenly quality – perhaps also of divine origin, if the tunic is a gift from Thetis (cf. 16.221–4, referring to a chest filled with clothing by his mother when Achilles set out).

ἀμφίζανε τέφρη: after being churned up by Achilles' hands the ash settles (lit. 'sits') all over his tunic (ἀμφ- + ἱζάνω with the dative).

**26 μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθείς:** the phrase also occurs at 16.775–6 (the slaying of Cebriones by Patroclus), and at *Od.* 24.39–40 (Agamemnon describes the death of Achilles), both of which use the longer formulation ὃ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων ('he lay in a swirl of dust, mightily in his might, forgetful of his skill with horses'). These three passages are prominent in the discussion by 'neo-analysts' of the relation of this scene to the hypothetical model, a poem recounting in full the death of Achilles. We know that Achilles' death featured in the Cyclic *Aethiopis*; that poem is probably post-Iliadic, but both the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis* were surely indebted to earlier poetry on this theme. It is therefore assumed that an earlier poem provided the model for the lines in these three Homeric passages. Neo-analysts assume that the primary use of the formula was to describe the dead body of Achilles (as in *Od.* 24), whereas the other passages adapt the formula for other purposes. In book 16, when used of Cebriones, it seems simply to enhance the pathos; here, however, it reinforces the sense that Achilles is as good as dead. A weakness in the argument is that Achilles is not noted for his horsemanship; if that aspect is to be stressed, it would seem more likely that the formula was first used for Cebriones. Even if the link between these three passages is questioned, however, the whole scene

unquestionably foreshadows the death of Achilles. (Fuller discussion in Kakridis 1949: 65–95; clear summary in Willcock 1997: 176–83; briefly Fenik 1968: 70, Currie 2016: 72, 86).

The expression is imitated in several passages by Virgil (*Aen.* 5.447 *ipse gravis graviterque ... concidit;* 10.842 ~ 12.640 *ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum*).

West in his edition (and in *Studies* 243–4) follows Düntzer in excising 26–7, complaining that Achilles is standing or sitting, not lying on the ground at this stage. The objection is hardly to be taken seriously, and indeed in West 2011a: 343 he is more cautious.

**27 φίλῃσι δὲ χερσί** 'with his own hands'. The adjective φίλος in Homer can bear a strong affective sense ('dear', 'beloved'), as in many passages concerning familial affection, or a weaker and more descriptive sense ('his', 'mine' etc.), where it is little more than a possessive adjective (esp. where the reference is to some part of one's own body or psyche). In this book 63, 80, 114, and 147 fall clearly into the former category, while 113, like the present case, belongs to the latter. Some cases are marginal (e.g. 101). For discussion see Hooker 1987; Robinson 1990; Clarke 1999: 66.

**28 δμωιαί:** in the course of their campaigning over the last nine years the Greeks have captured many cities allied to or subordinated in some way to Priam (e.g. 9.328–9), and many women have been enslaved and serve as maids and concubines to the leaders. See e.g. 9.664–8, 11.624–5.

**Ἀχιλεύς ... Πάτροκλός τε:** Achilles and Patroclus are a pair; they do battle together. Cf. 24.6–8, where Achilles lies unable to sleep, remembering all their shared experiences campaigning by land and sea.

**29 θυμὸν ἀκηχέμεναι:** accusative of respect. ἀκηχέμεναι is a feminine plural perfect passive participle from ἀκαχέω ('cause grief'; in passive, to be grieved or troubled). ἀκαχήμεναι would have been more regular. The verb-forms ἄχνυμαι, ἀκαχίζω, ἄχομαι are all related to ἄχος ('grief').

**θύραζε** 'out', 'forth', here out of the shelter or house of Achilles. Cf. 416 (Hephaestus comes out of his smithy, though still within his house). The word is often rather loosely used, where no 'door' is in question: e.g. 447 (the Trojans hem the Greeks in by the ships and do not let them break out), 5.694 (a spear emerges through flesh), 16.408 (out of the sea).

**29–30 ἐκ ... ἔδραμον:** a case of 'tmesis.' In modern terminology the prepositional prefix is separated from the root verb, 'cut off' (τέμνω) from it by other words. The device remains a feature of poetry in later Greek, e.g. in the lyrics of tragedy. Research has shown that this phenomenon is very old, being an inheritance from Indo-European and presumably associated with high poetic style: by contrast Mycenaean Linear B Greek texts already combine prefix and verb in the same way as classical Greek prose (Horrocks 1980). Other examples of tmesis: 92, 168, 479 περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε.

**31 στήθεα πεπλήγοντο:** beating the breasts, like tearing hair and scratching at one's face (24, 27), is a regular act of mourning which accompanies lamentation. See 50–1 (the Nereids), 19.281–5 (Briseis over the dead Patroclus), Aesch. *Cho.* 423–8; Eur. *Supp.* 71–7; Alexiou 1974; West 1997: 340 (with biblical parallels). Unlike the mental terms discussed in 15n., στῆθος has a very specific meaning, referring to the breast or chest (cf. the use of the adjective λάσιος, 'shaggy', to describe Achilles' chest, 1.189).

**λύθεν** 'each woman's limbs gave way beneath them'; lit. 'were loosened', 3rd pl. aor. passive from λύω 'loose, loosen'. ὕπο is so accented because it follows the verb with which it is associated (a detached prefix); in such cases the rules are as for anastrophe (7n.; Probert 2003: §258).

**32 ἑτέρωθεν:** the slave women emerge from the hut behind Achilles; he was facing the battlefield at the start of the book, and Antilochus approaches from that direction: hence 'on the other side.'

**ὀδύρετο δάκρυα λείβων:** cf. 17: the continued emphasis on Antilochus' tears maintains the emotional intensity of the scene. Yet so far Achilles is not said to weep. In this scene he only wails and groans (33, 70, 78); his tears are reserved for the moment at which he is in the presence of Patroclus' actual body (235).

**33 κυδάλιμον κῆρ:** accusative of respect (Smyth §1601). 'He groaned in his glorious heart.' It is not suggested that the groans are not audible, but they spring from the heart.

**34 δείδιε γὰρ μὴ λαιμὸν ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρωι:** on balance this line should be retained, though it has been strongly suspected. It was first deleted by Bothe; cf. West, *Studies* 244. There are two lines of argument. (a) Its presence makes for a rather jerky series of changes of subject: in 32 the subject of ὀδύρετο is Antilochus, but that of ἔστενε in 33 should be Achilles; now 34 δείδιε refers to Antilochus, and in the next line we revert to Achilles. (b) Initially we assume that Antilochus is clasping his friend's hands in a gesture of sympathy and shared grief; suddenly a different motive is introduced. But swift changes of perspective and agitated reactions are entirely appropriate at this emotional high point. Some critics find the idea of Achilles committing suicide inappropriate to his character or to the heroic ethos (death-wishes, as in 90–1, 98 below, are a different matter). It is true that suicide is rarely mentioned in the Homeric poems, but the case of Ajax, mentioned in the *Odyssey*, is incontestable, and that story was surely known to the *Iliad*-poet. The *Odyssey* also mentions the suicide of Epicaste (Jocasta), and after the debacle of the bag of winds, Odysseus is in such despair as to contemplate hurling himself into the sea (10.49–52). It may of course be objected that the ethical outlook of the *Odyssey* is different. The subject of suicide in epic and tragedy is discussed by Stanford 1963: 289–90 (appendix E); more broadly by Hirzel 1908.

Whatever the status of line 34, the motif of friends restraining a despairing character from suicide becomes a *topos* of lamentation-scenes; for epic see Stat. *Theb.* 9.76–81 with Dewar's n.

ἀπαμήσειε: 3rd sing. aor. optative of ἀπαμάω, 'slash', 'cut away', a metaphor from reaping (cf. 551, *Od.* 21.301, Hes. *Theog.* 181 [the castration of Ouranos]). The variant ἀποτμήξειε ('cut', 'sever') was preferred by Zenodotus but is less forceful.

σιδήρωι: iron, not bronze as we would expect. Probably a knife or a short sword is meant. Iron artefacts are rarely mentioned in the narrative of the *Iliad*, but see 4.123 (an arrow-head), 7.473 (a receptacle for wine). See further *HE* s.v. 'iron' (Muhly).

**35** σμερδαλέον 'terrifyingly', an epic adverb often associated with sound, though sometimes with appearance (as at 22.95). On its usage see Kelly 2007a: 135–6. It is used by later authors only for mock-heroic effect (e.g. Ar. *Av.* 553).

ὤιμωξεν: the subject of the verb is now Achilles.

ἄκουσε δὲ πότνια μήτηρ: cf. 1.357, where a different phrase is used for Thetis' reaction in the equivalent situation: the next line, 1.358, is the same as 36 here. The scenes are parallel, but the present one is more intense and emotionally powerful: this is conveyed first by Thetis' lament and outburst before she even comes to her son, and second by the involvement of her Nereid entourage, who join her in sympathetic expression of grief.

**36** ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι: as is made clear in several passages, Thetis has abandoned Achilles' father Peleus (how long ago is not explained) and returned to her home in the sea (though the poet sometimes ignores this fact: see 59–60, 89–90, 440–1). She recounts her resentment of marriage to a mortal husband later in this book (429–34). (A different view is found in the scholia, e.g. sch. A on 16.222–3, 18.57: they hold that Thetis has not left Peleus, 'as the *neoteroi* (say)', but is still married to him (references to the 'newer' or 'younger' poets normally indicate that the comment derives from Aristarchus: Severyns 1928: 254–9). Some lines in the *Iliad* might be cited in support of this (see 60n.), but Achilles in book 24 seems to envisage Peleus growing old alone. 'Two views of Thetis's domicile have been imperfectly welded together' (Pulleyn on 1.358).

On Thetis see further Slatkin 1991; Gantz 228–31; *Homer* 114–17. Another aspect of the Peleus–Thetis relationship is discussed by Willcock 1976: 202. He suggests we should think of 'the common fairy tale of the young man who catches a mermaid down by the seashore': when the young man grows old, the mermaid leaves him and returns to her native habitat. A number of comparable tales from various traditions are summarised by Frazer 1921: II.383–8 (appendix 10); see also Christiansen 1958, type 4080 'The Seal Woman'.

πατρὶ γέροντι: the old man of the sea, Nereus, father of the Nereids.

**39–49** The list of Nereids. This passage was deleted by Zenodotus and Aristarchus, and many modern editors have followed their lead. Zenodotus complained that the passage has a 'Hesiodic character' which is foreign to Homer (schol. A 39–49). In particular critics cite the list of the daughters of Nereus in Hes. *Th.* 240–64. Many (seventeen) names are common to both lists. However, ten names in the Homeric list do not figure in Hesiod (two others, Klymene and Ianeira, occur in a later list in the *Theogony*, of river-nymphs), and Hesiod, who is attempting to list all fifty of the Nereids (line 264; he actually names fifty-one, but lists Proto twice), includes many names not in the Iliadic list. Moreover, some of the common names are listed in a different order. Homer's line 43 is identical to Hesiod's line 248, and 45 to 250 (with a different epithet for Galateia). No other lines are repeated in both poets. It seems to follow that neither is simply taking the list over from the other (see also *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 418–24, a list of twenty-three nymphs and others at play together with Persephone: here too there is overlap with the names in the *Theogony*).

It is still possible to argue that the passage is not at home in its Homeric context, i.e. that it has been added by a later poet, but the case is not strong. Lists of this kind are not alien to Homeric style (apart from the Catalogue of Ships, cf. the list of Phaeacian youths in *Od.* 8.111–20). The inclusion of the Nereids provides Thetis with an audience for her lament; that they are named gives us a more vivid sense of their sympathetic presence.

The list consists of a string of 'speaking names', *noms parlants*: that is, they are apt to their owners, since most of them relate to the sea or to other attributes of sea-nymphs (e.g. Nemertes and Apseudes both refer to truth-telling, which is appropriate at least to Nereus and his double Proteus, prophetic sages). A few are more opaque. Again the Phaeacian youths provide the best parallel, since all their names suggest aspects of seafaring. (See also the comical version of a catalogue in Ov. *Met.* 3.206–25, listing Actaeon's hunting dogs: these have appropriate names such as Dromas, 'Racer' and Harpalos, 'Grabber'.) For other speaking names see 592n. (Daedalus); Rutherford on *Od.* 19.406–9; Kanavou 2015.

On catalogues in Homer see esp. Edwards 1980; also Gaertner 2001; Kelly 2007a: 123n. 1; Sammons 2010.

Most translators simply transliterate these names, but for an interesting attempt to render them effectively into English see R. Fagles's version, beginning 'they all came rushing now,– / Glitter, blossoming Spray, and the swells' Embrace, / Fair-Isle and shadowy Cavern, Mist and Spindrift . . .'

**39** Γλαύκη τε Θάλεια 'Shining' (the adjective is used of the sea at 16.34) and 'Blooming' (cf. θάλλω). As for the third name, Hesiod also lists her and glosses the name (*Th.* 252–4): 'Kymodoke, who easily calms the waves (κύματα) on the murky sea and the blasts of stormy winds.'

**40 Νησαίη Σπειώ τε** 'Island-girl and Cave-girl'.

**Θόη θ' Ἁλίη τε** 'Swift and Seaborne' (or perhaps 'Salty' for the latter, since ἅλς can mean both 'sea' and 'salt').

**βοῶπις:** an epithet normally attached to Hera (as at 360 below; a variant at 396, see n.). 'Cow-eyed' probably means 'large-eyed' (some have interpreted it as referring to some older layer of Greek religion in which the gods had bestial forms, so that this epithet would actually allude to Hera's former cow-shape; but this is unproven and unlikely: see Pulleyn on 1.551).

**41 Κυμοθόη** means 'Wave-swift'.

**Ἀκταίη καὶ Λιμνώρεια:** less easy to render into English: the first is connected with promontories, the second with λίμνη, a pool or lake.

**42 Μελίτη:** the obvious connection is with bees and honey, but that does not seem very relevant to the sea. Besides the parallel passage in Hesiod, the name is used of an Oceanid at *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 419.

**Ἴαιρα καὶ Ἀμφιθόη καὶ Ἀγαυή** 'Joyous, Doubly-swift, and Noble'. This assumes that Iaira can be associated with the verb ἰαίνω, 'gladden' or 'delight' (others connect it with ἱερός, 'holy'). Agaue (Agave) is more familiar as the name of another mythical figure, the mother of Pentheus (see Hes. *Theog.* 976, and Eur. *Bacch.*).

**43 Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε:** here as often the pairing is by association of sound rather than meaning. 'Giver' is easy, though what exactly she gives is not stated: fish to the fisherman? (West on Hes. *Theog.* 244). Proto should probably be connected with the sea-god Proteus, whom some etymologise as 'fate-ful' (cf. πέπρωται, from πόρω, 'give' or 'allow': fate is what is granted to mortals: 329n.).

**Φέρουσα** 'The Bearer'; one who carries ships on their course. In this context **Δυναμένη** perhaps means 'Able (to help)'.

**44 Δεξαμένη** 'Receiver'; the name reminds us of the way in which Thetis and other sea-goddesses offer refuge to those in distress (see 398n.).

**Ἀμφινόμη** 'Dweller around': probably the idea is that the sea surrounds most lands.

**Καλλιάνειρα** 'Fair of husband'.

**45 Δωρίς:** like Doto, probably 'Giver'. A connection with the Dorian ethnic group is improbable and inappropriate.

**Πανόπη** 'All-seeing'.

**Γαλάτεια:** probably to be connected with γαλήνη, 'calm', much more relevant to a sea-nymph than milk. However, it is possible that ancient readers did associate the name with the milk-white foam of the sea (cf. Callim. *Hecale* fr. 74.16 Hollis). A sea-nymph Galateia is famous in later literature as the beloved of Polyphemus (Philoxenus, *PMG* 815–24, Theoc. *Id.* 6, 11 and elsewhere), but this ill-assorted amour is probably

a later invention: Philoxenus, the earliest extant writer to use the idea, belongs in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC.

**46 Νημερτής τε καὶ Ἀψευδής:** two names meaning 'truthful', and alluding to the prophetic ability presumably inherited from their father Nereus (Hes. *Theog.* 233).

**Καλλιάνασσα** 'fair princess' or similar: an obvious doublet of 44 Kallianeira.

**47 Κλυμένη** 'illustrious' (cf. κλυτός, 'glorious'). **Ἰάνειρά τε καὶ Ἰάνασσα:** the first name recalls or duplicates Kallianeira, but the form here suggests 'Joyful' (ἰαίνω, 'gladden'); the second is evidently invented to combine with the first.

**48 Μαῖρα:** perhaps to be linked with μαρμαίρω, 'gleam' or 'shine'; the adjective μαρμάρεος is used of the sea at 14.273.

**Ὠρείθυια** 'Hill-runner', an odd name for a sea-nymph. The same name is attached to an Athenian princess who was said to have been carried off by Boreas (Simonides 534, Gantz 234, 242).

**Ἀμάθεια** 'Sand-sprite' (West, *Studies* 245, comparing Hes. *Theog.* 260 (Psamathe), Pind. *Nem.* 5.13 (Psamatheia)). ἄμμος, ἄμαθος (5.587), ψάμμος (*Od.* 12.243), ψάμαθος (15.362, *Od.* 14.136) all mean 'sand'.

**49** The line is almost identical to 38: ring composition marks the end of the catalogue. (By contrast, analysts regard this repetition as a sign of interpolation.) For rounding-off lines of this kind including an unspecified additional number, see 2.649 ('and the rest of those who inhabited Crete of the hundred cities'), Hes. *Theog.* 21, 363–70. For ring composition see Fenik 1974: 92–9; Edwards 44–8; Rutherford on *Od.* 19.51–2.

**50 τῶν δὲ καὶ ... πλῆτο** 'with them too the bright cave was filled': τῶν refers to the 'other Nereids' collectively referred to in the previous line, while καί ('also') differentiates them from those actually named in the catalogue. (Alternatively καί may be taken as merely emphatic, 'indeed'.)

**ἀργύφεον** 'white' or 'bright', from ἀργός; presumably referring to light stone composing the walls and roof of the undersea cave (cf. 402n.).

**πλῆτο:** 3rd sing. aor. passive from πίμπλημι ('fill').

**51 στήθεα πεπλήγοντο:** see 31n.  **ἐξῆρχε γόοιο:** elsewhere in the poem this phrase introduces a lament for a dead man (18.316, 23.17, 22.430), as at Hector's funeral (24.747, 761). Here there is a man already dead, but Thetis' grief concerns her son, still alive but soon to die. The redeployment of the formula brings out how Achilles can now be regarded as virtually a dead man.

**γόοιο:** the γόος is a spontaneous lament by an individual, normally one closely involved. Epic usage distinguishes it from a θρῆνος, which is a more formal song of lament by a group: see 24.720–3, where the professional mourners performing a θρῆνος are distinct from the three women who weep for Hector; *Od.* 24.61, where the Muses sing in unison at Achilles'

funeral. This distinction is lost in later poetry (Alexiou 1974: 13; reservations on this sharp distinction in Swift 2010: 300–4). On lamentation and grief in Homer see Tsagalis 2004; Beck 2005: 245–69 (258–63 on book 18).

**52–64** Thetis' lament is the subject of a detailed formulaic and stylistic analysis by Tsagalis 2008: 239–71.

**53** εἴδετ(ε): 2nd pl. subjunctive (after ὄφρα). εἰδῆτε is not used by Homer and would be metrically impossible here.

ἔνι = ἔνεστι.

**54** ὤ μοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὤ μοι δυσαριστοτόκεια: highly emphatic: nowhere else in Homer is the cry ὤ μοι repeated in the same line. Repetition of such terms heightens emotional intensity: see Hutchinson 2000: 429–30 on the abundance of repetition in tragic lyric. Epic is normally more restrained, but Thetis' situation is extreme.

δυσαριστοτόκεια 'unhappy mother of the best of men', a unique word for an exceptional situation. It is found only here and in later quotations or scholarly discussions of the line. One could imagine it being used by another mother of a great hero (Heracles or Perseus), but the evidence strongly suggests it is coined by the poet of the *Iliad.*

For the formation of the word cf. Δύσπαρι (3.39 = 13.769), δύσμητερ (*Od.* 23.97), Δυσελέναν (Eur. *IA* 1316). But there is an added paradox in the present case, since negative and positive elements are combined (δυσ- + ἀριστ-). For the idea of motherhood as a misfortune see 1.414 (again Thetis) 'why did I raise you, giving birth to sorrows (αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα)?', Stes. *PMGF* S13 = F17.2–3 Davies–Finglass ἀλασ[τοτόκος (suppl. Barrett) ('miserable in my motherhood', spoken by Geryon's mother).

**55–7** Thetis elaborates on Achilles' exceptional qualities (the technique which rhetoricians call amplification: for other cases see 82–4, 130–1, 144, 154).

**55** ἥ τ' ἐπεί 'who, after I bore a son ...' The relative clause apparently introduced by ἥ ('who ...') is never completed; that is, the syntactical structure breaks down (anacoluthon). This may represent emotional distress: cf. 101n., and 22.111–22 where Hector begins a long conditional sentence with a series of 'if-'clauses, but the apodosis never appears, as Hector pulls himself up short at 122.

ἀμύμονα 'preeminent'. Traditionally this adjective has been rendered 'blameless', but the etymological link with μῶμος ('blame') is highly implausible, and does not suit the use of the term to describe the murderous Aegisthus at *Od.* 1.29. To deal with the latter problem, scholars now favour a non-moral rendering, indicating eminence or outstanding qualities (thus Heubeck has suggested a link with ἀμεύομαι, 'surpass'). But this may be a case where the poet himself was unclear on the meaning. See Pulleyn on *Il.* 1.92, Beekes s.v.

**56 ἔξοχον ἡρώων** 'exceptional among heroes'. In the quarrel in book 1 (91, 244, 412) and at a number of later points it is clear that there is contention among the heroes as to which of them is 'best of the Achaeans' (Nagy 1979 has extensive discussion of the implications of the phrase). Thetis' words probably do not imply quite that degree of superiority – strictly speaking several heroes might stand out as exceptional – but in any case she naturally favours her son.

There may be an additional point in ἡρώων (as Neil Hopkinson suggests to me). The poet probably knew the legend that Zeus contemplated marrying or fathering a child on Thetis (432n.): that child would have been mightier than Zeus himself, and so 'exceptional among gods'. As things stand, the most Achilles can achieve is supreme status among mortal heroes.

**ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος:** for the comparison of a young human to a growing plant, cf. 17.53–6; *Od.* 6.162–9 (Odysseus compares Nausicaa with a palm-tree); Soph. *Trach.* 144–6; West 1997: 242; Kelly 2007a: 289. See further Scott 1974: 70–1 on the category 'tree-similes'. The expression is imitated by Callim. *Hecale* fr. 48 Hollis, with reference to two sons who also die young (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 199).

**57 φυτὸν ὣς γουνῷ ἀλωῆς** 'like a plant on the knoll (?) of an orchard'. The expression is formulaic but the sense is uncertain. If γουνός is connected with γόνυ ('knee') it may signify a curving or raised bump in the ground. ἀλωή is also rather obscure: in 561 it is specifically a vineyard, elsewhere a threshing-floor. S. West in Heubeck et al. on *Od.* 1.193 writes 'Possibly its original sense was rather more general, so that it could be used of any plot of land unoccupied by buildings; or two different words may be involved.' Further discussion in Ure 1955.

**58 νηυσὶν ... κορωνίσιν** 'on the curved ships'.    ἔπι governs νηυσὶν, as the accentuation of the first syllable shows (anastrophe, cf. 7n.). Some editors print a single compound verb ἐπιπροέηκα (certainly correct at 9.520), but the sense of ἐπι- as prefix is harder to grasp (Edwards, who prefers the compound, comments that it must imply 'against the enemy' rather than 'on the ships').

**προέηκα:** Thetis says nothing of her reluctance about Achilles going to war. In later versions we hear of her disguising her son as a woman and hiding him among the entourage of the princess Deidamia on Scyros (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.13; entertainingly narrated in Statius' unfinished *Achilleid*). This story may have figured in the *Cypria* (F 19 W., though see West 2013: 103–5), but the poet of the *Iliad* mentions Scyros only as one of Achilles' conquests (9.667–8), and his son Neoptolemus, who is said to be growing up there, is presumably the casual product of a liaison with a captive (19.326–7, cf. 24.467).

**Ἴλιον εἴσω** 'to Ilium': the sense of going inside or into something cannot be relevant here. So too 1.71.

**59–60** Repeated at 440–1, and reworked at *Od.* 19.257–8, where Penelope pathetically declares that she will never welcome her husband home again (τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις | οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν). Here Thetis' pessimism is justified, but in the *Odyssey* the hero will in fact return (indeed, he is already present in disguise). In that passage there is irony of the benign or 'comic' type, where the eventual outcome will be positive despite the fears of the characters.

**59** Τρωσὶ μαχησόμενον: the fut. participle expresses purpose, as often: compare 141, 1.12–13 ἦλθε . . . λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα 'he came to ransom his daughter' (Chantraine II.201).

**60** οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα δόμον Πηλήϊον εἴσω: the expression is incongruous, since Thetis evidently no longer lives with Peleus, and the poem gives no hint that she even pays occasional visits (36n.). Hence the normal conception of both parents welcoming a returning warrior home does not apply. It would however have been awkward to find an alternative formulation (e.g. 'coming to meet him on his way back to Peleus' halls').

**νοστήσαντα:** the concept of *nostos*, homecoming, is a potent one in epic poetry (as the title of the Cyclic epic *Nostoi* illustrates). The poet regularly dwells on the pathos of the warrior who is denied his homecoming: the perspective varies, sometimes focusing on the man who has died 'far from home', sometimes on the bereaved parents, wife, or child whom he has left behind. Cf. e.g. 2.252–3, 5.156–8, 22.442–6, 24.705; Griffin 1980: 106–12. Another aspect, important in the *Odyssey*, is that the returning hero may not find the homecoming he expects (as shown above all by the fate of Agamemnon). See now Hornblower and Biffis 2018.

**61** ζώει καὶ ὁρᾷ φάος ἠελίοιο: the second phrase elaborates on the simple verb: to live is to look upon the sunlight, just as to die is to go down under the earth, into the dark. Similarly to be born is to come into the light (16.188, 19.103, etc.; Latin poets use *in luminis oras*, e.g. Lucr. 1.22). See West 2007: 87, 388; Faulkner on *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 105.

**62** ἄχνυται 'he lives in misery'. τόφρα is understood, corresponding with ὄφρα.

**χραισμῆσαι:** χραισμέω means either 'help' or 'defend'; here the former is more apt. The term seldom occurs outside the *Iliad* (it is not used in the *Odyssey*). A curious feature is that it seems always to be used in the negative – the help referred to can never be given. The English word 'avail' is comparable: someone may try to help 'to no avail', but the word seems never to be used of a positive outcome. (With χραισμέω the closest thing to an exception is 15.32, 'so that you may see whether lovemaking and bed will help you', where there is no negation, but even there Zeus's tone makes clear that the implication is that Hera's tricks will *not* aid her).

The aor. infinitive here, following a verb of will or ability, does not have temporal force (Chantraine II.189).

**63** εἶμ(ι) picks up ἰοῦσα in the previous line: 'if I go, I can be of no help; but still I will go'.

ὅττι μιν ἵκετο πένθος: Thetis seems to be ignorant of the reason for Achilles' distress. Gods are not consistently omniscient, even where their own favourites or personal concerns are involved: thus in book 1 Hera does not know what Zeus and Thetis have discussed (540–3), and in book 15 she has to tell Ares that his son Ascalaphus has fallen on the battlefield (110–12). Yet in other scenes gods seem to be instantly well informed and ready to react, as when Hera and Athena intervene in the quarrel of book 1 (194–6). Narrative convenience overrides strict theological consistency.

**66** δακρυόεσσαι: Thetis wailed aloud at 37; her sisters beat their breasts at 51, and Thetis began a speech of lament (γόοιο); now they join her in weeping. The emotional intensity of the scene is heightened.

κῦμα θαλάσσης | ῥήγνυτο 'the sea's wave was divided'. Either the water breaks around their heads as they rise to the air above, or (preferable) it divides to allow them free passage to the shore. The latter is suggested by the parallel at 24.96 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφι λιάζετο κῦμα θαλάσσης, which surely means that the waves part to open the way for Thetis and Iris. For the sea to part before a divinity is paralleled in other texts (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.17). In 6.135–7 Dionysus escapes from the tyrant Lycurgus by taking refuge with Thetis, and those lines might be read as suggesting that the waters part for him. See also 13.29.

**68** ἐπισχερώ: usually rendered 'in turn' or 'in a line'. Janko 1979 suggests the original meaning was 'on the shore' (< σχερός).

**68–9** ἔνθα ... νέες: the ships and encampment of Achilles and the Myrmidons are located at one end of the beach on which the Greek fleet is drawn up. Various passages make clear that the two end-points of the line are occupied by the camp of Achilles and that of Ajax (8.222–6 = 11. 5–9, 11.806–8, 13. 681–4, 14.27–36; Cuillandre 1944: 18–34). Willcock in his commentary (vol. II, p. 225) has a diagram showing the approximate positions of the major contingents.

**69** εἴρυντο: 3rd pl. perf. passive indicative of ἐρύω ('draw' or 'drag'; here, to draw a ship up out of the water).

ταχύν: a good example of a 'stock' epithet. Achilles' swiftness is of no relevance when he is prostrate and weeping on the sand (cf. Parry, *MHV* 118–53, esp. 120–4). Yet the term is not meaningless: 'Such epithets by their very nature are independent of particular contexts: they indicate what is typically so, not what is always actually or visibly so. So in everyday English we speak of 'a fast car' whether or not it is moving' (Macleod 1982: 42n.).

*70–147 A dialogue between Thetis and Achilles, in which Achilles
declares his determination to slay Hector, even though his own death
will follow*

The significance of this scene as a turning point is discussed in the
Introduction (section 1). Here Achilles breaks silence and declares his
intention to punish Hector, even at the price of his own death. His
speeches, especially the second, longer utterance, dominate the episode:
Thetis' first two speeches are much shorter and calmer in tone than his
impassioned outbursts. The first speech is crammed with quickly-
succeeding ideas, shifting from Zeus to Patroclus to Hector to Peleus
and Thetis; there are ellipses of thought which suggest the outpouring
of his overwrought heart (88, 91), but the climax is a powerfully polysyl-
labic line referring to his planned revenge. The second speech confronts
directly the prospect of death, only glancingly implied in the first (89,
90–1). In it we find a quality of rhetoric and breadth of perspective that is
typical of Achilles' speeches: unlike most speakers, he employs similes
(107–10), and in this speech he also invokes a mythic paradigm, seeing
the struggles and death of the older hero Heracles as a parallel to his own
(117–19). He looks backward to the former wrath and forward to the
sufferings his new wrath will inflict. The whole speech concludes by
anticipating Thetis' resistance and warning her not to challenge his will
(126).

The exchange is important for the characterisation of Achilles. Two
aspects are prominent. First, the grief he feels for his friend extends his
response beyond the egoism which we have witnessed in earlier books; he
even expresses distress at the sufferings he has brought upon other Greeks
besides Patroclus (102–3). Given the importance of pity in Homeric
ethics, this shows an important development, but one which will be
obscured by the ferocity of his dealings with the Trojans (cf. 121–5n.).
Achilles' more generous nature will emerge more clearly in book 24.
The other aspect relates to discussion of Homeric values, in which much
has been made of the distinction between shame and guilt, particularly in
the light of Dodds's account of Homer's world as predominantly a 'shame-
culture' (1951: chs 1–2). That conception has led to the assumption that
the most important factor in determining the heroes' behaviour is the
opinion of their peers, and especially what is said about them; the worst
thing that can happen is to lose face. That model has been challenged in
two ways – first, by expanding or refining the concept of shame, or rather
the Greek word αἰδώς, which is not coextensive with the concept in English
(Williams 1993; Cairns 1993: 27–47, 139–46, also discussing the relation-
ship of αἰδώς to what we call conscience); and second, by insisting that both

shame and guilt play a part in Homeric ethics (for some, indeed, the antithesis is artificial): see already Dover 1974: 220–42. The present scene is a crucial example, since it is plain that Achilles does indeed feel guilt and accept responsibility, but he lays little or no emphasis on the verdict of others. Several scholars have produced studies of particular emotions and their place in ancient literature and culture: most relevant here is Fulkerson 2013 (62–5 on Achilles). See also Cairns in *HE* s.v. 'shame.'

On the scene between Thetis and Achilles see also Taplin 1992: 193–200.

The parallel often drawn between Homeric epic and tragic drama has its limits, arising from the difference of medium. A dramatist would have to get Antilochus off stage or keep him awkwardly in the background as a silent witness. The epic narrator can simply ignore his existence; having served the crucial function of delivering his news, he is forgotten.

**70 βαρύ** is the neuter adjective used adverbially (Smyth §1606–11).
**παρίστατο πότνια μήτηρ:** Thetis stands beside her grieving son: the prefix παρα- explains the dative case in the phrase referring to Achilles.

**71 ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύσασα:** the shrill lamentation of the female voice counterpoints the deep groans of the male warrior (70).

**κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἑοῖο:** the phrase suggests a funereal context: cf. 23.136, 24.724; Kakridis 1949: 67–8; Currie 2016: 119. Female figures are often represented in vase-paintings cradling the head of a dead warrior: e.g. a vase by the Cleophrades painter, Arias and Hirmer 1962: pl. 19; Vermeule 1979: 15. This is another feature of the scene which anticipates Achilles' death, which the killing of Patroclus has made inevitable.

**72 καί ῥ(α):** Denniston 42–3 lists this and other combinations with ἄρα but remarks that 'few of these combinations have any particular significance'.

**ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:** a standard phrase used of many speakers in both the epics. A possible explanation is that the words uttered are to be thought of as flying, feathered arrows (as at Pind. *Ol.* 9.11–12, Aesch. *Eum.* 676). Others hold that the notion is of birds in flight. The expression is normally used where there is a close relation between the speaker and the addressee, or when the speaker wants to prevail on the other to do something. See further Kelly on 8.101 (pp. 143–8), Steiner on *Od.* 17.40.

**73–4 τέκνον, τί κλαίεις ... μὴ κεῦθε:** these words are identical with those which Thetis used (1.362–3a) when she appeared to her son in the similar scene in book 1, and her next words refer to the fulfilment of the request which Achilles asked her to convey to Zeus in that book. The repetition underlines the irony that Achilles has brought misfortune on his own head. In book 1 Achilles replied 'You know; why should I tell you?'

(365), but proceeds to do so. Here too Thetis may well be aware of the situation (though 63–4 suggests the opposite), but she gives her son the chance to unburden his sorrows.

**τέκνον:** this word is Thetis' habitual way of addressing her son. (In fact she never does use Achilles' name; contrast some human mothers, e.g. Hecabe to Hector (22.82, 24.748), Anticleia to Odysseus (*Od.* 11.202, at the memorable climax of a long speech).) On the word τέκνον itself see Dickey 1996: 65–72; cognate with τίκτω ('bear', 'give birth'), it is particularly likely to be used by parental relations in highly emotional contexts.

**74 τετέλεσται:** echoed by Achilles' response at 79 (and see already 4). The verb carries considerable weight: the will of Zeus has been accomplished. One of Zeus's many titles is Teleios, the Fulfiller. Cf. 1.5 'and the will of Zeus was fulfilled' (ἐτελείετο), already a controversial phrase in antiquity (schol. 1.5, West 2013: 63–9). At 1.523, in response to Thetis' original appeal, Zeus says that 'these matters will be my concern, that I may bring them to fulfilment', and adds that whatever he assents to by nodding his head is ἀτελεύτητον (527), it cannot fail of fulfilment. Edwards in his note on 74–5 writes of 'Thetis' proud and happy τὰ μὲν δή τοι τετέλεσται / ἐκ Διός', and earlier speaks of her 'appallingly tactless remark', but this seems to misrepresent Thetis' tone in this speech (note 71 κωκύσασα, 72 ὀλοφυρομένη). Certainly she recalls Zeus's promise to her, but it seems likely that she is bewildered by Achilles' condition rather than naively expecting his praise and appreciation.

**75 εὔχεο χεῖρας ἀνασχών:** Greeks believed that the gesture of raising one's hands to the skies in prayer was universal, and there is a fair amount of comparative evidence that points in the same direction ([Arist.] *de mundo* 400a16 'all human beings'; Pulleyn 1997: 188–95).

**76–7 ἀλήμεναι ... παθέειν:** the infinitives follow from εὔχεο ('you prayed') in an accusative–infinitive construction: 'just as you prayed before ... that all the sons of the Achaeans be penned in by the ships' sterns for want of you, and that they suffer humiliating treatment'.

Strictly speaking, Thetis is distorting events: Achilles prayed to her, not to Zeus, then asked her to convey his wishes to Zeus, which she did. The simplification is natural, but also makes the present disaster more clearly Achilles' responsibility.

**77 ἀεικήλια ἔργα** 'unwelcome deeds'; the adjective probably derives from ἀ-privative ('not') and ἔκηλος ('willing'), so 'unwilled', 'unwished-for' (so Aristarchus in schol. Arn/A and Herodian). But the poet may have thought of it as meaning 'unseemly', 'dishonourable' on the analogy of phrases like ἀεικέα ἔργα (22.395, 23.24, cf. 23.176 κακὰ ... ἔργα). Critics have been much exercised by the question whether such phrases imply moral condemnation of those responsible for the actions: for a recent discussion see de Jong on 22.395 (she concludes that they probably do

not). In the present passage it is still more unlikely that Thetis means to criticise her son even in passing. The hiatus before ἔργα is explained by the fact that the noun originally began with the consonant digamma (Introduction, p. 53).

**78** = 1.364: another parallel with the earlier encounter between mother and son. Within the present scene it echoes Thetis' groaning at 70. They grieve in unison.

**79 τὰ μὲν ἄρ:** τὰ μέν picks up the use of the same phrase in Thetis' first line (74) (just as the verb ἐξετέλεσσεν echoes her τετέλεσται), but whereas in Thetis' speech no contrast with μέν followed, here there is an emphatic contrast in 80 ἀλλά. ἄρ may have the sense of realisation, 'I recognise', a common use of this particle (Denniston 36–7).

**Ὀλύμπιος:** the gods as a group can be referred to as 'the Olympians' (1.399, 20.47), but Zeus as their ruler is 'the Olympian' par excellence. The usage is common in Homer and later authors (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 474, Pind. *Ol.* 9.57, Ar. *Nub.* 817). Hence in Ar. *Ach.* 530 Pericles is called 'the Olympian', implying that his political authority in Athens is like that of Zeus.

**ἐξετέλεσσεν:** 74n. τελέω and the compound ἐκτελέω seem to be used synonymously, but if the prefix gives any additional force, it would here intensify Thetis' words: 'yes, the Olympian has *absolutely* fulfilled ... ' (compare the way that Achilles takes up and caps Thetis' words at 96–8).

**80 τῶν** 'this' (lit. 'them'), the 'demonstrative' use of the article, frequent in Homer (Chantraine II.158–70).

**81 Πάτροκλος:** on the enjambement here see 13n.

**82 ἴσον ἐμῆι κεφαλῆι:** the head is treated as a precious part of the body, and in this expression means 'my own life', or 'my soul' if we can use the term without importing Christian overtones; see also 114, 17.242, 23.94 (ἠθείη κεφαλή vocative, Achilles to Patroclus' ghost: hardly translatable, but perhaps 'dear good friend').

**τὸν ἀπώλεσα:** the verb echoes 80 ἐπεὶ φίλος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος 'since my dear comrade is lost/has perished'. In the present line it is unclear whether Achilles is saying 'I have lost him' or still more emphatically 'I have killed him' – by sending him into battle alone. Certainly this verb can mean 'destroy' (see e.g. 24.260 where there is no ambiguity), but it may be going too far to render it thus here. In any case Achilles' acceptance of responsibility for Patroclus' death is clear below, esp. at 98–100, 102–3. An important parallel case is 22.104 (with 107), where Hector speaks of how he has 'lost' or 'destroyed' the host through his own rash folly. In book 22 it is harder to resist the suggestion that this is something which the speaker has done rather than just something which has happened to him. (See the cautious formulation of Griffin 1980: 163 n. 41. Others, such as Edwards, emphasise the ambiguity.)

**82–4** More amplification, building up the special qualities of the armour.

**83 θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι:** the same phrase occurs at 5.725, 10.439, 18.377, in each case of divine artefacts or (in book 10) of armour fit for the gods.

**84–7** The gods attended the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, an occasion fraught with significance. In the *Cypria*, this was the time that Eris threw the apple of discord into the midst of the company, which led to the contest of the goddesses over the prize for beauty, settled by the judgement of Paris (frr. 5–7; West 2013: 75–9). The gods gave Peleus many gifts: elsewhere we hear of divine horses (16.867, 23.276–8) and of the mighty spear that Achilles alone can now wield (16.140–4). The occasion becomes symbolic of the peak of human felicity, but most references to the event also emphasise the misfortunes that ensue, both on a general level (the Trojan war) and for Peleus himself (abandoned by his wife, and eventually left childless in his old age). (See *Homer* 114–17.)

**85 ἔμβαλον** 'threw you upon a mortal's bed': the same verb is used e.g. of Zeus hurling Sleep into the sea (14.258, part of an 'if . . . not' sentence), of casting down rugs to make a bed (24.645, etc.), of a god bringing Lycaon into the path of Achilles (21.47), and so forth. The unceremonious phrasing reflects the bitter attitude of Thetis to her marriage (432n.), shared here by Achilles for his own reasons.

**86 αἴθ' ὄφελες:** the phrase introduces a wish or prayer. For αἴθε (εἴθε) on its own (with optative) see 22.41. A wish may also be expressed through a form of ὀφέλλω ('ought'; the wish expresses what the speaker feels *should* have happened), followed by an infinitive: see 19 above, 6.350, etc. Here the two options are combined: for parallels, see 1.415, 24.253–4, and other passages listed in LSJ ὀφείλω II.2, Cunliffe s.v. ὀφέλλω 1 (4).

**86–7** The strong contrast between ἀθανάτηις and θνητήν brings out the way in which the fateful marriage of Peleus and Thetis bridged the gulf between men and gods, but only temporarily. For similar interplay of 'gods/men' terms see 24.534–7 (again concerning the union of Peleus and Thetis); *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 166–7.

**88 νῦν δ' ἵνα καὶ σοὶ πένθος . . . :** the sequence of thought is elliptical. Achilles means 'but as it is, (you *did* marry him), with the result that endless sorrow afflicts your heart . . .'

**89 παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο** '(sorrow) for a son who is dying/dead'. Achilles regards his own death as certain, indeed desirable (98).

**89–90 τὸν οὐχ ὑποδέξεαι . . . νοστήσαντ(α):** Achilles' words echo those of Thetis to the Nereids at 59–60. The loss of his future is prominent in the thoughts of both.

**ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἄνωγε:** here the θυμός is treated as a powerful mental force motivating the speaker; similarly 176, 282, 6.439, 444. Conversely the individual can speak in terms of suppressing or controlling his θυμός, as

in 113, *Od.* 5.222. Homer typically presents decision-making and other key choices in terms of quelling or giving way to internal psychological forces: see Clarke 1999: 97–106. This may be prompted by or combined with divine intervention, but the god will typically stimulate mental activity in the human being (e.g. 1.55, 3.139, 395), or take steps to calm the excited human (e.g. 1.192). On the θυμός see 15n.; also Kelly 2007a: 209–10. On double motivation, human and divine, see esp. Lesky 1961; for more recent work see Clarke 1999: 277–84; Kelly 2007a: 232–3 n.1.

**91 ζώειν:** Achilles' death-wish becomes more explicit in his next speech: see 98.

**οὐδ' ἀνδρεσσι μετέμμεναι:** in the rest of the poem Achilles will for most of the time be a man set apart from his fellow Greeks: this is especially clear in book 19, where he declines the encouragement to eat with them before battle, and in book 24, where he dines alone with a few companions rather than joining the communal feast. His desire for revenge and his consciousness of his coming death make him an isolated figure.

**αἴ κε μή** 'unless': κε is equivalent to ἄν (which also occurs in Homer, e.g. 1.232 = 2.242). It is a conditional particle which normally indicates that the event referred to lies in the future and is subject to some uncertainty, at least as to how soon it will occur (it may sometimes be used with reference to counterfactual past conditions: e.g, 3.41 'it would have been much better'). Normally the verb in the clause will be in subjunctive or optative. For a summary of conditional clauses in Homer see Bowie 2013: 49–50 (some philologists have attempted to draw more complex distinctions between the two particles, but these seem to break down on closer inspection: discussion and refs. in Willmott 2007: 199–204.).

**92 πρῶτος:** as the scholia (AT) remark, this is equivalent to πρότερος ('first of two'). The thought is comparable to 16.861, where the wording is closely similar but where φθήηι (from φθάνω) stands in the same place as πρῶτος here.

**ἀπό … ὀλέσσηι:** 'tmesis' (29–30n.).

**93 ἕλωρα:** the singular ἕλωρ normally means 'spoil' or 'prey', but this plural form (found only here in Homer) must mean 'penalty for spoiling'.

**Μενοιτιάδεω:** Patroclus, cf. 12 and 325n. The patronymic is evidently well known; it is used in 1.307, the first reference to Patroclus in the *Iliad* (but for a different approach to such references see Scodel 2002: 90–123).

**ἀποτείσηι** 'pay back', 3rd sing. aor. subjunctive from ἀποτίνω. Two verbs need to be distinguished: τίνω and τίω, and their compounds. The aorist of τίνω is spelt ἔτεισα, that of τίω is spelt ἔτισα (see West praef. xxxv). τίω means simply 'honour' or 'value'; τίνω means 'pay' or 'pay for', as in 407 Hephaestus is eager to τίνειν the recompense he owes Thetis for her services in the past. Here Hector must pay the price for his slaying of Patroclus.

**94 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα:** we may contrast this line with the introductory line before Thetis' next speech (127). Similar variation is found in the exchange with Iris (181, 187). The 'economy' of the formulaic style can admit variety even where the same line could have been used in both places. On introductory lines of various types see Edwards 1970; Riggsby 1992; Kelly 2007a: 411–21.

**95 ὠκύμορος:** that Achilles will be short-lived was already clear from early in the poem: see 1.352 (his prayer to Thetis), 416 (Thetis lamenting), 505 (Thetis supplicates Zeus). As the *Iliad* progresses and his death gets closer, more details are released about it: here Thetis reveals that his death is 'at once / next after Hector' (96); in book 19 the horse Xanthus prophesies that he will be slain by a god and a man (417); in book 21 Achilles knows that Apollo will have a hand in his death (277–8); in book 22 Hector names Paris and Apollo as his slayers (359–60). See further Kullmann 1960: 308–13, 320–5; Schadewaldt 1997b; Griffin 1980: 163.

δή emphasises the preceding adjective: 'short-lived indeed will you be, child . . .' (Denniston 204).

μοι: an 'ethic' dative, that is, it expresses the interest of the speaker in what is being requested or asserted. Sometimes it can be rendered 'please' or 'for my sake', but here 'I can see' would be more appropriate. See Chantraine II.72; Smyth §1486.

οἷ' ἀγορεύεις 'such things you declare', i.e. 'from what you say'.

**96 αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα:** there is a problem of mythological consistency here. Thetis' words suggest that Achilles' own death will follow very soon indeed, in a matter of days. But the tale of Troy as chronicled in the Epic Cycle did not proceed directly to the death of Achilles. According to Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis*, the events of the *Iliad* were followed by the arrival of fresh allies for the Trojans, Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, and Memnon, king of the Ethiopians; both these leaders (and no doubt many of their followers) were slain by Achilles (*GEF* 110–13). The *Aethiopis*, evidently named after Memnon's domain, seems to have narrated both episodes before proceeding to describe Achilles' own death (but for a different view of the content of that poem see West 2003). Either the *Iliad*-poet was unaware of these episodes (unlikely, cf. 2n.), or he chose to ignore them to reinforce the tragic imminence of Achilles' own death. (See now Currie 2016: 62, who thinks that the poet and his audience tolerated modest inconsistencies of this kind.)

The heroic resolution of Achilles in choosing death was strongly influential on later literature. In Plato's *Apology* Socrates cites these lines as part of his own justification for despising death in an honourable cause (28cd): for discussion see Irwin 1988.

**97 τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη:** on this speech introduction see Kelly 2007a: 224–5, arguing that in each case the speaker is self-assertively

reacting to a suggested course of action which he is determined to resist. He further notes that most examples introduce speeches by Zeus or Achilles, both figures who are much occupied with their own purposes and power.

**98 αὐτίκα τεθναίην:** the first word echoes Thetis' own words in 96, but caps her admonition. She says in effect 'you will die immediately after Hector'; Achilles with passionate overstatement cries 'let me die *immediately*' (i.e. now).

**οὐκ ... ἔμελλον** 'I was not going to', perhaps with a slightly more fatalistic tinge (it was not my fate to ...): for this nuance in μέλλω see 2.36, 39, 16.46 (of Patroclus), 11.817, and other passages cited by Cunliffe s.v. (2).

**99 κτεινομένωι** 'as he was being slain': the specificity calls up a counter-factual image of Achilles arriving to rescue his friend in the nick of time.

**μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης:** a very common pathetic point introduced when a hero's death in battle is described: see Griffin 1980: 106–9 on 'the motif "far from home"' (cf. 60n.).

**100 ἐμεῦ δὲ δέησεν:** the transmitted text, ἐμεῖο δὲ δῆσεν, cannot stand: it is the aorist form of δέω, 'bind' or 'tie', which makes no sense here. Since the verb governs the genitive, the meaning is evidently 'had need of me', from δεύω (δέϝω), though the 3rd sing. aor. would normally be (ἐ)δεύησε, which metre here forbids. It makes no difference to the sense whether we prefer one or other form of the genitive (West prints ἐμέο δ' ἐδέησεν, cf. his *Studies* 246).

**ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι:** an ἀλκτήρ ('protector') is someone who provides ἀλκή, strength to help or resist; ἄρη (with short first syllable) means 'harm'. For the expression see 213, but the exact text is disputed in both places, see West's apparatus and his n. on Hes. *Theog.* 657. In all these places there is manuscript variation between ἀρῆς and ἄρεος: if the latter is accepted the expression would mean not 'protector from harm' but 'preserver in war'. Both are intelligible, but it seems more likely that ἄρεος, a more familiar word, has displaced the true reading (on the principle *difficilior lectio potior.* Tarrant 2016: 58).

**101 νῦν δ(έ)** 'but as things are', a very common usage: cf. 88, 261, 290, Cunliffe s.v. (4). The same expression is used twice later in this speech, at 114 and 121: the urgency of Achilles' desire for immediate action is brought out.

**ἐπεί** begins a subordinate clause ('since ...'), but no main clause actually follows; the flood of thoughts in Achilles' mind results in anacoluthon (cf. 55n.). A new sentence begins at 107, but only at 114 does he resume the sequence of thought which was implicit at 101 ('since I have failed Patroclus, I will now slay Hector and die').

**οὐ νέομαι** 'I shall not return', present with future sense.

**φίλην:** see 27n. Here we have a case where emotional attachment may well be present.

**102** τι 'at all', 'in any way'.    φάος: for light as a symbol of salvation, esp. in battle, see 6.6, 8.282, 11.797, 16.39; Cunliffe s.v. (5); West 2007: 482.

οὐδ' ἑτάροισι | τοῖς ἄλλοις: it is important that Achilles' regrets extend beyond his closest friends to the other comrades who have died because of his intransigence. So too 21.133–5. Contrast 1.409–10 (his original request to Thetis), where he imagines the Greeks penned in and 'being slain' around the ships; and above all 16.97–100, the stunning climax of his speech to Patroclus, where he wishes that all other Greeks and all the Trojans might perish, and the two of them might sack an empty Troy together.

**103** δάμεν 'who were subdued in great number by godlike Hector'. The verb is 3rd plural aorist indicative passive of δαμάζω ('break in', 'subdue').

**104** ἀλλ' ἧμαι παρὰ νηυσίν: earlier the same verb has been used of Achilles' inertia (1.330, 416, 421, cf. 488 παρήμενος); there is perhaps a hint of the oddity of this behaviour by 'swift-footed' Achilles. More telling is the contrast with Achilles' words at a later point, 24.541–2 ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης / ἧμαι ἐνὶ Τροίηι, σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα (see Macleod's n.). In both passages Achilles speaks bitterly of his immobile state ('here I sit'), but there is a difference. Here he refers to his abstention from the battle, while there the emphasis is on his lingering at Troy rather than going home and caring for his aged father: that is, he is there active in the conflict but sees it as a kind of idleness. The difference indicates the change of perspective he has undergone by the time of his meeting with Priam in book 24.

ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης: as elsewhere, Achilles' language extends normal Homeric usage. Elsewhere in the poem the adjective is always used of futile weapons. The implication is that the hero was failing to perform his proper function. (In general on the forcefulness of Achilles' language see Griffin 1986: 50–6.)

**105** τοῖος ἐὼν οἷος οὔ τις: lit. 'being such a man as no one (else) among the Achaeans', i.e. 'superior as I am to all others'.

**106** In the *Iliad* heroes should excel both in warfare and in the assembly: cf. 1.490–1, 9.443, and the contrast later in this book between Hector and Poulydamas. Schofield 1986 brings out the importance of 'good counsel' in Homer. Achilles here acknowledges that his own excellence has its limits. Yet Taplin 1992: 194 n. 19 regards this line as 'a pedantic footnote. Its excision might be an improvement.' (In fact both 105 and 106 were deleted by Heyne.) On the contrary, for Achilles to refer ruefully to his own deficiencies in debate and argument is highly appropriate.

On the combination δέ τε see Ruijgh 1971: 644–718 (656 on this example).

**107–10** Another impossible wish. They are characteristic of Achilles' extravagant temperament: cf. 16.97–100, 22.18–20, 346–7.

**107** ὡς: here introducing a wish, with the verb in the optative (Cunliffe s.v. (13); Smyth §1815; Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 407–9).

ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν . . .: it is possible that the word ἔρις might trigger memories in the audience of the story mentioned above (84–7n.), of how Eris caused discord among the gods by casting a golden apple (inscribed 'for the fairest') into the midst of the gathering at Thetis' wedding. Early texts did not distinguish capitals and lower case, so that name and abstract noun were indistinguishable.

**108** καὶ χόλος: the sense was complete at the end of 107, and at first this addition seems a mere afterthought, but it is then χόλος that is more elaborately described, with a brief simile and use of the cognate verb (111); the emphasis on the term marks the paradox that anger has proved disastrous for Achilles so far, but will be his principal motive in the action which ensues. See further 322, 337.

χόλος is conceived as both a psychological force and a physical phenomenon. Its basic meaning is 'bile'; the noun is cognate with the χολάδες, organs which slide out when a man's torso is slit open (4.526 = 21.181). So too anger is nursed within the body; it swells and grows, but can also be released or expelled. See Clarke 1999: 92–7.

On the vocabulary of anger see Scodel 2008: 49–58. For more general discussion of this key theme in the poem, see Van Wees 1992: 126–65; Cairns 2003. Harris 2001 is an impressive historical survey; see also Braund and Most 2003.

πολύφρονά περ: the regular use of περ to mean 'although, even': 'wrath, which has often spurred on even a prudent man to be angry'. So also 112. This use is especially common with participles. More examples in Denniston 485.

**109–11** A 'mixed simile', one with two unconnected points of comparison (here honey and smoke): cf. 22.262–4; Moulton 1977: 108; also Moulton 1979: 285. 'In their different ways, billowing smoke and flowing honey participate in the kind of flowing movement that Homer sees in the life of the psychic substances that are inside the breasts of men' (Clarke 1999: 92–3).

Similes, and particularly extended similes, are much rarer in speeches than in narrative, but Achilles uses several of them (notably 9.323–4, 16.7–10, 21.282–3, 22.262–4). It is one of the ways in which the poet makes his style particularly eloquent and individual (Griffin 1986, esp. 53; Moulton 1977: 100).

**109** The cluster of lambdas is notable, and might suggest a touch of onomatopoeia reflecting the flow of dripping honey. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 14 regards lambda as the sweetest and most pleasurable of the 'semi-vowels'.

**110 ἀέξεται:** 3rd sing. pres. indicative passive of ἀέξω, 'increase'; later Greek uses αὔξω, which is not found in Homer. 'As smoke from a very small fire will fill all the house, so anger from a small beginning fills men's hearts' (Leaf).

**111 νῦν:** not so much 'now' as 'in this case'. Cf. 1.445, Cunliffe s.v. (3).

**ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων:** this is the first time in the *Iliad* that Achilles has used Agamemnon's formal title: for more aggressive and insulting lines in which he has addressed or referred to the great king, see 1.122 (adapting a stock formula), 149, 225, 9.372–3. 1.411, though formally complimentary, is presumably bitter in tone. In book 19, in the scene of public reconciliation, Achilles finally uses the standard honorific line, Ἀτρεΐδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον (146, 199), and honour is satisfied, though relations between the two men are evidently still strained. The tone of the present line is hard to assess, but given the context, it probably indicates a willingness on Achilles' part to make concessions. The new wrath leaves little room for prolonging the old.

**112** Lines 112–13 are identical with 19.65–6 (Achilles seeking reconciliation with Agamemnon); the first few words of 112 are also used by Achilles in the long and emotional speech to Patroclus at the start of book 16 (60). Here we should note the emphasis in the next clause on the need to control the passions. Phoenix had warned Achilles to master his mighty passion at 9.496 (δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν). Odysseus similarly urges the shade of Ajax to subdue his proud anger (*Od.* 11.562). The heroes find it hard to control their powerful emotions, and the results can be disastrous.

**ἀχνύμενοί περ:** the most notable parallel for the phrase is in 24.523, where Achilles uses it to Priam, stressing the need for him to eat and more generally for mortals to endure their misfortunes. In the later scene there is a more genuine acceptance of necessity than in the present one, and sympathy for another rather than obsession with his own concerns. (Other cases are listed by Kelly 2007a: 162).

**114 φίλης κεφαλῆς:** for the head as the most crucial or precious part of the individual cf. 82n. Latin has the exactly parallel *cari capitis* (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.2), but the expression is unnatural in English. We should translate 'my beloved friend'. Similar problems of translation arise with some famous phrases in tragedy, e.g. the opening line of Sophocles' *Antigone*, ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα.

**κιχείω** 'that I may find/catch up with'; 1st sing. pres. subjunctive from κιχάνω 'come to', 'find', 'reach', 'overtake'.

**115 Ἕκτορα:** another case of strong enjambement (13n.).

**115–16** These words are repeated (with τέθναθι in place of Ἕκτορα) in Achilles' final words to the dying Hector (22.365–6). At that point he has achieved the goal he sets himself here.

**115 κῆρα:** the key word is foregrounded: 'as for my death, I shall accept it whenever ...'

**κεν = κε:** see 91n.

**117-19** The *exemplum* of Heracles. A simple argument, but powerfully expressed: Heracles was son of Zeus (and by implication a mightier hero than Achilles), yet even he died; so Achilles must also accept the inevitability of death. Many passages in Greek literature present examples of this kind, normally in the mouths of others advising the person to whom the advice applies (thus choruses in tragedy often tell the hero(ine) that their suffering is not unique: e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 944-87, Eur. *Alc.* 891-4). It is unusual for the victim of misfortune to assert the principle himself.

Heracles, greatest of the Greek heroes, is a figure of an earlier generation. He is quite often mentioned in the *Iliad*, and often with reference to Hera's enmity and persecution (see e.g. West 2011a: 30-1; Kelly 2007a: 310-12). He is treated as a man, not a god: there is no reference to his being elevated to join the Olympian pantheon after death, which would be alien to the heroic outlook of the *Iliad*. Similarly Castor and Polydeuces are both treated as dead and buried in 3.243-4; the poet ignores the myth of their being granted alternate days in Hades and on Olympus, though the *Odyssey* mentions this concession (11.302-4; for more detail see Gantz 327-8).

It is not clear whether the poet was deliberately excluding reference to Heracles' apotheosis, or if he ignores it because the conception of Heracles as a god had not yet emerged. It figures in *Od.* 11.602-4, but that passage is glaringly at odds with its context and is plainly interpolated. In our texts of Hesiod's *Theogony* there is a short passage referring to Heracles marrying Hebe and dwelling on Olympus (950-5, with West's n. on *Theog.* 941-55), but this forms part of a longer section of the poem which on independent grounds is generally seen as post-Hesiodic (see West, ibid. pp. 397-9). If both these cases are indeed regarded as later additions, the earliest references to apotheosis do not predate the sixth century. The *Catalogue of Women* includes more than one such passage: frr. 25.26-33, 229.6-13. Even later poetry can adopt a variety of positions: Pindar in *Nem.* 1.69-72, 10.17-18, *Isthm.* 4.55-60, makes Heracles a god on Olympus but calls him a 'hero god' at *Nem.* 3.22; whereas Euripides in *Heracles* 1331-33 seems to envisage him in Hades, worshipped as a hero; contrast *Heraclidae* 912-16, where the chorus deny that he has gone to Hades and declare that he dwells in heaven with his bride Hebe. Herodotus (2.44.5) approves the attitude of 'those Greeks who have established two separate cults of Heracles, and sacrifice to him in the one as an immortal, calling him Olympian, and in the other as a hero'. It is uncertain which Greeks he refers to: *LSCG* 151 C.8-15 (Cos) may be an example of the double worship he has in mind, and Pausanias (2.10.1)

records a sacrifice of mixed type at Sicyon. Attic vase-paintings show him setting off to Olympus and his apotheosis in a chariot, but not before c.570 BC (*LIMC* VI.121–32 (nos. 2847–2938)). See further Stinton 1987 (= 1990, 493–507); Holt 1989.

On Heracles see Brommer 1972; Burkert 1979: ch. 4; Burkert 1985: 208–11; Gantz 374–463; *LIMC* IV.1 and V.1. More generally on mythological exempla in epic, esp. in speeches, see Oehler 1925, Alden 2000; for their use specifically in consolation see Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.7; Lattimore 1962: 250–6, esp. 253–4 on Heracles. Canter 1933 provides a broader catalogue of exempla in Greek and Latin poetry.

**117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ:** highly emphatic: 'For not even mighty Heracles, no, not even he ... ' Cf. 6.130 (again introducing an exemplum), 17.24, *Od.* 10.327, 551, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.224, 4.1529; Chantraine II.337–8. Even stronger emphasis, with a flood of negations, is found at 9.379–86 (Achilles' rejection of the embassy's offer). See also Denniston 196–7.

**βίη Ἡρακλῆος** 'the might of Heracles'= 'the mighty Heracles', a grandiose periphrasis of a type common in epic and other high poetry. Cf. 486 τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος ('strong Orion'), 607, 3.105, 17.24, 187, *Od.* 2.409 ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο, 11.601, Hes. *Theog.* 332 (double abstract noun), 951. Tragic diction follows epic precedent: e.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 571 Τυδέως βίαν ('mighty Tydeus'), *Cho.* 893 φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία, Eur. *Or.* 1242 Δίκης σέβας.

**119 μοῖρα:** here effectively 'fate', an impersonal force paired with the more personal vindictiveness of Hera. Greek ideas of fate or 'one's portion' were flexible, sometimes purposefully vague. One must distinguish the view of the poet (who can see the full picture of what 'must' happen – i.e. the plot of the poem and the constants of the mythical tradition) and the varied viewpoints of the characters, who rarely have insight into the future and even then can only see part of the picture. Often the context will dictate whether a character emphasises the freedom that fate permits (e.g. Hector at 6.487, no man will send me down to Hades 'against my destiny, ὑπὲρ αἶσαν') or the compulsion which it imposes (as here or at 22.303, where Hector accepts his μοῖρα). For fuller discussion see Greene 1944; Dietrich 1965; Burkert 1985: 129–30; Graziosi and Haubold 2005: 89–92; for broader perspectives see West 2007: 379–86. See also Introduction section 3.

**χόλος Ἥρης:** for Hera's antagonism towards Heracles see esp. 14. 249–56, 15.26–8, 19.95–9 (and what follows); also 5.392–4. Her motive is her anger at Zeus's infidelities, Heracles being one of his bastard offspring. χόλος is also relevant to Achilles' own case: cf. 108. Hera's fury destroyed Heracles, but Achilles' own anger will destroy him.

**120 ὡς καὶ ἐγών:** Achilles, like Heracles, will die and that is the end. This is clearly the message of the *Iliad*. Even more than the *Odyssey*, the poem insists on the finality of death, making little reference even to the

shadowy existence of ghosts in the underworld. Yet in other epics Achilles is granted a more agreeable afterlife: according to Proclus (*Aethiopis* summary 4) Thetis snatched her son from the pyre and carried him to the 'White Island' (*GEF* 112). Originally this probably had no real geographical meaning, but later it was identified with a real island in the Black Sea (now Ostrov Zmeinyy). Sherds with scratched dedications to Achilles have been found there, dating from c.600 onwards (see further Hupe 2006; Parker 2011: 244–6; West 2013: 156). Achilles in later texts is clearly a figure of cult – the analogy with Heracles is given a new aptness. Although the argument from silence is a dangerous one, this conception is probably a later development than the *Iliad*. (But see Burgess 2009: chs 7–8; Currie 2016: 63–4. A. Edwards 1985 believes that the conception of Achilles living on in the White Island was known at least to the poet of the *Odyssey*.)

**εἰ δή:** the emphatic δή adds a note of confidence which reduces the force of the conditional: 'if' here is more or less equivalent to 'since' (Denniston 223 with n. 1).

**121 κείσομ(αι)** 'I shall lie still', that is 'I shall be inert, inactive, devoid of glory'; this leads on to the focus on action in the present.

**νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην:** although the desire for revenge is paramount, glory remains important to Achilles. It is well established that the notions of heroic fame, and the memory that prolongs that fame through song, are deeply embedded in the poetic tradition and can be traced back to Indo-European origins. The ideas are paralleled in other poetic traditions; more important, some of the key expressions, including κλέος ἐσθλόν used here, are paralleled in the Indo-Iranian linguistic tradition; so are κλέος ἄφθιτον, ὄνομα κλυτόν. The longing for fame, which plays so great a part in the Homeric value-system, is thus of immense antiquity. (On all this see West 1988: 152–5; 2007: 401–2, 406). But the poet of the *Iliad* complicates his plot by combining this passion for glory with other motives rooted in personal loyalty and affection, and by making Achilles' lust for fame the cause of his personal tragedy.

**121–5** After the simple initial clause, the rest of the sentence is elaborately constructed, conveying the intensity of Achilles' vision of his future actions. The syntax is 'may I cause (ἐφείην) one [i.e. one or other, someone] of the Trojan and Dardanian women to groan intensely, as she wipes away a tear, and may they learn [shifting from singular to plural subject] how very long I have abstained from warfare'. This structure is enriched with amplification: not just Trojan women but Dardanian, and described as deep-bosomed; they will need to use both hands (ἀμφοτέρῃσιν); their cheeks are tender (ἁπαλάων); their groans will be abundant or intense.

The comment of schol. bT on 121 deserves quotation: 'He already has in view the sufferings which will ensue for the enemy and sates himself in his

thoughts of vengeance' (cited by Griffin 1980: 122). One may add that the malice with which Achilles envisages the sufferings of the blameless women goes beyond his previous utterances in its ferocity.

**122 Δαρδανίδων:** again at 339. 'Dardanian' seems in the *Iliad* not to be simply a synonym for Trojan. Dardanus was the son of Zeus and ancestor of Priam: for the fullest genealogical account see 20.215–41. There it is said that he founded Dardania, since Troy did not yet exist (216–18), but although two potential founders (Tros and his son Ilos) are mentioned later in the speech, the circumstances of this new foundation are not explained. However, the catalogue of Trojan allies mentions the Dardanians separately, as coming from the foothills of Mt Ida; they are led by Aeneas and Antenor's sons (2.819–23). The older settlement evidently still continues. Possible rivalry between an older and a wealthier city explains the references to antagonism between the two royal lines, the family of Anchises and that of Priam (13.459–61, 20.178–83).

**124: ἀδινά:** the sense is 'abundantly' – either referring to repetition or intensity or volume: cf. the cognate ἄδην, 'to the full' (and see 316n.). The ending -ά, not ἀδινόν, is favoured by Homeric usage elsewhere. This will be the adverbial use (going with στοναχῆσαι) rather than adjectival with δακρύα.

**ἐφείην:** 1st sing. pres. optative from ἐφίημι, a compound of ἵημι. 'May I cause, impel'.

**125** 'and realise that I was indeed long absent from the conflict'. We might expect 'that I have indeed returned to the conflict'; the point is the same, that the unhappy women will see the huge difference now that Achilles is back. (Lattimore obscures the point, by translating 'learn that I stayed too long out of the fighting', which makes no sense from the women's point of view.)

**πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι:** the middle tenses of παύω take the genitive of the activity from which one desists.

**126 μηδέ μ' ... οὐδέ με πείσεις:** Achilles' concluding line is similar to a line used by Hector to Helen in 6.360 (there the opening line of a speech). Helen has asked Hector to remain and spend time with her rather than proceeding with the task in hand. Female characters in Homer often seek to restrain or hold back a male hero from his dangerous path (Kakridis 1971: 68–75; Griffin 1980: 6–8). Here Achilles urges Thetis not to make the attempt; in fact, she will persuade him to delay, though she knows better than to seek to alter his resolve.

**127 ἀργυρόπεζα:** a stock epithet, but of the individualised type, i.e. used only of a single person, Thetis.

**128** 'yes, these words are true, child. It is no bad thing ...' The sense of Thetis' opening comment is clearly 'you are right, my child', but the exact punctuation and syntax are debated. Probably there is a sense pause after

ἐτήτυμον; the literal meaning will be 'these words are indeed the truth'; some late MSS read τοῦτο for ταῦτα, which is obviously an attempt to produce simpler syntax. The alternative, to punctuate strongly after τέκνον and treat ἐτήτυμον as an adverb, is implausible (so Leaf, rendering 'yea, as thou sayest; verily it is not ill to save ...').

ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε: in most cases these words are followed by κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες (5 instances in the *Iliad*: Kelly 2007a: 180–2). Thetis is not prepared to go that far: see next n.

οὐ κακόν ἐστι: Thetis accepts her son's point with some reluctance: she concedes 'it is not a bad thing' rather than expressing more positive endorsement (not e.g. 'it is an honourable deed'). No talk of *dulce et decorum* here.

**129** 'to ward off sheer destruction from hard-pressed comrades'. The construction is ἀμύνω plus accusative of the danger repelled, dative of those who are being defended. Similarly 1.67, 16.32, 512, and often.

**130–1** Amplification again (55–7n.), emphasising the importance of the missing armour: Thetis does not just say 'the Trojans have your armour', but describes it with three adjectives (stressed by enjambement), and then reiterates the point by specifying that Hector not only has it in his possession but is actually wearing it (this point was not made explicit by Antilochus at 21, though the audience witnessed Hector donning the armour at 17.182–97, a description which was followed by words of ominous import from Zeus as he observed Hector's actions).

**132–3** Death is close to Hector. The same point was made in Patroclus' defiant dying words (16.851–4), and more sombrely by Zeus as he watched Hector don Achilles' armour (17.198–208, esp. 201–2). In the latter passage it is made very clear that Hector is overstepping the mark. Hence the wearing of the armour is here associated with his death, almost as cause and consequence. Virgil develops this idea with still more emphatic moral overtones when Turnus slays Pallas and puts on his baldric (*Aen.* 10.501–9).

The speech of Thetis is a good example of how character-speech can be used to foreshadow later events, a technique more familiar in the voice of the narrator (310–13n.). Cf. Duckworth 1933. Richardson 1980: 268–9 richly documents examples of this technique noted by the scholia. Narratologists designate this technique 'prolepsis' (de Jong 1987: 81–90; 2014: 78–87).

**132** οὐδέ ἕ φημί 'I do not think': φημί, normally rendered 'I say', can also have this sense; in any case Thetis is here declaring her thoughts.

**133** φόνος ἐγγύθεν αὐτῶι: a verb needs to be supplied. In view of the directional ending of ἐγγύθεν ('from near at hand'), a verb of motion is appropriate ('is coming').

**134** μῶλον ἄρηος 'the tumult of war': for the expression cf. 2.401, 7.147, 16.245. Ares, as often, by metonymy stands for war and conflict (so also 213, 304). Similarly at 2.426 Hephaestus' name is used to signify fire, and at *Od.* 22.444 'Aphrodite' means sexual desire. In Latin poetry 'Bacchus' and other names are frequent for wine, though Lucretius judged this an abuse of language (2.656–7) and Quintilian warns that it is a figure unsuited to oratory (*Inst.* 8.6.24). See further Wackernagel 2009: 477–9. Modern practice is inconsistent in capitalising Ἥφαιστος and Ἀφροδίτη in all such cases, but often leaving ἄρης in lower case. The distinction would be meaningless to the early audiences of epic, since (a) the poems would most often be experienced through performance; and (b) early Greek texts did not distinguish between upper and lower case as modern texts do.

**135** πρίν ... ἴδηαι: for πρίν plus the subjunctive (rather than the more common infinitive) see Monro §297.

**136** νεῦμαι 'I shall return': a contracted 1st sing. pres. indicative form from νέομαι, here clearly with future sense.

ἅμ' ἠελίωι ἀνιόντι: see 19.1–5 for the fulfilment of the promise: Dawn and Thetis arrive simultaneously. The scholia remark that Thetis seems to have no doubt that Hephaestus will work all night.

**137** τεύχεα καλὰ φέρουσα: Thetis' proposal is introduced very suddenly and not elaborated; it may be that Hephaestus' role as supplier of armour for heroes (or for Achilles in particular) was already well established. In late archaic vase-paintings, and in a chorus of Euripides' *Electra*, Hephaestus provides Achilles with the armour that he wears from the start of the war onwards (*El.* 442–50, cf. *IA* 1071–5), though in the *Iliad* this armour, eventually worn by Patroclus, is the gift of the gods to Peleus. In the *Aethiopis* he evidently forged armour for Memnon at the request of his mother Eos: see Proclus' summary §2 in *GEF* 110; West 2013: 143; Virg. *Aen.* 8.384; Gantz 622–4.

**138** πάλιν goes closely with the genitive: 'she turned away from'; cf. e.g. 20.439.

ἑοῖο: possessive adjective ('her'): see Introduction, p. 64.

**140–2** Thetis dismisses the Nereids, who were introduced only to contribute to the lamentation. The instruction to report to their father all that has been happening is from one point of view a device to get them 'off stage'; there is no special need for Nereus to be informed of these events. But repetition of her intentions also serves to enhance the importance of Thetis' mission.

**140** κόλπον: lit. 'bosom'; the metaphorical use referring to the sea is also found in 21.125, *Od.* 4.435; plural at *Od.* 5.52. It suggests the curving and rippling of the water. See also 398n.

**141** ὀψόμεναι: fut. participle expressing purpose.

**142 μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον** 'lofty Olympus'. μακρός can indicate extensive-ness of all kinds – length, height, width, even volume of sound (as in μακρὸν ἄϋσεν, 'he shouted in a loud voice', 3.81).

**143 εἶμι παρ(ά):** παρά with accusative indicates motion towards some-one or something, so as to end beside or near them: hence it can be used of visiting a person, e.g. *Od.* 13.414.

κλυτοτέχνην: a stock epithet specific to Hephaestus, cf. 391, 1.571 (nominative), *Od.* 8.286.

αἴ κε (plus subjunctive) 'to see if he will . . .', 'in the hope that'. The same construction is found at 199, 213, 457.

**144 κλυτὰ τεύχεα παμφανόωντα:** Thetis did not need to say more than 'give him armour': the amplification reminds us that the workmanship of a god will be magnificent. In a sense the line serves as a trailer for the later description.

**146 Οὔλυμπόνδε:** in 142 Olympus was spelt with an initial *O*, here (and 148 below) with *Ou*. The variation is common, and purely for metrical convenience. For other words subject to metrical lengthening see West 1982: 38. ὄνομα/οὔνομα is a good parallel. For the directional ending -δε (or -ζε) cf. Ἰθάκηνδε, Κρήτηνδε, ἄστυδε ('to the town'), χάμαζε ('to the ground'), ἔραζε ('to the earth'). On the accentuation see Probert 2003: §300.

**147 ἤϊεν:** 3rd sing. imperfect indicative from εἶμι ('go'). ἐνείκαι: 3rd sing. aor. optative of φέρω, 'bring'. The conjugation of this verb is irregular, and several tenses and forms use the root ἐνεκ- (e.g. aor. infin. ἐνεγκέμεν or ἐνεικέμεν), which originally derives from a different verb. The optative is used because the main verb of the sentence, ἤϊεν, is in the imperfect, a secondary or historical tense (Smyth §2196).

### *148–201  The Achaeans are hard-pressed; Iris comes to encourage Achilles to show himself*

We return briefly to the battlefield, where the situation has developed slightly since the end of book 17, with Achaeans and Trojans continuing to fight for possession of the corpse of Patroclus. As there, the two Ajaxes are leading the defence against Hector, but Menelaus and Meriones were earlier described as carrying Patroclus' corpse; this is now forgotten, and the body is at the centre of a general mêlée (also, Aeneas, mentioned at 17.754 and 758 as attacking alongside Hector, is now ignored, focusing our attention on the principal Trojan warrior).

Iris is the customary messenger of the gods in the *Iliad*. She is one of the clearest examples of a divinity who represents or personifies a natural phenomenon – the rainbow. The Greek word ἶρις means rainbow: it is so used at 11.27, 17.547. She is normally the emissary of Zeus (see

esp. 8.397–408, 11.185–96, 15.157–67, 24.77–84, 144–58), though occasionally (as at 3.121) she seems to act on her own initiative. In both the 'rainbow' passages mentioned it is Zeus as sky-god who places them in the heavens. This is the only place in which Iris is said to be executing Hera's wishes. Like the deception of Zeus in book 14, this shows Hera attempting to gain control of events. (Remarkable in a different way is 23.198–211, where she responds to Achilles' prayer to the winds to help kindle the fire for Patroclus' funeral pyre. There she relays his request to the winds, an indication of Achilles' privileged position in relation to the gods.)

On Iris see further West on Hes. *Theog.* 266, Erbse 1986: 54–65, Kelly 2007a: 322–4; for her iconography, *LIMC* v.1.451–60. On gods as personifications see Stafford 2000, Stafford and Herrin 2005.

**148 Οὔλυμπόνδε:** 146n.    **πόδες φέρον:** an odd expression, since Thetis must surely fly to her destination, or travel by some other supernatural means. The poet avoids raising the question in the parallel scenes 1.497, 24.95–7.

**149 θεσπεσίωι ἀλαλητῶι** 'with phenomenal din'. θεσπέσιος means 'marvellous' or 'extraordinary', often with a suggestion of the supernatural: it may suggest extreme scale or size as well as sound, and when applied to sound may imply beauty or sweetness (as of the song of the Sirens, *Od.* 12.158). Here the deafening noise is emphasised. ἀλαλητός signifies a loud shout or battle-cry (perhaps onomatopoeic). The combined phrase does not occur elsewhere, but cf. ἠχῆι θεσπεσίηι, μεγάλωι ἀλαλητῶι.

**ἀνδροφόνοιο:** a conventional epithet, but highly appropriate in this context.

**150 ἵκοντο** 'sought to reach' (conative imperfect).

**151 οὐδέ κε ...** 'nor would the well-greaved Achaeans have recovered Patroclus ... ' This is clearly the apodosis of a 'cliffhanger' sentence (see n. on 165–6), but the 'if' element never appears, as the poet is caught up with description of the conflict. A fresh apodosis has to be introduced at 165. For this reason among others Leaf wished to delete 153–65, but the description of battle that they contain is necessary to bring out the desperation of the Achaeans. For other cases of apodosis without protasis see Smyth §2349.

**περ** implies a contrast with the preceding clause. On the one hand the Achaeans have fought their way to safety; they almost failed, however, to recover Patroclus. See Denniston 483: in some of the passages he lists, the initial clause includes μέν and περ performs a very similar function to δέ.

**152 νέκυν, θεράποντ' Ἀχιλῆος** 'the corpse, the companion of Achilles'. Both nouns are in apposition to Πάτροκλόν (151). A θεράπων is a hero subordinate to and normally accompanying another. The expression θεράποντ' Ἀχιλῆος does not occur exactly elsewhere, but comparable

phrases are used of Patroclus at 16.165, 865, and of Meriones in relation to
Idomeneus e.g. at 23.113.

**153 αὖτις:** the relation to earlier events is rather loose, but it is easy to
interpret 'again' in terms of the ebb and flow of combat since we left the
action at the end of book 17.

**κίχον** 'came upon', 3rd pl. aor. indicative of κιχάνω.

**154** The entire line is devoted to Hector: amplification of this kind
enhances the hero's status. The precise phrase φλογὶ εἴκελος ἀλκήν is not
found elsewhere.

**155–6** In place of these lines Zenodotus (quoted in schol. A on 154–6)
included the following, the first half closely resembling 155–6, the rest
based on 176–7 (which he deleted in that place): ὅς μιν τρὶς μετόπισθε ποδῶν
λάβε καὶ μέγ᾽ ἀΰτει | ἑλκέμεναι μεμαώς, κεφαλὴν δέ ἑ θυμὸς ἀνώγει | πῆξαι ἀνὰ
σκολόπεσσι ταμόνθ᾽ ἁπαλῆς ἀπὸ δειρῆς ('who three times seized him by his
feet and gave a mighty shout, being eager to drag him away, and his heart
urged him to cut his [Patroclus'] head from his soft neck and to fix it on
stakes'). The effect of this is to provide confirmation in the narrative that
Hector intended to decapitate and impale the head of his victim (this was
already said to be his intention at 17.126); in the standard text this idea is
only re-introduced (provocatively) by Iris in her effort to stir up Achilles
(see 176–7n.). If Zenodotus was concerned to justify Iris' claim, he would
not have deleted her words in that later passage; if he wanted to remove
the atrocity, he should have cut there without altering things here. His
motives for the double amendment are obscure.

**155, 157 τρὶς μέν ... τρὶς δέ ...:** again at 228–9. A regular way of
building tension is to describe repeated attempts which have the same
outcome, leading the audience to expect a final effort which alters the
pattern. In many cases the pattern is 'three times he did X ... but the
fourth time ... ', where the fourth marks some significant breakthrough or
setback. Here, however, there is no such fourth element, so that the device
simply heightens the tension: so also 8.169–71, 11.462–4, 23.817. (See
Fenik 1968: 46–7, 105, 212, 216, 222; Kelly 2007a: 194–7.) Later poets
also use this pattern: e.g. *Scutum* 362–3; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.654; Virg. *Aen.*
4.690–1, 10.685–6.

**157 θοῦριν ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκήν** 'clad in vigorous might', a formula used
twice of the Ajaxes elsewhere, and in the singular of Achilles at 20.381.
The verb is perf. middle participle (nom. masc. pl.) of *ἐπιέννυμι ('put on',
'clothe a person in something'); ἀλκήν is treated as the direct object of the
verb. Here the two warriors are metaphorically clothed in their own
martial strength and prowess. For a different conception, insulting rather
than laudatory, see 9.372, where Achilles sneers that Agamemnon is αἰὲν
ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος, 'always clothed in shamelessness' (cf. 1.149). On
expressions of this kind see Cairns 2016.

The sense of θοῦρος, of which θοῦρις provides a feminine form, seems to be 'energetic' or 'impetuous'. The word's etymology is obscure; it may be related to θορεῖν 'leap'. For discussion see *LfgrE*.

**158 νεκροῦ** 'from the corpse': the genitive is explained by the presence of the ἀπο- prefix in ἀπεστυφέλιξαν, whose object is understood to be Hector; he then becomes the subject of the next clause.

**159–60 ἐπαΐξασκε ... στάσκε:** when the suffix of a verb is preceded by -σκ-, the verb has a 'frequentative' sense, indicating repeated action. Frequentative verbs are common in Homer: cf. 259, 289, 599. One may translate in similar ways to the imperfect, but with more emphasis on repetition.

**κατὰ μόθον** 'amid the tumult': the same phrase at 537.

**160 μέγα ἰάχων:** the second syllable of μέγα is artificially lengthened (Chantraine 1.139–40). The effect gives weight to the bellowing of Hector; it is less likely that it is meant to be onomatopoeic.

**πάμπαν** 'at all', a reduplicated form of πᾶν.

**161–2** A brief simile comparing an attacking warrior to a lion and the defenders to herdsmen. This is a common type, and some of the details are typical (e.g. the lion's hunger, cf. 3.25, 16.758). It is especially apt here as the conflict in both simile and narrative is over a body. The ineffectuality of the shepherds is made clear (cf. Haubold 2000: 20): the simile suggests the need the Greeks feel for the decisive intervention of Achilles. For a more extended lion-simile see 316–22 with n., and for an attack by lions portrayed on Achilles' shield, 579–86.

**161 τι** 'at all'.

**αἴθωνα** 'tawny', the regular meaning when applied to animals (of metals etc., 'bright' or 'gleaming').

**162 δίεσθαι:** infinitive from δίεμαι, 'chase away', 'drive away'; cf. 584 ἐνδίεσαν.

**163 δύω Αἴαντε:** the dual form for 'the two Aiantes (Ajaxes)' probably referred originally to the two sons of Telamon, the greater Ajax and his brother Teucer. It was then misunderstood and re-applied to the greater and lesser Ajaxes, envisaged fighting as a pair. The *Iliad* incorporates both usages: see 8.262–6, where the Aiantes and Teucer are evidently separate persons. See West 2011a: 144, 270.

**κορυστά** 'both leaders of men'; nominative dual of κορυστής. This is the standard dual nominative/accusative form for nouns ending in -ης; cf. 1.16 Ἀτρεΐδα, 'the two sons of Atreus'.

**164 δειδίξασθαι** 'to frighten away': aor. infinitive of δειδίσσομαι, a reduplicated development of δείδοικα ('I fear').

**165–6 καί νύ κεν ... εἰ μή:** the poet is fond of what may be called cliffhanger situations, in which we are told that X *would* have happened had not Y intervened. Normally, as here, the intervention is that of a god,

acting directly or through a human intermediary. Thus e.g. in book 2 the demoralised army, misled by Agamemnon's ill-judged test, would have boarded the ships and the expedition would have ended *had not* Hera despatched Athena to spur Odysseus into taking action (2.155–6, and what follows). Full lists in de Jong 1987: 68–81 (who uses the term 'if ... not situations'); Nesselrath 1992; Kelly 2007a: 128–32. The device is much rarer in the *Odyssey*, perhaps because divine intervention is much less frequent; see however *Od.* 5.426–7, 436–7, 24.528–30 (the closest analogue to the cases in the *Iliad*).

**165** = 3.373, Menelaus dragging Paris. But there the victim is still alive and is swiftly rescued by the protective Aphrodite; here the conflict concerns the body of a dead man, and the intervention which will save him, though human, is momentous (see 202–38 introductory n.).

ἄσπετον ἤρατο κῦδος 'he would have won unutterable glory', i.e. glory beyond description.

**167** ἄγγελος ἦλθε 'she came to bring word to the son of Peleus to arm himself'.

θωρήσσεσθαι must be taken as exegetical infinitive after Πηλεΐωνι ...

**168** κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν 'unknown to Zeus and the rest of the gods' (apart from Hera, as the next clause makes plain). It is assumed that Zeus's ban on divine intervention is still in force, though it is less clear why the other gods need to be kept in ignorance (perhaps the reference is to the gods who support Troy). In the next scene Athena seems free to intervene without fear of Zeus, and the whole idea of the ban then lapses: the plot has moved beyond the point where it was required.

ἧκε 'sent', 3rd sing. aor. indicative of ἵημι.

**169** For 'winged words' see 72n.

**170** ὄρσεο: Achilles is imagined as still (or once again) prostrate on the ground with grief (cf. 178).

πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν 'most extraordinary of all men'. This vocative formula is used twice elsewhere: once by Agamemnon to Achilles (1.146), once by Achilles to the minor Trojan hero Iphition (20.389, addressing his corpse). Since Iphition is introduced for the first time in that scene and killed without difficulty, the use in book 20 is either sarcastic or a rather careless use of the formula. It is possible that Iris' tone is sarcastic here too, in order to provoke Achilles into action, but this is not a necessary assumption: Achilles is indeed a formidable figure, and will show as much in what follows.

**171** The name of Patroclus is effectively thrust to the beginning of the clause and line: cf. 179.

φύλοπις αἰνή 'dreadful combat', a stock phrase in nominative and accusative.

**172 ἔστηκε** 'has begun', 3 sing. perf. indicative of ἵστημι. In its active or transitive sense this verb means 'put in place', 'set up'; here, as the perfect is used intransitively, it means that the combat has been 'set up', is under way.

**ὀλέκουσιν:** ὀλέκω is a less common equivalent of ὄλλυμι 'kill', 'destroy.'

**174 ἐρύσσασθαι:** infinitive after ἐπιθύουσι in the next line. The shift of construction (participle in the μέν clause, finite verb in the δέ clause) is common (Denniston 369).

**ἠνεμόεσσαν** 'windy', an accurate description (see Bowra 1960: 19, a discussion of Homeric epithets for Troy), though the epithet is also used of other places.

**176–7** These lines were deleted by Zenodotus: cf. 155–6n. At 16.836 Hector told the dying Patroclus that he would be food for birds of prey, but said nothing of decapitation. At 17.126–7 the narrator described Hector beginning to drag away the dead Patroclus, and said that his intention was 'to cut his head from his shoulders with piercing bronze, and give the corpse to the Trojan dogs'. In the present passage the reference to impaling the head on a stake is a new point (but see 155–6n. for Zenodotus' text there), and conceivably a fabrication by Iris, intended to spur Achilles into action. More generally, the savagery of the conflict is on the increase in the second half of the poem. The lesser Ajax decapitates a corpse at 13. 202–4. Heads are cut off at 11.146, 261, 14.496–8 (Fenik 1968: 84). Threats of mutilation play a part in this escalating process (Segal 1971, esp. ch. 3, analyses the evidence in detail). But these threats all go unfulfilled, except for those of Achilles (Morrison 1992: 142 n. 47).

For mutilation, esp. impalement, in Near Eastern texts, see Griffin 1980: 45–7; West 1997: 388.

**177 ἀνά:** with locative dative: 'on top of' (cf. 1.15).    **σκολόπεσσι:** the stakes are probably mounted on the outer walls of Troy: cf. *Od.* 7.45 (describing the city of the Phaeacians).

**ἀπαλῆς** 'tender' intensifies the emotional appeal. The adjective suggests vulnerability, and hence is sometimes associated with female flesh: cf. 123 (Trojan women), 19.285 (Briseis); cf. 3.371 (the unwarlike Paris). See also, however, 22.327 (Hector's throat pierced).

**178 ἀλλ' ἄνα:** here, ἄνα is used in an imperatival sense (= ἀνάστηθι): 'up' = 'get up!', 'stir yourself'; so also 6.331 (Hector to Paris), 9.247, *Od.* 18.13.

**μηδ' ἔτι κεῖσο:** whether or not Achilles is still prostrate, κεῖμαι can suggest idleness or inactivity: cf. Callinus 1.1 μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε;

**σέβας δέ σε θυμὸν ἱκέσθω** 'let shame enter your heart.' σέβας occurs only here in the *Iliad* (it is commoner in the *Odyssey*), but see 6.167, 417 for the verb σεβάσσατο. Cairns 1993: 137–8 discusses the term, concluding that in Homer it is very close to αἰδώς, sharing with that term an inhibitory aspect and a close link with the potential for disgrace.

**179 Πάτροκλον:** 171n. **Τρωῇσι κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γενέσθαι** 'that Patroclus should be a plaything for the Trojan dogs'. A μέλπηθρον is something which provides sport (from μέλπω, 'play', esp. with reference to dancing or song). For the phrase cf. 13.233, 17.255 (the latter is the same line as here). That the dead warrior may be prey for dogs and birds is a motif which occurs repeatedly in the *Iliad* (the idea was introduced in the proem, 1.4–5): cf. Griffin 1980: 115–19. It is unusual for the dogs to be specified as *Trojan*, but see 17.241, 558; and in a dark moment Priam anticipates that the house-dogs he himself has raised will soon devour his dead flesh (22.66–71). Here it seems to be implied that the animals will share in the victory of the Greeks. That the feminine is used ('Trojan bitches') adds to the hero's potential humiliation; cf. 13.623 κακαὶ κύνες, quoted in next n.

**180 σοὶ λώβη:** we should understand ἔσται: 'It will be a disgrace for you.' λώβη refers to outrageous and humiliating action, and can be used of its effect on the recipient. At 19.208 Achilles refers to the need to avenge the λώβη that Hector has inflicted on him and the other Greeks. Cf. 13.622–3 (Menelaus abuses the Trojans) 'you who have no lack of other wrongdoing and shameful acts that you have inflicted on me, vile bitches' (λώβης τε καὶ αἴσχεος ... | ἣν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε, κακαὶ κύνες).

**αἴ κεν ... ἔλθηι** 'if the corpse should go mutilated in any fashion (τι).' This seems the likeliest rendering for the line. The verb is rather vaguely used, almost equivalent to 'be'; if pressed, it presumably means 'passes into the control of the other side'. (This rendering assumes that νέκυς is nominative sing. and the subject of ἔλθηι. Others (e.g. Leaf) argue that it might be accusative pl. and that the line means 'if he should pass to the dead [i.e. to Hades] mutilated in any fashion', but this seems much less plausible.)

**ἠισχυμμένος** 'defiled', 'mutilated' (perf. participle passive of αἰσχύνω), referring to the savage treatment allegedly intended by Hector.

**181 δῖος:** the classic instance of a stock epithet which is indiscriminately applied to all manner of characters and seems to carry virtually no local significance: see Parry *MHV* 146–7 for a list of thirty-two people to whom it is attached.

**182** A strikingly brief response to Iris' exhortation. For another one-line speech in this book cf. 392; there are thirteen examples in the *Iliad*, twelve in the *Odyssey* (listed for both epics by de Jong 2001: 189). Achilles recognises Iris immediately, as he did Athena in book 1. As son of a goddess he has a closer relationship to the immortals than normal men. In the *Iliad* he is only once deceived by a god's disguise (Apollo's trick at 21.599–611, swiftly ended by the god). It is unusual for a mortal to reply to or question a command by a god, and in fact this is the only place where any human replies to a message from Iris. Again this seems to bring out Achilles' special status.

Achilles could have simply replied with the speech he utters next (188–95). Why is he concerned to know who sent Iris? His mother's warnings no doubt carry some weight, but he is not the man to shrink from battle in self-protection. It may be that in the wake of the recent disaster he is less confident of divine support (contrast 9.608) and seeks reassurance before taking further action.

ταρ (see 6n., esp. Katz 2007) should be read here, as in 188; this is an interrogative particle which is used in epic but then forgotten or assimilated to τ' ἄρα. (γάρ, a variant both here and in 188, is probably to be rejected as *facilior lectio* (that is, a scribe has replaced a more difficult with an easier or more familiar term). If γάρ is retained, it would be best defended as an example of Denniston's category IV.(2) (pp. 81–5; cf. Ruijgh 1971: 807–9), in which an answer takes the form of a question, but where the speaker wishes to learn something further: see e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 101, 282.)

**184** προέηκε: compound form of ἧκε, used with πρό in tmesis at 168 above.

Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις: the honorific expression enhances Hera's status. It is not however uniquely used of her: at 21.479 Διὸς αἰδοίη παράκοιτις is used of Leto.

**185** ὑψίζυγος 'high-seated', a recurrent epithet of Zeus. ζυγόν can refer to a bench, such as the benches where the rowers sit in a ship. A grander and more elevated conception is no doubt meant here; still more so at Aesch. *Ag.* 183 (the gods) σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων (cf. Fraenkel on that line (p. 109 of his commentary) and on 1617–18).

**188** ταρ: see 6n.  ἔχουσι δέ: here δέ is equivalent to γάρ ('for'), as often in Homer and other poets: Denniston 169. This usage is rare in prose.

**189** φίλη hardly means more than ἐμή ('my') (27n.). Achilles in this context has no reason to stress his affection for her.

**189–90** πρίν γ'... πρίν γ' 'at any rate until ... ' The first occurrence of these words is syntactically superfluous (cf. 1.97, Cunliffe s.v. πρίν (7)).

**191** στεῦτο 'she promised.' 3rd sing. aor. indicative from στεῦμαι, 'declare', 'vow', 'promise'. Only this form and the present στεῦται actually occur.

**192–3** 'I do not know of any other man whose glorious armour I can put on, unless [sc. I put on] the shield of Ajax Telamon's son.' The words ἄλλου τεο are attracted into the genitive (rather than the accusative as object of οἶδα) by association with the second τέο ('whose') (on attraction see Smyth §926). There is a slight shift of construction in the second line: rather than saying 'any other man apart from Ajax', Achilles focuses on the chief attribute of Ajax, his tower-like shield. The poet's mind is already occupied with the idea of a shield for Achilles.

Achilles ignores the possibility, which will occur to many readers, that he might use Patroclus' armour: it must be close at hand, and will fit him as readily as his fitted Patroclus. The poet will not allow his hero to wear the armour of a warrior so inferior in prowess to himself. Hence Achilles only considers the option of using the armour of Telamonian Ajax, the hero who is regularly said to be second only to Achilles among the Achaeans (e.g. 2.768–9, 17.279–80, *Od.* 11.469–70, Soph. *Ajax* 1340–1). The heroic hierarchy is more important than mere practicality.

For Ajax' mighty shield see the description in 7.219–23, preceding his duel with Hector.

σάκος: one of the two terms for a shield in Homer, the other being ἀσπίς. At 458 Thetis begs Hephaestus to manufacture an ἀσπίς for Achilles, but the poet describes him as forging a σάκος (478, 608–9), and there is no sign that he has done anything different from what she requested. Perhaps they originally designated different types, but it seems clear that the *Iliad* regards them as synonymous (so Whallon 1969: 36–41, against Gray 1947).

**194 ἔλπομ(αι):** the word is parenthetical ('I imagine'): it may be pedantic to place it between commas, but it certainly makes the syntax clearer. Achilles' supposition has been confirmed by the narrative, see 157, 163.

**195 δηϊόων** 'laying waste', here used intransitively (more usually 'kill', 'slay', 'ravage').

**197 ὅ** = ὅτι, 'that' (Cunliffe s.v. ὅς (7b)): cf. e.g. 5.433, 9.493. **ἔχονται** 'are in their possession': κλυτὰ τεύχεα is the subject (in epic the rule that neuter plurals take singular verbs is often not observed: Monro §172, Chantraine II.23). Homeric usage elsewhere (and the clearer case at 130) strongly suggests ἔχονται must be passive.

**198 αὔτως** 'just as you are', i.e. without armour (cf. 338). Some editors ancient and modern have preferred to read αὐτός, 'you yourself' (so e.g. Willcock), but the sense is hardly affected.

**ἐπὶ τάφρον** 'to the trench'. This means the great ditch which was dug as part of the construction of Achaean defence-works in book 7 (see esp. 337–44, 436–41).

**φάνηθι** 'show yourself': aor. imper. from φαίνω.

**199 αἴ κέ** 'to see if they may . . .', 'in the hope that'; cf. 143n.

**200–1** = 11.800–1 (Nestor's advice to Patroclus) = 16.42–3 (Patroclus' appeal to Achilles). Both lines are absent from the present passage in several papyri and many manuscripts have only line 200. The sentence could end either after 199 (the subject being understood from context) or, more smoothly, after 200. West brackets both 200 and 201. I prefer to retain 200, which allows Iris to state the consequences for both sides; 201, however, ends the speech with a gnomic comment which seems more appropriate to Nestor and less suitable to the urgency of the present

scene (the same line is deleted by Heyne at 16.43, where the same argument applies). For fuller discussion see Apthorp 1996.

**201 ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο** 'but brief is the breathing-space in war': a quasi-gnomic expression (as the generalising τε indicates: see 309n.). The comment develops the use of the cognate verb ἀναπνεύσωσι in the preceding line.

> *202–238 Achilles makes his appearance at the trench; the Trojan forces are thrown into panic; the Achaeans succeed in recovering Patroclus' body*

One of the most impressive scenes in the poem now begins. Achilles' appearance on the wall above the trench is almost like an epiphany; Athena enhances the effect by giving him the divine aegis, normally used exclusively by herself and Zeus (though also by Apollo in book 15). She creates a golden cloud and kindles supernatural fire above his head; this goes further than the parallel glorification of Diomedes in preparation for his *aristeia* in book 5. Achilles is described in two unusual similes, both related to the siege or sacking of a city (with obvious fore-shadowing of the fate of Troy), and the first with a strong fire-element (on Achilles' association with fire see Whitman 1958: 128–53; Taplin 1992: 226–7; Mackie 1998). The visual is reinforced by the auditory effect: his deafening shout (trebled, see 228) terrifies the Trojans. Athena echoes his cry with her own: as at the climax of the *Odyssey*, the prowess of the hero merits divine support (there is no suggestion that it in any way diminishes the mortal's achievement). On the extraordinary effect of Achilles' shout see 230–1n.

**202** Iris departs without waiting to hear whether Achilles assents to her proposal (similarly at 138 Thetis assumed his consent). This is relatively common with divine instructions, and illustrates the power which gods can exert over mortals. But in any case further debate would only slow down the action: cf. next n. on Athena's instantaneous arrival.

**203 ὦρτο:** Achilles rises literally from his recumbent position; but the verb also carries a heavier significance, as he returns to the conflict which he had abandoned because of his wrath.

**διΐφιλος:** originally Διΐ φίλος, but by the time of the *Iliad* probably best regarded as a single word (manuscripts often divide the expression into two words, but ancient grammarians regarded it as a compound adjective). For discussion of such forms see West's edition, vol. I, xxviii–xxix.

**ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη:** suddenly Athena is there, supporting Achilles; the poet does not delay the action by describing her descent or saying whether

other gods are aware of her intervention: contrast the more leisured scene with Iris.

**204 αἰγίδα:** the aegis is worn around the shoulders also at 5.738 (by Athena herself, arming for battle). It is rather vaguely conceptualised. The word 'aegis' was etymologised as 'goat-skin'(in 15.309 it is ἀμφιδάσειαν, 'hairy all around'), yet the smith-god Hephaestus is said to have made it (15.308–10). Sometimes it is a kind of garment or cloth (here with tassels), as when worn by Athena here and in 2.446–49, but when used to cover and protect Hector's corpse it is described as 'golden' (24.20–1); and in other passages it is treated like a shield wielded by Zeus or Apollo (4.167, 15.229–30, 318–22). In 5.738–42 Athena's aegis has emblems resembling those of a shield, including the Gorgon's head, Phobos, Eris and so forth (cf. Agamemnon's shield, 11.36–7). Rival concepts seem to be in play, but whatever its nature, those who use the aegis can bring terror and confusion upon an army or a company of men (as here, and at *Od.* 22.297–8 where Athena uses it to inspire panic in the suitors). See further *HE* s.v. 'aegis'; Griffin 1980: 30–1; Macleod on 24.20. For illustrations of Athena wearing the aegis see *LIMC* 'Athena', II.1.121 and 127.

**θυσανόεσσαν:** a standard epithet of the aegis. A θύσανος is something which hangs off it – a tassel, or some other form of decoration. The description of the aegis in 2.446–51 includes more detail: 'the precious aegis, ageless, immortal, with a hundred dangling tassels, all of pure gold, and each finely woven, and worth the price of a hundred oxen' (tr. Green). 'Woven' there may suggest decorations of gold wire. Hera's girdle is also adorned with tassels, not explicitly of gold, at 14.181.

**205 ἔστεφε** 'surrounded': στέφω, like στεφανόω (485n.), means enveloping or crowning someone with something. The metaphor is sometimes used quite loosely, e.g. 13.736 where the 'crown of battle' is said to blaze around the warriors. At *Od.* 8.170 a god 'crowns' (i.e. enhances) good looks with eloquence (μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει). Here Athena surrounds Achilles' head with a golden cloud. Gold is often associated with divinity (375n.). For golden clouds see esp. 14.342–5, 350–1, where Zeus creates one in order to prevent prying eyes from witnessing him making love to Hera.

**206** Athena kindles flame from Achilles' head. This resembles the beginning of Diomedes' *aristeia* at 5.1–8. In the first half of the poem Diomedes is presented as a 'stand-in' or lesser equivalent to Achilles during the greater hero's absence (see 6.99, Andersen 1978). He too enjoys Athena's support and causes terror among the Trojans. In book 5, however, the kindling of supernatural flame immediately preceded Diomedes' entry into battle; here Achilles' appearance only presages the devastation he will cause on the next day; actual intervention is 'retarded'

(on Homeric retardation see Bremer 1987 (on the delay before Hector's death); Morrison 1992: 35–49; and de Jong 2001: 386–7 on delayed recognition in the *Odyssey*).

Light radiating from the face or head is typical of an epiphany: see Richardson 1974: 210. An interesting contrast can be drawn with Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1017–19, where it is Eros who kindles fire from Jason's head, captivating the love-sick Medea – an indication of the very different priorities of Apollonius' epic, esp. in book 3.

**207–13** offer a simile comparing the blaze emanating from Achilles first to smoke rising from a besieged city, and then to fire beacons with which the inhabitants are trying to signal to their allies. Similes relating to war and the battlefield are rare (normally the poet is concerned to produce a contrast rather than a closely related comparison). Besides this example, see 219–20, 21.522–5, 22.410–11 (the lamentation for Hector compared to the wailing of a city – Ilium itself – in flames: obvious foreshadowing of the now inevitable outcome), *Od.* 8.523–30. See Moulton 1977: 107–8, 111.

A city under siege appears on a silver *rhuton* (a type of jug used for libations) from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (sixteenth century BC; Karo 1933: no. 181; ill. e.g. in Hampe and Simon 1981: 88, nos. 130–1; and Marinatos and Hirmer 1973: pl. 196). Closer to the poet's own time is the seventh-century Phoenician silver bowl from Amathus (see Figure 3 on p. 203), illustrated in Edwards 205, as also in Boardman 1980: 50 fig. 19; more detail in Markoe 1985: 172–4, 248–9; West 1997: 99–100, 389–90. The relation between archaic siege warfare and Homer's treatment of the theme is discussed by Crielaard 1995: 215–24.

**207** ὡς δ' ὅτε ... ἵκηται: similes are often introduced by ὡς, ὡς ὅτε, ὡς δ'ὅταν, etc.: lists in Lee 1964: 62–4. ὡς ὅτε may be followed by indicative verbs (as in 601), or by subjunctives. Metrical convenience may be a sufficient explanation for the difference (so Lee 20), but there is perhaps a sense that the subjunctive moves the imagined action onto a different plane from the narrative. Although a simile may begin with subjunctive verbs, there is quite a strong tendency, if the simile is of some length, for the sentence to revert to the indicative: e.g. 6.506–11 (subjunctive in 507 but three indicatives in 509–11). Here metre guarantees the subjunctive in 207; in 208 the whole tradition, including two papyri, gives indicative ἀμφιμάχονται (emended to subjunctive by Hermann); in 209 the manuscripts are divided, but the same papyri give the subjunctive κρίνωνται. In 211–12 the verbs are plainly indicative. It may be relevant that the verb in 208 is within a relative clause (cf. Chantraine II.355–6), so that this verb is not on a par with the others. The subjunctive almost never appears in a subordinate clause introduced by the relative pronoun within a simile (Ruijgh 1971: 462, 458: the only exception he finds is *Od.* 16.19). Decision

is somewhat arbitrary, but in view of the last point it seems reasonable to follow the oldest testimony and allow the variation.

**208 ἐκ νήσου:** this seems to be one feature introduced in order to differentiate the situation in the simile from that of the narrative. Heroic mythology probably did include some narratives of attacks on island peoples: Achilles seized the island of Scyros (58n.), and Agamemnon's offer of seven captive slave-women from Lesbos as part of his appeal to Achilles refers to a similar raid (9.128–30, 270–2, cf. 664).

**209 οἳ δέ:** manuscripts and papyri all read τε, but δέ (conjectured by Heyne) seems a necessary change. οἵ τε would have to refer to the besieging forces (the δήϊοι); the amended text will refer to the besieged side.

**πανημέριοι:** this suits the narrative situation: see 239–42, where Hera sends the sun to rest, bringing to an end the long day of fighting which began in book 11.

**κρίνωνται** 'are marshalled for combat', so 'contend'. The verb is often used of military disposition: cf. 2.362, 16.199, *Od.* 24.507. On the subjunctive mood see 207n.

**210 ἄστεος ἐκ σφετέρου:** this phrase picks up 207 ἐξ ἄστεος. We revert to the subject of signals sent up from the besieged city: the two previous lines are treated as though they were in parentheses. This long-range connection is awkward, however (we expect the phrase in 210 to be related somehow to the action of the preceding line), and Gregory Hutchinson has suggested to me that 209–10 might both be deleted. The main advantage would be to ease the syntax, but this deletion would also remove the potential puzzle over the identity of οἵ in 209, and it would dispose of the oddity of σφετέρου, a specification which seems superfluous to the sense, as no other township appears to be in question. Line 209 might well be derived from 2.385.

**ἅμα δ' ἠελίωι καταδύντι:** again we should compare 239–42, where Hera brings on sunset. With the coming of darkness, smoke signals give way to fire, which is more visible by night (as was noted by the scholia on 207 (bT) and 211 (T$^{ii}$) and by Eustathius *Il.* 1138). If 209–10 are interpolated, the addition could have been made in order to clarify the times, distinguishing smoke and fire, day and night.

**211 πυρσοί:** fire beacons are mentioned only here in Homer. For later references see Aesch. *Ag.* 281–311 (Clytemnestra on the chain of beacons), Hdt. 7.183, 9.3, Thuc. 2.94.1, 3.80.2, Polyb. 10.43–7.

**ἐπήτριμοι:** a rare word (but cf. 552), of uncertain meaning; usually rendered 'close together' or 'in close succession'. It was commonly etymologised in antiquity as from ἤτριον 'warp', a term of weaving, so that the adjective suggested threads woven closely (a false etymology according to *LfgrE*, but none better is proposed).

**213 αἴ κέν:** for the construction see 143n. Here πως ('somehow') adds a further note of uncertainty.

**ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρες:** see 100n.

**214 αἰθέρ' ἵκανε:** the hyperbole of 'reaching' or 'striking' heaven becomes an epic commonplace; see e.g. 15.686, 19.379, *Od.* 9.20, Virg. *Aen.* 3.423, 619–20. Housman (1894) briefly discussed expressions of this type and complained of Virgil's habit of 'using language too grand for the occasion'. For a more sympathetic approach to the figure of hyperbole see Hardie 1986: ch. 6.

**215–16** Achilles does not cross the trench. The reminder of Thetis' typically restraining counsel brings out her son's belated concern to follow her advice (cf. 189–90) but also suggests the violence and anger waiting to be unleashed.

**216 ὠπίζετ(ο)** 'felt respect for': cf. 22.332. The verb is cognate with ὄπις, which means the watchful eye kept on mankind by the gods (e.g. 16.388, *Od.* 13.148 (with Bowie's n.), 14.82).

**217 ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη:** ἀπάτερθε means 'apart', 'at a distance': Athena performs the function of an echo, no doubt greatly amplified.

**218 φθέγξατ':** for divine war-cries to hearten or terrify mortal armies, cf. 11.10–12 (Eris), 15.321 (Apollo), 20.48–52 (Athena and Ares).

**Τρώεσσιν:** the passage makes no reference to Hector (contrast the earlier scene 148–64, where he was fighting in the forefront and had hold of Patroclus' body). The poet avoids the problem of bringing Achilles and Hector face to face too soon (if he saw Patroclus' killer, would Achilles still be able to restrain himself?); also, if it were made explicit that Hector shared the panic-stricken reaction to Achilles, that would diminish his status and make it harder to explain his defiant attitude in the Trojan council (285–309, esp. 293–6, 305–8).

**ἄσπετον:** see 165n.    **ὦρσε:** the subject could be either Achilles or Athena; I prefer the former, taking the clause about Athena's shout as parenthetical. But the effect on the Trojans is the same whichever is chosen. For other divine shouts see Griffin 1980: 37–8.

**219–20** A much briefer simile than at 207–13, but one which continues the theme of a city besieged. The fire blazing from Achilles was compared with fire-signals sent up by the besieged forces; here Achilles' voice is compared to the sound of a trumpet rallying the forces. In both cases the comparison brings out the way in which Achilles' return to battle will prove to be a turning point, relieving the hard-pressed Greeks (who correspond here to the besieged forces): 'As when a piercing cry (is heard), when a trumpet gives voice because of the hostile forces, life-wreckers, who surround a town, such was the piercing cry of the scion of Aeacus at that moment'. See Moulton 1977: 107, 111.

**219 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή:** the clause has no verb; 'occurs' or 'rings out' needs to be supplied.

**φωνή:** a term more usually applied to human voices (though also to the utterances of animals or birds). For other cases where the word refers to the noise made by inanimate objects see LSJ s.v. 1.4. Here the trumpet's 'voice' is a metaphor; it could be seen as a case of transfusion (222n.).

**σάλπιγξ:** as the scholia (Arn/AT) remark, the trumpet is an anachronism, in the sense that Homer's heroes do not use the instrument: it is an intrusion from the poet's own era. This is a common phenomenon in similes: another example is horse-riding (15.679), and ancient scholars also commented on the suggestion in the simile at 24.480–2 that the killer needs to be purified, since they held that such cleansing of pollution belonged to a post-heroic age (they may have been wrong on this point: see Parker 1983: 130–5). Later poets observed and imitated this tendency: Virgil and Ovid include similes referring to siege-engines and catapults, which are post-heroic (*Aen.* 12.921–2, *Met.* 8.357–8), and Milton goes as far as allowing himself references to Galileo's telescope and to the discovery of America (*Paradise Lost* 1.287–9, 9.1115–18). See further Schmidt 1976; Nünlist 2009: 118, 296. On the trumpet see West 1992: 119.

**220** 'because of murderous enemies who encircle the city'. ὕπο here seems to mean 'in the face of', 'under pressure from'. The syntax is peculiar, since περιπλομένων (from περιπέλομαι) is elsewhere always intransitive, but here seems to govern the accusative ἄστυ (the prefix περι- makes this somewhat easier). The phrase ἄστυ περιπλομένων should be taken to refer to the 'enemies', those besieging the town. This allows the trumpet in the preceding line to be that of the defending side, rallying support. (Others, e.g. Edwards, understand ἄστυ περιπλομένων as dependent on σάλπιγξ ('as when the trumpet of those encircling a city rings forth'); this makes δηΐων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων into an independent phrase (as at 16.591), but this seems awkward, especially as the function of ὕπο becomes very obscure.)

**θυμοραϊστέων:** from θυμός + ῥαίω ('break'), hence 'life-destroying'; used of death at 13.544, 16.414 = 580.

**221 Αἰακίδαο** 'descendant of Aeacus'; Achilles is grandson, not son, of Aeacus. (Contrast 433, where the patronymic is used more precisely of Peleus.)

**222 ὡς οὖν:** a common Homeric combination to introduce a clause containing a verb of seeing, hearing or ascertaining. In all cases the object perceived has been mentioned shortly before, so that οὖν has a recapitulatory force: here in effect 'when they heard this voice that has just been mentioned ... ' See Denniston 416–17; de Jong 1987: 266 n. 12.

**ἄϊον** 'perceived': the verb can refer to sight, sound and even touch (11.532, of feeling a blow).

ὄπα χάλκεον: Achilles' voice is described as 'brazen', an adjective better suited to the trumpet with which it is compared. This blending or cross-over between comparison and comparandum is quite common in ancient poetry. Different critics have used a variety of terms to describe the usage, including 'transfusion' and 'interaction': see Rutherford 2012: 121–2; a detailed study of the phenomenon is Silk 1974.

χάλκεον is used despite the fact that the noun ὄψ is feminine; the feminine forms χαλκέην or χαλκείην would not scan here (though Zenodotus as cited by schol. A 222 conjectured χαλκέην, scanning -έην as a monosyllable (synizesis)).

**223 πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός:** so also at 5.29, at the beginning of Diomedes' *aristeia*, and at 16.280 (Patroclus' onslaught).

**224 ἄψ ὄχεα τρόπεον** 'turned the chariots around': that is, they wheel round, dragging the vehicles with them, in their anxiety to flee. The verb occurs only here in Homer (τρέπω is more usual), but τροπή is common in later authors for 'flight' or 'rout'.

ὄσσοντο 'they foresaw': cf. *Od.* 18.154, where Amphinomus has forebodings (δὴ γὰρ κακὸν ὄσσετο θυμῶι) because of the stern warning he has just received from the disguised Odysseus. ὄσσομαι is cognate with ὄσσε ('eyes').

**225–7** We have already been told of Athena kindling fire on Achilles' head at 205–6, but here we see the horrifying sight through the eyes of the panicking onlookers: the adjective δεινόν reinforces the focalisation.

**225 ἔκπληγεν** 'were thunderstruck' (understand φρένας, 'in their hearts', cf. 13.394, 16.403). The 3rd pl. aor. passive of ἐκπλήσσω is ἐξεπλάγησαν, but that form is not found in epic. The shorter form here is paralleled in the uncompounded verb in the two passages just cited; cf. also the aor. participle πληγείς (8.12, 23.694). The 3rd pl. ending in -εν is typical of Aeolic, one of the dialects which forms part of the Homeric linguistic mixture: compare ἤγερθεν for ἠγέρθησαν (ἀγείρω).

ἀκάματον 'untiring', 'inexhaustible', from ἀ + κάμνω.

**228–9 τρίς ... τρίς:** see 155–7n.

**229 κυκήθησαν** 'were thrown into confusion', 3 pl. aor. passive of κυκάω, 'mix', 'stir'. The verb can be used of troubled waters, as with the river Scamander (21.235) or the whirlpool Charybdis (*Od.* 12.238, 241).

κλειτοί 'renowned', cognate with κλείω, κλέος. The adjective is regularly used of the Trojans' allies; so also τηλεκλειτοί 'far-famed'.

**230–1** The interpretation of these lines is difficult. Either the Trojans in question simply die of fright, or they are entrammelled in their own chariots and impaled on one another's weapons in the chaos of retreat. Interpretation depends on the sense of ἀμφί: 'around (i.e. near)' or 'upon'? The scholia refer to criticisms of the passage as 'unbelievable and excessive in its hyperbole', but offer a defence from the extraordinary

situation. For discussion see Griffin 1980: 38–9, who argues that Homer intended the naturalistic explanation (the weapons cause these deaths), but that he is drawing on traditions which admitted more terrifying and supernatural effects, as in the Táin, where the horrible scream of the warrior Cúchulain brings about the death of a hundred men. For other parallels see West 2007: 457.

Zenodotus seems to have accepted or invented a version of 231 which may be an attempt to avoid the ambiguity. In place of ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι he read οἷσιν ἐν βελέεσσι ('on their own weapons'), but metre would require οἷσιν to be scanned as a spondee, implausibly. His version is cited by the schol. A on the line, with the objection that this is not the proper way to express that idea; 'for it ought to be τοῖς ἀλλήλων'. In other words, the scholiast felt that it would be more plausible for the panic-stricken men to die wounded by each other's weapons than by their own. Payne Knight cut the knot by deleting 230, which makes ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι qualify κυκήθησαν (229): 'they were thrown into confusion around their chariots'. But as usual we have to ask why anyone would have taken the trouble to interpolate such a line.

Later military rhetoric can speak of winning victory with (only) a shout (Tac. Agr. 34.1), but this expression reduces the epic conception to mere morale-boosting.

**230 ἔνθα δὲ καὶ τότε** 'and there and then': δέ provides a connection with the previous sentence, while καί joins ἔνθα and τότε.

**232 ἀσπασίως** 'gladly'. The adjective ἀσπάσιος is used in different senses and needs to be interpreted according to context. It can mean 'welcome', as when the sight of a shoreline is welcome to shipwrecked sailors, but it can also, applied to human beings, mean 'glad' (i.e. welcoming what they see or anticipate). In a well-known passage of the *Odyssey* both senses are found (23.233, 238). The same ambiguity prevails with the adverb.

**ὕπεκ:** a composite preposition, combining the ideas of 'out from under' and 'away from'.

**233 κάτθεσαν ἐν λεχέεσσι:** no doubt some kind of makeshift stretcher could be swiftly provided, but the language here and in 236 (φέρτρωι, 'bier') suggests rather more. The poet does not wish to linger on distracting practical details. He probably has in mind already the laying-out of the body in state (*prothesis*), the first stage of funereal ritual, as represented on Geometric vases (one is shown in Figure 1; see further Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 58–61 and plates 4 and 5). λεχέεσσι is 'poetic plural' (Bers 1984: 22–61).

**φίλοι δ' ἀμφέσταν ἑταῖροι:** despite the use of Ἀχαιοί in 231 and 314, it seems likely that here (as explicitly at 323, 355) Achilles is joined in mourning by the Myrmidons alone, his own followers, who accompanied

Figure 1 Athenian terracotta grave marker, c.750–735 BC. The repeated patterns of figures illustrate the 'Geometric' technique. The upper panel shows a line of mourning women, with a dead man lying on a bier. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 14.130.14)

Patroclus on his doomed assault. Other Greek warriors have not been mentioned since 157 (the Aiantes). The poet is not yet ready to tackle the complicated negotiation of a new relationship between Achilles and the Greek commanders whom he previously abandoned. That confrontation is deferred to the next day (book 19).

**234 μυρόμενοι:** the sense is complete at the end of the previous line, and there is a pause after the first word here. Enjambement of this type is likely to be deliberately emphatic (13n.).

**235 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων:** face to face with the body of his friend, Achilles weeps, whereas he was not said to do so before. Antilochus wept in bringing him the news, but the poet only mentions Achilles groaning and uttering cries of grief. The earlier omission may be accidental (see

73 τί κλαίεις), but it is relevant that Achilles in book 1 only weeps once he is alone on the shoreline (349, 357). Tears came readily to the heroes, but for a man to weep in public, even in epic, can involve loss of face (e.g. *Od.* 2.81), even if self-control was valued more highly at a later date (e.g. Archil. 13.10, rejecting 'womanish grief'; Eur. *Helen* 947–53 with Allan's n.; Dover 1974: 167; Van Wees 1998; Föllinger 2009). But although Achilles now weeps, he does not yet give voice to his feelings: we have to wait until 324–42 to hear him address the corpse.

πιστὸν ἑταῖρον: a stock phrase, but here best read as 'focalising' Achilles' own assessment of his devoted friend. Patroclus' neglect of Achilles' warnings (13–14) is forgotten here.

**236** φέρτρωι 'a bier': the word occurs only here in Homer and is rare in later Greek, but seems to derive from φέρω (cf. Lat. *feretrum* from *fero*, Eng. 'bier' from 'bear').

**237–8** bring the scene to a close with a two-line retrospect of the action from book 16 to the present. The recapitulation of the sequence of events underlines the enormity of Achilles' mistake in sending his friend out in his place, and the pathos of the outcome. On homecoming see 60n.; here the idea is transferred to returning to the safety of the camp.

**237** τόν 'whom'. In Homeric Greek the definite article can function as a relative pronoun (e.g. 1.36 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ, Monro §262). See Introduction p. 63.

ἤτοι 'truly', 'indeed'. τοι and its compounds are rare in narrative, and it has been suggested that this may be a vivid way of conveying Achilles' own reflections and self-reproach (de Jong 1987: 121–2 speaks of a 'stream of consciousness' technique). On the other hand, there are some narrative uses of this particle-combination which seem to have no such force (e.g. 1.68; Denniston 553–4).

### 239–242 *Hera brings on the sunset*

The central day of battle in the *Iliad* lasts for seven and a half books; it began with dawn at 11.1–2. Critics have sometimes found difficulties with the poet's conception of the day: see especially 11.84–90, where the mid-point of the day seems to be reached too soon, and 16.777–80, where the sun reaches the middle of heaven and begins to decline: does the day have two widely separated hours of noon? Older analysis explained this in terms of multiple authorship; for a modified form of that solution see West 2011a: 326–7. Fenik 1968: 216 rightly insists that realistic time-keeping is irrelevant: in book 16 'his [the poet's] only interest is in the splendid symbolism of the Sun's descent heralding the final hour of

Patroclus'. So too here the sunset marks the beginning of Hector's declining fortunes.

In any case nightfall cannot come too soon for the exhausted Achaeans. In contrast the sun is 'tireless' (239 ἀκάμαντα) and reluctant to set (240 ἀέκοντα), so that Hera must accelerate his course. Her intervention demonstrates her concern for the Achaean side. (The Hellenistic critic Crates, fr. 26 Broggiato, ingeniously argued that the sun was equivalent to Apollo, who as a pro-Trojan deity is reluctant to allow the fighting to end so soon. One objection to this view is that the identification of Apollo with the sun seems to be considerably later: it is possibly attested in Aesch. *Supp.* 212–14, certainly in Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 781.12/225.)

The natural processes of day and night are also modified in *Od.* 23. 243–6, where Athena prolongs the night so that Odysseus and Penelope may enjoy their love-making after their long separation. The Odyssean passage doubtless imitates the present scene. The contrasting tone is typical of the relation between the two great epics: in the *Iliad*, temporary relief from combat and suffering; in the *Odyssey*, a domestic setting and a more positive outcome (see further Rutherford 1991–1993).

For nightfall elsewhere in Homer see Kelly 2007a: 349–51, de Jong 2001: 42. Night brings relief to the Greeks also at the end of the previous day of battle, in book 8 (487–8). There too a Trojan council follows: see 243–314a introductory n.

**239** ἠέλιον δ' ἀκάμαντα: the expression is formulaic at this point in the line (cf. 484 and Hes. *Theog.* 956 (dative)), but the adjective 'untiring' has added point here, reinforced by 'unwilling' in the next line.

Ἥρη: Hera continues to take the initiative in giving support to the Achaeans: cf. 168, 184. Zeus comments on her determination at a later point, 357–9.

**242** ὁμοῖοο 'common to all': the adjective is also used of old age and death. All these things are unwelcome or unpleasant, and one ancient interpretation glossed the adjective as 'bad' (schol. D on 4.315, cf. Aristonicus in schol. A^im on the same line, citing 'the glossographers'). But the derivation from ὁμός, ὁμοῖος is plausible, and the sense 'bad' will not suit other early uses, notably Hes. *Op.* 182. The ending -οο is a modern reconstruction of an older genitive: the manuscripts have the more familiar later termination -ου, with which the word will not scan. If we restore the older ending (here and in a number of other passages), the adjective becomes five-syllabled, scanning ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ – (the length of the final syllable is the result of the double consonant ππ. See further Chantraine 1.45; Palmer 1962: 95; West vol. I, xxxiii–iv.

*243–314   A Council of the Trojans; the prudent advice of Poulydamas is
rejected by Hector*

This is an important scene for Hector's characterisation, and one which
paves the way for the disasters next day. Hector throughout the latter part
of the poem is a successful fighter and a charismatic leader, but he
persistently overestimates his own abilities. See esp. 16. 860–1, where he
rejects Patroclus' prediction that Achilles will avenge him; also 20.366–72,
434–7. In part this is explained by his reaction to Zeus's promise of
support (see 293–4n.), but he forgets that this promise was limited to
a single day.

Speeches in Homer may be divided between those which are more
private and intimate (as is obviously the case with the conversations
between Achilles and his mother) and more public utterances such as
speeches made in a larger gathering, where face-saving and personal status
are powerful motives (see Introduction, pp. 46–7). The two speeches here
have some of the qualities of the later tragic *agōn*, paired opposing
speeches normally of roughly the same length (here Poulydamas' is 30
lines, Hector's 25). The poet allows some parallelism of structure and
rhetoric: both speakers contrast an earlier period with the present situa-
tion (using νῦν δέ to signal the transition, 261 and 293); both urge
acceptance of their own proposals (266, 297), though Hector is more
authoritarian and emphatic. Both anticipate the next day's events, using
the same line to introduce the proposed scenario (277 = 303) but con-
tinuing in different terms (Poulydamas speaks of fighting from the walls,
Hector of fighting by the ships); and both use the phrase ἄλγιον αἴ κ'
ἐθέλῃσι, 'the worse for him, if he wishes', with reference to Achilles (278,
306). This technique, sometimes called 'responsion', shows the sophisti-
cation of Homer's rhetoric. The same kind of effect is achieved in many of
the most notable exchanges, e.g. between Andromache and Hector
in book 6. See Lohmann 1970 (esp. 30–3, 119–20, 179–81 on the
present passage; 131–8 on Andromache–Hector), Macleod 1982: 52–3.
On techniques of speech-making in general see the Introduction,
section 5.4.

The episode as a whole should be compared with 8.489–549, the eve-
ning of the preceding day, where the Trojans encamp out on the plain
after achieving great successes. There too Hector makes an optimistic
speech which the Trojans applaud (8.542 = 18.310), and they remain
encamped on the plain for the night; but there noone raises any objec-
tions, and the day which follows is to see still greater success.

For Poulydamas' role in this scene see 249–52n.

**243**  ἀπό 'away from', 'at a distance from'.

**244 ὑφ' ἅρμασιν:** the preposition here means 'from under' rather than the more usual 'under' (Monro §202).

**245 ἐς δ' ἀγορὴν ἀγέροντο:** a *figura etymologica*, i.e. a combination of words derived from the same root: the *agora* is where one gathers ('gather' is the sense of the passive and middle forms of ἀγείρω). The figure seems sometimes simply to produce a tautology, though occasionally it can draw attention to a connection between words which may be less obvious (or indeed spurious: e.g. 4.323, 9.422 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστι γερόντων). For straightforward cases see 2.788 ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον, 9.70 δαίνυ δαῖτα, *Od.* 6.61, Fehling 1969: 153–62. The expression in the present line is echoed by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.214.

**δόρποιο:** the δόρπον (cf. 298, 314) is (at least for soldiers) the main meal of the day, taken in the evening. Homer also speaks of the ἄριστον ('breakfast'), e.g. 24.124, and the δεῖπνον, taken at some point during the day (e.g. at 560, the meal for the workers in the vineyard; also 11.86 (simile), referring to a woodcutter breaking for his snack). The δεῖπνον is more frequent in the *Odyssey*, reflecting peacetime conditions.

**246 ὀρθῶν δ' ἰσταότων:** contrast the normal conditions of assembly, as at 2.95–100 (note esp. 96 ἰζόντων, 99 ἕζετο λαός). There only the speakers stand up.

**οὐδέ τις ἔτλη** 'nor did any one of them have the courage ...'

**247–8 οὕνεκ' Ἀχιλλεύς ... ἀλεγεινῆς:** the phrase is repeated with reference to the Greeks' reaction at 19.45–6, and to that of the gods at 20.42–3. The return of Achilles to the conflict has a powerful impact on all three groups.

**248 μάχης ... ἀλεγεινῆς:** war and combat are 'painful' as well as heroic, and this is reflected in the language applied to them in Homer. Other cases include 307: see n. there.

**ἐπέπαυτ'** 'had ceased from', 3rd sing. pluperfect indicative middle of παύω 'stop'.

**249–52:** Poulydamas is introduced as if he has not appeared in the poem before, not because the poet has forgotten the previous occasions but because this is his most important intervention. The technique can be seen in other authors (e.g. Thucydides, see Griffith 1961; also Virgil, see Tarrant on *Aen.* 12.138). He is a classic example of the 'wise adviser' figure: cf. Mentor and Halirrhothius in *Od.* 2, Odysseus addressing Amphinomus in *Od.* 18.125–50, Solon to Croesus in Hdt. 1.30–3, Artabanus to Xerxes in Hdt. 7.10 and 44–52, Tiresias to Pentheus in Eur. *Bacch.* 266–327, etc. It is a common feature that the recipient of the advice not only rejects it but threatens violence to the well-meaning counsellor (so Hdt. 7.11.1, Eur. *Bacch.* 345–51). Often the rash advisee recalls the advice too late: thus Hector admits his folly at 22.99–107 (so also Croesus in Hdt. 1.86, Creon in Soph. *Ant.* 1261–76). Virgil's Drances,

Turnus' personal enemy, is an interesting variation on the adviser figure: his advice is prudent but his motives suspect (*Aen.* 11.336–444).

Later literature, especially historiography, also makes use of the contrast between a brave leader and a more cautious general whose advice is generally correct. See e.g. Livy's presentation of the prudent Fabius Maximus (the Cunctator) and the bold Scipio Africanus (28.40–4); also Livy 6.22, 8.33, 10.28.

For the earlier occasions on which Poulydamas has given advice to Hector see (a) 12.60–80, (b) 12.210–51, (c) 13.725–53. In (a) he gives sound tactical advice which Hector gladly accepts. In (b), after initial expressions of unease about Hector's reaction, he gives a pessimistic interpretation of a bird portent, which Hector rejects. (The opening line of Hector's reply is identical to his opening here: 12.231= 18.285.) Hector's dismissal of the omen includes the famous line 'One omen is best, to fight for one's country' (243). In (c), Poulydamas introduces fresh tactical suggestions with a long preamble emphasising how hard a man Hector is to advise, how quick to anger. In fact Hector on that occasion does agree with Poulydamas' suggestion, but in the event the course proposed cannot be carried out. On Poulydamas' role in general see Schadewaldt 1938: 105–7; Reinhardt 1961: 272–7; Redfield 1975: 143–7; Taplin 1992: 157–9.

Of these earlier episodes the scene in book 12 is of special importance. There Hector dismissed the advice and went on to do battle without disastrous consequences. This may well fuel his overconfidence in the present scene.

Poulydamas reprises his role as wise adviser in Quint. Smyrn. 2.41–62 and 10.10–25, where he is answered indignantly by Paris and Aeneas respectively (at 2.61–2 Quintus makes him refer to his earlier warnings to Hector, an allusive gesture to the epic model for this scene).

**249** πεπνυμένος: only here is Poulydamas is given this adjective. Others so described include Antenor, Meriones, Antilochus (rather pointedly, see 23.570 with 586), and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. It normally stands in this metrical place in the line. It looks like a marginal case of a stock epithet which is convenient to use with names of a certain metrical shape (– ◡ ◡ – or – – –), but which retains some of its significance.

**250** ὅρα: an unaugmented 3rd sing. aor. form. πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω: most naturally taken to refer to future and past, 'forward and backward'; but some interpret 'saw the immediate and the remote future'. The same phrase is used of Halitherses in *Od.* 24.452, but as he is a prophet it is natural to think of him having insight into the future. For discussion see Dunkel 1982/1983.

**251–2** The point about their shared night of birth has not been mentioned before: it is almost as though Hector and Poulydamas are twins. The second line spells out what has been clear from earlier scenes, that

their qualities are complementary (for opposed pairings of various kinds cf. the brothers Prometheus and Epimetheus, Eteocles and Polynices, Castor and Polydeuces, Romulus and Remus). Here however Hector with his superior authority will overrule Poulydamas' good counsel.

**253** There are nine occurrences of this formula in the *Iliad*: in seven cases the advice is accepted; in one other (2.78) it precedes a speech by Nestor which expresses justified reservations about Agamemnon's confidence. It thus seems likely that the audience would have an almost automatic expectation that Poulydamas' advice will be sound (Kelly 2007a: 375; see also his discussion at 164–5 of this and other speeches recommending retreat).

**254** φίλοι: at no point in this speech does Poulydamas address Hector directly, whereas in each of their earlier encounters he used Hector's name in the first line of his utterance. This indicates his misgivings as to Hector's likely reaction.

κέλομαι 'I urge you': the verb need not mean 'order', and the whole scene makes clear that Poulydamas does not have the authority to give commands. There is in general some unclarity about his status: in 22.106 Hector fears the criticism of 'one who is baser than I', and in 12.213 Poulydamas speaks ingratiatingly to Hector (οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε | δῆμον ἐόντα παρὲξ ἀγορευέμεν, 'it is in no way fitting for a man of the people to speak out against you'). The latter passage has even been taken to imply that Poulydamas is one of the δῆμος, but this seems incompatible with his being the son of Panthoos, one of Priam's counsellors (3.146): more probably he is being excessively deferential (cf. Hainsworth on 12.213).

**255** μὴ μίμνειν ἠῶ δῖαν: Poulydamas urges the Trojans not to do what they did at the end of book 8 (565 ἑσταότες παρ' ὄχεσφιν ἐΰθρονον Ἠῶ μίμνον).

**257** ὄφρα μέν is balanced by τόφρα δέ (Denniston 179) in the next line, but the true antithesis comes at 261 νῦν δ' ('but *now*').

οὗτος ἀνήρ: Poulydamas' fears are such that there is no need to specify; the identity of their chief opponent is vividly present in all the Trojans' minds. For other passages where the person meant is similarly unnamed see Macleod on 24.702.

**258** ῥηΐτεροι πολεμίζειν 'easier to make war against'.

**259** χαίρεσκον: frequentative (159–60n.): 'I often rejoiced.' Poulydamas exaggerates, since there is no evidence that the Trojans have spent more than one night encamped on the plain. Indeed, the reverse is claimed by Hera at 5.788–91 ('as long as godlike Achilles was marching out to war, the Trojans never ventured out of their gates'), but there too the version given naturally serves the speaker's rhetorical needs.

**γάρ:** the sentence illustrates the general statement in the previous two lines with the particular experience of Poulydamas (Denniston 58, 66). The emendation μέν shifts the emphasis so that the sentence 259–60 anticipates the contrast with 261 νῦν δέ ...

**260 ἀμφιελίσσας** 'curved' or 'rounded' seems the simplest rendering. Another possible sense is 'twisting both ways' (ἀμφι- + ἑλίσσω), i.e. readily manouevrable, 'versatile' ('oarswept' in Lattimore is implausible). See also Steiner on *Od.* 17.427, and for ship-epithets Alexanderson 1970.

**261 αἰνῶς δείδοικα:** it is remarkable that Poulydamas admits openly before the army to being afraid; the heroes are normally reluctant to reveal any such feelings for fear of losing face. In 10.93–5 Agamemnon admits his fear to Nestor, but that confession occurs in a private dialogue. At *Od.* 11.43 Odysseus admits fear at the fringes of the underworld, but as part of a retrospective narrative, and he goes on to show how he overcame it.

**262 οἷος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος** 'because of the nature of his violent temper'; lit. 'of such kind (is) his violent temper'. See Cunliffe s.v. οἷος (3), 'in causal sense'.

**οὐκ ἐθελήσει ...:** Poulydamas' certainty about the outcome is expressed through the firm future indicatives here and in what follows: 265 μαχήσεται, 266 ὧδε γὰρ ἔσται, 268 κιχήσεται, 270 ἀφίξεται, culminating in the vivid use of the present with future sense (271).

**264 μένος ἄρηος** 'the frenzy of war'. The essence of μένος is its dynamic force: it can refer to the energy or vitality of a human being, or to the violent motion of rivers, fire, wind, a spear in flight, etc. 'As a quality of character or mood, μένος represents a furious urge to action that can tend eventually to frenzy and self-destruction' (Clarke 1999: 111).

**δατέονται:** from δατέομαι, 'divide', 'share', here metaphorical: both sides share in warlike frenzy. See also Introduction 5.5, p. 50.

**266 ἴομεν** 'let us go'; in Homer the present subjunctive often has an ending with a short vowel where later Greek would use a long: so here ἴομεν, not ἴωμεν. Similarly οἶδα has pres. subjunctive 1st and 2nd pl. εἴδομεν, εἴδετε (Monro §80).

**268 ἀμβροσίη** 'heavenly'. The adjective normally refers to sweetness of smell (e.g. of fragrant skin or freshly washed clothes); applied to night, its meaning is less specific. It is regularly associated with the gods, their physical attributes (e.g. Zeus's flowing hair, 1.529), and their possessions; 'ambrosia' is of course their food. Although ἀμβροσίη is a standard epithet of night, nowhere else does the expression straddle two lines; the enjambement is probably emphatic (13n.).

**ἄμμε** = ἡμᾶς, 'us': an Aeolic form. Cf. the dative form ἄμμι in 279.

**269 σὺν τεύχεσιν:** Hector has taken Achilles' armour from Patroclus, but Poulydamas assumes that their opponent will enter battle suitably clad.

The audience, already aware of Thetis' intentions to secure him a new array, is unlikely to ask what alternative armour Poulydamas is envisaging. The point is rather to anticipate the terrifying sight of Achilles armed for battle.

**269–70 εὖ ... γνώσεται** 'anyone will easily know him', i.e. he will be obvious to all. This is grim understatement: 'know him' means in effect 'feel his onslaught'. In narrative terms this is especially true in the event, since the poet focuses entirely on Achilles' part in the action, paying no attention to the other Greeks. Possibly there is an allusion to Patroclus' earlier disguise as Achilles, when the Trojans *failed* to recognise the newly arrived warrior.

**270 ἀσπασίως:** see 232n.

**271 ἔδονται:** as in 283, 3rd pl. middle from ἔδω: this is used as the fut. tense of ἐσθίω, 'eat': see LSJ's entry for the latter. Cf. *Od.* 9.369 (the Cyclops declares 'I shall eat Nobody last').

**272 αἲ γὰρ δή μοι ἀπ' οὔατος ὧδε γένοιτο** 'I pray I may never hear that news'; lit. 'may it thus come about far from my ear'. αἲ (εἰ) γάρ introduces a wish. ὧδε belongs closely with γένοιτο: 'let it happen in this way (if it must) – but don't let me hear about it!' The closest parallel is 22.454 αἲ γὰρ ἀπ' οὔατος εἴη ἐμεῦ ἔπος, where the presence of the subject ἔπος eases the syntax. It was even suggested in antiquity that ἀπ' οὔατος be read here as ἀπούατος, an adjective signifying 'bad' (Schol. D, applying it to Achilles in an effort to make this line into a prayer that Achilles might be base or cowardly). The suggestion is absurd (and is impossible in the parallel passage in book 22), but it was taken up, perhaps mischievously, by Callimachus, who used the phrase ἀπούατος ἄγγελος ('an unwelcome messenger') in his *Hecale* (fr. 122 Hollis). This is an extreme example of the learned Alexandrian poets' habit of engaging with Homeric scholarly problems in their poetry (see further Rengakos 1993). Modern scholars have continued to worry about the line: it is deleted by West, following Bakker. (Leaf deleted all of 272–6, but with hesitation and largely because of concern over neglect of digamma.) Yet the exclamation powerfully conveys Poulydamas' agitation.

For the motif of being devoured by dogs and birds see 179n.

**273** Poulydamas uses the first person plural, a rhetorical device intended to associate the audience with the speaker's viewpoint (cf. 24.601 with Macleod's n.).

**κηδόμενοί περ** 'in spite of our distress': περ has its concessive sense.

**274 νύκτα μέν** 'for the night/tonight at least', contrasting with 277 πρῶϊ δ' ὑπηοῖοι.

**εἰν ἀγορῆι σθένος ἕξομεν:** a puzzling phrase. Literally it means 'we shall keep our strength in assembly'. The Trojan host is already gathered in assembly (245) out on the plain, but since the whole thrust of Poulydamas'

speech is to advocate retreat within the walls, he must be taking that for granted, and the next two lines confirm this. Probably the idea is, 'we shall keep our fighting strength together in a gathering/a united force'; that is, although they will withdraw to Troy, the army should not disperse to their homes. (Aristarchus interpreted 'in the assembly (i.e. by debate) we shall find strength', but this does not fit well with the context; Leaf prefers 'we will husband our strength (by resting) in the *agora*'.)

**275  σανίδες:** in *Od.* 22.174 these are planks or boards; here they seem not to refer to the gate-leaves themselves but to some form of additional reinforcement that can be attached to them. ἀραρυῖαι ('fitted') is regularly associated with σανίδες elsewhere in Homer.

The accumulation of words referring to the Trojan defences is intended to appeal to the army's desire for security. But it also strongly suggests that they will no longer be able to launch any kind of offensive. Poulydamas can offer no strategy for victory (see next n.).

**277–83**  Poulydamas' scenario is over-optimistic. It is hard to imagine that retreating into Troy will save the Trojans for long, now that Achilles has reappeared. They will have to prepare to resist either frontal assaults or a long siege. Given how long the Achaeans have already spent on the war, they will hardly give up at this stage. But it is necessary for him to devise some form of argument that will convince Hector and the rest.

**277  ὑπηοῖοι** 'at the coming of dawn' (ἠώς). Spelling and word division vary in the manuscripts, but this adjectival form is confirmed by usage elsewhere, esp. *Od.* 17.25 στίβη ὑπηοίη 'the early morning frost'. The line is repeated in Hector's response (303).

**278  ἄμ** = ἄνα, by 'apocope' (24n.). The change from ν to μ typically occurs when the preposition precedes certain letters (β, π, φ), e.g. ἄμ πέλαγος. See Smyth §75D, 91, Chantraine I.87–8.

**279  ἄμμι** = ἡμῖν, 'with us'. Cf. 268.

**280  ἐπεί κε** with the subjunctive is the regular construction for a 'when' clause if the verb in the main clause is future (Monro §296).

ἐριαύχενας 'strong-necked'; an epithet used only of horses. The prefix ἐρι- commonly has an intensifying force: e.g. ἐριμύκης 'loud-bellowing', ἐρισθενής 'immensely strong'.

**281  ἄσηι:** 3rd sing. aor. subjunctive of ἄω, 'sate', 'satisfy', 'give a fill of'. Here the sense is 'once he sates (exhausts) his long-necked horses with every kind of running (i.e. running in every direction?) while he skulks around beneath the city'.

ἠλασκάζων 'skulking'. ἠλασκάζω and ἠλάσκω normally have a disparaging tone (cf. 13.104, *Od.* 9.457).

**282**  Again false optimism. Poulydamas can only mean that Achilles will not have the courage to make an assault; he would have been wiser to insist that such an assault will be ineffectual.

ἐφορμηθῆναι 'to attack'; aor. passive infinitive. ἐφορμάω means 'stir up', 'propel into action' (e.g. 3.165 οἵ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον, '(the gods) who stirred up war against me'). In the middle and passive it means to be stirred or to stir oneself, hence to take an initiative; in martial contexts, to make an attack.

**283 οὐδέ ποτ(ε):** highly emphatic at line-beginning: see Faulkner on *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 16.

**ἔδονται:** on the tense see 271n. The idea reverses the danger to the Trojans of which Pouludamas warned earlier. The speech thus ends on a strongly positive note (as also with the emphatic παντοίου δρόμου in 281).

**284–5** = 12.230–1 (Hector's previous rejection of Pouludamas' advice).

**284 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδών** 'glowering at him', a frequent formula to introduce a hostile response (e.g. 1.148, 4.349, 5.888, 12.230). It probably conveys the idea of glaring from under frowning eyebrows (ὑπό + δέρκομαι). The verbs ὑποβλέπω and ὑποδέρκομαι express the same notion. See Holoka 1983, who discusses all uses in the *Iliad* and concludes that the expression regularly prefaces an assertion of status by a speaker who is resisting opposition from someone he judges his inferior.

**285** = 12. 231, also the opening of a speech in which Hector rejects his comrade's advice.

**μέν** seems superfluous here: Denniston 360 lists the line after the comment 'Occasionally μέν stresses a pronoun which seems to need no stress.'

**οὐκέτ(ι):** Hector allows that Pouludamas has given sound advice in the past.

**286 ἀλήμεναι:** aor. infinitive passive from εἴλω, 'pen in', 'hem in', 'shut up'.

**287 κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι:** Hector shifts to the plural; it is all the more striking when he reverts to addressing Pouludamas, with insult and threat, at 295; plural again at 297–9.

**ἐελμένοι:** pref. participle passive from εἴλω, 'pen in', the same verb as used in the previous line.

**288–9** Cf. 24.543–6, where Achilles addressing Priam speaks of his reputation in time past as supremely fortunate in his wealth and his stock of sons. A similar reference to Troy's past prosperity occurs at 9. 401–3; see also 17.225, where Hector alludes to the expenditure on provisions for their allies. Perhaps these passages reflect a sense of the historical changes in terms of control of the region by the poet's own time (West 2011a: 349, on 290–2 below).

**288 μέροπες ἄνθρωποι:** the nominative expression is found only here: it is probably an adaptation of the more traditional formula in the genitive, μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, used at 490 below, 1.250 etc. In the genitive the phrase scans without difficulty; in the nominative it is necessary to pronounce the

final syllable of μέροπες as long. This strongly suggests that the present phrase is a secondary development (West 1982: 39).

The meaning of μέροψ is lost, and the word already baffled ancient scholarship. This is a case where the poets have probably inherited a phrase which they no longer understand. Traditionally it was associated with speech (mankind being defined by articulacy), but linguists nowadays reject this, and it is more plausible that the root ὄψ has the sense of 'face', as in other compounds (οἶνοψ ('wine-faced'), Αἰθίοψ ('man with burnt face', black)). The prefix remains obscure.

**289 μυθίσκοντο:** frequentative (159–60n.).

**πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον:** doubling the adjective enhances the sense of Troy's past wealth, and the use of the identical prefix adds rhetorical force: cf. 9.154 ἄνδρες ... πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται (part of Agamemnon's catalogue of the compensation he will grant Achilles); *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 31 πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων (titles of Hades); Fehling 1969: 246; West 1988: 156.

**290–1 δή ... δή:** the use of this emphatic particle twice in successive lines is notable. It suggests Hector's emotional delivery of the lines. For repetition of this particle see esp. 9.348–9; for the rhetoric of repetition more generally see Denniston 1952: 78–98.

**290 ἐξαπόλωλε δόμων** 'are vanished (lit. have perished) from our homes'. A strong metaphor: cf. Agamemnon's ruthless words at 6.59–60: (let no Trojan escape), ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες | Ἰλίου ἐξαπολοίατ' ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι ('but let every one of them perish utterly out of Ilium, uncared for and unseen'. The genitive δόμων seems to depend on the ἐξ- prefix, as does Ἰλίου at 6.60.

**291 Φρυγίην καὶ Μηιονίην:** Phrygians are mentioned in various passages and seem to be considered inhabitants of an unspecified area east of Troy: see esp. 3.184–9, where Priam remembers his youthful service as their ally against the Amazons on the River Sangarios, which runs past Gordion and disgorges into the Black Sea. Phrygia is mentioned in the similar passage on Priam's past good fortune in 24.545 (288–9n.). Maeonia is the region in north west Anatolia later known as Lydia (a name not used in Homer). Phrygians and Maeonians are mentioned in sequence in the catalogue of Trojan allies (2.862–3, 864–6); the two areas are also paired at 3.401. On both regions see *HE*.

**292 περνάμεν(α):** neuter pl. nominative, pres. passive. participle of πέρνημι, 'sell', 'export' (cf. 22.45, 24.752). Troy's riches have been exhausted, presumably either in gifts to allies in return for their military support or as payment of ransom for Trojan captives sold as slaves by the Achaeans earlier in the war. Lycaon is the most notable example of this category: see 21.34–44 and what follows (note 58 πεπερημένος from the same verb).

ἐπεί ... Ζεύς: Hector's admission that Zeus has been angry with them before is hasty and swept aside by his bold claim about the present.

ὠδύσατο: 3rd sing. aor. indicative from ὀδύσσομαι, 'rage at, be angry with'. The verb is used several times in the *Odyssey* to suggest an etymology for Odysseus' name ('man of wrath', i.e. victim of others' wrath): see *Od.* 1.62 (with S. West's n. in Heubeck et al.), 5.340, 423, 19.275; and Kanavou 2015: 90–100.

**293–4 νῦν δ' ὅτε ... νηυσί:** Hector refers to the promise Zeus made to him at 11.192–4 ('I shall give him power to kill ...'), cf. 207–9, 300, 318–19; recalled at 12.235–6 (Hector to Poulydamas), 13.153–4, 15.490–3, 719–25, 17.453–5 (cf. Taplin 1992: 153–61 on 'Hector's day'). But Hector overlooks the time limitation there specified: 'until he reaches the fine-benched ships and holy darkness comes down' (11.193–4). The significance of the sunset we have just witnessed (239–42) is evident: Hector's day of glory is ended. See further Kelly 2007a: 204–5, on passages in which characters correctly but incautiously lay claim to Zeus's favour.

**293 ἀγκυλομήτεω:** originally this epithet probably meant 'of the crooked sickle', referring to the weapon with which Cronos castrated Ouranos (see West on Hes. *Theog.* 18): it is compounded from ἀγκύλος ('bent'; cf. ἀγκών, the 'bend' of the arm or elbow) + ἀμάω ('plough'). The false etymology connecting it with μῆτις ('cunning') resulted in the interpretation 'of crooked counsel, devious, wily': this was already current by the time of Hesiod, who applies it to Prometheus. Homer uses it only of Cronos. (This assumes that an older adjective ἀγκυλαμήτης has undergone a reinterpretation and a change of spelling: for comparable shifts in meaning see Hainsworth 1993: 29–30. Some scholars still prefer the interpretation 'of crooked counsel', e.g. Latacz et al. on 2.205.)

**294 ἔλσαι:** aor. infinitive active from εἴλω, 'pen in', already used of the Trojans' confinement to the city in 287. In the central books of the poem we have seen the tables turned and the Achaeans driven back within their own defensive walls by the ships.

**295 νήπιε (voc.):** an important word in the *Iliad*. Its basic meaning (as in the formulaic line-end νήπια τέκνα) seems to be 'childish', hence 'foolish, naive'; here 'you fool'. This is one of four passages in the poem in which one hero uses it to insult another: the others are 16.833 (Hector to the dying Patroclus; again, misguided in his triumph), 21.99 (Achilles to Lycaon), 22.333 (Achilles to Hector). It is notable that the word is used as a form of address only by the two principal heroes of the poem. Gentler uses are possible: see esp. 16.8, where Achilles compares the weeping Patroclus to a little girl running along behind her mother and wanting to be picked up: there the comparison is mocking but implies Achilles' tender affection for his friend. For the use of νήπιος by the narrator see 311n.; for more detailed treatment, Edmunds 1990.

**295  νοήματα φαῖν(ε):** unusual language. Hector does not just say 'do not utter these words' but 'do not reveal these thoughts'.

**ἐνὶ δήμωι:** losing face in public is anathema to the honour-hungry Hector. See Scodel 2008, and 254n. on the question of Poulydamas' status.

**296  οὐ γάρ ... ἐπιπείσεται· οὐ γάρ ἐάσω:** the future tenses are emphatic. Hector's determination to assert his authority leads him to declare as a certainty what will happen.

**297**  At this point Hector shifts from attacking Poulydamas to a general exhortation (or rather a series of orders) to the army as a whole. The line offers little invitation to further debate.

**298  ἐν τελέεσσι:** a standard expression, signifying 'in your separate units' (LSJ s.v. τέλος 10): cf. 7.380, 11.730. In later Greek τέλος signifies a squadron of infantry or cavalry, e.g. Thuc. 6.42.1.

**299  ἐγρήγορθε:** perf. pl. imperative of ἐγείρω (wake up): here, 'keep watch'.

**ἕκαστος:** the shift to singular is construction according to the sense, 'each and every one of you'.

**300–1**  A strange proposal, the point of which is unclear. The lines must be directed at Poulydamas, accusing him of recommending cautious tactics because he is concerned for his own wealth (this follows a suggestion in schol. bT: 'He indicates that Poulydamas, being rich, is afraid to run risks'). It seems likely that Hector is challenging him, if he is not prepared to fight for his city and possessions, to surrender his property publicly (συλλέξας implies a gathering summoned for the purpose). Loosely comparable is the idea that draft-dodgers who declined to join in the expedition against Troy might be punished by 'the harsh fine of the Achaeans' (13.669 ἀργαλέην θωὴν ... Ἀχαιῶν). Whatever is intended, nothing more is said about the suggestion.

**300**  'whosoever of the Trojans is excessively burdened with possessions' (cf. the scholion cited in the previous note on Poulydamas as 'rich'); but the sense is uncertain given the obscurity of Hector's actual proposal. If the translation given is right, ὑπερφιάλως is here used in a milder sense than is normal: elsewhere it usually means 'recklessly'. ἀνιάζω is here intransitive 'is grieving' (as at *Od.* 4.460, 22.87); contrast *Od.* 19.323 where it is transitive ('cause grief to').

**301  λαοῖσι:** the term λάος ('populace') is regularly used in Homer in contexts which highlight the relationship between a leader and his followers: here it marks Hector's concern for their wellbeing (provided they are obedient to his orders). See Haubold 2000 (91 and n. 238 on this passage).

**καταδημοβορῆσαι** 'to consume publicly'; infinitive of purpose after δότω (Smyth §2008). The verb here is an absolute hapax; the uncompounded verb is also extremely rare, and virtually confined to Homeric

commentators. The verb is based on the adjective δημοβόρος ('people-devouring'), found at 1.231 in a passage where Achilles abuses Agamemnon (cf. Hes. *Op.* 39 on bribe-swallowing kings, with West's n.); but in *Iliad* 1 and Hesiod the sense is that greedy rulers prey on their people, whereas here the populace is to 'eat up' or make use of whatever property Hector is suggesting be redistributed. Later evidence provides a vital clue: a Locrian inscription of the early fifth century uses the verb 'devour' as a term for confiscation of possessions (ML 20.41-2, cited by Van Wees 2013: 21-2): the verb there is παματοφαγέω (πᾶμα 'property' + φαγεῖν 'eat'), but both passages must mean that others are to have the benefit of the wrongdoer's property. See further *Od.* 16.424-30, where a man who has joined a raiding party against allies of the Ithacans is almost subjected to a public lynching: the people would then have 'devoured his patrimony' (429 κατὰ ζωὴν φαγέειν μενοεικέα πολλήν).

**302 τῶν ... ἐστιν**: 'it is better that one of them ... (sc. the Trojans)'.
**ἐπαυρέμεν**: pres. infinitive active of ἐπαυρίσκω, 'benefit from'.
**περ**: the particle appears to strengthen the contrast between 'anyone else' and the Achaeans of all people (Denniston 487).

**303-4** These two lines are exactly repeated from Hector's exhortation in the parallel scene in book 8 (530-1). There he goes on to speculate about a possible confrontation with Diomedes the next day, in rather similar terms to the end of the present speech (esp. the alternatives posed at 532-4). But in the event Hector does not have to confront Diomedes; contrast the conflict with Achilles envisaged here. For Diomedes as a 'stand-in' for Achilles earlier in the *Iliad* see 206n.

**303 πρῶϊ δ' ὑπηοῖοι**: besides the parallel with book 8 just cited, in the present context the phrase echoes Poulydamas' advice at 277; cf. 306n.

**304 νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσιν**: Hector persists in the expectation that the same conditions will prevail on the next day as on the one just ended.

**ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν ἄρηα**: on the metaphor see Introduction p. 50. Ares here means 'war' (134n.). The verb form is pres. subjunctive (cf. 266n. on ἴομεν).

**305 εἰ δ' ἐτεόν**: it is hard to believe that Hector really questions whether Achilles did appear and terrify his forces. That would suggest that his overconfidence verges on the delusional. More probably he is questioning whether he is actually going to resume his place on the battlefield.

**ναῦφιν**: epic genitive or dative plural (here dative) from ναῦς ('ship'). The concluding nu is a case of nu-ephelkustikon (preceding a vowel). This ending is associated with various senses, of which the relevant one here is 'from'. On the -φι(ν) suffix, see Palmer 1962: 107; Thompson 1998.

**306 ἄλγιον αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσι τῶι ἔσσεται**: echoing Poulydamas' words at 278.
**ἔγωγε**: emphatic: 'I for my part'.

**306–7 οὔ ... φεύξομαι:** Hector's overconfidence here is exposed by his loss of nerve in book 22, where at first he does indeed stand and await Achilles' onslaught, but at the last moment turns to flee (22.5–6, 90–7, 136–7).

**307 ἐκ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος:** war is 'evil-sounding', even when Hector is enthusiastic for battle. The epithet is attached to death in line 464 (and at 16.442 = 22.180).

War and battle receive a variety of epithets in epic. μάχη is regularly 'battle which brings glory to men' in accusative and dative, but also 'tearful' (δακρυοέσσης, πολυδακρύτου, ἀλεγεινῆς) in the genitive. Other formulae tell the same story: πόλεμον θρασύν but also στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο (x 2), πόλεμον φθισήνορα (x 4), ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα (x 2), and so on. Cf. Vermeule 1979: 83–116 (a rich discussion, though overemphasising the positive view of war in epic). Cf. 248n.

**308 στήσομαι:** the sentence is elliptical: 'I shall stand firm (and find out) whether he may carry away mighty victory, or whether I might do so.'

**ἦ κε φέρῃσι ... ἦ κε φεροίμην:** for the posing of alternative outcomes in very similar terms see 13.486 (a speech by Idomeneus) αἶψά κεν ἠὲ φέροιτο μέγα κράτος, ἠὲ φεροίμην ('(if he and I were of the same age) he would swiftly win great victory, or else I would do so'): there too the expression occurs in the final line of the speech. In that passage both verbs are in the optative; here one option is expressed in the subjunctive, the other in the optative; cf. 16.648–51, 22.245–6 (reading δαμείη). In each of these passages the optative comes second, but expresses the outcome chosen or preferred by the character. (Monro §275b thus seems wrong here in saying that where the moods are mixed in this fashion, the subjunctive gives the alternative which is stressed. Hector will hardly be stressing Achilles' prospects.) The optative form φέροιτο is attested in one papyrus and as a variant in one MS; this may be an attempt to regularise the syntax, or may be simply reminiscence of 13.486.

**κράτος:** the basic sense is 'strength', but by extension the word may signify success or mastery, hence victory in combat (e.g. 1.509).

**309** A gnomic line, clearly marked as such by the absence of the verb 'is' in the first clause, by the use of the gnomic aor. in the second, by the alliterative jingle and etymological play of the last two words, and by the use of τε, commonly used (but untranslatable) in generalising statements (cf. e.g. 201, 13.733–4, 19.221, *Od.* 14.228, and LSJ B 1; Palmer 1962: 147). For other proverbs or quasi-proverbs in Homer see 1.218, 2.204, 5.531, 12.243, *Od.* 17.347 (cf. Hes. *Op.* 317–19), 19.13, the last two also at the end of a speech. See further Ahrens 1937; Edwards 1987: 98–101; Lardinois 1997 and 2000. There are no other true *gnomai* in this book, though Ahrens 31 cites a number of marginal cases (107–10, 128–9, 201, 328).

ξυνός = κοινός, 'common'. Here the sense is 'even-handed': war and the war god can favour either side. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.21.1395a15–16, quoting this as a proverb; Romans also knew it well (Cic. *Att.* 7.8.4 quotes the first two words of the line), and there is a Latin equivalent, 'Mars communis' (*OLD* s.v. *communis* 2b).

Enualios, mentioned in eight other passages of the poem, is a war god closely associated with Ares (the two are identified at 17.211); they are separate deities in Mycenaean texts.

κτεινόντα κατέκτα: the combination of cognate forms (polyptoton) is frequent in poetry and in gnomic expressions (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 23, 25–6, 382; English has 'the biter bit'). The present case follows close upon φέρῃσι ... φεροίμην in the previous line. Many examples of roughly comparable phrases are gathered by Fehling 1969: 221–34, esp. 231; West 2007: 111–16. In general they emphasise either similarity or contrast – here the latter.

κτεινόντα is fut. participle, indicating intention, here frustrated: 'and he slays the would-be slayer'. In our texts the future of κτείνω is sometimes κτενέω, sometimes κτανέω, but philologists are agreed that the former is linguistically correct.

**310:** This line is repeated from 8.542, a significant parallel (Introduction, p. 11). There the applause was justifiable, and no negative comment followed.

**310–13** The narrator's comment heavily underlines Hector's error. Such intervention to make explicit comment on the decisions or actions of the characters is rare in the *Iliad*, and all the more effective when it does occur. It is slightly commoner in the *Odyssey*. See further S. Richardson 1990: 140–66 (his notes give an exhaustive inventory); de Jong 1987: 18–19, 136–45; de Jong 2012: 18–20.

When someone makes a foolish decision, the epic poet characteristically ascribes this misjudgement to a deity (e.g. 6.234–6). The characters often echo this assumption, but without the narrator's knowledge (hence incredulous questions such as 'which of the gods put an unprofitable plan in your mind, and stole away your good sense?' (17.469–50)). See further Dodds 1951: ch. 1; Lesky 1961. For Athena as deceiver, cf. 4.86–104, where she dupes Pandarus, and 22.226–47 (cf. 294–9), where she takes the form of Deiphobus and tricks Hector into facing Achilles; closer still are the passages in the *Odyssey* where she deludes the suitors and leads them on to fresh folly (e.g. 18.346–8 = 20.284–6, with my n. on the latter). She is an appropriate deity in the present passage because of her antagonism to Troy, and also as a regular supporter and ally of Achilles (1.194–222, 18.203–4 above, 22.214).

**311** νήπιοι is strongly marked, coming so soon after Hector's insulting use of the word addressing Poulydamas (295): it is not Poulydamas but

Hector and his supporters who are the fools. The use of νήπιος at this point in the line, to introduce a comment on the ignorance or misguided action of a human character, is a recurrent device. Often the tone is poised between criticism and compassion: 'poor fool(s)' (for examples see 2.38, 873, 5.406, 12.113, 16.686 (Patroclus goes too far), 20.264, 296, 466; in pl. e.g. 17.236, 497). For a case where pity for the character must be present see 22.445 (on Andromache's ignorance of Hector's death). This is an important difference between the usage of the term in *oratio recta* and in the narrator's voice: the latter has the detachment which permits sympathy.

See further de Jong 1987: 86–7; Edmunds 1990; de Jong on 22.445–6 and on *Od.* 9.44; Kelly 2007a: 205–8.

**312–13** Ἕκτορι μὲν ... Πουλυδάμαντι δ(ἐ): the two names are thrust to the front of their clauses to bring out the contrast more strongly.

**314** δόρπον: 245n.

### 314b–355 Mourning for Patroclus

There are three stages to the Homeric funeral: the *prothesis* (the laying out of the body; see further 343–55n.), the *ekphora* (carrying it forth) and the funeral proper. For the later stages of Patroclus' burial see 23.1–34 (funeral feast), 109–26 (building of the pyre), 127–91 (the *ekphora* or funeral procession, and placing of the body on the pyre), 226–57 (collecting of the bones), with Richardson's commentary on all these. Honorific games and communal feasting conclude the proceedings, reintegrating the community after the sorrow of death. But that festive conclusion is far off at present, and in the event Achilles does not join with the rest of his comrades in celebratory feasting (see 24.1–13). On Homeric funeral customs see G. Mylonas in Wace and Stubbings 1962: ch. 16; Andronikos 1968: 1–37; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 186–7; Vermeule 1979: 11–21; Garland 1985: ch. 3.

**314** αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοί: the shift of scene in mid-line is rare but not unparalleled; cf. 148. Most striking is *Od.* 13.187, where we leave the Phaeacians (whom we never see again) praying to Poseidon for forgiveness and switch to Odysseus awakening on the beach far away in Ithaca.

**315** (almost = 355): a four-word hexameter (cf. 289). (For the rarer three-word instances see Richardson 1980: 287 with references)

**316–22** The grief of Achilles is compared with a lion grieving for its lost cubs. The relation of the two friends is also compared to that of parent and child by Achilles himself at 16.7–10 (where the mockery of Patroclus masks pity and affection), and by the narrator at 23.222–3. This is one of the passages which has been seen as indebted to the epic of Gilgamesh

(West 1997: 341–3; see Appendix). Homer's passage in its turn influences later epic poetry: see Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1338–43 (with Hunter's n.), Ov. *Met.* 13.547–8 (on Hecuba grieving for Polydorus: in line 549 *cum luctu miscuit iram* aptly parallels the Iliadic situation).

The simile is of a common type (warrior compared with lion). See already 161–2 above. The situation envisaged here is unusual: a hunter stumbles across a lion's lair and steals its cubs, probably to bring up as pets. The scenario conveys the rashness and folly of Hector's eagerness to confront Achilles' wrath. (Alden 2005 explains it by arguing that Greeks of this period were familiar with lion-hunting as practised by the royal court of Assyria: Assurbanipal boasted of capturing alive fifteen lions and fifty cubs which he kept for breeding.) That the man in the simile is a *deer-*hunter perhaps suggests how ill-matched the two warriors are. It is in any case clear that the comparison involves not only the distress of warrior and lion but also vengeful anger. For χόλος (322) cf. 337.

Whether the poet or his audience really had any personal experience of lions is unknown. Lions are shown attacking deer on a Theran fresco of 1550–1490 BC (Warren 1979: 123 with pl. A(d)); they were still found in Macedonia in the fifth century (Hdt. 7.125–6), and in Asia Minor much later. But in any case a formulaic repertory has developed, which depends on the recognition of the animal as the fiercest of the beasts (cf. Heracles' slaying of the Nemean Lion as his first labour, and adopting of its mane as his battle-garb).

For discussion of this type of simile see Scott 1974: 58–62; on the present passage Moulton 1977: 105–6. For lions in art in relation to Homer see Markoe 1989, Alden 2005 and other references given under 573–86n.

**316–17** = 23.17–18: at that point, after slaying Hector and ending the combat for the time being, Achilles resumes the rituals of mourning in preparation for Patroclus' funeral.

**316** τοῖσι 'among them' or 'for them', 'on their behalf'.

ἁδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο: Achilles performs the role of chief mourner. Cf. 51n.; 22.430, 23.17, 24.747. Achilles laments for Patroclus in three separate scenes (this one, 19.315–37, and 23.19–23; cf. 23.217–25). He is the only male character in the poem to utter a formal lament: this brings out the intensity of the emotional bond between himself and his lost friend (cf. Introduction p. 5).

ἁδινός is an adjective applied to both motion and sound: the common element seems to be intensity (a swarm of bees or flies, swift and frequent beating of the heart, continuous lowing of calves; here, continuous weeping, cf. the adverb at 124). It is frequently associated with mourning (as also in 19.314, 23.225).

**317 χεῖρας ... ἀνδροφόνους:** the 'manslaying hands' are gentle here; the poet brings out the combination in Achilles of terrible strength and a capacity for deep feeling. Apart from 23.18 (see last n.), the other passage in which the adjective is used in an extraordinary context is 24.479, where Priam kisses 'the terrible manslaying hands which had slain many of his sons'. In all other cases in the *Iliad* the adjective is attached to a proper name (most commonly Hector; also Ares and Lycurgus).

**ἐπ(ὶ) ... θέμενος** belong together ('tmesis').

**318 ἠϋγένειος** 'shaggy-haired'; used of a lion also at 15.275, 17.109. The prefix ἠϋ- is an epic/Ionic equivalent to εὐ-, as in ἠΰκομος, 'with lovely locks'. γένειον denotes facial hair, which with the lion will extend to the mane as a whole. Alternatively Janko (on 17.109) speculates that it may once have meant 'strong-jawed', from γένυς.

**319 ὧι** 'from whom'; dative of disadvantage after ἁρπάσηι.        **ὑπό ... ἁρπάσηι:** 'tmesis' (29–30n.).

**320 ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς:** lions are likely to hide in the thick vegetation, as in the simile describing Odysseus emerging from the thicket to approach Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.127–8).

**ὕστερος ἐλθών** 'coming too late'. 333 echoes this in a different sense.

**321 μετ(ά)** 'after', 'following' (Cunliffe II (2d)), governing the accusative ἴχνια.

**322 εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι** 'to see if he might find him anywhere'. See Monro §314 (cf. Chantraine II.278–9) for this use of the optative in a clause introduced by 'if': the 'if' clause constitutes the object after verbs of seeking or desiring (here ἐρευνῶν). Cf. esp. 4.88 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη εἴ που ἐφεύροι, 'seeking if somewhere she might find godlike Pandaros', i.e. trying to find him. πόθεν here lacks a strong sense of '*from* anywhere'; it is equivalent to που in the line from book 4.

**αἱρεῖ** 'possesses him', 'has him in its grip'; understand αὐτόν.

**323 βαρὺ στενάχων:** cf. 70, 78.

**Μυρμιδόνεσσιν:** although Achilles speaks 'amid' the Myrmidons, he does not address them: the only vocative in the speech is to Patroclus (333, cf. the second-person verbs and duals in the lines which follow). The technique emphasises his preoccupation with his lost friend and consequent loss of 'contact' with the living. The point is reinforced by the fact that his speech is not followed by a report of a responsive lament from the others present (contrast 19.301–2, 24.745, 760, 776: Beck 2005: 263). But in 343, with the shift to indirect speech, the poet makes him give instructions to his followers.

**324 ὦ πόποι:** a common expression conveying distress, displeasure or vexation. There was a theory in ancient scholarship that it meant 'ye gods', with ὦ (thus accented) introducing a vocative form (Lycoph. *Alex.* 943;

Euphorion fr. 133 Lightfoot; *Etym. magn.* s.v.). That view is now discredited: rather, the expression is comparable to other distressed cries such as ὀτοτοῖ. For a catalogue of twenty-nine examples and discussion of its usage see Kelly 2007a: 220–3.

ἦ ῥ(α) 'so after all . . .' The combination here, like ἄρα, marks realisation of the true state of things (Denniston 45).

**325 θαρσύνων ἥρωα Μενοίτιον ἐν μεγάροισι:** Menoetius has been a resident at the court of Peleus along with his son: see 11.765–90, where Nestor reminds Patroclus how he and Odysseus arrived there on a recruiting-drive, and how Menoetius gave parting advice to Patroclus. In book 23 the situation is clarified: Patroclus had slain another boy in a childish quarrel (85–9). Since he is too young to go into exile alone (the normal consequence of homicide in the poem: see e.g. 13.694–7, 16. 570–4; Fenik 1974: 169), Menoetius escorts him to Peleus' halls (23.85–6; note 85 τυτθὸν ἐόντα). This means that there is some awkwardness in ἐν μεγάροισι here, since the line would naturally mean that Achilles reassured Patroclus' father in *his*, Menoetius', halls. That the poet is momentarily thinking in these terms is confirmed by Achilles' promise to bring Patroclus home to Opous (see below).

**326 φῆν** 'I said' (1 sing. aor. indic. from φημί).

**οἱ** 'to him'. The pronoun refers to Menoetius.

**εἰς Ὀπόεντα:** Patroclus originally came from Opous (23.85), a town in Locris (2.531).

**περικλυτόν:** in later poetry we would read this as a 'proleptic' use of an adjective, i.e. Achilles would be promising to bring Patroclus back covered with glory. But in Homeric diction it is more likely to be conventional (and other grammatical cases of the adjective regularly appear in this metrical position): Patroclus is a hero of noble stock and therefore 'illustrious' from the start.

**327 ἐκπέρσαντα λαχόντά τε:** the participles agree with υἱόν, i.e. they describe Patroclus, not Achilles.

**ληΐδος αἶσαν** 'his allotted share of booty': the accusative depends on λαχόντα, and ληΐδος is a defining genitive. Although some of the heroes, particularly Agamemnon, are particularly acquisitive, all of them value the spoils of war (witness the ransoms demanded for captive warriors), and naturally anticipate much more of the same once Troy has been taken. Also, these possessions bring honour: the larger one's share in the loot, the greater one's prestige.

**328 ἀλλ' οὐ Ζεὺς ... τελευτᾷ:** a weighty gnomic line. Achilles must accept that, like all mankind, he is inferior to Zeus. Contrast his earlier confidence that Zeus was on his side (esp. 9.608).

**329 ἄμφω:** dual.

πέπρωται: 'fate' is man's 'portion', what is provided (πόρω) or granted by the gods. Cf. 3.309, 16.441. Life as one's portion seems to be the basic sense of a number of common expressions for fate in Greek (e.g. μοῖρα, αἶσα ('measure')). See West 2007: 379–85, with parallels from other cultures (the Roman Parcae, Norse Norns, etc.); also Introduction section 3.

ἐρεῦσαι: aor. infinitive active of ἐρεύθω 'redden', 'dye'. 'both redden the same earth' is more vivid than e.g. 'both lie dead in the same earth'.

**330** αὐτοῦ: 'here' (as again in 332; cf. 2.237, 332, 5.262 etc.).

νοστήσαντα: the phrasing is close to Thetis' complaint at 59–60: see n. there on homecoming.

**332** οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ: as at 59–60 (see 36n.), there is some inconsistency as to whether Thetis still lives with her husband or not; the narrative of the *Iliad* suggests that she no longer has any contact with him.

**333** Πάτροκλε: although Achilles has been standing over his friend's corpse, he has not yet used the second person, so that this use of the vocative heightens the emotional pitch. Second-person pronouns follow, until in the final two lines Achilles speaks of their past exploits in the first person plural, with a dual participle in 342.

Addressing the dead man by name is common in lamentation: cf. 23.179, 24.742 (deferred), 748, 762; Soph. *El.* 101; Beck 2005: 249, 333.

**334** κτεριῶ: an Ionic fut. of κτερίζω, 'bury'.

**335** κεφαλήν: the theme of mutilation reappears, this time with reference to Hector. See 176–7n.; Segal 1971: 28. In the event, although Achilles tries to maltreat the body, he does not go so far as decapitation, and the gods preserve Hector's corpse from defilement.

μεγαθύμου σεῖο φονῆος: probably the complimentary adjective μεγαθύμου refers to Hector, and the line means 'bring the weapons and head of great-hearted Hector, the one who slew you'. Praise of his arch-enemy may seem unexpected from Achilles, but respect for his slayer adds dignity to Patroclus' death (cf. 15.440, where Ajax speaks of Hector in similar terms; also 6.145 ~ 21.153). The alternative is to take the adjective as referring to Patroclus ('the man who slew you with your great heart'). This is less attractive, as the adjective has to depend on a genitive pronoun.

**336–7** Further atrocities are threatened by Achilles, and these he will indeed carry out (21.27–31, 23.22–3, 175–83). This slaughter of Trojan youths is the only instance of human sacrifice in Homer: scholars disagree as to whether the poet knew of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, but if he did, he ignores it. On early references to and images of that event see Gantz 582–6, and on Greek myths of human sacrifice, Henrichs 1981, Hughes 1991.

**336** ἀποδειροτομήσω 'I will slit the throats of' (ἀπο + δειρή ('neck') + τομέω 'cut'; cf. τάμνω, τομή); the verb is used only here and in the related passage 23.22 (again a speech of Achilles to the shade of Patroclus). The extreme situation calls forth unusual vocabulary.

**337** σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς 'wrathful at your slaying'.

**338** τόφρα δέ 'but until then'; 'meanwhile'.

μοι: the so-called 'ethic' dative (Smyth §1486): 'as far as I am concerned', 'for my part'.

αὖτως 'just as you are'; cf. 198.    **339** Δαρδανίδες: 122n.

**340** κλαύσονται: the slave women present (already mentioned at 28-31) are not individualised. Only when Briseis is restored are we given a speech of lament which conveys the distress of one captive woman for the dead man (19.287–300, a memorable passage).

**341-2** Achilles refers to the victories he and Patroclus have won together (note the shift from plural to dual in 342 πέρθοντε: the rest of the Achaeans are ignored); cf. 9.325–9, 24. 6–8. 'The ghost of his gentle companion, significantly, speaks instead of the times they *talked* alone together' (Edwards 187, referring to 23.78).

**341** τάς ... καμόμεσθα 'whom we won by our toil', 'for whom we toiled'. τάς refers to the women. κάμνω means 'toil', 'strive', 'exert oneself'; it can also be used transitively, as here, where the sense is 'acquire by effort'.

αὐτοί: Herwerden emended to αὐτώ (dual), which would be in harmony with πέρθοντε but not with the intervening καμόμεσθα; in the absence of any support in the textual tradition, the plural should be retained.

**343-55** These lines describe how the Myrmidons lay out the corpse (*prothesis*) and make it fit for burial. There are three stages described here: washing the body with heated water, application of various types of oil, putting fresh clothing upon it. The ritual activity provides an interlude; although the occasion is still one of grief and mourning, the intensity of Achilles' solo lament gives way to more general sorrow, providing a moment of calm before the scene changes. For similar use of ritual as a calming break in the action see 1.458–76 (sacrifice and feasting in propitiation of Apollo); Macleod 1982: 45–6.

The practical aim of these procedures is to remove the hideous traces of the battlefield and restore Patroclus to something close to normality. Anointing with oils may have a preservative effect; in any case, the scents will do something to counteract the swift effects (and others' perception) of bodily decay. The body is also clothed with clean linen. The dead are honoured by doing everything possible to mimic the appearance of life. An actual corpse would begin to decompose rapidly, but the poet makes Achilles appeal to Thetis on this score at the first opportunity, and she promises to preserve it from corruption (19.23–39; West 1997: 343). See further Vernant 1991: 50–74.

Pritchett 1971–1991: 4.94–259 assembles much information on Greek treatment of those who died in war. For the *prothesis* and *ekphora* see ibid. 102–6; for representation in Geometric art see Ahlberg 1971.

**344 ἀμφὶ πυρί:** the tripod stands on its legs straddling the fire.

**345** The verb λούσειαν has a double object, Πάτροκλον and βρότον ('to wash the gore off Patroclus'). ἀπό and λούσειαν belong together, a case of 'anastrophic tmesis', where the prefix follows the verb (so too 23.41). The undivided compound ἀπολούσομαι is found at *Od.* 6.219. (One late MS registers the alternative reading Πατρόκλου, but this is clearly a feeble attempt to simplify the syntax).

**βρότον:** there are two words, etymologically unrelated and differently accented. βροτός means 'mortal, a human being' (contrast the divine associations of ambrosia, and the adjective ἄμβροτος, 'immortal'); βρότος means clotted blood or gore. For later literary examples of washing the wounds of the dead see Eur. *El.* 1227–8, *Tro.* 1152, *Phoen.* 1667.

**346 λοετροχόον:** here an adjective, 'in which water is poured for washing'; at *Od.* 20.297 λοετροχόος is a noun, referring to a servant who will pour water for the bath.

**κηλίωι** is scanned as a disyllabic word, i.e. -έωι is treated as single syllable (synizesis).

**347 ἑλόντες:** in effect 'they picked up'; the aor. participle of αἱρέω combined with an active main verb means 'take up and do something' (Cunliffe (10)).

**349 ἤνοπι:** probably 'glittering'; the word is always used in combination with χαλκῶι.

**350 λοῦσαν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν:** understand αὐτόν as the object of both verbs.

**λίπ' ἐλαίωι:** in Homer λίπ' is always elided, so that it is impossible to know whether the full form is accusative λίπα or dative λιπί (agreeing with ἐλαίωι). It is usually understood as 'thickly', an adverbial accusative. See LSJ s.v. λίπα, S. West in Heubeck et al. on *Od.* 3.466.

**351 ἀλείφατος:** unguent or oil. Evidently a different substance from the olive-oil of the previous line. The scholia suggest cedar oil. The verb ἀλείφω means to anoint the skin with oil, after bathing or for gymnastics. Jars of honey and oil are cremated along with Patroclus in 23.170 (archaeologists have found amphorae with the dead in archaic graves, e.g. in Cyprian Salamis, where one is inscribed as containing olive oil).

Some scholars render the term as 'fat'. At 23.167–9 Patroclus' body is covered with fat in preparation for the pyre; there it is explicit that it comes from freshly slain beasts. The same substance is applied to his bones at 23.243–4, 252–3. In view of the way that animal-bones are wrapped in fat when offered to the gods in sacrifice, there is evidently a ritual aspect to this procedure. See also Andronikos 1968: 2–5, 25.

ἐννεώροιο 'nine years old'. Marinatos 1951: 131–2 has an elaborate argument that the various uses of ἐννέωρος in Homer can be elucidated by assuming an average nine-year cycle of ideal levels of rainfall, producing the most satisfactory crop. The description of Minos as ἐννέωρος ... Διὸς ... ὀαριστής ('nine-year companion of Zeus') in *Od.* 19.179 is thus explained as a reference to his regular appeal to the sky-god to provide the necessary conditions for fertile harvests.

**352** ἑανῶι λιτὶ κάλυψαν 'they covered him with soft cloth'. The accusative λῖτα and dative λιτί are found but no nominative form of this noun is attested. At 23.254 the dative is again used, referring to the cloth with which the Achaeans cover the urn containing Patroclus' ashes. But other uses indicate that cloths of this kind could be used for everyday purposes.

For further devoted attention to Patroclus' body see 19.23–39, 23.184–91.

**354–5** παννύχιοι, and Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες, reappear from line 315: not exact repetition, but still a form of ring composition (49n.) to close the scene.

### 356–368 An exchange between Zeus and Hera

Now that we have seen the situation of both Trojans and Greeks, the poet leaves the world of mortals and turns to the reaction of the Olympians. We have not seen Zeus and Hera together since book 16, when they conversed about the fate of Sarpedon. Throughout the poem so far, husband and wife have been in conflict. The immediate cause is Hera's resentment that Zeus has made a promise to Thetis to assist the Trojans, at least in the short term (she guessed as much at 1.555–9, and subsequent events have proved her right); more generally, Hera like Athena hates the Trojans and is working for their destruction, whereas Zeus declares his love for Troy at 4.44–7. This enmity is powerfully demonstrated in the divine council which opens book 4, a scene which has some similarities with the present shorter episode (two lines are repeated: 4.60–1 = 18.365–6). In that scene Zeus expresses astonishment at Hera's vicious hatred of the Trojans, and there too she emphasises her status as Zeus's wife and eldest daughter of Cronos, but without explaining the reason for her behaviour. Probably her vendetta is a consequence of the Judgement of Paris, whose choice of Aphrodite as fairest was an insult to Hera; but Paris' decision is largely suppressed in the *Iliad* (it is mentioned only at 24.25–30), perhaps to render Hera's hatred more shocking and daemonic (cf. Reinhardt 1938, with the additional remarks by Jones in Wright and Jones 1997: 18–20).

Thus Hera has a double motive for her resistance to Zeus. Now that he has effectively fulfilled his promise to Thetis, that bone of contention can

be dropped (cf. 24.101–2, where Hera shows kindness to Thetis). There remains the fact that Zeus is sympathetic to Troy (and to Hector), an attitude which will cause further tension in later scenes (22.166–87, where Athena speaks for the anti-Troy faction; 24.55–76). For the moment, however, the mood is relatively calm; Zeus comments on Hera's persistence but does not provoke her (contrast 4.5–6); she asserts her own right to persecute her enemies. The more subdued atmosphere on Olympus contrasts with the passionate reaction of Achilles and the Myrmidons to the momentous events on earth. Although briefer than most, this scene, like other divine interludes, helps us understand the gulf between god and man.

The question of Zeus's authority over the other gods, and the degree to which his will coincides with fate, has been endlessly debated (cf. Introduction pp. 15–17). Recently it has been argued that despite short-term conflicts among the gods there is an overall consensus leading to a just outcome of the war, namely the destruction of Troy; this consensus constitutes a divine plan orchestrated throughout by Zeus. This thesis (argued esp. by Allan 2006) is hard to reconcile with the present passage.

Lines 356–68 were deleted by the Hellenistic scholar Zenodorus (schol. on 356; cf. Nünlist 2009: 62, 279–80 for a detailed rebuttal). His argument is partly from Homeric narrative technique: it is abnormal to include two consecutive but *unconnected* divine episodes, whereas here we have first the present scene, then the much longer episode of Thetis' visit to Hephaestus; normally, says Zenodorus, we would expect to return to the human world after the first. It may be going too far to say that these two scenes have no connection: both portray reactions to the altered situation on earth. Zenodorus also objected to the inconsequentiality of the scene, to the fact that Zeus reproves Hera for intervening while ignoring the much more drastic actions of Athena, and to various linguistic oddities in the speeches. The first point is addressed in the earlier part of this note; the focus on Hera is explained by the persistence of her antagonism throughout the poem thus far; she and Athena operate as a pair in several scenes, and Hera is often the one who takes the lead (1.195, 5.711–19, 8.350–56). On the verbal difficulties see below, 362, 368nn.

**356 κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε:** Hera's status derives both from her parentage and from her position as Zeus's wife (cf. 4.58–61, 16.432). The point is taken up by Hera in her reply, 364–6. The brother–sister incest is permissible among the gods though forbidden among men: marital and sexual behaviour is one of the ways in which myth marks divine existence as different from human (Rudhardt 1982). In the *Odyssey*, we are told that Aeolus, king of the winds, has six daughters and six sons, all married to one another (10.5–12). This is treated as unproblematic, though Euripides

later saw the story's potential for complication and impropriety (*Aeolus*, fragments and discussion in Collard and Cropp 2008: 12–31).

**357 ἔπρηξας καὶ ἔπειτα** 'you've done it again' (lit. 'you did it then also'). Zeus refers to the sending of Iris to propel Achilles into action, but καὶ ἔπειτα ('then too') indicates that this is one instance of Hera's regular determination to get her way (cf. *Od.* 8.520 where the same phrase marks Odysseus' triumph at the sack of Troy as last in a sequence of successes won by that hero). By intervening thus, Hera has brought a premature end to Zeus's scheme to glorify Achilles, as conceived in book 1.

**358–9** lit.: 'Surely the long-haired Achaeans were sprung from you yourself', i.e. surely they must be your own children (since you take such pains to support them). Cf. 23.783, where the lesser Ajax comments that Athena always looks after Odysseus 'like a mother'. That relationship represents the most positive form of contact between god and mortal. But in this passage Hera in her reply makes no reference to her love of the Achaeans, but only to her determination to have her revenge on the Trojans, who have dishonoured her.

σεῖο = σοῦ.

**361 αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες:** a stock Iliadic line which is reserved for Hera: it occurs in five other places (including 4.25, the parallel scene mentioned above, 356–68n.), in each case introducing a protest or objection on her part. It may be punctuated either as a question ('what have you said?') or as an exclamation ('what a thing to say!'); early texts had no punctuation marks. See Kelly 2007a: 225–6 for other examples.

**362** The syntax is elliptical: the sense is 'Even a mortal man, I suppose (που), one who is mortal and has no such cunning (as I have), is likely to accomplish (his aim) against (another) man.'

Hera's argument is *a fortiori*: even a human being, far inferior to myself, wants to get revenge on his enemy; so given my own divinity and distinction, I must naturally strive all the more for the same end. As often, the analogy between man and god also suggests how utterly different they are, since Hera's power is superhuman and she herself is immune from any retaliation.

Some have found the ellipse in Hera's argument intolerable, and have resorted to emendation. Brandreth's substitution of κότον (resentment, grudge) for βροτός would provide a much-needed object for τελέσσαι, and τις would serve as the subject of the main clause ('a man is bound to satisfy a grudge').

**καὶ μέν:** Hera first asserts a general proposition ('It is true, after all, that a mortal man ...'), then in 364 treats this as justification for her own action, still more appropriate given her divinity. In *Od.* 20.45–8 (Athena

speaking) we find a very similar *a fortiori* argument introduced by this same combination of particles. See further Denniston 390.

**363** μήδεα 'schemes', 'plans', 'devices'. The emphasis is on Hera's plotting rather than on any kind of divine wisdom.

**364** πῶς introduces a question, the main clause of which comes only in 367 with οὐκ ὄφελον: 'how should I, angry as I am with the Trojans, fail to plot evils for them?' The imperfect tense of ὄφελον reflects the fact that the schemes she refers to are in the past, but in English it is perhaps more natural to use the present.

δή intensifies the force of πῶς: 'how in the world ...?'

ἀρίστη: the question who is 'best' is important on the divine plane as well as on the human (see 1.91, 243–4, 411–12; 2.82; 16. 271, 274; 23. 891).

**366** κέκλημαι 'I am called your consort'; lit. I have been called (and so now bear the title). The use of this verb rather than simply 'I am' is apt, since Hera is so much concerned with her own status in the eyes of others. Cf. 14.210 (part of her speech of deception to Zeus). In Homeric human society the leading figures are constantly alert to how others regard and speak of them: see e.g. 295n.; 1.293, 22.105–7; Cairns 1993: 50–68; Scodel 2008 passim. For καλέω in such contexts see 2.260, 9.461. In this passage we see the same attitude present in divine society: cf. Poseidon's fears at 7.446–53, *Od.* 13.128–30.

**367** ῥάψαι: aor. infinitive active of ῥάπτω, 'stitch', metaphorical for 'scheme', 'devise'; cf. the use of ὑφαίνω ('weave') of making plans or devising tricks (*Od.* 9.422, and Rutherford on 19.139–56; Clarke 1999: 252). In 15.16 Zeus refers to Hera's machinations using the abstract noun κακορραφίη ('vile scheming'). The variant reading ῥέξαι, 'act' (preferred by Zenodorus), is flat by comparison.

**368** A common closing line for a scene in both epics (Kelly 2007a: 226–8 collects the Iliadic instances). Several of the parallels show that Zenodorus was mistaken in thinking it a misuse of ἀγορεύω to apply it to dialogue between two people: see e.g. 5.274, 7.464.

*369–467 Thetis visits Hephaestus and is made welcome; she laments
her situation and requests armour for Achilles; Hephaestus promises to do
as she asks*

On Homeric scenes of hospitality (a 'typical scene', i.e. one which recurs with variations in a number of places), see Arend 1933: 34–53; Edwards 1975; Reece 1993. Most scenes of this type involve human host and guest, but for god entertaining god compare Calypso's reception of Hermes in *Od.* 5.75–96. The present scene is imitated, with ingenious variations, by

Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.36–54 (Hera and Athena visit Aphrodite to request a favour). For stock elements in 'journey and visit' scenes see Richardson 1974: 205.

This is the first appearance of Hephaestus in the poem since book 1, where he intervened to protect his mother from Zeus's rising anger and succeeded in defusing the situation. There the poet presents him as a somewhat comical figure, causing mirth among the divine company because of his stumbling gait (1.571–600). In general there is a somewhat light-hearted tone to the scenes involving him – as also in the *Odyssey*, where he is cuckolded by Ares and Aphrodite, and where, although he traps the lovers in the act, he is not altogether successful in reasserting his rights (8.266–366).

On Hephaestus as a figure of myth and cult see Burkert 1985: 167–8; Brommer 1978; on his presentation elsewhere in Homer, Halliwell 2008: 59–63 (on *Iliad* 1), and 77–86 (on *Odyssey* 8).

For visual representations of Hephaestus in Greek art see *LIMC* IV.1.627–54; in the lists there nos. 1–10 are representations of the god with the armour of Achilles (earliest example a *kanthara* signed by Nearchus, c.560–550 BC).

Pompeiian wall-paintings of Thetis, Hephaestus and the finished shield are illustrated in Schefold 1957; summary in Hardie 1985: 18–19.

West 1997: 388–9 discusses parallels with the Ugaritic craftsman god Kothar; it is possible that this god too was lame.

**370–1** The sense is complete at the end of 369; these two lines elaborate on the splendour of the god's house. That the house is on Olympus is taken for granted (142, cf. 616).

**370** ἀστερόεντα: the house shines like a star. Both epics regularly combine the adjective with οὐρανός.

ἀθανάτοισι: the dative is explained by the conjunction with μεταπρεπής: the house is conspicuous among the immortals, i.e. admired even by them; μεταπρέπω 'be eminent among' also takes a dative (e.g. 11.720).

**371** ποιήσατο: elsewhere in the poem Hephaestus is said to have constructed the houses of all the other gods as well (1.606–8; cf. 14.166–8, 338–9 on Zeus and Hera's bedchamber); he also forged the sceptre of Agamemnon (2.101) and the breastplate of Diomedes (8.195), and Hera promises Sleep that she will have him manufacture a golden throne to be her gift to him (14.238–40, using the same language that we find in 389–90 here). Even the aegis worn by Zeus and Apollo is said to be his work (15.310). Clearly, whenever an artefact of divine workmanship needs to be mentioned, it is naturally the work of Hephaestus.

Κυλλοποδίων 'Little club-foot'. κυλλός means 'bandy-legged' or 'crippled', and the ending -ίων suggests a diminutive, as usual with

potential for affectionate or contemptuous sense (cf. Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 143). In book 1 we saw Hephaestus hobbling about the hall offering nectar to his fellow deities; his ungainliness there aroused 'inextinguishable mirth' (1.597–600, with Halliwell 2008: 59–63).

**372–3** Hephaestus is hard at work. Three participles are used to describe him, emphasising his busy-ness. He works without assistance. In later poetry the Cyclopes are often represented as his helpers: strange though it seems to the reader of *Odyssey* 9, this conception of the Cyclopes as a team of industrious smiths may well be as old as the Homeric epics (in Hes. *Theog.* 139–46, they forge lightning-bolts for Zeus, but are not associated with Hephaestus). For their role as Hephaestus' subordinates see Callim. *Hymn* 3.46–85, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.7. Whether or not this concept of the Cyclopes as dutiful artisans was known to the poet, it would not suit the present scene, where Hephaestus' personal debt to Thetis calls for him to repay the debt with his own hands. (Contrast Virg. *Aen.* 8.416–53: in the more hierarchy-conscious Roman epic it is natural for Vulcan to delegate some of the work on Aeneas' armour to subordinates.)

A further difference is the location of Hephaestus' workshop as an annexe to his own home. In Callimachus, Virgil and elsewhere his forge is on the volcanic island of Lipari, off the north coast of Sicily; other texts place it on Etna or on Hephaestus' own Lemnos. The Sicilian locale no doubt developed later, as the Greeks gained more familiarity with the west.

**372** τὸν δ' εὖρ': for the expression see 3n.    ἱδρώοντα: for gods to perspire is rare but not unique: cf. 4.27 (Hera on her efforts in mustering the Achaean forces for the expedition to Troy). See further 414, where Hephaestus cleans himself up. Bremmer 2010 uses this feature as a starting point for a broader account of Hephaestus as an atypical divinity.

ἑλισσόμενον 'turning to and fro', the literal sense, provides a vivid picture, and is apt enough with twenty jobs on the go simultaneously. Others interpret metaphorically, of being 'constantly in or about a thing' (LSJ; Leaf 'Lat. *versari*'). Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1277 uses the word, at the same point in the line, to describe the frenetic activity of Aeetes.

φύσας: like 'bellows', the plural denotes a single instrument, but this is explicable if there are two handles by which it is manipulated (in English 'a pair of bellows'). The device pumps air from a nozzle to feed the flame. At 470 it is made clear that for the major task of Achilles' shield Hephaestus will employ twenty pairs at once. The related verb φυσάω ('blow') occurs at 470; at 23.218 it is applied to winds. Given the word order and line division περὶ φύσας probably belongs with ἑλισσόμενον rather than with σπεύδοντα, but it is artificial to split up the phrase too strictly: Hephaestus is turning to and fro with the bellows, but also eagerly at work with them. περί = over, about.

**373** τρίποδας: tripods made of bronze or iron were valuable objects in the Greek world of the early Iron Age and archaic period (9.407). Often they were used to support cauldrons. In the Homeric poems the Phaeacian elders each give Odysseus a tripod and a cauldron (*Od.* 13.13). Menelaus brought tripods back from Egypt, among other treasures (*Od.* 4.129). He also brought a silver wool-basket which Helen uses for her weaving: this is described as having wheels (131 τάλαρόν θ'ὑπόκυκλον, cf. 375 here), but is not of course self-propelled. Hesiod won a tripod at the games for King Amphidamas, and dedicated it to the Heliconian Muses (*Op.* 656–9). Tripods were often prizes at games: e.g. *Iliad* 11.700, 23.259, 264 (with Richardson's n.), *Scutum* 312–13. The combination tripod-plus-cauldron provided an excellent medium in which to show off wealth in metal; the more elaborate the workmanship, the more the object would impress. See further Whitley 2001: 143–4; Papalexandrou 2004; and for illustrations Wace and Stubbings 1962: 420 fig. 33; Hampe and Simon 1981: pl. 151–66 (pl. 166 is a magnificent colour illustration of a specimen from Cyprus standing 1.25 metres tall; now dated c.750: iron tripod, bronze cauldron and attachments); Snodgrass 1998: 48 fig. 20.

ἐείκοσι: twenty tripods, just as there are twenty automated bellows at work (470). This could be coincidence, twenty being a convenient round number, but it is possible that each tripod gets its own bellows.

πάντας 'in all' (cf. 7.161 ἐννέα πάντες, 'nine in all'; Cunliffe (2c)).

**374** 'he made them ... to stand', i.e. so that they would stand (once complete): for the use of the infinitive see Chantraine II.301.

**375** χρύσεα: the possessions of the gods are typically made of gold; see Macleod on 24.20; West 2007: 153–4. In prosaic reality gold would be a most impractical metal for mechanical applications such as wheels.

σφ'... ἑκάστωι πυθμένι: three independent datives: 'for them', 'on each one', 'on the base'.

ὑπό ... θῆκεν: 'tmesis'. (Some ancient sources seem to assume that ὑπόκυκλα is a single word, and the compound is found in *Od.* 4.131, but there it is clearly an adjective, whereas here we need a noun.)

**376** οἱ 'for him', 'at his bidding'.

αὐτόματοι 'of their own accord' (hence 'automatic'): cf. esp. 5.749 = 8.393, where the doors of the heavenly 'garage' open to allow Hera's horses and chariot to emerge. The word is also used in Hesiod of the earth yielding forth crops of its own accord, with no cultivation: this is a regular feature of descriptions of the Golden Age and of fantasies about the return of such paradisial conditions. These dreams of a world without work or hardship are frequent in Attic Comedy: examples in Olson 2007: B 32–5: they sometimes involve 'automatic' devices, as in Crates, *Theria* (*Wild Beasts*) fr. 16 = Olson B 32 where ladle and cookpot do the job of serving the wine and food themselves.

More specifically these ideas could be connected with particular inventors. Since δαίδαλον (400n.) and cognates are frequent in this book, and since Daedalus himself is mentioned in the course of the ecphrasis (592n.), it is particularly notable that he was himself associated with moving statues and devices. Socrates in several passages of Plato (esp. *Meno* 97d) refers to Daedalus as having manufactured mobile statues, and Aristotle mentions this tradition alongside a reference to 'the tripods of Hephaestus' (*Pol.* 1253b33–1254a1). There are parallels to the idea in comedy, of which Cratinus fr. 75 predates Plato. See Bluck 1961: 408–11; Frontisi-Ducroux 1975: 95–117; Morris 1992: ch. 8 (and further below, 417n. on Hephaestus' robots).

Wheeled metal stands are known from Cyprus as early as the twelfth century (e.g. British Museum 1946.1017.1, a four-wheeled example); and fragments of wheeled tripods have been excavated in Ithaca from the ninth or eighth centuries (Benton 1934–1935a: 53; Benton 1934–1935b: 88–9, 99). A biblical parallel is to be found in the Phoenician bronze trolleys made for King Solomon by Hiram of Tyre (I Kings 7.27–37). I Kings probably only reached its final form in the sixth century BC, but the proximity of Cyprus to Phoenician territory makes it likely that the technology moved westward at a much earlier date.

**δυσαίατ(ο):** 3rd pl. aor. middle optative from δύω, δύνω, 'enter' or 'go into'. The advantages of this mobility are not explained. In the human world tripods support cauldrons in which food may be cooked. Divine cuisine is different, but the poet may have been carried away in imaginative elaboration: the tripods might carry receptacles of nectar and ambrosia for the gods to partake of.

**ἀγῶνα** 'gathering', 'assembly' (as at 7.298), from which derives the later sense of contest, since a gathering is where contests and competitions take place.

**377 θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι:** wonder is the typical reaction to Hephaestus' miraculous creations: see further 83, 466–7, 549.

**378 οἱ δ'... τέλος** 'these indeed were finished to such an extent ...' (lit. 'had their finish'). The subject is the tripods. The οὔατα ('ears') are the handles. The passage is imitated by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.730–4 (τόσον at 731), which forms part of the ecphrasis of Jason's cloak: there the Cyclopes are toiling over the manufacture of a thunderbolt for Zeus.

**379 δαιδάλεα:** the first instance of a word which, with its cognates, seems to be thematic in this episode: see 479, 592nn., and Introduction, pp. 30–1.

**δεσμούς:** a δεσμός is anything that binds or links things together: a door-latch, a mooring-cable, or in plural chains (hence the title *Prometheus Desmōtēs*, 'Prometheus in chains'). Here it means the rivets or whatever the divine smith uses to attach the handles.

**380 ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι** 'with his intelligent understanding'. In the *Iliad* the phrase is used only of Hephaestus' workmanship (482, 1.608, 20.12); so also at *Od.* 7.92. The πραπίδες, found only in the plural, have a physical location: several wounding scenes describe a man being struck in his ἧπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων ('in his liver, under the πραπίδες'), where it is usual to render the word 'midriff' or 'diaphragm' (so LSJ) (11.579 = 13.412 = 17.349). Clearly the word also has a psychological reference, like φρένες and other terms of this kind. See Clarke 1999: 74–5, whose general argument (in his ch. 4) is that it is wrong to separate physical and mental conception in Homer's use of these terms.

**381** This line is omitted from many MSS and one papyrus, but it should probably be retained. It does not fit altogether neatly in the context (since Thetis does not at this point approach Hephaestus; rather, he will come out and greet her in due course), but this may arise from the unusual nature of this hospitality-scene, in which Thetis is welcomed by two different hosts in turn. For ὄφρα to be picked up by δέ in 382 rather than by the usual τόφρα is perhaps not impossible (for missing τόφρα Leaf cites 61 = 442 in this book, 5.788 and 9.352), but would be exceptional in Homeric usage: none of Leaf's parallels involves δέ (9.352 has οὐδέ). (Discussion: Apthorp 1980: 137–40; Edwards 1975: 62–3, and in his n. on 380–1).

**382 Χάρις:** in the *Iliad* Charis ('Grace', singular of the Charites) is the wife of Hephaestus; in the *Odyssey* he is married to Aphrodite, and has much cause for discontent at her infidelity with Ares (8.266–366). Since Aphrodite in the *Iliad* is consistently pro-Trojan, it would create a conflict of loyalties if her husband were asked to provide armour for the greatest Greek hero, so bringing Troy's doom closer. The poet prefers to avoid this complication by introducing a different consort (383 gives the audience the necessary explanation), one who can be friendly and welcoming to Thetis. Schol. A *Il.* 21.416 suggested that Hephaestus changed wives over time. Burkert 1960: 134–5 notes that the marriage of Aphrodite to Hephaestus is thinly attested outside the *Odyssey*: if the *Odyssey*-poet invented it, the problem disappears.

That Charis is invented for this scene is made likely by her generic name: in Hesiod there are three Graces and they have individual names (*Theog.* 907–9). (Hesiod in fact names one of them, Aglaie, as Hephaestus' consort, ibid. 945.) The scholia (bTA) remark that 'Grace' is appropriate because Hephaestus as a craftsman creates objects of grace and beauty.

**382 λιπαροκρήδεμνος** 'with shining veil', a unique adjective in Homer (though it does figure in other epic texts: see esp. *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 25 with Richardson's n).

**383 ὤπυιε** 'had as a wife': 3 sing. imperfect of ὀπυίω, 'marry'.

**ἀμφιγυήεις** 'crooked on both sides', a regular epithet for the lame Hephaestus but used of no other character in Homer. The translation

assumes a derivation from ἀμφί (implying 'both' + γυιόω 'to lame'). It is sometimes understood to mean 'bow-legged' (γύης means a curved piece of wood). Other suggestions are that it actually means *strong* (or skilled) in both limbs (γυῖον 'limb'), referring to the arms, not the legs; or that it signifies 'user of the double axe'. Like some other divine epithets, it is probably old enough for the poets to have been unsure of its meaning (cf. Argeiphontes). West prints it capitalised, as a proper name. (Other discussions in Pulleyn on 1.607, Hainsworth on *Od.* 8.300, *LfgrE*).

**384** ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί 'she clasped her hand tightly', a gesture of affection. Cf. 423 (Hephaestus does the same); Lateiner 1995: 57. ἔν . . . φῦ belong together (tmesis). The basic sense of the verb φύω is 'grow' (transitive or intransitive); combined with ἐν it means 'grow into' or 'attach oneself to' something, here the hand. In *Od.* 1.381 and elsewhere ὀδάξ ἐν χείλεσι φύντες means 'biting their lips' (lit. 'growing in the lips with their teeth'). Parallels like this show that 'clasped her hand', not 'touched her with her hand', is the correct rendering; χειρί is not instrumental (see Graziosi and Haubold on 6.253).

**385** τίπτε: a shortened version of τί ποτε, 'why ever'.

**385** Θέτι τανύπεπλε: the second syllable of Thetis' name must be scanned as long (as also at 407), and the final ε of τανύπεπλε must be scanned as a single long syllable in combination with the ἱκ- of ἱκάνεις (synizesis). The metrical awkwardness shows that this vocative formulation has been adapted from the nominative form. See West on Hes. *Theog.* 964.

**386** αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε: the adjectives grammatically belong to the addressee ('you'), but really describe the attitude of Charis and her husband to Thetis: 'whom we respect and care for'.

The punctuation adopted here includes these words in the question asked by Charis: the phrase is in apposition to 'you'. Alternatively we may place the question mark at the end of 385 and treat the first half of 386 as a separate comment, with the verb 'to be' understood: '(you are) one we respect and care for'. The general sense is not affected.

πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις 'before now you've not been a regular visitor'. There is a charming note of domesticity, even in this divine setting. Compare *Od.* 5.88 (Calypso to Hermes), Pl. *Rep.* 1.328c (Cephalus to Socrates, using the same verb in a genial Homeric allusion), Theocr. *Id.* 15.1–3 (the housewife Praxinoa greets her friend Gorgo). Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.52–4 imitates the passage, though without using the same verb: there, Aphrodite greets Hera and Athena, but her courtesy veils hostility.

θαμίζεις is what is called a timeless present: that is, the present tense is used to describe something which is generally the case and has been for some time (Wackernagel 2009: 202–3).

**387** ἀλλ' ἕπεο: Charis asks her question but does not wait for an answer. It is an important part of Homeric etiquette that the guest must be allowed

to sit down and be given nourishment before any practical matters are addressed (though in this scene the fetching of food is forgotten or omitted).

ξείνια θείω 'so that I may make you welcome', lit. 'put forth guest-gifts for you'. The relation of host and guest is ethically charged in Homer; indeed, Zeus in his capacity as Xeinios, lord of hospitality, can punish neglect of this relationship. See 13.624–5, *Od.* 9.271, 14.284, and my n. on *Od.* 19.185.

**389** θρόνου: a special chair for an honoured guest. This seems to be the most distinguished type of chair in the epic (see Athenaeus 5.392e–f, who tries to establish a hierarchy).

**390** The line, like 370–1, is not strictly necessary to the sense, but adds to the atmosphere of divine splendour and courteous hospitality. For δαιδαλέου see 379n.

ὑπό ... ἦεν belong together ('tmesis').

**391** κλυτοτέχνην: another stock title of Hephaestus, used already at 143.

**392** On one-line speeches see 182n.

**393** περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις: cf. 383n.

**394** μοι δεινή τε καὶ αἰδοίη θεός: stronger phrasing than Charis had used at 386. On the terminology here see Cairns 1993: 88–90.

**395** ἥ μ' ἐσάωσ'...: a digression follows explaining why Hephaestus has such a high regard for Thetis. Like many Homeric digressions, particularly in speeches, it is clearly framed by phraseology marking the beginning and end: see 405–6 αἵ μ' ἐσάωσαν.| ἦ νῦν ... On 'ring-composition' see 49n.

The way in which Thetis helped and protected Hephaestus in the past is reminiscent of the way she helped Zeus at a time of rebellion among the gods (as Achilles reminds her in 1.396–406). In both cases her past service gives her a claim on them, but in both scenes she tactfully refrains from reminding the other deity of his debt to her (Aristotle remarked on this, *NE* 4.1124b, noting that those who have received help do not relish being reminded of services done to them). In fact both stories are probably ad hoc inventions by the poet to provide her with such a claim. For such inventions see Braswell 1971, Willcock 1964 and 1977 (the contrary is maintained by Slatkin 1991: ch. 4).

με agrees with πεσόντα, as the object of ἀφίκετο ('came upon me').

**396** μητρὸς ἐμῆς: Hephaestus' mother is Hera. In Hesiod's version he has no father: Hera chose to bear a child without male assistance in resentful competition with Zeus, who had fathered Athena without need of a female to bear the child (*Theog.* 924–9, cf. fr. 343.2). Other versions regularise the childbirth by making Zeus and Hera the parents of Hephaestus (*Il.* 1.578, 14.338, *Od.* 8.312).

κυνώπιδος 'bitch that she is' (lit. 'dog-faced'). For the insult cf. 3.180 and *Od.* 4.145 (Helen on herself: cf. *Il.* 6.344, 356 κύνος), *Od.* 8.319

(Hephaestus on the unfaithful Aphrodite), 11.424, and cf. 19.91 (with my n.), West on Hes. *Op.* 67. κυνώπιδος is exceptional for Hera; a gentler alternative was to read the standard epithet βοώπιδος, 'ox-eyed' (suggested by one of the scribes of T). The god's hostility towards his mother is in marked contrast with his sympathetic concern for her at the end of book 1, where he seeks to protect her from Zeus's wrath (571–600).

That contrast is related to the difference in the reminiscences there and here. In book 1, Hephaestus was flung out of Olympus by Zeus because he attempted to defend Hera against her husband. In book 18, it is Hera who is the angry one and Hephaestus is a helpless victim, perhaps even a child. The two versions are not incompatible, but most likely the poet is employing a typical story-pattern, whereby a major divinity punishes a less powerful one in a fit of rage. Other passages confirm that conclusion, esp. 19. 126–31, where Zeus is said to have cast Ate out of Olympus in rage at being deceived; also various passages in which Zeus's power and violence are recalled or feared (as by Sleep when urged by Hera to render assistance, 14.252–62).

Other myths, not relevant to Homer's tale, described the process by which Hephaestus and Hera were reconciled and Hephaestus welcomed to Olympus: see Gantz 74–8; also West 2011a: 292–3; West 2011c.

**397 κρύψαι:** Hera certainly wanted the deformed child removed from her sight; but the implication seems to be that she wanted him dead, or at least badly hurt. The immortality of the gods is briefly ignored (see esp. 407 ζωάγρια), as at 5.388.

**χωλὸν ἐόντα:** cf. *Od.* 8.308 (Aphrodite despises Hephaestus for his lameness). For lameness as a stigma cf. Hdt. 5.92.β1, Soph. *OT* 1035. Hephaestus is surely lame from birth; the suggestion (e.g. in Willcock's n.) that his condition is the result of his fall is excluded by this very sentence. He might indeed have been lamed when hurled from Olympus by Zeus for defending his mother (1.590–4, cf. 396n.), but that episode assumes he is already mature; in any case, both passages look like ad hoc inventions (395n.).

**397–9** Another cliffhanger or 'if ... not' situation: see 165–6n.

**398 ὑπεδέξατο:** the shift to singular after a plural subject presumably indicates that the poet's (or the character's) real concern is with Thetis. For Thetis as a protectress see also 6.136, where she provides refuge to Dionysus and his nurses, who are being persecuted by the impious Lycurgus. Some of the names of the Nereids also have 'protective' implications: note esp. Dexamene, 'The one who receives' (44). The idea of hiding a deity in his infancy is paralleled in the myths of Zeus's childhood (when the Couretes hid him from his father Cronos) and of Dionysus (again in danger of persecution from Hera): see Gantz 41–3, 473–6.

κόλπωι: an ingenious play on meanings: both the recesses of the sea and the motherly bosom of Thetis welcoming the refugee are suggested. There is the same ambiguity in Latin *sinus*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.711–13, of the Nile receiving the fleet of Cleopatra returning in defeat. The use of κόλπος is paralleled in the passage of book 6 referring to the occasion when Thetis gave refuge to Dionysus (6.135–7); see also *Hom. hymn* 26.4.

**399 Εὐρυνόμη θυγάτηρ ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο:** so also in Hes. *Theog.* 358. The line interrupts the narrative and has almost the quality of a footnote; Payne Knight deleted it. But Eurynome in Hesiod is the mother of the Graces (*Theog.* 907–9) and hence Hephaestus' mother-in-law. If we accept that the *Iliad*-poet had the same family tree in mind, then it is courteous of the god to pay tribute to his mother-in-law (so schol. T). Stylistically the line is notable for the repetition of the name Eurynome from the previous line. This is normally called epanalepsis, though other terms are sometimes used. For parallel examples involving proper names see 2.849–50 (Axios), 870–1 (Nastes), 6.395–6 (Eetion); the device also occurs with half-line phrases (22.127–8 with Richardson's n., 23.641–2). Sometimes, as here, the repetition seems to have little rhetorical force; it may rather reflect the poet's fondness for sound-effects, amply illustrated elsewhere (see Edwards 55–60, Richardson 1980: 202–10). Later poets followed Homer's lead and devised still more elaborate verbal patterns (Wills 1996: 125 n. 5, 185, 360 n. 15).

ἀψορρόου 'which flows back (on itself)'; i.e. the Ocean flows in a circle around the world, so that its waters return where they started from (for a highly speculative alternative etymology see West 1997: 146–8, criticised by Kelly 2007b). Ocean is imagined as a river rather than a sea: see further 607–8n.

**400 τῆισι πάρ' εἰνάετες** 'with them for nine years'. Hera presumably threw Hephaestus out of Olympus on his birth, when she saw his physical defect (397n.). Since gods mature swiftly, Hephaestus' precociousness need not surprise us (cf. the child prodigy Hermes in the *Hom. Hymn. Hermes*, and West on Hes. *Theog.* 492).

Nine (ἐννέα) is a favourite number when a poet needs to specify a span of time, or indeed other things (so is seven). The king of Lycia entertained Bellerophon for nine days before asking for his credentials (6.174), Phoenix spent nine nights virtually imprisoned in his father's house (9.470); Patroclus makes three devastating attacks, killing nine men each time (16.785). More examples in Kelly 2007a: 261–3.

πάρ': the preposition follows the pronoun it governs, and the accent moves back to the first syllable (anastrophe): see 7n.

χάλκευον δαίδαλα πολλά 'I fashioned many a cunning work of metal'. A δαίδαλον is a work of clever craftsmanship, attractive or ingenious rather

than merely functional. χαλκεύω of course suggests bronze in particular, but a χαλκεύς is described as working with gold at *Od.* 3.432–5.

πολλά: Zenodotus and Aristophanes preferred to read πάντα, and this reading seems to be endorsed by Apollonius (*Argon.* 3.42; Rengakos 1993: 63). The same variation is found in 482. But in both places πολλά gives good sense, whereas πάντα would be pointless hyperbole (so also at 14.179; but in 5.60 πάντα is probably right, as there the poet is speaking of a craftsman's ability, not of a specific task).

**401** The line gives examples of the kind of thing Hephaestus made: probably 'pins for clothing, curling spirals, ear-rings and necklaces'. Precisely what each term refers to is to some extent guesswork. Brooches seem to have replaced pins c.600, which would be too late for the *Iliad*; hence 'pins' is the preferable rendering (Lorimer 1950: 401–4, 514). The 'spirals' (ἕλικας from ἑλίσσω) could be arm-bands, hair-bands, bracelets or the like. κάλυξ is normally used for the 'cup' of a flower, so perhaps cup- or flower-shaped earrings (Hera has a pair of these at *Il.* 14.182–3, as she beautifies herself for Zeus; compare also Penelope extracting presents from the suitors, *Od.* 18.297–8: precious pearl earrings shaped like mulberries are among those provided). ὅρμος is probably a necklace: cf. *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 88, where ὅρμοι are placed around Aphrodite's 'tender neck' (they are also prominent in her iconography). Pandora in Hesiod wears them too (*Op.* 74), and Eurymachus presents Penelope with one in the Odyssean scene already mentioned (18.295–6). It is interesting that so many of the parallels are found in scenes which prepare for seduction (Hera with Zeus, Aphrodite with Anchises; Penelope's advances to the suitors are a complex variation on this type of scene); perhaps the similarities suggest that in those early days Thetis and Eurynome were eager to look glamorous to male divinities. In any case all these are plainly intended as jewellery or decoration for his protectresses. The line is re-used verbatim at *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 163: see Faulkner's n. on that line and on 87–9, where some of the same terms appear.

**402** ἐν σπῆϊ γλαφυρῶι: the nymphs dwell in undersea caves, cf. 50, 65, 24.83, and the narrative in Virg. *Geo.* 4.333–85, where Cyrene hears the distress of her son Aristaeus and welcomes him into her underwater world. That scene echoes the Thetis–Achilles relationship but with a twist: instead of her coming to comfort him, he is brought to her.

Ὠκεανοῖο: for Ocean see 399 and 607–8nn.

**403** μορμύρων 'boiling, roaring'; cf. 5.599 (simile) and 21.325 (the angry river-god Scamander).

ἄσπετος: 165n.

**405** ἴσαν 'knew', from οἶδα, though more often this form derives from εἶμι 'I shall go'.

**406 ἢ νῦν ... ἵκει:** the ring composition which began at 395 is completed (49n.) and Hephaestus turns back to the present situation.

**τώ** 'therefore'.

**406–7 με μάλα χρεώ ... τίνειν:** χρεώ is a feminine noun for 'need'. The verb 'is' must be supplied, and the expression is followed by accusative and infinitive: 'it is absolutely necessary for me to ...' Cf. *Od.* 4.707–8.

**407 πάντα ζωιάγρια** 'full (or 'any') recompense for my life', i.e. gifts in thanks for saving his life. Cf. *Od.* 8.462 (Nausicaa delicately points out the debt Odysseus owes her). Charis promised Thetis the hospitality due to a guest, but Hephaestus' debt to her is greater than that.

**408 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν:** no δέ-clause follows, but an obviously contrasting clause does (focusing on what Hephaestus will be doing). For such cases see Denniston 379, final paragraph.

**οἱ παράθες ξεινήϊα καλά:** Charis had already assured Thetis that she would make her welcome. Hephaestus urges her to do so, and we should assume that food and drink are being provided while the god finishes his work, though this is not mentioned.

**410 ἦ** 'he spoke': a verb found in Homer only in this form (3rd sing. imperf indic.) and always at the end of a speech. The present form ἠμί is found in Attic dialogue (e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 37); the imperfect is particularly common in Plato.

**πέλωρ αἴητον:** translation disputed. Probably the phrase describes Hephaestus. 'So he spoke, and rose up, a monstrous panting (?) figure, from the anvil-block.' πελώριος means 'huge', sometimes monstrously large. The noun πέλωρ is used at *Od.* 9.428 (of the Cyclops) and 12.87 (of Scylla); also at *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 374 of Python, the snake slain by Apollo. The main problem lies in the adjective, found only here. (At 21.395 Ares insults Athena, accusing her of having θάρσος ἄητον, but this may be a different word.) According to one theory, there is a link with ἄημι 'blow', in which case the adjective here may refer to Hephaestus puffing and breathing heavily. Another view takes the word to be descended from a Mycenaean term for 'craftsman' (Palmer 1963: 339). Beekes s.v. dismisses all theories as unsatisfactory.

Some scholars prefer to take ἀνέστη as transitive and πέλωρ as accusative, and render 'So he spoke, and lifted up a huge mass of metal from the anvil-block.' But since nothing is said about what Hephaestus does with it, this seems unsatisfactory. (Lattimore's version, 'took the huge blower off from the block of the anvil', seems far-fetched; Powell's 'arose from the huge puffing anvil' is flatly impossible.)

**411 χωλεύων:** the initial position and the pause following the first word make the enjambement emphatic: 'limping as he came'. So also below at 417. The subject of the sentence, πέλωρ αἴητον, was neuter, but since the

phrase refers to Hephaestus, a shift back to the masculine is natural enough ('construction according to the sense').

ῥώοντο: 3rd pl. imperfect indicative from ῥώομαι 'speed along', 'move quickly'. The verb goes with ὑπό ('tmesis'): 'his shrivelled thighs made haste beneath him'. There is a contrast between the smith's mighty torso (410) and his spindly, deformed legs.

**412** ὅπλα 'equipment', not here armour or weapons. Similarly in the *Odyssey* the word is often used of ships' tackle, e.g. 2.390.

**413** λάρνακ' ἐς ἀργυρέην: a λάρναξ is a chest or casket. In 24.795 the word is used for a funerary urn, and in Bacchyl. 5.141 for the container in which Meleager's mother has stored the fateful log that guarantees his life. A silver tool-box may seem extravagant, but all the gods' possessions are precious and beautiful.

**414** σπόγγωι: in the *Odyssey* a sponge is used to clean surfaces before a meal, or after a bloodbath (1.111, 20.151, 22.439, 453); in Aesch. *Ag.* 1329 a wet sponge erases a drawing (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 85.2); in Ar. *Vesp.* 600 a sponge is used to clean shoes. The epithet πολύτρητος ('with many a hole') is used in three of the Odyssean lines, which makes it clear that the poet did mean the same thing we do by the word. The curious should consult Arist. *Hist. an.* 5.16.548a for more sponge-lore.

**416** The variation of pace is striking. Since Hephaestus spoke the poet has described his actions at a fairly leisured pace: 410–11 on his standing up, 412–13 on how he puts away his equipment, 414–15 on sponging himself down. Now we have three separate clauses in a single line (δέ thrice), suggesting a greater eagerness; but the repetition of the enjambed χωλεύων (417 ~ 411) reminds us of the limitations on Hephaestus' movements.

**417–21** The lame god is assisted in walking by robots of his own creation. Hephaestus is also said to have manufactured immortal watchdogs of gold and silver for the palace of Alcinous on Scherie (*Od.* 7.91–4) and ferocious bronze bulls for Aeetes of Colchis (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.230–1). Inspired or instructed by Athena, the Telchines of Rhodes manufactured miraculously moving objects in the shape of men (Pind. *Ol.* 7.50–2). Other mythical androids include Talos, the man of bronze on Crete (Soph. *Daedalus* F 160–1, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1636–88, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.26).

**417** χωλεύων: see 411n.

ῥώοντο 'attendants hastened to assist their master'. For the verb, and the separation of ὑπό, see 411n.

**419–21** ἐστι ... ἴσασιν: by his use of present tenses the poet seems to imply that these servants continue to exist and to do their work in his own time.

**419** νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν 'there is thought in their breasts': νόος/νοῦς is regularly associated with intellectual activity (though sometimes with

emotional content: cf. e.g. *Od.* 8.78 χαῖρε νόωι). It seems not to have anatomical status: noone's νόος is ever exposed by a wound. νόος can mean a plan or the result of thought; in some passages it comes close to meaning 'mind' or 'intelligence': besides the present case, see esp. *Il.* 15.80–3 (the simile describing Hera moving with the swiftness of a man's shifting thought), and *Od.* 10.240, where the companions of Odysseus have been transformed physically into pigs but we are told that νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ ('their minds remained as they had been before'). See further Jahn 1987: 46–118; Clarke 1999: 120–5.

**420** ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν: cf. Hes. *Op.* 61–4, part of the description of the manufacture of Pandora, which West (controversially) sees as the model for the present passage. There Hephaestus is given instructions to give her a human voice and strength, while Athena is told to teach her craftsmanship (ἔργα): weaving is mentioned. ἄπο governs θεῶν, as the accent on the preposition shows (anastrophe: 7n.)

**421** ὕπαιθα 'under'. Sometimes used as an adverb, here a preposition with the genitive ἄνακτος. Usually there is some implication of motion (away from under), but here it simply refers to the robots supporting Hephaestus from below.

ἔρρων 'moving': it seems to be implied that he does so with some difficulty. The basic sense of the verb is 'go', but it often has negative implications; the imperative can be used to dismiss or send someone packing: 8.164, 9.377, 23.440, 24.239, *Od.* 10.72 (cf. the colloquial ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακας 'to hell with you', Ar. *Plut.* 604). The verb can thus suggest that the journey will involve mishap or misfortune – here, simply physical difficulty.

**423–7** = 384–6, Charis's reception of Thetis: see nn. there. The repetition makes Hephaestus clasp or stroke his guest's hand (423 ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί). It is less common for a male to initiate such physical contact, but Hector does caress his wife (probably her face) at 6.485. Here the gesture presumably expresses the gratitude of Hephaestus and his intimacy with his childhood protectress.

**426–7** = 14.195–6 (Aphrodite responding to Hera's overtures). 426 is clearly necessary here, but 427 is missing from a number of papyri and manuscripts, and is plausibly deleted by West as a 'concordance interpolation'(see Introduction section 5, n. 151). For fuller discussion see Apthorp 1980: 140–1.

**427** εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστίν 'if it can be accomplished'. This must be the meaning, though the perfect participle is illogically used here and in the parallel passages (e.g. 14.196); similarly 22.219 πεφυγμένον (from φεύγω).

**429–61** On Thetis' speech, Schol. bT comment: 'He has portrayed the female character, as she does not answer his question but explains what she is upset about.' This is not entirely fair, as Thetis does make her request at 457–61, and she needs to explain the background. Certainly her

explanation is a long one, so long that editors have suggested cutting the speech drastically (444–56n.). But the recapitulation is in the Homeric style, and the emotional description of her unhappy marriage gives a fresh perspective on matters touched on only lightly by Achilles earlier (86–7).

**429** ἦ ἄρα δή τις, ὅσαι θεαί εἰσ' 'is there anyone at all, of all the goddesses that are/dwell ...?' ἄρα introduces a question. τις, ὅσαι θεαί is elliptical: τις πάσων θεῶν αἵ would have been more straightforward.

**430–1** τοσσάδ'... ὅσσ' 'as many ... as' (Cunliffe s.v. τόσος (4)). The double sigma in both words is for metrical convenience.

**432** ἐκ μέν ... **434** δ μέν: for the duplication of μέν see Denniston 384, who comments on these lines, 'here the point of view shifts, Thetis emphasising first the mortality of her consort, secondly the old age attendant on that mortality, in contrast with her other sorrows'.

μ'... ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν 'subjected me to a man': the language is that of taming or overpowering an animal (δαμάλη, δάμαλις = heifer); the poetic word δάμαρ for 'wife' shows how deeply embedded the concept is in the Greek language. For the use of this verb in sexual contexts, see 3.301 (rather different is 14.315–6, where passion subdues Zeus). For love or sex as taming/subjugating a female see esp. Hor. *Carm.* 2.5 (with Nisbet–Hubbard's commentary); *Carm.* 1.26 (based on Anacreon) uses similar metaphors more playfully. Thetis' choice of words (cf. ἔτλην, 'I endured', in the next line) conveys her bitter resentment.

In Pind. *Isthm.* 8.26–47 (cf. Aesch. (?) *PV* 755–68) Zeus marries off Thetis to a mortal having previously considered wedding her himself; he is dissuaded on learning of a prophecy that the son of Thetis will be more powerful than his father (cf. the succession-myth in Hesiod, where there is similar danger from union with the goddess Metis: *Theog.* 886–900 with West's n.). It is not clear that this tradition goes back to early epic. If it does (as argued by Slatkin 1991), there is an added reason for Thetis' resentment (though in *Iliad* 1 her relationship with Zeus seems far from hostile). See further *Homer* 116–17.

**433** Αἰακίδηι Πηλῆϊ: Peleus was son of Aeacus: for the genealogy see 21. 187–91.

**434** πολλά ... ἐθέλουσα 'very unwilling though I was'. πολλὰ μάλα belong together, the second word adding force to the first: this is a formulaic line-opening (13 x in *Il.*). The adverbial use of πολλά is parallel to 6.458 πολλὰ ἀεκαζομένη ('greatly humiliated'), 11.557 = 17.666 πολλ' ἀέκων ('very reluctant'). In view of these parallels the alternative, to take πολλὰ μάλα with ἔτλην in the preceding line ('I endured very many times') is implausible.

γήραϊ λυγρῶι: Peleus has been mentioned many times before book 18, and in four places he is referred to as 'old' (9.400, 438, 11.772, 783). At 16.14–16 Achilles remarks that if they received news of the death of

Peleus or Menoetius there would be good cause for grief. But this is the first explicit statement that Achilles' father is utterly decrepit. The poet is paving the way for book 24, where much is made of Peleus as a wholly wretched old man, living only to hear news of his son and destined never to see him again (534–42; see further *Od.* 11.494–503). For Peleus as a symbolic figure representing the misfortunes of old age, see Juv. 10.256 (but Juvenal goes on to make much more of Priam).

**435** ἀρημένος 'broken', 'stricken'. A perfect participle passive, but the verb is found only in this form (and in the *Iliad* only in this passage). It was glossed by ancient scholars with βεβλαμμένος (from βλάπτω), 'afflicted'. Its root must be the noun ἄρη, 'harm', found in 100 above.

ἄλλα δέ μοι νῦν 'now (Zeus has given) me other sorrows'. δέ contrasts with μέν in both 432 and 434 (see 432n.).

**436** δῶκε: Zeus, not Peleus, is surely the subject. For the mythical background see 432n.

γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε 'to be born and raised': a regular expression. τραφέμεν is 2nd aor. infinitive of τρέφω, regularly intransitive (passive) in this tense.

**437–43** These lines are repeated from 56–62, where Thetis was addressing the Nereids: see notes there. 441 is omitted by some MSS, although it is present at the equivalent point in the earlier passage (60). In the new context it is more awkward, since Thetis has already referred to her unhappiness with and separation from Peleus. Hence the deletion of 441 (advocated by West) is attractive. See Apthorp 1980: 142–5.

**444–56** Summary of the earlier action of the *Iliad.* These lines were deleted by Aristarchus. But Thetis' unhappiness justifies a fuller complaint. Moreover, Hephaestus does not necessarily know all that has happened. It is a mistake to suppose Homeric gods omniscient (cf. 63–4, 168): Zeus can be tricked, Hera does not know what Thetis and Zeus have discussed in book 1 (though she can make a shrewd guess). Hephaestus does not get involved in events on the Trojan plain until book 21, and indeed in book 1 disparaged these events as trivial, declaring that mortal affairs should not disturb divine feasting (574). So the recapitulation is reasonable.

For a comparable summary of recent events by a participant see Achilles' account to Thetis of the origins of the quarrel, 1.366–92 (analysed by de Jong 1985).

The narrative given by Thetis would mislead any reader who took it to be an exact summary of the *Iliad* so far: in particular, she makes it sound as if the sending out of Patroclus was a concession in response to the embassy (450–2). But precision is not her concern. (See further de Jong 1987: 216–18.)

**444 κούρην:** the girl Briseis, captured on Achilles' campaigns reducing the allies of the Trojans and allotted to him as part of the spoil. She was last seen in book 1, when Agamemnon's heralds removed her from Achilles' quarters; she is returned to him in book 19, in which she utters her only speech (287-300, a moving lament over Patroclus' body).

**445 ἐκ χειρῶν:** this of course exaggerates the degree of Agamemnon's involvement; he did not take the girl in person, but sent heralds. From sympathy with her son, Thetis makes the king's behaviour even more outrageous than it was. Achilles had given her a more accurate account in 1.391-2.

**446 τῆς ἀχέων φρένας** 'grieving for her in his heart'. The genitive after a verb expressing grief or anger (indicating the cause of that feeling) is common in Homer (Monro §147 (1): cf. 88 above, 22.272). φρένας is 'accusative of respect' (belonging with ἀχέων). The subject is now Achilles (ὅ).

**ἔφθιεν:** probably 3rd sing. imperfect indicative from φθίω, a rarer variation on φθίνω, here intransitive, 'he wasted away'. The form is found only in this line; there is disagreement about both the root form of the verb and the tense. (Some understand it as transitive with φρένας as object: 'he ravaged his heart'; a separate question is whether the tense might be aorist rather than imperfect.)

**447 ἐείλεον:** 3rd plur. imperfect indicative of εἰλέω, an alternative form of εἴλω ('hem in', 'coop up'). For the aor. infinitive ἔλσαι see 294, for the aor. passive infinitive see 286, for the pref. passive participle cf. 287.

**θύραζε:** see 29n.

**448 εἴων:** 3rd plur. imperfect indicative active from ἐάω, 'let, allow'.

**λίσσοντο γέροντες:** the reference is to the sending of the embassy to Achilles in book 9. The verb may remind the reader of the parable of the Litai ('Prayers' personified) which forms part of Phoenix's appeal (9. 502-12: λίσσομαι is used in 9.501 and 511). γέροντες seems somewhat misleading. Phoenix can undoubtedly be so described, but 'elders' seems a less apt term for Odysseus and Ajax. Perhaps the reference is to the council which dispatched the embassy (where the aged Nestor is prominent).

**449 δῶρ' ὀνόμαζον:** these were listed at 9.121-56 (repeated with minor changes at 9.262-98).

**451** 'but he put his own armour on Patroclus'. The order of words in the Greek emphasises Patroclus, in contrast with αὐτὸς μέν in the previous line. 'As for himself, he refused . . . (but Patroclus was another matter).' ὅ ('he') is Achilles. In what follows ἔσσε is 3 sing. aor. indicative of ἔννυμι, 'clothe', 'put clothes on', with double object. ἅ is the neuter accusative pl. of the possessive adjective (ὅς ἥ ὅ).

**452 ὅπασσε:** 3 sing. aor. indicative active from ὀπάζω (ὥπασε is also found). The verb means 'make over to', 'present to' or 'attach to' someone.

**453 πᾶν δ' ἦμαρ μάρναντο:** again exaggerating the events as presented in the *Iliad*. A considerable portion of the day had elapsed before Patroclus entered the battle. See 239–42n.

**περὶ Σκαιῆισι πύληισι:** see 16.712 for the mention of these gates shortly before Patroclus' demise. These gates are the focus for many of the key events of the war: Hector and Andromache say farewell there, after the encounter which is treated as their final meeting (6.393); Hector awaits Achilles there (22.6); Achilles will be fighting there when Paris and Apollo slay him (22.360); see also 6.237, 307, 9.354. σκαιός means 'left', and the name for the gates most probably means that they look to the west: cf. *Od.* 3.294 σκαιὸν ῥίον 'the west headland'.

These gates are by far the most frequently mentioned, but 'Dardanian' gates are mentioned at 5.789, 22.194–5, 413 (Aristarchus identified them with the Scaean), and Troy has many gates at 2.809 (perhaps to place it on a par with seven-gated Thebes: the Theban and Trojan wars are often seen as parallel, e.g. Hes. *Op.* 161–5).

**454** Another 'if … not' situation (165–6n.), reflecting the use of the same type of expression in the narrative proper, 16.780–3.

**ἔπραθον:** 3 plur. 'strong' aor. indicative from πέρθω, 'sack' or 'lay waste'.

**455 πολλὰ κακὰ ῥέξαντα:** Thetis' summary of Patroclus' *aristeia* is vague; she concedes that he did some damage to the Trojans, but she is not really interested in his achievements and shows no sympathy here for his death or indeed for Achilles' distress.

**457 τὰ σὰ γούναθ' ἱκάνομαι:** the verb here means 'arrive at', 'come to', but ἱκάνω is cognate with ἱκέτης 'suppliant', ἱκετεύω 'supplicate', because a suppliant is one who 'arrives' somewhere in desperate need. The reference to 'knees' activates these associations: suppliants regularly cling to the knees of their potential benefactor, since direct physical contact establishes a stronger claim (e.g. 1.500–1, 512–13; 6.45; *Od.* 22.342). If this scene is to be understood as supplication, it parallels Thetis' earlier appeal to Zeus in book 1, which was a full-blown suppliant scene. But there is no suggestion here that she abases herself or physically clutches Hephaestus' knees; nor would that suit the relaxed relationship between them. Hephaestus has already promised that he will fulfil her wish if he can. Hence this is a case of 'figurative supplication' (Gould 1973: 77). On supplication see Gould 1973 (with a catalogue of Homeric examples at 80 n. 39), Naiden 2006.

**458 υἷ' ἐμῶι ὠκυμόρωι:** the first three words as found in the manuscripts (υἱεῖ ἐμῶι ὠκυμόρωι) are metrically intractable: the line will scan only if -εῖ is short by correption and the two omegas are run together

('synizesis'). Emendations were already proposed in antiquity. The simplest remedy (adopted by Willcock) is to read υἷ' ἐμῶι ὠκυμόρωι (elision of υἷι, the shorter dative form of υἱός) and scan the phrase – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –, shortening the third syllable by correption. The whole phrase is obelised by West.

ὠκυμόρωι: Thetis characteristically dwells on this theme: see 95n.

**458 τρυφάλειαν** 'a helmet'. The poet uses several terms for helmets, most commonly κόρυς (611) and κυνέη. τρυφάλεια seems actually to be an adjective (with κόρυς understood), meaning 'with φάλοι', horns or bosses, perhaps ornamental or perhaps to hold crests. At 12.384 and elsewhere it is clear that helmets have four such φάλοι (τετραφάληρος, τετράφαλος). In view of this recurring detail it is likely that the obscure prefix τρυ- signifies 'four' (cf. τράπεζα, 'four-legged (table)'). On the design of helmets see Snodgrass 1964: ch.1. Close to the time of the *Iliad* is the Mykonos pithos, a storage jar (c.670) decorated with scenes of the sack of Troy and including Greek warriors wearing crested helmets (see *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18.1 (1963) 37–75; Van Wees 2004: 125). Somewhat later, the so-called Euphorbus plate (c. 600 BC) shows Menelaus and Hector in combat wearing helmets of the hoplite type (British Museum A749; ill. in Schefold 1966: pl. 75; Snodgrass 1964: pl. 6). On the crest, not mentioned here, see 612n.

**459 καὶ καλὰς κνημῖδας** 'beautiful greaves': Snodgrass 1964: 86–8. These protected the leg below the knee and were generally secured with laces (as holes in surviving examples suggest); in some cases bronze lacing-wire is still present (as in a Mycenaean greave from Cyprus c.1200, Snodgrass 1964: pl. 28). (Page's notion that they were specifically Greek ('you could tell a Greek by his greaves', Page 1959: 245) is refuted by the case of Paris (3.330–1), hidden away by Page in a footnote.)

**ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας** 'fitted with leg-guards', quaintly described as 'gaiters' by Lorimer 1950: 253.

**460 καὶ θώρηχ(α)** 'and a corslet', i.e. a piece of armour covering the torso: see Snodgrass 1964: 72–86, esp. fig. 4 on p. 80.

Schol. T, followed e.g. by West 2011a: 352, observes that Thetis does not request a sword to replace the one Patroclus took (16.135), and Hephaestus is nowhere said to make one. Despite this omission, Achilles has one at 19.372 and subsequently in battle. This seems to be a case of Homer 'nodding' (a notion first formulated by Horace, *Ars poetica* 358–60). However, the sword is much less important in Homeric combat than the spear.

**ὃ ... ἦν οἱ:** the whole phrase (lit. 'that which was to, i.e. belonged to, him') is collectively the object of ἀπώλεσε: 'for the one he had, his trusty companion lost'.

**461** was deleted by Düntzer, followed by West. This is a judgement of style and content, not one derived from manuscript evidence, but it is probably right. We do not really need to be reminded that Patroclus lost the armour because the Trojans slew him; the shift to a further reference to Achilles' grief is abrupt; and when the audience last saw the hero he was no longer lying on the earth, but had risen to drive off the Trojans and to lead the mourning for his comrade. A defence of this line might be that Thetis, preoccupied as ever with her son's condition, is remembering how Achilles was when she left him. But its deletion would be no great loss.

ὁ δέ: the subject of the sentence is now Achilles.

**463** μή ... μελόντων 'let not these things be a concern to you'; i.e. do not worry about all that (3rd pl. imperative; cf. 197n. for epic neglect of the principle that the verb is singular when the subject is neuter plural). The expression is also found at *Od.* 24.357 (cf. *Od.* 10.505).

**464–6** αἲ γάρ ... ὧδε ... ὡς: Hephaestus assures Thetis that he will fulfil her request and produce the armour; he only wishes he could go further, and save Achilles from his fate. αἲ γάρ introduces a wish (in the optative): 'If only I could hide him far away from ill-sounding death, as surely ... as lovely armour shall be provided for him.' Similar construction at 8.538–41, 13.825–9, 22.346–8, *Od.* 9.523–5, 21.402–3; Denniston 90–1.

**466–7** οἷα ... ἴδηται 'such as any man who may behold it, from any people, will marvel'. ἀνθρώπων πολέων, lit. 'of many men', is genitive after τις: the words are superfluous to the sense, but imply the range of potential admirers of Hephaestus' artifice.

**467** θαυμάσσεται: the 'wonder' or marvellous quality of the work is emphasised at a later stage as the forging of the shield progresses (see 549). Cf. 377n. for θαῦμα as characteristic description of Hephaestus' workmanship. We may compare 19.12–22 for the reaction of Achilles and his Myrmidons when Thetis delivers the armour. 'Wonder' is not explicitly mentioned at that point; instead we are told that the sight of the weaponry fills the rest of them with trembling fear (τρόμος), so that they cannot look at it (19.14–15; cf. Eur. *El.* 456–7); Achilles however is filled with passionate rage (16 χόλος) and delight (18 τέρπετο, 19). Contrast Aeneas' reaction on beholding the shield brought by Venus (Virg. *Aen.* 8.619 and 730 *miratur*).

### 468–477 Hephaestus begins work on fresh armour for Achilles

**469** κέλευσέ τε ἐργάζεσθαι: we have already heard that Hephaestus was manufacturing self-propelling tripods, and seen him assisted by helpful female robots. Now it appears that the bellows can move and respond to

his commands. One almost wonders why the entire work of the smith cannot be automated. That however would remove the element of art and creativity, which plays so large a part in what follows.

**470 χοάνοισιν** 'melting pots' heated by Hephaestus' furnace fire. χόανος is derived from χέω, 'pour': it can refer to anything within which metal is smelted. In a parallel passage in Hesiod (*Theog.* 863) the χόανοι have apertures (as also in Apollonius, see below), through which the bellows can be thrust and from which heat and molten metal can flow out. The present passage is imitated by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1299–1305, a simile comparing the fiery breath of the bulls harnessed by Jason to the blast from bellows at a furnace. (Jameson, cited by Edwards 209–10, prefers to render χόανοι 'funnels', channels through which the bellows can be inserted.)

**471 παντοίην** 'in all directions'; cf. 2.397, 17.56 (of the winds). (Cunliffe's suggestion 'with every desired degree of force' seems too pedantic.)

**εὔπρηστον:** the adjective only occurs here. It means 'strong-blowing', deriving from πρήθω, 'blow'.

**472–3** 'to be there to aid his eager movements at one moment and at another, as Hephaestus willed and as the work advanced'.

**472 παρέμμεναι** = παρεῖναι, with purposive sense (Monro §231, Chantraine II.301). The subject is the bellows: the automated implements are given a sense of purpose.

**σπεύδοντι:** dative sing. of the pres. participle of σπεύδω (make haste), referring to Hephaestus: hence 'in his eager movements'. This is a dative of advantage: the bellows blow (etc.) to provide assistance to him in his urgent task.

**473** 'as Hephaestus willed and as the work advanced'. The optatives in the dependent clause are needed after a 'secondary' tense, the imperfect, in the main clause (470 ἐφύσων) (Smyth §360).

**ἄνοιτο:** 3rd sing. pres. optative of ἄνυμαι ('be completed', 'reach fulfilment'). The poet is not here speaking of the accomplishment of the task as a whole but of each small stage of the process; hence the translation suggested in the previous n.

**474–5** The metals named are bronze, tin, gold and silver. Bronze is an alloy, produced by combining copper and tin, but Homer never refers to the mixing process, and seems to regard bronze as a metal on a par with the others.

Hephaestus is preparing to work with all four metals, using bronze as the base, the defensive exterior of the shield, but creating the images on the shield by inlaying the other metals. By so doing he can produce a variety of colours: silver is white, gold yellow, and alloying the metals can vary the shades. There is also a technique which produces black by mixing

powdered sulphur with lead, copper or silver: the mixture results in the alloy called niello (Gray 1954: 4). These methods go back to Mycenaean times. But the poet misunderstands the different treatment needed for the different metals (Gray 1954: 12–13). He supposes that all must be heated to a red-hot state and beaten heavily into shape with a hammer. This is true of iron but not of the other softer metals, which need to be initially melted and poured into moulds, then tapped into shape with light tools; this applies to bronze as well as to gold and silver. 'Wherever metal is worked, the poems show familiarity with the working of iron and of no other metal' (Gray 13).

Gray 1954 is a magisterial account of metal-working in Homer. See further *HE* s.v. Metals (Muhly).

**475** τιμῆντα: a contracted form of the accusative sing. of τιμήεις; the uncontracted form, τιμήεντα, is found at *Od.* 11.327.

**476** ἀκμοθέτωι μέγαν ἄκμονα: the anvil-block was mentioned already at 410 (and cf. *Od.* 8.274, again of Hephaestus' workmanship). The anvil is placed (τίθημι) upon it.

γέντο: 3rd sing. aor. indicative: 'he seized/grasped', a verb found only in Homer, who uses it only in this form.

**477** ῥαιστῆρα 'hammer', from ῥαίω, 'batter', 'smash'. πυράγρην 'tongs', 'pincers' (πῦρ + ἄγρη, cf. ἀγρέω 'take', 'seize').

### 478–608 Hephaestus forges the great shield; the designs which decorate it are described as he works on them

For general discussion of the shield, including ancient and modern interpretations, see Introduction section 4. Edwards 1991: 200–9 and Coray 2016: 192–200 provide valuable introductory essays. The following notes concentrate on detailed points. Some passages, though not especially difficult syntactically, include much unusual vocabulary because of the special subject matter; in these cases longer sections are translated than is usual in this commentary.

For a reproduction of Willcock's plan of the shield's layout, see Figure 2; other attempted reconstructions are cited in the Introduction, n. 50.

The essay 'Pyrrhus' by Philostratus the Younger, a writer of the Second Sophistic, *Imagines* 10, includes an extensive paraphrase of the ecphrasis in prose: his occasional comments are sometimes illuminating.

**479** δαιδάλλων 'adorning', 'decorating'. Cf. 400 and 482 δαίδαλα. On the etymological link with the craftsman Daedalus see 592n. In *Od.* 23.200 Odysseus uses this verb to describe his fashioning of the marital bed from a mighty tree-trunk: Odysseus, Hephaestus and Daedalus are all in their

River Okeanos

Cattle

Ploughing

City at peace

Earth, sea, sun, moon, stars

Vintage

Dance

City at war

Reaping

Sheep
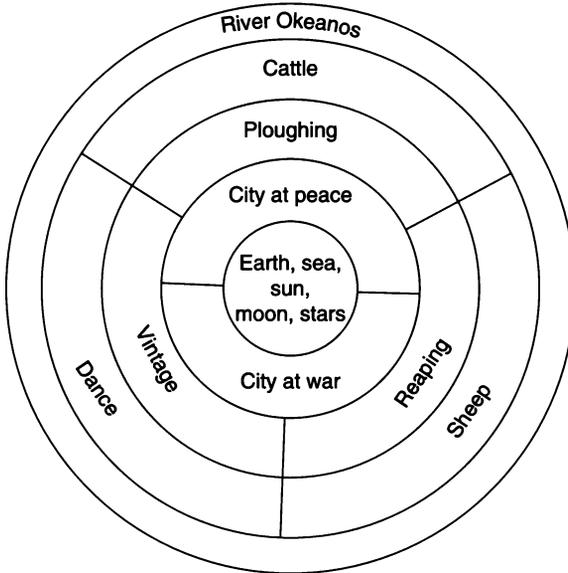
Figure 2  Possible design of the shield of Achilles (by M. M. Willcock, in vol. II of his commentary on the entire *Iliad*: Macmillan, London 1984, p. 270)

various ways cunning artisans. Frontisi-Ducroux 1975: 29–34 provides a table of formulae or phrases including words from the δαιδαλ-root used by Homer and Hesiod.

ἄντυγα: an ἄντυξ is a rim or rail: the word is more frequently used of the rail surrounding a chariot and protecting the driver from falling. For its use of a shield-rim compare 608, 6.118.

βάλλε: this should be combined with περί (see 29–30n. on tmesis): 'he set/placed around'.

**480** τρίπλακα 'triple'. Probably this means there are three decorative bands encircling the shield proper.

μαρμαρέην 'glittering'.

**481** πέντε ... πτύχες: at 7.245–8 Hector's spear penetrates the bronze surface and six further layers (πτύχας) of Ajax' shield but is stopped by the seventh. This shows that what is meant here is that Achilles' shield has five defensive layers. The question is what these layers are. Although the poet here focuses on Hephaestus' design for the exterior of the shield, other passages make clear that most Homeric shields consist of layers of oxhide with an outer layer of bronze. Oxhide is often mentioned as the defining material, and some words for shield carry this meaning: βοείη (5.452 =

12.425), δέρμα (6.117); also the adjective ταυρείη applied to shields (e.g. 13.160–1, 163).

A later passage, however, might seem to show that the layers are of different metals: in book 20, Aeneas' spear strikes Achilles' shield but does not pierce it: 'for the gold, gift of the gods, defended it' (268). There follows a modification of this statement: 'but it did drive through two layers, while three still remained, since the club-footed god had made five layers, two of bronze, two within of tin, and one of gold, in which the ashen spear was held firm' (20.269–72). These lines in book 20 are suspect: they contradict what was just said in line 268, and they present an incredible picture of Hephaestus' design, with gold as the third of five metal layers (the five being bronze, tin, gold, tin, bronze, in that order). In that case the bronze layer would be the only layer visible once the shield was complete, while the visually impressive gold would be hidden. 20. 269–72 should therefore be deleted (so Aristarchus). It is better to take the layers mentioned in 18.481 to be the leather substructure – not layers of metal as the interpolator in book 20 understood it, adapting ideas from book 7 and deriving the metals he names from 18.474–5.

**482** δαίδαλα πολλά: see 400n.    ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσιν: see 380n.

### 483–489 Prelude: the earth and the heavenly bodies

The constellations and stars are important both for celestial navigation and for calculation of the seasons of the year (see West on Hes. *Op.* 383–4, with his excursus II 'Time-reckoning'). Other named stars or constellations in Homer are Sirius, also known as the Dog-star (22.26–31: simile), Hesperos the evening star (22.317–18) and Boōtes, the ploughman (*Od.* 5.272). For later poetry on the heavenly bodies see above all Aratus, *Phaenomena*, with Kidd 1997 (esp. 12–23 on the tradition of which he forms a part, 25–6 on Homeric imitation and use of rare Homeric diction); Mynors on Virg. *Geo.* 1.204ff., 233. More generally on star names see Allen 1963.

**483** ἐν μὲν ... ἐν δ'... ἐν δέ ...: the threefold pattern gives a sense of the all-inclusiveness of the shield (and of the craftsman's vision). This amplification is suited to the opening of the description. At the start of each fresh scene in what follows a single ἐν δέ is used (exceptional is 535, where as here we find three uses of ἐν δέ, but that line is part of a suspect passage: see 535–40n.). For a quadruple ἐν δέ see 5.740–1 (part of a description of Athena's aegis, which is often regarded as a shield: see 204n.). The 'multiple anaphora' is imitated by later hexameter poets (Wills 1996: 362–71).

**484** ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα 'the tireless sun', the same phrase as used in 239, where Hera hastened the sunset. The precise expression occurs only in these two places (dative in Hes. *Theog.* 956). In 239 the adjective was pointed in contrasting the sun's continued vitality with the exhaustion of the Greeks, to whom Hera is anxious to bring respite. Here it serves rather to bring out the permanence of the heavenly bodies.

πλήθουσαν: some have felt that a crescent moon would be more readily identifiable, as on two gold signet-rings found at Mycenae (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: 207). But it seems easy to assume that the moon is the largest heavenly body depicted other than the sun, which presumably occupies a central place.

**485** τείρεα: an artificially lengthened plural of τέρας, 'marvel' or 'portent' (for τέρας of various heavenly phenomena see 4.76, 11.28 (again in the context of shield decoration), 17.548). It is one of the Homeric hapaxes that Aratus re-uses in tribute to the master (*Phaen.* 692).

τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται 'with which heaven is crowned'. Perhaps the implication is that the sun is at the centre and the other heavenly bodies surround it like a crown or garland. τά is an 'internal' accusative with a passive verb: syntactically clearer would be τείρεα πάντα ὧν στέφανον οὐρανος ἐστεφάνωται, 'all the marvellous signs with a crown of which heaven is adorned' (Schwyzer 11.80, Smyth §1748). According to schol. A[int] Hellenistic scholars found the line difficult: Zenodotus suggested changing the verb to ἐστήρικται ('the signs which heaven has fixed to it' from στηρίζω), whereas Aristarchus sought to simplify the construction, reading οὐρανὸν ἐστεφάνωκε (making τείρεα the subject: 'the signs which have surrounded heaven').

τε need not be translated, but appears often in relative clauses (Cunliffe s.v. (9)).

**486** Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε: in the *Works and Days* Hesiod mentions the Pleiades several times: their rise above the horizon marks the beginning of the harvest, their setting the start of the season for ploughing (383-4); their disappearance (in flight from Orion, he says) marks the end of the safe season for sailing (618-20). The Pleiades are also referred to in connection with Odysseus' navigation on his journey from Calypso's isle, *Od.* 5.272; Arktos and Orion, in the same context, at *Od.* 5.273, 274 (273-5 = 487-9 here). For later references see the very full n. by Kidd on Aratus *Phaen.* 254-67; he discusses the variation of name between Pleiades and Peleiades (often understood as 'doves').

The Hyades are not mentioned elsewhere in the Homeric epics, but see Hes. *Op.* 615, and Kidd on Aratus *Phaen.* 167-8, 173. Later writers counted five stars or more (sometimes seven, perhaps to match them with the Pleiades). Hes. fr. 291 gives five names. Greeks generally derived the collective name Hyades from ὕειν 'to rain' (e.g. schol. Arat. 171; hence

Virg. *Aen.* 1.744 = 3.516 *pluviasque Hyadas*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.14), but most constellations are named for their shape, not their functions or significance for the weather, so that modern scholars normally think in terms of ὗς, 'pig' (an interpretation known in antiquity but derided by Cicero: see *Nat. D.* 2.111 with Pease's n.).

τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος: for the type of expression see 117n. Most references to Orion in early epic emphasise his importance as a marker of the seasons (Hes. *Op.* 598, 609, 615). In other contexts Orion was a figure of Boeotian mythology, renowned as a hunter, a pursuit he continues even in the underworld (*Od.* 11.572–5). In Hes. *Op.* 619–20 he is conceived as a constellation, but he is still a hunter, in pursuit of the Pleiades; scholia refer to their fleeing from him and being metamorphosed into doves. See further Kidd on Aratus *Phaen.* 322–5, who comments 'The celestial Orion was then accommodated to the myth and provided with a Dog (Aratus 326–37), a Hare to hunt (ibid. 338–41), and for weapon a sword (588), later a club' (p. 303).

On Orion's mythology see Gantz 212–14, 271–3.

**486** is echoed at Eur. *Electra* 468 (part of the choral description of Achilles' shield at Aulis).

**487** (= *Od.* 5.273) Ἄρκτόν ... Ἄμαξαν: Arktos is the Great Bear, Ursa Major. See Aratus *Phaen.* 26–44 on the Bears, with Kidd's nn. Aratus expands on the double name, extending it to both Bears: 'On either side of it [the North Pole star] two Bears wheel in unison, and for that they are called the Wagons' (26–7).

It takes quite a lot of imagination to find a bear in the seven stars so named by the ancients, and it has been proposed that Arktos is a corruption of an Akkadian word for 'wagon' (this would explain the double name), perhaps taken over from the Phoenicians. (Szemerényi 1962: 190–1; West 1997: 29–31.)

For the choice of constellations singled out here, see the discussion by Phillips 1980, with the reply by Hannah 1994. Hannah, on the assumption that all the stars mentioned should be linked in significance, maintains that 'the mention of these star groups by Homer could signify just *two* specific times of the agricultural year – about our November for ploughing and sowing, and our May/June for harvesting – rather than the whole period continuously from May to November. The period between May and November also includes the time of the grape harvest in September.' Thus these introductory lines anticipate the scenes of ploughing and harvesting later in the ecphrasis.

ἐπίκλησιν: adverbial: 'by name'. The same phrase is used by Aratus *Phaen.* 36.

**488** (= *Od.* 5.274) αὐτοῦ 'in the same place', anticipating the point that Orion does not vanish.

στρέφεται 'turns', or as we might say 'orbits'.

δοκεύει 'keeps an eye on': the Bear is uneasy at the approach of Orion the mighty hunter: the same use of this verb (of a potential victim's alertness) is found in 16.313.

**489** (= *Od.* 5.275) οἴη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο: that is, the Bear never sinks below the horizon (from the viewpoint of those in northern latitudes). In fact the Great Bear is not the only constellation of which this is true, but Aristotle commented that the expression is defensible 'since "alone" means "best known"' (*Poet.* 25.1461a20–2), part of a discussion of answers to 'Homeric problems' raised by scholarly pedants. (His good sense did not deter later critics, ancient and modern, from efforts to save Homer's credit as an expert in astronomy: Crates, fr. 27 Broggiato, repunctuated οἴ· ἥ, trying to join οἴ with the preceding line, giving the sense 'keeps watch for itself', and making ἥ introduce a relative clause. But the enjambement is wildly implausible. Düntzer replaced οἴη with αἰεί, printed by Nauck.) The line is imitated by Aratus *Phaen.* 48, Virg. *Geo.* 1.246: both poets, doubtless conscious of the scholarly debate, avoid language that might suggest that the Bear(s) are a unique case.

λοετρῶν: for the idea of stars bathing in Ocean's stream cf. 5.6 (λελουμένος).

### 490–540 Scenes 1 and 2: two cities, one at peace (491–508), one at war (509–40)

For the diptych of two cities compare Hes. *Op.* 225–47 (there, a Just and Unjust city), with West's n. There are also two cities on the Hesiodic shield of Heracles (237–70, 270–85): he describes the city at war first, then the city at peace (imitation with variation). For the Greek fondness for antithetical or polarised contrasts see above all Lloyd 1966. Other examples include the Pythagorean table of opposite principles mentioned by Aristotle (*Metaph.* A.5.986a22–34, Lloyd 2), the later enthusiasm for antithetical speeches in tragedy and historiography, and the related sophistic interest in arguing both sides of a case.

**490** μερόπων: 288n.

### 491–6 Scene 1(a): a scene involving weddings

In this scene it is clear that there is more than one wedding in progress (see esp. 492 νύμφας). For representation of wedding celebrations in Homer see *Od.* 4.3–19 (double wedding of Menelaus' offspring at Sparta); at *Od.* 23.130–51 Odysseus issues instructions for a sham celebration to deceive

passing enemies. The Hesiodic *Scutum* also includes a wedding scene (272–85). See further on wedding procedures Oakley and Sinos 1993: 24–8, with generous illustrations from vases; Garland 1990: 217–25.

**491 ἐν τῆι μέν** 'in the one . . .', balanced by 509 τὴν δ' ἑτέρην πόλιν . . .

**492 ἐκ θαλάμων** must refer to the chambers of the brides at their parents' homes; the variant ἐς θαλάμους, ascribed to Zenodotus, reflects a reader's sense that the emphasis should be on their destination, the marital chamber. Either reading makes sense, but in such a case one should follow manuscript authority.

**ὕπο** 'with the help of', 'accompanied by'.

**493 ἠγίνεον:** 3rd pl. imperfect from ἀγινέω, 'lead', 'bring', 'conduct'. The subject is not stated, but must be the entourage (including the brides' relatives). The wedding procession escorted the bridal couple to the groom's house (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 26–8). Singing accompanies the procession in the marriage-celebrations at the end of Aristophanes' *Peace* (1332–59) and *Birds* (1720–43).

**πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει:** (> *Scutum* 274) an important indication of the poet's awareness of other genres of poetry: cf. 570 below (the 'Linos-song'), 1.472–4 (the paean). On later wedding-songs see West 1992: 21–2; Swift 2010: ch. 6. Sappho fr. 44 is the most notable archaic example (describing the wedding of Hector and Andromache); see also Stesich. fr. 88 Davies–Finglass (the wedding of Helen and Menelaus), Eur. *IA* 1036–79 (the wedding of Peleus and Thetis). Later and more 'literary' re-creations of the form include Theoc. *Id.* 18, Catull. 62.

**πολύς** 'loud': the word indicates the scale or intensity of the singing (cf. the formulaic πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει, 'a loud din arose', 4 x in *Il.*).

**494 ὀρχηστῆρες:** dancing accompanied all stages of the wedding procession: cf. *Od.* 4.18–19, 23.134; *Scutum* 272–3, 277, 280, 282, 284; Eur. *IA* 1040–3; Theoc. *Id.* 18.1–8; Lonsdale 1993: 206–33.

**495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε:** *auloi* are pipes (not 'flute(s)' as the word is often rendered). Players generally played two of them at once, one held in each hand (as many illustrations on vases show); hence the plural. The pipes are rare in epic, which pays much more attention to the lyre. Apart from this passage there is only 10.13 (18.606a is interpolated: see note there). For discussion see West 1992: 81–109, who thinks it likely that the aulos was a late arrival in Greece (82); Wilson 1999. For musical instruments in Homer see further 569–70n.

**βοὴν ἔχον:** with the whirling motion of the dancers and the music of pipe and lyre, the poet is already appealing to the audience's senses, making the first scene on the shield one of motion and sound: as often in ecphrasis, the description brings the scene alive, transcending

the real-life limitations of a static physical representation. This practice continues below (e.g. 527–8, 546–7, 571–2, 605–6). See further de Jong 2011.

There is more dancing elsewhere on the shield: see 590–606.

**496 θαύμαζον:** this may refer specifically to admiration of the brides. Praise and compliments to the bride are natural on such occasions and figure in wedding-songs (e.g. Sappho 103b, 108, 112.3–5; Swift 2010: 245). Alternatively the women may simply be enjoying the whole spectacle.

## *497–508 Scene 1(b): a lawsuit in progress*

In the wedding-scene, the description hardly went beyond what a real-life observer would be able to see on an actual shield presenting such a scene. Here the poet begins to allow added detail to enter the ecphrasis. There is no way to show visually the subject of the debate or the precise claims of the litigants; nor is it easy to see how the sum of money could be precisely quantified. The same technique of providing supplementary narrative continues in the next section (where schol. bT on 511a comment: ἐψύχηται ἡ γραφή ὡς καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ δηλοῦσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν; 'the picture has been animated so as to reveal even what is invisible to the observers'). For more detailed analysis of narration within the ecphrasis see Becker 1995, de Jong 2011, and other works which they cite.

The lawsuit is a much-discussed passage. The details are obscure, but I take the situation to be as follows. One man (A) has killed another (B). It appears that it is not an automatic consequence that he be punished in a certain way (whereas elsewhere in the poem a murderer generally has to go into exile: examples listed by Fenik 1974: 169). Rather, a procedure exists by which the proper penalty can be determined. It seems likely that the trial scene is intended to reach that decision (rather than this being a dispute as to whether payment has been made). The litigants are the killer (A) and another man who presumably represents the relatives of B; we may call him C. A and C have been unable to reach an agreement, and therefore appeal to a body of elders for arbitration (on the problem of the relation between these and the mention of an ἵστωρ, see 501n.). The hearing is held in public, in the *agora*, and each side is accompanied by supporters (the ἀρωγοί of 502). Heralds are present to keep order (503). Formal speeches are made by both A and C (499–500: again we see the poet's interest in oratory). The elders apparently give their views individually (506 ἀμοιβηδίς 'by turns'), rather than as a united body. On this interpretation, they will each propose an appropriate penalty, whether a sum to be paid in compensation or some harsher penalty. A payment has been set aside (507–9) to be awarded to the elder who pronounces the fairest judgement. What is not clear is who decides which

this is: is the key point that the two litigants should agree with the assess-
ment, or do the assembled people have a role? Neither process seems free
of potential difficulty, but probably we should assume the latter: popular
pressure induces the opponents to accept a fair judgement.

The relation of the episode to the main plot of the *Iliad* hereafter is
important. There too a man has been killed and recompense is due, but we
have already seen the ferocity of Achilles' determination to avenge his
friend; half-measures such as fines or exile are out of the question.
The parallel is more of a contrast than a comparison: in the main plot
the key issue is vengeance in war, and against the leader of an opposing
army. Nevertheless, how far retribution should go will be highlighted as an
issue in the later part of the poem. Already Ajax raised the subject in
connection with Achilles' earlier wrath (9.632–8): he commented that
a man will accept compensation (636 ποινήν) from the slayer of brother or
son; hence it was unreasonable of Achilles to be intransigent over a lesser
matter such as a captive woman. When Hector has been mortally
wounded, he tries to appeal to Achilles to accept gifts in exchange for
his body, but this request is violently rejected (22.340–3). (Apollo in
24.46–9 also complains of the excessive nature of Achilles' wrath (there
against Hector), but makes no reference to compensation.) There are
looser parallels with the setting of terms in preparation for the duel
between Menelaus and Paris (3.290 ~ 18.498).

A simile in book 12 (421–4) compares a battlefield encounter with an
altercation between two men in dispute over boundaries of land, but no
legal adjudication figures there. Another simile, in the *Odyssey*, refers to
a man who has been judging many conflicts among litigants in the *agora*
taking a break for his meal (*Od.* 12.439–40). It is plausible that both the
shield and the similes represent conditions closer to the poet's own
experience. Another passage which perhaps shows a less advanced form
of conflict resolution is *Il.* 23.566–85, where Menelaus is challenging the
verdict in the chariot race because of Antilochus' misbehaviour: there he
proposes that the other chieftains arbitrate on the matter, or that
Antilochus swear a solemn oath (cf. 499 in our passage) that he did not
deliberately foul Menelaus' chariot.

Discussion: Leaf, vol. II, appendix I, §§23–31; Murray 1978: 58–60;
Van Wees 1992: 34, 134, 370 n. 143. Andersen 1976 discusses the
relation of the passage to the main plot-line of the *Iliad*, as do
Westbrook 1992; Alden 2000: 55–60; Scodel 2008: 86–8. The scene is
also examined in most works on Greek law, e.g. Bonner and Smith 1930:
31–41; MacDowell 1978: ch. 1, esp. 18–21; Gagarin 1986: 26–40; see
further Lintott 1982: 13–81, on efforts to limit conflict in the early polis.
Sundahl et al. 2011: 63–71 provides a bibliography of work on epic
evidence for Greek law.

**497  εἰν ἀγορῆι:** *agora* in Homer normally means 'assembly'; here it means the place in which men gather, the city square or public space. Its physical space is clearly in question at *Od.* 6.266, where Nausicaa describes its location in the Phaeacian city. Cf. 16.387, *Od.* 12.439 (both similes). For the association of the *agora* with the gathering of the *laos* see Haubold 2000: 35 n. 90. See further Longo 2010.

**499  ἀποφθιμένου:** Zenodotus claimed that 'the majority' of editions read the more explicit ἀποκταμένου, but the evidence of the papyri goes the other way.

**499–500** On the reading of the passage adopted here, we should translate: 'one man, declaring his case to the people, sought to pay full compensation, while the other refused to accept anything'. The alternative, taking the dispute to be about the actual paying of the blood-money rather than the principle, involves translating 'one man ... claimed to have paid the whole amount, while the other denied that he had received anything'. The first rendering suits normal Homeric use of ἀναίνετο, though the second gives more of a function to the word πάντ'. Gagarin 1981: 6–10 has suggested a complicated scenario according to which the relatives of the dead man are unable to agree on the appropriate compensation, but this seems to go beyond the text, let alone any imaginable representation.

**501  ἄμφω δ' ἱέσθην** 'both men were eager' (LSJ ἵημι II.2).

**ἐπὶ ἵστορι:** an ἵστωρ is an arbitrator; cf. 23.486, where the word means 'umpire' in a dispute during the funeral games. Yet the notion of an individual arbitrator does not seem to fit with the decision being made on the basis of speeches by the elders. Conceivably the *istor* could be the president of the elders, but nothing is said to suggest that any of the judges has a special status. It is better to reject the idea of an individual with special authority, and to take the phrase as roughly equivalent to 'they were eager to settle the case by arbitration'.

**πεῖραρ ἑλέσθαι:** the simplest view is that this means 'to obtain a verdict', and so to reach a resolution. πεῖραρ, like πέρας, means an end, limit or end result (see further Bergren 1975). Others suggest 'to determine (lit. to obtain) a limit', i.e. to fix the point beyond which the penalty for the homicide is not to go (so Westbrook 1992).

**502  ἀμφοτέροισιν** goes closely with ἀρωγοί ('supporting both sides'); ἀμφίς is adverbial.

**ἐπήπυον** 'gave assent to', 'voiced their approval of' (plus dative). 3rd plur. imperfect indicative active from ἐπηπύω, a compound of ἠπύω, 'call'.

**503  ἐρήτυον:** for the restraining role of the heralds cf. 2.97, in the Achaean assembly.

**504  εἵατ'** 'they were sitting': 3rd pl. imperfect indicative of ἧμαι.

ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις: there is a similar emphasis on the council-stones of Pylos on which Nestor sits in *Od.* 3.406–8, and the same phrase is used of the seats of Alcinous and his elders in the *agora* of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.6). These stones represent the stability of a well-ordered community. ξεστοῖσι means 'polished' (not 'hewn' as in LSJ), and implies that they are anointed with fat (explicit in the parallel at *Od.* 3.406–8), probably from sacrificial victims, to mark their special importance: these are sacred stones (cf. Burkert 1985: 72; Aesch. *Eum.* 806; Theophr. *Char.* 16.5 (with Diggle's note)).

ἱερῶι: because justice and law are overseen by Zeus, who has given the 'ordinances' (θέμιστες) to rulers to uphold: see esp. 1.237–9, 2.206. This theme is much more extensively developed in Hesiod (*Theog.* 81–92; *Op.* 35–9, 225–73).

**505** σκῆπτρα: the *skēptron* is a symbol of office and authority (though it can also be used, as by Odysseus at 2.265–9, to take punitive action against those who resist that authority). Zeus has entrusted Agamemnon with 'the sceptre and laws' (9.98–9); the *basileis* of the Phaeacians are called 'sceptre-bearing princes' (*Od.* 8.41, 47). The figures with authority in this scene are surely the judges. In that case the phrase σκῆπτρα ... κηρύκων should mean that the heralds are the elders' subordinates who keep the sceptres ready for the elders' use, not that the sceptres are properly in the possession of the heralds: cf. *Od.* 2.37–8, where a herald puts the sceptre in Telemachus' hand as he is about to address the Ithacan assembly. See *HE* s.v. 'sceptre' (Kelly); also Griffin 1980: 9–12; S. West in Heubeck et al. on *Od.* 2.37; Garvie on *Od.* 8.40–1; Van Wees 1992: 276–80; Finglass on Soph. *El.* 420–1.

ἠεροφώνων 'clear-voiced' seems the best rendering, assuming the root meaning is that the voice resounds through the air. (This and other renderings are dismissed by West, *Studies* 249–50, who is attracted by the poorly attested variant ἱεροφώνων, 'of holy utterance', which would allude to the sacred status of heralds. The positive argument offered is that this would parallel an expression in Sanskrit. He does not however go as far as printing it in his text.)

**506** τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤισσον 'thereupon they dashed forward with them'.

τοῖσιν seems to refer to the staffs just mentioned. The subject of ἔχον in the previous line and of δίκαζον in this one must be the elders, and it is most natural to assume that the same is true of the verb in this clause. For the use of the dative referring to the implement or object which the bearer carries with him cf. 5.81 φασγάνωι ἀΐξας 'dashing up with his sword' (the same phrase at 10.456), 11.484 ἀΐσσων ὧι ἔγχει. Some have doubted whether such rapid movement suits the dignity of the judges, but the following alternative renderings are not persuasive. (1) 'They [the heralds] sped to their side' (i.e. they brought the sceptres to the judges). But

the heralds are subordinate figures, and emphasis on their activity is distracting. (2) 'They [the litigants] hastened to them' [the judges].' This can hardly mean that they are hurrying to the *agora*, since we have already been told of their disputation there. Hence some assume that both verbs in line 506 have the litigants as the subject: (3) 'The two men rushed before these [sc. the judges], and took turns speaking their cases' (Lattimore). This involves an unacceptable interpretation of δίκαζον, which means 'judged', not 'pleaded their cases' (which would require the middle δικάζοντο).

ἔπειτα here seems to have little temporal force: compare Leaf's comment on 13.586, that the word 'merely brings the new sentence into immediate connexion with what precedes, without having as usual the full sense μετὰ ταῦτα'.

ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον: each elder gives his view in turn: for the situation see 497–508n. above. ἀμοιβηδίς occurs also at *Od.* 18.310; cf. *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 326. Cf. later 'amoebaean' (turn-and-turn about) singing in pastoral poetry (e.g. Theocr. *Id.* 1.34, 8.30–2).

**507** τάλαντα: in Homer's pre-monetary economy, a talent is a unit of weight (cf. the English 'pound'). But the same weight will be of different value where different metals are involved. When the poet is explicit, a talent is always of gold. What then is the value of the amount? The clearest guidance is given by the list of prizes in the chariot race at the games for Patroclus (23.262–70). There the first prize is a skilled female slave and a tripod, the second a horse and a mule, the third a cauldron, and the fourth prize is two talents of gold. Elsewhere considerably larger sums are mentioned: ten talents form a small part of the catalogue of gifts offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, and Priam provides the same amount as part of the ransom for Hector (9.122, 24.232: gold is specified in both places). This suggests that two talents is not a large enough sum to represent the blood-price. Rather, it is a sum deposited (presumably one talent from each litigant) pending the judgement and to be made over, as argued above, to the judge who succeeds in resolving the conflict by proposing an acceptable settlement (Philostr. Iun. *Imag.* 10.8 expresses uncertainty about the reward but prefers the view that it is meant for the judges).

**508** ἰθύντατα: superlative adverb, 'most straightly', i.e. most fairly. Justice should be 'straight', not 'crooked' (σκολιός): cf. 23.580, *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 152, Hes. *Op.* 36; for 'crooked' see 16.386–8 (simile: Zeus is enraged by men who pass crooked judgements in the *agora*, and sends storms as punishment). It has been suggested that the metaphor originally derives from boundary-division: a 'crooked' boundary would be one that gave unjust advantage to one landowner by encroaching on another's land. See West on Hes. *Theog.* 85–6, *Op.* 35–6, 250–69; Finglass on Soph. *OT* 851–4.

509–540 *Scene 2: a city at war*

The poet now makes clear that the shield does not just present idyllic or peaceful conditions (see also 579–86 on the attack of marauding lions). Nevertheless, the warfare here seems less ruthless and more everyday than the conflict in the main narrative, certainly than the fighting which we witness in the books that follow. Here too there are analogies and contrasts with the situation at Troy. The possibility of a settlement which will avoid destruction of the city still exists (510–12; cf. 512n.); the fighting can involve surprise attacks or ambushes, which the *Iliad* does not favour (513n.), yet there is no suspicion of trickery (526); the two armies seem to move around quite freely, perhaps even making use of a common watering-place (521); the besiegers enjoy musical accompaniment as they march (526).

For similes referring to the siege of a city see 207–13, 219–21 above. For siege-scenes in Greek art see 207–13n. and Figure 3.

If it is correct to see the warfare on the shield as a milder or more conventional style of conflict than the war dramatised in the *Iliad*, that supports the deletion of the macabre lines 535–8: see n. there.



Figure 3 Fragment of Phoenician silver dish from Amathus (southern Cyprus), c.750–600 BC. The decorations, arranged in concentric circles, show a variety of scenes comparable with the illustrations on Achilles' shield: see esp. the siege of a city on the outer ring. (British Museum, BM 123053)

**509 δύω στρατοί:** most easily understood as the army of the besiegers and that of the besieged. It has been suggested that the poet meant two separate camps of the besieging forces (or, alternatively, that he has misinterpreted a visual representation of two such camps). But if women and old men are left defending the walls (514), there must be a substantial force in the field. In [Hes.] *Scutum* 237–70 it is made clear that the two armies are of the opposing sides.

**εἵατο** 'were sitting' (504n.).

**510–12** 'they were divided in their preferences, whether to sack (the town) or divide everything two ways, all the property that the lovely citadel contained within it'. 'They' must be the besiegers: the decision is between a full-scale assault (with risk of much loss of life) and reaching an agreement with the inhabitants of the town whereby they surrender half of their possessions and the attackers go away and leave them the rest. For a parallel in the main plot for such a surrender, cf. Hector's hypothetical proposal at 22.117–21 (also Antenor in 7.348–53). In later texts cities are quite often represented as paying off their besiegers in the hope that once paid they will withdraw: see e.g. Hdt. 9.87, Livy 5.48 (Rome and the Gauls).

**510 τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι:** here there is a blurring of the scene represented and the medium of representation. The armour and weapons of real-life warriors would indeed gleam in the light, but so would the metal which Hephaestus uses to create miniature images of such warriors on the shield.

**δίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή** 'they were divided in their preferences', lit. 'two ways did their resolve please them'. This is a regular epic locution to describe a division of opinion: cf. *Od.* 3.150 (disagreement among the Greek forces); 8.506–10 (Demodocus' third song), where the Trojans debate how to deal with the wooden horse left behind by the Greeks: in the latter passage three different options are considered (τρίχα). Again the description goes beyond what it is visually possible to portray: cf. schol. bT on this passage, cited in 497–508n. above.

**511 ἄνδιχα** = ἀνα + δίχα 'in two portions'.

**512** is almost identical to 22.121, where Hector contemplates making such an offer to the advancing Achilles, before recognising the bitter truth that his enemy will not be open to negotiations (but 22.121 is absent from four papyri and a good many manuscripts, and editors commonly regard it as interpolated from our passage).

**513 οἱ δ(έ):** change of subject: this sentence must refer to the army of the besieged side.

**οὔ πω πείθοντο** 'they were not yet persuaded', i.e. they were unwilling to accept such punitive terms.

**λόχωι δ' ὑπεθωρήσσοντο** 'and were secretly girding themselves for an ambush'.

λόχωι: the *Iliad* with its heroic conception of open warfare and face-to-face combat has little interest in the ambush as a tactic: the main exception is book 10, the nocturnal spying expedition (see esp. 344–6, 349–64; Dué and Ebbott 2010). There are a few passing references elsewhere (e.g. 1.227, 13.276–8), and the word λόχος is used with reference to Paris' surprise shot at Diomedes (11.379). The *Odyssey* unsurprisingly has more time for surprise attacks: see especially the hero's extended story to Eumaeus about a night raid (14.462–506; the term is used at 469). Pritchett 1971–1991: II.156–89 collects material on ambushes and surprise attacks in Greek history.

The verb ὑποθωρήσσομαι appears only here and in ancient scholarship commenting on this passage. The ὑπο- prefix probably adds a note of surreptitiousness and trickery: cf. ὑποκλοπέομαι ('conceal myself') in *Od.* 22.382, ὑπομνάομαι (roughly, 'woo illegitimately', because the husband is still alive) in *Od.* 22.38. See also Finglass on Soph *El.* 297, *OT* 386.

**514 μέν:** balanced by 516 οἳ δ' ἴσαν. The contrast is between the non-combatants and the warrior males in their prime.

**514–15** For defence of the city by inhabitants on the walls cf. 6.433–7, Thuc. 2.4.2, 3.74.1, Aen. Tact. 40.4, Plut. *Mor.* 245c, Van Wees 2004: 144 n. 41, Horsfall on Virg. *Aen.* 11.475; for non-combatants watching the conflict, 22.25–91, 405–36, 460–515, *Scutum* 242–8, Nisbet–Rudd on Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.6–8. Nine walled cities are mentioned in the course of the *Iliad* (Scully 1990: 41–53). Walled cities in Homer were once thought to be reminiscences of the great fortifications of the Mycenaean age, but fresh work on the rise of the polis combined with a tendency to date the Homeric epics c.700 or even later has made them look more like an echo of the poet's own age (cf. esp. *Od.* 6.10, 262–3). On defensive walls and the urban polis see Hansen 2006: 95–6; Frederiksen 2011 (esp. 27–8, 34–5, 38–9).

**τεῖχος … ῥύατ'** 'were defending the wall': ῥύατο is 3rd pl. imperfect of ῥύομαι (the verb is cognate with ἐρύω, but Homer often drops the initial syllable and uses only the middle forms).

**515 μετά:** adverbial: 'among them'. Understand 'were'.

**516 οἳ δ' ἴσαν** 'but the others (the fighting men) went forth'.    Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη: only here in the description of the shield are representations of the gods mentioned (on the interpolation of the passage on Eris and other entities see 535–8n.). In the narrative of the *Iliad* Ares and Athena are generally at odds (esp. in books 5 and 21), so that this is another point of contrast between the shield and the main body of the poem.

**517–19** For the first time in the ecphrasis, the poet reminds us that the scenes described are merely images, representations on a work of art. This

again occurs at 539, 548–9, 562, 563–5, 574, 577–8, and perhaps at 598 (see n. there).

**517 ἔσθην** 'they were clad in', 3 dual pluperfect middle indicative of ἔννυμι 'clothe, put clothes on'.

**518 μεγάλω:** for gods in epic as larger than human beings see 21.407; Virg. *Aen.* 2.591–2 (Venus) *confessa deam qualisque uideri / caelicolis et quanta solet.* The convention in classical iconography in scenes combining gods and mortals is to make mortals smaller (e.g. worshippers on votives: for an example from the fourth century see *LIMC* II 'Artemis', no. 974 = *CAH Plates to Volumes V and VI* (1994) no. 151). This line and the next seem to anticipate that convention.

**ὥς τε θεώ περ** 'being gods', 'as one would expect, gods as they were': cf. 3.381 = 20.444 ῥεῖα μάλα ὥς τε θεός, 'very easily, being a god'. ὥς τε and ὡς εἴ τε often appear in comparisons; this is related to the use of τε in generalisations, since comparisons are often generic. This line does not exactly involve a comparison (Ares and Apollo are not like gods, they *are* gods); but it does connect these specific representations of gods with what one might expect of gods generally. Cf. Denniston 522, Ruijgh 1971: 575–6.

**519 λαοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὀλίζονες ἦσαν** 'the armies below them were smaller than they were'. Only here in Homer does ὀλίζων occur. It is a comparative form of ὀλίγος (compare μείζων as comp. of μέγας; for the shift g > z see Sihler 1995: 362). The statement that the gods were portrayed as larger than the mortals seems to imply more than the usual assumption that deities are tall and shapely (for the supernatural stature of gods in epiphany see last n.; Richardson on *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 188–90). Perhaps the stress on this point is another indication that the figures on the shield belong to a non-heroic world (Introduction, pp. 25–6). The *Iliad* commonly remarks on the inferiority of 'men on the earth today' to the race of heroes (5.303–4, 12.447–9, 20.285–7), and Nestor emphasises that the younger heroes are inferior to those whom he encountered in his youth (1.260–72). In that passage he mentions strength, but height may also be implied. (Many texts print ὑπολίζονες as a single word, but to divide it is preferable, as the compounded form is not used elsewhere, whereas the uncompounded is attested, and indeed occurs at 2.717 as a place-name.)

**520 ὅθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι** 'where it seemed best for them to lay an ambush'. The verb is 3 sing. imperfect indicative of εἴκω, more common in the perfect ἔοικα. The basic sense is 'seem', and impersonally 'seem fit'.

**521 τ(ε):** the epic use of τε for generalised situations or statements: in this case, the place where the besiegers regularly watered the livestock (Denniston 522).

**ἀρδμός:** a watering-place for cattle (cf. ἄρδω, 'I water'). The besieging forces have acquired livestock which would presumably have been the

property of the locals and which they have had to abandon outside the walls. Cf. Sophocles' *Ajax*, in which the hero in his madness slaughters cattle and oxen together with the Greek herdsmen in charge of them (25–7).

**522** εἰλυμένοι 'clothed': present participle passive (nom. pl.) of εἰλύω, 'cover up', 'wrap up', 'cover in'.

**523** ἔπειτ(α): here in a logical, not a temporal sense (cf. 16.668, *Od.* 9.116, LSJ II.2), introducing a fresh point or a new aspect of an episode.

εἵατο 'sat', or 'took up position' (cf. 504, 509).

λαῶν: genitive after σκοποί, 'the people's scouts' (cf. 509 δύω στρατοὶ ... λαῶν, 'two armies of peoples').

**524** δέγμενοι ὁππότε μῆλα ἰδοίατο 'waiting for the moment when they spotted the herds'. δέγμενοι is nominative pl. perf. participle from δέχομαι. For the use of this verb in the sense 'wait in expectation' cf. 2.794, 9.191 (in both cases followed, as here, by ὁπ(π)ότε); elsewhere it sometimes takes a direct accusative. The sense 'wait for' seems to be confined to the perfect and pluperfect. The optative ἰδοίατο (after the imperfect εἵατο in the main clause) indicates the uncertainty of the event anticipated. For the construction cf. 7.415, 9.191, Monro §308 (2).

**525** οἱ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο: 'they' are the animals being driven by the herdsmen.

τάχα here means 'soon'.

δύω δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο νομῆες: for cowherds accompanying the cattle cf. 577, *Hom. Hymn. Herm.* 209, *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 78.

**526** τερπόμενοι σύριγξι: bucolic piping, the characteristic pastime of herdsmen in literature. The syrinx or reed-pipe is closely associated with both Pan and the bucolic poetry over which he presides (Hunter on Theoc. *Id.* 1.1, 3, 14).

οὔ τι 'not at all'; τι is adverbial ('in any respect').

**527** οἱ μέν: the ambushers.

τὰ προϊδόντες: the object is vaguely defined but presumably means the herds (despite the masculine used in 525).

**528** τάμνοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας 'they cut off the herds of oxen ... on both sides'. The sense of the verb is confirmed by *Od.* 11.402 βοῦς περιταμνόμενον ἠδ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά, *Hom. Hymn. Herm.* 74 πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους. Random slaughter of the animals would be wasteful, and the poet distinguishes what is done with them from the killing of the herdsmen. ἀμφί, like περι- in the line from the *Odyssey*, suggests that the ambushing force is attacking from both sides.

**529** ἐπί: adverbial, 'in addition'.

**530** οἱ δ(έ) 'But the rest (of the besieging army)'.

ὡς οὖν: the same combination at 222: see n. there.

**531 εἰράων:** genitive pl. after προπάροιθε; from εἴρη, a rare word of uncertain meaning and spelling (probably to be restored at Hes. *Theog.* 804; see West ad loc.). If it is rightly connected with *εἴρω 'speak, tell' (as by the scholia (AD and schol. min.), Eustath. *Il.* 1160.32–39, and ancient etymologists), it presumably means 'place where speaking takes place', i.e. assembly or gathering-space.

**531-2 ἐφ' ἵππων | βάντες:** at first sight this looks like a reference to riding, an anachronism normally confined to similes (see esp. 15.679–84 with Janko's n.); the fact that Odysseus and Diomedes ride horses in the *Doloneia* is one of the eccentric features of that book. This might be thought acceptable for the shield, given the extensive similarities between the world portrayed here and that of the similes. However, ἵπποι commonly refers to the combination of horses and chariots, or even solely to the chariot; for ἐφ' ἵππων in the sense 'on (our) chariot' see 5.249, 12.82, 24.356.

**533 ἐμάχοντο μάχην:** cognate accusative. For combinations of this kind see 245n. and Fehling's book cited there. The same phrase occurs at *Od.* 9.54.

**534 ἐγχείῃσιν:** ἐγχείη and ἔγχος both mean 'spear', being convenient alternatives used in different metrical contexts.

**535-8** These lines, though present in all manuscripts, must be considered an interpolation (as first seen by Düntzer); 539–40 are also suspect, but defensible. 535–8 appear in almost identical form as [Hes.] *Scutum* 156–9. The main argument against their inclusion here is that they are ill suited to the spirit of the *Iliad* in general and this context in particular. (a) Throughout the description of the shield the poet seems concerned to create a vision of normal human existence, removed from the extreme conditions of the narrative. Even when misfortune strikes, as in warfare or the attack of lions, it is on a less grandiose scale than in the main plot of the *Iliad.* Here however the description becomes *more* macabre and horrible than in the narrative: these personified beings not only offer support to the human fighters but participate visibly and physically (dragging away corpses) in a way that even the Olympians do not do in the *Iliad.* Homer's gods normally work through mortal agents; only once, exceptionally, is Ares referred to as having killed and begun to strip a man of his armour (5.842–9). The present passage goes much further than this, introducing the bizarre notion that the Ker might drag off victims who are still alive and even unwounded (536). (b) The poet has already said that one army was accompanied by Ares and Athena, though we are not told that the mortal force is aware of this, nor do the gods play any part in the action. It would be unparalleled in the *Iliad* if these two gods abstained from battle while personified entities such as Eris did play an active part. (c) The use of ἐν δέ in 535 is anomalous (so is the repetition of the expression, cf. 483n.).

Elsewhere in the ecphrasis this expression consistently introduces a statement of what Hephaestus next puts on the shield, but here it merely adds that other characters were present in the scene already described (cf. Solmsen 1965: 3). By contrast the usage here is regular in the description of Heracles' shield in the poem on that subject by [Hesiod]. (d) The lines are more at home in other ways in the Hesiodic *Scutum*: that poet cultivates the macabre and makes considerable use of deified abstractions. The *Scutum* is certainly much later than the *Iliad* (Janko 1986 argues for a date c.570; cf. Cook 1937): if the passage was composed for the *Scutum*, it must be an interpolation in the *Iliad*. Solmsen, however, argues that it is interpolated in both (partly because both Eris and Keres appear in other passages of the description of Heracles' shield), and this may well be correct. (e) A further point, which would have little weight in itself, can support the previous arguments: without demanding arithmetical exactness, we would expect the poet's treatment of the two cities to be of roughly equal length. As they appear in the manuscripts the city at peace occupies nineteen lines, the city at war thirty-two. The removal of the four (or six) suspect lines would at least reduce the disproportion.

The opposite view, that the lines should remain in the text, is maintained by Erbse 1986: 28; Clarke 1999: 234; Alden 2000: 61–2 n. 33.

**535 ἐν δ' Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ὁμίλεον:** Eris appears as a personified entity at 4.440 alongside Deimos and Phobos ('Fear and Rout') in the entourage of Ares and Athena; see also 5.518, 20.48. Kudoimos (whose name means 'hubbub' or 'din (of battle)', figures at 5.593 (where he is led into battle by another martial deity, Enyo); he reappears as a slave of Polemos ('War') in Ar. *Pax* 255–88. Eris is also despatched to earth by Zeus at the beginning of the great day of battle (11.3) and is described as looking on and rejoicing in the combat (11.73).

**ὁμίλεον** 'engaged with them'. [Hes.] *Scutum* 156 has ἐθύνεον, 'raged'; the change in our passage seems intended to link the lines with 539–40, where ὡμίλευν occurs.

**ὀλοὴ Κήρ:** see *Scutum* 248–57 for an extended description of the Keres. The poet who composed that passage was concerned to make these frightful beings as horrific as possible: they are 'terrible of face, gruesome, blood-red, unapproachable' (250); they gnash their teeth, they are eager to drink human blood, they grip their victims with huge black claws; they are accompanied by the Fates and by the loathsome figure of Ἀχλύς ('Darkness'), whose description was singled out by 'Longinus' as particularly repulsive (264–70: 'Long.' *de subl.* 9.5). (*Scutum* 248–57 is the main treatment of the Keres. The argument for deletion of *Scutum* 156–60, the lines which correspond to our passage, rests partly on the assumption that the poet would not have included a shorter reference to a specific Ker

before the full-scale description of these beings as a group.) See also Vermeule 1979: 39–40 with n. 68.

**536-7** The description strongly suggests that the Ker has at least three arms, since otherwise she could hardly pull away three men simulta-neously. This monstrous picture reminds us of multi-limbed beings such as Geryon or the Hundred-handed Giants. The *Iliad*-poet knows of such creatures but as narrator normally avoids referring to them (Achilles does mention a single hundred-handed giant at 1.402): they do not suit his strongly anthropomorphic vision of the gods. (In the *Scutum* the Keres are said to have great claws, 254.)

ἄλλον ... ἄλλον ... | ἄλλον: for the triple anaphora, cf. 13.730–2, *Od.* 22.257–9 = 274–6; fivefold anaphora at *Il.* 7.473–5.

**537** κατὰ μόθον: see 159n.

**538** δαφοινεόν 'blood-red'. δαφοινεός is a colour term (cf. φοῖνιξ, φοινικόεις, 'red' or 'purple'; φοινικοπάρηιος, 'red-prowed', of ships), but it is clear that poets connected it with the root φον- ('slaughter'); cf. 16.159 αἵματι φοινόν ..., 162 φόνον αἵματος, where there seems to be a kind of word-play between the two terms. So the Ker's mantle may be red to begin with, but also stained with the blood of her victims. The same adjective is used of the Keres at *Scutum* 250.

**539-40** These two lines, which do not appear in the *Scutum*, should be retained in the text. As the text is transmitted (i.e. with 535–8 present) we might expect the subject of ὡμίλευν ('they engaged in battle') to be the daemonic figures described in 535–8, but if those lines are removed, the subject can be the warring mortals; the three lines 534, 539, 540 then each describe a stage in the conflict: initial skirmishing, full-on combat, and recovery of the dead. (Solmsen 1965 argued that 539–40 must be ejected along with 535–8, but Lynn-George 1978 deletes 535–8 while defending 539–40.) As things stand ὡμίλευν might seem to pick up 535 ὁμίλεον, but if we accept that 535–8 has been interpolated from the *Scutum*, that verb appears to have been altered from the source's ἐθύνεον, 'raged' in order to provide a link with this line: see 535n.

**539** ὥς τε ζωοί: it is a commonplace in ecphrasis to stress how lifelike the figures are: cf. *Od.* 19.229–31, Hes. *Theog.* 584, *Scutum* 189, Virg. *Aen.* 5.254 *anhelanti similis*, 8.649, Zanker 1987: 43–50; parodied at Petr. 52.1 *et pueri mortui iacent sic ut vivere putes*. The use of ὥς τε here 'just like' is distinct from that in 518.

*541–549 Scene 3: ploughmen at work*

This is the first of a sequence of rural scenes. Ploughing, reaping and harvesting of grapes are certainly appropriate to different stages in the year, and for this reason critics have tried to align them with the

seasons. The difficulty is that the concept of seasons is fluid. Homer and Hesiod regularly refer to spring, summer and winter, but in two Odyssean passages (12.76, 14.384) a distinction is made between θέρος (high summer) and ὀπώρη, which is late summer rather than autumn (though in later usage the term is elastic). It is not clear that 573–86 (Scene 6) represents winter (so e.g. Alden in *HE* 'Shield'), though Taplin 1980: 9 suggests that the cattle are kept in the midden-yard (575) during the winter months. A four-season division is first attested in Alcman *PMGF* 20, where it may be a novelty. On the whole it is better to see the rural scenes as providing separate vignettes of agricultural life, rather than connecting them with the seasons (see further Richardson on *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 399ff.).

The most relevant ancient text on the agricultural year is Hesiod's *Works and Days* 381–617, which likewise begins with ploughing: see esp. 458–92 on ploughing; 571–81, 597–602 on winnowing (a stage not mentioned in the ecphrasis though found in similes); 609–17 on the grape-harvest. The nature of Hesiod's moralising and didactic project means that he lays greater emphasis on the necessity of hard labour (382) and on times of year suitable for various tasks (383–7, 564–9, 598, 609–17). There is much more on the back-breaking labour involved (though even Hesiod paints an idyllic picture of the summer day when it is too hot to work: 582–96). The shield ignores the rigours of winter: contrast Hesiod's extended description at 504–63, mentioning hard frost, stormy weather, short days, snow, and the need for warm clothing. This might suggest that Homer (at least on the shield) paints a more idyllic vision of rural life than the down-to-earth Hesiod, but the comparison is complex. Hesiod makes the audience feel for and with the man doing the work, yet he himself, or his ideal addressee, owns slaves and hires temporary labour (*Op.* 441–7, 469–71, 602–3); Homer presents things from the distant perspective of the god – also, perhaps, through the eyes of the landowner (as is explicit with the king of line 556) who organises the labour of others, takes pleasure in their work and reaps the rewards (whereas Hesiod appears to be an independent farmer). Thus there is an ideological slant to the passage, in support of the (supposedly) benign rule of aristocrats.

For a reconstruction of the farmer's year see the valuable table in West's edition of Hesiod, *Works and Days*, pp. 252–3; Osborne 1987: 15 has a comparable table with other details.

Otherwise, the descriptions on the shield find their closest parallels in similes: for ploughing in similes see 10.351–4, 13.703–8, *Od.* 13.31–5.

On agriculture in Homer see Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings 1962: 523–30; D. W. Tandy, *HE* s.v. In the *Odyssey* we hear of slaves busy with the grinding of corn by hand at night (20.107–9, cf. 7.103–4), a telling contrast with the agricultural workers on the shield, evidently free labourers rewarded for their work (550n.). As for storage of the harvest,

granaries are not mentioned in epic but figure often in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (e.g. 301).

The sequence ploughing, reaping, grape-picking is imitated in the Hesiodic *Scutum* (285–99); there the scenes are not clearly distinguished, and grape-treading is added.

**541** ἐν δ' ἐτίθει: this phrase opens scenes 3, 4 and 5, an indication that they form a series (and probably that they are to be envisaged as grouped together on the shield, perhaps in a single band or ring). An unanswerable question is whether the poet thought of the scenes as linked also in the sense of forming part of a single landowner's large and diversified estate. The second scene describes a royal τέμενος (550n.) and the βασιλεύς mentioned in 556 is overseeing the work of the reapers, but his possessions might also embrace the vineyard and indeed the livestock of scene 7.

**541–2** 'On it he set a fallow field, soft, rich ploughland, broad, thrice-ploughed' (cf. *Od.* 5.127, Hes. *Theog.* 971, *Op.* 463). There are two nouns here, νειός and ἄρουρα, the second being apparently in apposition to the first. ἄρουραν is framed by four separate adjectives in asyndeton; cf. 611–12 for four, 561–2 for three qualifying phrases.

**νειόν** is cognate with νέος ('new' or 'fresh'), and indeed the noun is sometimes spelt without the 'i'. Greeks and Romans were well aware of the need to allow land to lie fallow: the principle is first stated at Hes. *Op.* 463–4, and Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 4.8.1 advises giving time to allow the field to be 'renewed'. See further Virg. *Geo.* 1.71–83; Isager and Skydsgard 1992: 20–6 and ch. 6; Horden and Purcell 2000: 574.

**τρίπολον** 'thrice-ploughed'; cf. πολέω, 'plough', in Hes. *Op.* 462. In the same passage Hesiod recommends triple ploughing, as do many later authors: cereals were normally sown in alternate years, and the ploughing is to be done in the fallow year, as often as possible (the process aerates the topsoil). The triple ploughing may have some ritual significance. The name of the agricultural hero Triptolemus is perhaps to be connected with the idea (cf. *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 153 with Richardson's n., 474). Theophrastus later recommended four ploughings (*Caus. pl.* 3.20.8). See further Pomeroy 1994: 324–9.

**542–6** 'Many ploughmen were busy there, driving their yoked beasts, turning them around this way and that. And whenever they turned around and came to the edge of the field, a man would come up to them and place in their hands a cup of honey-sweet wine.'

**543** ζεύγεα δινεύοντες 'turning the yoked oxen'.

**ἐλάστρεον**: ἐλαστρέω is a rarer variation on ἐλαύνω 'drive'.

**544** στρέψαντες ἱκοίατο: it looks as if the ploughman gets his reward after returning to the side of the field where he began.

τέλσον ἀρούρης: Hesychius defines τέλσον as πέρας ('limit' or 'perimeter'), which makes good sense whether or not there is a connection with τέλος. A rare word, τέλσον is found only in contexts of farming and ploughing: in Homer it occurs elsewhere only in a ploughing simile at 13.707; later it appears mostly in passages imitating or commenting on Homer (e.g. Apollonius on Jason's ploughing task, *Argon.* 3.412).

**546** δόσκεν ... στρέψασκον: frequentative verbs (159-60n.).

ἀν' ὄγμους 'along the furrows'. An ὄγμος is a row or strip; the word is also used at 552, 557, of the area cleared by the reapers; cf. 11.68, *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 455.

**547** ἱέμενοι: gentle humour: they are eager to finish the furrow and receive their reward (544-5). Again we see the poet going beyond the scope of the visual (497-508n.): such eagerness could not be represented on a static medium and with stylised figures.

**548** ἢ δὲ μελαίνετ': the blackness is achieved by the application of niello to the gold (see 474-5n.).

**549** τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο 'that indeed was a great wonder'. The pronoun τό is demonstrative, the particle δή emphatic. περί, though best rendered by an adjective in translation, is adverbial, 'greatly, exceedingly' (Cunliffe (3)).

The wonderment is to be shared by the Homeric audience: such phrases are a kind of prompt to the listener or reader (cf. 467n.)

### 550-560 Scene 4: reapers at work in the service of a king

For reaping in similes see esp. 11.67-9. There too the labourers are said to be working for a rich landowner. In the *Odyssey* the disguised hero provocatively declares his willingness to match his endurance against the suitor Eurymachus in a reaping contest (18.366-70).

A variety of grains were sown in the ancient Greek world. In the *Odyssey* several are mentioned: in 4.5.9508 πυρός, ζειαί and κρῖ λευκόν; in 19.112 πυροί and κριθαί (cf. 9.110). It is generally agreed that πυρός and ζειαί refer to species of wheat (*Triticum*), the former being emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), the latter 'soft' wheat suitable for bread (*Triticum aestivum*). κρῖ and κριθαί refer to barley (*hordeum*).

Wheat, vine and olives have been called the Mediterranean triad of agricultural staples (Renfrew 1973: 229). These formed the core of the common man's diet. Grain not only provides bread, but can be utilised as the basis for food of other kinds, e.g. by boiling it in water, milk or both, flavouring with honey to produce a sweet dish, or mixing with spices or vegetables to produce a savoury dish. The meal being prepared for the

labourers in line 560 below is probably of this type, perhaps a kind of porridge.

On ancient farming much useful information is to be found in Osborne 1987, Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, Shaw 2013 (whose first chapter takes as its starting point *Il.* 18.550–60). The centrality of grain cultivation in the ancient Mediterranean is emphasised by Davies 2007: 342–4; cf. also the essays in Wilkins et al. 1995, esp. those by T. Braun ('Barley cakes and emmer bread') and K. D. White ('Cereals, bread and milling in the Roman world'); Garnsey 1999.

**550 τέμενος:** a τέμενος, in Homeric usage, is a specific area of land cut off (τέμνω) from the adjacent territory and assigned as the private domain of a king or dignitary, e.g. 6.194–5, 9.578, *Od.* 6.293, 17.299 (also often of land sacred to a god, e.g. 2.696: this is the invariable use after Homer). It may consist of various parts: the *temenos* offered to Meleager is half arable land, half vineyard (*Il.* 9.578–80); Glaucus and Sarpedon enjoy territory 'rich in orchard and wheat-bearing ploughland' (12.314). The term seems already to exist in Linear B (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 152). For fuller discussion see Donlan 1989; also Van Wees 2013: 22.

**βασιλήϊον:** the variant βαθὺ λήϊον or βαθυλήϊον is also well attested. This is evidently a case where the text of the *Iliad* has been corrupted by reminiscence of a parallel scene in the *Shield of Heracles*. At *Scutum* 288 (again a farming scene) βαθὺ λήϊον ('a deep corn field') is clearly the right reading, but here the reference to a royal estate anticipates the appearance of the king at line 556. The combination of the two words in the *Scutum* to form an adjective is a misunderstanding, though one deliberately taken up by Apollonius (*Argon.* 1.830).

**ἔριθοι** 'labourers', sometimes etymologised as originally 'wool-workers' (from ἔριον, 'wool'). They can be male or female: cf. *Od.* 6.32 (συν-), Hes. *Op.* 602–3, Dem. 57.45. Hesychius defines ἐριθεία as work for hire; this, as well as the absence of any form of δμώς, the normal epic word for 'slave', makes clear that the workers on the shield are to be regarded as free men.

**551 ἦμων:** 3rd pl. imperfect indicative of ἀμάω, 'reap.'

**δρεπάνας** 'sickles'. A neuter form is found at *Od.* 18.368. W. Schiering, *Arch. Hom.* H (1968) 154–8, collects what we know from archaeology about such tools. That they are described as 'sharp' is perhaps more than conventional: this could not be taken for granted in the early iron age (Hes. *Op.* 573 urges Perses to sharpen the sickles for harvest-time).

**551a** According to the exegetical scholia (on 483–606, Erbse IV: 528–31, at 530), a few ancient texts had an additional line here, καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοδώρου, 'the crop of Eleusinian Demeter, giver of glorious gifts'. καρπόν provides an object for the verb ἦμων 'were reaping' in the preceding line. No extant manuscript or papyrus includes this line,

and Eleusis is mentioned nowhere else in the Homeric poems or in Hesiod. The exegetical scholia in a general note introducing the shield (on 483–606) cite a critic called Agallis of Corcyra for the view that Hephaestus is presenting not a generalised picture of human life but 'the early history (ἀρχαιογονίαν) of Attica': she held that the two cities on the shield represent Athens (the city at peace) and Eleusis. This line forms part of that implausible argument: by introducing a place-name it associates the scene with a particular locale. The line is poorly attested and distracting; it should be rejected, as it is by most editors. The note just cited is the only place in the Iliadic scholia where Agallis' views are quoted, but she also seems to have commented on the *Odyssey* (Athen. 1.14d, where she is said to have shown favouritism to a fellow-Corcyrean by making Nausicaa the inventor of ball-games. Corcyra was identified with the Phaeacians' island of Scherie already in Thucydides' time, 1.25.4, 3.70.4.). For the scanty evidence about Agallis, see *RE* 1.1718 (Agallis 1).

**552** δράγματα 'handfuls' or 'armfuls', the amount a reaper can carry (the related verb, δράσσομαι, means 'grasp' or 'clutch with the hand'). The reapers cut the corn with the sickle in their right hand, take hold of the shorn crop with the left.

μετ' ὄγμον 'along the line of the furrow'.

ἐπήτριμα 'close together' (211n.).    πῖπτον ἔραζε: presumably the sheaves that fall to the earth are collected by the boys who follow behind.

**553** ἀμαλλοδετῆρες 'binders' (ἄμαλλα 'sheaf' + δέω 'bind').

ἐλλεδανοῖσι 'bands' or 'bindings' for the sheaves: a term found only here and in comparable contexts at *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 456, *Scutum* 291. Hesychius indicates a connection with ἴλλω 'bind' or 'plait', ἰλλάζω 'bind up'; cf. LSJ s.v. εἴλω ('contain, hold'). The sense preferred by Chantraine and Edwards, 'turn', does not seem so apt.

**556** πάρεχον 'handed over (the sheaves)': the imperfect indicates repeated action.

βασιλεύς: not a king on the heroic scale like Agamemnon, clearly, but the ruler of a local community, a noble or lord like those mentioned in Hesiod (West on Hes. *Op.* 38). See further Guizzi 2010: 83–5.

**557** σκῆπτρον: the sceptre is the symbol of the king's authority, here evidently stable and accepted (in contrast with the contentiousness of Agamemnon's domination of other kings). See also 505n. (sceptres held in readiness by the heralds in the lawsuit).

γηθόσυνος κῆρ 'rejoicing in his heart', accusative of respect.

**558** κήρυκες: heralds assist with the provision of meals also at 9.174, *Od.* 1.109.

ἀπάνευθεν 'at a distance' (sc. from the reaping).

δαῖτα: probably a feast for the king and his close associates (perhaps including the heralds), as distinct from the δεῖπνον which the women are preparing for the labourers, which will be cereal-based (like porridge). Alternatively both meat and barley are to be provided for all (an early example of euergetism). They might be combined: Eumaeus sprinkles barley over roast pork (*Od.* 14.77, 429). Rundin 1996, an acute analysis of Homeric power-dining, discusses the two options at length, and concludes that the first view is more plausible. See generally *HE* s.v. 'Feasting.'

**559 βοῦν:** the singular is striking. We may contrast the massive numbers slaughtered by the heroes prior to feasts (Alcinous slaughters twelve sheep, eight pigs and two bulls for a mid-morning meal at *Od.* 8.59–60, admittedly for a sizeable company); still more extreme is the idea of a hecatomb (literally a hundred beasts) being offered to the gods. This extravagance belongs to the grandeur of the heroic age. In the normal life of ancient Greece most of the population would enjoy meat as a rare treat at festivals or other religious events. 'Meat was the food of sacrifice *par excellence*, and was offered to participants in religious ceremonies. By the same token, it was *only* available on such occasions, and did not make a significant contribution to the regular diet' (Garnsey 1999: 16–17, 122–7; quotation from 123).

ἱερεύσαντες: a passing allusion to a ritual which can be described in far richer detail: for the fullest description of a sacrifice in epic, see *Od.* 3. 404–63 (cf. in tragedy Eur. *El.* 791–839); Burkert 1983: 1–12. More recent discussions include Seaford in *HE* s.v. 'Sacrifice'; Hitch 2009; Parker 2011: ch. 4.

**560 δεῖπνον:** cf. 245n.

ἐρίθοισιν: the specification here adds force to the argument of Rundin 1996 that a separate meal is prepared for the labourers; otherwise it is hard to see the point of including this word.

ἄλφιτα: barley, not wheat, was the most important staple for most people in the ancient Greek world. It grows more easily on thin soil and is less affected by varied rain supply while germinating; it matures faster; it can endure greater extremes of climate (Braun in Wilkins et al. 1995: 25–6). But wheat was more highly valued; barley was common as animal fodder (and later as punishment rations in the Roman army, Livy 27.13.9, Suet. *Aug.* 24.2). Of course, wheat was more plentiful in some regions, including Troy and the Ukraine (cf. Hdt. 7.147, Braun 33).

### *561–572 Scene 5: workers in a vineyard; music and dancing*

In Hesiod (*Op.* 609–14) we are told that the pruning of the vine should be completed before spring begins, while the wine harvest should be undertaken at the heliacal rising of Arcturus (i.e. the time when it first becomes

visible above the eastern horizon after a period of absence; in the Mediterranean this happens in early September). The grapes are to be dried in the sun for ten days and covered up for five; on the sixth day 'the gifts of Dionysus rich in joy' are poured into vats. The treading of the grapes is taken for granted. For ancient Greek viticulture see Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 26–33; Amouretti et al. 1993; Davies 2007: 343–4.

**561–70** Translation: 'And on it he put a vineyard, richly laden with bunches of grapes, beautiful and golden; but black were the grapes hanging high there, while all the way along the vines were supported by silver props. Around it he set a ditch of dark enamel [?], and round that a fence of tin. A single path led to the vineyard, along which the carriers made their way whenever they harvested the vintage. Young maidens and young lads in their innocence bore the delicious fruit away in woven baskets. And in their midst a boy was playing sweetly on a clear-sounding lyre.'

**561** μέγα βρίθουσαν 'laden heavily'; μέγα is adverbial.

ἀλωήν: an ἀλωή is an area of ground cleared for a purpose – to be an orchard, a garden or as here a vineyard. The word is used for Laertes' orchard in *Odyssey* 24 (221 etc.); for a vineyard see *Od.* 1.193 and 11.193 (again of Laertes' estate), 7.122 (Alcinous' superabundant gardens). (It can also refer to a threshing-floor, as in several similes: cf. 57n.)

**562** χρυσείην· μέλανες: for the contrast, and the reference to Hephaestus' use of niello or equivalent, see 474–5n., 548–9.

**563** ἑστήκει: the subject is the vineyard as a whole, though the reference is more specifically to the vines.

**564** κυανέην: adjective, made of κύανος. This was a dark metal, usually rendered 'enamel': LSJ also cite passages where it seems to refer to lapis lazuli or blue copper carbonate: see esp. Theophr. *Lap.* 55. It is found in the description of Agamemnon's shield (11.24, 35), on the cornice of Alcinous' palace (*Od.* 7.87), and on the shield of Heracles ([Hes.] *Scutum* 143), in all cases in combination with other metals. Epic, lyric and tragic poets liked the word, and devised a plethora of compounds using it (a Homeric example is the τράπεζαν | καλὴν κυανόπεζαν ἔυξοον at 11.628–9): eyes, horses' manes, veils, brows, hair, robes, the sea, the prow of a ship, even a bird's feathers can be given an adjective with κυανο- forming the first element. See further Irwin 1974: 78–110.

κάπετον: the ditch may be for irrigation, as in the simile at 21.257–62 (cf. Virg. *Geo.* 1.106–10), or to drain off excess rainwater. The latter is more probable in a vineyard, as vines prefer stony or gravelly, well-drained soils. See further Horden and Purcell 2000: 237–57.

ἕρκος: a defence against thieves: such a fence also surrounds gardens or vineyards at 5.90 (simile) and *Od.* 7.113 (Alcinous' gardens); cf. Matthew

21:33 'There was a certain householder, which planted a vineyard, and hedged it about, and built a tower.'

**566** τρυγόωιεν: 3 pl. pres. optative from τρυγάω, 'gather, harvest', used specifically of grapes (τρύγη is the vintage or crop of the vine).

**567** 'maidens and boys': both sexes are combined also at 593; cf. in darker circumstances Hector's counterfactual fantasy at 22.126–30.

ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες 'in their young innocence', lit. 'thinking child-like thoughts', like the infant Astyanax, described as ἀταλάφρων (6.400). Similar phrases are found at Hes. *Theog.* 989, *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 24 (see Richardson's n.).

**569** φόρμιγγι: on stringed instruments in Greek musical culture see West 1992: ch. 3. 'The Greek words phorminx, kitharis or kitharā, lyrā, chelys, and barbitos overlap in usage. Homer uses only phorminx and kitharis, both of the same instrument, which was probably a round-based box lyre' (West 1992: 50). An illustration on a Geometric amphora from Cyprus c.800 is reproduced in West's book as pl. 12; see further Maas and Snyder 1989: 11–23.

**570** ἱμερόεν 'delightfully'; adverbial accusative. ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε is used in *Scutum* 202 (at the same point of the line) to describe Apollo singing among the gods, a passage which plainly imitates the Iliadic shield. In both poems a singer is represented on a physical object described within a song (*mise-en-abyme*: see Introduction, p. 32).

λίνον ... ἄειδε: 'the Linos-song' is a lamentation for the dead mythical hero or god Linos, a shadowy figure, probably of Oriental origin (Hdt. 2.79 associates him with Egypt, but also mentions a possible Phoenician connection). Pausanias (9.29.6) gives an account which follows a familiar story-pattern: he foolishly tried to match Apollo as a singer and was slain by him for that reason (cf. the myths of Thamyris, Marsyas, Arachne); since then he is mourned by all. A verse inscription quoted by the scholia particularly mentions mourning by the Muses. In fact Linos is probably a name derived from the mourning-cry αἴλινον (cf. Pind. fr. 128c.6, Aesch. *Ag.* 121 and Finglass on Soph. *Aj.* 627). The song is melancholy rather than despairing: cf. [Hes.] fr. 305, where Linos is said to be commemorated 'at banquets and dances'. Later Linos was reimagined as a singer and teacher of religious wisdom, like Musaios and Orpheus; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4.56 (where he is paired with Orpheus), 6.67 (where he presents the pipes of Hesiod to the poet Gallus).

See further *PMG* 766, 880; West 1997: 44, 262; Shaw 2013: 182, 194; Stephens 2002 (mainly on Callim. frr. 23 and 26–30). For other citations and songs ascribed to Linos see West 1983: 56–67.

ὑπό: adverbial, 'in accompaniment' (i.e. to his own music).

καλόν: also probably adverbial, 'beautifully', though it could be an adjective describing Linos.

**571** λεπταλέηι φωνῆι: the boy's voice has not yet broken. Cf. Stephens 2002 for Callimachus' interest in this passage, because of the later associations of this adjective with subtlety and aesthetic quality.

τοὶ δέ ... 'and treading together they followed behind, their feet skipping along together in the dance and with joyful cry'.

ῥήσσοντες 'treading': Ionic for ῥάσσω, 'strike' or 'dash', here of the dancing feet beating the earth, but used intransitively.

ἁμαρτῆι 'together', i.e. in time with one another and with the music (cf. ἅμα, ἁμαρτήδην). There was dispute already in ancient times as to whether the last syllable should end with an iota (see West's apparatus, citing Herodian). Modern scholarship remains divided: see West's app. on 5.656, favouring ἁμαρτή, and *LfgrE*, which prefers the form printed here. See also Chantraine II.249, Beekes 83.

**572** μολπῆι: singing or dancing or a combination of the two. In 606, as here, the idea of dancing is foremost, in 1.472 that of song; in *Od.* 13.27 the cognate verb μέλπω refers solely to song.

ἰυγμῶι 'with a cry'. For once it is reasonable to detect onomatopoeia: compare the shout ἰοὺ ἰού ('Hey!'), and the verb ἰύζουσιν used at 17.66 (dogs and men), *Od.* 15.162 (the cries of excited onlookers who witness an omen).

σκαίροντες 'skipping', a verb used of calves frisking at *Od.* 10.412.

*573–586 Scene 6: herdsmen and cattle attacked by two lions; their dogs offer ineffective defence*

For lions in the *Iliad* see above 316–22nn. (Achilles mourning Patroclus compared with a lion grieving for its stolen cubs). Similes referring to lions are one of the most frequent types in the poem, and cases where they attack a herd of livestock or the herdsmen's settlement at night are also common (e.g. 5.136–43; see Lee 1964: 65; Scott 1974: 58–62; *HE* s.v. lions). For the combination lions–cattle–dogs see 13.198–202, 17.61–7 (compared with the present passage by Edwards 1966: 191–2). Two lions attack in unison at 13.198 and 15.756–8.

For detailed discussion see Lonsdale 1990: 39–70, who finds twenty-seven similes in which lions attack domestic cattle, nineteen of which mention attempted defence by herdsmen with dogs; Alden 2005, who gives evidence for lions surviving in the Troad and in northern Greece well after Homer's time (e.g. Hdt. 7.125–6, Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.31). See also Kelly 2007a: 300–2, who by an oversight categorises our passage as a simile.

For lion attacks in archaic Greek art see esp. Fittschen 1969: 76–88, collecting forty-five men–lion combat scenes from the eighth and seventh

centuries; also H.-G. Buchholz, *Arch. Hom.* J (1973) 21–7, nos. 36–132; Markoe 1989.

**573 ὀρθοκραιράων:** see 3n.

**574 χρυσοῖο ... κασσιτέρου τε:** the genitives are of the type which indicate the source or material used to perform the task in hand (Monro §151 (e)): cf. 1.470 'they filled the cups to the brim with liquid' (ποτοῖο), 9.214 'he sprinkled it with salt' (ἁλός).

**575–6** 'with a lowing sound they went hastening from the midden-house to pasture, past the sounding river, past the waving reedbed'. δόναξ is a reed, δονακεύς a thicket of reeds. The sentence includes two words for sounds (and we may suppose that the reedbed rustles as well as waving in the breeze). The description continues to animate the scene and appeal to senses other than sight (particularly sound, but the midden might evoke smell too). The bull's bellowing is another example; so is the frightened clamour of the dogs, accompanied by the exhortations of the herdsmen.

**575 κόπρου:** cf. *Od.* 17.296–300, where the dying dog Argos lies on the dung-heap, and the poet comments that the slaves of the household would carry the dung away to use as manure (κοπρήσοντες) on Odysseus' estate (τέμενος, see 550n.). In classical Athens there were dung-collectors who went from door to door collecting dung and carrying it out of the city to a specified distance; it must have then been sold as fertiliser (Olson on Ar. *Pax* 9; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 50.2; see also Pomeroy 1994: 326–7).

**νομόνδε** 'to pasture'. For the directional ending see 146n.

**576 ῥοδανόν:** a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps 'waving'. Text and interpretation were disputed by ancient critics: West follows Zenodotus in reading ῥαδαλόν, but this is another very rare adjective of disputed meaning, cited almost exclusively by lexicographers or scholars discussing this line. Joseph. *AJ* 17.333 uses it as a noun apparently meaning 'softness' (of physical health), which corresponds to the suggestions of late lexicographers such as Hesychius and Zonaras ('frail' or 'delicate'). Other readings were current, and whichever we adopt, the sense will be uncertain. In these circumstances it is best to follow the majority of the manuscripts. (In addition, Nicholas Purcell points out to me that the reeds are unlikely to be the slender variety familiar from British river-beds; rather, the *harundo donax*, to which the description 'delicate' is inapplicable.)

**578** The sudden flood of numbers is striking: four men, nine dogs, two lions. The poet is helping us judge the odds. At the same time the skill and detail of Hephaestus' creation of the scene is illustrated afresh.

**πόδας ἀργοί** 'swift-footed': πόδας is accusative of respect. In the *Odyssey* the hero's aged dog is called Argos (as one might name a dog 'Flash' in English).

**579 σμερδαλέω δὲ λέοντε δύ':** duals, as also 580 ἐχέτην, 582 ἀναρρήξαντε, 583 λαφύσσετον.

**σμερδαλέω:** cf. 35 for the adverb.

**ἐν πρώτῃσι βόεσσι:** this could mean either that they attack the foremost of the herd or the best of them ('first' in quality); the former is more likely.

**579–86:** the succession of verbs (ἐχέτην ... ἕλκετο ... μετεκίαθον ... ἀναρρήξαντε ... λαφύσσετον ... ἐνδίεσαν ... ἀπετρωπῶντο ... ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ' ἀλέοντο) makes very clear that the poet is not picturing a single image but a sequence of events, thus going beyond the limitations of visual representation.

**580 ἐρύγμηλον** 'bellowing' (cf. ἐρεύγομαι, 'roar'); the emphasis on sound recurs at once in μεμυκώς.

**582 βοείην** 'the hide', an adjectival form used as a noun. Elsewhere it is applied to an ox-hide recently stripped from the dead animal (*Od.* 22.364), and it can also refer to the layer of hide which forms the bulk of a shield (481n.).

**584 αὕτως** 'in vain', a frequent meaning for this adverb (e.g. 2.342, 9.599, Cunliffe s.v. (5)), to be distinguished from the use in 198 (see n.).

**ἐνδίεσαν** 'pursued'; found only here; 3rd sing. imperfect active indicative from ἐν + δίεμαι.

**585 οἳ δ'** 'but they' (referring to the dogs).

**ἦτοι** 'in fact', 'really'.

**δακέειν ... λεόντων** 'shrank away from biting the lions'. The genitive λεόντων follows the verb ἀπετρωπῶντο; the aorist infinitive δακέειν (from δάκνω) must be taken as exegetic ('they shrank from the lions where biting was concerned').

**586** 'but instead, standing very close they kept on barking while also evading them'.

### 587–589 Scene 7: a flock of sheep

This is the only scene which involves no human participation, though of course the structures mentioned in 589 are man-made. It also differs from all the others in that no motion is described. All other scenes are at least three times as long (discounting the final reference to the Ocean). Leaf deleted the three lines. They are however universally present in the tradition.

Sheep are quite frequent in Homeric similes (e.g. 4.433–5), and in the narrative they are mentioned as part of the property of Andromache's father (6.424); the Cyclops Polyphemus keeps a flock, thus providing the means for Odysseus' escape (*Od.* 9); and Eumaeus, listing his master's possessions, speaks of many herds of cattle, sheep, pigs and goats all kept by herdsmen on the mainland opposite Ithaca (*Od.* 14.100–6). The scale is

suitably heroic, but the idea of combining animal husbandry with agricul-
ture is a plausible model for a landowner in the archaic Mediterranean
(Horden and Purcell 2000: ch. 6). Animals figure in earlier scenes on the
shield, particularly the oxen for ploughing, but sheep are more usually
cultivated for their wool. The scene thus adds something to the economic
picture.

**587–8 νομόν ... μέγαν** belong together. νομός means a pasture or grazing-
ground, cf. 525 νομῆες 'herdsmen', 575 νομόνδε (the noun is to be distin-
guished from νόμος = 'law', 'custom').

**589 τε ... τε ... ἰδέ:** conjunctions joining three items ('sheds, huts and
covered enclosures').

### 590–606 Scene 8: a dancing-lawn

**590 χορόν** must here signify a dancing-place or area. Cf. esp. *Od.* 8.260,
where the Phaeacians 'smooth out' a χορός in preparation for dancing.
That it is a circular space is suggested by the wheel-simile at 600–1.
The Cretan Meriones is insultingly called a 'dancer' at 16.617; in later
times Cretan dancing was famous (Soph. *Ajax* 700, etc.). Three circular
platforms at Cnossus dating from after 1400 BC have been uncovered, and
many scholars believe them to have been dancing-floors (Warren 1984).
Homer does not mention the Labyrinth, but it has sometimes been iden-
tified with a dancing-floor of this kind, perhaps marked out with maze-like
patterns for the dancers. See further Lonsdale 1995.

**ποίκιλλε** 'fashioned', used of intricate and varied decoration. Homer
uses the verb only here, but often employs the adjective ποικίλος. That term
suggests complex and variegated patterning and elaboration: ποικίλος is
a frequent epithet of artefacts, from embroidered cloth to chariots.
Odysseus is ποικιλομήτης (lit. 'of varied wiles', therefore 'subtle'). In later
critical discourse ποικιλία ('diversity') in literary style and arrangement is
greatly admired (e.g. Richardson 1980: 266; Heath 1990, passim, esp.
ch. 8 on Homeric scholia).

**591 τῶι ἴκελον οἷον:** ancient scholars (see schol. AbT) apparently wor-
ried as to whether it was altogether 'fitting' for a god to be emulating the
work of a mortal artificer (for the importance of propriety in the scholia's
judgements see Janko 1992: 23–9, esp. the list of examples in 26 n. 30).
Moderns are likely to find the criticism absurd. But two responses could be
offered: (a) the similarity is one observed by the poet, not necessarily by
Hephaestus himself (the comment is unfocalised); (b) the comparison is
to the advantage of the divine vision. When we read of young men and
women dancing so soon after a reference to Daedalus and Ariadne, it is
hard not to be reminded of the seven pairs of Athenian men and women

annually sent to Crete to be devoured by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth which Daedalus designed; it was Theseus who, with Ariadne's aid, brought an end to this horror (Gantz 261–8). By contrast the dancers on the shield have no threat hanging over them, and the scene is one of undiluted celebration and delight. The perfection of the scene created by a divine craftsman suits the spirit of the poem as a whole, in which gods achieve a serenity beyond the scope of men. (This contrast would however depend on the myth of Theseus as saviour of the young Athenians already being current at the time of the *Iliad*'s composition, which is not quite certain, though the association of Theseus with Ariadne in *Od.* 11.322 makes it likely.)

Schol. bT also regard Theseus' mission as relevant, but suggest that the picture represents a celebratory dance of the youths after Theseus has slain the Minotaur and liberated them (such a scene is portrayed on the François vase, c.570 BC). The suggestion is combined with the claim that this was the first occasion of mixed dancing. The desire to place the scene in mythological and cultural history is a sign of later scholarly speculation (cf. 551a n.). See further Plut. *Thes.* 21; Paus. 9.40.3–4; Frontisi-Ducroux 1975: 145–50.

Gutzwiller 1977 analyses the formulae of the passage, arguing that the use of traditional language implies the Minoan origin of the dance formation. She accepts the scholia's view that the dance commemorates Theseus and Ariadne, but it is highly improbable that the association of Ariadne and the Labyrinth with Theseus goes back that early.

ποτ': a pointer to the gulf between the narrator's world and the heroic age: the events of the main narrative belong to a remote past, and the story of Ariadne is distanced still further. ποτέ is often used in this way in later poetry: see e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 172, 291, 539; Soph. *Phil.* 677. It is particularly favoured by Pindar (e.g. *Pyth.* 4.4 and many other examples in Slater's *Lexicon to Pindar* s.v.).

ἐνὶ Κνωσῶι εὐρείηι: Cnossus was the chief city of Crete. In the *Iliad* it is mentioned only here and in the Catalogue of Ships (as part of Idomeneus' domain, 2.646). In *Od.* 19.177–8 it is 'a great city, where Minos once was king, he who conferred with mighty Zeus every nine years'. (This is part of an extended passage about his alleged Cretan origin in one of Odysseus' lying tales.) Minos is elsewhere said to be the grandfather of Idomeneus. Crete is generally recognised in both poems as a powerful kingdom: Idomeneus brings eighty ships to Troy (2.645–52), equalling Diomedes and surpassed only by Agamemnon (a hundred) and Nestor (ninety). For Cretan history and mythology see *OCD*; *HE* s.vv. 'Crete', 'Minos', 'Minoan civilisation'; *EGM* II.385–99; Wallace 2010.

**592 Δαίδαλος**: Daedalus, mentioned only here in Homer, is a most intriguing figure. His is evidently a *nom parlant*, related to δαιδάλλω

(479n.), δαιδάλεος (379, 390, 612); he is 'the Artificer', to echo James Joyce, one who creates works of cunning art, δαίδαλα, like Hephaestus himself in 400. In later tradition Daedalus is most famous for designing the Labyrinth which imprisoned the Minotaur, and for constructing wings on which he and his son Icarus could escape from Crete; most bizarre of his inventions was the wooden cow in which the love-crazed queen Pasiphae could conceal herself in order to experience sex with the bull to whom she bore the Minotaur. For these legends see Gantz 260–4, 273–5. Socrates in the Platonic *Alcibiades I* (121a) claims to be descended through Daedalus from Hephaestus, but the myths differed wildly as to Daedalus' parents, and we cannot assume that the epic poets thought of him as son of the god. Indeed, Pindar seems to use Daedalus as a name for Hephaestus (*Nem.* 4.59); so also a Tarentine vase of c.350 BC (*LIMC* Ares, 73).

The Linear B tablets from Cnossus preserve record of a shrine or building the name of which *may* have been the Daedalion, at which offerings of oil were made (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 200–1), but the reconstruction of the name (*da-da-re-jo*) is not so close as to make certain a connection with the later mythical figure Daedalus (Bendall 2007: 17).

Just as Daedalus is analogous to the divine smith, so both resemble the poet, as artists in different media. A late and highly questionable source asserts that the sculptor Pheidias put an image of Daedalus at the centre of Athena's shield in the great statue of the goddess in the Parthenon (Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 8.10; Morris 1992: 261). See further 600–1n. (the potter simile).

For a detailed study of Daedalus in the context of early Greek art and its Near Eastern background see Morris 1992; different emphases in Lane Fox 2008: 197–203. For art, see *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 313–21; for mythology Frontisi-Ducroux 1975; Gantz, loc. cit.; and *EGM* II.397, 468–9, 480–1.

Ἀριάδνηι: Ariadne is also mentioned in *Od.* 11.321–5, where she is one of the heroines whom Odysseus sees in Hades. There she is daughter of Minos, carried off from Crete by Theseus, but slain by Artemis on the isle of Dia (Naxos) at Dionysus' bidding. The narrative is obscure, but we can recognise the motif of a jealous god who strikes down a mortal female whom he has claimed as his own but who has betrayed him with a mortal lover (cf. the triangle of Apollo, Coronis and Ischys in Pind. *Pyth.* 3.8–37). In other versions Theseus abandoned Ariadne (already at [Hes.] fr. 298), deliberately or by divine command, and Dionysus claimed her as his bride.

The association with Dionysus led to her deification (Hes. *Theog.* 947–9). Cult for Ariadne is attested in a number of places, including Naxos (Plut. *Thes.* 20); there, young girls are said to have danced in a circle as if to honour the sleeping Ariadne (Callim. *Aetia* fr. 67.13–14). Other rites are mentioned on Delos, Cyprus and elsewhere. Long before

all this, it is possible that Ariadne was worshipped as a goddess in Minoan Crete (perhaps to be identified with the 'Mistress of the Labyrinth' named on tablets from Cnossus: Burkert 1985: 23), and that the reference here to a dancing-floor is connected with ritual dances in her honour. But little is certain about this, and it is doubtful whether the poet was aware of it. See further Gantz 264–70, Willetts 1962: 193–7, V. Pirenne-Delforge in *BNP* s.v., Armstrong 2006, *EGM* II.468–73; for art, *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 1052–70.

**593–606:** two different movements seem to be involved, dancing in a circle (which occupies the bulk of the description), and movement from one side to another, exchanging positions (the contrast is drawn at 599 and 602, ὁτὲ μὲν ... ἄλλοτε δ': see 599n.). In the first phase the dancers are hand-in-hand, and we might imagine alternation of the sexes. The line of hand-holding dancers is suited to the circular bands of the shield and to Geometric artistic practice. For vases illustrating female dancers holding hands see Coldstream 1977: fig. 36(d), from Marathon, fig. 46(e), from Argos (both eighth century BC). A vase by the Analatos painter (Attica, c.700–c.675 BC) shows male and female dancers hand-in-hand confronting each other; between them stands a figure with a musical instrument (Boardman 1998: 99 fig. 188.3 = Athens, National Museum 313).

**593** ἠΐθεοι 'young unmarried men', well matched with the virginal girls.

We saw a similar pairing of the two sexes at 567. Here the combination strongly suggests a courtship dance (this is supported by the description of the dance as ἱμερόεις (603: not just 'lovely' but 'fraught with desire'). Lucian describes such a dance, in which male and female dancers alternated in a chain (*de saltu* 12–13, a passage which refers to the lines in the *Iliad*). In later literature the term ἠΐθεοι is often associated with the youths sent to Crete to be victims of the Minotaur (591n.): cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 56.3, Parker 2011: 200.

ἀλφεσίβοιαι 'worth many an ox'. The suffix evidently refers to oxen; the prefix is connected with a verb ἀλφάνω, found in contexts of ransom or profit (e.g. 21.79, Lycaon on the ransom he previously brought in for Achilles; *Od.* 20.383). Here the profit would derive from a dowry (similarly at *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 119).

**594** χεῖρας ἔχοντες: on Geometric vases lines of figures holding hands are quite frequently portrayed: e.g. Boardman 1998: 58 fig. 84 (amphora from Euboea, Eretria 3275), and see 593–606n. above. Line 594 = *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 196.

**595** λεπτὰς ὀθόνας 'delicate cloths', generally understood as referring to linen (e.g. Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings 1962: 532). Cf. *Od.* 7.107 with Garvie's n.

**596 εἷατ(ο)** 'had dressed in'. In 504 this was 3 pl. impfect of ἧμαι, but here the same form provides the 3 pl. pluperfect middle of ἕννυμι, 'put (clothes) on'.

**ἐΰννητους** 'finely-spun', adjective composed of εὐ + νέω ('spin', cf. *Od.* 7.198 where it is used of the Fates' spinning of men's destinies).

**ἧκα στίλβοντας ἐλαίωι:** this seems to refer to a process already used in Mycenaean times, whereby olive oil is used to give a sheen or fragrance to clothing (cf. Hera's preparations to approach Zeus, 14.171–4, with Janko's n.; *Od.* 7.107). Oil was often used where we would use soap. Patroclus even used oil to bathe the manes of Achilles' horses (23.281–2). See further Shelmerdine 1995.

**597–8** These two lines were criticised by ancient editors (Aristophanes and Aristarchus, see schol. Arn/A), because knives or daggers were considered unsuitable for a dance, but the evidence of art (see next n.) refutes them. (They also doubted that the word μάχαιρα can mean 'sword', but even if true, this would not exclude a smaller weapon.)

**598** Women with garlands and men with side-arms at their waists are common motifs in early vase-painting (Fittschen 1973: 16 and ill. xa and c; Snodgrass 1998: 15, though they are not easily seen in his fig. 2).

**599 ὅτὶ μέν** is answered by **ἄλλοτε δ'** in 602: 'at one time ... at another' (Lat. *modo ... modo*). Sometimes we find ἄλλοτε ... ἄλλοτε (472) or even ἄλλοτε μέν ... ὁτὲ δέ (11.566–8).

**θρέξασκον** 'they would run', 3rd pl. past frequentative from τρέχω. The frequentative form, here and in 602, denotes repeated action (159–6on.). The idea is that the dance involves recurrent movements in one direction or another.

**600–1:** a brief simile relating the activity on the shield to craftsmanship but the craft of the potter, not that of the worker of metals. There is a touch of the *mise-en-abyme* here (Introduction, p. 32), in that we see a creative craftsman at work within a description of a work of art being produced by a different craftsman, Hephaestus, which is itself part of a still more ambitious creative work, the *Iliad* itself. This is especially marked by the reference to Daedalus, the mythical artificer. For other 'technical' similes see 15.410–13, *Od.* 6.232–4, 9.384–8, 391–4; more examples in Moulton 1977: 91 n. 8.

Pottery is far older than the Homeric epics; indeed, it goes back to Neolithic times. In the period in which the *Iliad* emerged, whether we date it to the late eighth or the early seventh centuries, geometric patterns on pots and vases were giving way to figurative representation, often of typical scenes such as burials, chariots and battles (for an example see Figure 1); scenes involving animals are also common. The poet has surely been influenced by seeing such objects. For a combination of subjects see

the Attic Geometric kantharos showing two lions attacking a man, a duel, a lyre-player and women (Arias and Hirmer 1962: pl. 8: last quarter of eighth century BC).

If we grant that the dancing-floor was probably round (cf. 603 περιίσταθ' ὅμιλος), the similarity seems to be between the curving movement of the pot on the wheel as the potter turns and moulds it, and the circular movement of a line of dancers around the space.

**602 θρέξασκον:** 599n.

**603–4 περιίσταθ' ὅμιλος | τερπόμενοι:** by an easy shift, the singular verb and subject are followed by a plural participle, because the collective noun ('throng', 'crowd') represents a plurality (Monro §169). So too in English we can say 'the government have announced', 'the jury are back', etc. Cf. 2.278 ὡς φάσαν ἡ πληθύς.

For an audience surrounding the performers see also *Od.* 8.109–10.

**5.9508/5** The abnormal line numbering here is the result of a deletion of a portion of text which has until lately been regularly treated as authentic. After τερπόμενοι Wolf and many later editors insert μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδός | φορμίζων ('and in their midst a divine minstrel sang as he played on his lyre'). The additional phrase comes from the *Odyssey* (4.17–18). With that addition *Il.* 18.5.9508–6 becomes identical to *Od.* 4.17–19, part of the account of celebrations at the wedding feast in progress at Menelaus' palace when Telemachus arrives there. No manuscripts of the *Iliad* include this line and it is also absent from the papyri which include this passage. Wolf's insertion rested on a belief that the line did figure in a pre-Aristarchean text, but this view is based on a misreading of a passage of Athenaeus (5.181a–d). West's crisp statement in his apparatus may be found clearer than the more detailed exposition in *Studies* 250–2. I paraphrase his Latin annotation: 'Athenaeus, following the Homeric scholar Seleucus, fantastically supposes that Aristarchus excised the words μετὰ δέ ... φορμίζων, and Wolf added the line to the text; the words are absent from papyri, testimonia, and manuscripts (except that Eudocia includes them in a passage largely drawing on book 18; but she also includes *Od.* 4.15). In my view the words never belonged in this place; someone at some date (apparently Seleucus) placed them here, maintaining that the passage *Od.* 4.15–19 was interpolated from book 18 of the *Iliad* (as the context in Athenaeus makes clear).'

Revermann 1998 argues from other parts of the ecphrasis and from scenes on vases that some form of musical accompaniment is needed here; while accepting that the words added by Wolf are not authentic, he holds that something similar has been lost.

**605 κυβιστητῆρε** 'two acrobats/tumblers' (dual). For such performers see *Od.* 4.19; in *Il.* 16.745, 749 Patroclus uses the third-person verb κυβιστᾷ ('he's a dancer') as a term of derision, mocking the unfortunate

Cebriones as he plunges head-first from his chariot. In this passage the two men seem to be individual acrobats, performing separately from the larger teams of dancers described so far.

**606 μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες** 'beginning the dance'. For ἐξάρχω, 'take the lead in', 'embark on', see 51; for μολπή, 572n.

**κατ' αὐτούς** 'among/through them' is elucidated in the next line by κατὰ μέσσους ('in their midst', i.e. in between the rest of the dancers).

**606** A first-century BC papyrus (P.Berol.9774 = pap. 51 in West's catalogue) contains *Il.* 18.585–94 and 596–608; photographs in S. West 1967: pl. 4 and in Cavallo and Maehler 2008: pl. 73. After 606 this papyrus includes an additional line, restored by editors as ἐν δ'ἔσ[αν σ]ύριγγε[ς, ἔσ] αν κίθαρίς τ[ε] καὶ α[ὐλοί (S. West 1967: 134). The line is metrically defective, attested nowhere else, and is certainly not genuine. The scribe was apparently unsure whether to write singular or plural of κίθαρις, as the plural is written first and then altered to the singular form. See further 608n.

*607–608 Finale: the river Ocean running round the shield as a border*

**607–8** In early Greek epic Ocean is not a sea but a vast river that surrounds the inhabited world. Since the shield is from one point of view a microcosm of the world, Ocean is appropriately made to encircle it. Herodotus makes fun of the persistent place given to Ocean by early mapmakers and geographers (2.21–3, 4.8 and 36); cf. Thomson 1948: 34–5, 39–41; Romm 1992: 12–26, 33–5; Dueck 2012. The god Oceanos and the river are identified with each other at *Il.* 21.195–9; see further West on Hes. *Theog.* 133, 337–70.

Ocean also surrounds the rim of the Hesiodic shield (*Scutum* 314–17, mentioning swans and fish as visible in the waters).

**μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο** 'mighty Oceanus': on the type of expression, see 117n.

**608: πύκα ποιητοῖο** 'strongly made'. πύκα is an adverb connected with πυκινός; it does not occur outside epic.

The same papyrus cited on 606 is still more divergent from the standard text at this stage. After line 608 it preserves traces showing that it contained four additional lines describing a harbour full of fishes, lines closely resembling [Hes.] *Sc.* 207–13 (cf. S. West 1967: 132–6). The papyrus itself contains signs that the addition was considered suspect, and there is no case for regarding the lines as Homeric. (Quite apart from the textual arguments, the addition of a further scene after the mention of encircling Ocean is most improbable: as

S. West loc. cit. remarks, 'the Hesiodic lines could have been inserted more aptly after 589'.)

### 609–613  The rest of the armour is prepared

The treatment of the remainder of the armour can only strike the reader as perfunctory. The poet has excelled himself in the description of the shield, and does not choose to go into any detail on the remaining items (which in any case offer less scope for elaborate decoration). It is in any case a common feature of Homeric descriptions or catalogues for the first items to be treated in detail, the later much more briefly (e.g. 16.173–97, the listing of the different squadrons of Myrmidons; for other examples see West 2011a: 114 on 2.494–510).

**609–13  θώρηκα ... κνημῖδας:** on the other items of armour made by Hephaestus see 458–60nn.

**609:** the line echoes the beginning of Hephaestus' task at 478, another example of ring composition (49n.).

**611:** on helmet descriptions see 458n.

**612 δαιδαλέην:** see 379, 479 and 592nn.

**λόφον** is the 'crest', but in view of χρύσεον presumably refers to the base into which the crest will be fitted. But helmets sometimes had metal crests: see e.g. the bronze panoply from a late Geometric grave at Argos, illustrated by Snodgrass 1967: pl. 17, Hampe and Simon 1981: pl. 183 (first publ. in *BCH* 81, 1957, 356–67).

**ἧκε** 'added, set in place': 3 sing. aor. indicative of ἵημι (ἔηκε is also found). For the sense cf. 19.383, Cunliffe s.v. (10).

**613 ἑανοῦ κασσιτέροιο** 'fine tin'. ἑανός was used at 352 of 'fine' linen; here it means that the metal has been finely beaten into shape. See *HE* s.v. 'tin' (Muhly).

### 614–617  Thetis takes the armour and departs

Thetis does not comment admiringly on the armour's workmanship, nor does she pause to thank Hephaestus (contrast the lengthy preliminaries to this scene). After the elaborate description the poet is eager to conclude the episode and return to earth.

**614 κάμε:** the prime sense is 'toil', 'exert oneself'; when used transitively, as here, it means 'toil over', hence 'fabricate'.

**615 μητρός:** genitive governed by προπάροιθεν. 'Lifting the armour up, he set it in front of the mother of Achilles.' The object ὅπλα is understood from the preceding line.

**616 ἴρηξ ὥς** 'like a hawk'. Gods in motion are often compared with birds (e.g. 13.62–5, of Poseidon); sometimes they even take bird-form (e.g. *Il.* 7.58–61, 19.350–1, *Od.* 3.371–2, 22.240–1). When actual metamorphosis is involved, the poet often uses a verb which makes that clear, e.g. *Il.* 7.59 ἐοικότες, *Od.* 3.372 εἰδομένη; but occasionally ὥς is judged sufficient (as apparently at *Od.* 1.320, interpretation of which was disputed in antiquity). But in the present line the phrase must be a simile: we can imagine Zeus's eagle carrying off young Ganymede, hardly more than a child, but for a hawk to transport the whole paraphernalia of Achilles' armour would be a grotesque picture. See de Jong on *Od.* 1.319–24; Bannert 1988: 57–68; Buxton 2009: 29–37.

For the 'hierax' (ἴρηξ in epic-Ionic) see D'Arcy Thompson 1936: 114–18; Arnott 2007: 66–8.

**617** The line is similar but not identical to 137, which indeed is reproduced here in a few papyri and a minority of manuscripts. Assuming that 137 and 617 are both correctly preserved, this is one of the examples showing that the 'economy' of the formulaic system is not absolute.

**φέρουσα:** a substantial burden, but gods do all things easily (3.381, 15.361–6; West on Hes. *Op.* 5–7; Griffin 1980: 188–9).

# APPENDIX

## *GILGAMESH* AND HOMER

For most classicists the *Iliad* stands at the threshold of European literature, but the tale of Gilgamesh is much older. The object of this Appendix is to explain as briefly and plainly as possible why the various poems about Gilgamesh have been thought relevant to Homer and in particular how this might affect *Iliad* 18.

Gilgamesh is generally believed to have been a real person, a king of Uruk some time between 3000 and 2500 BC. After his death he was deified and worshipped in cult. His story was told in various forms and in a variety of languages across the Near East. Texts about him have been found at Megiddo, Nineveh, Babylon, Uruk and elsewhere. A number of Sumerian poems commemorated his exploits. Eventually a synthesis of various adventures was produced in Akkadian by a poet of the First Babylonian Dynasty, which lasted for about three centuries of the second millennium BC. Parts of this poetic synthesis survive, but much has to be supplied from later revisions. The fullest is known as the Standard Babylonian version, which was produced towards the end of the second millennium. For a clear timechart see George 1999: lx–lxi.

The surviving texts are on clay tablets in cuneiform, a script invented in Mesopotamia around 3000 BC, which began to be deciphered in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first tablet of *Gilgamesh* was translated in 1872. What has been reconstructed of the Gilgamesh epic is an impressive narrative poem, but it remains incomplete. It is estimated that the Standard Babylonian version was contained on eleven tablets amounting to approximately 3,000 lines. As things stand, Tablets I, VI, X and XI are more or less complete. Elsewhere there are gaps and uncertainties and areas where there is little consecutive text.

The principal episodes are as follows. Gilgamesh's kingship of Uruk angers the gods and they create a wild man, Enkidu, to match and rival him. After a period of antagonism Gilgamesh and Enkidu become close friends. They journey together to the Cedar Forest to fight the monstrous Humbaba. After successfully killing the monster they return with its head. Ishtar, the Babylonian love goddess, is sufficiently impressed by Gilgamesh to attempt to seduce him, but he rejects and insults her. She urges her divine parents to let her have revenge, and releases the Bull of Heaven. Although it first devastates Uruk, Gilgamesh and Enkidu manage to slay it. The gods punish the pair by killing Enkidu, for whom Gilgamesh grieves piteously; he then conducts his funeral. The last sections of the poem

(Tablets IX–XI) show Gilgamesh preoccupied with the problem of death. He journeys to find the immortal Utanapishti, who survived the flood and was granted eternal life at the ends of the earth. Aided by an alewife (a kind of innkeeper) named Shiduri, he succeeds in crossing the waters of death and questions Utanapishti. The latter, after recounting the story of the flood, advises Gilgamesh on how to obtain immortality. He fails the test (to remain awake for a week); he then obtains a magical plant, but it is stolen from him by a snake. In the end he has to accept his failure and returns to Uruk, where he eventually dies. A twelfth tablet contains a separate or alternative version of the death of Enkidu, translated from a Sumerian poem; it includes a scene in which Enkidu's ghost appears to Gilgamesh and tells him of the horrors of the underworld. This section seems to have been added to the Standard version but not properly integrated.

The epic is composed in verse lines, but of irregular length; sometimes lines are paired as couplets. The style is formal and dignified, including many epithets and titles and a considerable amount of repetition (as when messages are sent and delivered). As in Homer, direct speech and (short) similes are frequent.

From an early stage in the decipherment and interpretation of *Gilgamesh*, scholars became aware of features which resembled aspects of Homeric epic (and indeed episodes which recalled the Hebrew Bible, especially regarding the Flood). These similarities have been explained in various ways, but broadly speaking scholars face a choice between theories which assume independent development and theories involving 'diffusion', that is, the transmission of story-material from East to West.

The chief parallels that have been discussed are:

(a)  The intense friendship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, and that between Achilles and Patroclus; this embraces the mourning and funeral sequence.

(b)  The scene in which Enkidu's ghost visits Gilgamesh, and the scene in *Iliad* 23 in which Patroclus' ghost visits the sleeping Achilles.

(c)  The attempt by Ishtar to seduce Gilgamesh, his rejection of her, and her consequent desire to punish him; this has been related to a number of scenes in early Greek epic, notably the attack on Aphrodite by Diomedes in *Iliad* 5, the scene in which the outraged Aphrodite seeks comfort from her mother Dione (and the subsequent exchange between Aphrodite and Zeus). There are also possible analogies with the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, in which Aphrodite successfully seduces Anchises despite his initial reluctance.

(d)  The journey to the land of the dead to exploit the wisdom of a dead sage; the parallel here is with Odysseus' journey to Hades

(represented as lying at the edges of the earth) to consult the dead prophet Tiresias (*Od.* 11).

(e)  The assistance provided by the alewife to Gilgamesh on his journey to the dead, and the assistance given to Odysseus by Circe at the end of book 10 of the *Odyssey*.

(f)  More generally, the way in which Gilgamesh must finally accept his mortal status is compared with the acceptance of death and human limitations by Achilles in the *Iliad*, especially in books 18 and 24. A more specific parallel here is in Gilgamesh's declaration to Enkidu that unlike the gods, men's days are numbered, and for that very reason, they should undertake perilous deeds and leave a great name behind them (George 1999: 110); this is remarkably close to the heroic ethos articulated by Sarpedon in book 12 of the *Iliad* (322–8).

In book 18 of the *Iliad* there are two passages which have been highlighted as parallel to passages in the Babylonian epic.[1] Both concern the Gilgamesh–Enkidu relationship.

(a) 18.23–5

ἀμφοτέρηισι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἤισχυνε πρόσωπον·
νεκταρέωι δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζανε τέφρη.

This is compared with the following passage from the epic of Gilgamesh:

> His curly hair he tore out in clumps,
> he ripped off his finery, like something taboo he
> cast it away.
> (*Gilgamesh*, Tablet VIII.65, tr. George 1999: 65)

(b) 18.316–23

τοῖσι δὲ Πηλεΐδης ἁδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο,
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους θέμενος στήθεσσιν ἑταίρου,
πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων, ὥς τε λὶς ἠϋγένειος,
ὧι ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἁρπάσηι ἀνήρ
ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς, ὁ δέ τ' ἄχνυται ὕστερος ἐλθών,                    320
πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι· μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ.

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[1]  For both see West 1997: 340–3. In the same discussion he cites other passages from book 18 but finds parallels for them in other parts of the Gilgamesh epic: by bringing them together here, he makes the coalescence of motifs appear greater than it is.

The parallel from *Gilgamesh* is as follows:

> He covered, like a bride, the face of his friend,
>> like an eagle he circled around him.
> Like a lioness deprived of her cubs,
>> he paced to and fro, this way and that.
>> (*Gilgamesh*, Tablet VIII.60, tr. George 1999: 65)

That there is a similarity is hard to deny; that there is direct imitation seems extremely unlikely. In particular we may note that the second passage involves three comparisons, two of them not found in the Iliadic scene, to a bride and to an eagle. Even in the parallel comparison to a lion, the beast is female in *Gilgamesh*, male in the *Iliad*.

The case of *Gilgamesh* does not stand alone: many other parallels have been found between Near Eastern literature and early Greek epic (for instance, the determination of the gods to reduce the population of the earth by cataclysm, or the drawing of lots by the major gods to determine their spheres of influence). While many similarities could be merely coincidental (different cultures could independently compare warriors to lions, and so forth), there is enough evidence to suggest some form of influence, perhaps especially in the area of the divine pantheon and the early evolution of the cosmos; and much discussion has focused on the possible channels of communication. Martin West, following the pioneering study by Walter Burkert, has explored the possibilities, pointing to the movement of migrant workers, traders, soldiers and mercenaries, and of course travelling poets in the Mediterranean.[2] In his determination to stress the importance of Near Eastern contacts, he perhaps sought for excessive precision and claimed a more direct link than is altogether plausible. Others see the influence as more gradual and fragmentary, a matter of travelling motifs and images rather than full-blown narratives. A related question is the date at which this material may be envisaged as crossing into Greek culture: should we be thinking of the Minoan-Mycenaean period or the so-called Orientalising epoch, or somewhere in between?[3] The latest editor of the Gilgamesh epic sees that work and

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[2] Burkert 1992; West 1997: 586–630. Osborne 1993, reviewing Burkert, makes important methodological points. Dowden 2001 is a valuable survey-article which discusses West's major work in a wider context.

[3] West himself changed his mind on this point. In his commentary on the *Theogony* (1966: 28–9) he envisaged much of the Eastern influence as belonging to the Bronze Age. In his later work he follows Burkert in seeing the eighth and seventh centuries as crucial (West 1988: 170–1; 1997: 586–90). For recent discussion see Rollinger 2011 (favouring the Iron Age Levant); many more references in Haubold 2013: 21, 23. Haubold himself (2013: 18–72) minimises the significance of historical connections, instead pursuing literary comparisons chiefly for their own sake.

Homer as 'much more distant relatives' than West has assumed, and finds the hypothesis of a version of the earlier poem reaching archaic Greece very unlikely. The possibility of intermediate stages (e.g. through Phoeni-cian or Aramaic) is also available.[4]

Even if we take seriously all the parallels cited above, it is worth empha-sising how much even on the level of plot in the Homeric poems is without parallel in the Gilgamesh epic. To restrict ourselves to the *Iliad*, there is nothing in *Gilgamesh* that corresponds to the Trojan War itself, to the pivotal figure of Helen, to the wrath and withdrawal of Achilles, to his foreknowledge of his death at Troy, to the revenge sought for the death of Patroclus, or to the eventual ransoming of Hector. The way in which Enkidu dies is completely different from the death of Patroclus. Without minimising the significance of the parallels relating to the inevitability of death, it is hard to see the Gilgamesh epic as having a formative influence on the main plot of the *Iliad*.[5]

The debate is far from ended, however, and critics may legitimately adopt very different viewpoints. In the past scholars were sometimes con-cerned to insulate a supposedly superior Greek culture from the taint of foreign influences.[6] By contrast today there is a reverse tendency to see Greek society as imbued by and embedded in a much wider world: inter-national contacts, mixed marriages, cross-cultural exchange, human mobility and bilingualism are shown to exist from earliest times.[7] Criticism is also naturally affected by the critic's standpoint on the nature of Home-ric composition. Here an extreme example is to hand in the learned paper by Bruno Currie on 'The *Iliad, Gilgamesh*, and Neoanalysis', which includes detailed treatment of book 18.[8] Starting from the assumption that Homer is a highly sophisticated poet, able and willing to use allusive techniques which we might associate with a later era, he convincingly restates the arguments that the opening scenes of the book subtly but unmistakably allude to a narrative of the death of Achilles, comparable to the version in the *Aethiopis*; he then goes on to argue that these scenes also allude to *Gilgamesh* in a closely comparable way, and that just as the death of

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[4] George 2003: 1.54–7.
[5] A very different view is presented in an unpublished paper by West to which Dirk Obbink has drawn my attention. West seeks to show that a pre-Iliadic poem about Heracles had adapted *Gilgamesh* and that the poet of the *Iliad* was drawing on this poem (the argument was prefigured in West 2014: 31–2). I hope that this characteristically bold speculation will in due course be published, but I find myself quite unconvinced by the argument.
[6] Burkert 1992: 1–8. Lane Fox 2008: ch. 20, though far from hostile to ideas of oriental contact, none the less denies the influence of *Gilgamesh* on the main plot: on p. 353 he expresses scepticism about the alleged echoes in *Iliad* 18.
[7] See e.g. Vlassopoulos 2013, a very rewarding work.
[8] Currie 2012, now revised in Currie 2016: 147–222.

Patroclus foreshadows the death of Achilles, so in the Standard Babylonian version of *Gilgamesh* the death of Enkidu is made to anticipate the death of Gilgamesh – but not as presented later in the Standard version, rather as treated in an earlier Sumerian version known to the Akkadian poet who composed or compiled the Standard version. As Currie puts it, if his argument is correct, 'we are confronted with the possibility that the *Iliad* not only engages in *imitatio* of *Gilgamesh*, but also imitates the way *Gilgamesh* itself engages in *imitatio*' (2012: 554). At the opposite extreme Adrian Kelly in a series of papers has insisted on a methodology which explains problems or peculiarities in Homeric poetry by closer scrutiny of the poet's narrative technique and use of typical scene-patterns, not by appeal to external sources, known or hypothetical. That approach has led him to deny the relevance of the *Aethiopis* and any other poem on the death of Achilles (Kelly 2012), and elsewhere to dismiss as implausible any connection between the Homeric poems and the Gilgamesh epic (Kelly 2008).[9] Clearly these approaches are diametrically opposed. Although a middle way is no doubt possible, on the evidence of current discussion it may be some time before a scholarly consensus on these issues emerges.

**Note on translations:** Many translations and adaptations of the Gilgamesh epic exist, but by general consent the most reliable and up-to-date is the Penguin Classics version by Andrew George (1999), translated by the author of a magisterial edition (George 2003) of the Babylonian cuneiform text. The older Penguin Classics version with a prose translation by N. K. Sandars (1960) has been a precious *vade mecum* for many students, but is now seriously out of date and was the work of an amateur without knowledge of Akkadian. It is worth emphasising that this is a changing field, so that even George's account is now out of date in some respects: see George 2007, discussing a new text from Ugarit that permits a full restoration of the Epic's opening verses.

**Further reading:** Burkert 1992: ch. 3; Burkert 2004: ch. 2; West 1997: 63–7, 334–47, 402–17; Dowden 2001 (review-discussion of West and other related works); George 2003: I, introduction; Kelly 2012; Currie 2012; Haubold 2002; Haubold 2013: 18–72. There are also useful entries in *HE* under 'Gilgamesh' (West), 'Near East and Homer' (Powell).

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[9] See also Kelly 2014, contrasting the manner and ethos of Homeric battle-narrative with the treatment of such material in ancient Near Eastern texts.

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