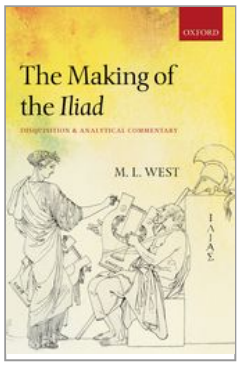

The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
M. L. West

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(p.i) The Making of the Iliad **(p.ii)**

(p.iii) The Making of the Iliad

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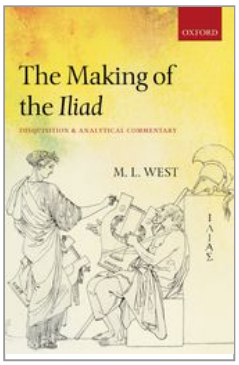

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(p.v) Preface

In this book I expound the view that I have formed over many years about the composition of the *Iliad*. My goal is to persuade everyone that something like this view, if not all the detail, is necessary and ought to be accepted. I have no expectation of easy or rapid success: a single individual's efforts, however spirited, will hardly suffice to check the momentum of the bandwagon and redirect it onto a different path. But it may be that some of those who have let themselves be carried on by it for lack of alternative transport may now take the opportunity to dismount and reappraise the situation, and with their defection the vehicle's inertial mass will diminish.

The hypothesis on which my work is based, and which I hold to be essential for the understanding of the *Iliad*, is a simple and straightforward one that ought not to cause anyone intellectual difficulty. It is that the poet progressively amplified his work, not just by adding more at the end but by making insertions in parts already composed. The opposing hypothesis is that, being an oral poet and not on close terms with the art of writing, he must be supposed to have produced the whole *Iliad* sequentially in the order in which we have it. My hypothesis wins because it is founded on study of the poem and observation of numerous anomalies and discontinuities in the narrative, which it is able to account for, whereas the other hypothesis is not so founded and is unable to account for those features, so that they have to be ignored or their significance denied.

In the first part of the book, the 'disquisition', I discuss the poet's environment and the materials available to him from current traditions, and I explain the main points of my analysis of his composition. I supplement this in the second part by a commentary on the *Iliad* episode by episode. It is not meant to be a general commentary; it does not deal with such matters as the language, metre, or material culture. Its aim is to explain why the narrative takes the form it does,

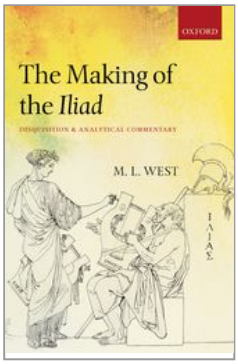
both in its larger outlines and in the detail of individual scenes; what is going on in the poet's head, what choices he is making, where he has amplified or retouched. It is not intended to be a guide to what other scholars have thought, and I make a minimum of reference to secondary literature, though I attempt to give credit for insights where it is due. It will be seen that most of the scholars I cite are ones not generally read nowadays.

Laura Bush, until recently First Lady of the United States, has affirmed that 'if you think about something for a year, when you actually write it down it **(p.vi)** comes off really great'. That is not a dependable rule; but it worked for the poet of the *Iliad*, and I hope it has worked for me, though in my case, and probably in his, rather more than a year was involved.

M.L.W.

Oxford

New Year, 2010



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(p.viii) Abbreviations

Ach.
Achilles
Ag.
Agamemnon
Apollod.
Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*
Apollod. epit.
Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, epitome
Ar. Byz.
Aristophanes of Byzantium
arg.
argument
Carm. conv.
Carmina Convivalia (*PMG* nos. 884–917)
Cat.
Catalogue of Ships
CEG
P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* i–ii, Berlin–New York 1983–9
CPh
Classical Philology
Diom.
Diomedes
ed. Praef.
M.L.W., *Homeri Ilias*, vol. prius, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1998, Praefatio
EFH
M.L.W., *The East Face of Helicon*, Oxford 1997
FGrHist

Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
HCW
M.L.W., *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, Oxford 1985
Hellan.
Hellanicus
Heracl. Lemb. *Polit*.
Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpta politiarum*
Hes. *Op*. 636 n.
note in M.L.W., *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford 1978
Hes. *Th*. 208 n.
note in M.L.W., *Hesiod. Theogony*, Oxford 1966
Hes. Th.
M.L.W., *Hesiod. Theogony*, Oxford 1966
Hes. WD
M.L.W., *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford 1978
H. Hom.
Homeric Hymns
Hom.
Iliad and *Odyssey*
Hom. *Epigr*.
Homer, *Epigrams*
IE
Indo-European
IEPM
M.L.W., *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007
Il.
Iliad
Jb. f. kl. Ph.
Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie
Kl. phil. Schr.
Kleine philologische Schriften **(p.ix)**
Kl. Schr.
Kleine Schriften
KTU
Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit
LIMC
Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
Men.
Menelaos
Mus. Helv.
Museum Helveticum
Od.
Odysseus
Od.

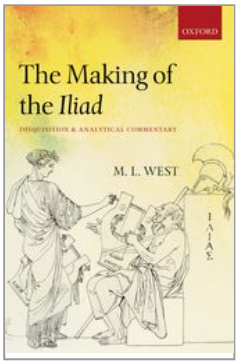
Odyssey	
P	
the poet of the *Iliad*	
P^{K}	
the poet of the *Doloneia*	
P^{Od}	
the poet of the *Odyssey*	
Patr.	
Patroclus	
P. Lit. Lond.	
H. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1927	
PMG	
Poetae Melici Graeci (ed. D. L. Page)	
PMGF	
Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (ed. M. Davies)	
Procl.	
Proclus, *Chrestomathia*	
RE	
Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft	
RV	
Rigveda	
sch.	
scholia (sch^{A}, sch^{bT}, etc., refer to the different bodies of Homeric scholia)	
Sitz.-Ber. München	
Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München	
SPAW	
Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin	
Studies	
M.L.W., *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, Munich–Leipzig 2001	
Thgn.	
Theognidea	
Wien. St.	
Wiener Studien	
VdM	
Peter Von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias*, Basel 1952	
Wil.	
Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin 1916	
Wil. *HU*	
id., *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1884	

Wil. *Vorl*.
id., *Homers Ilias* (Vorlesung Winter-Semester 1887/1888 Göttingen), ed. Paul Dräger, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2006
Zen.
Zenodotus

(p.x)

For Greek and Latin authors and works and some major periodicals I have generally used the same abbreviations as the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.).

The Epic Cycle and other fragmentary early epics are cited from my Loeb edition, *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge Mass.–London 2003).



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Aims and Assumptions

M. L. West

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of Homeric criticism and how it has been dominated by the Parry–Lord concept of the oral poet for whom writing is an alien technique. It addresses the question of how adequately the label of oral poet serves to characterize Homer; and considers Oralists' view that Homeric epics are 'oral dictated texts', rather than written texts. The chapter then sets out five propositions: that the *Iliad* is (almost entirely) the work of one poet; that he was not the poet of the *Odyssey*; that he was not called Homer; that he composed the Iliad with the aid of writing and over a long period; and that he did not produce it in a linear progression from A to Ω.

Keywords: Homer, Iliad, epics, oral poets, oral dictated texts, Homeric criticism, Oralists

You might think that the longer and more closely one studied the *Iliad*, the more little weaknesses and discrepancies one would notice. My experience is the opposite. The more I examine this greatest of all epics, the more I marvel at its consistency and coherence and at how thoroughly the poet has thought it through. But it is not one of those structures that are so perfectly finished that one cannot begin to see how they were made. My aim in this work is to unravel and explain in detail the stages by which it was conceived and committed to writing.

The key to understanding the making of the *Iliad* is, in my view, the recognition that its poet (whom I forbear to call Homer, for reasons given below; I shall refer to him as P) did not proceed in a straight line from the beginning to the end but, working over many years, made insertions, some of them lengthy, in what he had

already written. I say written, because I think it probable that he wrote out his poem himself, though the alternative possibility, that he used an amanuensis or a series of amanuenses, cannot be excluded. The essential point is that he made insertions in parts of the poem that were already fixed; and fixed means written, because if they were only fixed in his head they would naturally have moulded themselves round the insertions more pliably than they have done.

Homeric criticism in my lifetime has been dominated by the Parry–Lord concept of the oral poet for whom writing is an alien technique. The work of Milman Parry and his followers brought a gale of fresh air into Homeric studies, but as is the way with gales, it blew indiscriminately, causing destruction and confusion as well as exhilaration. The idea that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* go back to the songs of illiterate bards was in itself nothing new: it is what everyone believed in the eighteenth century and many in the nineteenth. Nor was the comparison with the modern oral poetry of the Balkans a novelty. Parry's achievement was to explore the formulaic language of epic more fully and to demonstrate its systematic character, its extension and economy. He inferred that it could not have been the creation of one man (had anyone imagined it was?) but must have been the product of a long tradition of oral poetry.

(p.4) Everyone accepts this, together with the view that P was a poet trained in the traditional manner of composition and using a traditional language that had evolved over many centuries, bearing signs of its history in its many archaic features and its mixed dialect. He was familiar with a range of traditional narratives set in the heroic age and based his own compositions on traditional material. He was accustomed to present them in oral performance, accompanying himself on the phorminx like the bards described in the *Odyssey*. All this is undisputed. But the question remains how adequately the label of oral poet serves to characterize him.

One danger is that it distracts attention from his creativity. Oralists have sometimes given the impression that poems more or less compose themselves in the singers' mouths.[1] They used to speak of the singers' 'improvising', though it is now recognized that oral poets do not improvise their songs in performance but meditate them well beforehand.[2] P drew on a rich oral tradition, and I shall be concerned to identify traditional material and motifs that he used. But he was a master craftsman who built up his epic with great skill and control, employing his own design strategies. In this regard there is no gulf separating him from the epic poet of later ages or the novelist for whom oral performance plays no role.

But the chief defect of the Oralists' approach is that in their delight with the vision vouchsafed them by Parry and Lord they do not take sufficient account of the fact that our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are written texts, and fail to engage seriously with the question of how this came about. Most written texts come into existence because their authors write them down. But the Oralists are not happy

with the idea of their poets wielding a pen. It is their dogma that the Homeric epics are ‘oral dictated texts’, retaining the pure properties of true oral poems while being happily captured in writing for the benefit of all subsequent ages. This is simplistic. It takes for granted that the verses came out of the poets’ mouths in the same order in which we have them in the text, starting from *A*/*α* and proceeding steadily through to *Ω*/*ω*. That is to ignore numerous internal indications, clearly perceived by nineteenth-century Analyst critics, that the poems’ creation was a considerably less straightforward process.

The Oralists, however, regard their gospel as superseding all earlier **(p.5)** approaches to Homer. Adam Parry in the preface to his father’s collected papers judged that ‘the old Homeric Question, deriving from the doctrine of Wolf, had worn itself out and become a repetitive and futile debate. Parry’s work gave the whole study of Homer a new life’; and that ‘it was not the smallest accomplishment of Parry’s Homeric theory that it made the whole Unitarian–Analyst controversy, at least in its older and best-known form, obsolete’.[3] Analysis had in fact already fallen out of fashion some years before Parry appeared on the scene. Such books as Carl Rothe’s *Die Ilias als Dichtung* (1910), J. A. Scott’s *The Unity of Homer* (1921), and Engelbert Drerup’s *Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart* (also 1921) had brought the Unitarian tendency to the fore. They rather tendentiously represented the Analysts as having based their case mainly on minor narrative incongruities and repetitions. The Oralists inherited this perspective and, seeing that minor incongruities and repetitions were a common phenomenon in oral poetry, made the comfortable assumption that their theory held the answers to all the difficulties raised by the Analysts, whose works they never troubled to study. They proceeded as if all previous Homeric criticism had achieved *nothing*.

And so, with the triumph of Oralism and Unitarianism, it became customary to dismiss the Analysts’ approach as misguided and outdated and to regard any study of their writings as superfluous. Certainly it is demanding work. As one plods dazedly through the swamp of the Ameis–Hentze *Anhang*, trying to make sense of the innumerable rival proposals there recorded for the deletion of verses, one may well feel that, in Adam Parry’s words, ‘the old Homeric Question… had worn itself out and become a repetitive and futile debate’. It is obvious how welcome was a doctrine that offered exemption from the need to wrestle with all that gritty argumentation.

Of course there was a suffocating amount of chaff in the Analysts’ harvest, and they never achieved a consensus on the detail of how the *Iliad* evolved. But many of them agreed on the importance of certain observations indicative of discontinuities in the compositional process. They accounted for them in terms of multiple authorship. That was not the right solution. But the discontinuities

remain to be explained. The Oralists, as Willy Theiler observed, are helpless in the face of them.[4]

(p.6) Propositions

As a preliminary statement of my own critical standpoint I now put forward five propositions: that the *Iliad* is (almost entirely) the work of one poet; that he was not the poet of the *Odyssey*; that he was not called Homer; that he composed the *Iliad* with the aid of writing and over a long period; and that he did not produce it in a linear progression from *A* to *Ω*.

Proposition 1. The *Iliad* is (almost entirely) the work of one poet

This does not nowadays require strenuous advocacy. It was not just weariness with the Analysts' lucubrations that killed off theories of plural authorship, but detailed demonstration of the poem's organic unity. Even when Wolf's *Prolegomena* were all the rage, this unity had been apparent to poetic spirits such as Goethe, Voss, and Schiller. Goethe read and re-read Wolf and initially found his ideas liberating, but he soon relegated them to subordinate status. In a letter to Schiller on 28 April 1797 he wrote: 'the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even if they should have been through the hands of a thousand poets and redactors, show the powerful tendency of the poetic and critical nature towards unity.' And on 16 May 1798: 'I am more than ever convinced of the unity and indivisibility of the poem… The *Iliad* seems to me so rounded and finished, say what one will, that nothing can be added or taken away.'[5] In his first lecture course at Königsberg, 'Introduction to Homer' (1831), the 29-year-old Karl Lehrs brilliantly supported this unitarian position with systematic arguments, pointing to the abundant links connecting one book with another: 'Altogether the cross-references between different books, not just in major matters but in minor and subsidiary details, are so manifold and pervasive that it seems simply impossible to reconcile this with the assumption of originally quite independent parts.'[6] G. W. Nitzsch made similar observations in the expansive analysis of the *Iliad* in his *Sagenpoesie der Griechen* (1852), 184–290. The trend-setting Unitarians of the 1920s, Scott, Drerup, and **(p.7)** J. T. Sheppard, would have strengthened their case if they had repeated and developed Lehrs's and Nitzsch's line of argument. But that deficiency was made good by Wolfgang Schadewaldt in his epoch-making *Iliasstudien* of 1938. He traced the threads of the narrative from book to book, bringing out the structural significance of each episode in relation to the whole and showing that throughout the poem, except for the *Doloneia*, the fulfilment of one train of action is bound up with preparation for a later one. He is not content to treat the links between separated passages merely as mutually supportive cross-references, but shows how they result from systematic procedures such as preparation, staged development, retardation, and climactic repetition. Schadewaldt's approach is penetratingly analytical, only not dissective. He is identifying poetic forms and techniques, not separable components.

Since Schadewaldt the great majority of Homerists have taken the essential unity of the poem for granted. Most accept that the *Doloneia* is an early addition by a different poet (see Part II, introduction to *K*), and I suppose few would deny that there may be minor interpolations by rhapsodes in other places, whether or not they agree about particular passages. I have marked a number in my Teubner edition of the *Iliad* and discussed most of them in my *Studies*. Counting them with the *Doloneia*, I still reckon that of the poem as transmitted approximately 95% is genuine, that is, the work of P.

Proposition 2. He was not the poet of the *Odyssey*

Most modern scholars consider the *Odyssey* to be by a different poet from the *Iliad*. This is also my position, and although it is not crucial for the present study, I take the opportunity of asserting it.

There have always been, and always will be, those whose romantic attachment to the idea of the one great poet Homer makes them unwilling to abandon the traditional ascription of both works to this supreme genius. They appeal not so much to similarities of manner between the two epics as to the authority of the tradition itself: no alternative author is named for either poem. However, the same is true not only of the Homeric Hymns (except for the *Hymn to Apollo*), which are clearly by many different poets, but also of the *Thebaid* and the *Margites*. Homer was named as author of half a dozen other epics too—the *Epigonoi, Cypria, Aethiopis, Little Iliad, Nostoi, Capture of Oichalia*—albeit with one or more competing ascriptions in each case. When we examine the bases of the tradition, it appears that the special association of Homer's name with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is bound up with Hipparchus' initiative in establishing regular recitations of those two epics at the Great Panathenaea from (most likely) 522 BCE. They must have been **(p.8)** recognized at that time as the two major works of Homer; in scale, at any rate, they far exceeded the other epics in circulation. Before that date, however, we cannot trace the belief in his authorship of them. From the time of their composition there is a gap of a century, or a century and a half, during which we have no evidence at all as to whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were associated with each other or who, if anyone, was regarded as their author. It may well be that epic poems in the seventh century were in principle anonymous, with the singers not thinking of themselves as authors but as performers and embellishers of inherited material.[7]

The fact that the *Odyssey* is the only recorded archaic epic that comes anywhere near the *Iliad* in length is of course no argument for its being by the same poet. Many have felt that its length results from a deliberate striving to emulate the exceptional dimensions of the *Iliad*. In other respects too P^{Od} (as I shall call him) often seems to be imitating P. There are many parallel passages and repeated verses where it is necessary or plausible to see the *Iliad* context as primary and the *Odyssey* as derivative. Irrespective of priority, the two poems exhibit notable

differences of narrative manner, theology, ethics, vocabulary, and geographical perspective.[8]

Proposition 3. He was not called Homer

The very number and variety of poems attributed to Homer make it advisable to be cautious about accepting the ascription for any one poem in particular. But in any case there are reasons for doubting whether a poet named Homer existed at all.[9] *Ὅμηρος* is not a regular Greek name, and hard to account for as such. No other bearer of it is known from before Hellenistic times. On the other hand there was in the fifth and fourth centuries a guild or corporation of rhapsodes known as the Homeridai, who regarded Homer as their ancestor or founder, recited his poetry, told stories about his life, and were concerned to spread his fame. They conceded that they were not all of one family, but claimed that they had originally been so. They are to be seen as one **(p.9)** of those professional groups like the Asklepiadai in Cos, the Ametoridai in Crete, and the Eumolpidai and Kerykidai at Eleusis, who claimed descent from the divine or fictitious eponyms Asklepios, Ametor, Eumolpos, and Keryx respectively. On this analogy Homeros would be a fictitious figure, a legendary poet-singer of the past from whom the Homeridai had their name. In fact their name can be accounted for in other ways: most persuasively, perhaps, from an old word for assembly, **ὅμᾱρος* or **ὅμᾱρις*, reflected in the names of the sacred grove *Ὁμάριον* or *Ἀμάριον* near Helike, where the Achaean Confederacy held its common assemblies, and of its patron deity *Ζεὺς Ὁμάριος*. Marcello Durante, who proposed this explanation, referred to the Vedic word *samaryám*, formed from the same elements **som* + **ar* and used in the context of festive gatherings and the priest-poets' 'meeting' in poetic competition. The Homeridai, then, might have been in origin those who officiated at a gathering with associated poetic contests, a sort of eisteddfod.

Be that as it may, there is no parallel for a group with a collective name ending in *-idai*, being not of one family, taking their name from a historical person. In the one probable seventh-century reference to 'Homer', Callinus of Ephesus apparently named him as the author of the *Thebaid*, or rather of heroic poetry about the Theban war.[10] But it is unlikely that an elegist would have seen fit to name a contemporary or recent epic singer, however outstanding. If he named 'Homer', it will have been as the legendary poet reputed to be the source of epic narrative in general; as if he had said, 'as we hear from ancient tradition'. The inference would be that the Homeridai of Callinus' time already attributed their poetry to their imaginary eponym.

I have suggested above that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed at a time when epic poets did not think of themselves as having a proprietary title to the material they re-shaped and performed, so that their names did not become attached to the poems as the names of authors, only as performers. It must be acknowledged nonetheless that the complete disappearance of the name of such a pioneer creator as P would be surprising. If we are unwilling to believe that it

did wholly disappear, but also unwilling to believe that the name was Homer, there remains another possibility. Nearly all of the ancient *Lives* relate that Homer's original name was Melesigenes (or Meles, or Melesagoras, or Melesianax), and that it was changed after he or his father was given as a hostage (*ὅμηρα*), or because of his blindness (*ὅμηροϛ* being allegedly a Lesbian dialect word for 'blind'). The change of name is obviously fiction, but behind the fiction there was evidently a need to account for a traditional datum: a Melesigenes who was identical with the author of the poems of 'Homer'. Of the two, it is Melesigenes that has more the appearance **(p.10)** of a genuine personal name, 'Caring for his clan'. Few scholars have paid any attention to it, but it is a real possibility that this was the actual name of the poet of the *Iliad*—or if not, of the *Odyssey*.[11]

Proposition 4. He composed the *Iliad* with the aid of writing and over a long period

Milman Parry and his followers drew a sharp contrast between 'oral poetry' and 'poetry composed with the aid of writing'. But 'composed with the aid of writing' is a perniciously imprecise concept. A poet who composes word by word onto the page, pausing between phrases as he thinks of the next one, crossing out and correcting the one before, is certainly composing with the aid of writing, even though the actual composition takes place in his mind. We do not imagine P proceeding like that.[12] But suppose he performed an episode of three or four hundred verses before an audience, having meditated it previously, and then wrote it out more or less exactly as he had performed it, perhaps changing the odd phrase or adding the odd line as he did so. Would that be composing with the aid of writing? Suppose he engaged an amanuensis and recited to him at dictation speed for an hour or two, continuing his narrative on successive days, and using the time between dictation sessions to think back on what he had done and ahead to what was to follow. Would that be composing with the aid of writing? And suppose that at some stage he read through what the scribe had written down, or had the scribe read it back to him, and thought of something he wanted to change or add. Would that be composing with the aid of writing?

In any case the *Iliad* is a written text, and it should be self-evident that under ancient conditions there was no way in which a written text could come into existence without 'the aid of writing'. P had to be involved in the writing operation, whether he carried it out himself or dictated to another. However fully he had the poem worked out in his mind, it was only in the course of being written down that it assumed a definite fixed form.

The writing down of any given portion necessarily proceeded at a slower pace than an oral recitation. That must in itself have had an effect on the composition. The writing down of the whole must have occupied an extended **(p.11)** period. Even on the extreme hypothesis that P completed the entire epic in his head and then set out to get it written down in the shortest possible time, it would have taken at least a couple of weeks of furiously concentrated activity. It is

altogether more likely that the process extended over a much longer time, with days or perhaps weeks or months often intervening between one writing session and another.

P developed his poem to an enormous length. Analysis will show that he augmented it with material drawn from other songs in his repertory. This suggests that it occupied a unique place in his work: it was the *magnum opus* into which he had at some point decided to channel the main current of his creativity. In that case it would not be surprising if, rather than finish it off as quickly as possible, he continued developing and expanding it over many years, and when he acquired new material, used it in the embellishment of the *Iliad* and not in creating other poems. We may cite the analogy of the illiterate nineteenth-century Sumatran poet Dōkarim of Glumpa, who composed a long heroic poem about the resistance of the Achehnese against the Dutch. He developed it gradually over five years, 'adding fresh matter from time to time as he gained enlightenment from eye-witnesses'.[13]

The assumption that P worked on the *Iliad* over many years—and it might well have been decades—receives some support from the fact that certain parts of the poem, which the analysis will assign to a relatively advanced stage of the composition, seem to show a more evolved vocabulary than earlier parts, overlapping more with the language of the *Odyssey*, and also a fuller mythology and a more detailed knowledge of Trojan topography.

Proposition 5. He did not produce it in one continuous progression from *A* to *Ω*

During each interval between writing sessions P had, and no doubt took, the opportunity to reflect on the progress of his narrative. In planning how to continue, he had to keep thinking back over what he had done already. Like any other author, he will sometimes have thought of changes that he wanted to make in what had already been set down. These seem normally to have taken the form of insertions.[14]

(p.12) Goethe's understanding of a fellow poet may again be noted. Writing to Schiller on 19 April 1797, he observed that 'some verses in Homer that are claimed to be entirely spurious and modern are of the sort that I myself have in some cases inserted into my poem [*Hermann und Dorothea*] after it was finished, to make the whole clearer and easier to grasp and to prepare in good time for subsequent events.'[15] In the case of the *Iliad*, however, we shall find that it is not just a matter of a few verses inserted here and there, but sometimes of whole episodes. In two cases it is a matter of major expansions extending over several rhapsodies.

This is by no means a new insight. Goethe's friend J. H. Voss, the famous translator of Homer, pictured an original *Iliad* celebrating the deeds of Achilles in six or eight rhapsodies; as the poet travelled through Greece with his poem,

he heard of other local heroes and worked them in.[16] The nucleus theory became, from Hermann onwards, the stronger and healthier branch of the kind of analysis that assumed multiple authors (the weaker branch being that represented by Lachmann's theory of separate lays strung together). But the idea that the main poet might have expanded his own nucleus surfaced from time to time. Grote observed that a poem can be enlarged by its original author, and he referred to the example of Goethe's *Faust*.[17] Wilhelm Christ, whose analytical edition of the *Iliad* I shall be citing later, thought that the original poem was expanded partly by the original poet, partly by his followers.

> Etiamsi enim unum poetam totam Iliadem composuisse credas, tamen certa et invicta, quae quarto capite aperiam, argumenta prohibent, quominus illum longum opus uno tenore ita pertexuisse statuas, ut singulos deinceps libros componeret et perpoliret. Immo longa temporum intervalla inter primam secundam tertiam partem poematis intercessisse et perfecto operi aliquanto post nonnulla carmina adiuncta esse videntur.[18]

In the twentieth century the concept of authorial expansion continued to be intermittently entertained.[19] It never became orthodox, because the mantle **(p. 13)** of orthodoxy, at any rate after the Second World War, was seized by Oralism, which insisted on sequential dictation and left no room for second thoughts on the poet's part. But the Oralists, as I have said, ignore numerous structural problems in the poem that call for answers. In most cases the answers are satisfactorily supplied by the hypothesis of authorial expansions.

It is in general a hypothesis of great explanatory power. I will give one example here. There is a notorious problem in the Embassy to Achilles that the Analysts wrestled with but were unable to solve; Schadewaldt called it perhaps the worst stumbling-block in the whole *Iliad*.[20] Nestor proposes that Agamemnon's offer of compensation should be conveyed to Achilles by Phoenix, Ajax, and Odysseus, accompanied by two heralds (*I* 167–70). This is agreed, and the party of five sets out. But in 182–94 their journey and arrival at Achilles' quarters is related in a passage in which both of the pronouns referring to them, and four of the six verbs or participles, are in the dual, as if there were only two of them. And in 196–8 Achilles greets two men (dual pronoun) and addresses them with three second-person dual verbs. In the following scene Ajax, Odysseus, and Phoenix are all present and all three make speeches; the heralds are not mentioned till 689, but there it is confirmed that they were present and witnessed the conversation.

P does not use dual forms for plurals. The passage with the duals must necessarily have been composed for a version in which only two men went on the mission. They must have been Ajax and Odysseus. Phoenix is the odd one out: he has not been mentioned in the poem before, and we do not learn who he is until 432 ff., when he speaks up. He has been added to the original pair of

envoys. This conclusion was drawn way back in the nineteenth century. But Phoenix is not a post-Iliadic addition. He is too well integrated in the scene, of which his speech forms the climax. He stays with Achilles when the others leave, and he reappears a few times later in the poem.

There is only one explanation that works.[21] P originally conceived the episode with only the two envoys. After having composed the passage with the duals, but before completing the Embassy, he decided to introduce a new character, Phoenix, an old mentor of Achilles', to add emotional weight to the appeal. He could have made him resident with Achilles, like Patroclus, and perhaps at one stage he did so. But as it is he has made him a third envoy, working his name in at 168. He ought then to have rewritten the following passage to get rid of the duals, but he neglected to do so. If our text were the unamended transcript of a single piece of oral composition, then, after listing five men in 168–70, he would automatically have continued with plural **(p.14)** pronouns and verbs as they made their way to Achilles, and Achilles would have greeted them with plural verbs. Here is a clear case where P has introduced a new element into a text already (partly) fixed in writing, and where the order of verses does not correspond with the sequence of composition. The assumption of plural authorship cannot solve the difficulty; the Oralists have no credible explanation; the hypothesis of an authorial alteration provides a simple and straightforward answer.

That P made alterations and insertions in his own text is no bold or extravagant supposition. It is, after all, what most authors do, especially when they are constructing a work on a very large scale. As Dornseiff wrote, 'How does one imagine such an epic being made? Even the greatest genius makes additions to what was written down in the first instance—particularly ones that have consequences for the later development.'[22] It may be that P did so less painstakingly than many a later author, and with less awareness of the dangers of producing inconsistencies. Probably he did not read through his whole text with a view to ensuring that it flowed smoothly, but simply made additions as they occurred to him. That is how it looks, and it is understandable that a poet coming out of the oral tradition might proceed in that way.

What of the practicalities? The imagination boggles at the whole undertaking of getting the poem down in writing. How did P, or any patrons who assisted in the matter, obtain all the necessary papyrus or whatever writing material was used? We might judge it scarcely possible, not worth attempting; yet we know for certain that it was done. P must have been a dedicated and determined man, a driven man, as creative artists often are. But how, in practical terms, did he make the numerous secondary insertions that we postulate? A small insertion of a few lines could be written into an upper or lower margin with an indication of where it was meant to go. But often we are dealing with more substantial expansions, insertions of 50 or 300 or 4000 verses. For these, if the book was a

papyrus or leather roll, the easiest assumption is that it was done by cutting and pasting, not in the figurative sense that these terms have in our word-processing programmes, but by literally cutting the roll in two and pasting in extra sheets. I daresay this is not a picture that sits happily with most people's idea of the Homeric poet. But we must face realities and be prepared to modify our preconceptions in the light of what the text, objectively considered, tells us about its creation.

Notes:

([1]) This romantic concept goes back to Jacob Grimm. Schadewaldt oberved tartly that 'epics are no more products of nature than temples and pyramids, and no more compose themselves than houses build themselves' (*Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 21).

([2]) Cf. Müller 39; G. W. Nitzsch, *Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homers Odyssee*, ii (Hanover 1832), xxix, 'Auch der, welcher ohne Hülfe der Schrift dichtet, ist kein Improvisator zu nennen. Die Meditation und Komposition für das bloße Gedächtniß muß uns als eine stille Operation gelten, die ihre ruhige Besonnenheit und Weile hatte.'

([3]) Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse* (Oxford 1971), xliii and li.

([4]) 'Ein Anhänger der oral poetry steht eben den wichtigen Aufbauproblemen hilflos gegenüber' (*Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur* [Berlin 1970], 64 n. 55).

([5]) Ernst Grumach, *Goethe und die Antike* (Berlin 1949), i. 149, 'Denn die Ilias und Odyssee, und wenn sie durch die Hände von tausend Dichtern und Redacteurs gegangen wären, zeigen die gewaltsame Tendenz der poetischen und kritischen Natur nach Einheit'; 154, 'Ich bin mehr als jemals von der Einheit und Untheilbarkeit des Gedichts überzeugt… Die Ilias erscheint mir so rund und fertig, man mag sagen was man will, daß nichts dazu noch davon gethan werden kann.'

([6]) Karl Lehrs, *Kleine Schriften* (Königsberg 1902), 30 f., 'Überhaupt ferner sind die Beziehun-gen in verschiedenen Büchern auf einander, nicht etwa blos in Hauptsachen, sondern in kleinen und Nebenumständen, so mannichfaltig und durchgehend, dass es rein unmöglich scheint, dies mit der Annahme ursprünglich ganz unabhängiger Partien zu vereinigen.'

([7]) Cf. my remarks in *CQ* 49 (1999), 365.

([8]) Cf. (for example) Bergk 727–43; F. Jacoby, 'Die geistige Physiognomie der Odyssee', *Die Antike* 9 (1933), 159–94 = *Kleine philologische Schriften* i (Berlin 1961), 107–38; Alfred Heubeck, *Der Odyssee-Dichter und die Ilias* (Erlangen 1954); Strasburger 109–22; Gabriel Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssée* (Paris 1954),

583–643; R. B. Rutherford, *BICS* 38 (1991–3), 37–54. For the derivation of many passages in the *Odyssey* from the *Iliad* see the detailed study of Knut Usener, *Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis der Odyssee zur Ilias* (Tübingen 1990). He concludes that the poet knew all parts of the *Iliad* apart from the *Doloneia*. I think he probably knew the *Doloneia* too; see the introduction to *K* in Part II.

([9]) I have set out the arguments in greater detail in 'The Invention of Homer', *CQ* 49 (1999), 364–82.

([10]) Paus. 9. 9. 5 = Callin. fr. 6.

([11]) Fick 17 thought it probable that Melesigenes was the poet of the *Wrath*, the oldest stratum in the *Iliad*. Wilamowitz agreed that he must have been a real poet, perhaps the author of the *Margites* (*Die Ilias und Homer*, 370 f., cf. 375 f.).

([12]) Cf. G. W. Nitzsch, loc. cit. (n. 2), 'Aber ungehörig ist es, sich den Gedanken von einem schreibenden Homer gleich zum Bilde eines Schreibers mit der Feder hinter dem Ohr oder mit mühsam versuchtem Setzen und Streichen zu verdrehen.'

([13]) S. Hurgronje, *The Achehnese* (London 1906), ii. 100 f., cited by C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), 441, and quoted more fully by Agathe Thornton, *Homer's Iliad: its Composition and the Motif of Supplication* (Göttingen 1984), 15 f.

([14]) Similarly Goold 12; 17, 'amendments of the text were difficult to make, whilst there was no apparent bar on addition… The clues seem to indicate that Homer was writing down his text, and writing it down in such a laborious way that he preferred expansion and explanation to deletion and alteration.'

([15]) Grumach, op. cit., i. 147, 'Einige Verse im Homer, die für völlig falsch und ganz neu ausgegeben werden, sind von der Art wie ich einige selbst in mein Gedicht, nachdem es fertigwar, eingeschoben habe um das Ganze klarer und faßlicher zu machen und künftige Ereignisse bey Zeiten vorzubereiten.'

([16]) J. H. Voss, *Antisymbolik* (Stuttgart 1824–6), ii. 235 f. So the epic grew by stages, 'nicht durch fremdartige Zusäze [*sic*] von außen her, nein durch des innern Keims triebsame Entwickelung.'

([17]) George Grote, *History of Greece*, new ed., ii (London 1888), 124, cf. 130 f.; likewise Ludwig Friedländer, *Die homerische Kritik von Wolf bis Grote* (Berlin 1853), 25, 68.

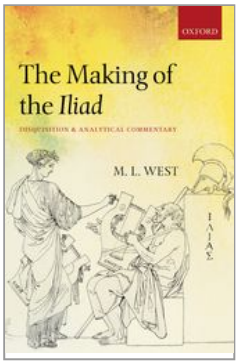
([18]) Christ 23, cf. 42, 45, 55 ff., 92, 95 f.

([19]) See references in Reichel 376 f. It is particularly important for Reinhardt. In my commentaries on Hesiod I found the hypothesis of authorial insertions probable in several places: see *Hes. Th*. index s.v. afterthoughts; *Hes. WD* index s.v. interpolations.

([20]) Schadewaldt 137. Wilamowitz 64 f. had confessed himself defeated by it.

([21]) Cf. Noé 18–21; Goold 10 f.

([22]) Franz Dornseiff, *Antike und alter Orient. Interpretationen* (=*Kleine Schriften* i, Leipzig 1956), 147, ‘Wie stellt man sich denn überhaupt vor, wie ein solches Epos gemacht wird? Auch das größte Genie fügt doch in das im ersten Zug Hingeschriebene noch Zusätze ein, vor allem auch solche, die dann im späteren Verlauf Konsequenzen bringen.’



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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The Poet

When and Where?

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter first summarizes the arguments concerning that date of Homer's epics. It suggests that the *Iliad* must have been composed over an extended period during the seventh century BC, possibly between 680 and 640 BC. Homer would have been born around 700 BC, give or take a decade. The discussion then turns to speculations concerning Homer's home territory. The prevailing assumption, which continues to apply today, was that he came from east of the Aegean. The chapter also considers Homer's travels. As an epic singer, he naturally went from town to town, or from noble house to noble house, to find new audiences. He would have been attracted to gatherings; people who heard him and were impressed by his poems might have invited him to visit their own towns, and the more his reputation spread, the more such invitations he might have received.

Keywords: Homer, Iliad, seventh century, Aegean, epic singer

The ancients had no reliable means of determining the date of 'Homer', and their datings diverged widely. Some naively put him at the time of the Trojan War itself, overlooking certain passages which clearly treat the heroes as belonging to an era remote from the poet's. Others put him some decades after the war but before the Return of the Heraclids and the Ionian migrations, of which he showed no knowledge. Others again, believing him to have been a native of Smyrna, had to date him no earlier than the supposed foundation of that city. Herodotus (2. 53. 2) opines that Hesiod and Homer lived '400 years

before me, and not more', in clear opposition to earlier datings. Homer's legendary meeting with Lycurgus provided a synchronism for others to clutch at. When the epitaph for Midas (Hom. *Epigr*. 3) is ascribed to him, that would imply, on serious consideration, that he was alive in 696/5. There were those who put him a generation later still, in the time of Gyges and Archilochus.[1]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was widely assumed that the Homeric poems had evolved over a period of some five hundred years down to the time of Pisistratus. It was common to think of their principal creator as having lived back in the eleventh or tenth century. Eventually scholars found themselves forced to give up such early datings. Epic songs must have existed in those times, and if they were available to us we should no doubt be able to trace connections between some of them and our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But these preserved epics must date from an epoch when writing was available for their fixation: cf. chapter 1, Proposition 4. It follows that no date before 800 BCE can be considered.

Does that mean, then, that the date of the epics must be brought down to *a little after 800*? Only, clearly, if there is some good reason to keep it as high as possible. If there is not, then *after 800* may equally well mean *quite a long time after 800*. The point needs to be made because we have to be aware, and wary, **(p.16)** of a phenomenon that I call dogmatic drag: obsolete views go on exercising a pull even after being discredited, and they put a brake on progress towards a new position. Having been accustomed for generations to think of the formative period of epic as lying two or three centuries before the emergence of the lyric and elegiac poets, scholars continued, when they found themselves compelled to narrow the gap, to cling to the highest date for the Homeric poems that still seemed allowable. The middle of the eighth century became a favourite dating; possibly a little after 750, but certainly not as late as 700. The *Iliad* still had to be the best part of a century older than Archilochus.

This remains a not uncommon position. However, when attempts are made to support it with arguments, these turn out to be easily refutable.[2] Over the last fifty years an increasing number of scholars have seen reason to bring both epics down into the seventh century.[3] On their side they have arguments that are not easily refutable, indeed not refutable at all but, taken together, compelling. I will summarize them.[4]

First there is an argument *ex silentio*. The *Iliad* became widely known across Greece and made a tremendous impression. We might expect it to have started producing observable effects in art and literature within a generation or so of its creation. As for art: whereas non-Iliadic scenes from the Trojan War (the Judgment of Paris, the recovery of Achilles' body, the suicide of Ajax, the Wooden Horse, the death of Astyanax, Menelaos' reunion with Helen) are documented from about 700 onward, scenes unequivocally based on the *Iliad* do not appear

till the last quarter of the seventh century.[5] As for literature: the first reasonably clear echoes of the *Iliad*, apart from those in the *Odyssey*, which we cannot date closely, are in Mimnermus and Alcaeus.[6] Mimnermus was active sometime in the last third of the seventh century, Alcaeus around the end of that century and the beginning of the sixth.[7] **(p.17)**

Art and literature, then, suggest a *terminus ante quem* of about 630. We should not in any case want to consider any date much after that. By 600, vase-painters are beginning to depict figures from post-Iliadic narratives such as Dolon (from *Iliad K*) and Penthesileia and Memnon (from the *Aethiopis*), none of whom, probably, had been invented when the *Iliad* was composed.[8]

But we are more interested in finding a *terminus post quem*. A series of indications point to the seventh century rather than the eighth, and some of them point to a date after 680.

Firstly, a number of passages appear to show knowledge of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*,[9] and others show acquaintance with the kind of martial elegy practised by poets such as Callinus and Tyrtaeus. One passage, indeed, is modelled either on a passage of Tyrtaeus or on some other very similar one.[10] These elegists were active around the middle of the seventh century. The genre may well have existed before that, but where we find P showing such close affinities with poetry of this time, it suggests at least that he did not live generations earlier. As for Hesiod, we cannot date him closely. In the past I have put him between 730 and 690, on the grounds that the Amphidamas at whose funeral games he won a prize in Chalcis (*Op*. 654–7) is connected by Plutarch with the Lelantine War, a shadowy conflict that perhaps belongs in the last third of the eighth century. But those are very insecure data. A somewhat lower date would be more comfortable for the catalogue of rivers in *Theogony* 337–45, which includes the Nile and the Danube as well as some lesser rivers of the southern and western shores of the Black Sea. One cannot say that this would have been impossible in the late eighth century, but it would be less surprising a generation later.

The *Iliad* does not mention the Nile or Danube, but it does presuppose some Greek knowledge of Egypt and some penetration of the Black Sea. The passage about the wealth of Egyptian Thebes (*I* 381–4) must reflect that city's prosperity in the XXVth Dynasty (715–663). Walter Burkert has famously contended that what most brought this wealth to the world's attention was the display of booty taken from it by Assurbanipal in 663, and that the *Iliad* passage postdates that event.[11] Whether or not we embrace that particular scenario, the passage is a strong pointer to the seventh century, and anyone **(p.18)** who argues otherwise is indulging in special pleading. And when in *N* 4–6 Zeus turns his eyes northwards to the lands of the horse-herding Thracians and of the *Ἱππημολγοὶ γλακτοφάγοι*, the Mare-milkers who live on dairy produce, P reveals a

geographical horizon that extends beyond the Danube to the lands of steppe pastoralists. These are not fabulous people but real ones that Greek explorers encountered after penetrating into the Black Sea and beyond the mouth of the Danube. Archaeology, however, finds no evidence at all of Greeks in the Black Sea before 700. The earliest settlements do not appear till around the middle of the seventh century.

The design of Achilles' shield, with its scenes of battles, cities, and so on, has its closest archaeological parallels in Cypro-Phoenician metal dishes and bowls of the period 710–675.[12] These have elaborate scenes inspired by Assyrian palace reliefs, depicting buildings and cities, including one under attack from an enemy army (cf. *Σ* 509 ff.), men riding on horseback or in chariots, and country landscapes as the background to dramatic action. In one case the circular composition is enclosed by a serpent, rather as the scenes on Achilles' shield are enclosed by the circling stream of Oceanus. When one looks at reproductions of these marvellous artefacts, it is hard to avoid the conviction that P must have seen something much like them. In *Ψ* 741–7 Achilles gives a Phoenician silver crater of outstanding beauty as a prize in the foot-race.

Orientalizing art of the seventh century is presupposed by the Gorgon blazon on Athena's aegis in *E* 741 f. and Agamemnon's shield in *Λ* 36 f. The Gorgoneion is a device first attested in this function around 670, after which it is not uncommon.[13] More generally, the weaponry and combat tactics described in the *Iliad* show a whole series of features characteristic of the first half of the seventh century and in most cases less appropriate to an earlier date: the dominance of the spear as against the sword and the bow; the alternation of paired throwing spears with single thrusting spears; bell-corslets; Corinthian-type helmets; bronze greaves (if these are not a Mycenaean reminiscence); single-grip bronze-faced shields; archers shooting from the protection of a hoplite's shield.[14]

As an alternative to Egyptian Thebes as a paradigm of wealth Achilles refers to Apollo's shrine at Pytho (*I* 404 f.). Delphi was a functioning oracular **(p.19)** centre from perhaps 800, if not before, but its reputation took time to spread. During the eighth century it is far surpassed in the wealth of its dedications by Perachora. Towards the end of the century there is an increase in imported pottery, but it was surely not until after 700 that an Ionian poet would be likely to look to it as the supreme treasurehouse of Greece, on a par with the prewar wealth of Troy.[15]

The other great focus of Panhellenic attention in this period was Olympia. In *Λ* 698–701 Nestor speaks of a prize-winning, four-horse chariot team that his father had sent to compete at games in Elis; unlike other games mentioned in the *Iliad*, they are not designated as funeral games. The Olympic Games were not supposed to have existed in the heroic age, but scholars have rightly supposed that P must have them in view in this passage. Their traditional

foundation date was 776, though there is reason to think that this may be several decades too early. In any case it appears to have been only around 700 that they began to attract more than a local crowd, and only in 680 that chariot racing began.[16]

To prolong the fighting P makes the Achaeans build a defence wall around their ships. This is his invention; he knows that there is no trace of such a wall to be seen on the site. To account for its disappearance he postulates that after the war Poseidon and Apollo diverted all the rivers of the Troad to the place and washed it completely away. I have argued that this fine fiction was inspired by Sennacherib's overthrow of Babylon in 689, when he diverted river waters into the city for the express purpose of carrying its structures away so that people in the future should find no trace of it. Eleven years later his son and successor Esarhaddon began to rebuild the devastated city. In the *Iliad* narrative I found a series of echoes of both kings' official propaganda as recorded on their inscriptions relating to these events.[17]

I have said that the *Iliad* must have been composed over an extended period. The considerations reviewed above indicate that this period fell within the seventh century, and in its mid part, probably between 680 and 640. P will have been born around 700, give or take a decade.

(p.20) Home territory

In antiquity various cities contended for the honour of having been Homer's home. Smyrna appears to have had the oldest claim as his birthplace, though he was held to have lived on Chios and to have died on Ios. There is no historical basis to these traditions. The Smyrnaean claim was founded on the story that Homer was born from or beside the river Meles; but that derived from a false interpretation of the name Melesigenes which the poet was supposed originally to have borne.[18]

The assumption was in any case, in the early period at least, that he came from east of the Aegean. This is also the universal supposition today, at any rate as regards the poet of the *Iliad*, and there is good reason for it. Someone who speaks of the north and west winds as blowing onshore from Thrace (*I* 5–9) has to be situated in Asia Minor. But the best evidence comes from other passages where P most obviously shows local knowledge or draws on personal experience of a particular locality.[19]

In *B* 459 ff. he likens the Achaeans, pouring forth from their ships onto the plain, to the hordes of geese, cranes, and swans noisily flapping and settling on the water meadows beside the Cayster. This is surely not a stock simile that P has taken over from other singers. He has witnessed the spectacle, and it comes to his mind as he pictures the Achaeans mobilizing for battle.

A little earlier he has compared their turbulent assembly to the turbulence of the Icarian sea when the south and east winds stir up its waves (*B* 144–6). Why the Icarian sea in particular, the sea south of Samos? Is it more liable to rough water than other parts of the Aegean? Again, the likeliest answer is that P himself has had experience of it. He has sailed over it and seen what he describes.

In *Y* 403–5 one of Achilles' victims, speared in the back, belches out his life like a sacrificial bull that the young men drag to the altar of Poseidon Helikonios. This refers to the Panionion at Mykale, a cult centre where all Ionians gathered. P had been there and witnessed the bull sacrifice. Such gatherings provided a natural occasion for epic singers to perform, and he had very likely captivated crowds there with his recitals.[20]

A few lines earlier (*Y* 381–92) Achilles has killed one Iphition, who was born in Hyde below Mount Tmolos, and boasted over him, 'here is your death, though your birth was at the Gygaean Lake, where you have your **(p.21)** family allotment on the fishy Hyllos and the swirling Hermos'. This curious cluster of topographical details implies that P knew more than most people about the upper Hermos valley.[21] The lake lies a few miles north across the Hermos from Sardis and Tmolos; the fish-rich Hyllos joins the Hermos some 25 miles higher up. P must have known Sardis itself, though he avoids mentioning it, unless it is the Hyde of *Y* 385 or the Tarne of *E* 44.[22]

Lower down the river, towards Smyrna, lies Mount Sipylos, where there was a rock formation resembling a tear-streaked woman's face: the weeping Niobe, whom the gods turned to stone. P tells her story in *Ω* 602–17, naming Sipylos and the local stream Akeles(ios) (cf. *Ω* 616 n.). Again we may assume that he knew the locality.[23] Whether or not he had seen Niobe himself, he had been in the area where people spoke of her.

When in his catalogue of the Trojans' allies he works his way down from the Troad to Lycia, it is noticeable that the most detail is to be found in the Maeonian (Lydian) and Carian sections, *B* 864–9. There he again mentions the Gygaean Lake and Tmolos, as well as Miletus, the Phthiron Oros, the Maeander, and Mykale.

If we plot all these sites on a map (overleaf), a coherent picture emerges. P is familiar with the Hermos and Cayster valleys, country within two or three days' walk of Smyrna. This we may identify as his home territory.[24] He has been down to Mykale for the Panionia, within easy reach of the Maeander valley and Miletus. From somewhere in that region he has taken ship and sailed out on the Icarian sea to some island destination.

Travels

When Hera returns from Ida to Olympus after the seduction of Zeus, she completes her journey in an instant, ‘like the thought of a much-travelled man who thinks to himself “I wish I were there, or there”’ (*O* 80–3). Again, this is no stock simile. The lines were conceived by a poet who was himself much travelled and knew what it was like to call to mind the places he had visited.[25] As an epic singer, P naturally went from town to town, or from noble house to noble house, to find new audiences. He will have been attracted to **(p.22)**

gatherings such as those at the Panionion. People who heard him there and were impressed by his poems might have invited him to visit their own towns, and the more his reputation spread, the more such invitations he might have received.

Where was he heading when he crossed the Icarian sea? He knows a story that Heracles, after sacking Troy, was driven by storms over that sea to Cos (*Ξ* 250–6, *O* 26–8). There, as another source records, the hyperactive hero sacked the city of Eurypylos and his sons (‘Hes.’ fr. 43a. 61–5; cf. *B* 676–9). Cos is the likeliest place for P to have picked up this piece of local mythology, and we may speculate that he went there.

P’s territory

(p.23) On similarly slender evidence I suggest extending his conjectural voyage to Rhodes, Lycia, and Cyprus. He knows Rhodes’ foundation legend, its tribal organization, and its great prosperity (*B* 657–70). He knows too the story of a conflict between its founder Tlepolemos, a son of Heracles, and the Lycian Sarpedon. He transfers it to Troy (*E* 628–62), but Rhodes and Lycia face each other across the water and it has long been seen that this piece of saga belongs down there in the south.

P knows more Lycian mythology than this. The ruling house in Xanthos traced its descent back to Sisyphos’ grandson Bellerophon, and there was a nice story, which P relates (*Z* 152–95), of how Bellerophon had come to Lycia and how, after overcoming a series of dangers, he had been given the king’s daughter in marriage and half the kingdom to go with her. P brings a grandson of Bellerophon’s, Glaukos, to fight at Troy in company with Sarpedon. But besides

knowing the local myths about them, he knows how Lycians dress (*Π* 419 *ἀμιτροχίτωνας*), and he knows of a tomb of Sarpedon in Lycia; because of it he has to supply an account of how, after Patroclus slew Sarpedon at Troy, Sleep and Death transported his body back to his homeland for burial.[26] All this suggests that P had some first-hand knowledge of Lycia. In about 690 the Rhodians had founded a colony at Phaselis, on the far side of Lycia from Xanthos. There was no doubt regular traffic to it, and if Rhodian–Lycian relations were friendly at the time the ships would naturally have called at Patara, the harbour town for Xanthos. There P might have gone, entertained the rulers with his songs and received their hospitality, learned their legends, and repaid them by incorporating their heroes in his epic.[27]

Apart from calling Aphrodite ‘Kypris’ (in E only), he mentions Cyprus but once. In the arming scene where Agamemnon takes up the shield with the Gorgon blazon, he first dons an elaborately decorated cuirass that Cinyras had sent him when the news reached Cyprus of the Achaeans’ impending expedition against Troy (*Λ* 19–23). The introduction of Cinyras is strange, as he lies outside the world of regular epic myth. He appears in the tradition as a musical priest-king, a wealthy dandy. No Cypriots fight at Troy; the Achaean Catalogue goes no further east than Rhodes. Perhaps P was describing a piece **(p.24)** of armour that he knew to be of Cypriot workmanship and brought Cinyras in to account for its provenance. But perhaps he had established a contact with Cyprus and felt the impulse to give the island an honourable mention in his poem. The hypothesis that he spent some time there—some months, shall we say—has several attractions. Perhaps he did not need to go there to encounter Cypro-Phoenician silverware of the sort described earlier in connection with the shield of Achilles. But the fact that his account of Patroclus’ funeral ritual has so many points of contact with the eighth/seventh-century royal funerals at Cyprian Salamis[28] would be easier to explain if he had been present at such a funeral. And it might have been in Cyprus that he heard the story that Paris and Helen, before reaching Troy, made a diversion to the eastern mediterranean and visited Sidon (*Z* 290–2). According to Apollodorus they also spent time in Cyprus, and this was no doubt related in the *Cypria*.[29] The *Cypria* was not yet current in P’s time in the form known in the classical period, but it is likely enough that epic poetry was already established in Cyprus and that it treated some of the material that later went into the *Cypria*.

Above all, Cyprus’ proximity to the Levant makes it a promising source for some of P’s orientalism. Cypriot kings at the time were rendering tribute to Assyria. In Cyprus, sooner than in Greece, P might have heard of the wealth of Egyptian Thebes and of the remote people beyond Egypt, the Aithiopes. Here he might have come into contact with bilingual Phoenician storytellers and heard all sorts of unfamiliar narratives from oriental tradition, related with oriental mannerisms and stylistic features.[30]

The Troad

I have no doubt that P also spent time at Troy and that his picture of it and of the surrounding landscape was informed by what he saw there. The city was a ruin in his time, but the massive walls of the Bronze Age citadel still towered up to a height of twenty feet above ground. He must have sat on that windy eminence, like the modern visitor, and admired the panorama.

Today, looking north, one can see in the distance a small stretch of the Dardanelles, which is the only visible open sea. But in P's time the coastline **(p. 25)** came much further in towards the city, making a wide bay between Sigeion and Rhoiteion that would have been conspicuous from Ilios.[31] Everyone must have taken it for granted that that was where the Achaeans had landed and made their camp. Between the shoreline and the city lay an expanse of plain, over a mile this way and that, bounded on the left by the Scamander. It was (and is) easy to picture the battles raging to and fro down there.

To the west, although the land horizon hides the sea, one can see the islands of Tenedos and Imbros and, on a clear day, the peak of Samothrace rising behind Imbros. Only a poet who had observed this would have thought to seat Poseidon 'high on the topmost peak of Thracian Samos' to watch the fighting, 'for from there could be seen all of Ida, and the city of Priam, and the ships of the Achaeans' (*N* 12 f.). And it was because of the visibility of Imbros from Troy, I suppose, that P made Hera and Hypnos use it as a stepping-stone on the way from Lemnos to Ida (*Ξ* 281 n.).

As he explored the countryside around Troy P took note of various tumuli and other landmarks that were to be seen in the plain and learned from local people what some of them were: the tombs of Aisyietes (*B* 793), Myrina (*B* 811–14), Ilos (*Λ* 166, 371 f., *Ω* 349); Heracles' refuge (*Y* 145–8); an unidentified structure about which he had to make his own surmise (*Ψ* 327–32 n.). Pacing out the shore of the bay, he determined that 'wide as it was, it could not accommodate all the ships' in a single line, and he concluded that they must have been staggered (*Ξ* 33–6).

He noted that the Scamander is lined with elms, willows, and tamarisks.[32] From the phantasmagoric episode that he creates in *Φ*, where Scamander bursts his banks and pursues Achilles across the plain until Hephaestus scorches him up, it may be inferred that he had seen the river both flooding in winter or spring and dried up in the heat of summer.[33] He has often been accused of giving contradictory indications about the Scamander's course and whether it had to be crossed at some point between the city and the ships.[34] The difficulties are slighter than has been supposed; they arise mainly from the unnecessary assumption that whenever people approach the ford, as in *Ξ* 433, *Φ* 1, *Ω* 692, they must be crossing the river. (See *E* 774 n.) Otherwise there are just two problematic passages, one that speaks of the **(p.26)** Simoeis as confluent with

the Scamander (*E* 774) and one that speaks of two springs of the Scamander, hot and cold, rising close by the walls of Troy (*X* 147–52). The latter passage at least must involve a confusion on P's part. Neither of them, however, cancels out the weight of evidence for his personal knowledge of the area.[35]

If he was familiar with the Scamander's behaviour at different seasons of the year, the implication is that he did not merely make a brief visit to Troy but came more than once or remained over a prolonged period. This is to be connected with the fact that he had, or acquired, a patron in the region, as was long ago concluded from Poseidon's words in *Y* 306–8: 'Zeus has turned against the family of Priam, and now it is Aeneas who will reign over the Trojans, and his sons' sons who shall be born in after time.' There is a very similar prophecy in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (196 f.), where Aphrodite tells Anchises, 'you are to have a son who will reign among the Trojans, as will the sons born to his sons continually.' The two passages clearly imply that the dynasty is to continue indefinitely, that is, into the poets' own time. They evidently knew a noble family in the Troad who claimed descent from Aeneas and who ruled over 'Trojans', and they composed those prophecies for the gratification of that family.[36]

They do not say that Aeneas' descendants are to rule in Troy/Ilios itself, and while there was a small Aeolic settlement at Ilios in P's time, it can hardly have been a regional power centre or royal seat. Aeneas is associated in the *Iliad* with Dardania, the upland region in the southern Troad (*B* 819, *Y* 188 ff., etc.). In the genealogy in *Y* 215–40, which links his line with Priam's, Dardanos is the common ancestor, and Dardania is claimed to have been founded before Ilios, thus giving it primacy. Before Troy was sacked, according to the *Iliou Persis*, Aeneas left the city and went up to Ida, that is, to Dardania. All this implies that it was in Dardania that his line was supposed to have continued. The Hellenistic antiquarian Demetrius of Scepsis identified his own city, which lay in the upper valley of the Scamander, as Aeneas' seat (Strabo 13. 1. 53), and Strabo also records a tradition that for a long time there were two royal lines in Scepsis, one descended from Aeneas' son Askanios, the other from Hector's son Skamandrios. The survival of Hector's line, however, is contradicted by the prophecy in the *Iliad*. Scepsis may have been quite a recent foundation in P's time, and he makes no mention of it,[37] but it is a plausible candidate to be the home of his Aineiad patron or patrons.

(p.27) Wherever exactly they lived, we may presume that P did not just pay them a passing call but stayed with them for some time.[38] He will not have been their first poet, and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* shows that he was not their last. Perhaps he made his way to them because he had heard of their interest in epic song; perhaps his reputation for it had reached their ears and they invited him. He will have arrived in the Troad from the south, likely enough by way of Lesbos. Most of the shipping would have been sailing into the Adramyttian Gulf, not up towards Ilios, and we may imagine P disembarking at Assos and hiking

north-eastwards up the valley of the Satnioeis (Tuzla Çay). On his right he would have seen the peak of Gargaron, the highest in the vicinity, where he places Zeus' shrine and altar and makes him sit to watch the battle (*Θ* 48). It would have taken him a couple of days to reach the upper Scamander, and a couple more to get down to the Trojan plain. Do not picture him, then, passing the day at Troy and repairing to the Aineiadai's house for dinner, but rather alternating spells down at Ilios or one of the neighbouring settlements with spells up in Dardania.

Notes:

([1]) For the ancient datings see Felix Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902), 98–107; id., *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904), 152–7; id., *FGrHist* IIIb (Suppl.) i. 578 f., ii. 475 (commentary on Philochorus 328 F 210–11); G. Raddatz, *RE* viii. 2206–13. Seventh-century datings: Theopompus 115 F 205; Euphorion fr. 198 Lightfoot; Strabo 1. 2. 9, cf. 1. 1. 10, 3. 2. 12; Tatian, *Ad Graecos* 31.

([2]) See *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 203–6.

([3]) See bibliography cited in *JHS* 118 (1998), 190 n. 2; W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* (Stuttgart 2002), 98 n. 8.

([4]) As in *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 206–18, to which I refer for a fuller exposition, I confine myself to the *Iliad*. For a wider perspective see my paper 'Towards a chronology of early Greek epic', in Øivind Andersen–Dag Haug (edd.), *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Cambridge 2010), 1–14.

([5]) Cf. K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967); Klaus Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969), esp. 169–85; Anthony Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (Cambridge 1998), esp. 132; *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 207.

([6]) Mimnermus fr. 2. 1–4 ≈*Z* 146–9; fr. 14. 1–3 ≈ *Δ* 372–5, *E* 93, 800; Alcaeus fr. 44 ≈ *A* 351–428, 495–510 (episodes that establish the governing framework for the epic); fr. 395 ≈*Φ* 218–20.

([7]) On the chronology of Mimnermus cf. my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin–New York 1974), 72–4; Archibald Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus* (Stuttgart 1993), 9–12. The *Odyssey* too, in my view, belongs to the late seventh century; see *CQ* 53 (2003), 13 and the forthcoming paper cited in n. 4.

([8]) For Memnon see *CQ* 53 (2003), 1–14. He is known to the *Odyssey* poet (*λ* 522) and to Alcman (*PMGF* 68). Hes. *Th*. [984] is later.

([9]) See notes on *B* 781, 782, 783, *Δ* 59, *E* 158, *Z* 266, *Θ* 13–16, 404, 443, 478–82, *I* 502, *M* 20–2, 23, *N* 19, 333–44, *Ξ* 231, 279, *O* 224–5, *Π* 387–8, *P* 32, 549–50, 738, *Σ* 39–49, 419–20, 486, *Y* 56–66, 491–2, *X* 126, *Ψ* 87, 631, *Ω* 428.

([10]) See below, pp. 35 f.

([11]) *Wien. St*. 89 (1976), 5–21 =*Kl. Schr*. i. 59–71.

([12]) See Edwards 203–6 with illustrations and literature; G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the mediterranean* (Berlin 1985), esp. 151–5.

([13]) W. Burkert, *Wien St*. 89 (1976), 19 n. 42 =*Kl. Schr*. i. 70; Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC* iv(1). 300, 322. Gorgons do not appear at all in art before the seventh century.

([14]) See H. van Wees, *Greece and Rome* 41 (1994), 1–18, 131–55, esp. 138–46; id. in H. v. W. (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London–Swansea 2000), 125–66; my remarks in *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 209 f.

([15]) Cf. Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge 1990), 126–47, who finds no convincing evidence of a temple in the sanctuary area before the mid seventh century; M. W. Dickie in Øivind Andersen–Matthew Dickie (edd.), *Homer's World. Fiction, Tradition, Reality* (Bergen 1995), 37.

([16]) Paus. 5. 8. 7; M. W. Dickie, op. cit., 37 f.; J. P. Crielaard in J. P. C. (ed.), *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam 1995), 258 f.; W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* (Stuttgart 2002), 101–4; id., *Hermes* 137 (2009), 14 f.

([17]) *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 211–18; cf. *EFH* 377–80.

([18]) On the ancient biographical tradition cf. my *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge Mass. 2003), 309–13. For Melesigenes cf. above, pp. 9 f.

([19]) Cf. Kullmann (as in n. 16), 107–9.

([20]) Cf. Müller 28 n. 2; Mazon 217; VdM 307.

([21]) On its accuracy cf. Robin Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* (London 2008), 351.

([22]) As some thought in antiquity. The Gygaean Lake was surely not named after Gyges, as Dickie supposes (as n. 15, 39 f.); more likely Gyges had his name from the locality.

([23]) Cf. Bergk 640 n. 307.

([24]) We hear of another epic poet who operated in the same area at the same period: Magnes of Smyrna, author of a poem on an Amazon invasion of Lydia (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90 F 62, probably drawing on Xanthos of Sardis).

([25]) Bergk 652 n. 330; Robert 479.

([26]) *Π* 453–7 ~ 666–83. The early fifth-century ‘Harpy tomb’ at Xanthos, which depicts winged beings bearing the dead away, suggests the possibility that a native Lycian conception underlies Sarpedon’s transportation. Sch^{T} *Π* 673 notes: *ἠρῶιον φαίνεται Σαρπηδόνος ἐν Λυκίαι· τινὲς δὲ Γλαῦκον κατελθόντα θάψαι αὐτόν*. Eustathius (1069. 37, quoted in *Π* 457 n.) rightly explains that Homer knew of Sarpedon’s burial in Lycia and devised the super-natural conveyance of the corpse to reconcile this with his glorious death at Troy. The monument, or a Hellenistic refurbishment of it, features in Appian’s narrative of the Civil War, *BC* 4. 78, 79 (*τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον*).

([27]) Cf. L. Malten, *Hermes* 79 (1944), 1–12; Alfred Heubeck, *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Sprache und Literatur* (Erlangen 1984), 17 f.

([28]) Cf. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977), 349–51; Richardson 187 f., 197, 199 f.

([29]) Apollod. epit. 3. 4. Proclus mentions only Sidon (*Cypria* arg. 5). In the version of the epic known to Herodotus (2. 117) the eastern adventures were absent.

([30]) For oriental (west Asiatic) elements in the Homeric poems see *EFH* and the numerous cross-references to it in Part II below. But I must emphasize, as in *EFH* 586, 629, that they cannot be accounted for by any single factor.

([31]) See I. Kayan, *Studia Troica* 5 (1995), 221 fig. 8; 10 (2000), 137 fig. 2. Cf. *Ξ* 36 *ἠϊόνος στόμα μακρόν, ὅσον συνεέργαθον ἄακραι*; *Σ* 140 *θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον*, *Φ* 125.

([32]) *Φ* 350. Cf. Leaf, *Troy* 10, ‘To-day the river-channel through the plain is marked by the line of low willows and elm-bushes… and the tamarisks spread from the banks in thick copses… it is impossible not to feel that a poet’s eye has seized the very marks which best single out the banks of the Scamander from the surrounding plain.’

([33]) Cf. Part II, introduction to *Y*, and Cook 293–5 for documentation of the river’s behavioural extremes.

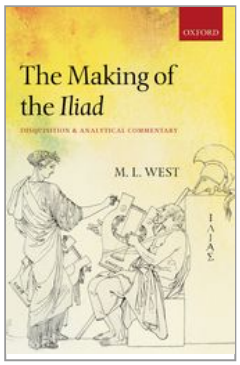
([34]) E.g. Rudolf Hercher, *Homerische Aufsätze* (Berlin 1881), 50–6; Christ 52 f.; Leaf on *E* 355.

([35]) See the notes on the two passages in Part II.

([36]) K. E. Schubarth, *Ideen über Homer und sein Zeitalter* (Breslau 1821), and many since; most recently Andrew Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford 2008), 4–10, with bibliography.

([37]) Unless it be the *Δαρδανίη* of *Y* 216, as suggested by Jachmann 260 n. 31.

([38]) Cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes* 68 (1933), 43 = *Kl. phil. Schr*. i. 45 f., ‘Der Schluß scheint nicht zu umgehen, daß der Iliasdichter zu diesem Geschlecht in persönlichen Beziehungen gestanden, daß er an seinem Hofe vielleicht nicht nur vorgetragen, sondern gelebt hat.’



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Songs Known and Heard

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter reviews the wide range of epic and other poetry that was in circulation during Homer's time. These works framed his vision of the heroic world; set the background against which his *Iliad would stand*; and supplied the motifs, structures, and sometimes verses that he could adapt to his own use. Among these are epic tales set in Greek lands, legends about Heracles, myths relating to Troy and Dardania, poems about the Trojan War, and non-heroic poetry. The study of his debts to poems on other themes constitutes what has been known as Neoanalysis.

Keywords: Homer, epic, poetry, Iliad, Neoanalysis, Einzellied

Volumes i and iii of the Harvard publication *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs* contain, besides translations of various poems from the Parry collection, information about each of the singers represented. Most of them, it emerges, knew not just one song but many, sometimes dozens. Avdo Međedović, the singer of the mammoth *Wedding of Smailagić Meho*, had a repertory of fifty-eight, and Salih Ugljanin claimed to know about a hundred, though another singer from Novi Pazar disputed this (i. 265). It is a reasonable supposition that the epic singers of archaic Greece too each had a range of themes at their disposal. The poet of the *Odyssey* implies as much when he portrays the Phaeacian bard Demodokos as performing a succession of songs on different subjects, the third of them being one that Odysseus requests (θ 492 ff.). We may reasonably wonder: what poems did P know?

The question is not a simple one. In any language that we speak or write, each of us has an active working vocabulary of words and expressions that we actually use, and a larger penumbra of words and expressions that we understand when we encounter them but do not ourselves employ. The boundaries are not fixed, as we may from time to time bring items from the latter category into the former. In the same way, it may be supposed, an oral poet has an active repertory of songs that he has internalized and performed, while there are others that he has heard, and so gained acquaintance with the stories contained in them, but not meditated so as to make them his own. In the *Iliad* we find numerous references to myths and stories lying outside the ambit of the poem. Most of them will be based on other poems that P knew. Some of them will have been items in his active repertory, others poems that he had heard but not personally internalized and sung.[1]

(p.29) Epic tales set in Greek lands

By no means all of them were connected with the Trojan War. P was familiar with the stories of the failed attack on Thebes by the Seven and the more successful one by their sons, the Epigonoi, three of whom he has fighting at Troy; the way he refers to subsidiary episodes of the saga suggests knowledge of an ample epic narrative, and there are certain lines that he may have adapted from this source.[2] The funeral games for Oedipus mentioned at *Ψ* 679 f. may be his own invention *ad hoc*, but they are at least evidence that he knows something of Oedipus as a major Theban of a past era.

Tydeus, as Diomedes' father, is the figure from the Theban cycle who receives most attention. But he came from Aetolia, and his pedigree, given in *Ξ* 115–19, brings two earlier generations of Aetolian heroes into view, those of Portheus and his sons, one of whom was Tydeus' father Oineus. Other passages show that P feels at home in this branch of Aetolian saga. On his own initative and for his own purposes he brings Oineus into the story of Bellerophon (*Z* 216 ff.). In the Catalogue of Ships he tells us that the Aetolians were led by Thoas, son of Andraimon, because Oineus and his sons were no longer alive, and the great Meleager was dead (*B* 638–42). Meleager, son of Oineus and half-brother to Tydeus, is the hero of a tale that Phoenix relates at length to Achilles in the Embassy episode, clearly following a pre-existing epic poem. I suspect that it was one that P himself performed, and that he has adapted verses and motifs from it in certain other passages.[3]

Another body of saga was centred on the kingdom of Pylos. This too had a representative at Troy: Nestor, a man old enough to recall the heroic history of the western Peloponnese from his youth a generation or more before. He gives in *H* 132–56 and *Λ* 670–761 accounts of the Pylians' wars against their neighbours the Arcadians and the Elean Epeioi that contain too much circumstantial detail to have been concocted *ad hoc*. Heracles comes into the story as an opponent of the Pylians (cf. *E* 395–402), as do the giant Ereuthalion,

wielder of an iron mace, and the fabulous Molionid twins. In *Ψ* 630–42 Nestor recalls his successes in the funeral games for the Epeian king Amarynkeus, which perhaps have less of a basis in tradition but are at any rate **(p.30)** attached to a traditional personage. These are all shreds from a larger tapestry, more of which found its way into the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 33–5 M.–W.) and *Scutum* (359–67). A focal event seems to have been the great battle for Pylos in which Heracles fought against gods with Athena's help, killed all the twelve sons of Neleus except for Nestor (who was else-where), and sacked the city. In the *Iliad* this crisis is played down as a past setback (*Λ* 690–3); Nestor is king of a flourishing Pylos, and the narrative is all shaped to exalt his personal achievements in various fields. But P was evidently closely acquainted with a poem or poems that covered this saga more fully and coherently.[4] It would not be surprising if such poetry enjoyed some popularity in Ionia, where the nobility of several cities—Colophon, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus—traced its history back to Neleids from Pylos.[5]

P makes occasional allusion to various mythical episodes of the pre-Trojan era relating to Thessaly: Jason's voyage in the Argo (presupposed by his Lemnian son Euneos, *Φ* 41, *Ψ* 747, and if genuine *H* 468 f.); the war of the Lapiths and Centaurs, to which Nestor claims to have travelled from afar (*A* 260–73); the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, which all the gods attended (*P* 195 f., *Σ* 84 f., *Ω* 59–63; Kullmann 230–6). Here we do not have such clear evidence that P knew extended epic versions. In the case of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis the references to Apollo's having played the lyre (*Ω* 62 f.) and to specific wedding gifts (*P* 195 f., *Σ* 84 f., cf. *Π* 143–4 n.) certainly suggest a prior poetic treatment of some kind, though not necessarily a heroic poem.

Heracles and his sons

Legends about Heracles were current in abundance. Hesiod repeatedly alludes to them.[6] Archilochus retold the story of the wooing of Deianeira (frr. 286–8). Artists were depicting others of the hero's exploits. In the *Iliad*, apart from the story of Heracles' birth, his subjection to Eurystheus, and the succession of labours that he had to undertake at his behest (*Ξ* 323 f., *T* 95–133, *Θ* 362–9, *O* 639 f.), we hear of his attack on Pylos (*E* 395–7, *Λ* 689–93) and especially of his sack of Laomedon's Troy (*E* 638–51, *Y* 145–8) and his subsequent arrival on Cos (*Ξ* 250–61, *O* 18–30, cf. *B* 677; more in 'Hes.' fr. 43a. **(p.31)** 61–5). Mentions of Oichalia as the city of Eurytos (*B* 596, 730) may point to another of his adventures, the one recalled in *θ* 224–8 and *ϕ* 13–41. This was the subject of an epic *Capture of Oichalia* that some ascribed to Homer, others to Creophylus, but we have no means of telling whether it was composed early enough to have been known to P.

The labours for Eurystheus formed a coherent story, and there must have been narrative accounts of his successful accomplishment of the whole series of tasks, none of which individually need have occupied as much as a hundred lines. The

Trojan exploit did not belong to that series, and it was no doubt the subject of a separate poem; there is enough detail in the Iliadic references to suggest this, though it need not have been a poem of any great length. The Coan sequel may have been separate again. It evidently involved a *Διὸς ἀπάτη* similar to the one in *Ξ*, with Hera persuading Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep while she took action contrary to his will. Some have conjectured that this was related in a burlesque epyllion of similar character to Demodokos' song about Ares and Aphrodite in *θ* 266–366.[7]

In exchange for the destruction of Troy, Hera agrees that Zeus may at his convenience destroy her own three favoured cities, Argos, Sparta, and Mycene (*Δ* 40–56). This is presumably connected with the traditions about the Return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian invasions, which may have taken poetic form; certainly they were accommodated in the later 'Hesiodic' catalogue poetry.[8] Already before the Trojan War one son of Heracles, according to P, had led a new settlement to what was in classical times Dorian territory: Tlepolemos to Rhodes. The foundation legend is summarized in *B* 657–70.

Tlepolemos makes only one appearance in the action of the *Iliad*, in the episode at *E* 627–98 in which he fights the Lycian Sarpedon and is killed by him. Rhodes and Lycia are not far apart, and it has long been suspected that the encounter derives from a local saga that originally had nothing to do with Troy. I suggested in the last chapter that P had visited Rhodes and/or Lycia. There he may have heard the legends about Tlepolemos. But they were not necessarily embodied in poems.

The Troad before the time of Priam

Heracles' sack of Troy has its place in a loose cluster of myths relating to Troy and Dardania in the time before the great war. P is able to present a genealogy **(p.32)** extending over seven generations, in which the Trojan Priam and the Dardanian Anchises are second cousins, their grandfathers Ilos and Assarakos having been sons of Tros, the grandson of Dardanos; Tros' third son, Ganymedes, was kidnapped by the gods (*Y* 215–40). To compensate Tros for his loss, Zeus bestowed on him an outstanding breed of horses, which came down to Priam's father Laomedon (*E* 265–72, cf. *Ψ* 348). In what seems to be an alternative myth about the wonderful horses of the Troad, they go back to a herd of three thousand mares that Tros' father Erichthonios kept (*Y* 221–9).

Laomedon was an arrogant and tight-fisted king. Poseidon and Apollo spent a year in his service, fortifying his city for him, and he then sent them away unpaid with contumacious threats (*H* 452 f., *Φ* 442–57). He behaved similarly towards Heracles. After promising him some of his horses if he would come and deliver the Trojans from the depredations of a sea monster, he failed to hand them over and abused the hero, who retaliated by wrecking the city (*E* 638–51, *Y* 145–8). The fuller story was related by Hellanicus of Lesbos (fr. 26 Fowler). The monster

had been sent by Poseidon in his anger against Laomedon. The king consulted an oracle and was advised to put out his daughter Hesione for the monster to devour. He did so, while promising his immortal horses to anyone who would dispatch the monster. Heracles accomplished this, but Laomedon then cheated him by giving him mortal horses instead of the immortal ones. Heracles discovered the deception, attacked Ilios and sacked it, and so got the horses he wanted.

P must have known some such coherent narrative linking Laomedon's cheating of the gods, which could not have remained unpunished, with the story of the sea monster and the exploits of Heracles in the area. He surely heard it told locally, not necessarily in poetic form. It was associated with at least one local landmark, the *τεῖχος ἀμφίχυτον* that was built as a shelter for Heracles against the monster (*Y* 145). Cf. also *A* 400 and *Z* 435 nn.

A Trojan cycle

What poems did P know about the Trojan War itself? The theme of his *Iliad*, a quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon and its consequences, may perhaps have been his own creation; we shall consider the question further in the next chapter. But among the materials he drew on in elaborating his grand epic we can identify poems previously formed on other themes, whether by himself or others, poems that he had no doubt sung.

One of these may be called, after the tragedy by Sophocles, *Ἀχαιῶν* **(p.33)** *σύλλογος*, the Gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis.[9] It was of particular local interest in Euboea and may have originated there. The Euboean seer Calchas played a prominent part. P recalls how he guided the fleet to Troy by his power of divination (*A* 71 f.), and more specifically how he interpreted a portent that appeared as the Achaeans were sacrificing at Aulis (*B* 300–30). We do not find any explicit mention of the contrary winds that delayed the sailing or of Calchas' declaration that Agamemnon must sacrifice his daughter, but they may be indirectly alluded to in *B* 292–4, where Odysseus observes how discontented sailors become when held up for a month by adverse weather, and in *A* 106–8, where Agamemnon complains that Calchas has never given him any but evil prophecy.[10] There are also references to oaths and resolutions made (*B* 286–8, 339–41, *Δ* 267), and to a thunder omen that Zeus provided as the ships set sail (*B* 351–3). Above all there is the Catalogue of Ships, which shows many signs of being adapted from the Aulis context.[11]

An account of the gathering at Aulis—portent, Calchas, Iphigeneia, and all—was contained in the later *Cypria*.[12] That does not mean that P knew the *Cypria* or any similar poem embracing everything antecedent to the events of the *Iliad*, from the births of Achilles and Helen on. It is highly improbable that anyone had yet made any such 'cyclic' compilation. There will only have been poems covering particular, coherent parts of the story such as the Gathering at Aulis. P

may or may not have known of the Judgment of Paris; the one allusion to it, *Ω* 29 f., is very probably interpolated.[13] He knows of Paris' abduction of Helen, their first lovemaking on a certain island, and their voyage to Troy via Sidon (*Γ* 46–51, 173–5, 443–5, *E* 62–4, *Z* 290–2, *H* 363, *X* 115 f.), but he may not have told that story himself. He makes Nestor recall a visit that he made with Odysseus to Peleus' house when they were recruiting an army for the war (*Λ* 765–90, cf. *H* 127 f., *I* 252–8, 438–40); this may, however, be an invention *ad haec*, so that Achilles (in *I*) and Patroclus (in *Λ*) may be stirred by reminders of advice their fathers gave them on that occasion.[14] For the rest, there is altogether more circumstantial detail in the references to the Aulis episode than in those to prior events, which suggests that it was the specific subject of a poem that P knew and had made his own.

We hear little of anything that happened in all the time between the army's setting sail and the point where the *Iliad* begins. There was a stop on Lemnos **(p.34)** where much feasting and boasting occurred (*Θ* 229–34). That was where Philoctetes was abandoned because of his snake-bite (*B* 721–4). When the Achaeans reached Troy, Protesilaos, the first to beach his ship, was immediately killed by a Dardanian as he leapt onto the shore (*B* 699–702, cf. *N* 681, *O* 705). Menelaos and Odysseus went in to Troy as envoys to demand the return of Helen and Menelaos' stolen property; of this episode there is more detail (*Γ* 205–24, *Λ* 138–41). As for the nine years that followed, we hear that Achilles raided and plundered towns all over the region, including Lesbos; he killed Andromache's father and brothers in Hypoplakian Thebe, took Briseis from Lyrnessos, captured Lykaon and sold him into slavery, killed his brothers Troilos and Mestor, chased Aeneas all through the vales of Ida. Of fighting at Troy itself there is nothing, no mention of any individual on either side who was killed there.

Achilles' exploits during this phase are located in areas south of Troy. In the next chapter I shall argue that they originally belonged to a separate tradition, not connected with the Trojan War. It is hard to assess to what extent they were celebrated in a poem or poems or simply retailed as local legends. Otherwise only the Claiming of Helen (*Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*, to borrow another Sophoclean title) has the air of having formed the subject matter of a pre-existing poem.

There is, however, an episode in the *Iliad* itself which, like the Catalogue of Ships, would have been more appropriate at the beginning of the war and might represent an independent song in P's repertory that he has transferred from the first year of the conflict to the tenth. This is the duel of Paris and Menelaos.[15]

There is one more theme that we can be sure P had sung of: the death of Achilles. It has long been seen that his accounts of the death of Patroclus, the battle over his body, the Nereids' laments over him, and his funeral and funeral games are adapted from narrative about Achilles' death. It is frequently foreshadowed in the *Iliad*, so much so that some scholars have thought that the

poem originally included it. I think it quite possible that P did at one time intend to include it, but changed his plan in favour of a different ending.

He knew, of course, accounts of how the war was brought to a conclusion. It was not possible for him to do much in the way of forward reference to future events, but he is able to indicate that the Achaeans were going to find before long that they could not win without fetching Philoctetes from Lemnos (*B* 724 f.). In the dialogue between Hector and Andromache in *Z* there are hints of what was to happen to her and to their little son at the sack of the city. The unique simile in *X* 410 f. foreshadows its eventual burning.

(p.35) There are also certain hints of postwar events. Agamemnon's petulant avowal of how much he prefers Chryseis to Clytaemestra (*A* 113–15) and his mention of the young Orestes being raised in luxury at home (*I* 142 f.) surely presuppose his subsequent murder by his wife and avenging by his son. And when Odysseus refers to himself as the father of Telemachos (*B* 260, *Δ* 354), P must have in mind some narrative about the hero's homecoming in which Telemachos played a significant role: not necessarily the *Odyssey* as we know it, but an *Odyssey* of some kind.

Non-heroic poetry

The range of epic material that P could draw on, then, was considerable, and no doubt there was a good deal more than we can now discern. But he will have known poems of other genres besides the heroic. Of these too we can find reflections.

Most closely associated with the epic poem is the hexameter hymn of the kind that rhapsodes commonly sang as a *prooimion* to their epic narrations. One hymn in particular appears to have left echoes in the *Iliad* as well as in other archaic poetry and art: the great hymn to Dionysus of which only fragments now remain as the first item in our collection of Homeric Hymns.[16]

In several passages P presupposes a theogony that has something in common with Hesiod's. There are Titans, sons of Ouranos, whose ringleaders were Kronos and Iapetos but who were overthrown by Zeus and now reside in Tartaros; Kronos' consort is Rhea; Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades are their sons, and Hera their eldest daughter (*Δ* 59 n., *E* 898, *Θ* 478–81, *Ξ* 203 f., 278 f., *O* 187 f.). Zeus lashes Typhoeus, who lies *εἰν Ἀρίμοις* (*B* 782 f.). In other respects P's system diverges from the Hesiodic. Oceanus and Tethys are the primeval parents, now long separated, with Night perhaps older still (*Ξ* 201–7, 246, 261, 302–6). Kronos' three sons drew lots to determine their spheres of influence (*O* 187–93). Was there an Ionian theogony known to P that also served as a source for Hesiod? Perhaps. But a number of passages suggest that P may have known both of Hesiod's poems, the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, even if Hesiod does not account for all of his theogonic references.[17]

Finally, P will have been acquainted with martial elegy of the type known to us from his contemporaries Callinus and Tyrtaeus. Such elegy was of course heavily influenced by heroic epic and pervaded with its diction. But **(p.36)** the influence need not have been all one way.[18] When the heroes exhort each other to courage and resistance, overlaps with the elegists are sometimes apparent, and in some cases the elegiac version may be judged the primary one; in other words, the epic poet is adapting motifs from exhortations addressed to contemporary soldiers and citizens in current crises. The most famous case at issue is the extended parallelism between Priam's appeal to Hector in *X* 71–6 and Tyrtaeus' address to the Spartans in fr. 10. 21–30. For reasons explained in my note in Part II, I regard it as certain that Tyrtaeus is not dependent on the *Iliad* passage, and as very plausible that the converse is true. Other passages that recall the manner of martial elegy are *B* 797, *E* 529–32 ≈*O* 561–4, *Z* 487–9, *Θ* 95, *N* 95, 279–86, *O* 494–8, 661–6, *P* 363–5.

Conclusion

It will be apparent from this survey what a wide range of epic and other poetry there was in circulation in P's time, framing his vision of the heroic world, setting the background against which his *Iliad* would stand, but also supplying motifs, structures, and sometimes verses that he could adapt to his own use. The study of his debts to poems on other themes constitutes what has been known, since Kakridis coined the term, as Neoanalysis. It is one of the avenues that we need to pursue.

At the outset I drew a distinction of principle between the poet's active and passive knowledge of pre-existing songs. We have no sharp-edged criteria for dividing the material between the two categories, but in going through it I have given some indications of probabilities as I see them. To the category of poems that P himself performed I would assign:

> Tydeus' embassy to Thebes.
> The war that followed the boar-hunt at Calydon.
> A poem or poems about the wars of the Pylians.
> Heracles and Laomedon.
> How Heracles came to Cos after Hera lulled Zeus to sleep.
> The gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis.
> The embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus to Troy to claim the return of Helen.
> The duel of Menelaos and Paris.
> A poem culminating in Achilles' death and funeral.

Some of these look very much like epyllia, *Einzellieder* of the sort that the **(p. 37)** old Analysts often assumed as the building blocks of epic. There is every reason to suppose that the *Einzellied* was what an epic singer commonly, even usually performed: a self-contained episode that might or might not be understood to have a definite place in a larger context. Demodokos' two songs of

the Trojan War (*θ* 75–82 and 499–520) are of this kind. The pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum Herculis* is an extant specimen, telling how Heracles fought and overcame the brigand Kyknos. After the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* became current, rhapsodes would often perform single episodes from them. These epics, however, were not constructed by putting a series of independent *Einzellieder* together, as Lachmann and Koechly thought. Nevertheless, as he expanded his poem P might have incorporated an *Einzellied* or two, such as the duel of Menelaos and Paris, that had previously been thought of as belonging in the opening phase of the war, or at no specific time within it.

Notes:

([1]) We cannot exclude the possibility that one or two already circulated as written texts, and that P either read them or heard them recited by singers who had derived them from a book. Cf. what is reported by Lord in *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, i (Cambridge Mass.–Belgrade 1954), 54 f., on Balkan singers who learned some of their songs from books.

([2]) Cf. *B* 505, 563–6, [572], *Δ* 8, 372–99, 389–90, 401, 406, 408, *Y* 224, *Ψ* 346 nn.; also *E* 116 f., 125 f., 800–8, *Z* 222 f., *Ξ* 114–25, *Ψ* 679; J. B. Torres-Guerra, *La Tebaida Homérica como fuente de Ilíada y Odisea* (Madrid 1995), esp. 28–64, 75–8; W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* (Stuttgart 2002), 168 f. This poetry may have been current at Colophon, as the foundation of Apollo's shrine at Claros was attributed to Teiresias' daughter Manto and connected with the Epigonoi (*Epigonoi* fr. 4 W.).

([3]) Cf. *I* 527–99 n. Pindar, *Isth*. 5. 30, speaks of the sons of Oineus being still honoured in poetry at Aetolian festivals.

([4]) Hermann, *Opusc*. viii. 20 (from 1840), postulated a 'pervetustum carmen de Nestoris rebus gestis, ex quo in XI. et XXIII. libro Iliadis aliquid conservatum est, ac nescio an ipsis poetae illius verbis.' Nestor, however, will not have been such a central figure in this poem as he appears in the *Iliad*.

([5]) Cf. Bergk 459 f.

([6]) Hes. *Th*. 287–94, 313–18, 327–32, 526–32; cf. 215 f., 334 f., 518.

([7]) Nutzhorn 160; VdM 222. On early poetry about Heracles cf. my *Greek Epic Fragments*, 19–24, 172–217. It appears from *Σ* 117–19 that P did not know, or at any rate did not accept, the story of Heracles' translation to Olympus after death.

([8]) See *HCW* 57, 59, 112–14.

([9]) Cf. Bergk 557.

([10]) Cf. also *I* 142 n.

([11]) Cf. *B* 484–877 n.

([12]) Actually two gatherings at Aulis, separated by the misdirected attack on Teuthrania.

([13]) Cf. however *E* 715 n.

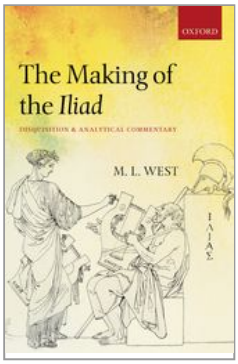
([14]) In *Δ* 26–8 Hera oddly speaks of having done much driving round in her chariot to assemble an army.

([15]) See *Γ* 15 n.

([16]) See *Ξ* 231–82 n.

([17]) See p. 17 with n. 9.

([18]) Cf. Mülder 10 f., 115 f., 148–58.



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Troy and Achilles

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter considers the well-established body of poetic tradition about the Trojan War which Homer inherited and from which he took his starting-point for the *Iliad*. It argues that the conception of the Trojan War reflected in the *Iliad* and the other epics of the early archaic period was not something that had been fixed for centuries but the outcome of a continuous process of development and growth, with new participants still being brought in after the *Iliad* was completed. The chapter then turns to Achilles, the central personality of the *Iliad*. It suggests that his association with the Trojan War was not original. Before he was incorporated into the Trojan saga, the various adventures of Achilles' did not add up to a coherent story and could scarcely have been strung together in a single epic narrative. When he was attached to the Troy saga, his character underwent three stages of development, which are discussed in turn.

Keywords: Homer, tradition, Iliad, Trojan War, Achilles

We have found that P knew poems about various episodes in the Trojan War. There was evidently a well-established body of poetic tradition about this war. Before we examine the making of the *Iliad* more closely, it will be appropriate to consider the nature of this tradition which P inherited and from which he took his starting-point.

Excavation over more than a century has established that on the site where the Greeks located Troy there stood in the late Bronze Age a prosperous city with a strongly fortified citadel. It was the most important city in the whole of north-west Asia Minor, and one that enjoyed especially close connections with the

Mycenaean world. Sometime around 1200 BCE it suffered destruction by fire, apparently at enemy hands: there are unburied dead, scattered arrow- and spearheads, a stockpile of over 150 slingstones that the defenders did not have time to use. It has always seemed likely that this historical event underlies the Greek legend of the Trojan War. After all, archaic elements in the epic language indicate a continuous poetic tradition reaching back to the Mycenaean age, and this tradition has correctly preserved the memory of a time when places such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos were more important than Sparta, Corinth, or Athens.

Cuneiform documents from the Hittite capital at Hattusas (Boğazköy) have thrown a fitful sidelight on events in western Asia down to about 1200. They refer to a place Wilusa or Wilusiya, located in the north-west of Anatolia, which is now generally accepted as being the same as the Greeks' *Ϝίλιος*.[1] The name is probably also to be recognized in the Wiriya or Wil(i)ya listed among other leading cities of the Aegean on a statue-base of Amenophis III (*c*.1390–52).[2] The Bronze Age name of the city, then, has been faithfully preserved in the epic tradition.

The Hittite records also testify to a kingdom of some consequence called **(p.39)** Aḫḫiya or Aḫḫiyawa, which evidently lay offshore (or mainly offshore) and to the west or south-west of the Hittite realms. Given its political importance, it can hardly have been other than a Mycenaean kingdom.[3] This conclusion does not depend on making a connection between its name and that of the Homeric *Ἀχαιϝοί*, though it is hard to get away from the idea that such a connection exists, notwithstanding the philological difficulties. During the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries Aḫḫiyawa showed repeated interest in the west coast of Anatolia, particularly in the south at the old Minoan foundation of Miletus. It had friendly relations at times with local rulers. In the thirteenth century it was responsible for raids on the coastal regions and the capture of women for slavery. We hear of a dispute in the mid part of the century between the kings of Aḫḫiyawa and Hatti over Wilusa, peacefully resolved, and of a period of bad relations a generation later, when Aḫḫiyawa helped Tarh unaradus, a rebel against the Hittite king, to take power in the lands south of the Troad. This was in the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (*c*.1237–1209): we are coming closer to the time when Troy VIIa (now alternatively labelled VIi) was sacked and burned. There is nothing in the Hittite documents that we can read as a reference to that sack, but at least they show us a historical background against which a Greek attack on Wilusa would be nothing anomalous.

This encourages us to believe that the Trojan War legend has a historical kernel of some kind. But it remains the case that it is a mythical war, something we know of from Greek saga and not from any documentary source. Only the saga

offers information, unconfirmed and unconfirmable, on who sacked the city, or why, or on the names of persons involved in the episode.

It seems probable at least that the attackers were Greeks, or included Greeks. Troy might have been attacked from any direction, for all we know of the history of the time, and archaeology gives no clue. But the poets must have taken up the story fairly soon after the event,[4] and it is hard to believe that they so falsified the tale as to make it a wholly Greek endeavour if Greeks had had nothing to do with it; all Greek epic is about the doings of Greeks, not of non-Greeks. It must also be considered likely that the name of the original leader (or leaders) of the attack has been preserved in the tradition among all the other names.

But there is no guarantee that the relative importance of the various heroes has remained unchanged through centuries of storytelling. We know from such cases as the *Song of Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the Serbian epics about Kossovo, where we have some independent sources of evidence about **(p.40)** what really happened, that poetic traditions are capable of great distortions. The poets may have had the general intention of preserving the memory of great events from the past. But they were not historians and did not aim to be. They were highly selective, focusing on a few outstanding persons and episodes. They were concerned to build a dramatic narrative. They had to bring the characters to life, endow them with personality. They had to add circumstantial detail to make the story longer, more satisfying, more plausible, or more impressive. They imported themes and motifs from elsewhere, famous characters from other stories, some of whom perhaps lived at quite different times. They exaggerated the scale of events, the sizes of armies and fleets, the numbers of men slain. They manipulated and modified the connections between events, changed the characters' motivations, altered emphases. Thus the 'tradition', whatever genuine history it may once have reflected, was exposed to every kind of simplification, elaboration, reinterpretation, and recombination.

A Hittite treaty document reveals that in the early thirteenth century, two or three generations before the sack of Troy VIIa, Wilusa was ruled by one Alaksandus.[5] Philologists agree that this looks nothing like an Anatolian name, and that it must be the Hittite rendering of the Greek name Alexandros.[6] Why a king of Troy at that time should have had a Greek name, we can only speculate. Perhaps his father had made a political marriage with a Greek princess. In any case the correspondence with the Trojan Alexandros of Greek epic tradition can hardly be fortuitous. It looks as if Alexandros of Wilusa, a significant figure in Hittite eyes, was remembered in Greek tradition and later brought into anachronistic connection with the sack of the city. Here is a sign, on the one hand that the oral tradition could preserve a name from the Mycenaean period, but on the other hand that it could completely muddle historical relationships and chronology.

Alaksandus' predecessor as king of Wilusa was one Kukkunnis; it was perhaps in his time that Troy VIh suffered a destructive earthquake. He has plausibly been equated with Kyknos, son of Poseidon, a major Trojan hero whom Achilles killed at an early stage in the war according to the *Cypria*; Pindar (*Ol*. 2. 81–3, *Isth*. 5. 39–41) names him beside Hector and Memnon as one of the three great heroes that Achilles overcame. If the equation is right, two successive historical rulers of Wilusa have been dimly remembered and brought into association with a later destruction of their city.

(p.41) Kyknos and Alexandros are the only figures of the Troy saga who can be matched with persons of historical record. For the rest, we can do no more than observe that some names look genuinely old and have a good chance of having been transmitted from the second millennium. The king of Troy at the time of the sack is Priam, a name so closely associated with the memory of the city that it is often referred to in Homeric formula as 'the city of Priam'. His name is Anatolian; it has been persuasively compared with the Luwian personal name Pariyamuwas, meaning 'supreme in force'. Presumably he was a real historical personage. Alexandros' alternative name, Paris, seems to be a short form of a name with the same first element as Pariyamuwas/Priamos.

On the Achaean side we find a number of names in *-εύς* such as Achilleus, Odysseus, and in the preceding generation Peleus, Tydeus, Atreus. Names with this ending are found in the Linear B tablets but are no longer current after the Dark Age. This is a sign of their antiquity, though we cannot assign them to a particular era. Their bearers had probably been celebrated in song for many generations before the *Iliad*, but not necessarily always in connection with Troy. The same goes for such heroes as Agamemnon and Menelaos, the two Ajaxes, Diomedes, Idomeneus. Whatever force destroyed Troy VIIa, it will not have been a vast confederacy of chieftains and their warrior-bands from all over Greece, from the Peneios in the north to Crete in the south, from Cephallenia in the west to Rhodes in the east, arriving in 1186 ships and maintaining itself on a small beachhead for ten summers and winters: a logistical impossibility and a historical absurdity. At no time in history, not even in the Persian Wars, was it possible to unite so many Greek states in a common purpose, and certainly not in the disturbed period around 1200 when the Mycenaean palaces themselves were under threat. Clearly the magnitude and duration of the conflict have been hugely exaggerated by the tradition, and it has drawn in various legendary heroes from different parts of Greece who originally had nothing to do with it.

It is not my purpose here to speculate on what form the story of Troy's fall originally took, or to attempt to trace its development between the twelfth century and the seventh.[7] But it is important to be clear that the conception of the Trojan War reflected in the *Iliad* and the other epics of the early archaic period was not something that had been fixed for centuries but the outcome of a continuous and continuing process of development and growth. We see new

participants still being brought in after the *Iliad* is completed: Rhesos, Neoptolemos, Penthesileia, Memnon. When we analyse the *Iliad* itself we shall find that P started out with a smaller repertory of heroes than appears in the finished poem: the personnel multiplies in the course of the composition.

(p.42) Achilles

Achilles is the central personality of the *Iliad* and was obviously in it from the start: he is essential to its conception. He is represented as the Achaeans' supreme warrior hero, without whom they struggle to hold their ground. Yet to scholars with an interest in saga analysis it has long been apparent that his association with the Trojan War is not original. It may indeed have come about at a comparatively recent stage of the tradition.[8]

Achilles stands apart from the other Achaean heroes in a number of ways; it is somehow appropriate that he should be the one who detaches himself from the common enterprise. Supernatural legend surrounds his origins, born as he is from the extraordinary marriage of Peleus and Thetis that all the gods attended. He has no identifiable city; he is brought up in the mountains by a Centaur, and wields a fabulous spear that the Centaur gave to Peleus; his whole armour was given to Peleus by the gods at his wedding. No other significant hero comes from so far north, unless we count Philoctetes, who will only come in at the end of the war to kill Paris. In the Catalogue of Ships Achilles' and the other northern kingdoms are not added until we have been all round the rest of Greece and the islands (*B* 484–877 n.). They must have been included in the antecedent catalogue of those who assembled at Aulis, but the ordering suggests an earlier version that did not extend north of the Malian Gulf and did not include Achilles. According to the *Iliad* (*Λ* 765–90) he was a member of the expedition from the start. But he was no more than a boy, *νήπιον, οὔ πω εἰδόθ᾽ ὁμοιΐοο πτολέμοιο οὐδ᾽ ἀγορέων* (*I* 440 f.). The other leaders, according to the poet of the *Catalogue of Women* ('Hes.' fr. 204. 76–93), were bound to follow the Atreidai to Troy because they had been suitors of Helen and had sworn an oath to band together against any man who should ever take her away from Menelaos, but Achilles had not been among them, as he was too young and was still in the Centaur's tutelage. The fact that he is not located in any identifiable Mycenaean centre, and is indeed the son of a man who sacked one (Iolkos: 'Hes.' fr. 211. 1–5), may reflect a sense that he properly belonged in a later era, that he was, in our terms, a Submycenaean rather than a Mycenaean.

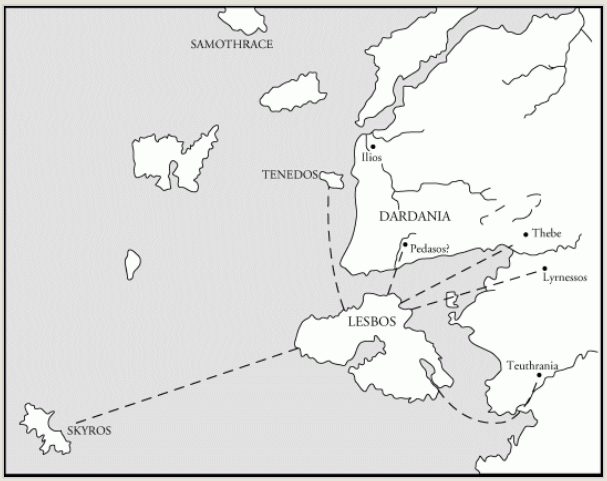
At Troy he shows his prowess as a warrior, but he is killed before the sack of the city and therefore has no part to play in the epic narratives of that event in the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis*. As Pestalozzi put it, in the war as a whole he is just an episode: 'he has no relation to the cause and beginning of the **(p.43)** enterprise, and is eliminated before it reaches its goal and climax in the taking of the city. The expedition for the recovery of Helen remains a rounded narrative even without Achilles.'[9] The amount of fighting he actually does at Ilios is

limited, as we hear that before his quarrel with Agamemnon the Trojans had not dared to come out when he was in the field (*E* 788–90 n.). On the other hand there is repeated mention of his plundering and destroying other towns in the region, eleven on land and twelve from the sea (*I* 328 f., cf. *Σ* 341 f.). They included Skyros (*I* 668), Lesbos (*I* 129/271, 664), Tenedos (*Λ* 625), Lyrnessos (*B* 691, *T* 60, *Y* 94, 191), Pedasos (*Y* 92), and Hypoplakian Thebe (*A* 366, *B* 691, *Z* 415, *Π* 153). He made a raid on Aeneas' upland pastures on Ida and chased him all the way down to Lyrnessos (*Y* 90–6, 188–94). In other raids in the area he captured or killed several sons of Priam (*Λ* 104–6, *Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι; Ω* 257 n.). These are all personal exploits of Achilles'; Agamemnon stayed at the Hellespont and received the booty (*A* 163–8, *I* 330–4).[10]

To these we may add a mythical episode not mentioned in the *Iliad* but narrated in the *Cypria* and certainly current by the mid seventh century, as we now know from an elegy of Archilochus (*POx*. 4708). This was the landing at Teuthrania in Mysia, which the Achaeans mistook for Troy. Here again Achilles was the protagonist: he pursued and wounded the local king Telephos.[11]

If we plot these activities of Achilles' on a map (overleaf), it is immediately apparent that they relate to an area separate from Troy, an area reflecting the interests of Aeolic Greeks based on Lesbos. The ancestors of these Aeolians had come from Thessaly in the late second or early first millennium. Achilles' unfocused marauding makes him appear as their forerunner. He establishes no colonies, he leaves no descendants, but he takes control of the region and paves the way for the later immigrants.

There is, then, a basic dichotomy in the tradition: we have on the one hand Achilles, roaming as a freebooter from Skyros to Lesbos, Tenedos, Dardania, the Adramyttian Gulf, Teuthrania; on the other hand a confederation of heroes from central and southern Greece whose one target is Troy. It is hard to escape the conclusion that these had been two separate traditions, and that the attachment of Achilles to the Trojan expedition was a relatively late development. Most of his exploits could be represented as having taken place on **(p.44)**



Achilles' conquests

the way to Troy or during the campaign there. Teuthrania, however, was too far away for that, and it could only be accommodated by means of the preposterous story about the Achaeans' going and fighting there under a misapprehension before they located the real Troy. Before he was incorporated in the Trojan saga, these various adventures of Achilles' did not add up to a coherent story and could scarcely have been strung together in a single epic narrative. They might have been the subject of separate *Einzellieder*. But they were not necessarily all given poetic form. In some cases there may simply have been local stories claiming that Achilles took this town and killed such-and-such a king.

When he was attached to the Troy saga, I envisage the following stages of development.

Stage 1. Initially he is treated as a young warrior who was not part of the original expedition but was brought in at a later point in the war. This is implied by his exclusion from the suitors of Helen in the pseudo-Hesiodic account. It would seem also to underlie the story that he was specially sought out by Odysseus, Phoenix, and Nestor on account of an oracle that said that without Achilles Ilios would not be taken; Peleus had hidden him on Skyros **(p.45)** among the daughters of Lykomedes, but Odysseus found him out by means of a stratagem.[12]

Thetis tries to dissuade Achilles from joining in the war, warning him that it is a choice between glory and survival, but he opts for glory and goes to Troy, accompanied by Patroclus as older companion and moderator. He has his father's god-given, invulnerable armour—*ἄμβροτα τεύχεα*—and his father's pair of immortal steeds.[13] His brilliant raids around the southern Troad can now be taken as part of his career at Troy.[14] But what can he do at Ilios itself? The story of the sack is complete without him. He has to do something outstanding, but pay for it with his life. The answer is that he must fight and defeat the greatest hero on the Trojan side, the one on whom the city's hopes rest—and then be killed himself before the Achaeans can complete their victory. Hector is created to fulfil the role of the great Trojan defender.[15] He is naturally a son of the king, like Paris. Unlike Paris, he does not do anything essential to the mechanism of the story. He does not kill anyone notable except Patroclus, who is himself an

untraditional figure introduced into the saga with Achilles. Achilles kills Hector and shortly afterwards is killed by Paris with Apollo's help (cf. Σ 96 n.).[16]

The duration of the war has not yet necessarily been fixed as ten years. Even if it has: if Achilles is not there at the beginning, his period at Troy may be conceived as quite short. His whole story, from his setting out from Phthia to his death, could be covered in one poem of moderate length—an *Achilleis*, if you like.

Stage 2. To integrate the Achilles story more closely with the saga of the Trojan War, he is made an original participant who sailed from Aulis with the rest. His defeat of Troy's greatest champion has to come towards the end of the war. So the question arises why the two have not met in battle before that late stage, and why, with this superlative hero fighting for them, the Achaeans have not been able to achieve a quicker victory. The answer emerges that while Achilles is in the field, the Trojans do not dare to come out from the safety of their walls.[17] But then a mechanism is needed to bring them out after **(p.46)** all. This is the purpose served by Achilles' quarrel with the commander-inchief. He withdraws from the fighting, and when the Achaeans next march out, the Trojans venture forth to face them. The quarrel thus becomes the necessary starting-point of the story of how Achilles killed Hector and was himself killed.[18] His departure from Phthia and his other operations in the Troad and nearby are relegated to the background, to be referred to only in passing allusions.

A further mechanism is required to bring Achilles back into the battle now that the Trojans and Hector are there for him to attack. It may be simply that the quarrel is ended: as the Achaeans' military situation worsens, Agamemnon is forced to apologize to Achilles and pay him handsome compensation, whereupon he resumes his quest for glory, drives the Trojans back, and slays Hector. Or it may be Patroclus' death at Hector's hands that stings Achilles into seeking revenge. After all, Hector has to establish his heroic status by killing someone of importance, otherwise he would not be a worthy victim of Achilles.

To round off the poem after the death of Achilles, further scenes are required: a battle for the recovery of his body; lamentation by his comrades and his mother with her Nereid sisters; a heroic funeral, perhaps with funeral games.

Stage 3. Achilles is conceived as such an outstanding hero that no one can overcome him in close combat; it is an arrow shot by an inferior man that kills him. This cannot be made as exciting as the hand-to-hand duel with Hector. It is inevitably the latter that marks the high point of the poem, and Achilles' death will come as something of an anticlimax in comparison. Our poet decides to exclude it from his narrative, while leaving many hints that it will not be long delayed. He retains the battle for the corpse, the lamentations, and the noble funeral while substituting Patroclus' body for Achilles',[19] and closes with a briefer account of Hector's funeral.

Stage 3 corresponds to what we have in our *Iliad*. I think it quite likely that it was the poet of our *Iliad*, P, who made the shift to stage 3 from stage 2: he had surely told the story of Achilles' death, and he may well have done so as the conclusion of a *μῆνις*-poem that included the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. When he embarked on the great undertaking of setting his epic down **(p.47)** in writing, he may at first still have intended to take the story all the way to the death of his central hero.[20]

The shift to stage 2 from stage 1 may have been made before P took up the story; I see no way of telling. We cannot determine how radical a re-shaper of tradition he was. Most of us would incline to assume that Achilles was already firmly embedded in the Troy saga before P learned his art. But by the look of it this development may not have taken place so very long before.

Notes:

([1]) See Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer* (Oxford 2004), 75–91 ≈ *Troia und Homer* (5. Aufl., Leipzig 2005), 99–118.

([2]) Elmar Edel, *Die Ortsnamen aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn 1966), 37–60, esp. 46 f.; Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr*. (Darmstadt 1979), 29–32 (sceptical); cf. *EFH* 6.

([3]) Cf. Latacz, op. cit. 121–8 ≈ 150–7.

([4]) Cf. Bernhardt Thiersch, *Urgestalt der Odyssee* (Königsberg 1821), 6 f., 132; *JHS* 108 (1988), 161.

([5]) The text is translated by F. Starke in Latacz, op. cit. 105–10 ≈ 133–8.

([6]) The equation goes back to D. D. Luckenbill, *CPh* 6 (1911), 85 f.; cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 13 (1924), 205 f.; H. G. Güterbock in M. J. Mellink (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War* (Bryn Mawr 1986), 33 n. 1.

([7]) As I did in *JHS* 108 (1988), 159–62.

([8]) Cf. Mülder 67, 78 f.; Wilamowitz, *SPAW* 1925, 239–41 = *Kl. Schr*. v(2). 120–4; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii^2 1 (Stuttgart–Berlin 1928), 298 f.; Bethe iii. 66–76; Pestalozzi 46; Howald 125 f.; Kullmann 224; *CQ* 23 (1973), 189 f.

([9]) Pestalozzi 46, 'Stofflich aber ist und bleibt Achilleus in dem Krieg gegen Priamos Episode; er hat keine Beziehung zu Ursache und Beginn des Unternehmens und scheidet aus, bevor es in der Eroberung der Stadt Ziel und Höhepunkt erreicht. Der Heerzug zur Rückholung der Helena bleibt auch ohne Achilleus eine geschlossene Erzählung.'

([10]) It is noteworthy that Patroclus plays no role in any of them. Cf. *Ω* 7–8 n.

([11]) In this case Patroclus did play a part according to Pind. *Ol*. 9. 70–5.

([12]) Sch^{D} *T* 326, apparently from the *Cypria* (cf. Paus. 10. 26. 4; fr. 19 W.). In the *Little Iliad* there was a parallel story of how Odysseus and Phoenix fetched Achilles' son Neoptolemos from Skyros after learning from Helenos that his assistance was necessary.

([13]) Cf. *Π* 145–54, *P* 194, 195–6 nn.

([14]) P. Grossardt, *Achilleus, Coriolan, und ihre Weggefährten* (Tübingen 2009), 26, 45, 73, comparing the stories of Coriolanus, El Cid, and Marko Kraljević, identifies the taking of a number of lesser towns while the greater one remains untaken as a typical epic motif.

([15]) Howald 118.

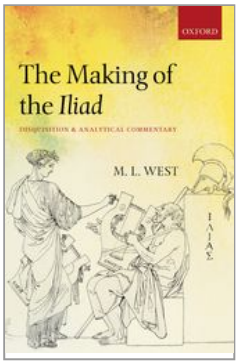
([16]) The absence of clear evidence for Hector's place in the saga is emphasized by Kullmann 182–5, 226.

([17]) *E* 788–90 n.; Mülder 66, who calls this 'keine wirkliche Antwort, sondern nur eine Ausrede, ein Notbehelf.'

([18]) Cf. Mülder 67, 'Die stoffordnende Idee, die Kampfenthaltung des Achilleus aus Zorn über eine ihm widerfahrene Kränkung, bedeutet also zugleich die Eröffnung der eigentlichen Handlung.' P. Grossardt (as in n. 14), esp. 39–46, argues that the withdrawal of the chief hero from the enterprise that he alone can bring to a successful conclusion was a traditional epic motif that served to prolong the story and add to its dramatic interest.

([19]) Cf. Mülder 193; 266, 'Die Bestattung des Patroklos ist, soweit sie Achilleisches enthält, die des Achilleus selbst in anderer Form'; *Σ* 35–147, 71, *Ψ* 257–897 nn.

([20]) A number of scholars have believed that it was included in an earlier form of the poem. Cf. Otto Seeck, *Die Quellen der Odyssee* (Berlin 1887), 410 (*Il*. and *Aethiopis* one poem); Robert 255–7; Wil. 77–9; Schwartz 26–40; Finsler ii. 8, 10 f.; *Σ* 96, *X* 378–84 nn. However, Cauer 698 f. is right to point out that there is no premonition of it in the present proemium, *A* 1–5.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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The Growth of the Poem

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter attempts to substantiate the claim that Homer composed the *Iliad* over a long period, and that he did so by making later expansions to what he had already written. It discusses the insertions that Homer made into his written text at different times. The major ones may be called tectonic expansions: they significantly alter the architecture of the work, its structural logic, and proportions. At the next level are episodic expansions, involving the insertion of one self-contained episode, which may extend over several hundred lines. Thirdly, come sub-episodic expansions, shorter passages inserted within or between episodes. These may be of a few dozen lines, or of only one or two.

Keywords: Homeric narrative, Iliad, tempo, tectonic expansions, episodic expansions, sub-episodic expansions

In chapter 1 I have given reasons for supposing that P composed the *Iliad* over a long period, and that he did not advance steadily from *A* to *Ω* without ever looking back but made expansions in what he had already written. I shall now try to substantiate this position with an analysis in which the major expansions in the poem will be identified; minor ones will be left for the more detailed commentary in Part II. The thesis that I shall argue remains in its broad outlines what I thought forty years ago,[1] but I have now worked it out much more thoroughly and, so far as I could track them down, assigned due credit to those earlier scholars from whose insights it has evolved.

What criteria should we apply to the analysis of Homeric narrative? Bearing in mind the nature of traditional oral poetry and the conditions under which a

monumental epic such as the *Iliad* must have been produced, we cannot demand perfect unity of style and detail. We shall not reach valid results by seizing on minor contradictions and inconsistencies or on supposed differences of style as a basis for dissecting the poem. The wise words of Theodor Bergk are worth quoting:

> The achievements of a poet who for the first time undertook to execute a great epic are not to be judged by any over-strict yardstick. Whether he worked it out solely in his head and memory or already availed himself of the aid of writing, the poet could only complete such a work slowly and gradually. From this staged genesis of the poem many contradictions and variations of poetic tone can be adequately explained. After all, later poets too, in better illumined times, when the presumption of unitary composition is not subject to the least doubt, have not at all anxiously avoided such variations, indeed they have sometimes even purposely admitted them. No more can we require of even the most gifted singer that he constantly maintain the same level. The very nature of the material, which is not equally amenable throughout, tends readily to produce a certain unevenness of performance.[2]

(p.49) The main stylistic variable in the *Iliad* is the tempo of the narrative. In some episodes it is ample and leisurely; P puts in all the steps and fills them out with similes, speeches, and subsidiary detail. In others it is compressed, and he seems to be hurrying on to reach what is to follow, economizing on effort by making much use of lines repeated from other contexts. The variation is understandable. To some extent it may reflect fluctuations in P's mood, energy level, or state of health. But it probably depends more on whether he is creating fresh scenes of primary importance to the structure or just bridging gaps.

There are certain occasional stylistic features that do seem uncharacteristic of P and that occur in brief passages which may be suspected of being interpolations by a rhapsode. One such is sententiousness, where it goes beyond the inclusion of a single maxim and extends over several lines. This is something more found in the *Odyssey*, and where it occurs in the *Iliad* it is conceivable that we have an addition by P^{Od}. Another such feature is Gothic gruesomeness, of a kind that reminds us not so much of the *Odyssey* as of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum*. Examples are *Π* 158–65, *Φ* 126–35, 202–4.

Such considerations, however, only affect a few isolated passages and do not help us with our main endeavour. For that, we must attend above all to the logic of the narrative and the principles according to which it is constructed.

Epic composition is basically teleological. That is, the poet is for much of the time looking forward to what is to come later and planning for it. He prepares for major developments by various means, for example by debates or decisions

of the gods, by proposals made or commands issued on earth, by tactical placement of persons. What is prepared for in such ways does not necessarily follow at once: it is often postponed, with other scenes playing themselves out first.[3] P has a sophisticated technique of interweaving parallel action that is going forward in different places (see *A* 306–487 n.). But when the prepared-for development comes, we perceive its organic connection with the earlier scene where the basis for it was laid. Thus the texture of the poem is characterized by long structures that reach across and link one scene with another. Once we are acquainted with the technique, we can often recognize a preparatory construct for what it is, and infer in advance what kind of action the poet is intending to describe later. If it fails to eventuate, we shall be **(p.50)** inclined to suppose, not that he has deliberately misled us, but that he has altered his plan in favour of a different idea, or that something untoward has happened to the structure, a rearrangement or an excision.

In the reasonings of the old Analysts much was made of the relationships between parallel passages or scenes. It was regularly argued that one of two similar passages was primary and the other one derived from it and therefore later, which was usually taken to signify the work of a different and inferior poet. When the Parry–Lord vision of Homeric epic as pure oral poetry became dominant, this kind of argument was dismissed as based on a mortal misapprehension, a failure to understand that almost everything is formulaic; even something that occurs only once in Homer would very likely turn out to be formulaic if only we had all the hexameter poetry that ever existed. If something occurs twice, it was assumed, then we are dealing with something formulaic, drawn from the vast, timeless pool of epic diction. Perhaps it does fit better in one context than in the other, but that is just typical of composition by formula, and it is illegitimate to argue that the first passage was composed before the second. Such is the Oralist's blithe nostrum, part of his easy rejection of the demon Analysis and all her works.

Certainly the oral poet avails himself of numerous phrases, expressions, verses, motifs, and scene-patterns learned from others, some of them centuries old. But the fact that he uses something in two places does not necessarily mean that it is traditional and not his own creation. He has no inhibitions about repeating things he has heard from other poets; by the same token, he has no inhibitions about repeating things he has fashioned himself. Even when it is not original to him: after he has used it in one passage, that instance, rather than others previously heard, is likely to become his immediate source the next time he has occasion to say something similar.[4] So there is nothing illegitimate in saying 'he has adapted this from that other passage', if that is how it appears to us. Very often it is just a matter of his re-using or modifying a phrase or line that he has used shortly before in the same context. I signal such instances in the commentary simply to draw attention to this commonplace feature of P's compositional technique. Sometimes it is a rather distinctive item that occurs in

two places, not in the same episode but thousands of lines apart. It may seem likely that they are not two independent withdrawals from the great oral credit bank but that P was remembering one passage when he composed the other. If it then appears to us that it sits well in one of the two places but not so well in the other, it will not be unreasonable to form the opinion that the first one is primary and the second derivative; that the second passage was either composed after the first, or revised after it. if **(p.51)** the first passage, the one that appears primary, is located earlier in the poem, that will be compatible with the supposition that the poem was composed sequentially as we have it. If on the other hand the primary passage is located later in the poem than the derivative one, a doubt will be cast on that supposition. A single instance will not be enough to prove anything, as other interpretations of the facts will be possible. An accumulation of such instances, however, will carry more weight, especially if they tend to reinforce other arguments about the order of composition.

The essentials of the analysis

I come now to the analysis of the *Iliad*. I shall not start with a mass of particular observations and work up towards a grand synthesis, but drive at once to the heart of the matter and establish the framework within which the lesser components will find their place. Much of the subsidiary detail must be left for the commentary.

The basic principle of the argument is as follows. Suppose there is a long poem (or for that matter a prose narrative) that can be divided into six segments, *a b c d e f*. In *a* there appears a clear programme for the main development of the storyline, followed by what is clearly the beginning of the working out of this programme. In *c* we find its logical continuation. The point reached by the end of *c* is taken up in *e*.

In *b*, however, we find a lengthy stretch of narrative in which the programme set out in *a* is not only not advanced but appears to be entirely forgotten, and events move in quite the wrong direction.

In *d* the plan is not neglected to the same extent, but again there are episodes where the forward movement is reversed, and by the end we are much where we were at the beginning. Meanwhile the progression from *c* to *e* has been inordinately delayed.

Further: there appears within *b* an episode of some structural importance for the whole, while in both *c* and *e* there are passages implying that no such episode has occurred. Its existence is, however, recognized in *f*.

Again: there is another episode in *b* that materially alters the setting within which the action is played out. The altered setting is presupposed in the

remaining portion of *b*, and in *d* and *f*, whereas in *c* and *e* the setting is the original one.

The inference is that *a c e* represent an original, coherent layer of composition; *b* and *d* have been inserted into it, and *c* and *e* have not been sufficiently revised to take account of all the new elements introduced. The expanded but incomplete composition *a b c d e* has then been continued and **(p.52)** concluded in *f*. The expansions and the continuation might be due to a different author or authors from the unfinished original *a c e*, but they need not be, if we allow that a single author working on a very large scale might not succeed in eliminating all the inconsistencies that his reworkings produced. A multiplicity of internal cross-references linking all the segments and a general level of consistency in style, technique, and quality may make the hypothesis of single authorship persuasive.

This is (somewhat over-simplified) how it is with the *Iliad*. The portions corresponding to *a b c d e f* are, very roughly:[5]

a =*A*–*B*

b = *Γ*–*I*

c = *Λ*

d = *M*–*O*

e = *Π*

f = *P*–*Ω*.

This must now be explained in greater detail.

In *A* Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon and suffers ignominy. On Thetis' advice he withdraws from the Achaeans' fighting force. She asks Zeus to bestow superiority on the Trojans from now on, until the Achaeans restore her son to honour. Zeus agrees to this and confirms his promise with his seismic nod. This establishes a programme which is clearly intended to govern the course of the poem.

That same night Zeus ponders how to put the plan into effect (*B* 1–4). He sends Agamemnon a dream that makes him believe he can lead the Achaeans to immediate victory and take Troy. He wakes up and shares his dream with his councillors, who accept its message. The army is mobilized and goes out to battle; the Trojans come out from the city to fight them. This takes us to *Γ* 14.[6]

In accord with the programme set up in *A*, we should now expect a day of fighting in which Agamemnon's confidence is confounded and the Trojans gain the upper hand, with Hector slaughtering multitudes and driving the Achaeans back towards their ships (as anticipated by Achilles in *A* 242 f., 409 f.). We find this logical continuation of *AB* in *Λ*, which however describes a battle that takes

place four days later. The Achaeans go forth in the morning, full of confidence, with Agamemnon conspicuous at their head. The battle begins well for them, but after a few hours Agamemnon is wounded and forced to retire. Then the same happens to Diomedes, then to Odysseus. With **(p.53)** these front-rank heroes disabled, the Achaeans are forced back. Achilles sees their plight and comments 'Now I think they will come and beg for my assistance' (*Λ* 609). This all exactly in line with the original programme.

Achilles sends Patroclus on an errand to Nestor. Nestor advises him (we note a new piece of preparation machinery) to urge Achilles to save the Achaeans, or if he will not do so himself, to let Patroclus go out to fight in his stead. Patroclus sets off to take this message back to Achilles. (*Λ* 611–805.) We expect: he will bring the message to Achilles, who will decline to return to the fray himself but will send Patroclus.

Our expectation is duly fulfilled, but only after a delay of more than 2500 lines (about the length of the entire *Little Iliad*). Patroclus sets out on his brief journey at a run in *Λ* 805, but does not arrive until *Π* 2. In the ensuing dialogue Achilles remarks that he himself would be out slaying Trojans if only Agamemnon were well disposed towards him; he is holding out for the Achaeans to give him back the confiscated girl and handsome gifts in addition (*Π* 71–3, 85 f.). Again, this is in good agreement with the original programme.

In *AB* + *Λ* + *Π*, then, we can follow the progress of a coherent and logical story, methodically told; we need not at present consider how it is to continue. '*AB* + *Λ* + *Π*' is only a rough formula, as the joins do not coincide with the rhapsody-divisions. The first portion, as I mentioned, extends to *Γ* 14. If we want to restore a hypothetical original continuity, we shall need to cut off the beginning and end of *Λ* and take the end of *O* together with *Π*. We shall also have to assume certain expansions within *B*, *Λ*, and *Π*. This is all feasible. Let us now see why it is justified.

The logical sequence *AB* → *Λ* is broken by a lengthy and varied series of episodes, amounting to over 4000 lines (longer, probably, than any of the Cyclic epics apart from the *Cypria*), in which the programme laid down in *A* is abruptly set aside. No sooner have the armies gone out to face each other than everything is stopped for a duel between Paris and Menelaos. Where Zeus appears (*Δ* 1–72), he shows no consciousness of the plan he is supposed to be implementing. When the battle eventually goes forward, the anticipated Trojan supremacy fails to come about. The Achaeans have the better of it until nightfall (*H* 282). Two more days pass without fighting. On the fourth day, finally, there is a battle in which Zeus assists the Trojans and they gain the upper hand (*Θ*). This anticipates the battle in *Λ*, but without the major Achaean heroes coming to harm; Teukros is wounded, but the more important figures, Agamemnon, Diomedes, and Odysseus, cannot be, as that would pre-empt *Λ*. That night, on

Nestor's advice, Agamemnon sends envoys to Achilles to offer him restitution and compensation if he will end his wrath and rejoin the fight, but he refuses (*I*).

I have said that preparation for a following scene need not be followed **(p.54)** immediately by the scene prepared for. However, the separation of *AB* from *Λ* is immensely long, and there is a disconcerting contrast between the purposefulness of *AB* + *Λ* and the deviant trajectory of *Γ*–*H*, where the initial programme appears to be completely forgotten. The *Θ* battle duplicates the one in *Λ* so as to motivate the Embassy to Achilles. But we have seen that in *Λ*, and again in *Π*, Achilles will speak as if no approach has yet been made to him.[7] This all indicates that *Γ*–*I* is secondary expansion, composed after *AB* + *Λ* + *Π* and worked in to the detriment of good consequence. Of course it contains much excellent poetry and much that is important for the *Iliad* as a whole as we now have it; it gives us a wider perspective on the war. But it plainly divides what once went together.

This conclusion is inexorably confirmed by a further consideration. In *H* Nestor proposes that the Achaeans build defences round their ships, a wall and a trench, and they do this during the interval between the first and the second day of fighting. These defences are referred to five times in the battle in *Θ* and four times in the Embassy. But in what we take to be the earlier layer of composition in *Λ*, they are absent.[8] It is not just that they are not mentioned: there is a series of places where we should expect their existence to be taken account of, and it is not.[9]

The other major interruption of the coherent sequence *AB* + *Λ* + *Π* is *M*–*O*. It does not, like *Γ*–*I*, introduce extra days into the calendar, but it does interpose a disproportionately long stretch of narrative between mid morning (*Λ* 86) and midday (*Π* 777), and between Patroclus' setting out from Nestor's cabin (*Λ* 805) and arriving back at Achilles' (*Π* 2). After the end of *M* the Achaeans are not kept in the desperate situation in which they find themselves there and in which they need to be at the beginning of *Π*: it is relieved for some time by interventions of Poseidon and Hera and has to be re-established by Zeus. So again there is a breach of continuity in the execution of the overall programme.

The Achaeans' fortifications are frequently referred to in *M*–*O*; *M* focuses on the Trojans' breach of the wall. In *Π* they are mentioned five times, but only in passages suspected on other grounds of being insertions.[10] Here is further confirmation of our basic stratigraphy: *AB* + *Λ* + *Π* represents the primary layer, and *Γ*–*I* with *M*–*O* a secondary layer (or more than one).

(p.55) The later rhapsodies, from *P* on, presuppose both the fortifications and the Embassy, and they contain other references that connect with things in the secondary layer(s). P made his great expansions, then, before continuing his narrative from the death of Patroclus. The more compact and tightly-constructed

epic that he had begun in *AB* + *Λ* + *Π* was never brought to its conclusion; the whole plan was enlarged, and the continuation made proportionate to the grander design. There is no complete *Ur-Ilias* lurking there in the text. But there is a partial one. To find it, we must seek to identify lost contiguities between portions of the text that have been forced apart by insertions.

Most of this was seen long ago

The crucial observations underlying this analysis were made generations ago by Analyst scholars. Their writings have long been consigned to oblivion; they are perished as though they had never been. This neglect allows misconceptions to linger on about what kinds of theory they held and what kinds of arguments they used. They tend to be associated especially with the *Lieder* model as propounded by Heyne, Lachmann, and others, according to which the *Iliad* was put together from a series of separate lays by various poets. But only a minority of Analysts were satisfied with this approach. To most of them it was clear that the *Iliad* had an overall coherence of plan that could not have been imposed on the material at a late stage.

There was more support for an alternative that Wolf and Heyne had adumbrated, namely that the original author had composed a shorter poem which was later distended by insertions.[11] This was altogether more plausible than the *Lieder* theory, and in one form or another it has dominated subsequent analytic criticism.

Wilhelm Müller, a pupil of Wolf, discerned an '*Achilleis*' represented by sections dispersed through the poem and seen in *A*, *ΘI*, *O* and *X*. He saw that Zeus' plan appeared to be forgotten in *Γ*–*H*, which could not be part of the *Achilleis*; as it does come into action in *Θ*, he took that to be the original continuation.[12] He argued too that *Λ* was originally separate from *M*–*O*

(p.56) Gottfried Hermann saw the *Iliad* as having grown from a short song about the wrath of Achilles.[13] Like Müller, he was struck by how the execution of Zeus' plan is delayed by events that have no organic connection with the main plot, and he was troubled by the coherence of the narrative between the last portion of *Λ* and *Π* and by the long suspension of Patroclus' return to Achilles.[14] Already in 1806 he had concluded that the battle at the ships was too long and confused to be the work of one poet, and noted that parts of it ignore the Achaean wall.[15]

K. L. Kayser in 1835 pointed out that Achilles' words in *Π* 72 f. are incompatible with a preceding Embassy, and by 1842 he had seen that *Θ* exists in order to motivate the Embassy; he judged *HΘI* to be the work of a later poet than *A*–*Z* and *Π*. He also observed that Patroclus in *Π* 23–9 reports the wounded leaders' situation as it was in *Λ* but ignores their return to the field to encourage the troops in *Ξ* 379.[16]

Müller's idea of an *Achilleis* that was made into an *Iliad* by incorporating episodes with a wider perspective was developed by George Grote.[17] He found his *Achilleis* in *A* + *Θ* + *Λ*–*X* (perhaps with *Ψ*–*Ω*); the addition of *B*–*H* and *K* made it into an *Iliad*. He observed that the Embassy is ignored in passages in *Λ* and *Π*, and concluded that it was added later by someone who felt that after the inclusion of *B*–*Θ* Achilles 'had been too long out of sight and out of mind'.[18] Grote saw, then, that the preparation in *A* should be followed by fighting in which the Achaeans are worsted, though he failed to take the force of Kayser's point that the preliminary worsting in *Θ* is designed to lead to the Embassy. In a noteworthy image he wrote that the *Iliad*, unlike the *Odyssey*, 'presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow and subsequently enlarged by successive additions'.[19]

A further advance was made by S. A. Naber. He distinguished four layers in **(p. 57)** the poem. In the oldest (which is the only one that need concern us) *A* was followed directly by *Λ* 1–596, parts of *O* (306–66 and 674 to end), most of *Π*–*T*, and most of *Φ* 526–*X* 393. Naber is the first to see that *Λ* was originally meant to be the first day of battle. He observes that it contains no back-reference to the events of *B*–*K* and that it begins as if introducing the opening battle, and he takes the drastic step of joining it directly with *A*.[20] He also restores the close connection between *Λ* and *Π* by excluding *MNΞ* with most of *O*, taking this stretch of narrative to have been composed by a poet 'qui cruore et caede delectabatur et pugnae descriptionem ampliare voluit'.[21]

Naber thus recognizes in essence the two major expansions of my analysis. A series of other scholars over the next ten years—Christ, Fick, Croiset, Jebb, Leaf—arrived at broadly similar conclusions. Christ's first stratum, for example, consists of *A*, *Λ* 1–596, and parts of *O* 592–*Σ* 282. He thought that this original poem was expanded partly by the first poet, partly by his followers.[22] The first expansions, roughly *B*–*E* (without the Catalogue of Ships) and *M*–*O* 366, 'uno tenore deinceps composita esse iudico, haec ut inter *Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀριστείαν* et *Πατρόκλειαν* interiecta Achivorum trepidas et afflictas res luculenter illustrarent, illa ut libro undecimo praemissa Achivos ne destitutos quidem ab Achille Troianis cessisse uberius praedicarent.'[23] Christ engaged also with the problem of the Achaean wall's intermittent disappearance after its construction in *H*.[24]

The direct conjunction of *A* with *Λ* seems at first sight to work very nicely.[25] On closer inspection, however, we find that the introduction to the battle in *Λ* has problematic features: the unexplained allusion in 13 f. to the possibility of the Achaeans' leaving Troy; the reference in 48/51 to the trench before their camp; the perfunctory introduction of the Trojans in 56–66. On the other hand Agamemnon's dream at the beginning of *B* makes an excellent continuation from *A* which there is no reason to detach from it. Several critics accordingly argued for keeping *B*, or at least the dream, with *A*, and then going on to *Λ*.[26] This is

surely right. It is in *B*(–*Γ* 14) that we must look for the original account of the mobilization for the *Λ* battle.

Each critic has his own analysis, and no two agree exactly in their reconstruction of the original continuum. But this summary and selective survey **(p.58)** shows how a series of scholars reached a considerable degree of accord in recognizing a set of facts that point strongly to a much more compact original structure, conveniently summed up by the formula *AB* + *Λ* + *Π* …

The tectonic expansions

I believe that P made many insertions into his written text at different times. I distinguish three orders of magnitude. The major ones identified above may be called tectonic expansions: they significantly alter the architecture of the work, its structural logic and proportions. At the next level come what I will call episodic expansions, involving the insertion of one self-contained episode, which may extend over several hundred lines. To this category I assign the Achaean and Trojan Catalogues, *B* 484–779 and 811–77; the Teichoskopia, *Γ* 146–244; the Epipolesis, *Δ* 223–421; the encounter of Tlepolemos and Sarpedon, *E* 627–98; the death of Sarpedon, *Π* 394–683; the theomachy, *Φ* 232–514 with preparatory insertions in *Y* 1–155; the funeral games, *Ψ* 257–897. I will not go into the reasons here but leave them for Part II. Thirdly come sub-episodic expansions, shorter passages inserted within or between episodes. These may be of a few dozen lines, or of only one or two. Again I leave details for the commentary.

I have discussed the organic structure of the original, unexpanded and uncompleted poem. Now, what was P aiming at in the tectonic expansions? Are they all of a piece, or composite? The episodes added between *B* and *Λ*, at least, seem too many and varied to be seen as springing from a single conception.

Let us start from *Z*, in which Hector goes back in to the city. The ostensible reason for his doing so is that Helenos has advised him to go and tell the women to make an offering to Athena. But this is a poetic contrivance: there was no need for Troy's best warrior to leave the field to convey the message, and anyway the supplication to Athena is a failure and has no effect on the course of events. A more significant result of Hector's journey is that Paris is brought back to the fight. But the main poetic bonus of the interlude is the scene between Hector and Andromache. This is presented as if it were their last meeting before Hector is killed. But according to the time frame developed in *H* he was to spend three more nights in the city. Many readers have found it strange that this apparent scene of parting occurs so prematurely. But the strangeness is greatly eased if that extended time frame had not yet been constructed when *Z* was composed. In the earlier version of the poem the events of *B* and *Λ* fell on the same day. If that is still the assumption when *Z* is composed, Hector is returning to a battle that will continue **(p.59)** through *Λ* and beyond; according to the

finished account in *Σ*–*X* he will remain outside the city that night and meet his death the next day.[27]

The trouble taken to bring Paris back to the fight reinforces this hypothesis, for it is in the *Λ* battle that he has a useful role to play, disabling Diomedes and then Machaon. Eventually he will kill Achilles, and it is possible that P still has it in mind to take his story as far as that event. (Cf. pp. 45–7.) From *Z*, then, the narrative probably at one stage continued only as far as *H* 16 before feeding back into *Λ*, with no intervening nightfall.[28]

Hector's mission to the city presupposes that the fighting has been in progress for some time and that the Achaeans have put the Trojans under pressure. It thus belongs organically with Diomedes' aristeia in *E* and with the whole engagement that begins at *Δ* 446. In his original version P had let the first half-morning of fighting pass without detailed description (*Λ* 84), so he had the freedom to insert a substantial block of battle narrative before that point.

In *Δ* 446, *οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δή ῥ᾽ ἐς χῶρον ἔνα ξυνιόντες ἴκοντος*, we are exactly where we were in *Γ* 15, *οἵ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες*, at the initial clash of the two armies. In *Γ* the battle never got going: it was immediately suspended for the duel of Paris and Menelaos, and a truce was called in the expectation that the duel would end the war. It did not, and in *Δ* a violation of the truce was contrived so that the narrative could get back on track. This duel and truce complex clearly represents an expansion independent of all that follows. It has long been conjectured that the duel had previously been the subject of a separate poem and conceived as taking place near the beginning of the war.[29] This is likely enough, and if P had such a poem in his repertory, he had only to have the idea of incorporating it within his epic. Its presence there is presupposed in *EZ*, first at *E* 206–8, where Pandaros refers to the arrow-shot with which he violated the truce, and then at *Z* 280 ff. and 313 ff., where Hector goes to find Paris and finds him with Helen; he is there because Aphrodite conveyed him there when she rescued him from Menelaos in *Γ* 373–82. P was conscious of the need to bring him back so that he could play his part in the next phase of the battle (*Λ*). This was perhaps his primary motive in making Hector go back to the city; he then used the visit as the occasion for scenes featuring Hekabe, Helen, and above all Andromache.

After *H* 16 preparation at once begins for bringing the day to an end, thus breaking the temporal continuity between the fighting described hitherto and that which continues in *Λ*. P's purpose in making this interruption is so that, **(p. 60)** before things go any further, he can fortify the Achaeans' position with the wall and trench. In order to build these defences they will need at least a day without fighting. They obtain the necessary intermission by agreeing a truce with the Trojans for burials of the dead. This is all initiated by after-dinner proposals from Nestor in *H* 323 ff. Some critics have raised their eyebrows at his

calling for defensive fortifications (*μή ποτ᾽ ἐπιβρίσηι πόλεμος Τρώων ἀγερώχων*, 343) at a time when the Achaeans have had the better of the battle. They fail to grasp the teleological principle of Homeric narrative. The building of the defences is not a response to anything that has happened but a preparation for what is going to happen. They are built to be fought over, as they will be in *M*–*O*.[30] The new expansion in *H* 17 ff. thus belongs together with that (or those) in *M*–*O*.

By the end of *H* two days have elapsed and the defences are ready. In the finished *Iliad* we then have a day of fighting in *Θ* in which the Trojans gain the upper hand, followed that night by the Embassy (*I*). As Kayser saw, *ΘI* are interdependent; once P decided to insert the Embassy before *Λ*, he had to precede it with another battle that goes badly for the Achaeans, to motivate the appeal to Achilles. But this battle and the Embassy have no necessary connection with *Γ*–*H*. They were composed after *H*, as they refer to the fortifications,[31] but they constitute a separate expansion.

The intercalation of extra days, separating the action of *Λ* from the daybreak in *B*, meant that a new dawn had to be provided for *Λ*. If *ΘI* represent a separate expansion, this dawn must have been supplied already, as it was needed immediately to complete the *H* expansion. Was it the dawn with divine council that we find in *Θ* 1–65, or the one that we find in *Λ* 1 ff.? It would seem to have been the former, since several lines in *Λ* 1–66 appear to have been composed after the main part of *Θ* or after *M* (which belongs with the *H* expansion).[32]

Different views have been taken on the original context of this divine council in *Θ*, in which Zeus forbids the gods to intervene in the fighting. Hermann thought it should be the introduction to *N*; Christ suggested connecting *Θ* 1–52 or 1–27 with *Λ* 15 ff.; Fick took *Θ* 56–*Λ* 55 as a further expansion by the poet of *B* 48–*Θ* 54; Erhardt proposed that the scene originally followed *A*.[33] But why and when was it needed? I submit that it **(p.61)** was needed after the extravagances of *E*, where gods had involved themselves in the battle in an unregulated way, with dramatic and painful results, and that as soon as P had brought Paris back onto the field he added this scene to restore the conditions that obtain in *Λ*, where the gods (apart from Zeus) practically do not interfere. In fact *Θ* 2–52 makes a very satisfactory bridge between *H* 16 and *Λ* 84.[34] When the *H* expansion was made, the battle narrative in 8–16 was broken off instead by another dialogue of gods (17–43), leading to the termination of the day's fighting, and after the completion of two more days at *H* 482 the divine council found itself inaugurating a new day. A brief description of the combatants' morning preparations and resumption of battle (*Θ* 53–67) was then appended to restore continuity with *Λ*.

According to this analysis the expansions between *B* and *Λ* were conceived in the same sequence as that in which they appear in the text:

Primary layer	Motivation to expand	Tectonic expansions
A–*Γ* 14. Quarrel;Zeus' promise toThetis; battle setup.	Incorporate duel of Paris and Menelaos (pre-existing poem).	*Γ* 15–*Δ* 445.[35]
	Amplify morning battle; show Achaeans' natural superiority. Bring Paris back. Restore discipline to Olympians.	*Δ* 451–*H* 16, *Θ* 2–52.
	Provide for building of wall and trench to be fought over later.	*H* 17–482, *Θ* 1 + 53–65.
	Work in unsuccessful approach to Achilles before original battle.	*Θ* 66–*Λ* 83.
Λ 84 ff. Battle proceeds; major heroes wounded, Achaeans driven back. Achilles anticipates approach.		

(p.62) We now come to the *M*–*O* expansion or expansions. Here there is less diversity of theme than in *Γ*–*Z*, and the advancement of the overall plot remains more steadily in view. The Achaeans are in serious danger at the end of *Λ*, when Patroclus sets off to bring Nestor's recommendations to Achilles, and they must still be in serious danger when he arrives at the beginning of *Π*. In the original draft there was no let-up in the interim, whereas in the expanded version the situation is relieved for a while in *NΞ*. Originally Patroclus proceeded directly from Nestor to Achilles; in the expanded version he has to be delayed, and this is contrived by having him meet and tarry with the wounded Eurypylos (*Λ* 575–95 n.).

The primary purpose of the expansion was to develop the battle by bringing in the Achaeans' fortifications that were built in *H* with this intention. They come into focus at once at the beginning of *M* and remain in focus throughout the rhapsody until Hector achieves a breach in the wall. At that point we may judge that the purpose has been achieved, and Patroclus may be allowed to complete his brief journey. We do not expect the relaxation of the crisis that retards the progress of the story for the next 1600 lines. This looks like a secondary expansion. In *O* 390–404 Patroclus sees the Trojans storming the wall, takes his leave from Eurypylos, and hastens on his way. This may well have been the original continuation from *M*, and *O* 390–418 would suffice to link *M* and *Π*.

But more of *O* must already have existed before the composition of *M*, to make the continuation from *Λ* 805. In the original draft all that was needed between Patroclus' departure from Nestor and his arrival back with Achilles was a further section of battle narrative to remind us how critical the situation was becoming. It would be typical of P to cover the time of Patroclus' journey by interlacing it with the parallel action. If we search *O* for the portion that best meets the need, we find that the last part of the rhapsody, from 592 to the end, meets it very satisfactorily, and I think this was most likely the original continuation from *Λ* 805.

M required a different continuation, because Patroclus had now interrupted his return and was tarrying with Eurypylos: I have identified it in *O* 390 ff. In the final text P has incorporated both continuations. But in combining two strands of narrative composed at different times he has left tell-tale signs of a double account of the crisis.[36]

(p.63) Further observations on the Primary Layer

The analysis has been based on observation of the logical relationships between portions of the narrative. It results in a stratification, a discrimination of older and more recent layers. It documents a staged process of composition that must have extended over a significant period of time. In chapter 1 I have argued that it is likely to have been a period measured in years or decades. In the course of this time it is not only P's concept of his poem that will have evolved, but also his knowledge of other poetry and mythical traditions, his mental constructs of the Trojan War and its setting, his poetic technique. Can we detect signs of such evolution in differences between the several layers of composition?

'The old poem of the wrath of Achilles knew only a narrowly limited circle of heroes.' So Fick declared,[37] and there seems to be some truth in the claim. In the primary layer of *A–Π* the Telamonian Ajax is there as a major player, but we do not find mention of the Locrian Ajax or of the Aiante(s), nor of Ajax's brother Teukros. Idomeneus is there, but not his squire Meriones. Other absentees on the Achaean side are Thoas, Meges, Menestheus, and Antilochos. Of course P might have had these men in mind as present among the personnel and simply not had occasion to make use of them. That is unverifiable and therefore unfalsifiable. The fact remains that he at first tells his story without them, whereas in certain sections of later composition he goes out of his way to bring them into view and give them something to do.

On the Trojan side, startlingly, no less a figure than Aeneas is absent from the primary layer.[38] Later, in *Y*, he appears as the man whose family is to rule over the Trojans after the fall of Priam; as we have seen in chapter 2, this must reflect P's personal acquaintance with Aineiadai in the Troad. Their ancestor, the child of Aphrodite and Anchises, need not have had any traditional connection with the Trojan War, in which he accomplished nothing significant. It was for the

pride and gratification of the Aineiadai that he was put into it, perhaps by P himself, perhaps by local poets before him. In any case it is a plausible hypothesis that he did not encounter the Aineiadai and their eponymous hero—perhaps did not visit the Troad—until after he had set a good part of his poem down in writing.

Three Trojans who do not appear in the primary layer but are prominent in later ones are Polydamas, Deiphobos, and the seer Helenos. The two last are brothers of Hector, while Polydamas is his close companion and adviser, born **(p.64)** in the same night.[39] Their absence from the old parts of *ΛΟΠ* contrasts with the presence of more than one son of Antenor. P had a Trojan personnel in mind, but he was to enlarge it later with some notable individuals.

Many scholars have seen the Trojans' major allies, the Lycians with their leaders Sarpedon and Glaukos, as belonging to a late stratum in the poem.[40] It is curious that there are two Lycias in the *Iliad*. One is the classical Lycia in south-west Asia Minor, where the city of Xanthos overlooks the river of the same name; this is where Sarpedon and Glaukos come from. The other is a Lycia unknown outside Homer, the home of Pandaros, located in the Aisepos valley north-east of the Troad.[41] This Lycia seems to have older roots than the other in the epic tradition about Troy. Just as the formula 'Trojans and Dardanians' (*Γ* 456, *H* 348, 368, 414, *Θ* 154, 497) refers to an alliance of two peoples from the Troad, so the formulae 'Trojans and Lycians' (*Δ* 197, 207, *Z* 78, *Λ* 285, *O* 424, 485, *Π* 564, 685) and 'Trojans and Lycians and Dardanians' (*Θ* 173, *Λ* 286, *N* 150, *O* 425, 486, *P* 184) will have referred originally to a coalition of neighbouring peoples, not to the southern Lycians: a coalition that faced the Achaean invaders without the far-flung network of allies that the Trojans have in the *Iliad*.[42] They form the first three contingents in the Trojan Catalogue (*B* 816–27), while the southern Lycians come last (876 f.).

As for Sarpedon and Glaukos, they do not appear in the primary layer.[43] In the *ΔEZ* expansion they are there, but the two main episodes where they appear, Sarpedon's engagement with Tlepolemos in *E* 627–98 and Glaukos' with Diomedes in *Z* 119–236, are strikingly self-contained and separable. When Hector and Paris return to the fight in *H* 1–12 and each kill a man, Glaukos is appended to them (13–16) as if to assert his existence; the lines are easily disposable. That leaves only Sarpedon's speech in *E* 471 ff., and the suspicion that 471–96 may be a secondary insert.[44] In the duel/truce expansion, *Γ* 15–*Δ* 445, there is no sign of the Lycians, nor in *HΘI*. In the *M–O* expansion they appear, but essentially only in one episode, *M* 290–429; the one-line mention of them in *Ξ* 426 is inorganic and looks like a secondary **(p.65)** addition. The *M* episode is a little better embedded, as Sarpedon and Glaukos have been set in charge of one of five divisions of the Trojan forces in 101–4, but here too they could have been worked in without much trouble.[45] All in all, it looks as though these southern Lycians do indeed represent a late addition to the forces that

fought the Achaeans. In chapter 2 I have suggested that their introduction was a consequence of a visit to Lycia by P. If so, it looks as if he may have made that visit with the *Iliad* already half written.

The Trojan alliance, I have suggested, was originally confined to the Trojans, Dardanians, and northern Lycians. This may still have been the case in P's initial draft, for in what I have identified as the primary layer in *A*–*Π* the only passsage where other allies appear is *Π* 287–92: Patroclus' first kill is the Paionian leader Pyraichmes, whose followers promptly make themselves scarce. 297–363 is diagnosed as a secondary expansion on other grounds, and it may well be that the expansion actually begins at 284; 364 makes an excellent join with 283.

As for the Achaeans, not only do they have a limited number of champions in the primary layer—Achilles and Patroclus, the two Atreidai, Ajax, Odysseus, Diomedes, Idomeneus, the counsellor Nestor, the healer Machaon—but they are treated as an undifferentiated mass, not yet divided into local contingents. Only Achilles' Myrmidons have a separate identity. When we look at the expansions, the contrast is striking. In the Epipolesis *Δ* 250–421 Agamemnon finds Idomeneus together with the Cretans, Nestor with the Pylians, Menestheus with the Athenians, Odysseus with the Cephallenians. In the battle that follows we meet Elephenor the leader of the Abantes (463 f.), Thoas the Aetolian (527), Oresbios the Boeotian (*E* 707–10), Periphas the Aetolian (842 f.). Or if we turn to *N* we again find the Athenians (196), Thoas the Aetolian (216–18), Idomeneus labelled as leader of Cretans (255, 259, al.), and a throng of Boeotians, Ionians, Locrians, Phthians, and Epeians (685 f.). A similar contrast appears in the expansions with regard to Trojan allies. The diversity of their provenances and languages is noted in *Δ* 436–8. A Thracian leader appears at 519, with his top-knotted followers in 533; a chieftain of the Halizones from inner Anatolia in *E* 39; another Thracian brave in *Z* 7. The two Catalogues in *B* reflect this enlarged and more differentiated conception of the opposing forces.

P's art may be seen to evolve also in regard to his treatment of the gods and their involvement in the war.[46] In the primary stratum Zeus' will is the governing principle that shapes the story. Hera is given to opposing it. As goddess of Argos, she supports the Argeioi, the Achaeans (*A* 55 f., 195 f., *B* 15), and she protests at Zeus' plan to harm their cause (*A* 555–9). Other deities descend **(p.66)** to earth as their emissaries: Athena as Hera's (*A* 195), Iris as Zeus' (*B* 786, *Λ* 185). Athena is herself a martial goddess who assists Achaean heroes (*B* 446 ff., *Λ* 438). But for the rest, the gods are not concerned with the mortal conflict; Hephaestus in *A* 573–6 dismisses it as unworthy of their attention. They are not divided into pro-Achaean and pro-Trojan axes. Poseidon is not mentioned. Apollo sends a plague upon the Achaeans' camp because Agamemnon had dishonoured his priest, not because he is a god of the Trojans, and he lifts it again at the priest's request. He only emerges as the city god of Troy towards the end of *Π*,

to save it from Patroclus' almost unstoppable assault. Up to then Zeus is the only god to make active interventions in the battle.[47]

The picture is markedly different in the later strata. In the first expansion, *Γ* 15–*Δ* 445, Aphrodite intervenes to save Paris from Menelaos; the gods debate what to do next; and when battle is rejoined, Ares is urging the Trojans on and Athena the Achaeans. Apollo very soon appears ensconced on the citadel of Troy and encouraging the Trojans, while Athena is going about among the Achaeans and exhorting them (*Δ* 507–16). In what follows, she gives Diomedes her special attention; Aphrodite, Apollo, and Ares all appear on the battlefield, and Diomedes engages with them. Before things go much further Zeus issues his embargo on the gods intervening to assist either side (*Θ* 2–40). To introduce the wall-building expansion, an agreement between Athena and Apollo brings about the duel of Hector and Ajax and an end to the day's action. When the wall is fought over in *M*, the action is strenuous and there are no divagations to bring in other gods than Zeus. But in *N* Poseidon joins in to help the Achaeans, and in *Ξ* Hera's seduction of Zeus gives him further scope. After Zeus wakes up in *O* there is further to-ing and fro-ing: Ares is heading down to avenge his son till Athena restrains him, Poseidon is ordered to cease his activity, Apollo is given the aegis and sent down with Zeus' authority to assist Hector and put fear into the Achaeans. The intercalary battle in *Θ* brings similar shenanigans. Hera tries to persuade Poseidon to join the fight against the Trojans, but here he does not dare challenge Zeus. She does persuade Athena to make a joint sortie with her, and they set out in a chariot, but Zeus sees them and sends Iris to stop them with the threat of violence. P has developed a freer and more imaginative use of his gods than in his early draft; more of them are involving themselves in the war, with wilful individual initiatives. This richer vein of entertainment reaches its apogee later with the line-up of five pro-Achaean against five pro-Trojan deities in *ΥΦ* and their somewhat ridiculous combats.

(p.67) The growth of the poem: lengthening and widening

Comparing P's uncompleted *Ur-Ilias* with his finished epic, we see most obviously a huge increase in size, to four or five times the length of the original. The overall structure of the story remains, but its coherence has been compromised; the logical consecution of scenes has been disrupted by the ever more numerous expansions. This is a loss, but in several ways the poem has gained. Many of the new episodes are of the highest poetic quality, and constitute some of the most memorable parts of the *Iliad*. They introduce us to a wider variety of heroes and divinities.

But they do not just mean more of a delectable commodity. They add new dimensions to the story and give it greater depth. In the first version there were mentions of Priam, Paris, and Helen; everyone knew who they were, they were part of the background against which the tale of Achilles and his wrath was set. There were mentions of Troy, the city outside which the fighting took place.

Hector appeared repeatedly in the fighting, and we knew that events were to lead to his death in the field. But in the expansions we meet Priam and Paris and Helen themselves, hear their conversation, become privy to their thoughts and feelings. We are taken inside Ilios and shown its buildings and its people, and how the invading host looked as seen from inside the walls. We are given a picture of Hector not just as a great warrior but as a husband and father, a man of tender human sensibilities as well as of courage and martial prowess.

In the original version there was no clear sense of how the action sat in relation to the war as a whole. There were allusions to the beginnings of the conflict (*A* 71, 159, *Λ* 123–5 ~ 138–41), but no indication of how long it had lasted or how much longer it might last. In the expansions we not only learn that nine years have passed and that Troy is expected to fall in the tenth: we see how that passage of years has affected people, from the Achaeans, weary and discontented at their lack of progress, to Helen who looks back at her previous life in Greece and repents of her error. The time dimension becomes a powerful enhancement of the drama. And the future is as potent as the past: forebodings of doom hang over Troy on the one hand, over young Achilles on the other. It was already a given in *A* (352, 416 f., 505) that his life was to be short, but as the poem grew the prospect took on a more tragic depth.

Our picture of the war as a whole is filled out with various references to things that have happened in it: the sacrifices at Aulis and the portent that appeared there; the abandonment of Philoctetes on Lemnos; the death of Protesilaos, the first Achaean to disembark at Troy; Achilles' exploits in the Troad and the islands. From the original version the hearer got a vivid enough **(p.68)** sense of two armies in conflict on a broad battlefield, but just how big were the armies, and who were they all? With the addition of the Catalogues in *B* they acquired definition. The identities of the peoples involved and of their leaders, and the numbers of the ships that brought the Achaeans from across the sea, were all made explicit.

This widening and deepening of the poem by means of new sections inserted into the first draft is acknowledged in the perceptions of scholars such as Grote, who saw an original *Achilleis* being enlarged into an *Iliad*. By *Iliad* they understood an epic so designed as to convey, despite the limited time-span of the action narrated, a vista of the whole war.[48] I do not go so far as to claim that P consciously undertook a programme of transformation on those lines. I would see it rather as a development that came spontaneously with the growth of his imagination and the maturing of his genius.

Notes:

([1]) See *CR* 19 (1969), 258 f.

([2]) Bergk 647, ‘An die Leistungen eines Dichters, der zum ersten Male ein großes Epos auszuführen unternahm, dürfen wir keinen übertriebenen Maßstab anlegen. Der Dichter konnte ein solches Werk, mochte er es nun lediglich im Kopfe und Gedächtniß ausarbeiten, oder sich bereits des Hülfsmittels der Schrift bedienen, doch nur langsam und allmählig vollenden. Aus dieser successiven Entstehung des Gedichtes lassen sich manche Widersprüche sowie Differenzen des poetischen Tones hinlänglich erklären. Haben doch auch jüngere Dichter in helleren Zeiten, wo die Voraussetzung einheitlicher Composition nicht dem mindesten Zweifel unterliegen kann, solche Differenzen keineswegs ängstlich vermieden, manchmal sogar absichtlich zugelassen. Ebenso wenig darf man selbst von dem begabtesten Sänger verlangen, daß er sich stets auf gleicher Höhe halte. Schon die Natur des Stoffes, der nicht überall gleich günstig ist, pflegt leicht eine gewisse Ungleichheit des Vortrags zu erzeugen.’

([3]) Cf. Mülder 337; Arend 9; Schadewaldt 150.

([4]) Cf. Reichel 39.

([5]) I disregard *K*, the *Doloneia*, as being an insertion in the completed *Iliad* by a different poet. See the introduction to it in Part II.

([6]) The Catalogues, however, and some other parts of *B* are later additions by P.

([7]) Attempts to put a different interpretation on the relevant lines (*Λ* 609, *Π* 72 f., 84–6) are roundly and soundly refuted by Bonitz 66 f.; Hentze iv. 66; Bethe i. 72–4; Page 305–10. They continue to be made by modern commentators for whom Analysis is anathema.

([8]) They appear in *Λ* 48/51, to be sure, but that comes in the new introduction to the battle that had to be supplied after it was detached from *B*.

([9]) See *Λ* 311, 569, 601, 803, 823–4 nn.

([10]) *Π* 369 f., 380, 397, 512, 558; see 369–71, 377–83, 394–683 nn.

([11]) Cf. F. A. Wolf, *Homeri et Homeridarum Opera* i (Leipzig 1804), xxvi, ‘certum est, tum in Iliade tum in Odyssea orsam telam et deducta aliquatenus fila esse a vate, qui primus ad canendum accesserat.—id tamen, ni fallor, poterit effici, ut liquido appareat, Homero nihil praeter majorem partem carminum tribuendum esse, reliqua Homeridis praescripta lineamenta persequentibus’; C. G. Heyne, *Homeri Ilias* (Leipzig 1802), viii. 802–6.

([12]) Müller 96–8, 101, 116–18, 122–6; 122, ‘Die erste [Rhapsodiengruppe] beginnt mit dem zweiten Gesange, so daß der erste Gesang als Einleitung einer Achilleis vereinzelt dasteht und erst im achten und funfzehnten [*sic*] Gesange Anknüpfungspunkte findet.’

([13]) *Opusc*. vi(1). 86–8 (1831), v. 70–5 (1832).

([14]) *Opusc*. v. 57, 59–68.

([15]) *Homeri Hymni et Epigrammata* (Leipzig 1806), ix.

([16]) Kayser 10, 45, 55, 57.

([17]) George Grote, *History of Greece* ii (London 1846; pp. 104–31 in the 1888 edition).

([18]) Ibid. 117 n. 1. Later passages that do allude to the Embassy (*Σ* 444–56, *T* 140 f., 192–5, 243) he took to have been inserted to integrate it better in the whole.

([19]) Ibid. 108. Similar imagery commended itself also to Schwartz 39 f., ‘Es liegt im Wesen des Epos, dessen Dichter, den Baumeistern eines allmählich wachsenden mittelalterlichen Domes vergleichbar, sich von dem schon geformten und doch nie fertigen Stoff immer wieder zu Anbauten und Fortsetzungen anregen lassen, daß es nicht aufhört Neuschöpfungen zu erzeugen, die dann Älteres zerstören’; Cauer 700, ‘So ist ein Bauwerk entstanden, in seinem äußeren Eindruck vergleichbar dem eines Kirchenbaus, an dem Jahrhunderte, und keineswegs nach einheitlichem Plane, gearbeitet haben, an dem bei näherer Betrachtung sich verschiedene Stile zeigen, die in ihren grundlegenden Baugedanken durchaus voneinander abweichen; betrachten wir aber das Ganze in größerem Abstande, so empfinden wir doch einen mächtigen und imponierenden Gesamteindruck’; Reinhardt 12 f.

([20]) Naber 171 f.

([21]) Naber 180.

([22]) Christ 23, 92, 95 f. He sets out his stratification on pp. 57–78, 730.

([23]) Christ 85.

([24]) Christ 49, 85 f.

([25]) It is still accepted by Mazon 184.

([26]) K. Brandt, *Jb. f. kl. Ph*. 130 (1885), 649–53 (*B* 1–41 > *Λ* 1 ff.); Fick 4–6 (*B* 1–50, 443–6, 477–83 > *Θ* 55 > *Λ* 57 ff.); Erhardt 175–7; Leaf i. xxii, 47, 465 (*B* 1–50, 443–83 > *Λ* 56 ff.); Cauer 668; rejected by Wil. 276.

([27]) Cf. Naber 156 f.

([28]) Cf. Kayser xxx (1–5 May 1841); Niese 81; Goold 17.

([29]) Müller 112–14. Cf. Lachmann 20, who saw a continuity between *B* 483 or 785 and *Δ* 422; Niese 75; *Γ* 15 n.

([30]) Cf. Eust. 689. 59: Homer invents the wall, *ὡς ἂν ἐγγυμνάσῃ προϊὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥητορικὴν καὶ τειχομαχίαις καὶ κινδύνοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτάς*.

([31]) And it can be argued that the fortifications were necessary to keep the Trojans in check overnight (Bethe i. 355). But this is not indicated in the text.

([32]) See *Λ* 5–6, 47–55, 56 nn.

([33]) Hermann, Opusc. v. 63 f.; Christ 12, 341; Fick 282, 335–48; Erhardt 113 f. Bethe (i. 107) argues that it is actually tailored to the events of *Θ*.

([34]) Note that *Θ* 51–2 ≈*Λ* 81–2. The divine council does not need to take place at daybreak; it can cut in whenever needed, as happens at *Δ* 1.

([35]) *Δ* 446–51 may have been the original continuation of *Γ* 14, followed perhaps by a simile such as *Δ* 452–6 or *Λ* 67–71 and then by *Λ* 84 ff.

([36]) See Part II, introduction to *O*.

([37]) Fick 92, ‘Das alte gedicht vom zorne Achills kannte nur einen eng begrenzten kreis von helden’. Similarly Bethe i. 343.

([38]) Cf. Niese 113 f.; Fick 79, 92; Wil. 333.

([39]) For Polydamas as a late entrant cf. Niese 114 f.

([40]) Giseke 234–6, 243–5; W. Christ, *Sitz.-Ber. München* 1881 (2), 171; Bergk 460 f., 575, 579; C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, 115–18; Niese 109–12, 201; Christ 49–51, 62, 85 f., 88 n. 1; Fick 9, 251, 421; Wil. 135 f., 214, 294.

([41]) Cf. *B* 827 n.; Strabo 12. 4. 6, 8. 4, cf. 13. 1. 7, sch^{T} *Δ* 101a, sch^{D} *Δ* 103. The name of Lycia goes back to the Lukka lands of Hittite records and seems to be related to that of the Luwian language. For men of Lukka in the neighbourhood of Wilusa-Ilios see V. Parker, *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie* 274 (1999), 501 n. 52.

([42]) Giseke 234.

([43]) The episode in *Π* where Sarpedon faces Patroclus and is killed is betrayed as secondary by passages in it that presuppose the *M–O* expansion; see *Π* 326–9 and 394–683 nn.

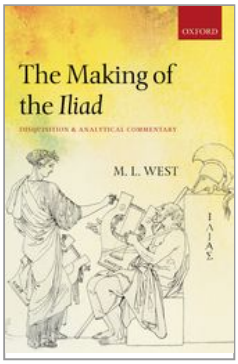
([44]) On all these passages cf. Giseke 234–6; Bethe i. 68.

([45]) Cf. Wil. 212, 214 (and already id., *Vorl*. 178).

([46]) Cf. Niese 97–105; Bethe i. 342 f.

([47]) *Λ* 163, 185, 300, 336, 406, 544, *O* 593–604, 637, *Π* 103, 120 f. Athena protects Odysseus at *Λ* 438.

([48]) They supposed this to be the reason for the poem’s title. I take a different view of that, cf. p. 70 n. 3.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Early Reception and Transmission

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter first describes how knowledge of the *Iliad* spread beyond the Troad and the Aeolis before the end of the seventh century BC. It then surveys alterations in the *Iliad* from Homer's original version. It identifies seven categories of minor interpolation. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of Panathenaic recitations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Keywords: Homer, Iliad, Odyssey, Troad, Aeolis

We are extraordinarily fortunate to have the *Iliad*. If P had not completed his mighty poetic creation, if he had not succeeded in the huge task of getting it all written down, or if others had not taken the trouble to preserve the precious text and to multiply copies of it, it would have been lost. Its survival must owe something to good luck, but more to the dedicated efforts of the poet and his early admirers.

By the time he completed his written text he must have performed versions of most parts of the poem on various occasions in various places. Many people must have heard these performances, and they will have been aware that the songs they were hearing had a place in a larger whole. When the Ephesian rhapsode Ion transfixed his audiences as he described Achilles swooping on Hector or related the pathetic scenes with Andromache or Hekabe and Priam (Pl. *Ion* 535b), they knew that these were episodes from the *Iliad*, and they knew which part of the *Iliad* they came from. P's audiences may not have been so exactly informed, but they will have been acquiring a sense of the overall structure of the story. And anyone who saw his voluminous manuscripts must

have been impressed by that visible embodiment of an epic that had a fixed form and a prodigious but clearly defined length. They certainly understood the value of what those rolls contained and appreciated the importance of keeping them safe after P died.

I have elsewhere discussed a number of possible mechanisms for their survival:[1] dedication in a temple; preservation in P's family, or in the house of a patron, or in a community of poet-rhapsodes. This last alternative is the likeliest and most effective hypothesis. Whether it was in the Troad that P ended his days or somewhere else, it is very probable that other poets existed in the neighbourhood, and they would certainly have had a keen interest in acquiring his great written epic. That would have led naturally to copies being made, and to knowledge of the poem being spread about as individual rhapsodes moved on to other places.

At an early stage the *Iliad* was further enlarged by the addition of two new **(p. 70)** episodes: the *Doloneia* (*K*) and the *Amazonis*, or possibly the whole *Aethiopis*. The *Doloneia* remained as part of the standard text; the *Amazonis* or *Aethiopis* was presently cut off, but a telltale trace was left behind.[2] The *Doloneia* poet (P^K) seems, like P, to have known the Troad, and in *K* 430 he refers to Thymbra, a place not mentioned in the genuine *Iliad*. This suggests that he might have been one of the local poets who attended the Aineiadai, and it tends to lend weight to the hypothesis that it was in their milieu that P's work was initially preserved.[3] At least one of the minor interpolations in the *Iliad* shows knowledge of a Scamander valley cult.[4] As for the *Amazonis*, it is surely significant that it ended with Achilles' going to Lesbos for purification from the killing of Thersites. This points to a poet, if not from the Troad, at any rate from not far away. As noted in chapter 2, it is in a Lesbian poet of around 600 BCE, Alcaeus, that we find two of our first reliable and approximately dateable literary allusions to the *Iliad*.

It is clear, though, that knowledge of the poem had by then already spread further afield. Vase-painters in Attica and the Argolid had begun to depict scenes from it. The Smyrnaean Mimnermus knew at least one portion of it (*ΔEZ*). The poet of the *Aethiopis*, reputedly Arctinus of Miletus, had created a fresh account of Achilles' death to supply what P had left unrelated; this must have been before 600, as his new hero Memnon appears in art at about that time, besides being known to the poet of the *Odyssey* (*λ* 522).

The Odyssey

Then there is the *Odyssey* itself, which shows an extensive knowledge of the *Iliad*, including, in my opinion, the *Doloneia*.[5]

> To be sure, the *Odyssey* poet will not have read the *Iliad* but rather heard it, and heard it more than once. In other words, he has more than once

> heard the same version of the *Iliad*. Verbatim references to numerous quite specific, non-traditional Iliadic passages are not conceivable otherwise. The very number of individual passages of the *Iliad* that are known in the *Odyssey* shows unambiguously that it was a definite *Iliad* **(p.71)** that already existed in a fixed form in terms of content and language when the present *Odyssey* was conceived.[6]

If this is right, and I believe it is, the implication is more momentous than is generally realized. Either P^{Od} had access to the complete written text of the *Iliad* and studied it, or he had opportunities to hear the whole of it recited by others. Complete recitations necessarily took several days and must always have been rare. We know something about how they were organized at Athens from the late sixth century. But in what circumstances might P^{Od} have heard them in the late seventh?[7]

He might, of course, have heard P himself and/or others in P's vicinity such as P^{K}. We do not have the impression, however, that he lived in their part of the world. He knew an *Argonautica* that is assumed to have originated in Miletus or the Milesian sphere of influence, as well as the two Cyclic epics that were attributed to the Milesian Arctinus, the *Aethiopis* (at least the Memnon part) and the *Iliou Persis*. But nothing else in the *Odyssey* points to Asia Minor, and its geographical outlook seems more that of an Aegean islander or a mainland Greek. One passage perhaps gives a more definite pointer. Alcinous promises Odysseus that his sailors will take him home, or wherever he would like to be taken, 'even if it is further than Euboea, which is the most distant land according to those of our people who saw it when they took Rhadamanthys to see Tityos, the son of Ge' (*η* 321–4). Euboea sits right in the middle of the Greek world. How could anyone conceive it as the end of the line—except a Euboean poet who fancied that, as the Phaeacians were the remotest of human peoples from his viewpoint, Euboea would be the most distant place from theirs?[8]

The *Odyssey*, then, adds to the evidence that knowledge of the *Iliad* had spread beyond the Troad and the Aeolis before the end of the seventh century; and in this case it is not just a vague or partial knowledge, but a good knowledge of the whole epic including the *Doloneia*. But this is not the *Odyssey*'s only significance for the early transmission of the *Iliad*. In the last quarter of the sixth century the two epics were together taken up at Athens as the poems of Homer. This prompts questions about when and how they came **(p.72)** together in the public consciousness. Had they been coupled continuously from the time of the *Odyssey*'s composition? When the *Odyssey* appeared, was it at once accepted as a worthy companion to the older poem? Did the text of the *Iliad* come to Athens in a form mediated by the *Odyssey* poet? Did he make his own modifications to it, and if so, did they enter the general tradition? I cannot answer these questions, but the reader may like to ponder them.

The state of the text

The *Iliad* has come down to us in pretty good condition. If anything of P's original text has been lost, it would seem to be no more than a few lines. There are interpolations, but apart from the *Doloneia* they are short and do not affect the sequence of events. As regards the wording in detail, there are often ancient variants that leave us uncertain which precise formulation of a verse was the original one, but it seldom makes a difference to the sense. Very occasionally the text appears to have suffered corruption, even to the point of becoming nonsense, but the number of such cases is vanishingly small. There has been some modernization of forms and spelling.

Such disturbance of the text as has taken place is almost wholly due not to miscopying by scribes but to the operations of rhapsodes, especially in the earliest phases of the tradition. This affected the written transmission because many of the copies made were made by rhapsodes for their own use. Having the poetry in their heads, they tended to rely on their memories rather than carefully reproduce an exemplar.[9] Some of them made deliberate additions from various motives. Cynaethus of Chios is one who is named as an interpolator;[10] we cannot verify the historical truth of the allegation, but it shows awareness of rhapsodes' creative potential.

I distinguish seven categories of minor interpolation:[11]

1. Verses reflecting local or political interests that do not seem to be those of P.
2. References to Cyclic material that is otherwise unknown or ignored in the *Iliad*. **(p.73)**
3. Explanatory lines, added to clarify an expression or a reference that might be unclear or ambiguous.
4. Rhetorical expansions to enhance the dramatic effect or graphic vividness of the narrative.
5. Syntactic complements, filling out an elliptical construction or a pronoun whose reference might not be immediately obvious.
6. Redundant speech introductions: interpolation of a line with a verb of speaking immediately before the speech, where the act of speech had already been sufficiently indicated, or interpolation of a vocative as the first line of the speech itself.
7. Concordance interpolations: insertion of a line or lines that occur elsewhere in a similar context; in Bolling's words, 'cases in which a scribe makes a passage agree with a longer passage that he remembers'.[12]

The first four types seem to be characteristic of the archaic period, while the others, to judge by the fact that the lines in question are more often absent from a part of the manuscript tradition, were more prevalent in later times. The concordance interpolation is the commonest and most persistent type,

continuing at least into the Roman period. Re-use of lines and sequences is of course characteristic of epic style, and verses that recur are not automatically suspect, but when they are absent from part of the manuscript tradition it is usually an indication of concordance interpolation. We need to pay particular attention to this, because the relationship between parallel passages is often significant for the compositional process. Mistaken conclusions have often been drawn through failure to observe that not all the lines in question are genuine.

I referred above to the possibility of genuine verses having been lost. It seems likely that this has happened in the Catalogue of Ships, where the section on Athens and Salamis (546–58) is generally admitted to have been rewritten, presumably in the time of Pisistratus or his sons, to suit Athenian interests. As it stands, Athens and Salamis are the only places named in the whole tract of territory corresponding to Attica and the Isthmus as far as Corinth. In P's original catalogue there had presumably been a list of towns in Attica and along the Isthmus and the Saronic Gulf.

Are there any accidental lacunae in the text? It is not a possibility that is usually contemplated; but there are half a dozen places where it might be.[13] In some of them it could be that P's mind jumped ahead and he simply omitted **(p.74)** to supply the logical link that we miss. But given that our text is not a perfect copy of his, it is conceivable that a few brief omissions occurred accidentally at an early stage of the transmission and were never noticed, or not by anyone in a position to mend them.

The Panathenaic ordinance

At Athens in the classical period the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited in their entirety by teams of rhapsodes at the quadrennial Great Panathenaea. It was agreed that the practice went back to the sixth century, some associating it with Solon, some with Pisistratus, some with Pisistratus' son Hipparchus. Hipparchus, the least celebrated of the three but the most noted for his interest in poetry, was certainly its true instigator.[14] It was during his rule, around 520 BCE, that Attic vase-painters began to show an equal acquaintance with all parts of the *Iliad*: previously they had confined themselves to the last third of it. The inference is that up to then they had not had opportunities of hearing the whole poem, only partial recitations by rhapsodes who had concentrated on a few of the most stirring episodes.[15]

To lay on a complete performance was a considerable undertaking, and it is not surprising that it took a tyrant's initiative to provide the Athenian public with this treat. But we should not assume that no one had ever had such an experience before. There may occasionally have been complete performances in other places, whether by a single rhapsode (over several weeks) or by a self-organized group such as the Homeridai of Chios.[16] We have seen that the poet of the *Odyssey* was well acquainted with the whole *Iliad*, and the same must be

assumed for the poet of the *Doloneia*. Unless they became familiar with it by reading it, which is possible but not the alternative any of us will prefer, they must have heard it all recited, whether by P himself or by others.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are each traditionally divided into twenty-four segments, in English usually referred to as ‘books’, in other modern languages commonly as ‘songs’ (*Gesänge, chants*, etc.). The terms are dangerously misleading. It is important to understand that these were not units of composition; it is often convenient to refer to particular parts of the *Iliad* as *A*, *E*, *Λ*, and so on, but the boundaries marking off these conventional entities **(p.75)** were not due to the poet and have no relevance for the analysis of the poem. The ancient term was *ῥαψωιδίαι*, which means not ‘songs’ but ‘recitations’, that is, recitation units, and the segmentation was evidently made for the practical purpose of serial performance. Even if such performances had taken place from time to time before the Panathenaic ordinance, there was (so far as we know or can surmise) no fixed tradition of them, and it is unlikely that any canonical division into a fixed number of recitation-assignments had established itself. It was surely for the Panathenaea that the division of each epic into twenty-four was undertaken.[17] A regular four-yearly event called for a regular system, and the prestige of the Panathenaic recitations, together with the dominance of Athenian books in the pre-Alexandrian transmission, would account for the fact that these divisions came to be regularly marked in the margins of rolls and acquired a lasting status. Twenty-four was a convenient number by which to distribute the recitations over the duration of the festival, as it lasted for four days. They were labelled with letters of the alphabet in the same way as the ten Athenian courtrooms were labelled from *A* to *K*; the point was not to count them but to fix the sequence. What mattered to the rhapsode who was assigned *T* was not that his portion was the nineteenth of the series but that he should be ready to perform after the colleague who had *Σ* and before the one who had *Y*.

There is a picturesque detail hidden away in Eustathius that may be relevant to the Panathenaic recitations:

> And if the later reciters performed Homeric poetry in a more theatrical way, the *Odyssey* in purple costume and the *Iliad* in red—the purple, according to the ancients, on account of Odysseus’ wanderings at sea, the red on account of the slaughter and bloodshed at Troy—well, that is a convention, an innovative idea of later times: the poet, even if he wrote in a dramatic way, did not make drama for the stage.[18]

Eustathius’ source (‘the ancients’) was probably a Hellenistic writer, or someone drawing on one. Whether the interpretation given of the purple and red costumes was mere antiquarian speculation or due to the rhapsodes themselves, we need not consider. But when and where was the colour-coding in use? There seems no point in it on occasions where a single rhapsode was giving a self-

contained performance. We know that a classical rhapsode such as Ion appeared *κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃι* (Pl. *Ion* 535d, cf. 530b).

(p.76) But did he choose a different item from his wardrobe according to whether he was going to recite from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*? It does not seem very likely or purposeful. It is much more plausible that the notice refers to the one famous institutionalized event at which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were both performed on the grand scale, the Panathenaea.[19] If both epics were to be gone through in four days, it is a reasonable assumption that they were recited simultaneously in parallel sessions, with six rhapsodies per day of each poem. In those circumstances, with members of the public dropping in for parts of the performances, it would have been useful to be able to see at a glance which epic was in progress where.

The participating rhapsodes must have had some sense of being engaged in a collaborative enterprise, but they were also in competition. Plato represents Ion as hoping to win at the Panathenaea (*Ion* 530b), and the great quadrennial festival must be meant. It is not clear whether each contestant performed only one rhapsody; that would mean that 48 rhapsodes had to be available for the event to go ahead, which appears an excessive requirement.

When Hipparchus first instituted the custom, we may guess that he did so after being advised that there was a company of rhapsodes able and willing to do the performances, and that they had among them a complete set of texts. There will have been discussions on how to programme the event and into how many recitation-units the poems should be divided. The rhapsodes themselves, or a committee drawn from their number, will have worked out where to make the divisions. These became normative for subsequent festivals, and it is a natural supposition that the original texts were kept for reference, being recopied from time to time when they wore out.

To this extent it is legitimate to think in terms of an ‘official’ text. But there is no reason to suppose that anyone kept a close check on what the rhapsodes actually recited on each occasion. They recited from memory, and no doubt produced oral variants. And the ‘official’ text need not be thought of as the product of a special work of redaction. There will have been no multiplicity of complete *Iliads* and *Odysseys* within reach, and what became the Panathenaic text was most likely whatever set lay to hand, subjected to no particular editing beyond the division into rhapsodies. The rewriting of the Athenian section of the Catalogue, mentioned above, does not prove otherwise: it was done at Athens, to be sure, but perhaps a decade or a generation before the Panathenaic ordinance. In the *Iliad* as a whole it is remarkable how little attention is paid to Athenians. It does not look like a poem that has been systematically edited to please them.

(p.77) The Panathenaic text was not the fountainhead of the whole later manuscript tradition. It may have been the source from which many Attic texts were derived, and Attic texts exercised the dominant influence on the later transmission.[20] But there are sporadic traces of a non-Attic, Ionian line of tradition, reflected particularly in the readings recorded from Zenodotus. For details I refer the curious reader to what I have written elsewhere.[21] **(p.78)**

Notes:

([1]) *Studies* 5 f.

([2]) For the doubtful possibility that *K* was lacking in an ancient copy or copies of the *Iliad*, see the introduction to it in Part II. On the *Amazonis–Aethiopis* see *Ω* [804] n.

([3]) Cf. Bergk 648, ‘fortgebildet ward das Werk des großen Meisters alsbald von jüngeren Kunstgenossen, die wir wohl zunächst in der unmittelbaren Umgebung des Dichters zu suchen haben’. I believe that the *Iliad* had its title from its early currency in the vicinity of Ilios, cf. *Studies* 6 f.

([4]) See *Φ* [126–35] n. The interpolator might of course have been the *Doloneia* poet.

([5]) Cf. p. 8.

([6]) Usener 208, ‘Der *Odyssee*-Dichter wird die *Ilias* allerdings nicht gelesen sondern eher gehört haben, und das öfters. Mit anderen Worten: Er hat die gleiche *Ilias*-Version öfters gehört. Anders sind wörtliche Bezugnahmen auf zahlreiche sehr spezielle und nicht-traditionelle *Ilias*-Passagen nicht denkbar. Gerade die Anzahl der individuellen Passagen der *Ilias*, die in der *Odyssee* bekannt sind, ergibt eindeutig, daß es eine bestimmte *Ilias* war, die bereits in inhaltlich und sprachlich fixierter Form bestand, als die heutige *Odyssee* konzipiert wurde.’

([7]) For the date of the *Odyssey* cf. West (2003), 16, and my paper ‘Towards a chronology of early Greek epic’ cited in p. 16 n. 4.

([8]) Cf. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 113, ‘eine doch wohl für ionische und gar euboiische Ohren berechnete Pointe’; *JHS* 108 (1988), 172.

([9]) Cf. Bergk 531 n. 20, ‘Manche Abschriften, wie sie in den Kreisen der Rhapsoden cursirten, mögen übrigens nicht Copien von Handschriften gewesen sein, sondern waren nach dem Gedächtniß aufgezeichnet; daher mögen manche Lücken und Alterationen des Textes stammen.’

([10]) Sch. Pind. *Nem*. 2. 1c (Hippostratus *FGrHist* 568 F 5) *ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ (ῥαψωιδοὶ) ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὗς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν*.

([11]) Cf. *Studies* 12–14 for fuller discussion and listing of passages.

([12]) G. M. Bolling, *Ilias Atheniensium* (Lancaster Pa. 1950), 3 n. 6. On this type of interpolation see M. J. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Heidelberg 1980).

([13]) See the nn. on *Z* 222–3, *H* 433, *Θ* 130–1, *Σ* 288, *Y* 48–53, *Ψ* 743–7, 830–7.

([14]) Cf. *Studies* 17–19.

([15]) Friis Johansen 224–30, cf. 239. As 520 itself was not a Panathenaic year, the festival at which the recitations began may have been that of August 522.

([16]) Cf. Jacob 355, (serial recitation at the Panathenaea,) 'wie es auch früher bereits an andern Orten geschehn sein mag'. Bonitz 37 envisaged rhapsodes' contests at which the competitors recited successive parts of a single story.

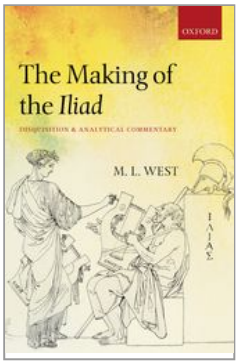
([17]) M. L. and S. R. West, *Symbolae Osloenses* 74 (1999), 68–71; *Studies* 18 f.

([18]) Eust. 6. 8 *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ποίησιν οἱ ὕστερον ὑπεκρίνοντο δραματικώτερον, τὴν μὲν Ὀδύσσειαν ἐν ἀλουργοῖς ἐσθήμασι, τὴν δὲ Ἰλιάδα ἐν ἐρυθροβαφέσιν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς διὰ τὴν ἐν θαλάσσῃ πλάνην τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ φόνους καὶ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν αἵματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν σύμβαμα καὶ καινότερον ἐπινόημα τῶν ἐσυστέρων· ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς εἰ καὶ δραματικῶς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐδραματούργησε σκηνικῶς*. Cf. sch. Dion. Thrax 316. 15; *ZPE* 173 (2010), 4 f.

([19]) So Scheliha 403 f.

([20]) See *Studies* 31

([21]) *Studies* 32–45.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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A

M. L. West

The first rhapsody is a skilful and effective introduction to the story. P's task is to describe firstly how the quarrel between Ach. and Ag. arose, and then how Zeus was persuaded to alter the balance of the war in the Trojans' favour so that Ag. would be forced to right the wrong done to his greatest fighter. Once Zeus has made this decision and Hera's disquiet over it has been smoothed over, the stage is set for the next phase of the action, in which battle proceeds and we look forward to the implementation of the divine plan.

1–7. Epic recitations were commonly prefaced by a hymn to a deity, of the kind represented by the extant Homeric Hymns. The practice is alluded to at *θ* 499 when Demodocus *θεοῦ ἤρχετο*; cf. also Pind. *Nem*. 2. 1–3. Hesiod's two poems each have such a hymn incorporated in the text. The standard texts of *Il*. and *Od*. do not, and we do not know whether the Panathenaic recitations began with a hymn (such as *H. Hom*. 28). Crates knew a text of *Il*., presumably a rhapsode's text, that began *Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον*, that is, with a hymn. The source that records this (*Appendix Romana* B 1) also quotes another alternative opening, recorded by Aristoxenus (91a Wehrli):

> *ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,*
> *ὅππως δὴ μῆνίς τε χόλος θ' ἕλε Πηλείωνα*
> *Λητοῦς τ' ἀγλαὸν υἱόν· ὃ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς.*

This is clearly a transition, probably from a hymn (less likely from the *Cypria*, as Bethe ii. 384 assumes), to the *Il*. narrative; but it involves a clumsy manipulation of the standard text, with Ach.'s and Apollo's angers being run together, and it cannot be original.

1. *μῆνιν*: as in *α* 1, the first word is a noun, given specificity by the following genitive, adjective, and relative clause; it encapsulates the theme of the poem, and the Muse is asked to sing of it. The subject is developed for a few lines by added sentences and then rounded off before the narrative begins. Again as in *Od*., P does not look as far ahead as the climax of the poem but limits himself to the earlier parts, which are foremost in his mind.

The Muse is peculiar to Greek tradition, but in other respects the form of *incipit* has oriental parallels: *EFH* 170–3. Ach.'s wrath was probably not an old theme; cf. VdM 15 and above, chapter 4. I do not follow the view that the motif was borrowed from the story of Meleager (*I* 524–99 n.). **(p.82)**

***Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος*:** patronymic before name, a traditional poetic licence: *IEPM* 76 f.

Even if the story of Ach.'s wrath was new, his name itself implies a Trojan War setting; the next lines confirm this and indicate who he was angry with. The scene of action is given further precision by 10 *ἀνὰ στρατόν*, 12 *ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν*, 18 *ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν*. However, there is no indication in *A* of how long the war has been going on.

2. *οὐλομένην*: P assumes the Achaean viewpoint.

3. *ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν*: as Mülder 341 points out, the idea of the wrath casting heroes' souls before Hades must be secondary to the more concrete image of Zeus casting their heads before him (*Λ* 55, cf. *E* 190, *Z* 487).

4–5. *ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν | οἰωνοῖσί τε*: a motif paralleled in Semitic and Germanic epic, esp. in warriors' threats to one another: *EFH* 215 f.; *IEPM* 476, 491 f. It recurs often in *Il*., but no ravaging by dogs or birds is ever described; bodies are gathered up for cremation as opportunity allows.

***Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*:** the plan agreed by Zeus on Thetis' proposal (517–30). National defeats or victories interpreted as reflecting a divine purpose: *EFH* 348 (Hebrew, Assyrian).

6. *ἐξ οὗ*: with *ἄειδε* rather than with *ἔθηκεν, προΐαψεν*, etc. P states the starting-point of his narration; cf. *α* 10, *θ* 500. But *τὰ πρῶτα* indicates that it is the beginning of a story rather than a point in the middle of a continuous saga.

7. *Ἀτρείδης*: patronymic alone standing for the name: *IEPM* 81. That it is Ag. and not Men. is not made explicit till 24.

8–52. The exposition of the background to the quarrel, before the summoning of the fatal assembly, is quite rapid and compressed. P is hurrying to the starting line.

8. *τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν*: presupposing that some god is behind every significant new development. But Apollo's responsibility for the quarrel is very indirect; he is just one link in the chain of events. After picking him out P has to work back to Chryses' supplication of the Achaeans and then forward again. The strategy of beginning a narrative poem from an unsatisfactory situation that results in complaint to the gods and action by them has Semitic parallels: *EFH* 173 f. P may have had a more immediate model for the way he begins *Il*. in the *Meleagris* that he draws on in the Embassy: *I* 524–99 n.

For the question followed at once by the answer cf. *B* 484, 761, *E* 703, *Θ* 273, *Λ* 218, 299, etc.; Braswell on Pind. *Pyth*. 4. 70–1 (B. K. Braswell, *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar* (Berlin–New York 1988), 161). The Greek poet sometimes conceives the question to be addressed to the Muse (*B* 484, 761, etc.; Bacchyl. 15. 47), but other addressees are possible **(p.83)** (Pind. *Isth*. 7. 1), and there are examples of the technique in the Rigveda (1. 75. 3, question to Agni) and in Serbo-Croat epic, where there is no Muse figure: *IEPM* 94 f.

12–13. P does not trouble to explain by what means Chryses came from Chryse, how he conveyed the *ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα*, or how it comes about that he finds the Achaeans all assembled.

14–15. Pictorial details, underlining Chryses' status as Apollo's priest, which is treated as strengthening his claim (21).

ἑκηβόλου foreshadows what the god will do to the Achaean army.

22–3. The consensus of the rest emphasizes Ag.'s perversity. ***αἰδεῖσθαι*** implies the priest's entitlement to respectful treatment, and ***ἀγλαά*** marks the adequacy of the compensation he offers.

25. *κακῶς*: 'in ugly fashion'. Ag.'s incivility aggravates the dishonour.

29–31. He has a sexual interest in her; see 112–15 n.

34–52. The passage is rich in oriental motifs and imagery: the distressed man in solitude praying tearfully to his god; the angry god in response coming down in darkness and shooting his arrows; the god's arrows as the instrument of pestilence. In this aspect Apollo resembles the Canaanite god Resheph. See *EFH* 55, 348 f. The sea shore as location is possibly a pre-echo of Ach.'s prayer to Thetis in 350–1.

37–41. The prayer has characteristic formal features: the appeal 'hear me', the god's name in the vocative, embellished with epithets and titles, the reminder of the suppliant's past pieties. These are equally typical of IE and of Semitic prayers: *EFH* 270, 273 f.; *IEPM* 316 f., 324. The list of cult places is akin to the motif 'whether you are in… or in…', for which see *IEPM* 322 f.

37. *κλῦθί μοι*: a very ancient formula, = Vedic *śrudhí me* (RV 8. 66. 12).

ἀργυρότοξε, like *ἑκηβόλος* earlier, looks forward to the plague arrows. With the place-names Chryses does not refer to Apollo's well-known Panhellenic cult centres but to his own Chryse and other places in the region. The title Smintheus too, 'Mouse-god', is from a local cult in the neighbourhood of Chryse; it is not mentioned again.

42. Instead of making Chryses explain his grievance to the god (we already know it), P compresses the substance of the prayer into a single line, remarkably pointed in expression. All the Danaans are to pay for their king's offence: cf. *EFH* 127.

***σοῖσι βέλεσσιν*:** P lets Chryses specify the action that Apollo is to take. It will lead to the restoration of his daughter, but he does not ask for that specifically. That a god sends plague and a seer or diviner establishes the cause, enabling the correct remedy to be employed, is a typical narrative complex, but it is not normally set in motion by a prayer.

43. *τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε*: *EFH* 225, 349, *IEPM* 317. A Homeric prayer is generally **(p. 84)** followed by the statement that the god did or (less often) did not accept it: J. V. Morrison, *Hermes* 119 (1991), 146 f.

44. *βῆ*: apart from Zeus, gods generally come to the scene in order to give assistance. Prayers often contain the appeal 'come'. Hes. *Th*. 429 n.; *EFH* 271; *IEPM* 318–20.

***κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων*:** for the gods' mountain cf. *EFH* 112, *IEPM* 151.

46. *ἔκλαγξαν*: like the *κλαγγή* of 49, this vivid detail is drawn from the image of a human archer and does not represent a sound actually heard.

47. *νυκτὶ ἐοικώς*: the Achaeans did not see him, they only saw the darkness of night, and in the morning the results of his operations. Cf. 359, *Δ* 75–8 nn., *E* 864–7, *Ξ* 285, *P* 547–52; *EFH* 363 f.

48. *ἕζετο*: unseen, he can shoot at his ease. Odysseus shoots through the axes while seated, but jumps up to fire at the suitors (*ϕ* 420, *χ* 2).

50. *κύνας ἀργούς*: *IEPM* 84.

53. *ἐννῆμαρ*: for nine days as a typical period (with something new on the tenth) cf. *Z* 174, *I* 470, *Ω* 664, *η* 253, etc.; Hes. *Th*. 636 n.; for this type of pattern with other numbers of days, *EFH* 175 f. Nine as an IE sacral number: *IEPM* 329–31.

54–8. Typical scene: an assembly summoned and addressed. Arend 116–21; *EFH* 194. Ach. is made to convene it because this will lead him into confrontation with Ag.

55–6. Even this calls for a divine initiative. Hera is the highest of the deities committed to the Achaean cause; cf. 194–5 n., 521.

***λευκώλενος*:** *IEPM* 84.

62–4. Proposal preparing for Calchas' intervention, which leads to the explanation of Apollo's anger and tension concerning Chryseis. The recourse to seer, priest, or dream-interpreter to elucidate the divine will is oriental: *EFH* 47 f., where note esp. Mursili II's endeavour to find out the reason for a plague. The dream-interpreter is included as part of the set although no one has had a dream.

***ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*:** Ach. is allowed to share P's and our knowledge of which god has sent the plague (Wil. 247 f.); cf. 380–1 n.

65–7. Suggested reasons, to be denied in 93; a variant on a typical device in scenes of question and answer, as in *Z* 376–86, etc. Similarly in Ugaritic and in many IE poetic traditions: *EFH* 198, *IEPM* 107 f. Ach. thinks in terms of conventional grounds for divine anger. Although he knows Apollo is the god responsible, he does not make the connection with Ag.'s treatment of Chryses.

66. *κνίσης*: Semitic gods too delight in the fatty smoke, *EFH* 42.

68. P has skipped a step here: Ag. could have replied and asked Calchas to **(p. 85)** advise them. Calchas in 74 speaks as if Ach. had called on him directly. He is in fact the only available person who fits any of the categories of 62 f.

69–72. P sometimes introduces significant new characters with a few lines about them. So with Nestor in 247–52, though generally the major heroes are taken as known. Zen., who had *μάντις* in place of *Κάλχας*, may have known the additional lines mentioned and paraphrased by Eustathius that gave more genealogical details: *Studies* 173 f. Acc. to these lines Calchas was a Euboean, and he may go back to a Euboean poem on the Gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis, cf. p. 33. We hear of a river Calchas at Chalcis (Strattis fr. 91); the city may have its name not from copper-mining but from purple-fishing (*κάλχη*). It lies directly across the strait from Aulis. There was a tradition that Calchas was buried at Colophon (*Nostoi* arg. 2; 'Hes.' fr. 278), so there may have been interest in him in that area in P's time.

69–70. *οἰωνοπόλων*: divination from birds is at home in the Near East, *EFH* 47. 'Past, present, and future', on the other hand, is an IE expression of totality,

esp. in relation to divine or vatic knowledge: *IEPM* 103 f., 383. Calchas is able to explain Apollo's anger without consulting omens.

71–2. Similarly the Babylonian seer 'went in front of the army', *EFH* 349. Calchas had provided crucial guidance at the outset of the expedition, and P will have had this in mind, cf. 106–8 n.; Kullmann 198.

74. *διΐφιλε*: *EFH* 130, *IEPM* 130.

77. *ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν*: a variant of an IE expression for 'by word and deed', 395 n.

78. Preparation for the quarrel: Calchas anticipates Ag.'s displeasure, and Ach. is drawn into supporting him against the king.

86. *διΐφιλον*: after 74.

88. *δερκομένοιο*: 'seeing' (the light of the sun) is a traditional expression for 'living': *IEPM* 86 f.

90. Calchas did not name Ag., though he could not have meant anyone else. The progressive sharpening of focus is typical of P's technique.

91. *εὔχεται εἶναι*: Ag.'s supremacy is presented as something he asserts rather than as an absolute fact. In 244 and 412 Ach. will rate himself as *ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν*.

93. 65–7 n.

97. *βαρείας χεῖρας* echoes 89, but applied to the plague it is a strikingly Semitic idiom: *EFH* 223 f. Some ancient copies had the Hellenized variant *οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει*.

99. *ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον*: negative compounds juxtaposed in asyndeton, *IEPM* 110.

103–4. An unusually full and graphic account of a speaker's mood and **(p.86)** mien. For the motif of the king angered by repeated bad news or unwelcome prophecies cf. *EFH* 349 f. But Ag. does not reject Calchas' advice, cf. 116–17 n.

105. *πρώτιστα*: P anticipates the later exchanges with Ach., which have not yet been provoked.

106–8. No doubt alluding to Calchas' pronouncement at Aulis that Iphigeneia must be sacrificed (Kullmann 198). For such references to his role at Aulis cf. 71 f., *B* 300–30 n.

108. Word and deed: 395 n.

111. *κούρης Χρυσηΐδος*: 'the daughter of Chryses'; like the daughter of Briseus (184 n.), she has no distinguishing name of her own. In an unspecified 'ancient' author (sch^{D} *A* 392; *Cypria*?) the two girls were named as Astynome and Hippodameia.

112–15. The idea of Ag.'s preferring a concubine to Clytaemestra is drawn from the Cassandra story, recalled in *λ* 422 (VdM 19 n. 20; Kullmann 356 f.; cf. 29–31 n.). The audience will be put in mind of his subsequent destiny. Cf. *I* 143 n.

116–17. P eschews the typical motif by which a king scorns a seer's advice. Despite his initial outburst, Ag. accepts the validity of Calchas' statement. Acc. to Aesch. *Ag*. 186 *μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων* he had been no less compliant at Aulis. He might have used line 117 in that context (Reinhardt 45).

118–303. Ag.'s call for a replacement *γέρας* is reasonable in principle, and so is the substance of Ach.'s reply (122–9), despite its derogatory opening. After this the dialogue becomes increasingly hostile as the two proud men provoke each other with every speech. For precedents in Assyrian royal epics see *EFH* 350.

122. *φιλοκτεανώτατε*: like other insulting vocative compounds in *Il*. (149, 225, 231, *B* 246, *Γ* 39, *E* 889, *Λ* 385, *N* 824), this has the air not of traditional vocabulary but of a word coined *ad hoc*; cf. Hes. *Op*. 39 n.

125. *πολίων*: the towns in whose taking Ach. himself has played the leading role; cf. 163–6, *B* 228, and p. 43.

128. *τριπλῆι τετραπλῆι τε*: Semitic-type idiom (*n: n* + 1); *EFH* 259 f.

133. *ὄφρ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔχηις γέρας*: the first, quite unspecific allusion to Briseis (Reinhardt 47). She gains definition in 138 and 184 f.

138. Insisting on his right to a *γέρας*, Ag. now threatens to act in violation of agreed procedures and seize one: not necessarily Ach.'s, but the possibility is raised. Or it might be Ajax's; if his prize too is a woman, we think of the Tecmessa of Sophocles' play, though there is no sign of her elsewhere in *Il*., and she is not attested for the Cycle. Od., who is never associated with a concubine, perhaps follows Ajax by association, as the two are often mentioned together and were to come into conflict over Ach.'s arms.

139–47. 139 points forward to Ach.'s anger. But Ag. settles on him as the **(p.87)** one to be deprived only after his reaction to the present speech. For the moment he leaves the threat hanging and makes his proposal for the return of Chryseis; P thus prepares in advance for that episode (308 ff.). In 145–7 he skilfully leads back to Ach. to continue the development of the quarrel.

141. *νῆα μέλαιναν*: *IEPM* 85.

***ἄλα δῖαν*:** *IEPM* 193.

143. *Χρυσηΐδα*: 111 n.

145. To Ajax and Od. (138) Idomeneus is added to make a whole line; he is often mentioned in company with Ajax or the Aiante (*B* 405 f., *Γ* 229 f., *Z* 436, *H* 164 f. = *Θ* 262 f., *K* 53, 112, *O* 301; with the Locrian Ajax, *Ψ* 473–93). The line made up of three names, the third of which carries an epithet, corresponds to a common IE pattern: *IEPM* 117–19 (‘augmented triad’).

P is deliberately bringing in mention of more of his major heroes. Hector will be mentioned in 242, Nestor introduced in 247, Patr. in 337. Of the Achaean principals deployed in the primary stratum of composition, only Diom. and Machaon do not appear in *A*.

149. *ὤι μοι ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε*: both the interjection *ōy* + dative pronoun and the clothing metaphor have Semitic parallels, *EFH* 238 f. and 263. But Vedic metaphorical uses of ‘clothe’ (*vas* ~ **Ϝεσ-νυμι*) also deserve note: *IEPM* 92.

***κερδαλεόφρον*:** cf. 122 n.

152–68. The speech adds to the verisimilitude of the quarrel by sketching in a background of growing resentment on Ach.’s part against Ag. He implies that the whole war was being fought for an inadequate cause. It is presupposed that its purpose was to recover Helen; in *B* 339–41 Nestor speaks of a war alliance bound by treaty oaths. In ‘Hes.’ fr. 204 and probably the *Cypria* these were the oaths sworn by the suitors of Helen, and P may have known the story (cf. Bethe ii. 229–31; Kullmann 137 f.). But acc. to ‘Hesiod’ Ach. was not a suitor and not a party to those oaths; it is noteworthy that P does not make him use this argument.

154. Cattle-rustling as a typical IE heroic theme and *casus belli: IEPM* 451 f.; in Hom., *Λ* 670–84, *Σ* 523–39, *λ* 288–93, *υ* 51.

161. Ach. takes the possible threat in 138 to be a definite one; Ag. makes it so in 184 f.

162. *νῖες Ἀχαιῶν*: Semitic-type phrase, *EFH* 225 f.

169. *νῦν δ᾽ εἶμι Φθίηνδε*: Ach.’s impulse to leave Troy altogether (cf. *I* 356 ff.) represents the extreme, poetically impossible version of what P’s plan requires, his temporary withdrawal from fighting. P uses Thetis’ advice as the mechanism for keeping him to the more moderate course.

176–7. The lines look secondary to *E* 890–1. Aristarchus suspected 177 of being a concordance interpolation from that passage, but 176 can hardly **(p.88)** stand alone without the explanation. There could be an allusion to Ach.’s raids on

other towns in the Troad (*B* 691, *I* 328 f., etc.; VdM 20), only they would not motivate Ag.'s hate.

***διοτρεφέων*:** for the divine nurturing of kings cf. *EFH* 133 f.

183. *σὺν νηΐ τ᾽ ἐμῇι καὶ ἐμοῖς ἑτάροισιν*: after 179; the phrase is less happy here.

184. *Βρισηΐδα*: 'the daughter of Briseus' (cf. 111 n., 392, *I* 132), named without introduction. It emerges later that she was captured from Lyrnessos (*B* 690), where she had had a husband (*T* 291–6). We never learn anything about Briseus.

188–222. The scene has a remarkable precedent in the Ugaritic Baal epic: *EFH* 350 f.

188. *ὣς φάτο· Πηλείωνι δ᾽ ἄχος γένετ᾽*: cf. *EFH* 199.

189. *μερμήριξεν*: a typical motif: Arend 106–15, Voigt 30–82. Usually two alternatives are stated and the second chosen.

191. The killing of Ag. is as impossible as Ach.'s premature return to Phthia: it would controvert fixed tradition. One of P's devices for heightening his narrative is to evoke such extravagant prospects and claim that they might or would have happened if a deity had not intervened, as in *B* 155 ff., etc.; H.-G. Nesselrath, *Ungeschehenes Geschehen* (Stuttgart 1992).

194–5. Divine intervention resolves human indecision, cf. *E* 676, *Θ* 169, *K* 507, *Π* 715. Athena is the goddess who deals directly with heroes; Hera, goddess of Argos, Sparta, and Mycene (*Δ* 51 f.), is the Achaeans' general protectress. For their collaboration cf. *B* 156, *Δ* 8, *E* 418, 711, *Θ* 350, *I* 254, *Λ* 45, *Y* 314, *Φ* 418 ff. But Athena would more normally be sent to earth by Zeus (Reinhardt 68 f.). Hera has already shown her concern in 56. Perhaps P wanted to keep Zeus uninvolved until Thetis engaged his help.

197. *ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης*: a heroic characteristic, *IEPM* 427 f.

198. *οἵωι φαινομένη*: deities generally appear to and converse with single individuals, and this is appropriate to Ach.'s decision-making. As he is in mid assembly, it has to be explained that she is invisible to the others; we have to imagine further that the whole dialogue 201–18 is inaudible to them, and that they perceive nothing but a brief hesitation on Ach.'s part. In *B* 172–82 Odysseus, the recipient of Athena's message, apparently hears her voice without seeing her, while Priam both hears and sees Iris (*Ω* 223). In other passages where a deity intervenes without taking human guise P ignores the issue of visibility: *E* 123–33, 799–834, *Λ* 196–210, *O* 243–62, *Y* 330–40, *X* 214–24. So long as he or she is in dialogue with a mortal, bystanders are forgotten: Fenik 75.

200. *δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν*: gods are sometimes recognized by such physical signs, cf. *Γ* 396 f., *N* 71 f.; *IEPM* 133. But Ach. is on familiar terms with Athena (202 n.). **(p. 89)**

202. *τίπτ᾽ αὖτ᾽*: implying previous visitations and so a special relationship between goddess and hero. Cf. Aphrodite's questions with *δηὖτε* when she visits Sappho (1. 15–18).

***αἰγιόχοιο*:** *IEPM* 248.

205–8. Ach. states his inclination to kill Ag., to cue Athena's veto. She does not pause to reject his suggested reason for her coming (cf. 65–7 n.) but immediately (there is not a moment to lose) indicates that he should calm down.

208–9. Zen. athetized the repetition (~ 195 f.), but 208 at least is guaranteed by the dual *σφωΐτερον* in 216. 209 could be spurious; *ἄμφω* is less apt here than in 196.

212. *τρὶς τόσσα*: cf. 128. P had probably not yet worked out details of the compensation later to be offered (*I* 121–57), which looks worth far more than three Briseides.

214. *ὕβριος*: echoing Ach.'s word (203) and confirming it as a fair description of Ag.'s conduct.

216–18. Ach. obeys from respect for the goddesses; P cannot have him acknowledge the predicted compensation as adequate.

221–2. The intervening deity is tidily put away. P does not always trouble to do this, cf. *B* 182, *Γ* 424.

223–303. The war of words resumes. The remainder of the debate is clearly structured: Ach.'s delayed reply to Ag.'s third speech (225–44, 20 lines); mediation by Nestor (254–84, 30 lines); a short final pair of speeches from Ag. and Ach. (286–303, 6 and 11 lines).

225–30. Ach.'s characterization of Ag. as a drunkard and coward does not at all correspond to the way he is portrayed elsewhere; though cf. *I* 332.

***οἰνοβαρές*:** cf. 122 n.

***κυνὸς ὄμματ᾽ ἔχων*:** developing 159 *κυνῶπα*, while 226–30 develops 163–8 (cf. *I* 332–4).

229. *στρατὸν εὐρύν*: *EFH* 221.

231. *δημοβόρος*: *IEPM* 422; Ps. 14. 4, Micah 3. 1–3. Cf. Hes. *Op*. 39 *δωροφάγους βασιλῆας* with n.; Thgn. 1181 *δημοφάγον δὲ τύραννον*.

233–44. In 204 and 212 the one line sufficed to introduce an emphatic prediction. Here the oath by the sceptre takes things to a higher level of solemnity, underlining the programmatic significance of Ach.'s threatened withdrawal (cf. 340 f.). The fact of several lines being devoted to the sceptre draws attention to it as a status object, though instead of the expected pictorial detail (which is postponed to 246) we hear how it was stripped of its leaves and bark and will never sprout again; this represents an **(p.90)** adaptation of the oath type 'as sure as it will never…'. Cf. *EFH* 351 (Hittite, Akkadian).

238–9. *δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται*: on the connection between the sceptre, the administration of justice, and its divine sourcing cf. *EFH* 134–6.

240–4. The declaration anticipates what will happen in the poem, though the circumstances of Ach.'s absence from the fighting are not yet established; cf. 169 n.

242. The first mention of Hector, presupposed as in *B* 416 as the Trojans' great champion. Acc. to the *Cypria* he killed Protesilaos, the first Achaean to fall in the war (but see *B* 700–1 n.).

***ἀνδροφόνοιο*:** *IEPM* 80, 454. Preferred here on contextual grounds to the formular equivalent *ἱπποδάμοιο*, as always when Achaeans are speaking of him.

244. *ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν*: cf. 91 n.

245. *ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίηι*: the emotional gesture is surely not formulaic but conceived *ad hoc*, becoming the model for *β* 80.

247–52. Nestor is introduced (cf. 69–72 n.), with emphasis on his oratorical skill and his great age and experience. His intercession is necessary to defuse the quarrel (Reinhardt 75–7).

248–9. *ἡδυεπὴς … | … μέλιτος γλυκίων*: *EFH* 229 f.; *IEPM* 89 f.

***Πυλίων*:** only here in the primary stratum of composition is a hero linked with the people of a particular region.

254–84. Nestor's is the longest speech so far. What gives it its bulk is that, as elsewhere, P wants to show him drawing on his experience of past events. But there is no analogy between the war of the Lapiths and Centaurs (260–73) and the present situation, and it is not clear why it has come into P's mind. It is referred to again at *B* 743 (and *ϕ* 295–304). Nestor's involvement in it is unexplained and has been thought an autoschediasm (Mülder 47, VdM 24 n. 29, Reinhardt 78). But the confluence of Pylian and Thessalian epic tradition goes back to an earlier time, see *JHS* 108 (1988), 160; cf. Wil. 250 n. 2. The Thessalian

provenance of the Lapiths and Centaurs myth is reflected in the Aeolic form *Φηρσί* in 268 (and *Φῆρας* 743).

255–7. The danger of giving joy to one's enemies is a typical rhetorical motif, cf. *B* 160, *Γ* 51, *Z* 82; *EFH* 351. The quarrel does indeed portend advantage for the Trojans.

259–74. A good example of ring composition: 259 > 260–1 > story < 273 < 274.

262. A variant of 'there never were such men before and never will be again', for which see *IEPM* 104.

263. *ποιμένα λαῶν*: *EFH* 226 f., *IEPM* 421. **(p.91)**

[265]. Theseus interpolation (like *Γ* 144), probably from [Hes.] *Sc*. 182: VdM 24 n. 29, *Studies* 186.

266–7. *κάρτιστοι … | κάρτιστοι … καρτίστοις*: anaphora is a typically IE figure, cf. 288 f.; *IEPM* 108 f.

272. 'Such as men are now': *EFH* 117 f., *IEPM* 425 f.

βροτοὶ … ἐπιχθόνιοι combines terms from the two IE antitheses characterizing gods and men, 'immortal: mortal' and 'celestial: terrestrial'; the opposites in Vedic *devā́ amŕ̥tāḥ*. *IEPM* 124–7.

279. *σκηπτοῦχος … ὧι τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν*: *EFH* 17, 134.

284. *ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν*: *IEPM* 454 f.

297. *ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω*: *EFH* 198 (Ugaritic).

***σὺ δ᾽ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν*:** *EFH* 232 f.; *IEPM* 71.

299. *ἐπεί μ᾽ ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες*: a reminder of the multitude's presence; their silence is taken as assent to Ag.'s intended course of action, and they are not exempted from Ach.'s resentment. They have collectively allocated the prizes of war, cf. 368, 392, *Π* 56.

302–3. Ach. has been restrained from attacking Ag., but he makes it clear that it will not take much to provoke him to violence.

306–487. With the parting of the two protagonists P is faced with a version of the 'two-messenger problem' (*O* 53–262 n.): how to follow the activities of both parties without overtly going backwards and forwards in time. His general principle, commonly known as Zieliń ski's Law, is to treat simultaneous developments in different places as if they were successive. But here, as each of

the narrative lines involves only intermittent activity, he is able artistically to interweave them and preserve the correct sequence of events:

The mission to Chryse	Ag.’s further activities	Ach.
Dispatched 308–12		(Inactive in cabin)
(At sea)	Purification/sacrifices 313–18	
	Heralds sent to Ach. 319–48	
		Dialogue with Thetis 349–429
Arrival, completion, return 430–87		Remains waiting 488–93
		Thetis to Olympus 494–533

The purification and sacrifices evidently overlap with the sending of the heralds, but there is no concealed simultaneity. For other examples of the technique see *Γ* 116–20, *Z* 119–236, *Λ* 521–95, *O* 405, *Σ* 148, *Ψ* 448 nn.; Schadewaldt 76–8.

307. *Μενοιτιάδηι*: the first mention of Patr., identified (until 337) only by his patronymic (cf. 7 n.). His appearance here and in the following scene **(p.92)** (337–47) is unnecessary for the story but serves to introduce us to a character who will be of central importance later.

308–11. Ag. implements the programme he announced in 141–5. P picks on Od. as mission leader from the alternatives suggested in 145. The account of the voyage, to be completed in 430–9, follows the pattern of a typical scene (Arend 79–86).

313–17. The purifications and sacrifices are perfunctorily described. They give the army something to do and so help to fill the canvas. It has been felt that, coming after the dispatch of Chryseis, they should signify the conclusion of concern with Apollo’s anger and imply his appeasement (Leaf i. 1; Rothe 163; VdM 28); this lends colour to the view that the full account of events at Chryse belongs to a secondary expansion. See below on 423–7 + 430–96.

320–32. Typical scene, Arend 54–61 (Ankunft: Botschaft). Instead of going in person, as he threatened at 137–9, 184–5—that would have involved another confrontation, which P had no need of—Ag. sends his two heralds, who get a

two-line introduction. For the sending of heralds in pairs see *EFH* 350 f., and especially the passage cited from the Ugaritic Baal epic.

This Eurybates does not appear again; cf. *B* 184 n. Talthybios plays a part in five other passages of *Il*. (*Γ* 118, *Δ* 192 f., *H* 276, *T* 196–267, *Ψ* 897), and he went on two major missions in the *Cypria*.

326–48. P continues to imply that Ag. is at fault: his order is *κρατερός*, the heralds are reluctant to carry it out, Briseis is reluctant to leave Ach., and Ach. bears no resentment against the heralds, only against their master. It is to Ach.'s credit that, contrary to the heralds' apprehensions, his wrath is so focused.

328–32. P follows the outline of the typical scheme, but changes 'he/they took stand and spoke' to 'they took stand but did not speak' (Arend 55).

340–4. Cf. 240–4 n.

344. *παρὰ νηυσὶ*: anticipating the Achaeans' retreat to the ships; cf. 408–12 n.

345. *φίλωι … ἑταίρωι*: Patr.'s close friendship with Ach. is unobtrusively introduced.

348. *ἀέκουσ᾽*: the injury to Ach.'s honour would have been as great if the trophy confiscated from him had been a bronze tripod. But P prefers motivations that involve personal relationships. Briseis is no mere chattel; Ach. loves her, and she had expectations of becoming his regular wife: *I* 336–43, *T* 295–9. Cf. Finsler ii. 17.

349–51. Preparation begins for engaging Zeus' will. Thetis, though not an Olympian, is the obvious intermediary. To communicate with her Ach. retires to the sea shore. That his mother is a Nereid is too well known to need explaining; she is not named until 413. **(p.93)**

352. *μινυνθάδιον*: presupposing that he has already made the choice that we shall hear of in *I* 410–16; cf. *A* 416 f. The 'honour' that Ach. regards as his due in compensation for his early death will translate into fame; on the motif of the hero giving his life in exchange for fame cf. *I* 410–15 n.

355–6. A very compressed initial statement of the complaint, to be expanded in 365–92.

359. *ἠΰτ᾽ ὀμίχλη*: this is one of several places where the coming or going of a deity is manifested in what humans perceive as a phenomenon of nature; cf. 47 n.

362. It would have been awkward to have Thetis come up and immediately reply to what she had heard on the sea bed, so P makes her ask what Ach.'s trouble is, enabling him to tell her everything face to face.

365. *οἶσθα*: there is no apparent reason why she should know; but cf. *EFH* 351 f. Even if she did, the narrative structure requires Ach. to tell her his story.

366–92. This long explanation recapitulates the whole preceding narrative, with much direct repetition from it. But it begins by filling in the background that we have not heard before, the circumstances of Chryseis' capture. In *Z* 414–28 there is a longer account of the capture of Hypoplakian Thebe, the home town of Andromache, represented as Ach.'s personal accomplishment (cf. *B* 691, *I* 188, *Π* 153). The *Cypria* (fr. 24) gave an explanation of what Chryseis was doing in Thebe, but that may have been a later invention; here the capture of Thebe may be used as a 'formulaic' occasion for the acquisition of a woman, without a specific tradition behind it. Cf. VdM 16 f., 26; Kullmann 287 f. Reinhardt 62 points out that while she ought to come from Chryse, the place where her deprived father is and to where she is to be taken back, P could not represent her as having been taken from there at its sack, as it has not been sacked but remains a flourishing place with Chryses carrying on his office.

380–1. Ach. ought not to know about Chryses' prayer. P sometimes lets his characters know things that he has told us; see C. M. Bowra in A. J. P. Wace–F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (London 1962), 69 f.

387. *χόλος λάβεν*: cf. *EFH* 234.

390. *πέμπουσιν*: the present tense acknowledges that the mission to Chryse is proceeding simultaneously (Hentze i. 17).

392. *τήν μοι δόσαν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*: ≈ 162. The circumstances of Briseis' acquisition are elided to avoid a second capture narrative (Reinhardt 63). We shall learn them in *B* 690–3.

393. *εἰ δύνασαί γε*: related to the typical prayer motif 'for (I know) you can', *δύνασαι γάρ* et sim. (Hes. *Th*. 420 n.; *EFH* 273). But Thetis' power to help depends on the success of her intercession with Zeus, which cannot be guaranteed (cf. 427 n.). Asking a deity to intercede with another higher one is common in Akkadian prayers, *EFH* 352. **(p.94)**

394–5. *εἴ ποτε δή τι | … ὤνησας*: the one supplicating typically says 'if ever I have done you a service' (cf. 37–41 n.). Ach. proposes the words that Thetis will use at 503 f.

***ἠ ἔπει … ἠὲ καὶ ἔργωι*:** an IE formula, either with '(n)either…(n)or' or 'both… and', in which Greek preserves the original roots: *IEPM* 79.

396–407. If these lines were absent we should miss nothing, and in the event (503–10) Thetis bases her appeal to Zeus on a general formula corresponding to 394–5, with no reference to the particular episode described here. But her claim on him is more plausible after a specific benefaction has been cited (Reinhardt 97). The passage may be an expansion by P. Zen. athetized 396–406, presumably on grounds of *ἀπρέπεια*. On the myth, which must have some tradition behind it, cf. *EFH* 352. Thetis' part in it, however, will be invented *ad hoc* (Kullmann 15 n. 2; Reinhardt 36).

400. The rest of the passage sets Thetis against the Olympians collectively (398, 399, 406), so this line is possibly a secondary addition: Wackernagel, *Unt*. 232 f. Hera, Poseidon, and Athena belong together as supporters of the Achaeans in the war, but this does not provide a context for their ganging up on Zeus, who has not yet favoured the Trojans. In some ancient texts the place of Athena, the most unexpected of the three as an opponent of Zeus, was taken by Apollo. This is the version presupposed in sch^{D}, acc. to which the episode belonged in the same narrative as Poseidon's and Apollo's servitude to Laomedon (*H* 452 f., *Φ* 442–57): that was the punishment imposed on them by Zeus for their insurrection, while Hera was strung up as in *O* 18 ff. (a later occasion).

403–4. Language of gods: Hes. *Th*. 831 n.; *IEPM* 160–2. On Aigaion/ Briareos see *JHS* 122 (2002), 111 f.

404. Briareos is etymologized from *βριαρός*. The motif 'stronger than his father' recalls the myth that Thetis herself had been destined to bear such a son (Pind. *Isth*. 8. 32–5, [Aesch.] *PV* 768, 922–5). Briareos is elsewhere a son of Ouranos or Pontos, but here perhaps Poseidon is to be understood as his father. In Zen.'s text the father is eliminated and Briareos is 'much the strongest of all those who dwell down in mouldy Tartarus'.

408–12. Programmatic: 409 corresponds to the situation eventually reached in *O*, while 411 f. look forward to Ag.'s admissions of his *ἄτη* in *I* 116, *T* 88.

414–18. Cf. the sorrowful forebodings of Gilgamesh's divine mother, *EFH* 339 Ach.'s short life (352 n.), though not specially relevant to the situation, is brought to our attention again, as if to confirm the keynote for the poem.

415. *ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων*: cf. 99 n.

416. *μίννυθά περ, οὔ τι μάλα δήν*: positive + negated opposite, *IEPM* 105.
(p.95)

419. *τερπικεραύνωι*: *IEPM* 244.

421–2. A deity's instruction is provided to motivate Ach.'s all-important withdrawal from fighting, though it is in effect already presupposed by him in 408–12; cf. 240–4 n., 340–4.

423–7 (or 421–7) + **430–96**. There are grounds for considering this a secondary expansion (O. Ribbeck, *Phil*. 8 [1853], 475; Erhardt 2 f., 6 n. 1; Rothe 163–5; Bethe 176–82). Without it Thetis would go directly to Zeus, as 420 seemed to portend. The idea that the gods had all left Olympus the previous day was certainly not present to P's mind in 43 ff., 195, 208, 221 f. (sch. 222c; Lachmann 6). The twelve-day suspension of action gives an opportunity to describe Ach. *μηνίοντα* (488–92; Hentze i. 18, 64); that establishes his situation before he disappears from the narrative for a long time (Wil. 255 f.). But a further reason to introduce the delay was the desire to fit in an account of the fulfilment of the Chryse mission (Friedländer 74); P may originally have reckoned on leaving this to be understood (cf. 313–17 n.), but it was against his instincts to leave such a narrative strand hanging.

The Aithiopes motif recurs in *Ψ* 205–7, *α* 22–6, *ε* 282, 287. For the myth of virtuous peoples sited at the ends of the earth cf. *IEPM* 349. Twelve days as typical period: *EFH* 176.

427. *καί μιν πείσεσθαι ὀΐω*: P would like to represent Ach.'s plan (= his own plan) as receiving divine confirmation at once, only Thetis cannot guarantee that Zeus will accept her request, cf. 393 n.

429. *ἐϋζώνοιο*: women are typically 'well' attired: *IEPM* 84.

430–9. Cf. 308–11 n. In this whole account of the Chryse expedition the routine descriptions (landing and disembarking, sacrificial ritual and feasting, homeward voyage) are full and leisurely, while the business of returning Chryseis to her father and his intercession with Apollo is dispatched quite perfunctorily. Od.'s speech to Chryses (442–5) is very succinct; no answering words come from the priest. His brief prayer to his god (451–6) mirrors his earlier one (37–42) and is of just the same length. P is concerned to give the episode a decent amplitude, but not to develop it as a scene of lively human interaction.

447–71. Sacrifice ritual: Arend 64 f. with Tafel 4.

450–7. Prayer to cancel divine punishment: *EFH* 353. Again P is untroubled that the gods are supposed to be with the Aithiopes and unreachable; cf. Bethe 178 f.

453. *ἠμὲν δή ποτ᾽ ἐμέο πάρος ἔκλυες*: *E* 116 n.

472–4. Propitiatory paean sung throughout the day: *EFH* 353.

475–8. Sunset is used, as often, to close off a particular piece of action. The return voyage to Troy, a distance of some forty miles, would take many hours and could not realistically have been achieved on the same day. But it had to **(p.**

96) be narrated; the audience could not be left to infer that Odysseus sailed back the next day to rejoin the army.

477. *ἠριγένεια … ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς*: *IEPM* 218 f., 220.

479–83. The god-sent following breeze, the raising of mast and sails, which the wind then fills, and the purposeful running of the ship over the swell are further typical elements in the description of a sea voyage (Arend 84 f.). Apollo is not a god of winds or sailing, but he is the god with whom the episode has been concerned. By making him the author of the formulaic breeze, P reinforces the sense that he is completely propitiated. In *Od*. a favouring breeze is attributed to Athena, Calypso, or Circe acc. to context (*β* 420, *ε* 167, 268, *λ* 8, *μ* 150, *o* 292).

488–92. The story cannot advance any further until the expiry of the twelve-day period and the gods' return to Olympus. The transition back to Ach. and the account of how he put Thetis' instructions into practice, with the series of iteratives in *-έσκετο, -εσκε, -εσκε*, neatly answer the need for an indication of what was going on as those days passed. 490 *εἰς ἀγορήν* looks back to the assembly described earlier, 491 *ἐς πόλεμον* looks forward to the fighting that will be described in later rhapsodies. It is implied that fighting is going on routinely day by day, as it had before Ach.'s withdrawal (cf. 61, 226 f., 284, 521, *Z* 124, *T* 317). Yet in *B*, when the main narrative actually turns towards fighting, it is treated as if it is a major new initiative, needing a whole train of divine prompting and human debate to set it going.

492. *ποθέεσκε δ᾽ ἀϋτήν*: as an ideal hero Ach. delights in fighting. The Aiakidai 'rejoiced in war as at a banquet' ('Hes.' fr. 206). Cf. Alc. 283. 17 f. (rest.); *IEPM* 458.

493–530. Thetis' supplication on behalf of her mortal protégé: *EFH* 353.

493. *ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτη*: after the timeless description of Ach.'s behaviour in 488–92, *ἐκ τοῖο* has no clear reference. It does not refer to the last event mentioned (the arrival back from Chryse), for then the day-count is wrong, but looks back to Thetis' announcement of the twelve-day wait and her departure (421–9). As he resumes his main programme, P's mind goes back to that point and composes lines that carry the story on from there. Cf. Hentze i. 17, 69 f.; Rothe 165 n. 1; Bethe 174 f.; Wil. 254; *Ω* 31 n.

497–502. Formulaic sequence: 'went…found X doing Y…took position before him…spoke' (Arend 28 ff. and Tafel 1; supplication scenes, 38). The gods are now back on Olympus, but Zeus is found apart from the others so that Thetis' supplication can be kept separate from the divine assembly scene that follows.

498. *εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην*: adapted from the old formula *εὐρύοπα Ζεύς/Ζῆν*; on the epithet cf. *IEPM* 171 f. **(p.97)**

499. *ἀκροτάτηι κορυφῆι*: the highest seat of all is appropriate for Zeus; cf. *EFH* 114, *IEPM* 151.

501. Left before right: Hes. *Th*. 179 n.

503. *Ζεῦ πάτερ*: *IEPM* 170 f.

504. *ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργωι*: 395 n.

506–10. The audience has been amply informed of Ach.'s complaint, and the statement of it is now reduced to the briefest possible (~ 355 f.). The proposal for Zeus' action, however, is more precise than in 410–12. He is to honour Ach. by letting the Trojans worst the Achaeans (cf. *I* 118, *Π* 237), and this will force them to honour him themselves. P anticipates an embassy and offer of restitution, as in *I*, but not necessarily yet its rejection and the continuation of the Trojan advance.

511. Negation of the typical sequence 'and *B* replied'. Cf. *EFH* 198, and 328–32 n. For the high god's initial reluctance to accede to the lesser god's request, adding to the dramatic effect of his eventual agreement, cf. *EFH* 353 f.

***νεφεληγερέτα*:** *EFH* 115.

516. *ὅσσον … ἀτιμοτάτη*: cf. the fuller tale of her complaints in *Σ* 429–43.

524–30. The irrevocability of Zeus' decision and its world-shaking effect: *EFH* 354. Lines 528–30 = *Hymn. Dion*. (1) D 4–6, which may well be the model, seeing that so much else in *Il*. seems to reflect that poem (*Ξ* 231–82 n.).

531–3. Thetis returns to the sea, not to reappear until *Σ* 35; Zeus rejoins the other gods for the assembly scene. For the motif of the divine assembly see *EFH* 177–80, *IEPM* 150 f.; for Zeus' house, *IEPM* 169 f.

533–5. The gods sit on seats, but stand up for Zeus: cf. *EFH* 179, 354 f.; *IEPM* 151.

536–611. The scene serves (*a*) to give a picture of the divine society; (*b*) to highlight Hera as Zeus' by no means complacent wife—as one of the leading pro-Achaean deities she must abhor his plan; (*c*) to show that Zeus is the most powerful, able to impose his will upon the rest; (*d*) to bring it about that the other gods are aware of his plan or at least have a suspicion of it.

544. *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*: *EFH* 108 f.; *IEPM* 181–3.

551. *βοῶπις, πότνια*: *IEPM* 185, 138.

557. *ἠερίη*: after 497, where it probably had the same sense as 359 *ἠΰτ' ὀμίχλη*.

566. *ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ᾽ ἐν Ὀλύμπωι*: *EFH* 221 f.

570. *οὐρανίωνες*: *IEPM* 120.

571. Hephaestus, like Nestor in 247 ff., acts as a pacifier, recalling past events. Why he? As a god involved in several stories of an amusing character that were popular in the seventh century (590–4, *Σ* 394–405, *θ* 267–366, **(p.98)** *Hymn. Dion*. (1)), he perhaps seemed the best fitted to restore good humour. Unlike such deities as Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Aphrodite, or Apollo he is little concerned with earthly affairs (574–6).

574. *ἕνεκα θνητῶν*: a consideration several times adduced to bring an end to gods' activities, cf. *Θ* 428, *O* 140 f., *Φ* 380, 463.

577–89. None can withstand Zeus' fury: cf. *EFH* 355.

582–3. For fuller parallelism with Nestor's conciliation (275 ff.) Hephaestus would have appealed to both Zeus and Hera to stop their quarrelling. As it is he appeals only to Hera, whether from fear of Zeus or because Hera was the one provoking the quarrel. P does not go on to show Hera acting on her son's advice and addressing Zeus more amiably, only settling down to enjoy the feast.

590–4. The vagueness about the circumstances of this incident may suggest an *ad hoc* invention (Reinhardt 102–6), but possibly P already has in mind the events described in *O* 18–30; 591 ≈ *O* 23. For the source of the motif see *Ξ* 231–82 n.

597–602. The gods' feasting is a typical motif of Akkadian and Ugaritic epic: *EFH* 179. Hebe is the Olympians' usual wine-pourer (*Δ* 2); Hephaestus' performance of this function here is developed from 584 f., before which he was seated with the rest.

598. Nectar, often associated with ambrosia as the nourishment of the immortals, takes the place of the wine that mortals drink; cf. *E* 341. Note *οἰνοχόει, ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων*, and *T* 38 *νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν*. For divergent etymologies of *νέκταρ* cf. *EFH* 39 n. 157; *IEPM* 158; ibid. 157–60 on the food of the gods in IE myth.

599 The gods' laughter may be a motif transferred by association from other stories of Hephaestus' doings, cf. *θ* 326 f., Alc. 349 c Voigt.

601–4. P's preparations for the main action are complete. It will start to unfold on a new day. The remainder of the current one is filled out with the happy picture of the gods' feasting, accompanied, like the best earthly feasts, with music and song. Apollo's phorminx might be taken as the reflection of P's own; but the chorus of Muses 'answering' with fair voice (cf. *ω* 60, *Hymn. Ap*. 189) does not correspond to anything at a normal epic recitation. The scene may be

modelled on an account of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, cf. *Ω* 63; VdM 31. On responsorial singing cf. *EFH* 45 n. 186.

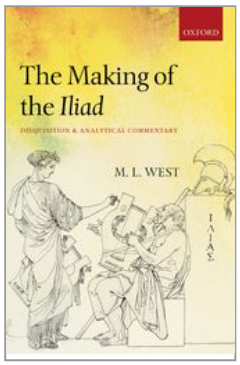
605–8. The gods have their individual houses, built by Hephaestus, and retire there for the night: cf. *EFH* 112, 356. In a fuller account with continuing dialogue P might have had someone *propose* going to bed when the time came, as in *I* 617, *η* 188. Here they appear to go of their own accord. In 605 the formula of 475 is varied, perhaps to avoid explicit mention of darkness on Olympus (Arend 101 n. 2). **(p.99)**

607. *Ἀμφιγυήεις*: if this means 'the ambidextrous one', it has a plausible parallel in a formula applied to the Ugaritic craftsman god Kothar: *KTU* 1. 3 vi 22 = 1. 17 v 18 *hyn dḫrš ydm*, 'Heyan skilled with his (two) hands'.

609–11. At bedtime a division is commonly made between the main group, who are dealt with first, and an individual such as the host or householder, who then beds down with his consort: Arend 100–5. So here, conveniently bringing the focus back to Zeus and confirming that the marital dispute is over. But the seeming finality of 611 is at once contradicted in *B* 2: Zeus did *not* sleep. Is 611 the addition of a rhapsode who wished to conclude his recitation at this point (Bergk 496 n. 44; cf. *Studies* 9)? But without the mention of Hera the formulaic pattern is incomplete. And the apparent contradiction is paralleled in *o* 4–8.

When the poem was divided up into rhapsodies, this was the obvious place at which to end the first. Wil. 260 thinks that P himself ended a recitation here.

611. *χρυσόθρονος*: cf. *IEPM* 154.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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B

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In the night before the new day Zeus ponders how to fulfil his promise to Thetis. This suggests that the coming day will see his plan begin to take effect. In order for it to do so, the Achaeans must go out and join battle with the Trojans. The whole of *B* is taken up by an expansive account of how the two sides were set in motion. It was much less expansive in P's original version, which is perhaps represented only by 1–49, 442–52, 455–8, 786–810. The rest consists of secondary insertions. In parts there is more than one layer of expansion, and revision has been done by a more complicated process than simple addition; see 50–441 n. This has left difficulties in the continuity of the narrative more severe than in any other rhapsody; though systematically ignored in the Basel commentary, they have long exercised critics and must trouble any attentive reader.

1–2. A general retirement to bed normally marks the conclusion of a phase of action, followed at once by the dawning of the next day. But occasionally one person remains sleepless, turning things over in his mind, which leads him to initiate new action in the night (*Ω* 677 ff.; introduced into an empty night by P^{K}, *K* 1 ff.). Cf. *IEPM* 475. Ach.'s sleeplessness is described for its own sake (*Ψ* 58 ff., leading to the dream apparition of Patr.; *Ω* 3 ff.). Here the wakefulness of Zeus leads to a dream for Ag.

1. *ἱπποκορυσταί*: P does not want to say that all men everywhere slept soundly, only the warriors at Troy. The epithet is oddly used for the purpose; elsewhere it is specific to the Paiones (or in *K* the Meiones).

4. After *A* 559.

5–40. Ag. has been prosecuting the war for years, and we should not have thought he required any special incitement to lead the army out in the morning. But as we have not yet seen it being led out, P provides a full line of causation starting from Zeus, whose plan thus takes control of the action.

The mechanism of the dream and its use to deceive a king into joining battle stand in Near Eastern tradition: *EFH* 185–90, 356. As often, it takes the form of a figure who stands over the dreamer's head and delivers a message. The structure of the scene resembles that of ordinary messenger scenes (*A* 320–32 n.): the emissary is given his message, and he repeats it to its recipient. Cf. *EFH* 190–3.

8. *βάσκ᾽ ἴθι*: cf. *EFH* 192. **(p.101)**

***οὗλε Ὄνειρε*:** the change of case from 6 creates a hiatus; cf. *Θ* 471, *Σ* 385 nn.

13–15. In accordance with epic convention the inconclusive nature of the fighting hitherto is put down to dissension among the gods. For Hera's role cf. *A* 55–6 n.

19. *κέχυθ᾽ ὕπνος*: *EFH* 234 f.

20–1. *Νηλητίωι υἱῖ ἐοικώς, | Νέστορι*: dream-figures often take the form of a person known to the dreamer (*EFH* 186). Nestor is appropriate as the most trusted adviser. But instead of upholding the impersonation the Dream will declare himself to be a messenger from Zeus with knowledge of the gods' debates.

***γερόντων*:** none of the other Achaeans is individually called *γέρων*, but the leaders with whom Ag. takes counsel are collectively *γέροντες* (53, 404, *Δ* 344, *I* 70, 89, *T* 303, 338).

23. *εὕδεις*: similar reproach by a dream-figure in *Ψ* 69, *Ω* 683.

33. Positive + negated opposite, *A* 416 n.

36–40. The alert listener will have understood that Ag. was being misled, but these lines ensure that no one is confused. P characteristically uses *ἔμελλε* (36, 39) in anticipating the later course of the story; cf. 694, 724, *Λ* 54, *M* 3, 34, 113, *O* 601, 612, *Π* 46, 460, *Ω* 85.

41. For the description of how the dreamer wakes cf. *EFH* 189.

42–7. The detailed description of Ag.'s apparelling is a typical scene: Arend 97 f. with Tafel 7. But the sceptre looks forward to the assembly (cf. 101–9), so 46 f. will have been added together with the major expansion to which the assembly belongs (50–441 n.).

48. Dawn falls here because (*a*) as the marker of the new day it cannot be passed over, (*b*) it cannot fall between Ag. seeing the dream and his waking, or between his waking and his rising. It heralds action. On the goddess Dawn see *IEPM* 217–25.

49. *Ζηνὶ … καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν*: *IEPM* 122.

50–441. Ag. has been filled with the necessary optimism. There is no need for him to convene any assemblies or report his dream to anyone; it is enough if he gives the order for battle, as in *Λ* 15. If 49 were immediately followed by 442 (≈ 50), the narrative would run on perfectly smoothly (cf. Fick 4; Erhardt 17). I take this to have been P's original version.

The intervening section contains various diversions from the plan which are not well harmonized among themselves, and it evidently represents more than one layer of expansion. P keeps looking for opportunities to elaborate his story further. To anticipate the main conclusions argued in the following notes:

(1) He first decided to introduce a scene in which the army, discontented and disinclined to go on fighting, rejected Ag.'s call to mobilize and opted for **(p. 102)** immediate departure from Troy; they had to be restrained by Od. The motif was paralleled in the *Cypria*, arg. 11 *εἶτα* (after Ach. had met Helen) *ἀπονοστεῖν ὡρμημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει*, but we cannot tell whether P knew it in any other context than the present one. In order to incorporate it he had to make Ag. call the army to assembly and address it instead of simply giving the order to mobilize as in the original draft. He began by preduplicating 442–4 to make 50–2, with the variation *κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε* instead of *κηρύσσειν πόλεμόνδε* (Fick 248).

(2) He then decided to preface the general assembly with a council of the leaders, making another link in the chain of preparation for action. Ag. is represented as aware that the army may be reluctant (72 n.), and this is perhaps why he seeks his councillors' approval for the proposed initiative.

(3) Ag.'s address to the army had been answered by Thersites: he called on the men to abandon the war and sail home, and they proceeded to act on the suggestion. P now decided to make it Ag.'s own speech that provoked the stampede; he changed it into a defeatist speech instead of a positive one, and presented it as being a deliberate test of the army's morale. The stampede now followed Ag.'s speech directly; Thersites' speech was retained but worked in at a later point, after the army had been shepherded back to the assembly. In this final version the narrative frame is coherent, but several of the speeches do not altogether suit the circumstances in which they are uttered and apparently contain material composed for an earlier version. On the problems of the episode cf. P. Von der Mühll, *Mus. Helv*. 3 (1946), 197–209; F. Lämmli, ibid. 5

(1948), 83–95; W. Kullmann, ibid. 12 (1955), 253–73 = *Hom. Motive* 38–63 (with Nachtrag).

53–86. For the procedure by which the king first makes a proposal to his council of elders before a larger body is mobilized to action cf. *EFH* 196. However, this council meeting appears as an overlay on its immediate surroundings. (Lachmann 11 f. diagnosed it as an insertion.) In 50–2 Ag. seems about to address the army directly and urge it to fight, and if 52 were followed immediately by 87 there would be a seamless join. In *A* 54 f. we had a general assembly with no preliminary council (Jacoby 74). The way it is introduced, 'but first …', betrays the change of design (VdM 34). It involves a third recital of the dream message, which there was no need for Ag. to make public. Having related it, he proposes to the councillors (as if this were a novel initiative) that they urge the army to fight. Debate is perfunctory; only Nestor speaks, approving the proposal with a dubious argument for the validity of the dream.

54. P chooses this venue in anticipation of Nestor's decisive role at the meeting.

55. *πυκινὴν ἠρτύνετο βουλήν*: really appropriate only to the proposal in **(p. 103)** 73–5, which is a secondary addition (see below). Zen.'s divergent text, *αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ᾽ ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ᾽ ἐγένοντο, | τοῖσι δ᾽ ἀνιστὰμενος μετέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων*, has a double claim to be a survival from the first version: it lacks the *πυκινὴ βουλή*, and it makes Ag. stand up to speak, as presupposed at 76. Note Zen.'s unique preservation of genuine archaisms in 4 *πολῦς* and 144 *φή*.

72. *αἴ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν*: it is already implied that the army may be reluctant. Cf. 50–441 n.

73–5. This paradoxical proposal (for the motif see *EFH* 207 f.) is evidently an afterthought, added subsequently to Ag.'s speech; it is ignored in Nestor's response and in much of the later narrative, cf. 225–42 n. It is never explained to the army that they were being tested. As in 53, the 'but first' signals the interruption of the natural continuity (VdM 34). *ἣ θέμις ἐστίν* is an *ad hoc* rationalization of the eccentric move (Leaf; Cauer 633); since part of the *πεῖρα*-speech is taken from *I* 17–28 (below, 110–41 n.), this phrase may well be inspired by *I* 33.

The provision in 75 anticipates that the army will fail the test. In the earlier version, where it was Thersites who turned their minds to departure, no prior arrangement could be made for restraining them: Hera and Athena had to step in, and Od. alone took action. This remains what happens in the narrative, despite P's having here adumbrated a plan involving others.

76–83. These lines, with Nestor's response, may also be a secondary addition, as 84 would more appropriately refer to Ag. and follow 75 (Hentze i. 85) or 72. There was no necessity for anyone to speak after Ag., cf. *Y* 31. Nestor's speech is

concluded by repeating 72 at 83. Rather than replacing 84 with a return to Ag. so that he can close the meeting, P leaves this initative with the last speaker; the effect is of an elision similar to that in *A* 68 (n.). Cf. 808.

82. Cf. *A* 91 n.

93–4. *Ὅσσα … | ὀτρύνουσ᾽ ἰέναι*: a further divine agent to dignify the proceedings.

101–9. P continues at his most expansive. Ag.'s sceptre, a still nobler specimen than the one featured at *A* 233 ff., is the embodiment of his regal authority, inherited from his forefathers and conferred on them by Zeus. On the sceptre as a god-given emblem of royalty cf. *EFH* 17, 134 f. The succession Atreus—Thyestes—Ag. is abnormal; wanting to include the famous names without mentioning the unsavoury events associated with them, P has simply arranged them in series.

110–41. Ag.'s pessimistic speech, culminating in the proposal to abandon the war and go home, corresponds to the 'test' announced in 73–5. But the central section 119–29 must originally have been composed for an exhortation to battle (cf. Erhardt 19 f.; VdM 37 f.): it stresses the numerical superiority of the **(p. 104)** Achaeans, and how shameful it will be if they cannot bring their campaign to a successful conclusion (cf. 298). 130 clumsily negates the argument about numbers and steers back towards despair. It is evident that Ag. originally delivered the positive speech that ought to have followed after his dream and the council's endorsement, and then P rewrote it to make it into the test. He replaced its original beginning and ending with lines mostly taken from the beginning of the Embassy: 110–18 = *I* 17–25, with the necessary change of *τότε* (*I* 19) to *πρίν* (112); 139–41 = *I* 26–8 (though cf. 141 n.). Cf. 50–441, 225–42 nn.

112–13. Evidently from *I* 19 f., where the lines have a clearer reference (*I* 17–28 n.). Here, if they are to have any point, they must be taken to allude to the favourable omens at Aulis, cf. 300–30, 348–53 (esp. 349 *ὑπόσχεσις*).

115. *δυσκλέα*: a good fame is what the hero desires above all, principally through deeds of battle. *IEPM* 396–402.

119. *καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*: in epic song, cf. 325, *Z* 357 f., *T* 63 f., *X* 305; *γ* 203 f., *θ* 580, *λ* 433 f., *ϕ* 255, *ω* 196–202, 433; *EFH* 368, 369; *IEPM* 396–404.

123–8. For the device of expressing the number of a large army through a multiplication sum cf. 509 f., *Θ* 562 f., *Certamen* 10; *IEPM* 471. That the Trojans are outnumbered by the Achaeans is repeated at *Θ* 56 f., *O* 407.

124. *ὅρκια … ταμόντες*: *EFH* 22 f.

125. *ἐφέστιοι ὅσσοι ἔασιν* anticipates the dichotomy in 130, which is secondary (110–41 n.). This line seems therefore to have been composed with 130–3.

134. The first indication in the poem that these events take place at such an advanced stage of the war.

136–7. A typically humanizing touch. Are we meant to think wryly of the actual situation in Ag.'s household? Cf. *A* 112–15 n.

140. ~ 47.

141. *ἔν τισι οὐ φέρεται* sch^{T}; perhaps interpolated from the parallel passage *I* 28.

143. The references to the council here and in 194 look like insertions intended to improve the integration of that episode in the narrative; cf. Lachmann 12. We are supposed to bear in mind that certain people (the chief leaders) knew that it was a test and did not join in the rush. Aristarchus already suspected 143 and 193–7.

144–9. Abundance of similes is a feature of this grandiose rhapsody; cf. 455–83. But the parallelism of 144 *κινήθη δ' ἀγορή* ~ 149 *ἀγορὴ κινήθη* (hardly 'ring composition') makes these two look like doublets. Cf. Hermann, *Opusc*. viii. 17; Haupt in Lachmann 102.

145. *πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο*: south of Samos. The reference to a particular **(p.105)** stretch of sea implies personal acquaintance (Robert 470). The simile in 459–63 shows knowledge of a neighbouring region of the mainland. Cf. p. 20.

146. *Διὸς ἐκ νεφελάων*: *IEPM* 169.

153. *ἀϋτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκεν*: *IEPM* 91.

155–6. *ἔνθά κεν … | εἰ μὴ*: *A* 191 n. As there, it is Hera and Athena who take action. Hera starts the process, Athena goes to the scene and rouses Od. to restrain the men. The plan that the leaders should restrain the throng is not implemented, cf. 73–5 n.

159. *νῶτα θαλάσσης*: *IEPM* 343 f.

161. The first mention of Helen in the poem.

163–5 ≈ 179–81. The first of the three lines is more appropriate to Athena, the second to Od. Aristarchus athetized 164, perhaps rightly.

167–72. The usual messenger sequence, *A* 320–32 n.

169. *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον*: on Od.'s characteristic *μῆτις* cf. 273 n.

170–1. Od. is already distanced from the rush to embark. But he is standing in perplexity, not acting on the instruction given in 75.

182. *ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης*: cf. *A* 198 and 221–2 nn.

184. *κήρυξ Εὐρυβάτης Ἰθακήσιος*: probably an *ad hoc* invention, the name taken from the Eurybates of *A* 320, then re-used at *I* 170; P^{Od} makes passing use of him at *τ* 244–7. He pops up simply to take care of the discarded cloak.

186. Od. borrows the symbol of Ag.'s authority; it will serve him as a blunt instrument in 199 and 265. The wording after 46, and 187 is repeated from 47.

192–7. P strives to reconcile the arrangement made in 73–5, by which the senior *βασιλῆες* knew that Ag. intended a *πεῖρα* and were to restrain the rest, with the present situation based on the earlier version, where everyone but Od. is joining in the stampede. 'Köstlich, wie er 194 das, was er selbst dem Hörer zu sagen hat ("*sie* hatten nämlich nicht alle gehört …") dem Odysseus in den Mund legt ("wir haben …")' (F. Lämmli, *Mus. Helv*. 5 [1948], 84 n. 3).

200–5. The speech seems designed to quash Thersites rather than restrain men making for the ships. They have not failed to listen to others or set themselves up in opposition to the king: they have done exactly what he proposed. And it is odd to accuse them all of being useless in battle, whereas the rebuke is appropriate to Thersites. Cf. 225–42 n.

208. *νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων*: repeated from 91; the *κλισίαι* are no longer in question.

209–10. The simile after 144 f.

211. *ἄλλοι μέν ῥ'*: attention is focused on an individual by similar means as in 1 f. **(p.106)**

212–21. Thersites is introduced at length, though without a father's name or a place of origin. The uncommonly detailed physical description may be original, but he himself was perhaps a figure already known in the tradition; the reference to Ach. in 220 points to other, lost contexts (Schwartz 5 f.). In the *Aethiopis* he mocked Ach. as an admirer of Penthesileia and was struck dead by him; but she was a post-Iliadic addition to the saga. Pherecydes fr. 123 identified him anachronistically with Thersites son of Agrios, who took part in the Calydonian Boar hunt; cf. Gantz 333. Thersitas is a good Aeolic name, well attested in Thessaly, but its suggestion of *θράσος* made it a suitable choice for this insolent fellow. His ugliness and his multiple physical defects are risible and seem to go with his role as a satirist and buffoon (215); Aesop was portrayed in similar colours. Cf. the vulgar and grotesque features assumed by various kinds

of entertainer in later iambus- and comedy-related genres, and *EFH* 496 on the Mesopotamian *aluzinnu*. The characterization of Thersites' raillery (213–15) does not really match the speech that P puts in his mouth, which is disrespectful but not chaotic or comical; nothing in its tone would have been out of place in Ach.'s mouth.

222–3. It is abnormal to indicate in advance the reaction to a speech. P wants us to be aware from the start that Thersites is an isolated dissident without a sympathetic audience. But it was otherwise in the earlier version where he received an enthusiastic response.

225–42. The speech does not at all fit what Ag. has said, and was evidently composed for an earlier version in which he had called upon the army to resume the fight and in which the army's stampede was a response to Thersites' counter-proposal (cf. Bethe 208; VdM 44 f.; above, 50–441 n.). In the present version Thersites' words carry no weight with anyone. His criticisms of Ag. echo Ach.'s in A (sch^{bT} 225a, 226a).

228. *εὖτ᾽ ἂν πτολίεθρον ἕλωμεν*: cf. *A* 125 n.

235. *Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ᾽ Ἀχαιοί*: cf. *EFH* 237 n. 71.

239–42. The quarrel with Ach. has not hitherto been mentioned in the rhapsody. The reference is awkwardly brought in, with repetition of wording from *A* 356 (= 507) and 232.

246. *λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής*: adapted from *A* 248, with inferior rhythm (semi-breach of Hermann's Bridge).

250–1 and **254–6** read like alternative continuations from 248 f., while 252 f. do not sit happily in the impassioned reprimanding of Thersites: 252 belongs in tone with 192, and *τάδε ἔργα* should refer to the actual situation, not the return to Greece at some future time. The uncertainty over how the return will turn out seems to acknowledge a tradition of epic *Nostoi* (Niese 69; Schadewaldt 153 n. 1; Kullmann 351).

260. *Τηλεμάχοιο πατήρ*: cf. *Δ* 354, where the mention of Telemachos is **(p. 107)** better motivated. Whether or not P knew the story of Palamedes' using the baby Telemachos to expose Od.'s prewar pretence of insanity (*Cypria* arg. 5), Od. could only take pride in being his father if there was poetry in which Telemachos personally did something of note. That must necessarily have been after the war, and then hardly unconnected with Od.'s return. These references therefore almost certainly presuppose an *Odyssey* (not necessarily identical with ours); cf. the preceding n. It is of course anachronistic to make Od. anticipate his son's achievement. The present line is inorganic and could be a rhapsode's addition (Peppmüller); *Δ* 354, however, is firmly bedded in its context.

273. *βουλάς τ᾽ ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς*: Nestor is outstanding among the Homeric heroes for wisdom based on long experience, Od. for prudence and resourcefulness, the ability to find solutions for new problems. P may have had in mind specific instances in the tradition such as his stratagem for detecting Ach. among the girls of Skyros (sch^{D} *T* 326) or his idea for the Wooden Horse (Apollod. epit. 5. 14; implied in *χ* 230; cf. *α* 2 with sch.).

276–7. A correct surmise, so far as *Il*. is concerned; for the *Aethiopis* see 212–21 n.

278. *πτολίπορθος*: *IEPM* 452 f. It is applied to Od. only here in *Il*. (apart from *K*), but six times in *Od*. (plus twice *πτολιπόρθιος*), so possibly P is here influenced by an *Od*. as in 260.

279. *σκῆπτρον ἔχων*: we knew he had Ag.'s sceptre; here it becomes the sceptre held by a speaker in assembly to command attention, as in *A* 234/245 f., *Γ* 218.

***παρὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*:** Athena is still involved. She cannot speak to a herald to tell him what to do, so she takes his place. Cf. 786–94.

284–332. Od.'s long, fine speech is a response to the army's flight to the ships, and in the earlier version, where Thersites' speech preceded the stampede, he may have made a similar speech directly after (something like) 207–10.

286–8. Cf. 339–41 n.

***ὑπέσταν*:** cf. *Δ* 267 (Idomeneus).

291. †*νέεσθαι*: corrupt text, *Studies* 176. The conjecture *ἀνίη τ᾽ ἐνθάδε ἦσθαι*, which at least gives the required sense, is due to E. Pfudel. **292–4**. The motif may be derived from an account in the Aulis poem of how the ships were pent up by contrary winds and the men chafed.

295–8. There are parallels here with Ag.'s earlier speech: 295 ≈ 134–7, 298 ≈ 119–21. But 134 implies that we are now in the tenth year of the war (cf. 329 f.), not the ninth. The *ἐννέα* has been adapted into *εἴνατος*. See also 326–9 n.

300–30. P's repertory included a poem on the gathering at Aulis, and this omen and Calchas' prophecy must have had their place in it. They were later **(p.108)** related in the *Cypria* (Procl./Apollod. epit. 3. 15, cf. Aesch. *Ag*. 109–37). Cf. *A* 106–8 n. For formulaic elements in the patterning of this type of scene cf. Arend 146 f.; Stockinger 119–52.

302–3. A poetic reminder that war losses have reduced the number who originally set out.

***χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ'*:** equivalent to 'more recently' (than the Aulis gathering), 'since then'; as applied to a non-recent past a Semiticism, *EFH* 241 f.

[319]. The line is in all our sources, but Aristarchus accused Zen. of adding it, suggesting that he knew another text without it. With the reading *ἀρίζηλον* in 318 it is needed, but after the superior *ἀΐζηλον* it is better absent: the snake just disappeared again. If P had intended to say that it was turned to stone, he would hardly have prefaced the statement with 318 (with either variant). Probably a rhapsode's interpolation.

325. *ὅο κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται*: cf. 119 n.

326–9. The sequence *ὀκτώ … ἐνάτῃ* might more naturally have been matched in the exegesis by 'we will fight for eight years and in the ninth be victorious'; cf. 295, where the present year is reckoned the ninth. But the exegesis has been made to fit the chronology of 134 (295–8 n.). For the number of items seen interpreted as years cf. *EFH* 356.

327. *ἐνάτῃ*: with its short first syllable from **ἐνϝF-* apparently a West Ionic form (Wathelet 154–7); cf. 602 *ἐνενήκοντα*. This suits the hypothesis that P's Aulis poem derived from Euboean tradition, cf. 484–877 n.

336–97. Jacoby 80–6 (partly anticipated by Jacob 180–2) brilliantly diagnosed this as a further expansion to prepare for the insertion of the Cat. (which he took to be by an interpolator). The point of it is that Nestor, as the great adviser, should make a proposal (360–8) that will herald the Cat. To make a transition to this from the situation in 335, he is given a speech that in its earlier part reads like an inferior copy of Od.'s preceding one. He begins as if composing a quarrel (337 f., 342), on the pattern of *A* 254 ff. Like Od., he accuses the Achaeans of behaving like young children (337 f. ≈ 289) and neglecting their promises (339–41 ≈ 286–8). He ignores the Aulis omen described by Od. and cites a different, more banal one, also sent by Zeus (350–2). Like Od. again, he urges holding on to see whether the expectation aroused by the omen will be fulfilled or falsified (348 f. ≈ 299 f.). 'Die beiden Reden erscheinen also mehr als Paralleldarstellungen, denn eine als Aufnahme und Fortsetzung der andern; mit der *πειρή* [*sic*] sind beide in gleicher Weise unvereinbar' (Erhardt 26). In 369–93 Ag. declares that Nestor has brought the debate to a satisfactory conclusion; preparations for battle can now go forward. The Achaeans acclaim his words (394–7) as they acclaimed Od.'s (333–5), thus bringing us back to the point at which the expansion started. **(p.109)**

336. *ἱππότα*: *IEPM* 467.

339–41. Cf. *IEPM* 478. These oaths and libations may have been narrated in the context of the gathering at Aulis; alternatively they might belong with the betrothal of Helen in Tyndareos' house ('Hes.' fr. 204. 78–85, Stes. *PMGF* 190).

Sch^{D} assumes the latter context (as does Kullmann 137), but if P had had this in mind we might have expected him to refer to it more explicitly.

342–3. It is not very clear how this relates to the actual situation. I take the sense to be 'since the beginning of the poem we have had quarrels and conflicts that are not helping us to win the war; now it is time to get on and fight'.

344–5. P is still thinking in terms of a battle in which Ag. will take the leading role, as in *Λ*; cf. 477–83, 578–80. From here on Nestor mainly addresses Ag. His fierce threat to those in the army who still think of setting sail is formulated in the third person (354–9). Because of the shift of addressee only Ag.'s reaction to the speech is described.

346–7. Cf. 236 f.

349. After 300.

350–3. No doubt a further detail taken from the Aulis poem. Thunder omens generally need no explanation from a seer, but Calchas may have been inspired to a further prophecy.

355. A reminder to the soldiery of the rewards of victory. The next line, a cursory allusion to the *casus belli*, recurs more aptly at 590; here it serves to suggest a moral justification for the rape of Trojan women. Then in 357–9 the pleasure in prospect for those who stay is forcefully contrasted with the punishment that will be visited on those who desert.

362–8. Nestor moves on to tactical advice; cf. 555 and *Δ* 293–309 for his expertise, besides *Z* 67–71, *H* 327–43, *I* 65–8, etc. The present admonition seems to serve as preparation for the Achaean Catalogue (as 802–6 is for the Trojan), even though there is little mention of tribes there and none of phratries; the tribal division recalls rather Tyrt. 19. 8 *χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἠδ*[*ὲ Δυμᾶνες*. As in *B* as a whole (5–40 n.), the first movement to battle in *Il*. is treated as if it were the first in the war.

363. Polyptota: *IEPM* 113–16.

371–2. The form of wish is more appropriate to a warrior, as in *Δ* 288–91. Ten advisers would tend to confuse matters.

***Ζεῦ τε πάτερ*:** *IEPM* 170 f.

375–80. Ag. has forgotten his dream. He acknowledges that the quarrel with Ach. will weaken the war effort.

381–93. The debate is over, and Ag. gives instructions for the action to follow. In an earlier version these lines could have formed part of his original hortatory speech after calling the men together. **(p.110)**

382–4. Fourfold anaphora: *IEPM* 108.

383–4. On the importance of horses as the warriors' partners cf. *IEPM* 465; on chariots, ibid. 468–70.

385. *πανημέριοι*: fighting all day till nightfall is a traditional concept (*IEPM* 473). Ag. seems to have forgotten the dream's promise that he will take Troy during the day (Erhardt 27); but cf. 413 n.

386–7. The prospect of the night supervening and causing a cessation of hostilities looks like an anticipation of *H* 273–82; these two lines may have been added with or after the *H* 17–482 expansion.

388–90. Emphasis on the strenuousness of fighting and the sweat: *EFH* 212.

391. *ὃν δέ κ᾽ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω*: the wording seems to derive at two removes from *A* 549 *ὃν δέ κ᾽ ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλωμι νοῆσαι*, via *Θ* 10 *ὃν δέ κ᾽ ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω, with O* 348 as a further variation. This suggests that the divine council in *Θ* was composed before this part of *B*.

394–7. The simile is related to those in 144–6 and 209 f. but is less appropriate to the Achaeans' acclamation than to their swarming.

402–31. Sacrificial meal: Arend 64 f. with Tafel 4. P remains in expansive mode.

405–8. The *γέροντες* (20–1 n.) are now identified, as might have been done after 54. For the list of six in 405–7 cf. *Δ* 223–421 n.

406. *Αἴαντε δύω*: see *Δ* 273 n.

408. It would have been odd to make Ag. *invite* his brother and partner in the enterprise. 409 supplies an improvised explanation of how he knew to come.

412. *Ζεῦ*: for the god's name in initial position cf. *IEPM* 305.

***κύδιστε μέγιστε*:** *IEPM* 129 f.

413. Ag. expresses himself as if he wished Zeus to delay the sunset; for this concept cf. *EFH* 357. His hope of sacking Troy this day corresponds to the promise of his dream.

416. ≈ *Π* 840 f.

418. *ὀδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν*: *EFH* 228, *IEPM* 490; add Hittite KI-*an wāga ep-*, ‘take a bite of the earth’.

419–20. Such information is part of the typical pattern of prayer scenes (*A* 43 n.), but it serves here as a reminder of Zeus’ plan. His refusal of the prayer is not absolute: ‘he was not *yet* fulfilling it’, but Troy would be sacked in the end (cf. *Γ* 302, and the *ἔτι* of *E* 662). For partial acceptance of a prayer cf. *Π* 250.

432–44. The sortie has been agreed, but it must still be set in motion by Nestor urging Ag. to urge the heralds to urge the men to ready themselves, and all these steps are gone through. Cf. *EFH* 357. **(p.111)**

435. *μηκέτι νῦν δήθ᾽ αὖθι λεγώμεθα*: there was no doubt lively conversation during the feasting, but Nestor cannot be referring to talk of which there has been no mention. It looks as if these lines may originally have been composed as part of Nestor’s previous speech, following 361 (Leaf).

436. *ὃ δὴ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίζει*: he could be alluding to Ag.’s dream (cf. 413 n.), but if these lines originally followed 361 the reference would then clearly be to the omen related in 350–3.

439–40. These lines, however, presuppose the gathering of the *γέροντες ἀριστῆες* (404 ff.). They are taken up in 445 f. and 476.

442–4. ~ 50–2; see 50–441 n. Here we rejoin the primary layer of composition.

446–52. The goddess’s presence heightens the scene. Cf. 93 f., *Δ* 439–45, *Λ* 3–12. The description of the aegis once again reflects P’s present desire to expand and embellish as much as possible. He describes it differently in *E* 738–42.

447. *ἀγήρων ἀθανάτην τε*: a traditional formula applicable to gods (*IEPM* 110, 128), here oddly transferred to the aegis.

448. *παγχρύσεοι*: gods’ accoutrements are typically of gold, *EFH* 112; *IEPM* 153 f.

449. *ἑκατόμβοιος*: *IEPM* 184.

453–4. These two inserted lines presuppose the expansion with the army’s revolt.

455–83. The greatest accumulation of similes in Homer. (For Semitic parallels to some of them cf. *EFH* 357.) Jacoby 63–6 makes it probable that those in 459–83 were added with the Catalogue. In 457 the men are already on the way to battle (cf. 785), whereas in 459 ff. we take a step back: they are just coming out from their quarters, stationing themselves, and being marshalled in their groups. There is a progression from wide to narrow focus, illustrating successively the

noise of the swarming multitude, their sheer countlessness, the elements of order appearing as their leaders marshalled them, and Ag.'s conspicuousness among them. Cf. Mülder 333 f.

459–63. ≈ *Γ* 2 ff., where the crane-like clamour of the Trojans is contrasted with the quiet advance of the Achaeans.

461. Cf. 145 n.

464. = 91.

466. *αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων*: cf. 383–4 n.

469–73. After *Π* 641–3 (Jacob 183).

477–83. For the emphasis on Ag. as outstanding warrior cf. 344–5 n.; Fick 6, VdM 50. For the comparison of a person to different deities in respect of different features cf. *EFH* 243 (Ugaritic).

484–877. The Catalogues. A catalogue of forces is a typical feature of. **(p.112)** martial epic: *EFH* 208, *IEPM* 470 f. For the Achaean part (494–759) P has adapted the catalogue from another poem in his repertory, an account of the Gathering at Aulis at the beginning of the war (cf. *A* 69–72, 106–8, *B* 300–30, 339–41, 350–3 nn.; Bergk 557; Goold 14); hence the constant reference to the ships coming or being lined up (509, 516, 557, etc.), and the adjustments to the new context at 686–94, 699–709, 721–8. There are some discrepancies with the rest of *Il*.: several of the peoples and leaders are not heard of again; two leaders who do appear later are attached to different peoples (Meges and Medon in *N* 692 f., contrast *B* 627, 727); Ag. in *I* 149–56 offers Ach. seven towns which are not listed in the Cat. and which lie in a region that is not part of his kingdom as described; the north-east Peloponnese is in the Cat. crudely and impractically divided between him and Diom., and no islands are listed as being under his sway (contrast *B* 108). A number of notable Achaeans are not mentioned in the Cat. (Kullmann 124–36), for example Teukros, Phoenix, Lykomedes, Automedon, and Nestor's sons Antilochos and Thrasymedes.

In the first stage of composition the Achaeans, apart from Ach.'s Myrmidons, were apparently treated as a unitary mass from which half a dozen prominent champions stood out without being thought of as commanders of local contingents (p. 65). It may have been the idea of importing the Cat. from the Aulis poem that altered P's conception and led to his treating the Achaeans in a more differentiated way in the tectonic expansions. With the Cat. came a more extensive list of heroes. A few of these (Peneleos and Leïtos, Askalaphos, the Locrian Ajax, Menestheus, Meges, Thoas, Meriones, Eurypylos) P adopts as regular players, and they reappear in more than one later context. A similar number never appear in the narrative at all. Others turn up in only one later

episode, usually to be killed. In *N* in particular we see deliberate efforts to fill in the canvas by bringing in lesser figures who have had little previous attention.

The Gathering at Aulis as an epic theme no doubt developed in local tradition during the period (ninth–eighth centuries) when Euboea and the neighbouring coast were a (or the) major centre of heroic poetry; cf. *JHS* 108 (1988), 166–9, and above, 327 n. The beginnings of the Cat. may be assigned to this phase. The idea that it preserves some sort of Mycenaean roster is untenable, cf. Giovannini 11–22, 45–50; J. K. Anderson in Jane B. Carter–Sarah P. Morris (edd.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin 1995), 181–91.

Many of the ship lines use the Ionian reduced form *νεές* and for that reason cannot be very old. The smaller fleets have odd numbers of ships (3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 22), the larger ones are all multiples of ten (30, 40, 50, 60, 80, 90, 100), 40 being the commonest size (nine contingents). Ag. has the largest fleet (100 ships, and he provides 60 more for the Arcadians); next comes Nestor with 90, **(p.113)** then Diom. and Idomeneus with 80 each. Such big fleets would have been remarkable even in the fifth century, and we are evidently dealing with poetic fiction.

The Cat. begins from Boeotia and spirals outwards from there, probably because of its origin in the Aulis setting (cf. Bergk 564; Fick 383; VdM 52 f.). The sequence it follows is noteworthy. It starts by going west and north as far as Locris, but stops short of Phthia and instead circles back through Euboea, Attica, and round the Peloponnese. From Elis it continues up to the western isles and from there back east to Aetolia. Now surely it will come to Thessaly? But no, it leaps down to Crete, passing on from there to Rhodes and the smaller Dorian islands. Only then, with a marked transition at 681, does it take account of Ach.'s kingdom and the other more northerly contingents, which are appended in a less orderly sequence. It may be that this arrangement goes back to an earlier stage of the tradition at which Ach. had not yet been integrated into the story of Troy and the catalogue of those who took part in the war did not extend north of the Malian Gulf. Cf. chapter 4. The theory of Giovannini (53–71) that the Cat. was modelled on itineraries formulated by Delphic priestly poets for envoys sent round Greece to announce sacred festivals, and that three separate itineraries are represented, does not explain why they were taken in such a perverse order; and were any such Panhellenic missions undertaken from Delphi before the foundation of the Pythian Games?

The poet responsible for the plan of the Cat. has endeavoured to cover the whole map of mainland Greece, apart from the north-west, and included certain inshore islands (Euboea, Salamis, Aegina) as well as Crete. (Rhodes and the other Dorian isles may have been added by P, cf. 653–80 n.) The complete omission of all other Aegean islands is curious; it may have been supposed that they were not settled till after the war, but what were the 'many islands' referred

to in 108? Certain areas on the mainland are also omitted (559–624 n.), but this seems to be casual.

The basic substance of the Cat. is a list of regiments, in the form ‘those who dwelt in…’ followed by a series of place-names—mostly towns, but sometimes rivers or mountains are named, or larger regions (Euboea, Lacedaemon, Arcadia, etc.). Often there are collective ethnics for the men of a given area: Boeotians, Phocians, Locrians, Arcadians, etc. Attached to each group are the names of the leader or leaders of that contingent and the number of ships they came in. In some cases certain additional details are given: the number of men in each ship (509–10 n.), genealogical or other information about particular leaders (513–15, 628 f., 658–70, etc.), mythological or descriptive notes on places ([547–51], [572], 594–600, 752–5), remarks on tactical groupings ([525 f.], [558], 587), explanations of details that might have seemed surprising (612–14, 641–3).

(p.114) On the catalogue of the Trojan allies, evidently constructed *ad hoc* as a foil to the Achaean catalogue, see 816–77 n. The two catalogues together appear to represent a secondary expansion; cf. 455–83, 780–5 nn. and *B* intro. They have many links with later expansions, esp. *Δ*–*E* and *M*–*O*, cf. 495, 540, 653–80, 677, 822, 827, 838–9, 851 nn.

484–93. The ample proemium signals P’s intention to make the Cat. a major item in itself. For the new appeal to the Muses cf. *Λ* 218, *Ξ* 508, *Π* 112 (all = *B* 484); *B* 761, *E* 703, *Θ* 273, *Λ* 299, *Π* 692. There is no significance in the variation between plural, as here, and singular as in *A* 1 and *B* 761. It is explicitly the leaders who are to be listed, to the exclusion of the multitude; cf. *IEPM* 470 f.

486. *κλέος*: the medium by which all heroic deeds were perpetuated, cf. *IEPM* 397 f. But the surest knowledge belongs to those who have been present at events; *οἶδα* is the perfect of *ἰδεῖν*.

490. Hearts of metal or stone: *EFH* 252 f., *IEPM* 89.

[491–2]. Erhardt 40; *Studies* 177 f.

***μνησαίαθ’*:** *IEPM* 34.

494–510. The Boeotian section contains much the longest town-list, thirteen lines; none of the others has more than seven. Catalogues are typically fullest at the beginning and become briefer as they go on; cf. *Π* 173–97, the theomachy in *Φ* (*Φ* 383–513 n.), and the account of the funeral games, *Ψ* 262–897, where the successive events occupy 390, 47, 40, 58, 27, 24, 33, and 14 lines.

The order of towns is very roughly geographical, progressing clockwise from an eastern area (496–500) by way of a western one (501–4) to a central one (505–7); cf. Visser 283–5.

494. *Βοιωτῶν*: *Βοιωτοί* and *Βοιώτιος* occur in several other passages, and P evidently did not feel the terms to be anachronisms. Later antiquarians held that the Boiotoi came to Boeotia sixty years after the fall of Troy. Thuc. 1. 12. 3 strives to reconcile this with *Il*.

***Πηνέλεως*:** it is doubtful whether there is much tradition behind this name, which is metrical only in Ionic form. He has only a minor role in *Il*. (The other Boeotians even less.) Acc. to some later sources (Dictys, Pausanias, Quintus) he was killed by Eurypylos the son of Telephos (like Nireus, 671–3 n.: *Little Iliad*?), but others (Virgil, Triphiodorus) have him taking part in the sack of Troy. Cf. Kullmann 69.

495. *Ἀρκεσίλαός τε Προθοήνωρ τε Κλονίος τε*: all killed in *ΞO*.

496. *Ὑρίην*: unknown to history but, together with its eponym Hyrieus, redolent of myth, cf. 'Hes.' frr. 148b, 181, 253, Pind. fr. 73, Corinna *PMG* 654. 35, 669, etc. It shares initial position in the list with Aulis, the scene of the Gathering of Ships. **(p.115)**

497–8. The first two of fourteen 'augmented triads' in the Catalogue (*A* 145 n.).

505. *Ὑποθήβας*: Cadmean Thebes itself is assumed to have been destroyed before the Trojan War, cf. *Δ* 406. 'Under-Thebes', mentioned only here, must denote a continuing settlement outside the walls, perhaps one existing in the late Geometric period and (rightly?) projected back by poets to the time of the Trojan War.

507. *Ἄρνην*: for Thuc. 1. 12. 3 and Strabo this is a place in western Thessaly from which the Boeotians migrated to Boeotia; a Boeotian Arne has never been identified.

508. *Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην*: perhaps modelled on *Κρῖσάν τε ζαθέην* (520), where *ζάθεος* has more obvious point. Cf. Visser 116 n. 13.

509–10. The number of men in each ship is also stated in 719, cf. 610, 619, and *Π* 168–70. For indication of the size of a troop by means of a multiplication sum cf. 123–8 n. The disparity between the imagined complements of these Boeotian ships and those of Philoctetes (719) and the Myrmidons (*Π* 170) is remarkable. The latter correspond to the classical pentekonter; cf. *θ* 35, Archil. 192. Ships carrying 120 may be a poetic fantasy; Thuc. 1. 10. 4 suspected exaggeration.

511. *Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον*: a major centre in Mycenaean times, and with mythical associations; cf. *I* 381. 'Minyan' (so also 'Hes.' fr. 257. 4, Pind. *Ol*. 14. 19) serves to distinguish it from the Arcadian Orchomenos (605). The Minyans are associated particularly with the voyage of the Argo.

519. *Πυθῶνα*: the most significant place is named in the first line; Visser 746 f.

[525–6]. Probably a political interpolation: *Studies* 12, 178 f. In any case an addition to the Aulis catalogue.

527. *Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας*: *Studies* 179.

528–30. On the first appearance of the Locrian Ajax P takes the opportunity to explain how he differed from his more prominent namesake. The latter's great size was his most notable physical characteristic (cf. *Γ* 226 f.; he is formulaically *μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, Αἴας … πελώριος*), so this is taken as the primary point of contrast.

530. *Πανέλληνας*: Hes. *Op*. 528 n.

[535]. *Studies* 179.

536, 542–4. The especially full and distinctive characterization of the Euboean contingent may reflect the Cat.'s origins, cf. 484–877 n.

537. *Χαλκίδα τ᾽ Εἰρέτριάν τε*: the list begins with the two leading towns of the island in the Geometric period, the protagonists of the Lelantine War; on Chalcis cf. *A* 69–72 n.

539. *Κάρυστον … Στύρα*: having first gone north from Chalcis and **(p.116)** Eretria to Histiaia, the list ends in the south at the nearest point to the next territory, Attica.

540. *Ἐλεφήνωρ*: he seems to have had an independent existence in Euboean legend; cf. 'Hes.' fr. 244, Kullmann 73 f. He will be the first Achaean to be killed in *Il*. (*Δ* 469).

543. *ὀρεκτῆισιν μελίηισιν*: with heavy thrusting spears, not the throwing spears generally used in the *Il*. The Lelantine War may have made the Euboean preference for close combat widely known; Archilochus (fr. 3) also refers to it, though he speaks of swords.

546–58. Parts of this section, at least 547–51 and 558, evidently represent a sixth-century Athenian rewriting. See *Studies* 179 f.

553–5. This talent is not displayed elsewhere in the poem, where Menestheus plays only a minor role. Nestor has to be acknowledged as the master tactician (362–8 n.).

554. *ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας*: *IEPM* 465.

[558]. Whereas the previous line would have been at home in the Aulis catalogue, this one is designed for the current setting; the awkward coupling gives the impression that Ajax brought his ships onto the parade ground. The line was absent from many ancient copies. Dieuchidas of Megara's alternative

text, *Αἴας δ᾽ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἔκ τε Πολίχνης | ἔκ τ᾽ Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε*, is as tendentious as the Athenian version; it cannot be original, as it fails to state the size of Ajax's fleet. In its original form the Salaminian entry presumably included not only a number of additional place-names but also a mention of Ajax's brother Teukros, who will play a significant role in the fighting later. Cf. Erhardt cx–cxiii.

559–624. The coverage of the Peloponnese proceeds generally from east to west, but it zigzags. P may have taken Diom.'s realm first because it includes Aegina, which comes naturally after Salamis, though Argos, Tiryns, and the other mainland towns are understandably named before it. This ordering allows Ag.'s and Men.'s kingdoms to be listed successively, even though they are not geographically adjacent. Men.'s narrow realm (the Eurotas valley and the land down to the south-west) stands alone in the southern Peloponnese, Cynuria to the east and Messenia to the west being omitted (cf. 591 n.); here P might have listed Pherai (*E* 543) and probably the other towns listed at *I* 150–2 = 292–4. Cf. *I* 150–2 n. From Men.'s kingdom it probably seemed more natural to go on to Nestor's than to double back through Arcadia. After Elis P does not quite complete the circuit: a section of the northern coast is left out, as is East Locris on the other side of the gulf.

563–6. P knows of the failed attack on Thebes by the Seven, and of the successful attack by their sons, the Epigonoi; these are three of them. Cf. *Δ* 372–410, *E* 800–8, *Ψ* 677–80. Diom.'s and Sthenelos' fathers were notorious **(p.117)** for especially aggressive and godless behaviour in the earlier campaign. Argos was traditionally the town from which the wars were launched (cf. *Ξ* 119), and the inclusion of these heroes in the Troy saga, with Argos as their given capital, resulted in the awkward bisection of the Argolid with Ag. confined to the northern sector. Kullmann 150 argues that these particular three were chosen because the other Epigonoi were otherwise accounted for in saga.

569. *Μυκήνας*: once again the most important place is named first (and the next most important second; Visser 156 f.).

[572]. *Studies* 12, 181. Adrastos was known to P from the Theban saga (*Ξ* 121, *Ψ* 347), but his connection with Sicyon is probably later.

575. *Ἑλίκην*: Aigai, associated with Helike in *Θ* 203, is omitted.

577–80. These appended lines recall 477–83, reminding us of Ag.'s leading role in the whole gathering and his active preparation for battle. Cf. 344–5 n. The statement that he was *ἄριστος* (580) will be contradicted in 768.

588–90. A vignette of Men. to balance the one of Ag. On 590 cf. 355 n.

591. *Πύλον*: cf. 569 n. Mycenaean Pylos was at Ano Englianos in Messenia, a few miles inland from the classical Pylos-Coryphasium, but the Pylos of epic legend is the one thirty miles further north in Triphylia: Ernst Meyer, *RE* xxiii. 2137–61.

594. *Δώριον*: 'Hes.' fr. 65 located Thamyris' encounter in the *Δώτιον πεδίον* in north-east Thessaly, and this makes much better geographical sense in view of his Thracian ethnicity and the Thessalian location of Oichalia (730 n.). Niese (*Schiffskatalog* 22 f.) attractively conjectured that P transferred the story to Dorion through an erroneous association of names. He might have misremembered a passage that went *καὶ Δώτιον, ἔνθά τε Μοῦσαι κτλ*.

603–14. Despite the emphasis on the size of the Arcadian contingent, neither they nor their leader are heard of again. But every part of Greece had to be represented in the Cat. Agapenor was later credited with the foundation of Paphos, having been blown there on his way home from Troy; this might have come in the *Nostoi*, though it is not recorded from it. Cf. Niese, *Schiffskatalog* 25 f.; Fick 384; Kullmann 97.

615. *Βουπράσιον*: a royal seat of the Epeioi in Pylian epic tradition, cf. *Λ* 756–60, *Ψ* 631.

617. *πέτρη τ' Ὠλενίη*: Olenos and its Rock featured in Aetolian saga, cf. *Λ* 757, 'Hes.' frr. 12–13, 184. Another Olenos in Aetolia itself, 639 below; cf. *Thebaid* fr. 5.

620–4. The Epeian leaders are sons of figures who had a role in Elean saga (Mülder 97 f.). As elsewhere (*Λ* 709 f., 750, *Ψ* 638–41), and in accord with his tendency to eliminate the fantastic, P passes over the fact that Kteatos and Eurytos were conjoined twins (*Ψ* 641–2 n.; 'Hes.' fr. 17, Ibyc. *PMGF* 285; *LIMC* s.v. Aktorione). **(p.118)**

623. *θεοειδής*: otherwise only of Trojans in *Il*., except for *T* [327] *Νεοπτόλεμος θ*.; perhaps a sign of provenance from a special (Elean–Aetolian) tradition.

625–6. *Ἐχινάων … νήσων*: home of the Taphioi who killed Alcmena's brothers and were punished by Amphitryon, 'Hes.' fr. 193. 16 f., *Sc*. 15 ff.

627. *Μέγης*: he makes several appearances later, and figured in at least one episode of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15). At *N* 692 (cf. *O* 519) he is made a leader of the Epeioi; he was of their stock, but acc. to the present passage a second-generation exile from their land.

632. *καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον*: it is odd that this mountain on Ithaca (*ι* 21, *ν* 351) should be listed as if a separate inhabited place. The name may result from a misunderstanding of a *νήριτον* 'countless' (Leumann 243–7, cf. R.

Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* [Munich ^{2}1969], 182 n. 3). As in 260 (n.), P may be influenced here by an *Odyssey*.

637. *δυώδεκα*: P^{Od} adheres to this number, *ι* 159.

638. *Θόας*: he does not appear in the primary layer of *ΑΒΛΠ*, but in the expansions he emerges as one of the more notable heroes of the second rank. He also figured in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 8).

639. *Πλευρῶν᾽*: this and Calydon are the two Aetolian cities important in saga, cf. *I* 530–2, *N* 217, *Ξ* 116; 'Hes.' fr. 25. 13; their eponyms as brothers, id. fr. 10a. 63 f.

***Ὤλενον*:** 617 n.

641–2. Allusion to another famous branch of epic tradition. Cf. the story of Meleager in *I* 527–99, and *Ξ* 113–18; Oineus (Diom.'s grandfather) also *Z* 216 ff.

645. *δουρικλυτὸς*: *IEPM* 460.

646. *Κνωσόν*: cf. 569 n.

***Γόρτυνά τε τειχιόεσσαν*:** after 559; the whole line is similarly patterned. Gortyn is not notable for its walls. Cf. Visser 131.

650–1. These two heroes may be survivals from Mycenaean poetry about campaigns in Crete; on the name Meriones cf. *EFH* 612. Line 651 (= *H* 166, *Θ* 264, *P* 259) looks very much like the reflex of an ancient hexameter, **Mārionās ḥatalantos Enūwaliōy anṛg^{wh}ontāy*. Enyalios appears as a god on a Cnossos tablet and may have been a Minoan deity in origin.

653–80. From Crete P does not follow the geographical sequence but goes straight to the largest of the islands he wishes to include, and then rounds up the lesser ones. Apart from the brief episode in *E* 628–69, where Tlepolemos meets and is killed by Sarpedon, none of these islanders makes a further appearance. The encounter between the Rhodian and the Lycian hero looks like a piece of local saga that has been drawn into the Trojan epic (*E*627–98 n.). The present passage incorporates the Rhodian foundation legend, which no **(p.119)** doubt reached P from the same direction. I suspect that Rhodes and the following islands had not been included in the Aulis Catalogue but were added by P after he visited Cos and Rhodes and learned something of their mythology; cf. pp. 22 f.

662–6. For the motivation of Tlepolemos' migration cf. *N* 696 n.

670. *θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων*: demythologization of (not, as ancient and modern commentators assume, the source of) the local myth of a rainstorm of gold when Athena was born from Zeus' head (Pind. *Ol*. 7. 34, 49 f.).

671–3. *Νιρεὺς … | Νιρεύς … | Νιρεύς, ὃς*: for the epanalepsis cf. *EFH* 256 f., *IEPM* 106 f. Nireus is not mentioned again in *Il*., but there was presumably some story about him; the *-εύς* suggests an old name. Later sources (Hyginus, Dictys, Quintus) say he was killed by Telephos' son Eurypylos, and this may have stood in the *Little Iliad*; cf. Kullmann 107. Mülder 99 argued that the presence of the Dorian islands in the Cat. (671–80) was due to the same regional tradition as that of Rhodes with Tlepolemos, and that Nireus featured in it.

[674]. This formulaic line was absent from Zen.'s text, and Ach.'s beauty is not noted elsewhere. Cf. Schulze, *Quaest. ep*. 350 f.

677. *Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν*: known to poets in connection with Heracles, cf. *Ξ* 255, *O* 28; 'Hes.' fr. 43a. 55–65.

681. *νῦν αὖ*: a conscious transition; cf. 484–877 n.

683. *Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα*: the two relevant regional names; cf. *I* 395, 478 f.

690–3. P now sees fit to explain the circumstances in which Ach. acquired Briseis; we had only heard that she was assigned to him from spoils of war (*A* 162, 392). The recurrent, interlocking references to his sack of Lyrnessos (and Pedasos) (*Π* 57, *T* 60, 291–300, *Y* 92, 191–4) and Hypoplakian Thebe (*A* 366–9, *Z* 414–28, *I* 188, *Π* 153, *Ψ* 827 f.) suggest that P knew an established tradition of these events (cf. pp. 43–5), but Briseis and Chryseis may be his own additions. In the *Cypria* (frr. 23–4) Briseis was captured from Pedasos and Chryseis from Thebes.

***Μύνητ'*:** on him and his lineage cf. Reinhardt 54.

694. *τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν*: a first assurance that Ach. will in due course return to the field. Cf. 36–40 n.

698–702. Protesilaos was famed as the first Achaean to fall at Troy. P takes his ship to have been the first drawn up in line on the beach (cf. *N* 681 n.), and makes it the one that Hector reaches and sets on fire (*O* 704–46, *Π* 286–94).

699. *γαῖα μέλαινα*: *IEPM* 179 f.

700–1. For the pathetic reference to the grieving wife cf. 136–7, *E* 213 nn. It may reflect a fuller narrative; more was said about her at least in the *Cypria* **(p. 120)** (fr. 22), and Euripides made a tragedy out of the story (*Protesilaos*), ending with her suicide.

***Δάρδανος ἀνήρ*:** the anonymity is curious; contrast *Π* 807 f. In the *Cypria* it was not a Dardanian but Hector: this is no doubt secondary, cf. Jacoby 61 with n. 16; Kullmann 111 f., 184 f. Sch^{D} offers four candidates, the most plausible of whom is Aeneas' companion Achates.

[703]. *Studies* 181 f.

706. *αὐτοκασίγνητος … Πρωτεσιλάου*: in 'Hes.' fr. 199. 5 f. Podarkes is son of Iphiklos, but Protesilaos is son of Aktor.

713. *Ἀδμήτοιο πάϊς … | Εὔμηλος*: the leader of the contingent, of no particular note himself, is given a famous father (Mülder 99). He appears later only in connection with his excellent horses (763–7, *Ψ* 288 ff.).

718. *τόξων εὖ εἰδώς*: alluding to what made it essential to have him at Troy before the city could be taken. The point is lost in Zen.'s text, which had a banal rhapsode's variant.

720. *ἐμβέβασαν*: properly 'were embarked'; the expression suits the older Aulis context rather than the present situation, as of course does the naming of Philoctetes as commander. The verse is filled out with an adaptation of 718.

724. *τάχα δὲ μνήσεσθαι ἔμελλον*: a verbal echo of 694, but more importantly a rare animadversion to an episode that belongs after the death of Ach. (though it is an integral part of the story of Philoctetes and presupposed in his abandonment on Lemnos). It was related in the *Little Iliad*, cf. *γ* 190, *θ* 219; Kullmann 338.

727. *νόθος*: like all men of illegitimate birth mentioned in *Il.*, Medon has a noble father (Strasburger 23 f.), and like all except Teukros he will be killed in the course of the poem (*O* 332–6).

729–33. This area, like the next and the one described in 748–55, lies far inland, but P no longer explains, as he did with the Arcadians, how its men came to have ships.

730. *Οἰχαλίην πόλιν Εὐρύτου*: a place and person celebrated in the Heracles cycle, cf. 596, *θ* 224–8, *φ* 13–41. The location of Oichalia was later disputed, some putting it in Euboea or Arcadia; see Jacoby on Hecataeus 1 F 28.

732. *Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων*: Machaon is the more prominent of the two; for such unequal pairs cf. Strasburger 107 f. His healing skills will be brought into play when Men. is wounded by Pandaros' treacherous arrow (*Δ* 193–219), and more crucially when Philoctetes rejoins the army (*Little Iliad*, arg. 2). Cf. also *Iliou Persis* fr. 2 (the only place where Podaleirios plays a role), *Little Iliad* fr.

7 (Machaon killed by the son of Telephos); Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886), 47–52.

736. *Εὐρύπυλος*: one of the more significant minor heroes. Like Machaon, he will have the distinction of being wounded by Paris' arrows in *Λ* **(p.121)** (506, 583); but his wounding is bracketed with those of Diom., Od., and Ag. (*Π* 23–7), and used to delay Patr.'s return to Ach. in *Λ* 806 ff.

738–47. We might expect to find here the name 'Lapiths', applied to Polypoites and Leonteus in *M* 128, 181. For the myth of the war with the Centaurs cf. *A* 254–84 n. Lines 742–4 look like an addition, as they interrupt the connection of 745 with 741, but they may be P's own addition, cf. 820–2.

741. *τὸν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς*: P knows more of the story, cf. *Ξ* 317 f.

748–59. The inclusion of these outlying northern peoples reflects the desire to enlarge the Achaean host to the greatest possible extent. Neither they nor their leaders will be heard of again.

750. *Δωδώνην*: P perhaps knew Dodona by repute as a major religious centre somewhere in the north. In *Π* 233–5 he makes it the seat of the Zeus to whom Ach. prays, and here he includes it in the territory of tribes who actually belonged on the other side of the Pindus range.

761. Cf. 484–93 n.

762. *αὐτῶν ἠδ' ἵππων*: cf. 383–4 n.

763–7. Eumelos' horses won the chariot race at the funeral games for Ach. (Apollod. epit. 5. 5 = *Aethiopis*); in those for Patr., while they are acknowledged as the best team (*Ψ* 536), P contrives a more eventful race and they finish last.

764. *ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς*: cf. *IEPM* 466.

768–9. This relative ranking of Ajax and Ach. is canonical, cf. *H* 226–32, *N* 321–5, *P* 279 f.; repeated in *Od*. (*λ* 469 f., 550 f., *ω* 17 f.) and elsewhere (Alc. 387, Carm. conv. *PMG* 898, Pind. *Nem*. 7. 27).

770. Ach.'s immortal horses, Xanthos and Podargos, will have a high profile in the later narrative (*Π* 149–51, 866 f., *P* 426–506, *T* 392–424), and P felt they could not be overlooked here. Cf. *Ψ* 274–84.

771–9. Hardly necessary after 686–94, but P takes the opportunity for a realistic description of warriors at leisure. Again the horses receive as much attention as the men.

776. *ἀρηΐφιλον*: *EFH* 130, *IEPM* 130.

778. *ποθέοντες*: after 726, stretched here to the men's longing for Ach. to lead them in battle.

780–5. Following the insertion of the Cat. with its introductory similes (459–779) P needs a reprise of 455–8, the statement of the Achaean advance, before going across to the Trojans. 780 is condensed from 455 f. and hardly intelligible without it (Jacoby 68); 784 is adapted from 465 f., and 785 borrowed from *Γ* 14.

781. *γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστονάχιζε*: cf. Hes. *Th*. 843 and 858 in the context of Zeus' attack on Typhoeus (820–68). Hes. treats Zeus' defeat of Typhoeus as a past event, though he is also acknowledged to be some sort of storm demon **(p.122)** (869); here it is a recurrent though localized phenomenon. For Near Eastern and IE connections see *EFH* 300–4, *IEPM* 257 f.

***τερπικεραύνωι*:** cf. *A* 419 n. The epithet is more pointed here.

782. *ἰμάσσηι*: cf. Hes. *Th*. 857; *EFH* 301 f.

783. *εἰν Ἀρίμοις*: Hes. *Th*. 304 n. with *EFH* 301 n. 70; Robin Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* (London 2008), 304–17, 335.

***φασὶ*:** Hes. *Th*. 306 n. The whole line is to be compared with *Th*. 304–7.

786–815. So far everything has been seen from the Achaean side, and the army has been mobilized. Now the Trojans must be brought out to face them. As with the Achaeans, P is not content to let them mobilize spontaneously but constructs a mechanism to bring it about. He again assigns the initiative to Zeus who sends a messenger, this time Iris. She cannot present herself in her own person, so assumes the guise of Polites. But he had been posted as lookout, and would in any case have reported the Achaean sortie; what becomes of him? It is as if Iris and he coalesce. Cf. 279 n.

The Achaean catalogue needs to be balanced with a survey of the opposed forces. If the catalogues are a secondary addition, the present passage has been modified to get the Trojans and their allies drawn up in battle order suitable for review. See 802–8 and 811–15 nn.

786. *ποδήνεμος*: cf. *IEPM* 466, and for 'swift' messengers ibid. 84.

788. *οἳ δ᾽ ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον*: it is part of the typical messenger or visitor sequence that we hear what the person visited was doing when found (Arend 28–31). Because Iris is going to tell the Trojans what to do, they are represented as already discussing what to do. Their assembly parallels the earlier Achaean one.

791. *Πολίτηι*: he makes three passing appearances later in the poem. For speculation on his possible role in the Cycle cf. Kullmann 272 n. 3.

793. *Αἰσυιήταο γέροντος*: the father of Alkathoos (*N* 427) and acc. to some sources of Antenor and Oukalegon (sch^{T} *Γ* 148), so not conceived as a very ancient tumulus.

797. Such rousing calls to action were equally at home in martial elegy, cf. Callin. 1. 3 f.; VdM 61 n. 87.

798–9. Again the sortie is presented as if it were the first in the war. Cf. 5–40, 362–8 nn.; Rothe 182.

800. *φύλλοισιν*: after 468.

***ψαμάθοισιν*:** *EFH* 245, *IEPM* 95 f.

802–8. After the address to Priam we shall be expecting a response from him, issuing the order for the army to go forth and dissolving the assembly. That will have been the original version, but it has been altered in order to introduce the catalogue (Jacoby 98–103). The requisite marshalling will be the task of the commander in the field, Hector, so Iris-Polites turns to him **(p.123)** and gives him appropriate directions. This does not really suit Polites' role, but P has preferred to put it in the mouth of the one already speaking rather than prolong matters by bringing Priam in; cf. *A* 68, *Γ* 76–7, 103–10 nn. Like Nestor in 360–8, Polites produces an argument for marshalling the troops in their separate companies under their own leaders, to suit the form of the catalogue. The allies from outside the Troad were not part of P's original conception, cf. pp. 64 f.

804. *ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα*: an imaginative stroke of realism (cf. *Δ* 437 f.), though by narrative convention all parties are represented as speaking Greek and no linguistic difficulties arise. In 867 the Carians are designated as *βαρβαρόφωνοι*. In *Hymn. Aphr*. 113–16 the poet sees fit to make Aphrodite, who is pretending to be a Phrygian princess, explain that she knows Anchises' language because she had a Trojan nurse.

807. Hector would perhaps not take instruction from his brother, but he is allowed to intuit that it is the goddess speaking; cf. the more explicit recognitions of divine impostors in *Γ* 396 ff., *N* 66 ff., *P* 333 ff. That Hector instead of Priam dissolves the assembly is again a matter of poetic economy, cf. 76–83 n.

811–15. These lines were added with the catalogue.

811. *ἔστι δέ τις*: for this manner of introducing a place cf. *Z* 152 n.

814. *ἀθάνατοι δὲ*: cf. *A* 403–4 n.

***πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης*:** evidently alluding to local legend. Myrina is said to have been an Amazon, presumably the eponym of the Aeolic town in Mysia, though we should have expected her tomb to be there. *πολυσκάρθμοιο* suggests a ritual dance in armour associated with her; cf. Call. *H*. 3. 237–47 (Ephesus).

816–77. The Trojan catalogue is drawn in larger strokes than the Achaean. Some of the contingents are ill-defined ethnic groups (Thracians, Kikones, Paiones, etc.), in several cases with no named towns, though a high proportion are embellished with some topographical or personal annotation. The towns that are named, so far as they are identifiable, are all coastal (Giovannini 51). The series starts from Troy and goes anticlockwise round the Troad; then it launches out in four directions successively (north-west, east, south-east, south), the furthest end of each sector being marked by *τηλόθεν* or *τῆλε* (849, 857, 863, 877). The absence of such major cities as Ephesus, Colophon, and Smyrna reflects the belief that the Greek colonies in Asia Minor were all post-Trojan; Miletus is acknowledged to exist, but as a barbarian town (868).

The major heroes among those listed are Hector, Aeneas, and the Lycians Glaukos and Sarpedon. Of these, Hector and Sarpedon are killed in the course of *Il*. The lesser figures are all either killed or not mentioned again. In three **(p. 124)** cases there is a close relationship between verses in the catalogue and in the later narrative: 831–4, 838–9, 848–9 nn.

817–18. *ἅμα τῶι γε πολὺ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι | λαοί*: = 577 f. (Ag.).

***μεμαότες ἐγχείησιν*:** after 543, where *μεμαῶτες* governs an infinitive.

819. *Δαρδανίων*: *metri gratia* for *Δαρδάνων*. The Dardanians are frequently coupled with the Trojans, and their royal genealogies are closely linked (*Y* 215 ff.). In *Γ* 456, *H* 348, 368, and *Θ* 497 the forces are addressed with *κέκλυτέ μοι, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἠδ᾽ ἐπίκουροι*, but in *Θ* 173 and *Λ–P* this gives way to *Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταί*; cf. 827 n. The Leleges, mentioned in *Y* 96 and *Φ* 86, are passed over here.

821. *θεὰ βροτῶι*: *IEPM* 110 f.

822. *οὐκ οἷος, ἅμα τῶι γε*: after 745. But it is anomalous that two of Antenor's sons should appear as Dardanians, and 822 f. seem to be secondary to the similar lines *M* 99 f., where they are associated with Aeneas as commanders of a division but not a specifically Dardanian one. Cf. Jachmann 262–4. Archelochos is killed at *Ξ* 463–8, Akamas at *Π* 342–4.

827. *Πάνδαρος*: he features in two notable episodes, in the second of which he is killed (*Δ* 86–219, *E* 167–296). In *E* 105 and 173 he is said to come from Lycia, apparently a region in the Troad separate from the southern Lycia of 877 below; his forces are Trojans, 826 (and *E* 200, 211). Cf. pp. 64 f.

***ὦι καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλωνα αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν*:** cf. *EFH* 485 f.

830. *Ἄδρηστός τε καὶ Ἄμφιος*: Adrestos' name relates to Adresteia (828), but his pairing with an Amphios and their going to war despite their father's prophecies may be inspired by the Adrestos and Amphiaraos of the Theban war: Amphiaraos was himself a seer and knew he was going to his death.

831–4. The lines recur, without the brothers' names, as *Λ* 329–32, where they are both killed.

837–8, 849–50, 870–1. For the epanalepses cf. 671–3 n.

838–9. These lines recur as *M* 96 f. Asios is prominent in that passage (*M* 95–174), and his death in *N* 384–9 is treated as a notable event (402–16, 758–80).

840. *Ἱππόθοος*: he reappears and is killed in the battle for Patr.'s body, *P* 217, 288 ff. The Pelasgian regiment is mentioned only in the *Doloneia, K* 429. Pylaios (842) is not heard of again.

844. *Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος*: these two are killed early, at *Z* 7 and *Δ* 527 respectively, where more details of them are given. Ares takes Akamas' form at *E* 462. The Thracian force does not appear thereafter; the Thracians in the *Doloneia* are a separate contingent, newly arrived (*K* 434).

846. *Κικόνων*: mentioned again only at *P* 73, where their leader is called Mentes. **(p.125)**

848–9. ≈ *Π* 287 f., where Pyraichmes is killed by Patr. A more prominent Paionian hero is Asteropaios (*M* 102, *P* 217, 351 f., *Φ* 140–204, *Ψ* 560, 808), whom some ancient texts added here in a plus-line. Acc. to *Φ* 156 he had only been at Troy for ten days.

851. *Πυλαιμένεος*: killed at *E* 576–9 and again at *N* 650–62; P nodded. Paphlagonians appear only in those passages.

855*ab*. Some ancient texts had an extra two-line entry here about the Kaukones, a people mentioned as allies at *Y* 329 and in the *Doloneia, K* 429. It located them on the river Parthenios, 855*b* being a variant of 854.

856. After 517. Hodios is killed at *E* 39; Epistrophos is not heard of again.

858. *Μυσῶν*: it is unfortunate that no place-names are added to give these Mysians geographical definition. Their position in the Cat. implies that they are not the European Mysoi of *N* 5; nor do they seem to be those of Telephos' Teuthrania, or a son of his might have been named as their leader. The two named here reappear in *P* 218, 494 ff., where Chromis becomes Chromios. Mysians as a body are named in the fighting only at *Ξ* 512, where one Hyrtios is

called their leader. In the *Little Iliad* Telephos' son Eurypylos arrived bringing a new Mysian army from Teuthrania.

859. Several individuals are characterized by having some special skill or excellence, which however does not save them from death: cf. 872–4, *E* 49–54, *Z* 12–16, *H* 143; Fenik 15 f.

860–1, 874–5. These two annotations are exceptional in several ways. All the other men in the catalogue whose deaths are recorded later in the poem are killed before Ach.'s return to the battle. Ennomos and Nastes are thus the only ones apart from Hector to be killed by Ach.; but they are not then dignified with personal mentions in the fighting, but reckoned among the anonymous hordes who perished in the battle at the river in *Φ*. In referring to this occasion 'where (Ach.) killed other Trojans too', P excuses himself from the need to mention them again later. Only here does he give advance details of men's subsequent deaths, or refer allusively to a later episode that was not necessarily familiar to his audience. It may be that he added these passages at a late stage, after composing *Φ*.

862. *Φρύγας*: probably anachronistic for the time of the Trojan War, but a major presence in eighth-century Anatolia. The Trojans are conceived as having regular relations with them, cf. *Γ* 184–90, *Π* 718 f., *Σ* 291 and above, 804 n. Phorkys reappears with other allied leaders at *P* 218, and is killed soon after. Askanios appears at *N* 792, but is there said to have come to Troy only on the previous day.

864. *Μέσθλης*: he too is mentioned again only in the battle for Patr.'s body, *P* 216, and the *Μηιόνες* only in the *Doloneia* (*K* 431). Their country, **(p.126)** which corresponds to the classical Lydia, is coupled with Phrygia in *Γ* 401 and *Σ* 291, with Caria in *Δ* 142.

867. *Καρῶν*: neither they nor their leaders are mentioned again (apart from *K* 428).

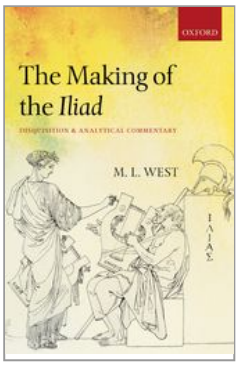
***βαρβαροφώνων*:** cf. 804 n. Why are the Carians singled out for this? Perhaps it reflects a poet's personal knowledge of them; or to emphasize that Miletus was (as he supposed) not yet Greek.

872. *χρυσὸν ἔχων*: barbarian ornament, cf. *P* 52.

873. Cf. 859 n.

876–7. Last but not least. The entry is brief, but registers the Trojans' and Dardanians' most important allies, cf. 819 n. The cousins Glaukos and Sarpedon will both play significant roles as individuals. Sarpedon's death is Patr.'s major triumph in *Π*. Glaukos, the only leader on the Trojan side besides Aeneas to

survive to the end of *Il.,* was killed by Ajax in the battle for Ach.’s body (Apollod. epit. 5. 4 = *Aethiopis*).



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Γ

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The first paragraph of the rhapsody (1–14, within which 3–7 looks like an expansion) completes the preparation for that clash of arms in which, we expect, Ag.'s optimism will be confounded as Zeus puts his plan into action and gives the Trojans the upper hand over the Achaeans. In the original draft this led almost directly to *Λ* 84 ff. But at 15 there begins the first of the great expansions that have pushed that battle back by three days (chapter 5), and from here on the fulfilment of Zeus' plan recedes into the distance.

1. *κόσμηθεν ἅμ᾽ ἠγερέθοντο*: picking up *B* 476 and 805 f. The line refers back to both catalogues, not just the Trojan one. The Achaeans were on the move in *B* 780–5; now both armies are advancing simultaneously.

2–9. The same contrast between the Trojans' disorderly yelling and the disciplined silence of the Achaeans is drawn in *Δ* 429–38; it is one of the very few markers of ethnic differentiation. Cf. also *H* 346 n. P is still in expansive mood and liberal with his similes (cf. 10–14, 23–6, 33–5); the cranes ≈ *B* 460. For similes following a review of forces cf. *Δ* 422–36, *Π* 212–14 + 259–67.

3–7. The syntax is irregular: initial *ἠΰτε* + verb is elsewhere in Hom. always picked up by a following main clause, as in *B* 87/91, 455/7, 469/72, etc. It is as if P originally had only the short simile in 2 and then embarked on a reformulation with a long one, which he left without properly integrating it into the sentence. The effect of the simile is to belittle the Trojan war effort. It owes something to *B* 459–63, where the reference is to the Achaeans assembling but not yet drawn up in battle order.

10–14. As in *B* 781–5 (where the last line is the same as here), the simile emphasizes the vast size of the Achaean force; cf. *B* 799–801.

15. Here P decides to introduce the episode of the duel between Paris and Men. This involves halting the whole engine of war that he has so laboriously set in motion. To get it re-started he will have to develop an account of how the truce was broken by the action of Pandaros. We shall return at *Δ* 446 to the point reached here at *Γ* 15.

The theme of the duel between Helen's rightful husband and her abductor, as a means of settling the whole dispute, has no organic connection with the plot of *Il*. and would have been more timely at the start of the war. It may have been the subject of an *Einzellied* from P's repertory (Müller 114; Jacob 187–9, 195; VdM 65). On the motif of such a potentially decisive duel cf. *EFH* 214. It cannot reach a conclusion, as that would bring the war to a premature end, **(p.128)** and in the context of *Il*. it would be incompatible with Zeus' plan (Erhardt 43). So Paris has to be rescued by his patron goddess. Instead of being deposited in a safer part of the battlefield he is put to bed with Helen. That would have made a nice conclusion to the *Einzellied* (cf. *ψ* 296, where Ar. Byz. and Aristarchus are said to have made the end of *Od*. with the reunion of Od. and Penelope in bed); in *Il*. it means that special measures have to be taken in *Z* to bring him back to the field. He will be needed in the *Λ* battle, which, when *Z* was composed, may still have been envisaged as part of the same day's agenda (see chapter 5). It is noteworthy that Paris never again faces Men.; in the *Little Iliad* he was killed by Philoctetes (another archer), and it was Deiphobos that Men. killed to recover Helen. Cf. Bethe iii. 92, 105.

In the hypothetical *Einzellied* the episode might have been associated with the diplomatic mission recalled in *Γ* 205 ff. and *Λ* 139–41; after the Trojans refused to surrender Helen to Men. and Od., the duel might have been arranged to settle the issue. General fighting would not yet be in progress, so there would have been no need to halt it as Hector does in 77 ff. or to contrive its resumption as in *Δ*. A formal agreement on the terms of the combat, confirmed by oath as in 268 ff., would still have been needed. But if the poem ended cheerfully with Paris in bed with Helen, there would have been no need to explain what the Achaeans and Trojans did next. Cf. Schwartz 11.

***οἳ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες*:** the line recurs ten times in *Il*., but always of two warriors engaging each other during the battle; for the closing of the two armies a different verse is used in *Δ* 446 = *Θ* 60. Perhaps it was the imminent single combat of Paris and Men. that conditioned the choice of formula here.

16–20. Paris appears for the first time in the poem, a figure familiar enough to need no introduction. To bring him into immediate focus P has him do the heroic thing of coming out in front of the mass (*προμάχιζεν*) to challenge the enemy. This is really inappropriate to an archer (cf. 17, *Z* 322, *Θ* 81, *Λ* 370, etc.), but 18–20 convert him for the nonce into a regular spearman. Alexandrian critics were

troubled by the lines, Zen. by the extra equipment (18), Aristarchus by the challenge (19 f.), which he argued anticipates 67 ff. But they are presupposed by 17, which can only mean that Paris' bow is slung on his shoulder, not in his hands.

19. *προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους*: we should expect the deciding duel between Paris and Men., whether in an *Einzellied* or in a well-considered longer narrative, to be initiated by a diplomatic approach through a herald and enacted before the outbreak of general battle, which it was meant to make redundant. P has placed it before the battle really gets going, but after the armies have engaged. In these circumstances it has to be initiated by means **(p.129)** of the motif that the pre-eminent hero challenges all comers (*H* 34–43 n.). Cf. Mülder 33 f.

23–6. On lion similes cf. *EFH* 217–19, 246 f., 388.

28. *τείσασθαι ἀλείτην*: there was no need to explain what his wrongdoing was. Cf. the allusive reference to vengeance in *B* 356 = 590.

30. *τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν*: after 21.

31. *κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ*: for the warrior's alarm at the sight of his opponent cf. *H* 216; *EFH* 215.

35. *ὦχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς*: *EFH* 200.

38. *Ἕκτωρ*: the Trojans' chief hero is introduced without delay. He is the most suitable man to rebuke his less resolute brother; cf. *Z* 325 ff., *N* 768 ff.

39. = *N* 769; cf. *Λ* 385.

***Δύσπαρι*:** *IEPM* 81.

40. *ἄγονός τ' … ἄγαμός τ'*: *IEPM* 109 f.

[41]. *Studies* 185.

46–51. The opportunity is taken to fill in Paris' identity and the background to the war, though the story is rather artificially brought in as something to set beside his present behaviour.

49. *νυὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητάων*: making the point, developed in the following lines, that he has provoked the wrath of formidable warriors.

54. *κίθαρις*: he must have been portrayed in poetry playing a lyre in some particular context, perhaps when the goddesses came to him on Ida for judgment (as on some vases) or when he was visiting at Sparta.

57. *λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα*: this sounds like a colloquial euphemism. On stoning cf. *EFH* 53.

59. *κατ᾽ αἶσαν … οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ αἶσαν*: for this figure (‘*X*, not the opposite’) cf. *A* 416 n.

60–2. Similes are comparatively rare within speeches, but cf. 197–8, *B* 289, *Δ* 243–5, *I* 323 f., *M* 167–70, *N* 102–4, *Π* 7–10, *P* 20–2, *Φ* 282 f., *X* 262–4, *Ω* 41–3. The heart of bronze or iron is commonplace (*B* 490 n.), but picturing it as an axe is an odd twist.

64. *χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης*: *IEPM* 153.

67–75. Paris himself proposes the terms of the duel.

70. *καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι*: acc. to tradition Paris had carried off much treasure together with Helen: *Cypria* arg. 2. Cf. *H* 350–400, *N* 626, *X* 114; Hdt. 2. 114 f.

73. *ὅρκια … ταμόντες*: *B* 124 n.

76–7. P might have made Hector reply, but he prefers to move the story on by making him act on the proposal without further ado. Cf. *A* 68, *B* 802–6 nn.

***ἐς μέσσον*:** P has not described the armies actually meeting and can still posit a gap between them. In *H* 55 the line is re-used although there the battle **(p.130)** is raging. [78] is a concordance interpolation from that passage; it is too soon for the Trojans to sit down, cf. 111–15, 326.

79–80. A realistic touch.

95–6. A speech that creates a new situation is typically met with general silence before someone speaks: Hes. *Th*. 167 n.; *EFH* 195. Men. is naturally the one to respond.

101. Acknowledgment by a combatant that either he or his opponent must die: *IEPM* 476 f.

103–10. Men. goes straight on to make arrangements for the truce. This might more naturally have been left to the overlord Ag., who will officiate (267 ff.): P has made an economy much like that in *B* 802–6 (n.). Priam will be needed to act for the Trojans (and it is a good opportunity to bring him into the narrative); this too Men. provides for.

104. For the deities see 276, 277, 278–9 nn.

106–10. A sententious and artificial justification for fetching Priam. It contains an anticipation of the breaking of the truce by Pandaros, who is a younger man though not one of Priam’s sons.

116–20. The heralds could have been given their instructions in direct speech; P is hastening on to the Helen scene. For Hector's pair of heralds, and Ag.'s Talthybios, see *A* 320–32 n. We shall return to the Trojan heralds at 245; the intervening scene with Helen and Priam serves to fill their journey time. Cf. *A* 308–487 n.

121. Helen's two men are to fight for her: let us have her there watching. P relishes the opportunity to introduce her to us. Cf. Hentze i. 172. But it needs divine intervention to bring her to the wall. Iris is chosen after *B* 786, but here she acts without instructions from Zeus: the duel is not of his devising, and the whole idea of it is incompatible with his plan.

123. *Ἑλικάων*: spared by Od. in the sack of Troy, acc. to *Little Iliad* fr. 22, because Antenor had saved Od. and Men. from lynching in Troy (Apollod. epit. 3. 28 f. = *Cypria*).

124. *Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην*: so in *Z* 252, but in *N* 365 it is Cassandra who has this accolade.

125–8. *B* 788 n. Helen is found doing typical virtuous women's work (like Andromache in *X* 440). Her design reflects her remorseful preoccupation with her responsibility for the consequences of her actions; cf. 173–6, 242, 399–412, *Z* 344–58, *Ω* 763–75. This very sympathetic view of Helen may well be untraditional.

129. *ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη*: the stationing is another element of the typical messenger sequence.

131. Repeated from 127, though it does not make the most natural of expressions. **(p.131)**

139–40. Helen repents not only of the trouble she has caused to the Trojans but also of having left her former life behind.

143. *καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ᾽ ἕποντο*: typical, cf. *X* 450/61, *α* 331 (with S. West), *ζ* 84, *σ* 207, *τ* 601.

[144]. *Studies* 185 f.

145. *Σκαιαὶ πύλαι*: regularly mentioned as the gate nearest the battlefield, later the scene of Hector's and Ach.'s deaths. Here is the natural viewing platform for those watching the fighting. It is from here that Priam, Hekabe, and a crowd of others see Hector facing Ach. in *X*.

146–60. In *X* the spectators include the warriors who have come in off the battlefield. Here they are limited to non-combatants. They would have included women and children besides the men too old to fight (cf. *Σ* 514 f.), and in 384

and 420 P speaks only of women. Here, however, he mentions only the old men, whom he needs from two motives: to portray the ambivalent male attitude towards Helen, and to provide the interlocutors for the Teichoskopia.

Priam is introduced, like Paris in 17, without any special annotation. The other men listed, apart from Thymoites and Oukalegon, are all mentioned elsewhere as fathers of Trojan warriors. The three in 147 are brothers of Priam; see *Studies* 186. For the pair in 148 cf. *B* 793 n. Antenor, the last named, is the most prominent figure after Priam, with many sons; cf. 203 ff., 262, *H* 347, etc.; Kullmann 177–80. He could be praised as *πεπνυμένος* on account of the episode mentioned in 123 n., if P knew it.

155. 'They said to each other' takes the place of the usual 'thus one said to another' (*ὣδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον, B* 271, etc.) to express the general reaction within a group.

156–8. The old men's reaction effectively conveys the power of Helen's beauty and also counters possible scepticism about the Trojan War having been fought for the reason traditionally adduced (Mülder 29).

159. *ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω*: the idea that she might return to Greece arises from Paris' offer to fight Men., though the watchers on the wall do not yet know about this.

161–244. Teichoskopia. The Achaean leaders have been listed in *B*; the present episode serves to give us an idea of the physical appearance of a few of the principals (but several more might have been included). Rationally, Priam should by this time know who was who, but his first opportunity in *Il*. is treated as the first overall (Leaf i. 117), cf. *B* 5–40, *Γ* 15 nn. It has been conjectured that an analogous scene had occurred in earlier poetry in the context of the Achaeans' first attack on the city (Kullmann 278, 368), and/or of the attack on Thebes (id., *Hom. Motive* 102). Similar dialogue scenes in which a series of heroes are described by one speaker and identified by **(p.132)** the other occur in Indian epic and in Celtic and Norse narratives: *IEPM* 438, 471 f.

It has long been suspected that the Teichoskopia (with 146–60) is a secondary addition (Lachmann 15, Bergk 569, Niese 57, Erhardt 45–7, VdM 67). Certainly 245–63 read as if Priam were at home, not on the wall; the proposed duel comes as news to him. From the fact that Diom. is not featured in the Teichoskopia Erhardt infers that it was conceived before *E*.

162–5. Priam's affectionate attitude towards Helen is noteworthy; cf. 125–8 n.

166. *πελώριον* suggests a man of exceptional size, but this is contradicted in 168. The line may originally have been composed for Ajax, cf. 229 and *B* 528–30 n.

172–80. Helen answers both parts of Priam's speech, without chiasmus, as Ag. is to remain the subject of comment.

179. The roles of king and warrior hero are distinct: *IEPM* 411 f.

180. *δαὴρ αὖτ᾽ ἐμὸς ἔσκε*: each of Priam's enquiries leads to something that touches Helen personally. Od. (191) leads to Men. (206); Ajax (225) leads to Idomeneus (230). This is foreshadowed in 163.

182–90. The enormous size of the Achaean army (with no allowance made for nine years' losses) has been emphasized in *B* 123 ff., 459–73, 488–90, 798–801. Now we see it through Priam's eyes. As in *B* 798 f., it is measured against other great armies seen in the past.

184. *Φρυγίην*: *B* 862 n.

186. *Ὀτρῆος*: the king whose daughter Aphrodite pretends to be in *Hymn. Aphr.* 111. Acc. to sch^{DT}/Eust. he was a son of Dymas and so a brother of Hekabe (cf. *Π* 718), while Mygdon was son of Akmon. There may have been some story in which Priam won Hekabe as a reward for his help in defeating the Amazons.

187. *Σαγγαρίοιο*: cf. *Π* 719. The Phrygian capital Gordion lay on its upper reaches.

189. *Ἀμαζόνες*: represented as past invaders of various Asiatic kingdoms, cf. *B* 814, *Z* 186; Magnes of Smyrna, cf. p. 21 n. 24. Their arrival to assist the Trojans after the death of Hector (*Aethiopis*) is a post-Iliadic invention.

193–4. For the motif of the warrior who is relatively short but surpasses others in some other respect cf. *EFH* 357 f.

199. Note the variation from 171, and again in 228. Similar avoidance of exact repetition in *Δ* 199 ≠ 209, *Z* 246 ≠ 250, *Ω* 746 ≠ 760 ≠ 776.

201. The reference to Ithaca and its ruggedness seems irrelevant, and the opposition suggested by *περ* ('although it is rugged') has been thought to derive from *ι* 27 *τρηχεῖ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος*; and cf. 202 *εἰδὼς* **(p.133)** *παντοίους τε δόλους* with *ι* 19 *ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, γ* 122, *ν* 292; VdM 69. Od. is however noted for his *δόλοι* in *Il*. too (*Δ* 339, *Λ* 430). The line might well be a rhapsode's interpolation.

203. Antenor's intervention not only fills out the picture of Od. but also conveniently brings us to Men. (cf. 180 n.). The embassy of Od. and Men. is mentioned again at *Λ* 139–41, and was related in the *Cypria* (arg. 10/ Apollod.). Antenor not only provided them with hospitality (207) but saved them from the lynching that Antimachos urged (*Λ* 123–41). P may well have told the story

himself, but in doing so would not have been able to convey as here the impression the two speakers made on their audience; cf. Schadewaldt 48.

208. *μήδεα πυκνά*: after 202.

224. This brings us back to the present: Od. does look impressive now as he marshals his men.

225–7. Ajax was perhaps the one hero with a physique already given by the tradition, and it was natural to include him in the review, but he is dealt with quite cursorily.

229. *ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν*: *IEPM* 454 f.

230. *Ἰδομενεύς*: Helen has little to say of Ajax and passes on to someone Priam has not asked about, a hero often associated with Ajax and Od. (*A* 145 n.) and known personally to herself (cf. 180 n.). Men. had connections with Crete through his mother Aërope. It was to attend her father Katreus' obsequies that he went off to Crete when Paris was staying in his house, opening the door for the seduction of Helen.

234–8. The other heroes closely connected with Helen that she might have hoped to see are her brothers the Dioskouroi, though the expectation that they might be taking part in the expedition disregards the story of the suitors' oath ('Hes.' fr. 204). Once again we have to forget that the war has been in progress for nine years.

240–2. She does not consider the possibility that they have fallen in battle. Her own shame is again to the fore.

243–4. Their end was related in the *Cypria* (arg. 3, frr. 9, 16–17). There Polydeukes became immortal; here there is no hint of a more than mortal fate for either of them. Contrast *λ* 301–4.

***κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα*:** cf. *EFH* 236.

245. We return to the heralds' mission. Following 244 we might have expected *ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον* (*N* 81, al.).

248. *Ἰδαῖος*: the heralds were hitherto anonymous. Idaios is prominent in *H* (from 276 on) and reappears in *Ω* (325/470). Sappho 44. 2 f. gives him a role at Hector's wedding. We naturally associate his name with Ida; but was it coined here by association with Castor's killer Idas? **(p.134)**

249. We no longer have any impression that Priam is still on the wall. Cf. 161–244 n.

253–8. After 136–8 and 73–5. 'The woman' for Helen < 72 < 48.

259–66. Typical scene: Arend 86–91, cf. 24 f.; *EFH* 205 f.

262. *πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀντήνωρ*: Antenor's prominence in the preceding scene determines his choice as Priam's companion. But even without the Teichoskopia his eminence in the city would qualify him for the role.

263. *ὠκέας ἵππους*: *IEPM* 465.

268. *ἂν δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς*: as Priam has a second, P feels that Ag. should have one too; Od. probably because he followed Ag. at 191. But already in *B* 169 ff. he appeared as Ag.'s most effective supporter.

269–301. On the treaty procedure cf. Arend 78, 123; *EFH* 20–2; R. Rollinger in R. Rollinger–Chr. Ulf, *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen—Externe Impulse* (Berlin 2004), 369–425.

276. *Ζεῦ πάτερ*: *B* 371–2 n.; as god of oaths and contracts, *IEPM* 171 f.

***κύδιστε μέγιστε*:** *B* 412 n.

277. The all-seeing Sun: *EFH* 358; *IEPM* 198 f.; as a god by whom oaths are sworn, *EFH* 20, *IEPM* 199–201; for the nominative, *IEPM* 306 f.

278–9. *καὶ Ποταμοὶ καὶ Γαῖα*: *EFH* 20 f.

***καὶ οἳ … τείνυσθον*:** a pair of deities, at least one of whom is male, with the same function as the Erinyes in *T* 259 f., where Ag. invokes a similar series of divine witnesses to his oath. From *I* 454/7 it appears that Zeus *καταχθόνιος* and Persephone may be meant; Ag. avoids the inauspicious names.

281. *καταπέφνηι*, 284. *κτείνηι*, 289. *πεσόντος*: previously (71, 92, 138, 255) the verb was *νικᾶν*. In 457 Ag. claims that Helen must be surrendered because Men. has clearly won (*νίκη*), cf. 404, 439. But as he has not killed Paris, the oath as sworn does not require her to be given up; cf. Schwartz 9.

286–7. Besides the return of Helen and the stolen property, as proposed by Paris, Ag. stipulates additional compensation on a scale that will be remembered in poetic tradition (cf. *B* 119 n.).

288–91. This further provision partly anticipates what will actually happen (VdM 71), though Paris does not 'fall' and the Trojans' refusal to pay compensation is never formulated.

299–301. *EFH* 22. As in 107, the breach of the truce is anticipated.

301. *καὶ τεκέων*: cf. *Z* 58–9 n.

***ἀλοχοι δ᾽ ἀλλοισι δαμεῖεν*:** *EFH* 358.

302. *οὐδ᾽ ἄρα πώ σφιν ἐπεκράαινε Κρονίων*: cf. *A* 43 n. The Trojans will break the truce, but their destruction and the enslavement of their women will not follow till much later. Cf. *B* 419–20 n.

303–13. Priam has had water poured over his hands (270), but P has not given him any active role in the treaty-making (despite 105). He must now **(p.135)** depart, because he has no further part to play in the narrative until *H* 365. He provides a reason for his departure in a speech. The bodies of the sacrificed lambs are cleared away at the same time (310), since they are not going to be cooked and eaten.

308–9: *IEPM* 477.

314. Hector and Od. take charge. Hector has been acting throughout as the Trojan commander; Od., who came forward at 268, deputizes for Ag., who by officiating at the treaty-making is presumably felt to have put himself above the combat.

315. *χῶρον μὲν πρῶτον διεμέτρεον*: *IEPM* 487.

316. *κλήρους*: Hector's duel with Ajax is also preceded by casting of lots (*H* 170 ff., described in more detail than here), but for a different reason. There too the lot-casting is accompanied by a *τις*-prayer and followed by arming.

318. *λαοὶ δ᾽ ἠρήσαντο*: one would expect the prayers at this point to be about the outcome of the lot (as in *H* 177), each army praying for their own man to get first throw. In fact the Trojans want Paris to lose, and the prayer is given a different content.

321. *ὁππότερος*: after 71, 299, 309, 317; but those all introduce questions still to be decided, whereas here everyone has Paris in mind.

325. P gives Paris the first throw, because it is always the least effective one.

326–7. ~ 113 f.

328–39. A major battle between two heroes is typically prefaced by an arming scene: *EFH* 214 f., *IEPM* 472 f.; for the Homeric pattern, Arend 92–7 with Tafel 6; J. Armstrong, *AJP* 79 (1958), 337–54. This is the only arming scene for a Trojan. To allow for the motif here Paris and Men. are treated as having disarmed with the rest (114). Paris now accoutres himself as a normal spearman, not as he appeared in 17–19; he has to borrow his brother's cuirass. Cf. *Π* 134 n.

338. As in *H* 244–72, the duellists have only one spear each. In other circumstances warriors carry two, as Paris did in 18.

339. P avoids repeating the sequence, but note the rhapsode's plus-lines in papyrus p40 (which also had a divergent version of 330–8).

341. After 266.

343. The line is omitted by a fourth-century papyrus and may be a concordance interpolation from *Δ* 80.

347–8. A formulaic motif, cf. *H* 258 f., *P* 43–5.

350–4. As he aims at his enemy a hero may pray to a god to guide his missile, cf. *Δ* 101/119, *E* 174, *P* 46, *Ψ* 872 f.; *IEPM* 485. P uses the motif here to express Men.'s sense of grievance and to emphasize that Paris has flouted an ethical principle. The argument should appeal to Zeus (cf. *N* 623 ff.), but he has other plans and does not react. **(p.136)**

356. After 347.

357–60. Men.'s throw is all but successful, only failing at the last stage; cf. *Δ* 134–40, *E* 281 f., *H* 247 f., 250–4, *Λ* 434–8; Fenik 102–4.

363. *τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθὰ*: *A* 128 n.

365. For the reproach to Zeus cf. *N* 631–5 n.

369. An untypical, impetuous act of fearless desperation by the frustrated hero. Paris has apparently not managed to draw his sword.

373–4. *καί νύ κεν … | εἰ μὴ ἂρ'*: cf. *A* 191 and *Γ* 15 nn.

***Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη*:** *IEPM* 186, cf. 221.

378. *κόμισαν δ' ἑρίηρες ἑταῖροι*: characteristically P does not leave the helmet unaccounted for but tells what happened to it.

379–80. *ἂψ*: he has momentarily turned away in hurling the helmet back towards the Achaeans, and he must also have left the spot to recover his spear. He now charges *back* at where Paris was, but Aphrodite has already whisked him away. For the motif of a deity carrying off an endangered hero through the air to safety cf. *E* 445, *Y* 443, *Φ* 597; *EFH* 211; *IEPM* 484. Only Trojans need it in *Il*.

381. *ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός*: Hes. *Th*. 90 n.

***ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ*:** Hes. *Th*. 9 n.

382–3. Paris is to be put to bed with Helen (cf. 15 n.), thus conveniently removing both of them from the scene. Aphrodite takes Paris there directly and makes a special journey to fetch Helen from the city wall.

384. *περὶ δὲ Τρωιαὶ ἅλις ἦσαν*: 146–60 n.

391. *λεχέεσσιν*: anticipating what will happen at 447.

396–418. Aristarchus athetized these lines, observing (*inter alia*) that 395 ought to refer to a stirring of Helen's desire, not of her anger, and that 419 would connect perfectly with it. The passage is surely genuine, but may be an expansion.

396–7. Despite her disguise the goddess is recognized from visible clues. Cf. *A* 200 n.; *IEPM* 133.

399–412. Helen is represented as being on familiar terms with Aphrodite from past experience; cf. *A* 202 n. Having repented of her elopement to Troy, she addresses the goddess in refractory tones, showing a remarkable lack of respect. Men. is the victor in the duel and will be claiming Helen back; Aphrodite can take her place as Paris' mistress. The motif of the goddess being humiliatingly in love with a mortal recalls *Hymn. Aphr.* (45–52, 247–55).

411. *Τρωιαὶ*: the reference is probably to the women present with her on the wall, cf. 420. They cannot be supposed to overhear this dialogue (cf. *A* 198 n.), but Helen assumes that if she goes to join Paris they will know it.

418–20. She obeys from fear of the goddess (cf. *A* 216–18 n.), saying **(p.137)** nothing more and veiling her face to hide her identity. The women do not notice her leaving.

422. *ἀμφίπολοι*: P has not forgotten the two attendants who accompanied Helen to the wall (143), and they are duly accounted for.

424. *φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη*: *IEPM* 221. Preferred here to the equivalent *Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη* (374) probably because Helen has been called Zeus' offspring in 418 (and will be again in 426). It is also appropriate to Aphrodite's erogenous role here. She is still acting the part of the old servant (386). After setting the chair she fades out of the scene, cf. *A* 221–2 n.

428. *ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου*: the supernatural nature of Paris' escape is not apparent to mortals, only to the poet; cf. *E* 516 n. Both Helen and Paris acknowledge that Men. has worsted him. She is scornful of Paris' courage and prowess, and wishes he had been killed. He deflects her reproaches, declares his overwhelming desire for her, and leads her to bed.

430–1. There was perhaps no poem in which Paris was represented as making such boasts; they may be an *ad hoc* invention (M. M. Willcock), cf. *A* 396, *Θ* 229, *Y* 83, *Φ* 475; *IEPM* 478.

439. *σὺν Ἀθήνηι*: Paris blithely puts Men.'s victory down to divine aid, which may favour himself on another occasion. He assumes it was Athena, the principal deity who assists individual Achaean heroes. In fact she has remained on Olympus as a spectator (*Δ* 7–10).

442–6. The declaration of passion takes a similar form to Zeus' in *Ξ* 315 ff. P takes the opportunity to evoke again the seduction that led to the war.

446. *ἵμερος αἱρεῖ*: cf. *A* 387 n.

448. The pair are left to their lovemaking; when we return to them in *Z* it will be over. Meanwhile we go back to the battlefield for the continuation of the main narrative. Things are as they were at 380. Men. is still trying to discover where Paris has disappeared to.

453–4. Paris has no supporters among the Trojans and their allies, cf. 56 f. They would have been happy to see him killed and the war ended.

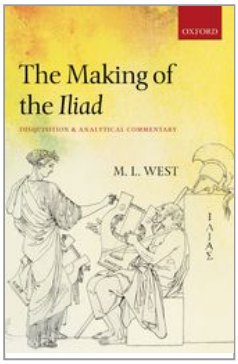
456–61. The duel episode is over. P must now take steps to renew the fighting. First he must annul the treaty under which it has been suspended.

Ag. declares that Men. has manifestly won the duel and demands that the Trojans pay up. We should expect a response from Hector. But what could he say? He cannot dispute that Paris has been defeated, as we have heard Paris himself admit. He might in theory argue that Paris has not been *killed*, as the treaty stipulated (cf. 281 n.), so that the duel has failed to bring the desired resolution and the regular fighting must resume. But that would have looked sophistic; and then P would have had the problem of describing how both armies got up off their backsides, took up their arms, and went at each other. It is hard to imagine how he could have done that satisfactorily. He has made **(p.138)** provision for a Trojan refusal to fulfil the terms of the treaty (288–91 n.). Instead he makes an abrupt transition to Olympus, so that from the gods' machinations a new initiative can proceed and the battle be remotivated. It is extraordinary that he does this immediately after a speech that calls for an answer, and that it remains unanswered.

VdM 79 f. assumes that the original continuation was, 'And the Trojans and Hector would have agreed, if Athena had not (gone down, etc., *Δ* 74)'. It is possible that P first conceived it on those lines but then decided that the divine intervention required Zeus' authority and an Olympian scene.

The change of scene was taken as the opportunity to divide rhapsody *Γ* from *Δ*, *Γ* being equated with the story of the duel and *Δ* with the resumption of hostilities up to the point where Diom.'s aristeia begins.

Γ



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Δ

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1. Divine assemblies: *A* 531–3 n.

***καθήμενοι*:** *A* 533–5 n.

***ἠγορόωντο*:** *EFH* 179, cf. 177.

2–3. *χρυσέωι ἐν δαπέδωι … | … χρυσέοις δεπάεσσιν*: *B* 448 n. The last Olympian scene ended with the gods retiring to sleep after festive drinking (*A* 584–608); the sympotic motif is resumed to open this one (3 *νέκταρ ἐωινοχόει* ~ *A* 598), with Hebe replacing Hephaestus as the server.

5. *ἐπειρᾶτο … ἐρεθιζέμεν Ἥρην*: P avoids making Zeus directly responsible for the breaking of the oath sworn in his name. He achieves his purpose by provoking Hera. He must get the fighting re-started, because even if the plan of restoring Ach. to honour is not in mind at present, P needs battle to continue, and Zeus' aims necessarily reflect his.

6. *κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι*: the taunt is that Men.'s two helpers have remained inactive, while Paris' single one has been assiduous and saved his life. The three goddesses are the ones involved in the Judgment of Paris; cf. 31–6 n.

8. *Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη*: = *E* 908, perhaps borrowed from Theban epic (372–99 n.), where the epithets would have had more point. For the pairing of Hera and Athena cf. *A* 194–5 n.

10. *τέρπεσθον*: *H* 58–61 n.

13–19. Despite Paris' survival, Men. has clearly won (cf. *Γ* 429, 439, 457). This ought to mean the restitution of Helen and the conclusion of the war, but Zeus puts the two alternatives before the gods, with the emphasis on the peace option (which, however, is incompatible with the fulfilment of his promise to Thetis: Erhardt 51). For the consultation procedure cf. *EFH* 179. Zeus has the power to make the final decision (29).

20–4. Athena is the one who will intervene on the ground; Hera is the one who quarrels openly with Zeus.

27. P gives Hera the tones of a complaining wife who has worn herself out with work. For gods' horses cf. *IEPM* 152.

28. *λαὸν ἀγειρούσηι*: 'ein unfeines Autoschediasma' in the opinion of VdM 78. Elsewhere the recruitment was in the hands of two heroes, see 376–81 n. Wil. 300 sees a reference to a poem about the beginnings of the war.

31–6. Zeus finds Hera's hostility to Troy excessive; he does not say she has **(p. 140)** no reason for it at all. But if P knows the story of the Judgment of Paris (as is likely: K. Reinhardt, *Tradition und Geist* [Göttingen 1960], 16–36), he is resolved to exclude it, otherwise he would surely have made Zeus taunt Hera about it here. The allusion in *Ω* 29 f. is probably interpolated (cf. *Ω* 28–30 n.).

37–8. By ceding to Hera Zeus both appears as a conciliatory husband and diminishes his own responsibility for the truce-breaking.

39. *ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆισιν*: *A* 297 n.

40–2, 51–4. We know of no epic songs on the destructions of Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae, but P is doubtless thinking of the traditions about the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian invasions, to which Hera evidently submitted. Argos is the city with which she is most closely associated (8 *Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη*, etc.). Cf. Fick 239; Wil. 288.

44. *ὑπ' ἠελίωι*: *EFH* 235, *IEPM* 86.

46–9. The tradition of the Trojan War might have so evolved that Troy was portrayed as an evil place. The emphasis on its piety and goodness makes its eventual disaster a tragedy. P has a strong sense of this. The Aeolic formula *Ἴλιος ἱρή* (**Fίλιος ἴρα*) already implies a city widely respected.

47. *ἐϋμμελίω*: epithets for heroes often refer to their weapons, *IEPM* 460.

52. Augmented triad, *A* 145 n.

53. *περὶ κῆρι*: after 46.

57. Hera returns to her point in 26.

59. *πρεσβυτάτην*: Kronos' three daughters were Hestia, Demeter, and Hera (Hes. *Th*. 454); their order was reversed when he swallowed and regurgitated them, so that the original firstborn, Hestia, became the youngest (*Hymn. Aphr*. 22 f.) and Hera the eldest. On the same principle Zeus is reckoned the eldest of the three sons (*N* 355, *O* 166).

[60–1]. Concordance interpolation from *Σ* 365 f., not fitting here.

64. *σὺ δὲ θάσσον Ἀθηναίηι ἐπιτεῖλαι*: Hera has her way, but protocol requires the initiative to be returned to Zeus. For the mechanism (deity A urges the chief god B to instruct and send forth deity C) see *EFH* 195.

66–7. *ὥς κεν Τρῶες … | ἄρξωσι πρότεροι*: the Achaeans should be more in the mood to restart the fighting, but the odium of breaking the truce is to be laid on the Trojans. Athena is not given detailed instructions on how to bring this about.

73. *πάρος μεμανῖαν*: a reminder that she shares Hera's viewpoint.

75–8. Ag.'s demand has been left hanging, and the intervention needs to be immediate. The simile emphasizes the swiftness of Athena's descent; it would also suit VdM's hypothesis cited in *Γ* 456–61 n. But it is more than a simile: Athena actually appears as a meteor to the Trojans and Achaeans, cf. *A* 47 n. This might suggest that the meteors we see are a sign of gods in transit, **(p. 141)** except that 75 describes the phenomenon as Zeus throwing a star. A clumsy parallel in *Hymn. Ap*. 441 f. Cf. *EFH* 358 f. Similes describing gods' journeys are varied, but often express speed, cf. *O* 80 ff., 170 ff., 237 f.

82–3. After 15 f. The speculators reproduce the alternatives that Zeus was considering. We know which way the decision has gone, they do not.

87. *Λαοδόκωι Ἀντηνορίδηι*: not mentioned elsewhere; perhaps invented *ad hoc* after *Γ* 123 f. *Ἀντηνορίδης … Λαοδίκην*, whom Iris impersonates. Athena needs the persona of a man of good family in order to persuade Pandaros. A Leodoqos appears as one of the leading Trojan warriors in the battle over Ach.'s body on a Chalcidian hydria of *c*.540 (*LIMC* Laodokos 1)—after the *Aethiopis*? (Pestalozzi 19, cf. Kullmann 179).

88–92. Typical messenger sequence, cf. *B* 167–72, etc.

***Λυκάονος υἱὸν … | … ἀπ᾽ Αἰσήποιο ῥοάων*:** to remind us who Pandaros is (*B* 824–7); cf. 103.

94. *Μενελάωι ἔπι προέμεν ταχὺν ἰόν*: while the armies are separated it will take a bowshot to violate the truce. Men. will be the most attractive target from

Pandaros' point of view; his death would end the war as effectively as if Paris had accomplished it in the duel, cf. 169–75.

96. *βασιλῆϊ*: *qua* member of the royal house; only here of a Trojan other than Priam himself, but cf. *Y* 84. It marks Paris as one whose favour Pandaros may well seek.

101. For the prayer cf. *Γ* 350–4 n.

***κλυτοτόξωι*:** *IEPM* 460.

105–11. When a warrior first deploys his special weapon, an account of its history or manufacture is sometimes given: *IEPM* 462. Here the extended account of the bow (and of the process of shooting from it, 116–26) underlines the significance of the moment. In *B* 827 Pandaros was said to have been given his bow by Apollo.

105. *ἐσύλα τόξον*: *συλάω* is 'pull off', and this phrase looks secondary to 116 *σύλα πῶμα φαρέτρης*.

115. *Μενέλαον ἀρήϊον Ἀτρέος υἱόν*: after 98.

117. *πτερόεντα*: *IEPM* 485.

124–5. *κυκλοτερὲς … ἔτεινεν, | λίγξε βιός, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ᾽ ἴαχεν*: *IEPM* 485.

126. *καθ᾽ ὅμιλον ἐπιπτέσθαι μενεαίνων*: ibid. 462, 485.

127–9. The poetic purpose of the shot at Men. is to break the truce. But he must not be killed or badly wounded, and divine intervention is again needed to save him. P finds himself in an awkward position. He has used Athena to incite Pandaros; certainly she wants to see the battle renewed. But she is on the Achaean side and has been identified as a protector of Men. in particular (7 f.), so it must fall to her to save him from the shot that she herself has **(p.142)** provoked. P does not attempt to describe her lightning-swift relocation from Pandaros' side to Men.'s.

134–47. The detailed description of the arrow's course and the wound it caused maintains the amplitude of the narrative in 105–26, reflecting the seriousness of the event.

148–50. *ῥίγησεν … | ῥίγησεν δέ*: anaphora with initial verbs, *IEPM* 108. Ag.'s reaction is important, as he is the commander-in-chief. 148 = *Λ* 254 (when Ag. himself receives a flesh wound).

156. *Τρωσί*: he was only meant to fight one Trojan, but now another has taken him on. This unidentified assailant (cf. 196 f.) is generalized in the next line to 'the Trojans'.

[159]. Concordance interpolation from *B* 341: *Studies* 189.

160–8. Ag. solemnly avers that Zeus' wrath over the truce-breaking ensures the destruction of Troy sooner or later. P's hearers know that Zeus himself authorized the perfidy; nevertheless, they may accept this as a genuine justification for Troy's downfall. Little is made of it in the rest of the poem, though cf. 270 f., *H* 347–53, and *Γ* 302 n. For the doctrine that Zeus' or the gods' punishment is sure whether or not it comes immediately cf. Solon 13. 25–32, Thgn. 203–8; for the guilty ones' wives and children being caught up in it, *Γ* 301; 'Hes.' fr. 30. 19 f.

163–5. These lines will reappear poignantly in Hector's mouth, *Z* 447–9.

166. *ὑψίζυγος*: *EFH* 114.

169–421. It is settled that the Achaeans will fight on. But first Men.'s wound must be dealt with, and P, still in expansive mood, devotes the next 51 lines to this. Then, before the fighting resumes, a further two hundred lines will be taken up by Ag.'s inspection of the troops, but this may be a secondary expansion (220–2 n.).

171. *ἐλέγχιστος*: cf. *B* 285.

177. Perhaps a rhapsode's addition: *Studies* 189 f.

182. *εὐρεῖα χθών*: *IEPM* 178.

186. *εἰρύσατο ζωστήρ*: for the motif cf. *Λ* 236; *M* 401 n.

192. *Ταλθύβιον*: *A* 320–32 n. The healer is not conveniently standing by; he is formally summoned in the usual epic manner, with instructions given to and repeated by the go-between.

193. *Μαχάονα*: *B* 732 n.

197. *Τρώων ἢ Λυκίων*: in 157 Ag. assigned the archer to 'the Trojans'; here he uses the more comprehensive 'Trojans or Lycians'. The Lycians in this formula may originally have been the northern Lycians from the Troad, see p. 64; Pandaros was in fact one of these (*E* 105, 173).

***τῶι μὲν κλέος*:** fame is won above all by deeds of battle, *IEPM* 401 f. **(p.143)**

201–3. After 90–2. The use of that frame forces the shortening of *Τρίκκη* (*B* 729) to *Τρῐ̃κη*.

209. Varied from 199; cf. *Γ* 199 n.

211. This corresponds to the usual statement of what the person visited was doing when found (*B* 788 n.). The gathering around him perhaps after 201 (~ 90), but a good realistic touch.

215–16. After 186 f.

219. *τά οἵ ποτε πατρὶ … πόρε Χείρων*: for Chiron as a source of medicaments cf. *Λ* 830–2; for his tuition of Asklepios, Pind. *Pyth*. 3. 45, *Nem*. 3. 54.

220–2. That takes care of Men.; he will reappear fit and fighting at *E* 50. P now moves on to the resumption of fighting. He does not stop to motivate the Trojans' attack: he has cancelled the truce, and so brought to an end the digression that began at *Γ* 15 with Paris' challenge, and he simply reverts to the battle that was beginning there. The Trojans come on, and the Achaeans take up their arms again in response.

As Leaf and Erhardt 53 f. noted, the aorist in 221 (≈ *Λ* 412, *P* 107) should mark the actual start of the battle, not something held in suspense through the Epipolesis, which is thus betrayed as a secondary insertion. The hypothesis is strengthened by the perfect join that 422 ff. make with 222 (Jacob 201).

223–421. Epipolesis. After composing the sequel (422 ff.) P decided once more to preface the battle with a review of forces. He has already given us the great Catalogue in *B* and the Teichoskopia in *Γ*. The Epipolesis supplements them with a series of vignettes of major leaders: Idomeneus, the Aiante, Nestor, Menestheus, Od., Diom. Apart from the inclusion of Menestheus (327–8 n.) the list corresponds to that of the *γέροντες ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν* in *B* 405–7. Ag. addresses them in turn and they show their mettle in their replies. Each encounter leaves an encouraging impression. Contrary to the tendency noted in *B* 494–510 n. for serial items to become shorter, the sections here increase in length.

P manages brilliantly to maintain the sense that the military situation is developing without actually letting it run ahead. In 232–49 some of the Achaeans are in eager movement, others are standing inactive. Idomeneus and Meriones are urging their men on (253 f.). The Aiante are arming, their forces are moving forward (274–82). Nestor is marshalling his cavalry and infantry (294). Both Trojans and Achaeans are on the move, but they have only just started; the Athenians and Cephallenians are still waiting for others to take a lead (330–5). Diom. and Sthenelos are armed and standing in their chariot, but in Ag.'s view they are hanging back when they should be advancing (366–71).

226. *ποικίλα*: *IEPM* 470. **(p.144)**

227–30. Typically the horses on which Ag. turns his back are not left unaccounted for. Nor is the Eurymedon who takes them left without a pedigree, though he will not be mentioned again. The same name is given to a man in Nestor's service who performs a similar role in *Θ* 114, *Λ* 620.

227. *φυσιόωντας*: a sign of their martial spirit, cf. Aesch. *Sept*. 393; *EFH* 556.

232–49. As in battle narrative (446–56 n.), the sequence of individual encounters is preceded by a general section on the troops in the mass. The structure, with contrasting speeches to two antithetical categories of addressee, recalls *B* 188–205.

241. After 233.

243. *τίφθ᾽ οὕτως ἔστητε τεθηπότες*: *IEPM* 478.

***ἠΰτε νεβροί*:** *EFH* 248, *IEPM* 495. Similes in speeches: *Γ* 60–2 n.

251. P perhaps thinks first of the Cretans because Idomeneus was the last hero pointed out in the Teichoskopia, *Γ* 230 (VdM 86).

255. *τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν γήθησεν*: initially a keynote of the review, cf. 283, 311; then varied to *νείκεσσεν* at 336, 368.

268. *ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλους ὄτρυνε*: preparing for Ag. to move on.

271. After 236.

273. After 251. From Idomeneus a natural association leads to Ajax, cf. *A* 145 n.

***Αἰάντεσσι*:** Wackernagel (*Kl. Schr*. 542) observed that these Aiante(s) who command a single regiment should be Ajax and his brother Teukros, 'the Ajax pair' by an ancient use of the dual. Teukros is not named until *Z* 31, but was presumably mentioned in the original version of the Salaminian entry in the Catalogue (*B* 546–58 and 558 nn.). The question remains whether P consciously used *Αἴαντε* to mean 'Ajax and his brother' or reproduced the usage in inherited contexts without understanding it. In *Θ* 262–6 the Aiantes and Teukros are distinct persons, and we shall see that there is confusion on the point in *M–N*. See *M* 335–414 n.

275–82. Cf. *EFH* 244 f.

288–91. A similarly formed wish was voiced in praise of Nestor, not quite logically (*B* 371–2 n.). It is perhaps by association with that passage that Nestor comes next in the series.

293. *λιγὺν Πυλίων ἀγορητήν*: after *A* 248; less apt here than in that debate scene, though he is orating to his troops (303–9).

295–6. None of these is mentioned again, unless the Alastor of *Θ* 333 = *N* 422 is the same; Alastor and Chromios are listed among Nestor's brothers at 'Hes.' fr. 33a. 9 ff. Their status as subordinate leaders corresponds to that of the *Κρητῶν ἀγοί* in *Γ* 231. It may be significant that five are named, as elsewhere we find the Trojans and the Myrmidons divided into five fighting **(p.145)** sections (*M* 86 ff., *Π* 171 ff.) (H. van Wees in Morris–Powell 675). It is noteworthy that Antilochos (457) is not named.

297–309. Nestor is shown exercising his special talent as a tactician, cf. *B* 362–8 n.

301. *ἱππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτ᾽ ἐπετέλλετο*: Ag. intervenes before he gets to the infantry.

308–9. Nestor typically draws on his knowledge of the past (cf. 310), but without referring to any specific conflict. The kind of chariot battle envisaged in 301–7 is indeed an archaism and does not correspond to the type of fighting described elsewhere in *Il*. (though cf. *Λ* 151, 743–9). Cf. Lorimer 324 f.; Kirk i. 361 f.

***πόλιας*:** 'fortresses', *IEPM* 452 f.

311–12. After 283 f.

313–16. Ag. praises Nestor, as he praised the Aiante, by means of an unfulfillable wish. Its content is based on Nestor's own typical wish for himself (cf. 318 ff., *H* 132 ff., *Λ* 670 ff., *Ψ* 629 ff.), but 313 is partly worded after 289.

319. We are given a taste of Nestor's propensity to recall his past feats, but only a taste; P is perhaps conscious that events are pressing, and wanting to maintain the pace of Ag.'s review, though he will himself unfold a lengthy story from the past in 372–99. Nestor's reference to how he killed Ereuthalion anticipates his fuller account in *H* 133–56, where it is more relevant to the context, and may have been introduced here secondarily.

322. After *Λ* 720 (Wil. *Vorl*. 314).

326. = 272.

327–8. After 89–90. Menestheus' presence in this scene is very much subordinate to Od.'s, and from 349 on he disappears entirely. That he is included at all is unexpected, cf. 223–421 n. In *B* 553–5 he was compared with Nestor as a master tactician, and that association is probably responsible for his appearance at this point. There is no apparent reason for his juxtaposition with Od.

334. *πύργος Ἀχαιῶν*: cf. *IEPM* 454 f.

336. *τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νείκεσσεν*: a change from the sequence of approving reactions (255 n.).

338. *ὦ υἱὲ Πετεῶιο*: defective metre from turning *υἱὸν Π.* (327) into the vocative; cf. *B* 6 n.

339. *-μένε, κερδαλεόφρον*: after *A* 149, where the insult was to Ag. himself.

344. *ὁππότε δαῖτα γέρουσιν ἐφοπλίζωμεν*: cf. *B* 404, *I* 70.

353. *ὄψεαι*: *IEPM* 474 f.

354. *Τηλεμάχοιο … πατέρα*: *B* 260 n. Telemachos' name, like those of **(p.146)** Ajax's son Eurysakes and Hector's son Astyanax (*Z* 403), reflects a property of his father, a man famed for his bow. Here Od. acknowledges its reference to him and sets it in pointed antithesis with *προμάχοισι μιγέντα*.

355. *ἀνεμώλια βάζεις*: *EFH* 253.

364. = 292.

365–421. The Diom. section is the last and the longest, pointing forward to his prominence in *E* (Wil. 282; VdM 86 f.). No tribal identity is assigned to his men.

366. *ἑσταότ᾽ ἔν θ᾽ ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασι*: those who had ridden out in chariots dismounted from them at *Γ* 113. Why are Diom. and Sthenelos now in theirs? I suppose so that by descending from it at the end of the scene (419) Diom. can give a decisive sign of his commitment to engaging with the enemy; cf. *Γ* 29.

368. After 336, with superficial variation.

371. *τί πτώσσεις*: after 340. Diom. is fully armed (419 f.), standing in his war-chariot with his charioteer beside him, so Ag.'s rebuke seems unfair. It is designed (by P rather than Ag.) to provoke Sthenelos' rebuttal.

372–99. Diom. and Sthenelos form a link between the Trojan saga and the Theban (*B* 563–6 n.). As he focuses our attention on Diom. in preparation for his aristeia, P opens the door on his background by making Ag. compare him with his father Tydeus, who showed greater courage on the field. In support of this claim, instead of referring to the battle at Thebes (in which Tydeus was killed and his side lost), he recalls at surprising length earlier episodes of the saga that are actually less apposite. P evidently knows an extended *Thebaid* (not necessarily the same as the one later current in writing), whether or not it formed part of his own active repertory. He refers again to Tydeus' embassy to Thebes at *E* 800–8, as does P^{K} at *K* 285–90; cf. also *Ξ* 114–25. Another Theban episode is mentioned at *Ψ* 677–80; cf. also *Y* 224 n.

373. *πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἑτάρων δηίοισι μάχεσθαι*: *IEPM* 458 f.

374. *ὡς φάσαν οἵ μιν ἴδοντο πονεόμενον*: strikingly paralleled in Mimn. 14. 1–3 *οὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμόν | τοῖον ἐμέο προτέρων πεύθομαι, οἵ μιν ἴδον | Λυδῶν … κλονέοντα φάλαγγας*. There too the present fighting spirit is contrasted unfavourably with that of a hero of the previous generation whom the speaker did not himself see but has heard about from those who did. This might be an early echo of *Il*.

376–81. For the motif of two heroes travelling round to assemble an army for a major war cf. *Λ* 767–70 (Nestor and Od.); but in the *Cypria* (arg. 5 and fr. 19) the recruiters were Men. (the aggrieved party) and his brother. Polynices was the aggrieved party in the Theban war, and he and Tydeus were the two sons-in-law of Adrastos. Their visit to Mycenae, not otherwise attested, **(p.147)** is surely invented *ad hoc* to account for Ag.'s knowing about Tydeus. The statement that the Mycenaeans agreed to send a contingent but then reneged because of an unfavourable omen indicates that there was no tradition of a Mycenaean participation in the war. P avoids specifying who was their king at the time; sch^{D} 376 names Thyestes. Note that Ag. does not say it was his father who told him. Stat. *Th*. 4. 305–8 has no independent source for the incident.

385. *Καδμείωνας*: the Thebans in epic are always *Καδμεῖοι* or *Καδμείωνες*, never *Θηβαῖοι*. See *EFH* 448–50. They only appear in stories from before the Trojan War.

388. *μοῦνος ἐὼν πολέσιν μετὰ*: *IEPM* 481.

389–90. Such an inorganic episode implies an epic narrative on an ample scale. The motif reappears in *Od*. *θ* (though Od. does not issue the challenge to his hosts), perhaps borrowed from (a version of) the *Thebaid*.

391–8. For the ambush motif cf. *Z* 187–90, where no provision is made for a survivor to return and tell the tale. The Suitors' attempted ambush of Telemachos in *Od*. is less similar.

398. *θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας*: in an anterior version this phrase was probably attached to the defeat of the assailants, cf. 408 and *Z* 183.

400. *ἀγορῆι*: elsewhere contrasted or balanced with fighting ability, as *Γ* 150, *O* 283, *Σ* 106, 'Hes.' fr. 25. 37.

401. *ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ᾽ οὔ τι προσέφη*: *A* 511, *Z* 342 nn. The response is assigned to Sthenelos so that he is not sidelined: he too was the son of one of the Seven (the one notorious for boasting) and a member of the more successful Epigonoi. Diom.'s silence is ascribed to his *αἰδώς*. But he is not bashful elsewhere, cf. *I* 696 ff., *Ξ* 109 ff.

406. *Θήβης ἔδος … ἑπταπύλοιο*: also *λ* 263, doubtless part of a formulaic system in the epic tradition about Thebes; cf. Hes. *Op*. 162, *Sc*. 49.

408. A favouring omen was probably a feature of the saga, cf. Pind. *Pyth*. 8. 49.

419. See 366 n.

422–38. The Epipolesis ends with nothing to round it off. With its insertion (220–2 n.) the similes describing the armies going forward take their place in a sequence as described in *Γ* 2–13 n. For the wave simile cf. *EFH* 245.

428–38. P repeats the antithesis between the Achaeans' disciplined silence and the Trojans' confused shouting that he drew when the armies first marched out; see again *Γ* 2–13 n. The comparison of the Trojans to a flock of sheep (as in *Γ* 3–7 to a flight of cranes) is belittling.

437–8. Cf. *B* 804 n.

439–40. For the involvement of gods cf. *B* 446–52 n. The Trojans and **(p.148)** Achaeans are assigned to Ares and Athena respectively, in anticipation of their prominent roles in *E* (VdM 87, cf. Reinhardt 125). The three subsidiary martial deities listed in 440 are *prima facie* aligned with Athena, though generally associated with Ares (441, *E* 518, *N* 299, *O* 119, Hes. *Th*. 934–6, *Sc*. 195); no doubt they are to be thought of as informing the battle in general, not on one side or the other, cf. 444 f. For the personified Fear and Terror cf. *EFH* 359; for the presence of Eris, *Λ* 3 f., *Σ* 535, *Y* 48, [Hes.] *Sc*. 148.

442–3. A fitting description of Strife in the abstract, but not specially appropriate to this context; 442 after 424. For 443 cf. *EFH* 359 f.

446–56. The battle narrative typically begins with general description (with a simile) before going on to detail individual achievements. Cf. Fenik 79; *EFH* 211. This passage, or at least 446–51, may originally have followed *Γ* 14 and led on to *Λ* 84 ff.

447. *σύν ῥ᾽ ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ᾽ ἔγχεα*: for the clash of shields cf. *IEPM* 479 f.; for the anaphora of the preverb with ellipse of the verb after the first clause, ibid. 109.

451. *ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων*: *IEPM* 111.

457–538. In the first phase of the battle, before the aristeia of Diom., three of the major Achaean heroes, Antilochos, Ajax, and Od., each make a kill, while two lesser ones are killed; the Trojans fall back. After Apollo rallies them the balance evens out somewhat as a further second-order Achaean is killed by a Thracian and another avenges him. Ag. is left aside in this section; he will play only a minor role in *E* (38–42, 528–40).

457. *πρῶτος δ᾽*: after a piece of general description the detailed part typically begins with the statement of who first killed someone; cf. *E* 38, *Z* 5, *Θ* 256, *Λ* 92, 217, *M* 378, *N* 170, *Ξ* 511, *Π* 284, 307, 593; Fenik 15.

***Ἀντίλοχος*:** the first mention of this important figure, more closely identified on his next appearance at *E* 565.

466–9. The killing or wounding of a warrior as he is stripping the corpse of another, or trying to drag it away, is a recurrent motif: Fenik 40, 88, 95, 147, 174, 233.

467. *Ἀγήνωρ*: a son of Antenor, old enough to have a son of his own fighting (*Y* 474). He is repeatedly mentioned as one of the leading Trojans, and makes a heroic stand against Ach. in *Φ* 544–98, where he is saved by Apollo. He figured also in the *Little Iliad*, where he was killed by Neoptolemos (frr. 16, 27).

470–1. *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶι δ᾽ ἔργον ἐτύχθη | ἀργαλέον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν*: the fall of Elephenor is made the nucleus around which the wider conflict develops. For the brief reversion to general description in 470–2 cf. Fenik 19. The next section, 473–507, is constructed as a ‘chain-reaction’ fight, ‘in which Greeks and Trojans slay each other alternately, each man avenging himself, **(p.149)** or trying to, on the slayer of the previous victim’ (Fenik 10, comparing *N* 361–539, *Ξ* 442–507).

471. *λύκοι ὥς*: *EFH* 247, *IEPM* 450.

472. *ἀνὴρ δ᾽ ἄνδρ᾽*: *IEPM* 113–16.

473–89. This encounter between the doughtiest of the Achaeans (*ὅφρ᾽ Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν*) and a graceful innocent youth who has no chance against him seems emblematic of the military mismatch between the warlike Achaeans and the essentially peace-loving Trojans. Simoeisios is clearly not a traditional figure. His name, his father’s name, and the story of his birth are designed to evoke an idyllic pastoral background.

474–6. For the background details appended to the name of the victim cf. *E* 60–4, *Z* 21–6, *Λ* 123–5, *Φ* 141–3, etc.; Strasburger 21–31.

482. *χαμαὶ πέσεν αἴγειρος ὥς*: Fenik 58, 126; *IEPM* 495.

491–2. *τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ᾽, ὃ δὲ Λεῦκον … | βεβλήκει*: a common motif serving to carry the narrative forward, cf. *Θ* 119, 302, 311, *N* 184, 518, *O* 430, *P* 305, 609; Strasburger 44 n. 4. Leukos is mentioned only here; the name perhaps after Od.’s neighbour-island Leucas (Wil. *HU* 73 n. 2, Robert 489).

***Ὀδυσσέος ἐσθλὸν ἑταῖρον*:** a minor warrior killed is often identified as the comrade of a better-known one, cf. *E* 534, *M* 378, *O* 331, etc.

***νέκυν ἑτέρωσ᾽ ἐρύοντα*:** 466–9 n.

493. *νεκρὸς δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός*: cf. Fenik 139 f.

494. The fall of one warrior often provokes another who is close to him to come forward and try to avenge him: another device for linking successive incidents. Cf. Fenik 139. Od. succeeds Ajax as the focus of attention; for the association cf. *A* 138 n.

499. *νόθον*: cf. *B* 727 n. The legitimate Priamid Antiphos, who killed Leukos, escapes for the time being, to be killed by Ag. in *Λ* 101–9; the illegitimate one serves as his substitute. But Od. does not seem to have picked a specific victim, cf. Fenik 192.

505. = *Π* 588, *P* 316. The first mention of Hector in the battle, and the only one until *E* 471. Cf. Schadewaldt 151.

507. *νεμέσησε δ᾽ Ἀπόλλων*: the Achaeans have initially gained the upper hand, but their advance must be checked so that the battle does not progress too fast. A divine intervention is appropriate. Apollo makes his first appearance as patron of the Trojans (instead of Ares, 439).

508. *Περγάμου*: Apollo's special seat, cf. *E* 446, 460, *H* 21. Strange that it is absent from Chryses' survey in *A* 37–9.

510. *οὔ σφι λίθος χρὼς οὐδὲ σίδηρος*: for the mythical motif of heroes with invulnerable skins cf. *IEPM* 444–6. P admits it only as a figure of speech.

515. Athena is brought in again (after 439) to balance Apollo.

***κυδίστη*:** *IEPM* 129 f. **(p.150)**

***Τριτογένεια*:** *IEPM* 260 n. 71.

516. *ἐρχομένη καθ᾽ ὅμιλον*: after 445.

517. *Διώρεα*: the emphasis here is on the killed rather than the killer; cf. *Z* 12, 20, 29, 37.

***Μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέδησεν*:** cf. *X* 5 n.

520. *Πείρως*: *B* 844 n. His name appears there as *Πείροος*, which Wolf conjectured here and in 525.

521–2. *ἀμφοτέρω δὲ τένοντε … | … ἀπηλοίησεν*: blows from rocks break other tendons in *E* 307, *Π* 587.

527. *Θόας*: a considerable figure, cf. 534, *B* 638–43, *N* 216–18, *O* 281–4; *Little Iliad* fr. 8.

530–1. For finishing off a victim with the sword after wounding him with a spear cf. *Y* 458 f., 480–2; Fenik 23. Cf. *E* 145–6 n.

532–5. Warrior prevented from stripping his victim: *E* 621–6, *N* 510 f., *O* 583–90.

538. *πολλοὶ δὲ περὶ κτείνοντο καὶ ἄλλοι*: P wants to round off the section before moving on to the next, but is conscious that so far he has only registered seven deaths.

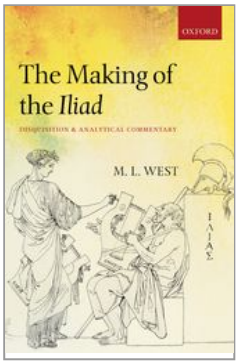
539–44. Panoptic summary of the situation before we embark on Diom.'s aristeia. For the imaginary spectator's reaction cf. 223, 429, *N* 343 f., *Π* 638, Hes. *Th*. 700–5.

543–4 suspiciously duplicate 538. The text would be satisfactory without 536–8 or without 539–44. But 536–8 cannot be secondary, because 544 is formed after 536: 'were stretched out beside each other' is not naturally said of the dead strewn at random across the battlefield. Probably P, after composing 536–8 with the intention of passing on from there to Diom., thought of the more striking way of characterizing the scene by means of the imaginary spectator and added on the six lines, ending as before with the vista of corpses. *Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* in *E* 1 comes oddly after 541 if composed in direct succession to it. Wil. 282 n. 2 thought that 539–44 (already suspected by H. K. Benicken) were added by rhapsodes 'zur Abrundung des *Δ*'.

539. *οὐκέτι ἔργον … ὀνόσαιτο*: that is, it was now a proper full-scale battle. In *N* 127 f. and *P* 398 f. it is Ares and Athena themselves who 'would not have found fault' with the fighting.

540. *ἄβλητος καὶ ἀνούτατος*: paired adjectives with the same prefix, *IEPM* 110; often with asyndeton, as in *A* 99, *I* 63, etc.

The division of rhapsodies was made at the point where Diom. is introduced; it might equally well have been made after 538.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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E

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The aristeia of Diomedes. The central role that Diom. now assumes in the battle has been foreshadowed in *Δ* 365–421 (n.). A series of combats between other warriors (*Δ* 457–538 n.) has served to set the scene, and the situation has just been summed up (*Δ* 539–44 n.). What happens now is not just that one of the leading heroes is allowed to display his natural prowess: he is raised to a higher level by Athena's intervention (1–8), and in the course of the fighting she continues at intervals to attend him, addressing him in person (123–32, 800–34) and eventually joining him in his chariot (835 ff.). At her instigation he attacks Aphrodite (330 ff.) and Ares (826 ff.), wounding them both and driving them off the field, and even without her support he makes an assault on Apollo (432–44). The Trojans recognize that he is operating at a superhuman level (175–8, 181–91; *Z* 96–101). After the defeat of Ares at the end of *E* Diom. is treated more as a normal hero, though he continues to be seen as the greatest threat to the Trojans (*Z* 96–101, 306 f.; still on the next day of fighting, *Θ* 90–136, 196 f., 530–41), and the women's supplication to Athena (*Z* 286–312) falls within what Herodotus (2. 116. 3) knew as the *Διομήδεος ἀριστείη*.

From the choice of Diom. rather than Ag. as the main hero of the first battle, and of Aeneas rather than Hector as his chief antagonist, M. Croiset (*Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 18 [1884], 68–78) argues that *E* was composed after *Λ*, Diom. being chosen because of his role in *Λ* as the next hero after Ag. This is in accord with my stratification. Croiset sees Diom.'s wounding by an arrow in *E* 95 ff. as secondary to *Λ* 369 ff.; *E* 148–51 as after *Λ* 328–32; *E* 309 f. as after *Λ* 355 f.; and Adrestos' failed supplication in *Z* 37 ff. as after that of Antimachos' sons in *Λ* 130 ff.

The essential structure of the whole is as follows. An initial success by Diom. (9–26) disconcerts the Trojans and sets the keynote for the new phase of battle. A series of victories by other Achaeans is described (37–83) before Diom. comes back into focus; compare the treatment of Patr.'s aristeia in *Π* 284–418 (Fenik 9). Despite being wounded by an arrow from Pandaros' bow Diom. proceeds to kill numbers of the enemy (95–165).

P now needs to arrange (i) for Diom. to catch Pandaros, (ii) for the major heroes on the Trojan side (Hector, Aeneas, Sarpedon, Glaukos) to play their part in resisting the Achaean advance. Diom. cannot be allowed to kill any of **(p.152)** them, nor they him, so it must be contrived that either they do not meet him face to face or, if they do, that both parties survive the encounter. P begins (166) by coupling Aeneas with Pandaros; they jointly attack Diom., Pandaros is killed, and Aeneas is hurt but saved by Aphrodite and Apollo. Sarpedon and Hector are brought in together at 471, Sarpedon initially in the role of instigator to action. Hector leads a Trojan rally with Ares' visible support, and in the face of this Diom. retreats (590–626). Tlepolemos fights Sarpedon and puts him out of action, but he himself is killed (628–98). The tide turns when Athena gives Diom. new courage and helps him to defeat Ares (793–906). The Achaean rally continues into *Z*. Hector is advised to go back to the city to organize a supplication to Athena (*Z* 73–118); this removes him from the field and avoids any further question of a confrontation between him and Diom. Finally (*Z* 119–236) Diom. encounters Glaukos and they are about to fight, but on discovering that they are *ξεῖνοι πατρώϊοι* they part in friendship.

This was not all composed in one sweep. The passages involving Sarpedon (471–96 and 627–98) are probably expansions (699–710 n.), as is the sortie of Hera and Athena from Olympus (711–92 + 907–*Z* 1: 711–909 n.). The episode in which Diom. wounds Aphrodite, with the following Olympian scene (330–431), seems not to have been part of P's original design, but he must have worked it in before completing *E*, as it is presupposed in later passages (458, 818–21); see 29–36, 123–33, 311–18 nn. Diom.'s victorious assault on Ares (793–906), likewise, does not spring organically from the agenda of the *ΔEZ* expansion, and it too may have been first conceived in the course of the rhapsody's composition. But it is not an overlay that can be lifted off to leave an earlier version. Cf. 454–61 n.

2. *μένος καὶ θάρσος*: *IEPM* 88.

3. *κλέος ἐσθλὸν*: *IEPM* 406; as usual, closely connected with deeds of battle, ibid. 401 f.

4–7. For the flame flaring from the supreme hero's head or armour cf. *Σ* 205–14 (there too with a simile attached); *IEPM* 456, 463.

5. *ἀστέρ᾽ ὀπωρινῶι*: Sirius, cf. *X* 26–31, where a deeper meaning is found in the comparison.

6. *λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο*: *IEPM* 212.

9. *ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης*: for this manner of beginning a story cf. *K* 314, *N* 663, *P* 575; *EFH* 360, *IEPM* 93 f.

***ἀφνειὸς*:** the domestic affluence of a doomed warrior or of his father is a recurrent motif, cf. 544, 613, 708, *Z* 14, 47, *N* 664, *Ξ* 491, *Π* 596, *P* 576.

10. *δύω δέ οἱ υἱέες ἦστην*: victims who are the sons of priests or seers, and pairs of brothers fighting together and often killed together, are both common motifs: Strasburger 25; Fenik 11, 24. Both have affective value. **(p.153)**

13. One man on foot faces two in a chariot, as in 159 f., 239 f., 608 f., *Λ* 101–4, 122–7.

15–19. A typical pattern: one warrior throws his spear at another without success, and the other kills him with his own throw. Fenik 11.

20–4. When one of two men in a chariot is killed, the other sometimes tries to flee, but is usually unsuccessful (580–7, *Λ* 145–7, *Y* 487–9). Idaios, however, is saved by divine intervention. Such rescues are normally reserved for major heroes whose immediate death would have flouted established tradition. Hephaestus (who will later fight on the Achaean side) acts out of sympathy for his priest. P likes to evoke the grief of fathers whose sons are killed, cf. *B* 831–4, *E* 149 f., 153–8, *N* 658, *X* 44–55, *Ω* 493–501.

25–6. Another typical motif: Fenik 12.

29–36. Ares has been driving the Trojans forward (*Δ* 439), and he will do so again at 454 ff. Meanwhile, to allow the Achaeans a run of successes, P sees fit to remove him from the fighting. His presence has not hitherto prevented the Achaeans from gaining the upper hand, and his removal to the river bank is evidently designed as preparation for the Aphrodite episode (355 ff.), which I have suggested above is a secondary insertion. In this case the same may be true of 27–36. P presumably thought that if Diom. was to come at Aphrodite, Ares needed to be off the scene. Athena's words to him suggest that their involvement in a war of mortals is more of a pastime than an obligation; cf. *A* 574 n. It is Zeus' privilege to decide the outcome, and he may be angry if they interfere with whatever his intention is. But this anxiety would be better founded after his ban on other gods' intervention in *Θ* 5–27, and the present passage may be secondary to that one (Reinhardt 127 f., 145). Athena herself remains out of the action in an unspecified location until Diom. invokes her at 115.

37. *Τρῶας δ᾽ ἔκλιναν Δαναοί*: as if the direct effect of Ares' removal.

38–83. ‘A series of uninterrupted, easy slayings by one side’ (Fenik 10); cf. *Z* 5–36, *H* 8–16, *Ξ* 511–22, *O* 328–42, *Π* 306–50. The victims are all fleeing (40, 46, 56, 65, 73 f., 80). In the sequence of victors Ag. takes first place (but cf. *Δ* 457–538 n.); he and Men. alternate with the two Cretan leaders, Idomeneus and Meriones, whom Ag. visited first in the Epipolesis (*Δ* 251). Then Meges perhaps as proxy for his neighbour Od., who has already appeared in the battle (*Δ* 494) and must wait a while for another turn (519). Then Eurypylos, who is reckoned among the *ἄριστοι* at *H* 167 = *Θ* 265 and will be prominent in *Λ*. These heroes complement those featured in *Δ* (Erhardt 59).

38. *πρῶτος δὲ*: *Δ* 457 n.

39. *ἀρχὸν Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδίον*: *B* 856. This is the only one of the victims in this series to be mentioned elsewhere in *Il*. The other five all have biographical annotations attached—as each one dies, a glimpse of a life. **(p.154)**

40. *στρεφθέντι*: men are often killed as they turn to flee, cf. Fenik 15.

43. *Φαῖστον*: the name probably suggested by Cretan association (*B* 648), but he is provided with a Lydian father and home town.

49. *Σκαμάνδριον αἴμονα θήρης*: for his skill at hunting that now availed him nothing (53 f.) cf. *B* 859 n.

53. *ἰοχέαιρα*: originally ‘arrow-handed’, *IEPM* 150.

55. *δουρικλειτὸς*: *IEPM* 460.

59–64. Phereklos was doubtless given by tradition as Paris’ shipbuilder, cf. Lyc. 97, Ov. *Her*. 16. 22, Apollod. epit. 3. 2 (probably from the *Cypria*); Kullmann 245. His father’s and grandfather’s names, Tekton and Harmon, mark his trade as hereditary, like those of the herald Periphas *Ἠπυτίδης* (*P* 323) and the singer Phemios *Τερπιάδης* (*χ* 330). Aristarchus, ever eager to discredit *οἱ νεώτεροι*, maintained that *τέκτονος* here was the common noun and that it was Phereklos’ father Harmonides who built the ships. 64 presumably refers to Phereklos’ present fate and confirms that he was the shipwright.

66–7. As the series proceeds P varies the details of the death-blows. Cf. Strasburger 64.

69. *Πήδαιον*: another unknown, but his parents are a distinguished couple (Antenor *Γ* 146–60 n.; Theano *Z* 298, *Λ* 224).

70. *νόθος*: *B* 727 n.

78. *ἀρητὴρ*: cf. 10 n.

81. *φασγάνωι*: it is abnormal that Eurypylos makes no initial use of a spear. The five previous victors have used only the spear, and P wanted variation.

84. Typical transition bringing us back to Diom.; see Fenik 19. First comes a general description of his fury, with a simile (85–94), then individual encounters.

85. *οὐκ ἂν γνοίης*: the hearer is invited to imagine himself as spectator; cf. *Δ* 223, 429, 539–44 n., *Ξ* 58. [Longinus] *π. ὕψ.* 26 comments on the technique.

87–92. For the charging warrior compared to a river in flood cf. *Λ* 492–6. Similes are often used when a warrior is just entering or re-entering the action or coming back into view after an interval; cf. 136–42, *Z* 506–11 = *O* 263–8, *H* 208–10, *Λ* 62 f., 297 f., *M* 299–306, *N* 298–303, *Y* 164–73, *X* 22 f.

91. *Διὸς ὄμβρος*: *IEPM* 169.

95. Diom. now suffers a temporary setback. He is invincible in hand-tohand combat, but vulnerable to an arrow. He will be wounded by Paris in *Λ* 369 ff.; here, Paris being off the field, he is wounded by the Trojans' other notable archer, Pandaros, who has already earned discredit by violating the truce and will presently pay the price. **(p.155)**

***τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε*:** a typical way of introducing a new turn in the action, esp. where a hero's run of successes is to be checked, cf. 166, 679 f., *Λ* 284, *Π* 419; Fenik 19.

***Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός*:** after *B* 826 f., and esp. after the pivotal episode in *Δ* 88 ff., the phrase suffices to identify Pandaros.

99. *ἔπτατο*: *IEPM* 485.

106. Diom. does not reply, as he does in similar circumstances at 286 and *Λ* 384.

114–33. The wound is too serious for Diom. to be able to carry straight on fighting, but P does not want to interrupt his aristeia. So he prays to Athena, specifically that he may catch Pandaros, and she not only restores him to full fitness but raises the game to a new level.

116. *εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ … παρέστης*: a variation on the motif 'if ever you helped me in the past', cf. *A* 453; *IEPM* 320. Diom.'s reference to his father anticipates 125 f. One of Tydeus' exploits was related in *Δ* 372–99 (n.).

120. *ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο*: *IEPM* 86 f.

122. *γυῖα δ' ἔθηκεν ἐλαφρά*: his wound is not healed (795–8), but he now gets the strength and energy to ignore it.

123–33. P takes the opportunity of Diom.'s prayer to introduce a private epiphany of Athena to the hero (cf. *A* 198 n.), in which, instead of responding to his address (effectively dealt with in 122), she prepares him in advance for the Aphrodite episode in 330–430. If that passage is a secondary insertion, so is this one (Fick 295, cf. 429; Erhardt 64).

127–8. A mortal's eyes opened so that he can see immortals: *EFH* 361.

129. *πειρώμενος*: P can hardly describe in anticipation the actual circumstances in which Aphrodite is to cross Diom.'s path. He has to make Athena speak here (and in 132) of gods coming on the offensive.

131. *Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη*: *Γ* 373–4 n. She will feature in the narrative in a double role, as mother of Aeneas and as the despised adversary of Hera and Athena (Reinhardt 125).

133. *ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*: we were not told where she was between 36 and 123. We may imagine that she remained somewhere on the battlefield waiting for P to reactivate her and that she now reverts to this situation. On the other hand deities who come in response to an invocation commonly go back to Olympus, and that is where Athena is when we next hear (418; 290 is uninformative).

136–43. Again a simile before the descent to detail. For the simile of the lion leaping into the sheepfold or cowpen see *EFH* 219, 246 f.; *IEPM* 495.

144–65. Diom. briskly slays four pairs of opponents, none of whom offers any resistance. They include at least three pairs of brothers (10 n.), the last pair being sons of Priam. None of them is mentioned elsewhere, **(p.156)** have homonyms, suggesting that they are stock names. In conception the passage resembles the more expansive *Λ* 91–147, where Ag. inaugurates his aristeia by slaying three pairs of opponents (including two pairs of brothers, one of them of sons of Priam).

145–6. For killing one of two opponents with the spear and the other with the sword cf. *Λ* 108 f., 143–6, *Y* 462. Cf. *Δ* 530–1 n.

148. *τοὺς μὲν ἔασ᾽*: similarly in other sequences of rapid slayings, as 847, *Λ* 148, 323, 426, *Y* 456; Fenik 24.

***Ἄβαντα … Πολύιδον*:** the names seem to be borrowed from a version of the Melampodid stemma. Cf. Robert 201; *HCW* 80.

149. Cf. 10 n.

158. *χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο*: ≈ Hes. *Th*. 606 f. The grief of the bereaved father over his slain sons is a typical Iliadic motif, but the observation that his property was shared out among more distant heirs is neither typical nor obvious. It may have come into P's head from Hes., in whose train of thought the idea arises more naturally. Cf. Hes. *Th*. 606–7 n.

160. *εἰν ἑνὶ δίφρωι ἑόντας*: 13 n.

161. *λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορὼν*: 136–43 n.

166. *τὸν δ᾽ ἴδεν*: 95 n.

***Αἰνείας*:** the first appearance of this major figure apart from his Catalogue entry (*B* 820). We might expect him simply to lead a rally against Diom., but instead P, in pursuit of his agenda (see *E* intro.), uses him to bring Pandaros into range.

168–9. After *Δ* 88 f.

173. *Λυκίηι*: *B* 827 n.

174. *Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχών*: *A* 450, *Γ* 350–4 nn. A prayer to Apollo would have been more appropriate for the archer, as in *Δ* 119, *Ψ* 872.

177. Dominant warrior suspected of being a god: *Z* 108, 128; *EFH* 361 (Egyptian).

185. *οὐχ ὅ γ᾽ ἄνευθε θεοῦ*: *EFH* 224.

***μαίνεται*:** *EFH* 213.

192–204. His attempt to shoot Diom. having failed, Pandaros considers the alternative of fighting as a regular spearman with chariot transport, and gives a lengthy explanation of why he lacks such transport. P devises all this in order to get him on Aeneas' chariot, which will suddenly materialize in 218 ff. (contrast 167). Such inconsistencies about the presence of a chariot occur several times (Erhardt 61 f.).

197–8. The motif of the father's injunctions to the son departing for Troy recurs at *Z* 207, *I* 252, *Λ* 765/782.

206–8. The mention of the earlier shot at Men. in *Δ* serves to remind us that Pandaros is a sinner; his end approaches. **(p.157)**

213. *ἄλοχόν τε*: thoughts of the wife (and child or children) at home regularly provide a pathetic foil to the hard life of the warrior, whose return will gladden her or his death grieve her. Cf. *B* 136–7, 700, *E* 412–15, 480, 688, etc.

218–38. Aeneas proposes that Pandaros be his charioteer and take him to attack Diom.; or the roles might be reversed (228). This latter option is irrational, as Aeneas is indisputably the better warrior, but Pandaros embraces it on the plausible ground that the horses will respond better to the master they know, and thus puts himself in position as Diom.'s antagonist.

This is one of several passages where a hero on the Trojan side seeks out another to join him in an attack: Fenik 24 f. In each case the Achaeans stand firm and the attack is unsuccessful.

222. *οἷοι Τρώϊοι ἵπποι*: for their pure Trojan pedigree see 265–72 (n.).

237. The line resumes 230 (ring composition) so that the antithesis can be completed by the climactic statement in 238.

239. No need for Aeneas to say he agrees, as Pandaros has accepted an option that he himself offered.

241–75. Dialogue about persons seen approaching, continuing up to the point of their arrival: *EFH* 361 (Hittite). By rejecting Sthenelos' counsel of prudent retreat Diom. shows his heroic mettle. Fenik 30 compares other passages (none closely similar) where a hero robustly refuses a proposal to withdraw from danger.

258. *εἴ γ' οὖν ἕτερός γε φύγησιν*: anticipating what eventuates, that only one of the pair will be killed.

265–72. These lines might more naturally have come after 223, where the horses' exceptional quality is alluded to without explanation; Aeneas certainly knew their pedigree, and it is less natural that Diom. does. P perhaps moved the lines here to give weight to Diom.'s emphatic instruction to Sthenelos to capture the horses if possible. They are duly captured (319–27), and Diom. will race with them in the funeral games for Patr. and win.

276–89. It is typical of combat scenes that the two warriors make boastful or defiant speeches at each other. Cf. 632 ff., *Z* 121 ff., *H* 225 ff., *Y* 176 ff., *Φ* 148 ff., *X* 248 ff.; Fenik 32; *EFH* 214–16, *IEPM* 476 f. Pandaros' claim in 284 f. recalls his earlier one in 103 f. and resembles Paris' in *Λ* 380 f.; there too Diom. replies scornfully, cf. Fenik 21.

281–2. For the spear going through the shield and reaching or penetrating the *θώρηξ* cf. *Γ* 357–60 (n.), *H* 250, *Λ* 434; for its 'flying', *IEPM* 485 n. 107.

287. *ἤμβροτες οὐδ' ἔτυχες*: positive reinforced by negated opposite, *A* 416 n.

290. *βέλος δ' ἴθυνεν Ἀθήνη*: ensuring that it hits its mark, and so giving Diom. what he prayed for in 118. **(p.158)**

297. Pandaros has been knocked out of the chariot; Aeneas jumps out to guard the body, leaving the vehicle and horses conveniently empty for capture. For the warrior protecting his killed or wounded comrade cf. Fenik 33.

302. *χερμάδιον*: Diom. has thrown his spear; if he were to attack Aeneas with his sword, any blow would likely be fatal, so P lets him use a rock. Other places where a hero is felled with a rock but then rescued are *Θ* 321–34 and *Ξ* 409–32; cf. also *H* 268–72.

304. *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ'*: *A* 272 n.

309–10. = *Λ* 355 f. Hero fainting from pain: *IEPM* 489.

311–18. As it was fixed tradition that Aeneas survived the war, a divine rescue is necessary (as again at *Y* 290 ff., where Poseidon saves him). 312 = *Γ* 374 (the rescue of Paris). For the typical unfulfilled condition cf. *A* 191 n.

Aphrodite is appropriate because she is Aeneas' mother (emphasized in 313; cf. *Studies* 191). However, it is Apollo who effectively performs the rescue (344 ff.), and it may be that he alone did it in the primary version and that P introduced Aphrodite secondarily to set up her wounding. Her use of her arms and peplos to protect her son is untypical by contrast with the cloud of invisibility that Apollo uses in 345 (cf. *Γ* 381, *E* 23; Fenik 39); 316 f. after 345 f.? It prepares for the wounding in 335–9. Cf. Reinhardt 132. Before the introduction of Aphrodite, 344–6 may have stood in place of 311–18, before Sthenelos' capture of Aeneas' horses (319–29). The narrative would then have continued from 432.

325. *δῶκε δὲ Δηϊπύλωι*: Sthenelos needs to stay with Diom., so this Deipylos, invented *ad hoc* and not heard of again, is brought in to look after the captured horses.

331–3. Diom. is given a motivation independent of Athena's instruction at 131 f.
335–43. The incident follows the pattern of passages where a man is struck while trying to strip or carry off a slain warrior: *Δ* 466–9 n.

338. A suspect line: *Studies* 191 f.

341. The gods' immortality results from their special diet: *IEPM* 157–60.

344. *Ἀπόλλωνι*: for his intermittent intervention on the Trojan side cf. *Δ* 507 n.

347–431. For the next 85 lines we follow Aphrodite, returning to Apollo and Aeneas at 432. This extraordinary episode, quite contrary to normal Greek conceptions of the power relationship between men and gods, is evidently a reflex of one in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (VI 1–91), where Gilgamesh insults Ishtar, the goddess of love, after she has tried to seduce him. She departs to heaven in

a fury and complains tearfully to her parents (cf. 370 n.). Her father is unsympathetic. Cf. *EFH* 361 f., where an Ugaritic parallel is also cited. **(p.159)**

353. Iris' sudden appearance on the scene seems to be so that the distraught goddess may have an attendant to support her and a chariot-driver to take her back to Olympus. For Iris acting on her own initiative cf. *Γ* 121 ff., *Ψ* 198 ff.

355. *μάχης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ*: Ares has been idling on the sidelines since 36, when Athena led him out of the battle. *μάχης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερά* or (in *M–N*) *νηῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερά* is a recurrent formula that P uses when he wants to distinguish different parts of the battle zone; there is no corresponding formula with *ἐπὶ δεξιά*. Here and in *Λ* 498 f. it is the side on which the Scamander flows, which must be the west side, i.e. the left from the Trojan point of view, or from P's if he is sitting on the citadel and imagining the battle on the plain below. But it is not clear whether this represents his consistent viewpoint, nor whether, whenever he uses the formula, he is visualizing the scene with a particular orientation.

356. *καὶ ταχέ᾽ ἵππω*: in previous references to Ares' presence at Troy (*Δ* 439, *E* 30–6) there was no mention of his having a chariot. Aphrodite and Iris will drive to Olympus in it; later Hera and Athena will drive down from Olympus in another (720 ff., and similarly in *Θ* 389–435); Zeus will drive one in *Θ* 41–50, and Poseidon in *N* 23–38. The motif of gods using wheeled vehicles or riding horses has both Semitic and IE parallels (*EFH* 112; *IEPM* 152–4). But it is used in *Il*. with remarkable inconsistency. (It does not appear in *Od*.) In many passages deities move easily and swiftly from heaven to earth and back again without needing any transport, cf. *A* 194, 221, 497, 532, *B* 167, 786, *Δ* 74–9, *E* 864–8, etc.

360. *ἀθανάτων ἔδος*: *IEPM* 123.

362. *καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο*: *IEPM* 484.

364–9. Chariot journey: *Γ* 259–66 n.

366. *πετέσθην*: *IEPM* 466 f.

369. *ἀμβρόσιον … εἶδαρ*: *IEPM* 157 f.

370. *Διώνης*: only here in Homer. Hesiod lists her among Olympians at *Th*. 17, but in 188 ff. gives an account of Aphrodite's birth that does not involve her. Zeus' consort at Dodona had this name. Cf. M. L. W., *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 121; *IEPM* 140, 192. As Dione's name is formed on the same root as Zeus' with a feminine suffix, the parallel is striking with Ishtar's parents in the *Gilgamesh* episode (347–431 n.), Anu (Sky) and Antu (Mrs Sky).

373. *Οὐρανιώνων*: *IEPM* 120. Dione does not imagine that a mortal could be responsible.

381. *δῖα θεάων*: *IEPM* 186, 193.

383–404. It is a standard technique of consolation to recall a series of comparable bad things that happened in the past to other people and were endured or overcome. Cf. *IEPM* 66. **(p.160)**

385–91. The story is not known from independent sources, but is too allusive to have been invented *ad hoc*. Cf. Gantz 170.

387. *χαλκέωι δ᾽ ἐν κεράμωι δέδετο*: *EFH* 362 f.

392–4. Acc. to sch^{D} the occasion was the battle for Pylos, when Hera was fighting on Neleus' side; cf. sch^{D} *Λ* 690. So too Panyassis fr. 26. But this is probably constructed from the present passage, where the reference to Pylos in 397 clearly belongs to Hades alone. Cf. Gantz 454 f.

395–7. For Heracles' assault on Pylos cf. *Λ* 690–3. Several sources refer to his fighting gods there: Ares, [Hes.] *Sc*. 359–67; Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades, Pind. *Ol*. 9. 29–35; Poseidon, Hera, and Hades, sch^{D} *Λ* 690. This may have been P's model for Diom.'s fighting against gods. Athena doubtless assisted Heracles as she is assisting Diom.

[398–402]. *Studies* 192.

412–15. Cf. 213 n.

418. *Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη*: *A* 194–5 n. For Athena's presence on Olympus cf. 133 n.

428. *οὔ τοι … δέδοται*: cf. *EFH* 107 f.

432. Diom. carries on from the point where we left him at 351; but this may originally have followed on from 329 (311–18 n.).

434. *οὐδὲ θεὸν μέγαν ἄζετο*: there need be no allusion to Athena's earlier advice not to fight gods (129–32), which belongs to what I take as the secondary layer of composition. Diom. is attacking Aeneas rather than Apollo (VdM 98 n. 29), and he backs down on being warned that he is overstepping the mark.

436–44. After *Π* 702–11 (n.). Triple attempts are typical, cf. *Z* 435 n., *Π* 784–6, *Y* 445–54; Fenik 46 f.

441. *φῦλον*: cf. *IEPM* 126.

442. *χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων*: *IEPM* 124 f.

445–8. On the motif cf. *Γ* 379–80 n. As in *Γ* 382 and *Y* 326–9, it is specified where the rescued hero is brought. P may originally have intended to leave Aeneas

there, safely and conveniently removed from the action for the rest of the episode. But there follow a series of indications of altered design and secondary composition: a suspect passage (449–53), a speech which presupposes Diom.'s attack on Aphrodite and starts the preparation for that on Ares (454–61 n.), another suspect passage (462–70), a section featuring Sarpedon (471–96), and quite soon Apollo restores Aeneas to the battlefield, as good as new (512–18). If there is a primary stratum underlying all this, an original continuation from 448, it might be seen in 461 + 497–505 + 519 ff. But this is quite uncertain.

449–53. In my edition I followed Leaf in condemning these lines as a rhapsode's interpolation; cf. *Studies* 193. The motif of a phantom substituted **(p.161)** for a real person who is in a different place does not occur otherwise before the sixth century (*λ* [602–4]; 'Hes.' frr. 23a. 21, 260; Stes. *PMGF* 192). Aeneas' phantom serves only to prevent anyone noticing his sudden disappearance, which is not treated as a problem in other divine rescue scenes in *Il*. (cf. 516 n.). The phantom is not mentioned in the following narrative, except that in 467–9 it is represented that Aeneas is still in need of being saved from the mêlée. But 462–70 is also a suspect passage. The two must be considered together, so see below.

454–61. Ares is now brought into focus, not just as the god who urges the Trojans on but as one who is to oppose Diom. He takes his cue from the urging of another god—Apollo, who has just been the subject of attention. This initiates the line of action that will lead to Diom.'s defeat of Ares in 793–906. The passage was composed after the Aphrodite episode, which is presupposed in 458.

455. Repeated from 31, despite the contrary tenor of the speech.

459. *ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος*: after 438.

462–70. Another suspicious passage. (i) The collective address to Priam's sons is inept, for they never operate as a group on the battlefield, and in 473–6 it is clear that Hector's brothers are nowhere to be seen in his vicinity. (ii) The rousing speech pre-empts the following one of Sarpedon to Hector. *ὤτρυνε* in 461 need not preface a speech, cf. *Δ* 254, *E* 563, *O* 695, *Ψ* 111. (iii) The exhortation to rescue Aeneas would seem to presuppose 449–53, lines that we have seen to be also suspect—I include 462 with the suspect passage, because it is only for the speech that Ares needs to adopt the identity of a particular Trojan ally (cf. *B* 791, *Δ* 86 ff., *E* 785, *N* 45 (~ 357), *Π* 716, *P* 73, 323, 583, *Y* 81). Note that it is the only line in Hom. where *Θρηικ-* cannot be scanned disyllabically.

In view of the link with 449–53 we must consider both passages together. They are otiose and unsatisfactory, and I am tempted to condemn them both. I hesitate because, as noted in 445–8 n., we are entering a stretch of narrative that P has reworked and augmented with new motifs. It would be an odd coincidence if just here a different poet had seen fit to make two interpolations

of five and eight lines. They do not actually break the continuity of the narrative, even if they do nothing to enhance it.

462. *Ἀκάμαντι*: *B* 844 n.

463. *διοτρεφέεσσι*: more appropriate to Priam himself, as in the next line; a good example of how an epithet may be transferred to a different noun as a formula is adapted.

465. *ἐς τί ἔτι κτείνεσθαι ἐάσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς*; cf. *EFH* 257 f.

467–9. See next n., and for Aeneas' being ranked equal with Hector, *Y* 240 n. **(p. 162)**

471–96. Sarpedon now makes his first appearance in the battle, and Hector his first since *Δ* 505. P brings them both into play at once by means of the rebuke motif, for which cf. Fenik 26, 49–52. Like Glaukos in *Π* 538 ff. and *P* 142 ff., Sarpedon accuses Hector of neglecting his allies and contrasts the fighting spirit of his Lycian force with that being shown by the Trojans themselves. Glaukos points to Sarpedon's death (*κεῖται Σαρπηδών*) just as Ares does to Aeneas' disablement in 467 (*κεῖται ἀνήρ*). Possibly 467–9 originally stood in Sarpedon's speech and were transposed by the poet of 463–6. It is also very possible, given the generally inorganic character of the Lycians' appearances in *EZH*, that 471–96 are an expansion (Giseke 234, cf. Hentze ii. 72; Bethe 275; above, pp. 64 f.).

478–81. The lines (cf. *B* 876 f.) serve to reintroduce Sarpedon to the hearer. His Lycian domain seems to be more to P than a place known merely in story, cf. *Π* 672–83 and *Z* 151 n.; p. 23.

480. Cf. 213 n.

482–4. The point resembles Ach.'s in *A* 152–7.

[487–9]. A rhetorical interpolation (*Studies* 12 n. 28). Cf. Leaf's and Kirk's nn. On the un-Homeric use of dual for plural in 487 see *Studies* 41 f.

493–4. A person receiving a rebuke or exhortation often responds by going into action without replying: Fenik 55 n. 45.

494–7. ≈ *Λ* 211–14, where it is explicit that Hector had been standing in his chariot (198); here it is unclear why he should be, but if *E* was composed after *Λ* it is a simple case of repeating a block of lines already formed. They appear again at *Z* 103–6 (n.).

497–511. General description with simile to start the new phase of battle: *Δ* 446–56 n. This, or at least 497–505, may have been the original continuation from 461.

504. *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον*: *EFH* 139 f.; *IEPM* 342.

506–7. Abnormal darkness on the battlefield: *EFH* 212 f., *IEPM* 480. Fenik 52–4 (after Schoeck 32–7) notes that it typically follows a rebuke to Hector and a Trojan rally. The present darkening is attributed to Ares because he is the one god currently active; ‘to help the Trojans’ is given as his motive, though it is not clear why it helps them more than the Achaeans. Nothing more is said of it.

508–11. Now Ares’ action is traced back to Apollo’s initiative, rather as Athena’s in *A* 194 is taken back to Hera’s. The reference to Apollo’s urging picks up 454 ff.; it belatedly occurs to P that Ares’ return from the sidelines where he was parked in 35 f. was the easier because Athena had long since left the scene (133 n.). The recapitulation of divine intentions resembles *Λ* 73–83, *N* 345–57, *O* 593–602 (Fenik 54 f.).

512–18. Aeneas is restored to the field. There was no need to make further **(p. 163)** use of him in the present battle, and P may originally have had no plan to do so, cf. 445–8 n.

516. *μετάλλησάν γε μὲν οὔ τι*: the gods’ part in Aeneas’ escape and recovery was, by epic convention, not apparent to people on the ground or understood by himself, so he would not have been able to explain it to enquirers. Cf. *Γ* 428 n., *Z* 326, 335 f., *Y* 321 n., *X* 276–7 n. The passage does not contribute anything to the question of the authenticity of 449–53.

518. *Ἔρις τ᾽ ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα*: after *Δ* 440.

519. The Achaean resistance has been described in general terms in 497 ff., but after the renewed emphasis on Ares’ encouragement of the Trojans and the return of Aeneas P comes back to it, now naming the leaders who boosted the Achaean morale. Major heroes who have been out of sight for several hundred lines now come back into view beside Diom.

***Αἴαντε δύω*:** *Δ* 273 n. Only Telamonian Ajax has been mentioned in the battle hitherto, and he not since *Δ* 491; nor Od. since *Δ* 501. Fenik 49 notes that Ajax regularly plays a role in the Achaean resistance when a rebuke to Hector or Aeneas has prompted a Trojan rally.

522–7. Again the general description is adorned with a simile. Related ones in *Δ* 275–82 (n.), *Π* 364–6.

528. *Ἀτρείδης*: last heard of at 38–41.

529. *ἀνέρες ἔστε*: cf. *EFH* 364.

531–2. A hortatory commonplace, cf. *Θ* 94 f., *O* 563 f., Tyrt. 11. 11–14.

533. *ἦ, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ θοῶς*: speech followed by spear-throw, Fenik 57.

534. *Αἰνείω ἕταρον*: a natural progression following Aeneas' recent prominence. Cf. *Δ* 491–2 n. Neither the man nor his father are mentioned elsewhere.

536. *μετὰ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι*: typical of the hero, *IEPM* 458 f.

541–60. These victims too are new names in *Il.*, but their father and grandfather appear as friends of Od.'s house in *γ* 488 f., *ϕ* 16. The twin brothers are treated to an ample obituary that includes a genealogy of some distinction and (unusually *post mortem*) a highly honorific lion simile. Their fall grieves Men., and the recovery of their bodies is registered (573 f.).

543. *Φήρηι*: cf. *B* 559–624 n. It is nowhere near the Alpheios.

544. *ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο*: 9 n.

554–8. For the simile cf. 136–43 n.; Fenik 58.

560. *καππεσέτην ἐλάτηισιν ἐοικότες*: *Δ* 482 n.

561. *τὼ δὲ πεσόντ᾽ ἐλέησεν*: narrative continuity is typically maintained by portraying one incident as following from someone's reaction to the previous one. This particular formula is uncommon, but recurs at 610, *P* 346, 352. **(p. 164)**

563. *τοῦ δ᾽ ὤτρυνεν μένος Ἄρης*: an unexpected move on the part of this generally unreflective deity, who is otherwise encouraging the Trojans. His motive is explained in the next line. A fight between Aeneas and Men. would have been exciting but problematic, as neither could be killed, but it is averted by Antilochos' joining Men.

565. *τὸν δ᾽ ἴδεν*: 95 n.

***Ἀντίλοχος*:** previously heard of at *Δ* 457, where he was introduced without being identified as Nestor's son.

576. *Πυλαιμένεα*: *B* 851 n.

580. *Μύδωνα βάλ᾽ ἡνίοχον θεράποντα*: a warrior's charioteer is often killed after him, cf. Fenik 60 f.; *IEPM* 485.

582. *χερμαδίωι*: perhaps for variety, Men. having used his spear, cf. 81 n.

586. *κύμβαχος*: originally an Asiatic loan-word (*EFH* 13) denoting a kind of helmet or its crown, and used with this sense at *O* 536. The sense here, 'toppled headlong', must derive from misinterpretation of the word in an ambiguous

context (Leumann 231–3). This could be an argument (though not a conclusive one) for the present passage being the work of a different poet.

587–8. Other individual descriptions of charioteers falling from their vehicles at *Z* 42 f., *Π* 742 f. This one verges on the comic.

590. *τοὺς δ᾽ Ἕκτωρ ἐνόησε*: 95 n. again. Hector's intervention, supported by Ares, signals a phase of Trojan supremacy that lasts till 710.

592. *ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν Ἄρης*: for gods leading armies in battle cf. *EFH* 209 f.

***Ἐννώ*:** a variation on the Eris of 518. She is mentioned otherwise only at 333.

596. Hector's charge is directed towards Men. and Antilochos, but P widens the focus to the Achaeans generally, with Diom. as their outstanding representative. He avoids a direct confrontation between Diom. and Hector, which could lead to no conclusive outcome, by making Diom. withdraw in recognition of the divine support that Hector is enjoying. The two will clash briefly at *Λ* 345 ff.

597–9. A variation on the 'hero = raging river' simile (87–92 n.).

601–6. The belief that a god is assisting the other side provides justification for retreat: cf. *Θ* 139 ff., *Ξ* 69 ff., *Π* 119 ff., *P* 98 ff.; *EFH* 131.

604. Omitted by two papyri and perhaps interpolated. If 123–33 was composed before this passage, Diom. is in condition to recognize gods, but normally a mortal would only be able to say (as in 185 f.) 'some god is helping him', and this is the perception expressed in 603 (= *Y* 98). Although Ares is wielding his spear in 594, it is not clear whether he is really to be understood as having taken a visible human form; cf. [463–70] n. **(p.165)**

608–9. Cf. 13 n. Menesthes and Anchialos are unknowns.

610. After 561. It is high time we saw Ajax in action, cf. 519 n.

612–14. Cf. 39 n. This Amphios from 'Paisos' recalls the Amphios of *B* 830, leader of men from towns that included 'Apaisos', but the fathers' names are different. Either P had that Amphios in mind and misremembered the details, or in inventing a new minor figure he was influenced by unconscious association.

Reference to former place of domicile is a typical element in such little biographical annotations; cf. 44, 708, *Z* 13, 34 f., *H* 9, *Λ* 222, 673, *N* 172, 363, *P* 307 f.

613. *πολυκτήμων πολυλήϊος*: 9 n.; on the anaphora of *πολυ-*, *IEPM* 110.

618–26. The motif of Ajax being forced to retreat under a hail of spears is primary in *Λ* 544 ff.

625–6. After *Δ* 534 f.

627–98. This encounter between the Rhodian Tlepolemos (*B* 653–70) and the Lycian Sarpedon has long been suspected of deriving from a local saga unconnected with Troy (C. Robert, *Bild und Lied* [Berlin 1881], 118 n. 52; Mülder 98; Wil. 281 f.; Kullmann 106 f. with refs.). It is Tlepolemos' first and last appearance in the action. P placed it here because, while the Trojans were doing well, it was necessary for Sarpedon to show himself in an active role; hitherto he has only spurred Hector on. After this episode the Achaeans are to have the upper hand until Hector goes in to the city, and Sarpedon is better out of the way; the disabling of a major hero (as of Ag., Diom., and Od. in *Λ*) is part of the mechanism of defeat. So although he kills Tlepolemos, he is himself badly wounded in the process and has to be carried off. He plays no further part in the action until *M* (290 ff.). In the original Rhodian–Lycian saga (if there was one) we should suppose that he won the fight without suffering the shattered hip, and in *M* it is ignored. P makes no arrangements for the repatriation of Tlepolemos' body, as he will later for Sarpedon's, which perhaps suggests that he did not know of a tomb on Rhodes.

The section is likely to be a secondary expansion, cf. 699–710 n.

628. ≈ *B* 653.

629. *ὦρσεν … Μοῖρα κραταιή*: the phrase heralds his defeat.

631. After *B* 666. This observation of the two heroes' common descent from Zeus heightens the drama. It provides the subject matter for Tlepolemos' contribution to the typical pair of confrontational speeches (276–89 n.). On these cf. Fenik 66 f.

639. *θυμολέοντα*: *EFH* 247.

640–2. Of all Heracles' exploits Tlepolemos picks out the one most relevant **(p. 166)** to the present setting. The story is alluded to also at *Ξ* 250 f., *O* 25, *Y* 145–8, 'Hes.' fr. 43a. 61–4.

646. *πύλας Ἀΐδαο*: *EFH* 156–8, *IEPM* 391.

654. *Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλωι*: *IEPM* 393.

661. *αἰχμὴ … μαιμώωσα*: *EFH* 371, *IEPM* 462.

662. *ἔτι*: looking forward to *Π*, where Zeus reluctantly allows Sarpedon to be killed. Cf. *B* 419–20 n.

667. The motif of distraction by the surrounding press of battle after 517 f.

669–79. Od. sees the removal of Sarpedon as an opportunity, and has a burst of successes against Lycians that briefly reverses the trend of the battle, which is generally going in the Trojans' favour (607–26, continued in 699–710).

670. *μαίμησε*: the rare word was in P's head from 661.

676. Cf. *A* 194–5 n. As usual, the second of the stated alternatives is adopted.

677–8. Such summary lists of men slain typically contain between six and nine names; cf. 705 ff., *Θ* 274 ff., *Λ* 301 ff., *Π* 415 ff., 694 ff., *Φ* 209 f.; similarly in other contexts, as *M* 139 f., *N* 91 ff., 790 ff., *Ξ* 425 f. (five men), *O* 301 f. (five), *P* 216–18 (ten), *T* 238 ff., *Ω* 249 ff.

***Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε*:** after *Δ* 295, where these are the names of Pylians; cf. 695 n. 'Hes.' fr. 33a. 9–12 uses the names for two of the eleven sons of Neleus who were killed by Heracles.

679–89. The lists of the slain described in the previous note generally conclude a section and are followed by a counter-attack, typically introduced as here by *καί νύ κε … εἰ μὴ…: Λ* 310, *Π* 698, *Φ* 211. Hector's intervention ends Od.'s killing spree and heralds the restoration of the Trojan supremacy (699 ff.). Sarpedon's speech to him serves to smooth the transition from the Tlepolemos episode back to the main narrative. He thinks he is dying, and like heroes who are (*Π* 497–500, *X* 338–43) he pleads for the protection of his body from maltreatment.

688. Cf. 213 n.

689. *τὸν δ᾽ οὔ τι προσέφη*: cf. 493–4 n.

691. *πολέων δ᾽ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο*: after 673.

693. *Διὸς περικαλλέϊ φηγῶι*: this big tree is a regular landmark, cf. *H* 22, 60, *Φ* 549; near the Scaean Gates, *I* 354, *Λ* 170.

695. *Πελάγων*: this name too is from *Δ* 295.

699–710. Hector with Ares' support maintains the Trojan advance begun in 607–26. We revert to the situation as it was there: the Achaeans are resisting stoutly but being gradually pressed back. Od.'s pursuit of Lycians and Hector's diversion (679 ff.) are ignored (Erhardt 69 f., cf. Fenik 71). This **(p.167)** suggests that the Tlepolemos episode may be an overlay, as may be the case with all the passages in *EZH* involving Sarpedon or Glaukos (Giseke 234–6).

703. *τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ᾽ ὕστατον*: for the question technique cf. *A* 8 n. It is used esp. in contexts such as the present, as in *Θ* 273, *Λ* 219, 299 (=*E* 703), *Ξ* 509, *Π* 692 (≈ *E* 703).

705–10. As in 677 f., a string of names not otherwise mentioned; cf. Fenik 68 f. The last one is embellished with a little biographical information.

708. *μέγα πλούτοιο μεμηλώς*: 9 n.

711–909. Hera and Athena (*A* 194–5 n.) weigh in on the Achaeans' side, tilting the advantage their way and through the agency of Diom. driving Ares off the field. This baroque episode, narrated in a broad, rich style, forms the climax to the series of supernatural extravagances that have characterized this rhapsody. Subsequently the battle proceeds without further divine interference until *H* 17.

Hera's and Athena's dialogue and descent from Olympus by chariot (356 n.) are closely related to the similar episode in *Θ* 350–437. We are clearly not dealing with a formulaic scene but with a poet re-using and adapting a motif he has created once in another context. As the *ΔEZ* expansion as a whole is earlier than the *Θ* expansion, we might expect the present episode to be the original and that in *Θ* the adaptation, but Reinhardt 142–9 and 191 (following Haupt in Lachmann 107–9) argues convincingly for the contrary; cf. 713–18, 734, 753–4, 776 nn. In *Θ* Zeus has gone to Ida and in his absence the two goddesses plan a sortie in defiance of his known wishes; he sees them at it, sends Iris, and intimidates them into aborting it. The episode serves to demonstrate his control of the situation once he has started to implement his plan: his ban on other gods' interference (*Θ* 7 ff.) is tested and shown to be effective. In *E* there is no such point. Zeus is nearby on Olympus, and Hera actually obtains his permission for their venture (though only after they have already set forth). It goes forward, and the goddesses arrive in the Troad. Hera, however, is not an appropriate presence on the battlefield (in *Θ* this does not matter because she never gets that far), and she does nothing beyond uttering a mighty cry of exhortation (784 ff.). Athena joins Diom. and helps him attack Ares, but she has visited him before and could have done so now without the elaborate preparatory arming and chariot journey.

The episode must accordingly be regarded as a secondary expansion made after the composition of *Θ*. As Haupt (l.c.) saw, the insertion must consist of 711–92 and 907–*Z* 1; cf. 792 n.

713–18. The new enterprise is launched as usual by a proposal. It is however stated in rather vague terms in 718, whereas in *Θ* 374–80 Athena sets out a more specific scheme of action corresponding to what is actually done, and it is Hera who assents to it. **(p.168)**

715. *ὑπέστημεν Μενελάωι*: perhaps in some poem about the beginning of the war these two losers in the Judgment of Paris appeared to Men. (possibly in a dream) and made him this promise. Cf. Robert 566, Wil. 300, Kullmann 240.

717. *μαίνεσθαι*: cf. 185 n. But in what follows, Ares' 'madness' is treated not just as the warrior's standard frenzy but as foolishness: 759, 761, 831.

719–21. = *Θ* 381–3.

720–77. Chariot journey: *Γ* 259–66 n.

722. *Ἥβη*: a daughter of Hera and sister of Ares, whom she will bathe at 905. Otherwise she appears in *Il*. only at *Δ* 2, serving nectar to the assembled Olympians. P has her present here as an assistant so that he can append a description of the chariot, expanding on the *Θ* model (Reinhardt 148).

724–31. For the gold and silver chariot parts and equipage cf. *EFH* 112, *IEPM* 153 f.; more generally *B* 448 n.

733–7. = *Θ* 384–8.

734. *πατρὸς ἐπ᾽ οὔδει*: in 418–25 Athena is in Zeus' presence on Olympus; as it is in his house that the gods assemble (*A* 533, *Δ* 1 f.), it could be inferred that that is where she was and still is. In the parallel scene in *Θ*, however, it is explicit that she goes into Zeus' house to change.

736–47. Arming scene, *Γ* 328–39 n.

745–52. = *Θ* 389–96.

745. *ὄχεα φλόγεα*: cf. *EFH* 363.

749. *πύλαι … οὐρανοῦ*: *EFH* 141 f. They consist of thick cloud, 751. The mention of them has more point in *Θ* 393 (n.).

753–4. After *A* 498 f. But it is odd that the goddesses should come to this highest peak of Olympus after passing (downward, presumably) through the gates of heaven; odd too that Hera should so belatedly seek Zeus' permission after having made her own decision with Athena and started to carry it out. In 418–30 Zeus was among the other gods, as he will be again in 869 ff. (Erhardt 71). Perhaps the encounter with Zeus is a secondary insertion and 752 was earlier followed directly by 773. The idea of seeking Zeus' approval may have been prompted by the contrary situation in *Θ*, where the sortie was against his will. That episode is altogether better conceived: there Zeus is sitting on Ida, sees the two goddesses driving down through the heavenly gates, and sends Iris to stop them.

756. *ὕπατον*: *EFH* 114.

762–6. Hera proposes to hit Ares herself and drive him out of the battle. (762 after 421.) Zeus in a remarkably laconic reply tells her to set Athena on him. This comes closer to what will actually happen, but Athena will fight Ares only

indirectly: it will be Diom.'s spear, lent extra force by her, that will wound him. Zeus seems to have forgotten his plan to glorify Ach. The **(p.169)** Trojans have achieved supremacy, and to implement the plan P has only to continue his account of their advance to the point where the Achaeans have to turn to Ach. But his present objective is to show Diom. worsting Ares, and he postpones the situation which drives the Achaeans to send the embassy to Ach.

770–2. For the immense leaps of the divine steeds cf. *EFH* 113 with n. 37.

774. *ἦχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἠδὲ Σκάμανδρος*: this is the only place in *Il*. where the two streams are said to join; cf. Strabo 13. 1. 34 after Demetrius of Scepsis. It is possible that they have done so at some time in the past, but in relation to the rest of the narrative their confluence is highly problematic. It would mean that it was impossible to reach Troy from the ships without crossing one of the rivers (unless one of them was dried up, as happens to the Simoeis in the summer), but no one is represented as doing so at any point. The route to and from the city does approach a ford over the Scamander (*Ξ* 433, *Φ* 1, *Ω* 350 f., 692), but it does not appear that it has to be crossed; this is in accord with the present course of the river, which flows down west of the plain. In *Θ* 560 the Trojan campfires cover the plain between the Scamander and the ships; cf. *Π* 396 f. In *Z* 4 (n.) the battle area is located between the two rivers, which is incompatible with their meeting unless in the course of *Δ*–*E* the Achaeans have all tacitly crossed one of them or the dry bed of the Simoeis. Possible solutions to the dilemma: (1) *συμβάλλετον* is being used loosely, Troy being located from the gods' perspective as where the Scamander and Simoeis 'come together' from their separate valleys; cf. *Ω* 346, where Hermes comes 'to Troy and the Hellespont'. (2) The line is an interpolation by a rhapsode who lacked local knowledge and thought to make the reference to the 'two rivers' more explicit. (3) It was composed by P at a time before he had become familiar with the landscape. This is not an easy hypothesis, as the narrative goes straight on from here to *Z* 4.

776. *περὶ δ᾽ ἠέρα πουλὺν ἔχευεν*: perhaps after *Θ* 50 (Reinhardt 157 f.).

777. *ἀμβροσίην*: cf. 369 n.

784. *ἔνθα στᾶσ᾽ ἤϋσε θεὰ*: = *Λ* 10.

785–6. As usual (463–70 n.) the deity assumes human guise in order to make utterance. She takes the huge-voiced Stentor's identity so that her words will carry across the whole Achaean front. There may be some association with the idea of the mighty heroic war-cry that terrifies the enemy (*Λ* 10, *Σ* 217 nn.), but that is not the point here.

Stentor is not mentioned elsewhere, but he appeared in some ancient plus-lines added after *B* 609, making him an Arcadian. Another story (sch^{AbT}), modelled on the Thamyris legend, was that he was a Thracian who came to grief after challenging Hermes (god of heralds) *περὶ μεγαλοφωνίας*. **(p.170)**

***ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα*:** hyperbolic, but far outdone by Ares' shriek of pain at 860 f. (=*Ξ* 148 f., of Poseidon).

788–90. A similar statement is made in *I* 352–5, cf. *N* 101–6, *O* 722 f., *Π* 70 f., *Σ* 287, *Y* 28. In *A* 125, 163–8, *I* 328–33 Ach. speaks as if their previous fighting in the Troad has consisted largely or wholly in reducing outlying towns and forts; cf. *B* 228. The narrative of the *Cypria* seems to have been in accord with this: after the initial battle when the Achaeans landed, the Trojans were penned in the city, and the Achaeans roamed the country destroying the surrounding settlements.

789. *πυλάων Δαρδανιάων*: also mentioned at *X* 194, 413; presumably different from the Scaean Gates (*Γ* 145 n.), and oriented towards the Dardanian uplands in the south-west. Cf. B. Mannsperger, *Studia Troica* 3 (1993), 193–9. We should like to know how deeply rooted these names were in the epic tradition about the Trojan War and at what period they were in local use.

791. = *N* 107, where 'at the ships' is apter than here (cf. 700).

792. After this brief harangue Hera disappears from view until at 907 she and Athena return to Olympus. This is natural if 711–92 and 907–*Z* 1 are an overlay (cf. 711–909 n.), because 793–906 take up from 710 the thread of the earlier text in which Hera played no part. In that version Athena in 793 was making a new solo visitation to Diom. as in 123–33.

794–5. In 596–607 Diom. was fighting beside his men and retreating before Hector, and in 781 his situation seemed to be the same. Now he is found pausing by his chariot (as if contemplating departure), troubled by the pain of his earlier wound. While Athena converses with him the bystanders are forgotten, cf. *A* 198 n.

799. She addresses him in her own person, as she has done before (123); he is going to recognize her anyway (815).

800–8. She rebukes him on similar lines to those used by Ag. in *Δ*. Cf. *Δ* 372–99, 385, 389–90 nn.

812–13. The final sentence of the speech picks up the first. Cf. Lohmann 14 f.

817–18. He negates the explanation she has suggested before giving the true one; cf. *A* 65–7 n.

818–21. ~ 129–32. 820 f. = 131 f. are possibly interpolated, *Studies* 195. But the Aphrodite episode is in any case presupposed.

832–3. An *ad hoc* invention (cf. *Θ* 229–34 n.), echoed later at *Φ* 413 f. (Erhardt 74, cf. VdM 104). But the charge of Ares' inconsistency reflects the observed changeability of fortunes in war.

837–9. Deity serving as hero's charioteer: *IEPM* 483.

***μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων | βριθοσύνηι*:** for the weight of a deity in a vehicle cf. *IEPM* 133, adding [Hes.] *Sc*. 441 *βρισάρματος … Ἄρης*. **(p.171)**

841. After 829.

842. Only here does a god personally kill a mortal in battle.

843. *Αἰτωλῶν ὄχ' ἄριστον*: this label properly belongs to Thoas (*O* 282). Men slain are often called the best of their people, cf. *Z* 7, *Λ* 328, *P* 80, 307, *Φ* 207.

845. *Ἄϊδος κυνέην*: Gantz 71. It is strange that Athena resorts to this device instead of the usual cloud or mist to make herself invisible; it is not explained how she suddenly came to have it to hand, and she was already well helmeted (743 f.).

***μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης*:** Ares, however, is well aware that she is behind Diom.'s attack (881–4).

860–3. Cf. 785–6 nn. Ares' cry of pain seems secondary to Poseidon's war-cry in *Ξ* 147–51, where the purpose better matches the 'nine or ten thousand men clashing in battle' (Reinhardt 283 f.).

864–7. Cf. *A* 47 n.

868. After 367.

872. After 757, or perhaps *vice versa* if 753–72 was a later insertion.

875–6. *ἄφρονα κούρην … ἣι τ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμηλεν*: Ares criticizes Athena in terms similar to those in which Hera criticizes him in 761. His claim in 877–9 that she is the only one of the gods who disobeys Zeus is not true.

883–4. Re-used from 458 f.

888–99. Zeus cannot agree to censure his daughter, but he must restore Ares' dignity. He castigates him as the truly obstreperous one but refrains from punishing him, on the ground that he is his own offspring, and tells Paieon to heal his wound.

890–1. ≈ *A* 176 f. (Ag. to Ach.).

892–3. The motif of Zeus' quarrelsome relationship with Hera was established in *A* 518 ff.; cf. *Δ* 5 ff. It is amusing to see him blame Ares' disposition on his mother's influence. Yet even if 753–72 do not yet exist, Zeus knows full well that Hera supports the Achaeans and will not have instigated Ares' activity on behalf of the Trojans.

897. *ἀΐδηλος*: after 880.

898. *ἐνέρτερος Οὐρανιώνων*: evidently a fate like that threatened in *Θ* 13–16. If *Οὐρανίωνες* has its normal sense, the meaning is 'on a lower level than the heavenly gods', i.e. down with the Titans (cf. *Θ* 478–81, *Ξ* 203 f., 274–9, *O* 225). Alternatively the *Οὐρανίωνες* are here the Titans themselves, the sons of Ouranos, and Zeus is saying that Ares would have been cast even deeper than they.

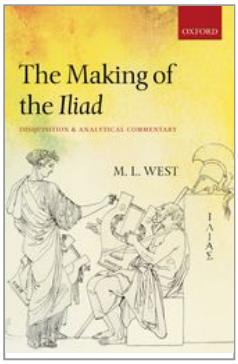
900. After 401.

905. *Ἥβη*: 722 n. **(p.172)**

906. *πὰρ δὲ Διὶ Κρονίωνι καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων*: like Briareos in *A* 405.

907–9. The goddesses' return to Olympus is dealt with very perfunctorily, without mention of the chariot and horses that they parked in 775 f. (Haupt ap. Lachmann 108). The lines, with *Z* 1, belong with the expansion 711–92.

908. Cf. *Δ* 8 n.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Z

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1. ≈ *E* 379. The line belongs with the preceding paragraph (*E* 907–9) and is unintelligible without it. This underlines the artificiality of the rhapsody-divisions.

2–4. These vague lines, which have a makeshift appearance, serve as a transition from a phase of Trojan to one of Achaean advantage; cf. Fenik 19. There is a general preconception in *Il*. that the Achaean (*sc*. Greek) forces are intrinsically superior to the Trojans. Now that the gods have been removed from the scene, this natural superiority will show (Wil. 302).

4. *μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων*: cf. *E* 774 n.

5–65. A passage of the same type as *Δ* 457–504, *E* 38–83 (n.), where the general situation of Achaean dominance is represented through a series of victories by individual heroes. Diom. is not immediately picked up from where he was left at *E* 859/866: Ajax, last seen at *E* 626, is put before him. Then comes Diom., then Diom.'s comrade Euryalos (*B* 565), then in 29–36 a cluster of seven warriors ranging in stature from Ag. to the misty Lapith Polypoites. The sequence climaxes in a longer section about Men.'s capture of Adrestos and the latter's supplication for mercy.

5. *πρῶτος*: *Δ* 457 n.

6. *φόως δ' ἑτάροισιν ἔθηκεν*: *EFH* 253, *IEPM* 482.

7. *ἄριστος ἐνὶ Θρήικεσσι*: cf. *E* 843 n.

8. *Ἀκάμαντ'*: *B* 844, *E* 462. His father's name is given only here.

9–11. Repeated from the first kill in the poem, *Δ* 459–61.

12. *Ἄξυλον*: only here, with biography (*E* 39 n.). The emphasis from here on is thrown on the killed rather than the killers, cf. *Δ* 517 n.

14. *ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο*: cf. *E* 9 n.

16. His estimable philanthropy does not save him now; cf. *B* 859 n.

18–19. His charioteer killed with him: *E* 580 n.**20–36**. Eleven further obscure victims, including at 21–6 a pair of twin brothers (*E* 10 n.) with an interesting background.

21–2. *Πήδασον … | … Βουκολίωνι*: the names probably coined by association on the one hand with the town Pedasos on the Satnioeis (34 f.), on the other with *Ξ* 443–5 *Σάτνιον … ὃν ἄρα νύμφη τέκε νηΐς ἀμύμων Ἥνοπι βουκολέοντι παρ᾽ ὄχθας Σατνιόεντος* (Robert 489 f.).

23–4. ‘His being Laomedon’s eldest son does little to make him more **(p.174)** credible. Illegitimacy conveniently removes him from the normal genealogy of the race of Dardanos’ (Kirk).

31. *Τεῦκρος*: his first appearance in the poem by name, but see *Δ* 273 n. Not until *Θ* 281/330 is he identified as Ajax’s brother.

35. *Λήϊτος*: *B* 494; later only at *N* 91 and *P* 601.

37. *Ἄδρηστον*: another unknown, not the Percosian Adrestos of *B* 830, who is killed at *Λ* 333. Patr. kills another of the same name at *Π* 694.

38–41. Broken chariot-pole, bolting horses: *IEPM* 485 f.

45–65. Ach. is represented as having in former battles taken captives alive and ransomed or sold them (*Λ* 104–6, *Φ* 35–41, 100–2, *Ω* 751–3). But within *Il*. no one is spared. It is a recurrent motif that a Trojan pleads for his life but is slain nonetheless: *K* 377 ff., *Λ* 130 ff., *Y* 463 ff., *Φ* 71 ff.; Fenik 83, 197. These episodes illustrate the ferocity of the Achaean blood-lust. In the present case the drama is heightened, as Men. is disposed to accept Adrestos’ plea but Ag. hurriedly intervenes and persuades him otherwise. Cf. *EFH* 216 f.

46–50. ≈ *Λ* 131–5, where the identity of the suppliant provides a better justification for his merciless killing (Naber 158).

47. *ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς*: cf. again *E* 9 n. In the parallel line *Λ* 132 the father is named, and Wil. 185 n. 3 infers that this passage is copied from that one with the necessary substitution of *ἀφνειοῦ πατρός* for *Ἀντιμάχοιο δόμοις*.

58–9. *μηδ᾽ ὅν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ | κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ᾽ ὃς φύγοι*: *EFH* 217.

66–72. The camera pans back again. The situation is evoked not by the usual general description but indirectly by an admonition appropriate to it. Nestor voices it in his role as the wise tactician. P has made an opportunity to remind us of the presence of this major figure, who cannot achieve much as a warrior. Fenik 49 notes that a parainesis often marks a pause or break in the action.

73–118. Here begin the preparations for a Trojan recovery. P is conscious that after a long expansion in which the Achaeans have had the best of it he must start working back towards what is to come in *Λ*, their worsting. With this in view he needs to bring Paris back to the battlefield. That is his primary purpose in sending Hector in to the city (Jacob 211). But he cannot make Hector feel the want of Paris so keenly that he leaves the field to fetch him. Another mechanism is found: the seer's advice that a dedication should be made in Athena's shrine on the acropolis. Helenos addresses his advice to Aeneas and Hector as the leaders in charge, and he directs Hector to take the message into Troy, paradoxical as it might seem that the best warrior should be picked upon to leave the field in mid battle.

The dedication and prayers to Athena turn out to be futile. But Hector **(p.175)** finds Paris and brings him back to fight. Their return at the beginning of *H* immediately brings signs of military recovery. But then the crucial battle is postponed again, this time for three days, by further expansions, breaking the link between Paris' return and his feats of archery in *Λ*.

73–5. *ἔνθά κεν … | εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽*: cf. *A* 191 n.; Fenik 175 f.

***Ἴλιον εἰσανέβησαν*:** there is a suggestion here that the fighting is now getting close to the city walls. Cf. 80, 256, 327.

76. Helenos is suitably introduced on his first appearance, in a verse formally similar to *A* 69. He plays an incidental role in *Il*.; in the *Cypria* he foretold the consequences of the abduction of Helen, and in the *Little Iliad* his capture by Od. enabled the Achaeans to learn of the essential steps they had to take in order to win the war (fetching Philoctetes and Heracles' bow from Lemnos, and seizing the Palladion).

77–82. The tactical advice, while not particularly appropriate in the seer's mouth, is the necessary preliminary to Hector's religious mission.

78. *Τρώων καὶ Λυκίων*: *Δ* 197 n.

88. *νηὸν Ἀθηναίης*: this shrine, mentioned in *Il*. only in the present episode, housed the Palladion which Od. and Diom. stole in the *Little Iliad*, and it was where the Locrian Ajax committed his offence by dragging Cassandra from

sanctuary. It was an actual feature of archaic and classical Ilios; cf. Hdt.7. 43. 2, Xen. *Hell*. 1. 1. 4, Timaeus 566 F 146.

92. *Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν*: this suggests a life-size (or larger) seated statue, something much bigger than the portable Palladion.

95. *Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα*: an emotive element in the appeal.

96. *Τυδέος υἱὸν*: Diom. is still seen as the great threat; cf. *E* intro.

99. *οὐδ᾽ Ἀχιλῆά ποθ᾽ ὧδέ γ᾽ ἐδείδιμεν*: for their fear of Ach. while he was active cf. *E* 788–90 n.

102. Hector acts on the advice without replying; cf. *E* 493–4 n.

103–6. See *E* 494–7 n. Here Hector's being in his chariot may perhaps be understood on the supposition that he had been preparing to flee, cf. 73 f.

108–9. For the motif cf. *E* 177 n.

110–15. Hector has performed the first part of what Helenos told him to do, rally the troops, without a speech being reported. Before he proceeds to the second part, however, P feels that he must explain to the men why he is leaving them, and this involves further exhortation to fight boldly.

112. *μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*: cf. *EFH* 228, *IEPM* 477.

113–14. The people in the city consist of the old men and the women and children. In *Γ* both the old men (Priam's entourage, *ἀγορηταὶ ἐσθλοί*) and the women were present on the wall, and P referred to one or other group according to context (*Γ* 146–60 n.). Here Hector mentions both, although **(p.176)** Helenos had said nothing of the old men and they are not mentioned in the sequel.

115. Here too Hector's account of his mission is curiously imprecise when compared with his instructions and with what will actually be done. Instead of Athena he refers loosely to *δαίμονες*, 'the gods who govern our fate'. And the *ἑκατόμβαι* are an inaccurate equivalent of the twelve beasts specified in 93 (~ 274, 308), even granted that the word had come to mean no more than 'multiple offering of oxen'.

119–236. Glaukos and Diom. prepare to do battle, but the typical exchange of speeches (*E* 276–89 n.) leads to their making a friendship pact instead. The encounter is a self-contained episode which P places here to fill the time taken by Hector to reach the city; for the interlacing technique cf. *A* 306–487 n. Glaukos is the one major hero on the Trojan side who has not yet faced Diom.; see *E* intro. This is his first appearance apart from his mention in the Catalogue. He cannot be killed (*B* 876–7 n.), but because of what comes to light in the

dialogue he survives the meeting unscathed without needing to be rescued by a deity. Diom. for his part softens from implacable warrior to civilized nobleman, and although he continues in *Θ* to be treated as the most dangerous man on the field, this episode may be regarded as concluding his aristeia (‘une conclusion originale et piquante’, Mazon 164). Cf. *H* 92 f. and 163, where he no longer stands out from the other heroes.

In view of the indications that Glaukos, Sarpedon, and their Lycians are relatively late arrivals in the *Iliad* (pp. 64 f.), the present episode may be a secondary expansion. Acc. to Aristonicus (sch^{A}) some(one) transposed it somewhere else: *ὅτι μετατιθέασί τινες ἀλλαχόσε ταύτην τὴν σύστασιν*. This means that it actually stood in a different place in a text known to Aristarchus—probably Zen.’s, which also had the sunrise at the beginning of *Θ* after instead of before the divine council. In that instance it is possible that Zen.’s text preserved the earlier version (*Θ* 1 n.). It is conceivable that P originally had the present episode at an earlier point, e.g. after *E* 698, and then had the idea of using it to cover the duration of Hector’s journey. But it would be extraordinary if the original sequence had survived in one strand of the tradition beside the revised version. The alternative is to suppose that the episode was displaced from its present position in a rhapsode’s copy owing to his inaccurate memory of the sequence of scenes (cf. Christ 6).

123. *τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι*: cf. *EFH* 215; *IEPM* 476.

124–5. *οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ᾽ ὄπωπα … | τὸ πρίν*: this acknowledges Glaukos’ absence from the narrative hitherto (Christ 50).

127. ‘Whoever you are, you are doomed’: *IEPM* 476.

128–42. ‘If you are a god … But if you are a mortal …’: cf. *EFH* 364; in addressing a beautiful woman, *IEPM* 431. For suspicions that someone in the **(p. 177)** battle might be a god cf. *E* 177 n. Diom.’s earlier ability to recognize gods is now forgotten, as is his readiness to fight gods; though it must be remembered that even in *E* he was under instructions not to fight them except for specified individuals. It may be that the present lines were composed before *E* was enlarged by the theomachic passages (Leaf 256).

130–40. The mythological exemplum comes in strangely in several regards. It sits oddly in the context of the peremptory demand to know Glaukos’ identity, and distends it out of proportion; it is untypically used to justify the speaker’s own conduct rather than to influence another’s; and even if Diom. is no longer in the mood to fight gods, it is somewhat bizarre for him to turn to the story of Lycurgus as the readiest example of someone who did. 141 repeats 129, and it is easy to believe that 130–41 is an expansion (H. Düntzer, *Homerische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1872), 259). After hearing the story from another poet, P might have decided that it could aptly be fitted in here. It lies outside his normal

range; he mentions Dionysus otherwise only at *Ξ* 325. Acc. to sch^{D} the principal source for the Lycurgus story was the *Europia* attributed to Eumelus (fr. 27 W.); see *JHS* 122 (2002), 126, 131 f.

136. *Θέτις δ᾽ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπωι*: as she did Hephaestus when Hera threw him out of heaven, *Σ* 398. Dionysus, acc. to Stes. *PMGF* 234, rewarded Thetis with the gift of an amphora made by Hephaestus, to put her son's bones in after his death, and this is alluded to in *ω* 74 f. (=*Aethiopis*?).

145. *τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις*; Diom. has not asked about *γενεή*, though anyone answering the question 'who are you?' would need at least to identify his father. Asteropaios gives a similar response at *Φ* 153 to Ach.'s question *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*; and, like Glaukos, goes on to tell his ancestry. But Glaukos' *τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις*; seems designed as the cue for the gnomic commonplace 146–9, which is dragged in for its own sake (VdM 114). He then embarks on the six-generation tale of his genealogy, which serves as a frame for the story of Bellerophon, narrated at length. For the introduction of heroes' genealogies cf. *N* 449–53 n.

146–9. Cf. *Φ* 464, Mimn. 2. 1–3, 'Musaeus' DK 2 *B* 5; *EFH* 365.

151. *πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν*: it was celebrated by certain Ionian royal families who claimed Lycian (but ultimately Greek) descent from Glaukos; cf. Hdt. 1. 147. 1; Wil. 305, and earlier *Kl. Schr*. v(1). 170. In Lycia itself, at Tlos, there were in the later Hellenistic period demes named after Bellerophon, Iobates (170 n.), and Sarpedon. If P had Lycian contacts (cf. *E* 478–81 n.), he may have had the saga from there. Cf. VdM 115.

152. *ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη, μυχῶι Ἄργεος*: for this manner of beginning the story cf. *EFH* 259, *IEPM* 93; also *E* 9 n. The original Ephyra was perhaps in Thessaly, in the Pelasgic Argos, but its true location was forgotten, and in the sixth century the name with its associated mythology was appropriated by **(p. 178)** Corinth: *JHS* 122 (2002), 119. Like that of Lycurgus, the story of Sisyphos' son Glaukos (154), and no doubt that of Bellerophon, was treated in the Corinthian poetry gathered under the name of Eumelus; but this coincidence should not deceive us into assuming a Corinthian source for P.

153. *κέρδιστος*: Sisyphos' legendary craftiness plays a part in the story of his son's marriage and the birth of Bellerophon in 'Hes.' fr. 43a.

154. *Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης*: for the epanalepsis cf. *B* 671–3 n.

155. *Γλαῦκος ἔτικτεν*: acc. to 'Hes.' fr. 43a. 81 f. Bellerophon was born in Glaukos' house but actually fathered by Poseidon, and this is presupposed in 191 below.

160–70. This expands on the brief statement of Bellerophon's expulsion in 157–9. But the narration remains compressed and elliptical: we are not told the name or city of the Lycian king, what the letter actually said, what were the *θεῶν τέραα* that enabled Bellerophon to kill the Chimaira (183), the circumstances of his combats with the Solymoi and Amazons (184–6), how he was of divine parentage (191), the name of the princess he married (192), or the reason for his dismal end (200–2).

Anteia's passion for him and false accusation of him are a version of a recurrent Near Eastern and Greek story pattern, the 'Zuleika theme': *EFH* 365, 482; William Hansen, *Ariadne's Thread* (Ithaca 2002), 332–52.

166. *ὣς φάτο· τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα χόλος λάβεν*: cf. *A* 188 n.

168–9. The letter must have told the recipient to kill its bearer. This too is a Near Eastern motif: *EFH* 365 f. It is the only reference to writing in Hom. Greek epic had evolved through centuries of illiteracy and normally portrayed a heroic world in which life was conducted without writing. But in this oriental story a written document played an essential part and had to be described, 'even if the impression remains that the poet is deliberately avoiding plain *termini* such as *γράμματα* and *δέλτος*' (W. Burkert in Robin Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.*, Stockholm 1983, 51). We should not infer from P's choice of phrase that he did not understand what writing was.

170. *ὤι πενθερῶι*: again elliptical. Anteia was the daughter of the Lycian king, whose name was Iobates (Apollod. 2. 2. 1).

171. *θεῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀμύμονι πομπῆι*: cf. *EFH* 366.

174. *ἐννῆμαρ*: *A* 53 n.

180. *θεῖον γένος οὐδ᾽ ἀνθρώπων*: for the negated opposite cf. *A* 416 n. The Chimaira's extermination by Bellerophon is known to Hes. *Th*. 319–25. In *Π* 328 f. she is said to have been reared by Amisodaros, the father of two of Sarpedon's followers.

183. *θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας*: after *Δ* 398, where it comes in the story of the Cadmeans' ambush of Tydeus. Cf. 160–70 and 187–90 nn. The phrase can **(p. 179)** hardly allude to Pegasus, though he played a significant part in the exploit acc. to Hes. *Th*. 325, fr. 43a. 87, Pind. *Ol*. 13. 87–90. P deliberately eliminates the fantastic winged horse, even in telling of the fantastic Chimaira.

184. *Σολύμοισι*: Lycia's eastern neighbours and (to judge from 204) regular enemies.

186. *Ἀμαζόνας*: *Γ* 189 n.; less connected with Lycia, perhaps brought in to make a third challenge for Bellerophon. Acc. to Pindar (l.c.) he flew over them on Pegasus and strafed them with arrows from above.

187–90. His success in three trials ought to have been sufficient (VdM 117). The ambush, adapted from the story of Tydeus (*Δ* 391–8 n.), is added for good measure.

191. *θεοῦ γόνον*: 155 n.

192–3. Winning the king's daughter and half the kingdom is such a typical and conclusive story-ending motif that P neglects to give a name to this sister of the wicked Anteia.

198. *Λαοδαμείηι μὲν*: the last name is taken up first on the chiastic principle. Hippolochos, however, instead of being taken next, is held back to the end as Glaukos' father.

199. This genealogy makes Sarpedon a native Lycian and Glaukos' cousin. There was a quite different one by which he was the son of Zeus and Europa, brother to Minos and Rhadamanthys, and migrated from Crete ('Hes.' frr. 140–1, Hdt. 1. 173. 2, etc.). But Minos lived two generations before the Trojan War (*N* 451 f.). 'Hesiod' swallows the chronological discrepancy, P eliminates it (cf. *Ξ* 321 f.). Cf. Robert 402, 403 f.; VdM 114.

200–2, 205. These lines about Bellerophon's and his wife's fates are awkwardly interlaced with the tale of what happened to their three children. It looks as if P may have taken over 200–5 *en bloc* from an account of Bellerophon that did not continue in genealogical mode after his establishment in Lycia. If the lines are read straight after 195, without 196–9 or 206 ff., they describe how everything afterwards went wrong: he went into exile, his son Isandros fell in battle, and his wife also died. In this version, apparently, his line became extinct. The hypothesis accounts for the otherwise otiose *υἱόν* in 203.

200. *ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν*: P could not be more specific without bringing in Pegasus. Bellerophon tried to fly to heaven and join the gods; Zeus was displeased and caused Pegasus to shake him off, so that he fell to earth lamed and shamed. Pegasus was received in heaven and now brings Zeus his thunderbolts.—Hes. *Th*. 284–6, Pind. *Ol*. 13. 92 with sch, *Isth*. 7. 44–7, Eur. fr. 312.

201. *πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον*: in Cilicia. But the conjunction with *ἀλᾶτο* (and 202 *ἀλεείνων*?) suggests 'went wandering in the Plain of Wandering'; cf. *EFH* 367.
(p.180)

202. *ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων*: Hes. *Op*. 799 n., *IEPM* 88.

204. *Σολύμοισι … κυδαλίμοισιν*: after 184.

205. *Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα*: a standard explanation of a woman's premature death, often without further motivation, as in 428; cf. *T* 59, *λ* 172, 324, *o* 478, *σ* 202, *υ* 80. Here Artemis' anger seems to derive from the general context of the gods' displeasure with Bellerophon rather than from any specific offence by his wife, as in *Ω* 606 she kills Niobe's daughters because of Niobe's offence.

206. Glaukos forgets to give his own name. 'Der Hörer, nicht Diomedes weiß aus V. 119, daß er Glaukos heißt' (Rothe 205).

207. *καί μοι μάλα πόλλ᾽ ἐπέτελλεν*: cf. *E* 197–8 n.

208. This is the same as Peleus' advice to Ach. (*Λ* 784 n.); the next two lines are added as a fitting way of rounding off the genealogy.

216. *Οἰνεὺς*: cf. *Ξ* 113 ff., where Diom. sets out his own ancestry.

219. ≈ *H* 305 (Ajax's exchange of gifts with Hector).

220–1. It is against normal Homeric practice for a guest to give his host a present, but Bellerophon's having done so has the consequence that Diom. is personally familiar with that physical evidence of the *ξεινίη*; he still has it at home. The mutual exchange of gifts also foreshadows that between Diom. and Glaukos.

222–3. There seems to be a lack of connection here: *Studies* 195 f.

232. *καθ᾽ ἵππων ἀΐξαντε*: it is surprising that they are in their chariots. Cf. *E* 192–204 n.

234–6. It is also surprising that Glaukos has gold armour. P calls him a fool for exchanging it for bronze; but he would have been a bigger fool to demur. The effect of the unequal exchange is that although no fight has taken place, Glaukos still suffers a kind of defeat.

***ἑκατόμβοι᾽ ἐννεαβοίων*:** *B* 449 n.

238–40. A wonderful touch of imaginative realism. Hector does not have time to answer all their questions. His advice to pray to the gods is derived from his main mission.

243–50. The description of the palace, interposed between the temporal and the main clauses (cf. *Ω* 449–56), gives substance to our picture of Priam's Troy. His 62 children reflect his polygamy (*Φ* 88, *Ω* 497), an exotic feature of his kingdom (cf. *EFH* 392). The passage may be an expansion; it seems inconsistent with the separate houses of Hector and Paris in 313–17.

244–6 and 247–50 are in close balance, but the variation from *μνηστῆις* in 246 to *αἰδοίηις* in 250 (with contrary variants in both places) shows the desire to avoid a too mechanical repetition. Cf. *Γ* 199 n.

251. *μήτηρ*: not named till 293.

252. *Λαοδίκην*: previously mentioned in *Γ* 122–4.

257. *Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν*: Hekabe's conjecture is on the right lines, but **(p. 181)** she envisages Hector praying to Zeus instead of herself and the other elder women praying to Athena. The worship of Athena is evidently conceived as being specially for women.

258–65. This resembles other scenes where food or drink is offered to a visitor but his business is too pressing to stay for it: *Λ* 644 ff., *Ψ* 200 ff.; *EFH* 203 (Hittite). Each of the three women that Hector visits tries to persuade him to stay longer, and each time he refuses, cf. 354 ff. (Helen), 431 ff. (Andromache).

265–8. Hector answers his mother's points in reverse order: the wine's effect on his vigour, libations, prayers.

266. After Hes. *Op*. 724 f.?

269–78. ≈ 87–97. It was poetically unnecessary for Hector to mention that these recommendations came from Helenos.

279. Virtually repeated from 269 so that *σὺ μὲν* can be juxtaposed with *ἐγὼ δέ*.

280. *Πάριν μετελεύσομαι*: the first broaching of this important purpose (73–118 n.). Hector ought not really to know where Paris now is. For his condemnation of Paris in 281–5 cf. *Γ* 39 ff., 428, 453 f., *Z* 349 ff.

282. *μέγα γάρ μιν Ὀλύμπιος ἔτρεφε πῆμα*: for this type of expression cf. *IEPM* 87.

286. Hekabe makes no reply but sets about doing what she has been asked to do; cf. *E* 493–4 n. She delegates the assembling of the women to her servants so that she can simultaneously seek out a fine robe for the offering.

288–95. Cf. other scenes where someone goes to a storeroom to fetch something: *Ω* 191 f. + 228–37, *o* 99–108, *ϕ* 5–62.

290–2. As *ἔργα γυναικῶν* in 289 could be complete in itself (cf. *η* 97), these lines might well be a secondary embellishment, though a historical comment on an item in the storeroom is typical enough, cf. *Ω* 234 f., *ϕ* 13 ff. (It is hardly relevant that 289 + 293–5 are adapted in *o* 105–8.) For the prestige of Phoenician wares (in P's own times) cf. *Ψ* 743, *δ* 613–19. Apart from the anachronism, it is no surprise that the Trojan queen should own some, and the story of Paris'

extraordinary detour to Sidon cannot have been invented just to account for it (as Kullmann 205 assumes) but must rest on some separate tradition. Acc. to the *Cypria* (Proclus, *contra* Hdt. 2. 117), when he sailed away from Sparta with Helen, Hera sent a storm and drove them to Sidon, which he sacked. Apollod. adds that as a precaution, in case he was being pursued, he spent a long time in eastern waters (Phoenicia, Cyprus) before returning to Troy. Cf. sch^{AbTD} (Phoenicia, Egypt).

295. *ἀστὴρ δ᾽ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν*: cf. *EFH* 252.

***ἔκειτο δὲ νείατος ἄλλων*:** indicating that Hekabe sought it out specially. **(p. 182)**

298. *Θεανὼ*: *E* 69 n. Here she is more fully introduced. We were expecting Hekabe to open the temple and perform the ceremony (87 ff., 269 ff.); the priestess is an afterthought. Theano appears as priestess of Athena also in Bacchyl. 15. 1–7, in the context of the *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*—from the *Cypria*? Cf. Kullmann 276.

299. *Κισσηΐς*: daughter of *Κισσῆς* (*Λ* 223 f.)

***Ἀντήνορος*:** *Γ* 146–60 n.

305. *ἐρυσίπτολι*: ‘saviour of the city’, originally ‘of the citadel/fortress’ (*πόλις: IEPM* 452 f.). Athena is addressed with the title that pins her down to what is now required of her.

306. *ἆξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος*: for gods breaking mortals’ weapons cf. *EFH* 210 f.

307. *Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων*: the location is taken over from where Ach. traditionally fell (*X* 360; Apollod. epit. 5. 3 =*Aethiopis*).

314–17. These details may be invented *ad hoc*, or they may reflect a narrative of Paris’ return from Sparta with Helen as his consort, perhaps involving a woodcutting scene like that in *Ψ* 114 ff.

317. *ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ*: ≈ 297.

318–20. Hector is now set on returning to the battle together with Paris; the description of his great spear (repeated in *Θ* 493–5) is more appropriate here than it would have been when he called on his mother.

319. *ἐνδεκάπηχυ*: this unrealistically huge measurement (doubled for Ajax, *O* 678) goes with the intermittent notion that the Homeric heroes were bigger and stronger than men of today (*A* 272 n.).

321. As usual, we hear what the person visited was found doing (*A* 497–502 n.). Paris is already preparing to return to the fight.

322. *καὶ ἀγκύλα τόξ᾽ ἀφόωντα*: his bow is of especial relevance (73–118 n.). But he also wears normal armour, cf. 504, 513; *Γ* 16–20, 328–39 nn.

325. = *Γ* 38.

326. *χόλον τόνδ᾽ ἔνθεο θυμῶι*: neither Hector nor Paris understands that Aphrodite conveyed him here from the battlefield (*Γ* 428, *E* 516 nn.); both have to find human motives for his disappearance. Anger is a standard reason for heroes to withdraw from fighting, as in Ach.'s case; cf. *I* 553 ff., *N* 459 ff., *Ξ* 49–51.

327. *περὶ πτόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος*: cf. 73–5 n.

332–3. = *Γ* 58 f.

336. *ἔθελον δ᾽ ἄχεϊ προτραπέσθαι*: 326 n.

339. *νίκη δ᾽ ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρας*: he has been worsted by Men., but may do better in his next encounters. Cf. *Γ* 439 f.

341. The alternative suggestion will allow Hector to visit Andromache without Paris and meet up with him afterwards. **(p.183)**

342. The verse is there because Hector is the one expected to answer; Helen speaks instead. Similarly at *Δ* 401 ff., *Φ* 478 ff.

343–58. Helen's speech reinforces the sympathetic picture of her given in *Γ*, cf. *Γ* 125–8 n. She is as ready as Hector (281–5) to criticize Paris. The wish in 345–8 that she had died before all this happened varies a motif in *Γ* 173–5; cf. *EFH* 368.

354–62. Cf. 258–65 n.

357–8. As in *T* 64, *γ* 204, *θ* 579 f., *ω* 192–202, a Homeric character is made to anticipate the future currency of epic poetry about the events of his or her own time. Cf. *B* 119 n. In Helen's mouth the effect is especially poignant.

363. Helen's urging is to be complemented by his own inclination, as in 337 f.

365–8. Hector announces his intention of briefly visiting his wife and son before leaving the city again. He is conscious that it may be his last opportunity: he may not survive the coming battle. This is what Andromache too fears (409), and his household is full of dire foreboding when he leaves (499–502). It has long been felt that this was composed as an account of the couple's last meeting (e.g. Naber 156 f.). In fact Hector returns safely to the city at the end of the day and is there for three nights, presumably sleeping at home. After another day of

battle (*Θ*) he and the Trojans camp out on the plain; on the next day (*Λ*–*P*) he kills Patr., and they camp out again; only on the day after that is he killed. This extended timetable, however, is the product of two major expansions (*H*; *ΘI*) made after *Z* was composed; see chapter 5. Before they were conceived, the events of *Λ*, in which the combination of Hector and Paris is decisive in turning the battle against the Achaeans, were planned to follow more directly than they do in the finished poem, leading on without interruption to Ach.'s return and Hector's death.

The hero as loving husband and family man seems untraditional, cf. *IEPM* 432.

371–91. The Andromache scene could perfectly well have taken place in Hector's house, but by another stroke of creative imagination P transfers it to a place near the Scaean Gates through which Hector will go back out to fight. Cf. Mülder 69 f.

371. *οὐδ᾽ ἠῦρ᾽ Ἀνδρομάχην*: the typical sequence would give 'and he found Andromache'; this is negated, as can be done with other elements of typical scenes (cf. *A* 328–32 n.). For the present case cf. *EFH* 368 f.

***λευκώλενον*:** *IEPM* 84.

373. *πύργωι ἐφεστήκει*: with the crowd of women mentioned at *Γ* 384, 420.

***γοόωσά τε μυρομένη τε*:** in foreboding of Hector's death, which (like **(p.184)** Ach.'s later in the poem) increasingly casts its shadow. Cf. Thetis' lamentings in advance of Ach.'s death at *Σ* 37/50 ff. and *Ω* 84–6.

375. *ἔστη … ἔειπεν*: despite the negated stage in 371, the typical structure continues with the usual 'took his stand (before the person visited) and spoke'.

378–80. The three alternatives suggested by Hector are arranged acc. to Behaghel's Law of increasing bulk. The relative clause appended to the third one makes it a kind of 'augmented triad' (*A* 145 n.).

383–6. The person replying negates the questioner's suggestions in turn and then supplies the true answer: cf. *A* 65–7 n.

[388]. *Studies* 198.

389. *μαινομένηι εἰκυῖα*: *EFH* 369.

393. *τῆι ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλε διεξίμεναι πεδίονδε*: the search for Andromache is conveniently bringing Hector in the direction he will be going anyway. But the clause also points ahead to the tragic parting.

395–8. Andromache is introduced with an outline of her personal history. She will add to it in 413–28; cf. *X* 479–81.

***Ἠετίωνος, | Ἠετίων, ὃς ἔναιεν*:** for the epanalepsis see *B* 671–3 n.

403. Cf. *X* 506 f.

407–65. The scene distinguishes itself from the preceding ones with Hekabe and Paris/Helen by the length of these two speeches. The previous dialogues each had a practical purpose, whereas this one is purely personal.

407–10. Andromache anticipates Hector's death, but not that it will be at Ach.'s hands; he is not currently taking part in the fighting (Reichel 184 f.). Cf. 502 *χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν*.

414–16. For Ach.'s sack of Eetion's Thebe cf. *B* 690–3 n.

417. *σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῶι*: after 167.

418–19. A proper heroic funeral; cf. *IEPM* 496–8. The elms suggest a real place (Wil. 313).

428. *βάλ᾽ Ἄρτεμις*: 205 n.

429–30. *σύ μοι … | … σὺ δέ μοι*: the anaphora of *σύ* is akin to that typical of hymns and prayers, cf. *IEPM* 310 f.

431–2. Returning to the thought of 407 f. (ring composition).

433–9. Probably an expansion: *Studies* 198 f.

433. *ἐρινεόν*: cf. *Λ* 167, *X* 145. In *X*, as here, it seems to be close to the city walls, but in *Λ* (if the same tree is meant) it is out in the plain.

435. *τρὶς γὰρ τῆι γ᾽ … ἐπειρήσανθ᾽*: the typical motif of the triple attempt (*E* 436–44 n.) suggests that the fourth time they may succeed; the present tenses in 439 imply that they have not given up. These assaults have not been mentioned before (nor any fighting so close to the wall, though cf. 73–5 n.), and they may well be an *ad hoc* invention (Erhardt 87). Mazon **(p.185)** 166 n. 3 suggests that it is an 'embryonic theme' or remnant of a tradition that the poet has not adopted. Pind. *Ol*. 8. 31–46 relates that a certain part of the wall was vulnerable because Aiakos had built it, the rest having been built by Poseidon and Apollo. This was revealed when three snakes tried to get over it; the first two failed but the third succeeded, whereupon Apollo prophesied to Aiakos that the city would one day be taken at this point by his descendants (*sc*. Telamon and Neoptolemos). Didymus (ap. sch.) stated that the story occurred in no earlier author, but Pindar will not have invented it *ex nihilo*. P's version of the building of the wall by Poseidon and Apollo (*H* 452 f., *Φ* 441–57) says nothing of Aiakos. However, if he did know something like Pindar's version, it could have provided

the model for the triple assault, and it would account for Andromache's idea that there might be a prophecy on the subject that the Achaeans had learned of.

436–7. The omission of Ach. from the list suits the battle situation that has obtained since the beginning of *Il*. The attacks in question might be imagined as having occurred earlier; but there was no tradition of previous fighting round the city involving Ach. (*E* 788–90 n.). For the conjunction of Aiante and Idomeneus cf. *A* 145 n.

445. *πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι*: *E* 536 n.

446. *ἀρνύμενος … μέγα κλέος*: *IEPM* 401, 407.

447–9. Earlier said by Ag. in *Δ* 163–5 on the basis of Pandaros' truce-violation. The lines are more poignant in Hector's mouth, but it is less clear why he should have this fatalistic conviction; contrast 476 ff., 526 ff.

450–65. Hector's concern for his wife's fate after the fall of the city possibly owes something to Meleager's concern for Kleopatra's (Kakridis 49); see *I* 590–5 n.

456–8. Hector refrains from mentioning concubinage; contrast *A* 31. Acc. to the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis* Andromache was allotted to Neoptolemos; Euripides (*Andr*. 24) and others have her bear him one or more children.

457. *Ὑπερείης*: *B* 734.

460–1. For Hector's anticipation of his posthumous repute in connection with a particular famous event cf. *EFH* 369 (where for 'Achilles'' read 'his victim's').

475. *Διί τ᾽ ἄλλοισίν τε θεοῖσιν*: *B* 49 n.; here also addressed in the prayer in the next line, as at *Γ* 298.

476–81. P's audience will have known that the child's fate was to be hurled down from the city wall at the sack (*Little Iliad* fr. 29); cf. *X* 63 f., *Ω* 734 f., and *Y* 303 n. This gives Hector's prayer an incomparable tragic irony. It is noteworthy that P refrains from appending 'so he spoke in prayer, but Zeus was not accepting it' (VdM 125).

479. *πατρός … πολλὸν ἀμείνων*: as Diom. claims to be, *Δ* 405; cf. **(p.186)** *O* 641. But this was considered a rare occurrence (*β* 276 f.), and in principle there is limited scope for a great hero's son; see *IEPM* 440–3.

486. *δαιμονίη*: P has rather got into the way of using this appellation in this whole episode, cf. 326, 407; he will use it again at 521.

487–9. This reasoning may have been a commonplace of martial protreptic, cf. *M* 322–7, Callin. 1. 8–13.

489. *ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται*: one’s fate being fixed at birth, *IEPM* 379–85.

490–2. Hector sends Andromache home to apply herself to weaving and directing the servants—exactly what she will be found doing when he is killed, *X* 440 ff.

496. *ἐντροπαλιζομένη*: by locating the meeting away from the house P is able to enhance the parting scene by showing Andromache going reluctantly away from Hector as well as he from her.

498. *ἀνδροφόνοιο*: *A* 242 n.

499–502. The household’s sense of doom is poetically appropriate though strictly speaking premature, cf. 365–8 and 373 nn.

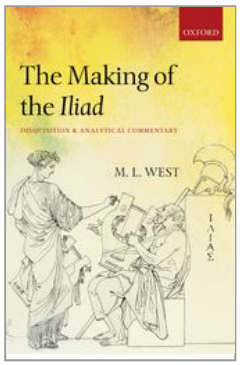
504. *τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῶι*: cf. 322 n. The narrative is now gathering pace, and there is no room for a formal arming scene like that in *Γ* 328–38.

506–11. Cf. *E* 87–92 n. The simile is at least partly repeated of Hector in *O* 263 ff.; but it seems designed specially for the debonair and skittish Paris.

517–29. The two brothers are now reunited in a common purpose. Hector still has criticisms to make of Paris, but his tone is magnanimous and he looks forward to a complete reconciliation if and when Zeus allows them to drive the Achaeans away. On this optimistic note (contrast 447 ff.) they sally forth (*H* 1–7; the division between *Z* and *H* is entirely artificial).

521. *δαιμόνι᾽*: 486 n.

528. *κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλεύθερον*: *EFH* 369.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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H

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The next two rhapsodies, consisting largely of expansions subsequent to those in *Γ*–*Z*, give a strong impression of hasty composition, and *H* in particular falls below the standard of excellence that has been generally maintained up to this point. Some scenes are compressed and perfunctory, and it is often observable that P has re-used or adapted lines and passages that have already appeared in other contexts, in a manner that suggests economizing on effort rather than the ordinary operation of oral composition technique.

4–7. As commonly, a simile for a warrior or warriors going into action (*E* 87–92 n.). This one is designed to fit the larger context: it reminds us that when we last heard about the fighting the Trojans were in trouble. Hector's return to the city was intended to procure relief for them, and it now proves to do so, even if the supplication to Athena was ineffective.

8–16. The change in fortune is immediately if cursorily signalled as Paris, Hector, and Glaukos each kill a man. (Aeneas remains out of view.) None of the three victims is mentioned elsewhere; the first is provided with a parentage and home town.

8. *Ἀρηϊθόοιο*: this mace-warrior of a previous generation reappears with more circumstantial detail in Nestor's recollections in 137–45. Either he played a role in some independent line of epic tradition, or he is invented *ad hoc* as a victim for Paris and then re-used as a basis for elaboration in Nestor's speech. The chronology hardly works, as acc. to 142–50 he was killed a considerable time before Ereuthalion's challenge to the Pylians, which was in Nestor's youth; a son of his would have to be something like Nestor's age or older. Cf. Kullmann 124 n. 2.

9. *κορυνήτης*: cf. 138 ff. The mace is an archaic, elementary weapon; cf. *IEPM* 460 f.

13–16. These lines may be a secondary addition; cf. pp. 64 f. on the Lycians as late arrivals in the poem. The dual verb in 8 had only Hector and Paris in view, and it is their return to the field that is the centre of interest.

17–18. ≈ *E* 711 f. The narrative is given its new direction by an initiative of gods. This is the beginning of the expansion that fills the rest of *H* and disrupts the original chronology by terminating the current day and intercalating two extra ones so that the Achaeans may build fortifications. The expectation raised in *Z* of a battle that will be fateful for Hector is forgotten (and indeed negated in 52: Bethe 221). **(p.188)**

***τοὺς δ᾽ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε*:** *E* 95 n.

20. *τῆι δ᾽ ἀντίος ὦρνυτ᾽ Ἀπόλλων*: Athena on her own would have put the Achaeans on top again, but now she is counterbalanced by the pro-Trojan Apollo; the outcome will be an equal contest.

21. *Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών*: after *Δ* 508; but here there is much to be said for Payne Knight's conjecture that P varied the verb to *ἐκκατιών*, cf. *Studies* 199.

22. *παρὰ φηγῶι*: cf. *E* 693 n.

29–31. Apollo's initial proposal, reflecting P's primary concern, is simply to conclude hostilities for the present. He expects their resumption not 'tomorrow' but more vaguely *ὕστερον*; this anticipates Nestor's proposal for an intermission in the fighting (30 *ὕστερον αὖτε μαχήσονθ᾽* ~ 291, 377, 396).

***εἰς ὅ κε τέκμωρ | Ἰλίου εὖρωσιν*:** we cannot suppose that P ever envisaged continuing his narrative to the sack of the city, but it lies within his field of vision (cf. *Δ* 164 etc.), and he can make Apollo look ahead to it and indeed accept its ultimate inevitability.

32. *ὑμῖν ἀθανάτηισι*: Athena and Hera. Zen.'s *ἀθανάτοισι* reflects a rhapsode's misunderstanding, as if there were a collective agreement of the gods to destroy Ilios; in any case *ὑμῖν* would not then be appropriate. Note also Aristophanes' *ἀμφοτέρηισι*.

34–43. Athena agrees to the idea and even claims that that was her own purpose in coming. She then asks what (poetic) mechanism Apollo (*sc*. P) has in mind to bring about the cessation of fighting, and he proposes Hector's challenge to a single combat. The unstated assumption is that this will end action for the day.

For the motif of the pre-eminent or outsize hero issuing an open challenge to single combat cf. 150 ff., *Γ* 19; *EFH* 214 f., *IEPM* 486 f. To introduce it into the ongoing battle P had to take special measures and bring in divine machinery. Features of the typical, free-standing challenge and duel persist in his narrative: the two armies are at once seated in one place (56 f.), and Ajax after winning the lottery arms himself as if all were previously unarmed (206). Cf. Mülder 36–9.

39–40. After *Γ* 19 f.

***οἰόθεν οἷος*:** 'one to one'; for the type of phrase cf. *IEPM* 113 f.

44–53. We should now expect Apollo to approach Hector and urge him to issue the challenge. Instead of this the gods' plan is communicated in a unique way (but one with Near Eastern parallels, *EFH* 181 f.): the seer Helenos has picked up their dialogue on his mental antennae and tells his brother. It is not obvious why P has chosen this mechanism, but he has already used Helenos to direct Hector's activity in *Z* 76 ff. **(p.189)**

47. = *Λ* 200, where it comes more suitably from Iris than here from another son of Priam.

49. = *Γ* 68.

52. *οὐ γάρ πώ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν*: Apollo did not say this, though he might have seemed to imply it. It certainly adds to the persuasive force of Helenos' advice. Cf. 17–18 n.

54–7. As in the *Γ* duel, Hector makes the Trojans stop fighting, and Ag. responds by stopping the Achaeans. 54 f. are repeated from *Γ* 76–7 (where, as often noted, Hector's joy is better motivated), while 57 is a perfunctory and inferior counterpart to *Γ* 79–83. It is clear at many points that in composing the episode P has *Γ* in mind and is drawing on it for material.

55. *ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν*: cf. *Γ* 76–7 n.

58–61. Athena and Apollo will play no further part in the episode (apart from Apollo's momentary intervention at 272), but P, not liking to leave loose ends, has them join in the general *ἕζεσθαι*, though in their case it means perching on a branch in bird form. For gods appearing as birds cf. *EFH* 184 f., *IEPM* 152 f.; for their perching in a tree, *Ξ* 287 ff.

66–272. For the structure of the episode compared with the duel between David and Goliath see *EFH* 214.

66–7. After *Γ* 85 f.

69–91. Hector recalls the previous duel that did not, as hoped, settle the war. He infers that Zeus will not let it be settled in that way, and in challenging an Achaean champion he does not propose that the duel be fought on those terms; it would have been poetically unsatisfactory to repeat that motif, and awkward to devise another means of frustrating the desired outcome. The combat is to be fought instead simply for personal glory and spoils. In reality there would be little reason to stop the battle for a single combat upon which nothing more than that rested.

79–80. = *X* 342 f. (the dying Hector to Ach.). Hector voices the concern for his proper funeral that will become an actual issue in *X*–*Ω*.

81. *Ἀπόλλωνι*: besides being the chief pro-Trojan deity, he shows his special concern for Hector in 272, *Λ* 363, *O* 256, *Y* 443, *X* 203. The duel was his idea.

83. *καὶ κρεμόω ποτὶ νηὸν*: cf. *EFH* 369.

87–91. Ach.'s tomb is described in like terms in *ω* 80–4 and probably was so in the *Aethiopis*. Beowulf's is described similarly, cf. *IEPM* 496 f. For Hector's anticipation of his future repute cf. *Z* 460–1 n.; for the *κλέος* that will never perish, *I* 413 n.

The quasi-epitaph in 89 f. is such as P might have imagined inscribed on a stele at one of the anonymous tumuli around Troy; he had no doubt seen **(p.190)** (perhaps composed) epitaphs containing the formula (genitive name) *τόδε σῆμα*, which is found from the seventh century on.

92–4. For the typical awed silence before someone responds cf. *Γ* 95–6 n. In making Men. the first to accept the challenge P is no doubt thinking of the earlier duel in *Γ*.

96. *Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ᾽ Ἀχαιοί*: *B* 235 n.

99. *ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα*: *EFH* 237 f.

103. Before the earlier duel it was stated that the two armies disarmed (*Γ* 114); P has neglected to say so this time in his sketchier, derivative account of the preparations (cf. 54–7 n.). Men.'s arming is not developed beyond this line because he is not in fact going to fight. He is duly disarmed again in 122.

107–19. Ag.'s concern for his brother recalls *Δ* 148 ff.

113–14. An *a fortiori* argument of familiar type, though there is nothing elsewhere to support the allegation that Ach. was ever afraid to face Hector. Contrast *E* 788–90 n., and esp. *I* 352 f.

120–1. ≈ *Z* 61 f.

123–60. Nestor produces results by scolding and recalling past glories. He begins with the same line as at *A* 254. There he went on ‘Priam and the Trojans would rejoice at this’, here (where the Trojans are present) it is ‘Peleus would groan at this’. Peleus is chosen as a hypothetical outside observer with Achaean sympathies, and portrayed as a wise elder comparable to Nestor himself; cf. Reinhardt 77. Nestor had visited him in company with Od. when recruiting for the war (*Λ* 769 f., cf. *Cypria* fr. 19; Kullmann 258).

132–3. *αἰ γὰρ … | ἠβῶιμ᾽ ὡς ὅτε*: he will introduce his reminiscences similarly at *Λ* 670 and *Ψ* 629, each time a different story suited to the context. His present tale, in which he successfully answers the challenge of a huge man whom no one else dared face, again recalls David and Goliath (66–272 n.): *EFH* 369 f. Cf. *Δ* 319 n.

[135]. *Studies* 200.

137. *Ἀρηϊθόοιο*: 8 and 9 nn. His history is inscribed within that of Ereuthalion, for no clear reason beyond its intrinsic interest.

138. *δίου Ἀρηϊθόου*: for the epanalepsis cf. *B* 671–3 n.

142. *Λυκόοργος*: presumably an Arcadian. If P is inventing all this, he might have picked on this name because it was in his mind from *Z* 130. The story was taken up by Arcadian antiquarians, cf. Paus. 8. 4. 10, 11. 4.

142. *δόλωι*: the typical means in folktale of overcoming an ogre who relies on mindless brute force.

143–4. *οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὅλεθρον | χραῖσμε*: cf. *B* 859 n.

146. *τεύχεα*: are we to suppose that these included the mace, and that Ereuthalion inherited it and used it?

151. This corresponds to the typical silence of 92. **(p.191)**

154. *δῶκεν δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀθήνη*: after 81.

[156]. Probably a rhapsode’s interpolation. The use of *παρήορος* to mean ‘sprawled’ is evidently based on misunderstanding of *Π* 471, where it means ‘the trace-horse’ (Leumann 222–31), and *πολλός τις* is unparalleled in Hom.

157. Returns to the original wish to explain the reason for uttering it.

159. After 73.

161–8. For the list of heroes accompanied by a statement of their number cf. *B* 405–7, *I* 80–5. It begins with the most obvious stalwarts: Ag., Diom., the Aiante (cf. 179 f.). Then follow Idomeneus, who is often associated with Ajax or the

Aiante (*A* 145 n.), and his comrade Meriones; then Eurypylos, on whom cf. *E* 38–83 n.; then Thoas, on whom cf. *Δ* 527 n., and Od. These last two are adjacent in the Catalogue (*B* 631 ff.) and the related text ‘Hes.’ fr. 198.

164. *ἐπειμένοι ἀλκήν*: cf. *A* 149 n.

166. On Meriones and the whole verse cf. *B* 650–1 n.

170–4. Having achieved his first aim of provoking volunteers, Nestor goes on to propose a procedure for deciding among them, namely to cast lots (as if all nine were equally qualified to oppose Hector). Lots were cast before the duel of Paris and Men. (*Γ* 316 ff.), but for a different purpose; the idea probably comes from there. The lines appended to 170 to make it more than a one-line utterance are remarkably feeble.

177–8. ≈ *Γ* 318 f.

179–80. Ajax, Diom., and Ag. headed the list in 162 ff., but in the reverse order. Here they are in order of preference (Ajax the favourite, 182 f.), and arranged in a triad with members of increasing bulk (Behaghel’s Law). As Ajax is not specified as the Telamonian, Wackernagel (*Kl. Schr*. 543) infers that only one Ajax was among the volunteers and thus that the *Αἴαντες* of 164 were Ajax and Teukros (cf. *Δ* 273, *M* 335–414 nn.).

181–92. The shaking of the helmet and the outcome are reported concisely (181 ≈ *Γ* 324), but then there is a more artful account of how it was ascertained whose lot it was, recapturing the suspense felt by the onlookers.

It was actually P who chose Ajax. Diom. has had his aristeia, Ag. is to have his in *Λ*; Ajax has not yet done anything very notable, and P may have felt that he ought to before the day ends (cf. Bethe 222). He was in any case acknowledged to be the best fighter after Ach. (*B* 768–9 n.) and was therefore the best qualified to face Hector. He will give him further trouble in *Λ*–*O* (Schadewaldt 151).

191. *καὶ αὐτός*: we have to understand that the army’s joy was immediately apparent.

193–5. As the troops prayed for Ajax to win the lottery, so it is appropriate for them now to pray for him to overcome Hector. They have no need to be **(p.192)** told to, but it is habitual in epic to represent actions as following on proposals, and as Ajax is already speaking, P makes him propose it. At the same time he announces the next typical step in the proceedings, his own arming.

195, [196–9]. Ancient critics athetized 195–9; I follow Wilamowitz (*HU* 244 n. 6) in limiting the interpolation to 196–9. I assign it to the category of rhetorical

expansions (*Studies* 12 n. 28). It includes the only Iliadic reference to Ajax as a Salaminian apart from *B* 557, a passage rewritten at Athens.

Why does Ajax call for the prayers to be clandestine? Not, I think, because the Trojans might spoil them with *mala verba* and *δυσφημίαι* (Wilamowitz). In *Γ* 319 the Achaeans and Trojans prayed jointly, but here they cannot both pray for Ajax to win. A Trojan prayer on Hector's behalf would have had to be described separately. P wants to avoid this duplication, so he makes the praying a one-sided operation that excludes the Trojans. Cf. Cauer 621 n. 17.

201–2. After *Γ* 319 f., but as the Trojans are here excluded, the first line is modified after 178.

204–5. Zeus does love and care for Hector (*X* 168 ff.), and more importantly his killing is reserved for Ach. This second-best outcome, an equal contest, corresponds approximately to what is going to happen (though actually Ajax has the better of the fight and looks like winning until it is interrupted); but it is not clear how the Achaeans could anticipate the fight ending so.

206. Here (cf. 103 n.) we might expect a fuller arming scene, but P is pressing ahead. He does fit in a description of Ajax's shield in 219 ff. **208–10**. Typically, a simile as he goes into action (*E* 87–92 n.).

208. *πελώριος*: the epithet is chosen to match the *πελώριος* Ajax (211, cf. *Γ* 229, *P* 174, 360). It is not otherwise applied to Ares, though he wields a *πελώριον ἔγχος* at *E* 594.

210. *ἔριδος μένεϊ ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι*: expanded from the phrase in *A* 8.

211. *Αἴας … πελώριος, ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν*: after *Γ* 229.

215–18. Again there are echoes of the earlier duel: *τρόμος … ὑπήλυθε γυῖα* after *Γ* 34; *οὔ πως ἔτι εἶχεν … ἀναδῦναι ἂψ λαῶν ἐς ὅμιλον* by contrast with what Paris does at *Γ* 36, *αὖτις καθ᾽ ὅμιλον ἔδυ Τρώων*. For Hector's thumping heart cf. *Γ* 31 n.

219–23. Cf. 206 n., and for the motif of the unique piece of equipment and its manufacture by a special craftsman, *IEPM* 461 f. Tychios looks as if he gets his name from *τεύχω*.

224. Picks up 219 by ring composition.

225–43. The usual challenging speeches before the action, cf. *E* 276–89 n. Their relative brevity here is another sign of P's impatience to move forward.

228. *θυμολέοντα*: *EFH* 247.

229–30. After *B* 771 f. **(p.193)**

232. *ἀλλ᾽ ἄρχε μάχης*: in *Γ* the combatants cast lots for first throw. Here there has already been a casting of lots for another purpose, and a second one would be tedious. Ajax's invitation to Hector to make the first throw expresses his haughty confidence. Cf. *Φ* 439.

238–41. *οἶδ᾽ … οἶδ᾽ … | οἶδα δ᾽ … | οἶδα δ᾽*: cf. *Δ* 148–50 n. For the hero's mastery of a repertory of manoeuvres cf. *IEPM* 457 f.

240. *ἵππων ὠκειάων*: cf. *Γ* 263 n.

244–54. Bout 1. The first exchange of spear-casts follows *Γ* 346–60 quite closely. 244 =*Γ* 355, but also *E* 280, where it follows *αἴ κε τύχωμι*. In both places the spear pierces the opponent's shield and he narrowly avoids serious harm; Ajax's superior shield withstands Hector's spear, but only just. (Cf. *Γ* 357–60 n.) As in *Γ*, the transition from first to second thrower comes in mid line (*Γ* 349 *ὃ δὲ δεύτερος* ~ *H* 248 *δεύτερος αὖτε*); then the phrase *προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος* is used of the second as it had been of the first (*Γ* 346/ 355, *H* 244/249). 250–4 are repeated unchanged from *Γ* 356–60, where *Πριαμίδαο* designated Paris.

255–62. Bout 2. In the earlier duel Men. now drew his sword and attacked Paris with it; that was the last blow before Paris was rescued. The present contest, designed to come out more equal, has extra stages. The two heroes retrieve their spears and strike again at each other's shields. Hector's blow is without effect (Ajax's shield again proves its quality), but Ajax draws blood.

255–6. After *E* 782 f.

259. = *Γ* 348.

263–72. Bout 3. The two have come to close quarters, and we might expect them now to resort to their swords. But another exchange is put in first. Hector withdraws again to throwing distance and hurls a rock (cf. *E* 302 n.); once more Ajax's shield stands up to the blow. He responds with a bigger rock, smashing Hector's shield and knocking him flat. Hector now needs Apollo's help to keep going.

273–82. Bout 4 (aborted). Lastly they would have gone at each other with their swords, but that must have led to one killing the other (cf. again *E* 302 n.). P can take the duel no further. The means by which he has chosen to terminate it cannot be acquitted of the charge of ineptitude; it is perhaps the worst thing in the poem. But he imposes nightfall not primarily because this is a good device for stopping the fight but because he wants to end this long day of action (17–43 n.). He needs to end the day, and he needs to interrupt the fight, so he uses the one to achieve the other. If he had been less impatient (or tired?), he might have made a better job of it. For example, Zeus might have launched a thunderbolt, as at *Θ* 133, terrifying everyone and making them think it was wise to stop, and

then night could have fallen in a more natural style to close things down. **(p. 194)**

274. *κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν*: after *A* 334.

276. *Ταλθύβιός τε καὶ Ἰδαῖος*: *A* 320–32, *Γ* 248 nn.

280. The notion of Zeus' love for Hector has been aired (204–5 n.) and is now extended to cover Ajax too. The herald has no business to know Zeus' mind; the line would have been more appropriate in Helenos' mouth. In fact it encapsulates P's overview of the story and means in effect 'neither of you is to die today'.

283–93. Ajax, who is clearly having the better of the fight, is not going to jump at the opportunity of stopping. He is ready to carry on if Hector is. Hector is the one who submits.

290–2. ≈ 29–31 (n.), modified to suit the mortal's viewpoint. The 'we' in 291 is not 'we two' but 'we Trojans and Achaeans', as shown by the plural *ἑτέροισι* in 292.

293. = 282, repeated to support the following purpose clause.

298. Recalling the women's supplication in *Z*. But see Kirk for another possible interpretation.

299–305. The enemies exchange gifts and part as friends; the motif is repeated from the encounter of Diom. and Glaukos. Sophocles represents the gifts as fatal ones: Ajax will kill himself with the sword he receives, and Hector will be dragged behind Ach.'s chariot by the belt he gets from Ajax (*Aj*. 661–5, 817, 1026–35). It is doubtful whether he had any earlier source for either part of this; cf. *BICS* 25 (1978), 117. There is no reference to the belt in the passage about the dragging of Hector, *X* 396 ff., and if P had associated either gift with later tragic events he might have made some comment here.

305. = Oineus' gift to Bellerophon, *Z* 219.

308. After *E* 515; less apt here, because Hector is not unscathed and because he is not, like Aeneas, returning from somewhere out of sight.

312. *κεχαρηότα νίκηι*: here he is explicitly treated as having won.

313–22. Ag. provides a sacrificial repast similar to the one he held at the beginning of the day, *B* 402 ff. Ajax is honoured with the best cut of meat. This time there is no prayer to Zeus; 315 is a concordance interpolation from *B* 403.

323–44. As after the morning feast, Nestor advises on the next business to be undertaken. Morning proposals represent P's agenda for the coming day, evening ones for the following day.

Nestor proposes an intermission in the fighting during which the Achaeans will (*a*) collect and cremate their dead, and (*b*) build an elaborate line of defences round their position: a high wall with ramparts and gates, and a wide trench in front of it. One day will be taken for (*a*) and a second for (*b*); realistically the construction of the defences would take a good deal longer, but in the economy of the poem a day is all that can be allowed. Cf. 337 n.

(p.195) P has decided that, for the long battle in which the Achaeans are to be driven back to their ships, they need a defence line to be fought over. Once built, it will be frequently mentioned: *Θ* 177, 213, 255, 336, 343; *I* 67, 87, 232, 349; *K* 194, 564; *Λ* 48, 51; *M*–*O* passim; *Π* 369 f., 380, 397, 512, 558; *P* 760; *Σ* 198, 215; *Y* 49; *Ω* 443. In *Λ*, however, apart from the passage cited, it is not only not mentioned but evidently not present, indicating that the bulk of that rhapsody was composed before the wall and ditch were thought of. In order for these defences to be built, there must be a pause in the fighting. The truce for collecting the dead is designed to serve this purpose. Possibly there was a model for it in a poem known to P about the battle fought when the Achaeans first landed at Troy, cf. *Cypria* arg. 10 *καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιροῦνται*. But it was not a traditional motif in heroic poetry, cf. *A* 4–5 n.; Fick 2, 93 f.

331. *πόλεμον … παῦσαι Ἀχαιῶν*: as if unilaterally. The Trojans have returned to the city, and the idea may be that they will not come out again until the Achaeans make a sortie, as in *B*. In the event the Trojans independently ask for time to collect their dead, and the two sides agree on it.

[334–5]. Attic interpolation: *Gött. Nachr*. 1999, 185 f., cf. *Studies* 12 n. 25.

337. *ποτὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν*: making an artificial link between the burials and the fortifications (Erhardt 97).

***ὦκα*:** there really is a shortage of time. Cf. *Θ* 505–7 n.

339. *εὖ*: the ancient variant *ἕπτ᾽* was probably designed to match the number of guard companies in *I* 80–7 (Wil. 38 n. 1).

342. *ἵππον καὶ λαὸν*: cf. *IEPM* 465.

343. *μή ποτ᾽ ἐπιβρίσηι πόλεμος*: a good example of teleological composition. This is not a response called forth by the existing situation, it anticipates the situation that will develop later.

345. *Τρώων αὖτ᾽ ἀγορὴ*: P realized that if he went straight on to the morning and described the Achaeans carrying out Nestor's programme, the absence of the Trojans would be implausible. So he now has them making their own plan for the coming day. Their debate about returning Helen and Men.'s stolen property is the one they ought to have conducted following the earlier duel in *Γ* (Erhardt 99), only Paris was not then available to participate in it.

346. *παρὰ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσιν*: cf. *B* 788.

347. *Ἀντήνωρ πεπνυμένος*: *Γ* 146–60 n. The first day of battle being concluded, this most sensible of Trojans observes that they are fighting as truce-breakers and that the outlook for victory is therefore poor: they will do better to surrender Helen and the stolen property (*Γ* 70 n.) without further ado. At the beginning of the war, when Od. and Men. had gone into Troy to demand that surrender, Antenor had given them hospitality and saved them from lynching (*Γ* 203 n.), but it is not recorded whether he had at that time advocated accepting their demands. **(p.196)**

354–64. Paris angrily refuses to give Helen up, but surprisingly agrees to offer to return the property, and with interest. This will be contemptuously rejected by the Achaeans. The effect of the episode is to show that although the day's fighting has been indecisive, the Trojans are feeling less confident than the Achaeans.

365–78. Priam, in the manner of the wise Nestor, speaks third after the two previous speakers disagree; cf. *A* 247 ff., *I* 52 ff. He lays down what is to be done. Paris' offer is to be conveyed to the Achaeans in the morning. To this he adds his own proposal, coinciding with what the Achaeans intend, of a pause for funerals before the fighting is resumed. It presupposes the Achaeans' rejection of Paris' offer (Erhardt 102); cf. *P* 652–5 n.

365. = 354; an unusually short interval for such exact repetition. Contrast *A* 68/101 with two other speeches in between.

374. = *Γ* 87.

377–8. ≈ 291 f., cf. 29–31 n.

[380]. The line (~ 370) is perfectly apt, but its absence from a major part of the tradition suggests that it is interpolated. It is in any case clear that the dinner is going to be passed over quickly (contrast 313–22, 466–75), and as it is implied in 379 P could well pass straight on to the morning.

381. Normally the coming of dawn is described in one or two whole lines. In this compressed narrative P is content to adapt 372.

382–3. *τοὺς δ᾽ ηὗρ᾽ εἰν ἀγορῆι… | νηὶ πάρα πρυμνῆι Ἀγαμέμνονος*: P portrays them as they were when last mentioned, neglecting the fact that that was last night. It is convenient that Idaios can address them at once without their having to be reconvened (Wil. 51). Cf. *B* 788 n.

385. = 327.

386. *Πρίαμός τε καὶ ἄλλοι Τρῶες ἀγανοί*: this unique formula is modelled on the preceding line.

390. *ὡς πρὶν ὤφελλ᾽ ἀπολέσθαι*: an unheraldic parenthesis; cf. *Γ* 428.

393. *ἦ μὲν Τρῶές γε κέλονται*: alluding to Antenor's proposal, and implying that it had wider support.

398–9. After the typical silence (*Γ* 95–6 n.) the response comes from Diom., who is characteristically gung-ho: cf. *E* 252 ff., *I* 32 ff., 697 ff., *Ξ* 109 ff.

405–12. Ag. confirms the rejection of Paris' offer and agrees to the pause for funerals, without mentioning that it was already his plan. 411 f. is a perfunctory substitute for a formal truce-making as described in *Γ*.

410. Interpolation? 409 would then mean 'there is no shortage (there has been no sparing) of corpses'. Cf. *X* 243 f.

411. *Ζεὺς ἴστω*: cf. *IEPM* 172 f.

***πόσις Ἥρης*:** *IEPM* 137 f. **(p.197)**

414. *Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίωνες*: adapted from the formula seen in 348 = 368.

416. *ἀγγελίην ἀπέειπεν*: P eschews the option of repeating the message in full.

417. *στὰς ἐν μέσσοισιν*: after 384.

***τοὶ δ᾽ ὡπλίζοντο μάλ᾽ ὦκα*:** the mid-line transition to action is a further sign of P's haste.

418. *ἕτεροι δὲ μεθ᾽ ὕλην*: contrast the fully described woodcutting expedition in *Ψ* 110 ff.

420. A mechanical repetition of 418. Similarly 428 f. are re-used at 431 f.: valid oral technique, but crude and slapdash by P's standards.

421–41. The whole sequence of collecting and cremating the corpses and building the Achaean defences is narrated with great brevity.

433. This is obviously an earlier hour than that indicated in 421, where the sun has already risen, and it must be taken to mean the *next* morning. So Patr.'s pyre burns all night and is extinguished at dawn, *Ψ* 217/228, cf. *Ω* 665 f./785 ff. But the narrative is exceptionally elliptical, and the Trojans will now have a vacant day while the Achaeans build their fortifications. It is evident that this whole part of the poem is hastily composed, perhaps more of a draft than a fully finished version. We might suppose that 421–32 and 433–41 were blocks of text composed at different moments, that P never harmonized; or that he meant to put some extra lines after 432 in which the passage of a night was recorded. Possibly he did compose such lines but they somehow failed to get written down, or were accidentally omitted from an early copy. For the possibility of (very occasional) lacunae in the text see p. 73, n. 13.

435–40. ≈ 336–41; the *σκόλοπες* in 441 are a new detail. The tumulus is not mentioned again.

442–63. P knew the area around Troy, as did some of his audiences, and he was aware that there were no remains of any Achaean defences such as he has just invented (Schadewaldt 125 n. 0). He accounts for this by saying that the gods washed away all traces of them after the war (*M* 10–33); *ὁ δὲ πλάσας ποιητὴς ἠφάνισεν*, as Aristotle (fr. 162) pithily remarked. The present passage prepares for this and explains why it happened. The construction was doomed from the first day. Both passages, however, appear to be expansions; cf. 465, *M* 5–6, 10–33 nn.

450. *οὐδὲ θεοῖσι δόσαν κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας*: this was not mentioned above; cf. *M* 5–6 n.

451. *κλέος ἔσται*: *sc*. in P's poem.

***ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς*:** *EFH* 370; *IEPM* 85.

452–3. On the myth cf. *Z* 435 n.

458. After 451. The fame in question is not Poseidon's own but rather that **(p. 198)** of the walls of Troy, which had a permanent place in poetic tradition and could still be seen in P's time standing above ground to an imposing height.

465. This line makes a natural sequel to 441 and may have been composed before 442–64.

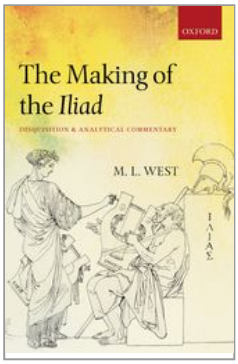
[466–81]. Instead of a formulaic statement that the Achaeans dined and went to bed (which they do in 482), we get a diverting but quite unconventional account of activity continuing through the night. Acc. to *I* 71 f. they got their wine by daily delivery from Thrace. But here there arrives a special shipment from Lemnos for the Atreidai. They market it to the troops, who barter whatever goods they have for it and go on feasting and drinking till all hours. The Trojans,

even without the wine bonanza, are doing likewise. Yet all this carousing is accompanied by tremendous thundering which fills them all with fear.

There are several reasons for thinking the passage interpolated. The little episode is quite inorganic and relates to nothing else in the poem. There is a contradiction between the statements that they feasted all night (476) and that they went to bed and slept (482); if 482 followed straight after 465, as it probably did originally, everything would be in order. As with the *Doloneia*, we seem to have a later poet, not content with the succession of action-filled days divided by inactive nights, inserting additional nocturnal activity. Finally, Wackernagel (*Unt*. 154–6) provided good arguments from both content (Lemnian wine, Euneos ~ the Attic Euneidai) and vocabulary (475 *ἀνδραπόδεσσι*) for regarding the interpolation (like 334 f.) as Attic; cf. VdM 142 f. One might also connect the *hapax βουφόνεον* (466) with the Attic Bouphonia.

468. *Ἰησονίδης Εὔνηος*: he appears in another connection at *Φ* 41, *Ψ* 747.

478. *σφιν*: probably the Achaeans rather than both sides, as the thundering is a portent of their setbacks in the coming battle.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary

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Θ

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The rhapsody begins with the divine council that I believe was composed to follow *H* 16 and lead into the *Λ* battle. As a result of the *H* 17–482 expansion it became the first event of the day of that battle.

The greater part of *Θ*, from 66, is occupied by the further expansion that contains the battle needed to motivate the Embassy. This engagement brings an advance copy of the setbacks that the Achaeans are to suffer the next day. As Erhardt puts it (119, cf. 123):

> So it comes about that in the short account in *Θ* we get the entire action of the later battle rhapsodies *Λ*–*O* anticipated in a brief excerpt, in which even Poseidon's later intervention finds its reflection in a short divagation. The purpose of this account explains its at times disconcerting brevity. Thus, of the difficulties that the Trojans encountered in pushing into the Greek fortifications, there is no trace in *Θ*, whereas later they suffice to fill a whole rhapsody. Apparently unhindered, Hector pushes forward to the ships (cf. also *Θ* 380, 490, 498 ff.) and is already threatening to set them on fire. But at this point this preliminary battle description had to break off: its aim was now achieved.

The day's fighting is indeed covered with great dispatch, occupying less than 300 lines (66–349). Zeus goes to Ida to watch it (41–52), returning at 438 because no more of it is going to be related; the sun sets at 485. The narrative is greatly enlivened by the addition of the Olympian scenes in 198–211, 350–484. But they are not there just to amuse. As noted in *E* 711–909 n., Hera's and Athena's abortive initiative, undertaken in defiance of Zeus' orders, serves to demonstrate that he is capable of enforcing his ban on other gods' interference,

and that the Achaeans' divine supporters cannot now save them from a battering.

1. The wall-building expansion has ended with a completed day, and the divine council now becomes the prelude to the next day. A line signalling daybreak is accordingly attached to it. In Zen.'s text it was attached at the end, after 52 (sch *Θ* 1a *ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος μετατίθη σι τὴν ἀνατολὴν κάτω κτλ.*; cf. *Z* 119–236 n.). It certainly goes better at the beginning, but it is conceivable that P added it to the end, together with the lines about the Achaeans' morning preparations (53 ff.): an early rhapsode might have transposed it to the superior position, and Zen.'s copy might, as occasionally elsewhere, have preserved the original variant. **(p. 200)**

***Ἠὼς … κροκόπεπλος*:** *IEPM* 220 f. P does not have a single formula for the coming of dawn but varies his expression, cf. *A* 477, *B* 48 f., *Λ* 1 f., *T* 1 f.; the present line is repeated at *Ω* 695, and *A* 477 at *Ω* 788. None is used more than twice. Contrast P^{Od}'s use of the same formula *ἦμος δ᾽ ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς* twenty times.

2–52. Zeus calls the gods to assembly and prohibits them in the sternest terms from interfering in the fighting on either side. I have suggested in chapter 5 that this originally belonged with the *ΔEZ* expansion (following *H* 16) and was designed to draw a line under the unregulated interventions by gods in *E*, which were not matched in what was to follow in *Λ*. From here on, until the nightfall in *Σ*, it remains the case that the gods do not in principle join in, unless it be behind Zeus' back or on his specific direction. Cf. Schadewaldt 116 f. For the theme of the divine assembly cf. *A* 531–3 n.; for Zeus' threatening tone, *EFH* 370 f.

3. = *A* 499, *E* 754. In those passages this topmost peak was a place where Zeus sat alone, and it was distinct from his house in which the gods assembled (cf. *Y* 4–12).

5. *πάντές τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι*: *IEPM* 102 f. In 7 again the explicit mention of both sexes is appropriate to prescriptive language, to exclude any possible let-out.

9. *ὄφρα τάχιστα τελευτήσω τάδε ἔργα*: alluding to Zeus' master plan. He has not explained to the gods what it is, but in what follows they are treated as knowing it, cf. 37, 370–2, *Λ* 78 f.

10. Cf. *B* 391 n.

13–16. One of several passages in *Θ* that seem to echo Hes. *Th*. For 13 cf. *Th*. 868 and 721; for 15, *Th*. 811; for 16, *Th*. 720, where it is not 'as far below Hades'

but ‘as far below the earth’; P outbids Hesiod (Wil. 57 n. 1, Bethe ii. 311–13). For the multi-storey universe cf. *EFH* 139.

14. *ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον*: cf. *EFH* 159.

18–27. A fantasy of Babylonian inspiration: *EFH* 371.

20. After 5.

28–37. Zeus’ uncompromising proclamation hardly allows of any debate, but the formulaic reaction (*Γ* 95–6 n.) entails a response from someone. Athena pleads that ‘we’ are concerned for the Achaeans and afraid lest Zeus’ malignity bring about their total destruction. She and the other gods of like mind will obey his edict and not help in the fighting, but they reserve the right to guide the Achaeans’ counsels.

39–40. Zeus’ reply =*X* 183 f., where it fits better (Naber 143, *contra* Reinhardt 459 f.), as it marks a genuine backing down by Zeus and is followed by ‘do as you will’. Here it is hardly appropriate for him to say ‘I don’t really mean it’. He is certainly not giving Athena permission to fight for the **(p.201)** Achaeans after all (cf. 360 ff., 420). It seems that he is prepared to tolerate such things as Hera’s inspiring Ag. at 218 f.

41–50. Chariot journey: *Γ* 259–66 n.

42. *ὠκυπέτα*: *IEPM* 466 f.

***χρυσέηισιν ἐθείρηισιν κομόωντε*:** ibid. 153, and for the golden items in 43 f., *B* 448, *E* 724–31 nn.

45–6, 49–50. ≈ *E* 768 f., 775 f.

51–2. *ἐν κορυφῆισι*: Zeus’ favourite kind of place.

***καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων, | εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν*: =** *Λ* 81 f., where he is on Olympus.

53–65. I take this passage to have been composed together with the *H* expansion, to provide an opening for the *Λ* battle, which had previously followed on from the fighting in *ΔEZ*. 60–5 are duplicated from *Δ* 446–51; cf. *Δ* 446–56 n.

With Zeus in position to oversee the action, the two armies make their preparations. The succinctness with which their feeding and arming themselves is reported makes an extreme contrast with the corresponding portion of *B*.

56. *παυρότεροι*: cf. *B* 123–8 n.

58. = *B* 809. For [59] =*B* 810 cf. *Studies* 201.

66–7. Here begins the new expansion that will accommodate the Embassy. These initial lines are duplicated from *Λ* 84 f. which previously followed at this point.

68. For midday as a typical dividing point in battle narrative see *IEPM* 473 f.

69–72. Zeus finally takes action. For the motif of weighing fatalities in the balance cf. *EFH* 393 f. It is more properly used in the context of single combat, as at *X* 209–13 (though cf. *Π* 658, *T* 223); *ῥέπε δ᾽ αἴσιμον ἦμαρ* ought to signify immediate death. One might say that Zeus is not himself intervening in the battle, merely taking a reading of what is destined. But he is the sole owner of the scales, and when he does a weighing, the revelation of what is destined is poetically equivalent to his making it so. By being determined in one sense, it becomes determined in the other.

When the gods left the battle at the end of *E*, the result was that the Achaeans gained the upper hand, reflecting their intrinsic superiority (*Z* 2–4 n.). Now the opposite happens; Zeus and poetic necessity require it.

[73–4]. A rhetorical expansion. In 70 each army has one collective *κὴρ θανάτοιο*, and the use of dual (*ἐζέσθην*) for plural is un-Homeric (*Studies* 41 f., 77). Possibly 75–7 (del. Düntzer) should also be suspect, as a weak anticipation of the more purposeful thunderbolt at 133.

78–9. As an account of how Zeus' plan began to take effect, this sudden **(p.202)** wholesale retreat is remarkably perfunctory in comparison with the amplitude of the narrative in *Λ*–*O*. But it must be remembered that that is the primary account, in part at least already composed; P's present objective is just a preliminary reverse sufficient to motivate the embassy to Ach.

Idomeneus, Ag., and the Aiante are four of the first five eager heroes in the list at *H* 162 ff. The fifth, Diom., will now emerge as the bravest (cf. *H* 398–9 n.). The other one worthy to be named in this company, Od., will be dealt with in 92–8.

80. *Νέστωρ*: apart from *Z* 66, where he merely shouts advice, this is the first time we have seen him in battle. He is portrayed neither as the front-rank hero he had once been (by his own accounts, which we have no reason to query) nor as a sub-standard one. He is in trouble now, but through no fault of his own; in 112 he is not afraid to join Diom. in attacking Hector.

81–2. *ἵππος … τὸν βάλεν ἰῶι | δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος*: to have one of his horses hit by an arrow was the most convenient way of holding Nestor up without putting him in immediate personal danger. Paris was the obvious man to shoot the arrow. For the motif of the killed horse cf. *IEPM* 486. The incident was replicated in the *Aethiopis* by an episode summarized in Pind. *Pyth*. 6. 28–42. There Nestor's son Antilochos came to his aid as Memnon approached; he saved

his father's life but lost his own (cf. *δ* 187 f.). Many Analyst and Neoanalyst critics have regarded the Antilochos episode as prior and the present passage as derivative. I hold that Memnon was a post-Iliadic invention and that the *Iliad* passage is the original. Cf. Schadewaldt 97 n. 2; *CQ* 53 (2003), 10 f.

87. *παρηορίας*: the presupposition of the narrative is that Nestor had three horses, the normal pair plus a trace-horse. The trace-horse has been hit and the traces must be cut so that the chariot can move away. The other two horses remain usable (104, 109, 113), but are not in fact used: we expect Nestor to ride off with them (Heitsch 213), but instead they are taken care of by attendants while he joins Diom. in the latter's chariot.

The three-horse arrangement is paralleled only in *Π* 148 ff./467 ff. There too the trace-horse is killed and the traces are cut to free the others. That episode seems more purposefully designed than the present one and may be its model. Cf. Heitsch 210–31; id., *Rh. Mus*. 151 (2008), 1–12.

88–90. Now danger approaches at speed in the most acute form: Hector himself.

91–8. Diom. at once turns to save Nestor. He calls for support to Od., the one major hero still in view, but he too, like Ag. and the others, *οὐ τλῆ μίμνειν*. Contrast Diom.'s response to Od.'s call to stand by him at *Λ* 312 ff.: they fight together until Diom. is wounded and forced to withdraw. The two collaborate also in the *Doloneia*, in killing Palamedes in the *Cypria* (fr. 27), **(p.203)** and in fetching Philoctetes from Lemnos and capturing the Palladion in the *Little Iliad*.

95. Perhaps a motif from paraenetic poetry, cf. Tyrt. 11. 17 f.

97. *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*: this formula, so common in *Od*., is restricted in *Il*. to *Θ I K* and *Ψ*.

98. *ἀλλὰ παρήϊξεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν*: he plays no further part in the day's fighting.

99. *Τυδείδης δ' … προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη*: after *E* 134; less apt here.

***αὐτός περ ἐὼν*:** the hero stands alone against many; cf. *IEPM* 481.

100. *στῆ δὲ*: the typical step between approaching someone and addressing him.

104. *ἠπεδανὸς δέ νύ τοι θεράπων, βραδέες δέ τοι ἵπποι*: by contrast with Diom.'s Sthenelos (114) and the horses he has captured from Aeneas. Cf. *Ψ* 309–10 n. For the motif of the warrior stranded by the failure of his transport and rescued in another chariot see *IEPM* 486.

105–7. Repeated from *E* 221–3.

108. *οὕς ποτ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην*: as related in *E*. But *ποτε* is oddly used of what happened three days ago.

***μήστωρε φόβοιο*:** after *E* 272; see *Studies* 201.

109–10. *τώδε δὲ νῶϊ | Τρωσὶν ἔφ᾽ ἱπποδάμοις ἰθύνομεν*: in the course of the episode Hector's chariot charge towards Nestor is converted into a chariot charge of Diom. with Nestor towards Hector.

111. *δόρυ μαίνεται*: cf. *Π* 75; *EFH* 371, *IEPM* 462.

114. *Εὐρυμέδων*: a name already given to a *θεράπων* of Ag. at *Δ* 228. Nestor's one will appear again at *Λ* 620.

116. The lesser warrior takes the reins; cf. *E* 218–38 n.

117. *τάχα δ᾽ Ἕκτορος ἄγχι γένοντο*: Hector is treated as being no nearer than when last seen at 90.

119–22. The throw that misses the master but kills his charioteer or attendant is a recurrent motif, cf. 311 ff., *Π* 463 ff., 736 ff., *P* 609 ff.; Strasburger 44 n. 4; Fenik 61, 204.

***Ἠνιοπῆα*:** mentioned only here.

126. *ἡνίοχον … θρασύν*: after 89, where Hector himself was driving. The epithet carries over to Archeptolemos in 128 (and 312).

128. *Ἀρχεπτόλεμον*: he will presently suffer the same fate as Eniopeus.

130–1. Hector has got a replacement charioteer, Diom. has used up one of his spears, and yet suddenly the narrative proceeds as if Hector and the whole Trojan army had turned to flight with Diom. in hot pursuit. P must have imagined, and intended to describe, a continuation of the Diom.–Hector engagement that resulted in Hector's turning tail. Surely some lines are missing here, whether through P's remissness or an early fault of transmission; **(p.204)** cf. *H* 433 n. One may say that P's mind has leapt ahead; but that is the same as saying that he has forgotten to put in an essential link. See *Z* 5–72 or *Λ* 292–309 or *Π* 632–97 or *P* 312–18 or *Φ* 520–43 for the sort of passage that ought to lead up to *ἔνθά κε λοιγὸς ἔην κτλ*.

***ἠΰτε ἄρνες*:** for this simile for fleeing troops cf. *EFH* 247.

132–5. The magnificent Diom. has swum against and almost reversed the tide of destiny that was pressing the Achaeans back to their ships. Only Zeus' direct intervention can stop him, and the only instrument at Zeus' disposal is the

thunderbolt. Nowhere else, apart from the doubtful 75 f., does he launch one directly into the fighting. Attack reversed by god thundering: *EFH* 371.

137. ≈ 116. Nestor is the one to be struck with fear and to give prudent counsel, which Diom. follows.

139–44. Cf. *E* 601–6 n.

141–2. ≈ *H* 290 f.; for the justification for retreat cf. *Γ* 439 f.

146–50. Diom. recognizes the quality of Nestor's advice but is still reluctant to withdraw; he is moved by fear not of Hector or Zeus but of taunts. 146 =*A* 286.

147. *ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος*: cf. *Δ* 169, where Ag. goes on to imagine shameful things that the Trojans may say, ending with (182) *ὣς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών* ≈ *Θ* 150.

157. It is still Nestor who actually turns away.

158. *ἀν' ἰωχμόν*: after 89; the noun nowhere else in Hom.

160–6. The idea of Hector's taunting Diom. with cowardice is immediately realized.

161–2. Refers back to the dinner at *H* 321, though Hector was not present to witness it.

***ἔδρηι τε κρέασίν τε*:** *EFH* 371 f.

167–71. Diom. is half minded to stop and face Hector again; it still takes Zeus to deter him, with a menacing reminder of the thunderbolt. For the triple impulse cf. *E* 436–44 n.

171–6. The thunder is a good omen for the Trojans. Hector draws attention to it and urges them forward. 172–6 ≈ *Λ* 285–9.

177–9. Hector now has his sights on the Achaeans' new fortifications, which he dismisses as paltry and ineffective.

180–2. P looks ahead to the final phase of the battle at the ships and makes Hector provide now for its climax, when he will call for fire (*O* 718) and need it to be on hand. But he will come close to firing the ships in the present battle (217, 235).

184–97. Heroes speaking to their horses: *IEPM* 467 f. As to why Hector's require special urging at this point, see 213 n.

[185]. *Studies* 12 f., 202. **(p.205)**

187. = *Z* 395.

189–90. Suspect lines: *Studies* 202.

192–5. There has been no previous mention of these special pieces of armament, and they will not be heard of again. Diom. was evidently not wearing this corslet three days before, when he exchanged his armour with Glaukos; it can hardly be part of the golden armour that he received from Glaukos. See 213 n.

192. *τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει*: cf. *IEPM* 407 f.

195. *τὸν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων*: cf. *H* 219–23 n.

196. *εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν*: after *E* 273; hence the unnatural dual.

197. *αὐτονυχεὶ*: without waiting for a further day of fighting.

198–212. The discontent of the three pro-Achaean deities was voiced by Athena in 31–7. The boldest of them, Hera, now endeavours to enlist the third, Poseidon, for a rebellion against Zeus' ordinance, but he demurs, knowing they are no match for Zeus. (He will act in *N*–*Ξ*, when Zeus is out of the way.) Presently (350–437) she will make another attempt with Athena, who is more willing to join her, but Zeus puts a stop to their initiative.

199. *σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνωι*: the Olympian counterpart of a cult statue shaking or giving some other physical sign of the deity's displeasure; see *EFH* 486.

***ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον*:** after *A* 530 (Zeus), cf. *Θ* 443; hardly appropriate to Hera. The verse may be interpolated (Schadewaldt 100 n. 2).

201. *ὦ πόποι, Ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές*: = *H* 455, where it comes between *τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη* and *οἷον ἔειπες*, ≈ 208 f. below.

205–11. Hera suggests that the three of them together would be able to overcome Zeus. Poseidon makes a different assessment. Neither recalls the precedent alluded to in *A* 399 ff.

206. *εὐρύοπα Ζῆν*: *A* 498 n.

210. After *Z* 141.

213. *ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργεν*: the fortifications are now seen as part of the battle arena. But the expression is obscure. *Prima facie*, *ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν … τάφρος ἔεργεν* suggests the area inside the fortifications, though *ἀπὸ πύργου* is then difficult. On the other hand, as there has been no mention of the Trojans crossing the trench or breaching the wall, we should expect the fighting to be currently confined to the area between the trench and the Trojan front;

paraphrase then ‘all the space delimited by the trench that came forward from the wall and kept them away from the ships’. Sch^{AbT} and most critics uphold a third interpretation, namely the area *between* the wall and the trench.

The indications of the following narrative suit the first interpretation. Hector seems to be within reach of the ships (217), Ag. is among the ships and **(p.206)** shouts to the army from there (220 ff.), and they see a portent that occurs at an altar they have there (249 ff.). At 255 ff. Diom. and other leaders drive out from the trench. But why, in that case, is there no previous mention of either army having crossed the trench or the wall?

The explanation must be sought in discontinuities of the composition process. After Hector’s prediction that his horses will easily leap over the trench (179), his appeal to them to repay him for their generous *κομιδή* (186) may seem to herald the undertaking of that feat. I suspect that P originally made them do it, and composed 213–65 on the premise that Hector was now rampaging within the defences. Then he may have realized the difficulties this involved: after the trench there was the wall to be negotiated; the Achaeans also had to be described retreating behind the fortifications; and when they rallied, Hector and his chariot had to be got out again. Deciding that all this was impracticable, he may then have eliminated Hector’s leap over the trench, replacing that part of the speech to the horses which referred to it with the autoschediasm about Nestor’s shield and Diom.’s corslet, and the leap itself with the dialogue between Hera and Poseidon that we read in 198–212, but failing to revise 213–65 so that the fighting remained outside the trench.

On this hypothesis 213–16 were originally composed as a description of the press inside the fortifications. P may at first have had *ἐπὶ πύργους* in 213 (cf. Leaf) and then changed it to *ἀπὸ πύργου* in an infelicitous effort to alter the meaning. It is noteworthy that apart from this mention of the *πύργος* the wall, though commented on by Hector in 177, seems to be ignored in the description of the act ion; see 255, 336, 343–7 n. Hölscher’s conjecture *ἀπ᾽ ὀρυκτὴ τάφρος* should be noted (ap. Reinhardt 195 n. 7, cl. *Π* 369).

215. *εἰλομένων· εἶλει δὲ*: *IEPM* 111.

216. *ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν*: hinting at his later downfall when Zeus withdraws his protection.

217. *καί νύ κ᾽ ἐνέπρησεν … νῆας*: Hector would have achieved what he envisaged in 182; as complete a triumph for the Trojans as the one held out in 130 f. for the Achaeans. As usual, the unfulfilled condition signals a change in the action. P knows he cannot bring the battle to such a swift conclusion. The new development is initiated by Hera; unable to fight the Trojans directly, she

still has licence to assist the Achaeans with advice and inspiration (28–37, 39–40 nn.). She puts into Ag.'s mind the idea of shouting encouragement to his men.

228. = *E* 787.

229–34. 'Remember the boasts we made in our cups': cf. *IEPM* 478. References to past boasts are typically invented *ad hoc*, cf. *E* 832 f., *Y* 83–5, *Φ* 475–7.

230. *ἐν Λήμνωι*: the Achaeans' last port of call before they reached hostile territory. Their feasting and drinking there may have been a feature of a **(p. 207)** narrative known to P; for the wine of the island cf. the suspect passage *H* 467 ff. Acc. to the *Cypria* it was while the Achaeans were feasting that Philoctetes was bitten by the snake, but that was on Tenedos, not Lemnos.

233. *ἄνθ᾽ ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε ἕκαστος*: a feature of the ideal hero, *IEPM* 481 f.

236–44. An Achaean rally depends on Zeus being willing to put a brake on the headlong Trojan advance. P accordingly makes Ag.'s exhortation to the army develop into a prayer to Zeus. He reminds him of all the offerings he made on the way to Troy (cf. *EFH* 273 f., *IEPM* 324). There may have been local claims that 'Ag. sacrificed here', as there were claims that he established certain cults (Thgn. 11 f., Sapph. 17). He now prays, not for victory, but that they may at least get away with their lives.

237. *τῆιδ᾽ ἄτηι ἆσας*: cf. *B* 111–15 =*I* 18–22.

245–52. Zeus relents and sends an omen: the eagle that has the fawn in its clutches releases it. That it falls beside the altar of Zeus Panomphaios (not mentioned elsewhere in Hom.) confirms that it is a genuine omen. On bird omens cf. *A* 69–70 n.

254. *Τυδείδαο*: Diom. continues as protagonist.

255. *τάφρου τ᾽ ἐξελάσαι*: cf. 213 n.

256. *πρῶτος*: *Δ* 457 n.

258–9. ≈ *E* 40 f., also the first killing in a series.

261–6. Instead of continuing the series of individual killings in the usual way, P simply gives a list (adapted from *H* 162 ff., but omitting Thoas and Od.: cf. 98 and 266 nn.) of heroes who followed Diom. in the breakout, even leaving a verb to be understood. This serves as a lead-in to Teukros' aristeia. We do not hear what any of the rest did by way of fighting, apart from Ajax's assistance to Teukros.

266. *Τεῦκρος*: scarcely mentioned hitherto (*Z* 31 n.), the Achaeans' champion archer, brother or half-brother of Ajax, now has a brief spell of glory, killing ten Trojans and threatening Hector himself until disabled. He is absent in *Λ*, but appears more regularly in *M*–*O* and in the archery contest in *Ψ*. The motif of an Achaean champion whose wounding undermines their resistance is repeated from *Λ*; the major heroes Ag., Diom., and Od. could not be used in this way here, as their woundings are already booked for *Λ*.

***εἴνατος*:** with the inclusion of Men. and Teukros and the exclusion of Thoas and Od., the number remains the same as in the prior list (*H* 161 *ἐννέα πάντες*).

267. *στῆ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Αἴαντος σάκεϊ*: he and Ajax operate as a team in this scene; they were the original Aiante (*Δ* 273 n.). But he is unequivocally treated here as a separate figure from the Aiantes of 262. Cf. *M* 335–414 n.

273. *τίνα πρῶτον*: *E* 703 n. **(p.208)**

274. *Ὄρμενον*: the name is re-used at *M* 187.

275. *Χρομίον*: two men of this name were killed in *E*, one a son of Priam (160), the other a Lycian (677).

276. *Μελάνιππον*: others of this name are killed at *O* 576 and *Π* 695.

278–99. The dialogue with Ag. steadies the pace of the narrative. No similar exchange occurs in the middle of the fighting elsewhere (Fenik 226). It recalls Ag.'s conversations with individual heroes in the Epipolesis; 278 ≈ *Δ* 255, 283, 311.

281. *Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν*: after *H* 234 (=*I* 644, *Λ* 465).

282. *αἴ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι*: cf. *Z* 6 n.

285. *καὶ τηλόθ᾽ ἐόντα*: Telamon is still alive on Salamis, cf. Soph. *Aj*. 462, 1008, al.; Gantz 694.

295. *ἐξ οὗ προτὶ Ἴλιον ὡσάμεθ᾽ αὐτούς*: referring hyperbolically to the breakout in 251 ff.

297. *ὀκτὼ*: the correct total of the kills listed in 274–6.

299. He implies that he has been trying unsuccessfully to shoot Hector, a mild contradiction of the claim that all his arrows have met their marks, but in effect an advance commentary on 300 ff.

***κύνα λυσσητῆρα*:** Hector's *λύσσα*, by etymology 'wolf-fury', is spoken of at *I* 239, 305, *N* 53; so of Ach., *Φ* 542. Cf. *EFH* 213 f., *IEPM* 450 f.

302. Cf. 119–22 n.

309–10. After 300 f.

311. *παρέσφηλεν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνν*: a typical explanation of a missile's missing its target; P forgets for the moment that the gods are under a veto. Cf. *Λ* 434–8 n.

312. *Ἀρχεπτόλεμον*: 128; for *θρασύν* cf. 126 n.

313–17. ≈ 121–5; [315] is a concordance interpolation from there.

318. *Κεβριόνην*: as soon as the new man has taken charge of the chariot, Hector dismounts and Kebriones disappears from view; he is being reserved for later. Following occasional appearances in *Λ*–*N*, he will be killed by Patr. and his body captured by the Achaeans after a major struggle (*Π* 727–82).

***ἀδελφεὸν*:** but illegitimate, *Π* 738.

321. = *E* 302.

322. *βαλέειν δέ ἑ θυμὸς ἀνώγει*: a variation on 301 = 310.

325–7. This place is chosen for the boulder to hit because it is where Teukros' right hand is holding the bowstring.

326. *μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν*: after 84; less suitable here where the blow is not fatal.

328. *ῥῆξε δέ οἱ νευρήν*: cf. *IEPM* 485.

329. *στῆ δὲ γνὺξ ἐριπών*: after *E* 309, where the boulder hit the victim's hip.
(p.209)

330–4. ≈ *N* 419–23, where (if 422 is genuine) the same Mekisteus and Alastor appear as *ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι* of one Hypsenor and/or of Antilochos.

331. *θέων*: less appropriate here than in *N* 420, as Teukros has been shooting from the protection of Ajax's shield.

335–42. With Teukros removed, the Trojans once again get the upper hand and push the Achaeans back towards their defences. Hector has not long been out of sight, but his irruption in the new phase of action brings a simile with it (cf. *E* 87–92 n.). The picture of a single hound snapping at the hind quarters of a retreating lion is unrealistic, but sch^{bT} acutely notes that 'the Greeks' were basically the stronger and had to be represented by stronger animals.

342. = *Λ* 178.

343–7. ≈ *O* 1–3, 367–9. The wall is ignored: after crossing the trench, they are at the ships. Cf. 213 n.

348. Here the trench proves a barrier to Hector's chariot. He is reduced to dashing to and fro on the far side, trying to find a way across.

350–484. So far as the military situation is concerned, P has now reached the point required to motivate the embassy to Ach., and he will take the fighting no further for the day. Before bringing the sun down, however, he will give us further scenes portraying Hera's and Athena's dissent from Zeus and showing that they cannot now translate it into effective help for the Achaeans. This episode is the model for the parallel excursion in *E*, cf. *E* 711–909 n.

350–2. ≈ *E* 711–14.

358–80. In *E* Athena made no reply to Hera's initial speech but just got on with assisting her. Here she has a long speech in which she sets out her grudge against Zeus and a programme of action.

360. *μαίνεται*: after 355, for which see *E* 185 n.

362–9. Athena recalls what she has done for Zeus in the past. Her assistance to Heracles in his Labours was an established feature of the myth, cf. *λ* 626, Hes. *Th*. 318, [Hes.] *Sc*. 125–7.

370–2. Disdaining Athena, Zeus is doing what Thetis wants. She too has earned his favour by past services, as we recall from *A* 396 ff. Athena should not really know about Thetis' supplication and Zeus' motive in allowing the Trojans to prevail; cf. 9 n. and *Studies* 202 f.

375. *καταδῦσα Διὸς δόμον*: see *E* 734 n.

381–96. = *E* 719–21 + 733–7 + 745–52.

385–7. Cf. *Studies* 203.

393. *πύλαι … οὐρανοῦ*: *E* 749 n. In the present context the gates mark the line that the goddesses ought not to cross. 'Hinter dem Tor beginnt die Region des Unerlaubten' (Reinhardt 146, cf. 148). It is at the 'first gates' (411 n.) that they are stopped and turned back.

397. *Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδηθεν ἐπεὶ ἴδε*: cf. *E* 753–4 n. **(p.210)**

***χώσατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αἰνῶς*:** for the motif of the chief god's anger on discovering another god's actions contrary to his own plans cf. *Ξ* 256 ff.; *EFH* 180.

398–9. ≈ *Λ* 185 f. As there, it is conveniently assumed that Iris is near at hand.

399–405. Zeus threatens to do the errant goddesses violence in the style of 12–16 unless they are kept out of his sight. He does not give Iris a verbatim message.

404. *ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς*: for the length of time cf. Hes. *Th*. 801 (n.), where a god who swears falsely by the water of Styx lies in a coma for a year and is then banished from the divine company for nine years, returning in the tenth. As in 16, P goes a step further than Hes.: the lesions of Zeus' thunderbolt victims will not heal *even* in ten years

[410]. Probably (despite my caution in *Studies* 203) a concordance interpolation from *O* 79. *δ' ἐξ* is an error in my edition for *δὲ κατ'*.

411. *πρώτῃσιν δὲ πύλῃσι*: in 396 they are already going through the gates, so presumably these 'first' ones are the first that one reaches from below; they are intercepted at the last moment. Iris has evidently travelled from Ida as swift as thought, as Hera does in *O* 79–83.

413. *μαίνεται*: after 355, 360.

[421–4]. *Studies* 203.

427. After 352.

428. *βροτῶν ἕνεκα*: Hera justifies the abandonment of the initiative by adopting a disinterested view of all human affairs; cf. *A* 574 n.

431. *δικαζέτω*: suggesting the concept of war as litigation with god as adjudicator; cf. *EFH* 565 f.

432. ≈ 157.

433–5. The horses and chariot are put tidily away. The Horai at the gates (393) are pressed into service for the occasion.

436. *χρυσέοισιν ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι*: *EFH* 112, *IEPM* 154.

438–43. The day's action being concluded, it remains for Zeus to return from his Idaean vantage-point to Olympus.

438. *ἐΰτροχον ἅρμα*: *IEPM* 469.

439. *θεῶν … θώκους*: cf. *A* 533–5 n.

440–3. Matching 433–7. Zeus' horses are taken care of by Poseidon perhaps not so much because of his association with horses as because he is thought of as next to Zeus in greatness.

442. *χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον*: cf. 436 n.

443. ≈ Hes. *Th*. 842, where Zeus is coming after Typhoeus with thunderbolts. In the present passage the shaking of Olympus has little point except to underline Zeus' dominance (and it might more logically have been attributed to his backside than to his feet). Cf. 199 n. **(p.211)**

444–84. P could have left it there with all the gods back in their places. He has chosen to round off the day as he began it with a confrontation between Zeus and the pro-Achaean goddesses. In the earlier scene Athena spoke for both of them, here Hera does so.

445–6. ≈ *A* 332 f.

450–1. *χεῖρες ἄαπτοι | … ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ᾽ ἐν Ὀλύμπωι*: ≈ *A* 566 f.

454–6. He repeats to their faces, in different words, the threat he had communicated through Iris.

457–65. Repeated from *Δ* 20–5 + *Θ* 32–4, with the omission of *Δ* 21. (458 is a concordance interpolation, as are 466–8.)

470–6. One of the occasional passages where P through Zeus' mouth sketches the outlines of the later narrative that he plans; it anticipates the failure of the Embassy. For the motif 'tomorrow you will see me…' see *IEPM* 474 f.

471. *βοῶπι πότνια Ἥρηι*: the metrical irregularity results from adapting the nominative formula; cf. *B* 6 n.

472. *αἰχμητάων*: after 464.

474. *ὄρθαι*: ~ *Σ* 170/203.

475. *ἤματι τῶι, ὅτ᾽ ἂν*: oddly used of the morrow (contrast *X* 359); perhaps originally composed for an earlier context such as Zeus' conversation with Thetis in *A*. But in looking ahead, P is telescoping events of two days, the battle for Patr.'s body which was completed when Ach. *ὦρτο* (*Σ* 203) and the death of Hector.

477. *ὡς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι*: this is the only place in *Il*. where something is said to be *θέσφατον*, by etymology 'god-spoken', by usage 'fated'. Zeus represents the destined course of events as fixed by something more unalterable than his own will; it has in fact been determined by a higher power, namely P (and whatever poetic tradition P regards as fixed).

478–82. The reference to Tartarus recalls 13–16, but here it seems to be a question of Hera herself going there voluntarily. The idea may be that she might go to seek assistance from there, as in *Ξ* 271 ff. she calls the Titans to witness her oath and as in *Hymn. Ap*. 331 ff., angry with Zeus for fathering Athena, she

goes apart from the gods and prays to Earth, Heaven, and the Titans for a son stronger than Zeus and born without his aid.

We have already noted several apparent echoes in *Θ* of Hes. *Th*. (13–16, 404, 443 nn.), and here are more: *πείρατα γαίης καὶ πόντοιο* ≈ *Th*. 736–8; *Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε* ≈ *Th*. 18 (n.); no sunlight ≈ *Th*. 759 f.

485–8. Night falls with unformulaic lines and a reminder of the decided advantage that the Trojans now have over the Achaeans.

486. *ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν*: as if a dark fabric; cf. *IEPM* 372.

489–542. Hitherto the Trojans have returned each night to the safety of **(p. 212)** their city. Tonight they will camp on the plain outside the Achaean defences. Hector sets out the programme in a long speech.

490–1. Why does Hector lead the army away from the camp? It might be explained from their need of access to the river for water (490). Yet there seems no poetic necessity for the withdrawal, and at *I* 76 and 232 (cf. *Σ* 259) they are said to be encamped near the ships and the wall. In *K*, on the other hand, they are further off, and the Achaean leaders are able to hold a meeting outside the trench, *K* 194 ff., where 199 =*Θ* 491. Perhaps therefore 490–1 are an insertion by P^{K} (re-using one of his own verses) to prepare for the *Doloneia*.

493–6. After *Z* 318–20 + *B* 109, to give an impressive picture of the now dominant commander as he addresses his army in the dusk.

505–7. They cannot skip their dinners, and P realizes that this entails fetching provisions from the city—and glossing over the length of time that this would realistically take. Hence 506 *καρπαλίμως*; cf. *H* 337 n.

524–9. These lines, condemned by Payne Knight, may represent an afterthought by P. In 530 f. we seem to have a sufficient statement of what the Trojans are to do in the morning. P may then have had the idea of inserting another speech in the beginning of *Λ* in which Hector would give further directions; this is what 525 promises, but the promise is not fulfilled.

[528]. The line, absent from Zen.'s text, shows misunderstanding of 527 and cannot be by the same poet: *Studies* 204.

532–4. For the alternatives, 'he me or I him', cf. *Λ* 429–33 n. Diom. is still identified as the focal figure of the Achaean resistance. He and Hector will clash again the next day (*Λ* 343 ff.) without either achieving a decisive victory.

[535–7], 538–41. *Studies* 204.

539. *ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως*: *B* 447 n.

***ἤματα πάντα*:** *EFH* 241, *IEPM* 91.

540–1. = *N* 827 f.; *ἠμέρη ἤδε* goes better there (Naber 146), and would have gone better still in a speech at the beginning of *Λ* (cf. 524–9 n.).

543–7. These lines correspond to the instructions in 503–7, but the killing of the animals and the feasting pass unmentioned in the manuscript tradition, with only 549 to indicate it. [Pl.] *Alcib*. II 149d offers the extra line (548) *ἔρδον δ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι τελησσας ἑκατόμβας*, and three further lines after 549. One is disinclined to accept plus-lines from a quotation, but it must be granted that the text of the main tradition is remarkably elliptical.

553–65. It is really time we went across to see what the Achaeans were doing (*I* 1 ff.), but for the sake of thematic continuity (or perhaps to conclude a recitation) P carries on into this lovely descriptive passage which sees the Trojans through the night. **(p.213)**

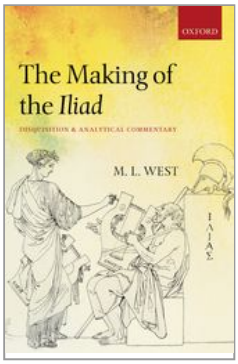
555–61. For the simile cf. *EFH* 246; *IEPM* 95 f.**[557–8]**. *Studies* 204 f.

560. *μεσηγὺ νεῶν ἠδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων*: cf. 490; *E* 774 n.

562–3. Cf. *B* 123–8 n. By this reckoning the Trojans and their allies number 50,000. (Zen.’s variant with *μυρία* has no plausibility.) As for the Achaeans, if their 1186 ships had a standard complement of 50 (*B* 719), and only the Boeotian ships held 120 (*B* 510), their total would come to 62,800, minus however many had been killed at Troy. P may not have made any such calculations, but the figures he gives are consistent with the recurrent statements that the Achaeans had the larger force.

564. ≈ *E* 196.

565. *ἐΰθρονον Ἠῶ*: cf. Wil. 31 n. 2; *IEPM* 221 n. 90.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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I

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We have heard what the Trojans are doing and their confident plans for the morning. That is the background against which the Embassy to Achilles takes place. It will not change the situation, but it is an important element in the expanded structure and will occupy the whole of this longish rhapsody.

With this rhapsody, most readers feel, we return to composition of the highest quality, comparable to that in *A* or *Z*. The contrast with *HΘ* is not due to difference of authorship; *HΘI* are organically connected, *HΘ* containing the essential preparatory narrative for *I*. It is due to the comparative haste with which that preparatory narrative was composed. Now that the Embassy itself approaches, P gives full rein to his most fluent inspiration on an ample scale. But he did not compose it all in one sweep. We shall find here some of the most telling examples in *Il*. of authorial changes and expansions.

1–8. The transition is overdue, cf. *Θ* 553–65 n. As with a battle description, we start with an overall view, illuminated by a simile, and then focus on individuals. The rhapsody-division obscures the fact that the storm simile makes a diptych with the calm sky simile in *Θ* 555 ff. (Wil. 32).

9–78. Action is initiated by the calling of a meeting, with the heralds as intermediaries. 11 and 17 suggest a meeting of leaders, and it will be at such a meeting that Nestor will make the crucial proposal for the Embassy (96 ff.). The present gathering, however, soon appears as an assembly of the whole army (30, 50). It achieves nothing. Ag. makes a despondent speech and proposes that they abandon the war and return to Argos. We might expect the men to react as they did to a similar proposal in *B*. But they sit in perplexity, and all that happens is that Diom. declares that he and Sthenelos at any rate will stay and continue the

war. Nestor then adjourns the meeting and calls for a smaller conclave of the elder counsellors over dinner in Ag.'s hut; that will then lead to the Embassy.

The original point of the plenary assembly and Ag.'s speech may have been to provide the occasion for the stampede to the ships that is now located in *B* (Erhardt 133, 137 f.). The corresponding speech in *B* is derived from the one here (18–28 n.), and we have seen indications that the whole *πεῖρα* episode is a secondary insertion in *B* (*B* 73–5, 110–41, 225–42 nn.).

9. *βεβολημένος*: after 3.

10–14. Typical scene: people are called to assembly; they sit down; the king **(p. 215)** stands up to speak (Arend 116).10 after *B* 50, 442; but *λιγυφθόγγοισι* is here purely ornamental, as they are instructed not to raise their voices.

14–15. ≈ *Π* 3 f., where the streaming tears are more appropriate. Zen.'s text omitted the simile here, having *ἵστατο δάκρυ χέων, μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν* in place of 14–16. For the simile cf. *EFH* 231.

18–28. = *B* 111–18 + 139–41 (but see *B* 141 n.). The present passage was evidently composed first: here 18–20 refer naturally to the deceptive dream in *B*, and 21–2 to the recent battle losses, while in *B* 111–15 the same verses have no clear reference (Erhardt 132).

Zen. again had a shorter text, in which the speech ended at 22. But while 23–5 (athetized by Ar. Byz. and Aristarchus) are dispensable, 21–2 need to be followed up by the proposal in 26–8.

29. The typical silence (*Γ* 95–6 n.). There was a very different reaction at *B* 142 ff.

30. *τετιηότες*: after 13.

31. Diom. is exactly the one who might be expected to oppose Ag.'s defeatism, cf. *H* 398–9 n.

32–9. M. D. Reeve, *CQ* 22 (1972), 2 f., argues that these lines are secondary, noting that their language is far from precise, that *δαιμόνιε* (40) nearly always begins a speech, and that 'lines 40–9 are a complete and devastating answer to Agamemnon's proposal'. 32–9 are certainly infelicitous, and the speech would be better without them; they are at best an authorial insertion motivated by the desire to introduce a back-reference to Ag.'s criticism of Diom. in the Epipolesis, *Δ* 370–400.

41. *ἀπτολέμους … καὶ ἀνάλκιδας*: after 35.

42. *εἰ δέ τοι αὐτῶι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται ὥς τε νέεσθαι*: ≈ *A* 173.

47. After 27.

48–9. *μαχησόμεθ᾽ εἰς ὅ κε τέκμωρ | Ἰλίου εὔρωμεν*: ≈ *H* 30 f. For the motif of two heroes taking Troy on their own cf. *Π* 99 f., and the earlier sack by Heracles and Telamon (Pisander fr. 10 W., Hellan. fr. 109). In fact nothing more is heard of Sthenelos until the Funeral Games.

50–1. = *H* 403–4. Diom.'s speech has put new heart into the Achaeans.

52–78. Nestor speaks third after the first two speakers disagree, cf. *H* 365–78 n. The correct way forward is neither to abandon the war, as Ag. has proposed, nor to fight on as before, as Diom. wants. So he praises Diom. for having spoken as wisely as could be expected of a man of his age, but recommends further discussion among the *γέροντες*.

57. *νέος ἐσσί*: younger than Ag. and Od., *Ξ* 112; but counted as one of the senior counsellors collectively called *γέροντες*, cf. 696 and *B* 406.

63–4. The sententia is brought out as a counter to Diom.'s outright militarism, but it is not well integrated into the speech and may have been **(p.216)** composed for some other context (Wil. 35 f.; cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag*. 412 [ii. 217 n. 1]).

65–6. ≈ *Θ* 502 f.

66. *ἕκαστοι*: in their separate companies, anticipating the sevenfold division specified in 81–6. With the Trojans so close, the posting of guards is a natural measure (Erhardt 136; Schadewaldt 143 n.) and does not have to be explained (as by Nutzhorn and others, cf. VdM 163) as a preparation for the *Doloneia*. Hector for his part has set people to guard the city (*Θ* 517 ff.).

70. *δαίνυ δαῖτα γέρουσιν*: as in *B* 402 ff., cf. *Δ* 343 ff.

71. *πλεῖαί τοι οἴνου κλισίαι*: ≈ *B* 226.

72. *Θρηίκηθεν*: after 5? On the source of the wine supplies cf. *H* [466–81] n.

74–5. In the event the best counsel will, not surprisingly, come from Nestor himself, who is confident in the superiority of his own advice (104 f.).

75–8. He emphasizes the gravity of the situation, reminding us of the scene described in *Θ* 553 ff. (with 77 *γηθήσειεν* perhaps suggested by *Θ* 559). The statement 'this night will be decisive' stimulates our interest in what is to come. For the more common 'this day will be decisive' cf. *IEPM* 476 f.

80. The main army's dinner (66) is passed over, but, as if to compensate for the ellipse, that of the guard companies is mentioned (88).

81–6. The mini-catalogue (*E* 677–8 n.) begins with a son of Nestor by association. Thrasymedes and Lykomedes have not been mentioned before but will appear occasionally later (Thrasymedes also in *Od.*, *γ* 39, al.; Lykomedes also in the *Little Iliad*, fr. 16, cf. 'Hes.' fr. 202). Askalaphos and Ialmenos were listed at *B* 512. Ialmenos will not appear again; Askalaphos does so in *N* 478. Meriones, Aphareus, and Deipyros are all associated with him there, and Askalaphos, Aphareus, and Deipyros are all killed soon afterwards.

The seven companies have been held to imply seven gates (cf. *H* 339 n.) and the motif to derive from the Theban saga: Reinhardt 190–206; J. B. Torres-Guerra, *La Tebaida Homérica como fuente de Ilíada y Odisea* (Madrid 1995), 55–7.

90–2. The seniors' repast is dealt with briefly (contrast *H* 313 ff.). The debate is the important thing.

92–5. Repeated from *H* 323–6.

96–102. Nestor begins in this deferential tone because he has to point out that Ag.'s dishonouring of Ach. is the key to the situation.

96. Nestor used the same form of address at *B* 434.

97. *ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι*: a hymnic formula, cf. Hes. *Th*. 34 n.

99. *σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας*: *EFH* 134 f. **(p.217)**

107. *ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας*: corresponding to what Ag. threatened at *A* 137–9 and 184 f., not what he actually did (*A* 320–32 n.).

108–9. ~ *A* 275–84.

110. *ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν*: alluding not to his previous successes (sch) but to the workings of Zeus' plan, as is clear from 118 (cf. *A* 508). Nestor of course does not know what Zeus has promised Thetis, but he may be allowed to infer from the course of events that the gods are concerned to boost Ach.'s prestige.

111. After *A* 356 = 507 =*B* 240.

115–16. *ἐμὰς ἄτας … | ἀασάμην*: Ag. has already professed himself a victim of *ἄτη* (18), but that was a ruinous deception by Zeus; he now admits to a ruinous error caused by his own *φρένες λευγαλέαι* (119). In *T* 86 ff. he will blame this too on Zeus (and Moira and Erinys).

117. *ὅν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσηι*: cf. *EFH* 131.

118. *ὡς νῦν τοῦτον ἔτισε*: cf. 110. But the real *τιμή* is to come, cf. *A* 509 f., *Π* 237.

122. *ἕπτ᾽*: seven is a recurrent quantity in this list of gifts (128, 149). Other figures are used as metrically convenient.

123. *ἐείκοσι*: for this as a typical number cf. 139, 379, *Z* 217, etc.; Reinhardt 488 f.

129. *ὅτε Λέσβον ἐϋκτιμένην ἕλεν*: cf. 664. Ach. was a popular hero on Lesbos, as we see from Alcaeus (42, 44, 354, 387) and Sappho (218), and the Lesbians no doubt appreciated stories that linked him with the island. In the *Aethiopis* he went there for purification after killing Thersites and sacrificed to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Cf. p. 43.

130. *αἳ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν*: sch^{D} pertinently refers to the famous annual beauty contest on Lesbos; cf. Alc. 130b. 17.

132. *κούρη Βρισῆος*: *A* 184 n.

134. *ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει*: cf. *EFH* 239 f.

137–8. Cf. *EFH* 372.

142. *γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι*: it was on the pretext of marriage to Ach., acc. to the *Cypria* and later sources, that Iphigeneia was lured to Aulis to be sacrificed. P doubtless knew the story (*A* 106–8 n.) but could not allude to it here.

143. *τρέφεται θαλίηι ἔνι πολλῆι*: many of P's hearers will have reflected that Ag. is speaking in ignorance of events at home, and they will have been struck by the dramatic irony of his words. Cf. *A* 112–15, *Z* 476–81 nn.

145. In the *Cypria* too (fr. 20) there were three daughters in addition to Iphigeneia. In 'Hes.' fr. 23 there were only two in all, Iphimede (the sacrificed one) and Electra. The trio named here have no mythological significance, and the names, which contain the associated ideas *θέμις, δίκη, ἀνάσσειν*, may **(p. 218)** be invented *ad hoc*; but it is also possible that Laodike's name reflects that of Demodike, the daughter of Agamemnon of Cyme who married Midas acc. to Poll. 9. 83 (Hermodike in Heracl. Lemb. *Polit*. 37). Xanthos (*PMG* 700) identified Laodike with Electra; Sophocles took up Chrysothemis for dramatic contrast with Electra (and mentions Iphianassa too, *El*. 157).

150–2. The premise seems to be that Ag. has power of disposal over the whole Peloponnese. These towns, insofar as they are identifiable, lie in an area round the Messenian Gulf that is passed over in the Catalogue, so giving them to Ach. would not mean depriving anyone named in *Il*. Men from Pherai appear in *E* 541 ff.

153. *νέαται Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος*: perhaps after *Λ* 712 (Wil. 65 f.).

158. *Ἀΐδης τοι ἀμείλιχος*: i.e. *only* Hades is impervious to persuasion (cf. Aesch. fr. 161. 4), and he is hated for it; other gods are persuadable, as is urged later (497). But the idea is abruptly expressed. Perhaps P originally had *στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί* (with 498–501?) in the present context, leading on to e.g. *ἀλλ᾽ Ἀΐδης τοι μοῦνος ἀμείλιχος*, and then decided to reserve those lines for later, to introduce the Litai allegory, leaving the couplet about Hades isolated here.

160–1. Ag.'s vanity may seem to reassert itself here. But his status and seniority are real additional reasons why Ach. should concede.

162–72. Ag. has agreed to offer Ach. handsome restitution and specified the terms; now a further proposal from Nestor is required to determine who will convey the offer to him. It could have been done by the two heralds who were sent to take Briseis in *A*. But P plans a big scene in which Ach. interacts at length with others on his own level. The speech has been revised to include Phoenix (168 n.) and may have been less perfunctory in its original form, cf. Noé 20.

163. = 96 (n.).

168. *Φοίνιξ μὲν πρώτιστα*: this is someone we have not previously heard of, and it is only in 432 ff. that we begin to learn who he is. His immense speech there forms the climax of the episode. But it has long been recognized that he was not originally one of the envoys. In 182–98 we find a series of dual pronouns and verbs, so that that passage must have been composed with only two envoys in view, namely Ajax and Od. (Bergk 595. For the sending of envoys in pairs cf. *A* 320–32 n.) In 520–2 Phoenix speaks of the envoys in a way that does not at all suggest that he himself is one of them. And at 622 ff. it is Ajax and Od. who return to Ag., while Phoenix remains with Ach.; that is where he belongs (if he is to appear at all), and it may be that in an earlier version he had been there all the time, before the envoys came.

However, the failure to mention him as a member of Ach.'s entourage in *A* suggests that the introduction of this old mentor figure to add emotional **(p. 219)** weight to the appeal to Ach. was a new idea of P.'s. Initially he conceived him as being already with Ach. and mentioned him first after 191, describing him occupied in some different way from Patr. Then for some reason he decided to make him one of the envoys. He put him in here at the head of the delegation (168, contrast 192, 657 n.), and inserted a further mention of him at 223 (n.); for the latter part of the rhapsody see 421–4 n. But he failed to explain how he came to be among Ag.'s counsellors, and he neglected to rewrite 182–98 with the tell-tale duals. The occasional mentions of him in later rhapsodies (*Π* 196, *P* 555/561, *T* 311, *Ψ* 360) have the appearance of having been put in to anchor him more firmly in the poem (Noé 90).

Mülder 55 remarked that Phoenix's name 'looks like that of a paidagogos'; he was thinking of slaves with ethnic names like Syros and Getas.

169. *Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*: for the association of these two cf. *A* 138 n. Od. is a suitable choice given his oratorical talents (*Γ* 216–24); he led the mission to Chryse in *A* 311 ff. Ajax, the epitome of the strong, silent type, will contribute little, not speaking until 624.

170. The heralds too may be a secondary embellishment. The duals in 182–98 take no account of them (it is special pleading to argue that their subordinate status makes them grammatically invisible), they say and do nothing during the visit to Ach., and they are not mentioned again till 689. Eurybates was one of the pair who went for Briseis, *A* 320 (unless this is meant to be Od.'s Eurybates, *B* 184); Hodios appears only here.

175–6. ≈ *A* 470 f. It is not clear who these *κοῦροι* are now at the gathering of *γέροντες*.

179. *πόλλ᾽ ἐπέτελλε*: the envoys must have been at the meeting and heard the terms they were to communicate to Ach., but P keeps Nestor busy in his advisory role. He wisely refrains from setting out his admonitions in detail; that would have been too much.

180. *Ὀδυσσῆϊ δὲ μάλιστα*: Od. will make the initial speech and set out Ag.'s offer. *ἐς ἕκαστον* and *μάλιστα* show that the line was composed with the enlarged delegation in mind, but it would have been premature to mention Phoenix here. He will speak from the heart, not on the basis of instruction from Nestor.

182–6. After *A* 327–30. But that is not an excuse for the duals. 'Went…arrived at…found him doing…' are formulaic stages in visit scenes: Arend 28 and Tafel 1.

183. *γαιήοχωι Ἐννοσιγαίωι*: presumably felt to be within reach as lord of the sea.

186. *φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείηι*: there would be nothing surprising in a nobleman's being able to play a lyre; cf. my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 26 and 27 (and on the *φόρμιγξ* 50–3). In real life he **(p.220)** might be more likely to sing lyric songs, leaving heroic poetry to the specialists, but it is appropriate for the setting and for Ach.'s temperament.

187–8. The lyre is embellished with pictorial and historical detail.

***πόλιν Ἠετίωνος ὀλέσσας*:** on this event cf. *B* 690–3 n. That Ach. acquired a lyre on that occasion will be a new invention for the present context (Kullmann 290).

189. *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*: *IEPM* 398.

190–1. When a visitor finds the visitee doing whatever he is doing, there is typically mention also of those around him: Arend ll.cc. (182–6 n.). Patr.'s active participation in the reception of the guests is emphasized at every opportunity (195, 201–5, 211, 215, 220, 620, 658, 666) but, as in *A* 328–47 and *Λ* 602–16, he does not speak.

***δέγμενος Αἰακίδην*:** waiting, probably, to do his bidding however he might be called upon.

192. *ἡγεῖτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*: cf. 168 n., 657, 673, 688.

193. *στὰν δὲ πρόσθ᾽ αὐτοῖο*: another formulaic step (Arend ll.cc.).

203. *ἑκάστωι*: cf. 180 n.

206–22. The meal is perhaps an expansion, since 202 f. seemed to herald drinking only (cf. *Z* 258) and, as Od. admits in 225 f., the envoys have already dined well. P may have felt that it was an essential preliminary to a long talk with visitors. The use of meat from previously slaughtered animals is untypical, and some features of the meal have an Odyssean character: Noé 22.

209. *Αὐτομέδων*: introduced properly at *Π* 145–7 (no doubt composed before *I*), after which he reappears regularly as a comrade/retainer of Patr. and Ach. He is not given a father till *P* 429.

218. *αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀντίον ἷζεν Ὀδυσσῆος*: preparation for the initial dialogue between the two, 223–429.

219–20. A last view of the *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* Patr. before the long dialogue scenes put him out of sight.

223. *νεῦσ᾽ Αἴας Φοίνικι*: as if Phoenix were to open the discussion, as 168 seemed to foreshadow. Here again the intention is apparently to remind us who else was present beside those who speak (cf. Noé 18). But it is not done in a natural way. In an earlier draft Ajax doubtless nodded to Od. (Bergk 595 n. 128; Leaf suggests that it was originally e.g. *νεῦσ᾽ Αἴας Ὀδυσῆϊ· ὅ δὲ φρεσὶν ἧισι νοὴσας, πλησάμενος οἴνοιο κτλ.*), and this was altered when Phoenix was brought into the story. Ajax is assigned the initiatory nod to compensate for his lack of other input (169 n.).

224. *πλησάμενος δ᾽ οἴνοιο δέπας*: this may seem to come oddly after 222, but cf. *A* 469–71.

225–306. The speeches in the following dialogue are of exceptional length. **(p. 221)** This one of Od.'s is of 82 lines, Ach.'s reply is of 115 (but may once have

been considerably shorter, cf. 345–56 and 372–429 nn.), and Phoenix's intervention is of 167 (or 171 if 458–61 are genuine)—the longest speech in *Il*.

230–1. *ἐν δοιῆι δὲ σαωσέμεν ἦ᾽ ἀπολέσθαι | νῆας*: cf. 75–8 n.

232–43. Od.'s description of the situation contains a series of back-references to *Θ*: 234 *κειάμενοι πυρὰ πολλά* again (75–8 n.) reminds us of *Θ* 553 ff.; 236 f. ~ *Θ* 75 f., 133, 170; 238 f. ~ *Θ* 355, 299; 240 ~ *Θ* 535 ff.; 242 f. ~ *Θ* 182 f. He speaks as if he had heard Hector's oration in *Θ* 497 ff.

237. *Ἕκτωρ … σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνων*: after *Θ* 337.

240. *ἠῶ δῖαν*: *IEPM* 186, 219.

252–8. Od. knew this because he was present, as explained in *Λ* 765 ff. Cf. *E* 197–8, *H* 123–60 nn.

253. = *Λ* 766.

254. *Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη*: *A* 194–5 n.

257–8. P has accidentally included in Peleus' speech a couple of lines intended for Od.'s own appeal.

261. *μεταλλήξαντι χόλοιο*: after 157.

264–99. Corresponds closely to 122–57 with essential grammatical changes. M. D. Reeve, *CQ* 22 (1972), 1, argues that 264–99 were composed first, on the ground that 127 and 134 show divergences from 269 and 276 that would not have been necessary if they were prior; see the nn. on these lines below. But the contrary case is equally strong (VdM 167): the *τότε* in 272 is a weak stopgap necessitated by the change from *ἐξελόμην* (130) to *ἐξέλετο*, and the infinitives in 279, 281, and 288 are awkward substitutes for the third-person imperatives of 137, 139, 146.

269. Minimal change from 127 would have given *ὅσσα οἱ ἠνείκαντο ἀέθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι*. But the reference of *οἱ* would have been unclear.

276. *ἣ θέμις ἐστίν,ἄναξ*: after 33. Here the vocative is unwanted. As Reeve notes, if 276 was composed before 134, the *ἄναξ* had to be eliminated there, and 134 is a rhythmically inferior line. But P might have been aware of the doubtful rhythm and taken the opportunity to better it here by re-using the first hemistich of 33.

300–6. Od. omits Ag.'s closing remarks (158–61). Having accurately reported the gifts on offer, he supplies his own peroration.

301. *αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα*: anticipating 378.

302–3. *οἵ σε θεὸν ὣς | τίσουσ᾽*: ~ 297.

304. *νῦν γάρ χ᾽ Ἕκτορ᾽ ἕλοις*: anticipating the great feat that Ach. will accomplish when he does return to the fight and that will indeed win him great *κῦδος*. The opportunity is there now because in his current berserk fury Hector has abandoned the caution that previously kept him out of Ach.'s range (352–5). **(p.222)**

316–68. An elaboration of the complaints and the threat to return to Phthia in *A* 149–71.

318. *ἴση μοῖρα μένοντι καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζοι*: perhaps adapted from the motif found in paraenetic elegy (Callin. 1. 8–15) that he who avoids battle dies just as surely as he who takes part in it. Failure to see that Ach. means *ἴση μοῖρα* in a different sense, 'equal reward', may have been responsible for the interpolation of the inapposite gnome [320], cf. *Studies* 206 f.

323–4. Simile in speech: *Γ* 60–2 n.

328–9. *δώδεκα … | … ἔνδεκα*: inversion of the typical Semitic stylistic device whereby a number *n* in the first of two parallel clauses is increased to *n + 1* in the second (*EFH* 259 f.).

332–3. Cf. *A* 226–30.

336. *ἄλοχον*: the first time Briseis has been so described. In *A* she was simply Ach.'s *γέρας* (185, 276, etc.). She is still that (344, 367), but now for rhetorical purposes put in the same category as Men.'s Helen. She is not yet an officially wedded wife, but she has hopes of it, *T* 298. By etymology *ἄλοχος* meant simply 'bedfellow', but that had probably been forgotten.

345–56. Perhaps an expansion, with a new *νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεί* in 356 to replace the one in 344 as lead-in to 357 (cf. VdM 173). It belongs to P, as 346 f. are reported in 680 f. But in 348 ff. the train of thought becomes confused. It appears at first to be, 'let him rely on you to defend the ships; after all, he has already achieved a fair amount without me'. But then the value of Ag.'s efforts is undermined in 351–5, and it turns out that this is all an assertion of Ach.'s own worth, to be contrasted with the shabby treatment he has received. The reference to the recently built wall and trench seems dragged in; perhaps the bulk of the speech was composed before P thought of creating the fortifications, and he felt an impulse to insert references to them elsewhere to strengthen their integration into the poem. The mention of them in Od.'s speech (232), however, is well integrated.

350. ≈ *H* 441; perhaps a concordance interpolation.

352–3. Cf. *E* 788–90 n.

354. After *Z* 237. For the Scaean Gates cf. *Γ* 145 n., for the tree *E* 693 n.

355. Probably not a reference to an episode related outside *Il.*, but an *ad hoc* pre-echo of what will happen in *X*, where Hector will stand alone against Ach. and not escape.

356–429. Ach.'s original resolve to sail home to Phthia in *A* 169 (n.) was put in abeyance. Now he states it more emphatically. Phoenix will then succeed in persuading him to reconsider. Cf. 607–8 n.

359. = *Δ* 353 (n.); more traditionally used there in the context of what will be seen in the coming battle. Here in striking anacoluthon. Cf. also *Θ* 470 ff. **(p. 223)**

372–429. The original draft of the speech might have ended at 371, with the direction to the envoys to go and report to Ag. all that Ach. has said. 372–7 look like a free-wheeling appendage; the explicit rejection of Ag.'s gifts in 378–97 (of which Ach. has already implied in 364–7 that he has no need) may have been added to exploit a motif suggested by the Meleager narrative that Phoenix will relate later (cf. 381 n.), and 401–16 likewise (401 n.). 417–20 is a little isolated paragraph that harks back to the theme of sailing away (360–3) and might once have stood after 368 (with a different beginning to 369), cf. 682–7. 421–4 provide a new conclusion to the speech; 425 f. again look tagged on, and 427–9 are a last addition to cater for Phoenix. Cf. 421–4 n.

372. *ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος*: after *A* 149.

377. *ἐκ γάρ οἱ φρένας εἵλετο μητίετα Ζεύς*: Ag. has come close to admitting this himself in 116/119, and will admit it outright at *T* 137.

378–87. Cf. *EFH* 372.

381–2. *Ὀρχομενὸν ... Θήβας | Αἰγυπτίας*: Orchomenos is unexpected in the present context. A verse in which it is coupled with Thebes must originally have been composed with reference to two Boeotian cities, for a narrative located in central Greece. (One may surmise that this was the story of Meleager that Phoenix will recall in 527 ff.; cf. 576–80 n.) But the line could not simply be put in Ach.'s mouth as it stood, as Thebes had been sacked before the Trojan War. P therefore made it into Egyptian Thebes by adding 382 (≈ *δ* 127); 383 f. are possibly adapted from lines about the famously seven-gated Boeotian Thebes, but they make the Egyptian city into a fabulous place. This is the only mention of Egypt in *Il*. Walter Burkert has argued persuasively that it reflects a seventh-century historical setting (*Wien. St*. 89 [1976], 5–21 =*Kl. Schr*. i. 59–71). In 401–5 the motif is repeated with two alternative centres of wealth.

385. *ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε*: cf. *B* 800 n.

393–7. Developing the implication of 364–7.

398–400. A bridge passage to lead in to the new argument in 401 ff.

401. He rejected the handsome offers earlier from pride; now because his life is worth more. There may be influence here from the *Meleagris* (524–99 n.), where Meleager stayed at home and refused appeals to fight precisely because his life was at stake. Cf. 576–80 n.

403. Troy is no longer the wealthy city it was, cf. *Σ* 288–92.

404–5. The only mention in *Il*. of the Delphic shrine. As with Egyptian Thebes, the notion of it as a vortex of wealth is a seventh-century perception (pp. 18 f.), whereas Orchomenos and (Boeotian) Thebes, like Troy, had a better claim to be accorded this status in the heroic age.

410–15. Thetis' prophecies are a poetic device and variable to suit different contexts. In *A* 416–18 (cf. 352, 505, *Σ* 458) she spoke only of Ach.'s being **(p. 224)** fated to die early. In *Π* 50 he denies knowing any prophecy from her. In *Σ* 59 she tells her sister Nereids that he will not return home, and in 95 f. she tells him that his resolve to kill Hector means that he will not live much longer, as he is destined to die straight after Hector. In *Φ* 276–8 he cites more specific information she has given him about the circumstances of his death.

Here we see the IE motif of the hero given the choice between fame and long life (*IEPM* 402 f.). Traditionally he opts for fame, and these lines must originally have been composed for a passage in which Ach. did that, in accord with his normal temper and with what happens in the event. P has used them in a novel way, in a context where Ach. is disillusioned with the heroic life and attracted by its peaceful and comfortable antithesis. 'Er tut hier zwar so, als ob er noch immer die Wahl habe; aber offenbar hat er schon gewählt, wie seine Äußerung in *A* [352] beweist' (Rothe 239).

413. *κλέος ἄφθιτον*: *IEPM* 78 f., 408–10. The unfading fame is that which Ach. actually enjoys in epic poetry. Cf. *Z* 357–8 n.

415. *κλέος ἐσθλόν*: *E* 3 n.

417–20. See 372–429 n.

421–4. These lines appear to terminate the discussion and to herald the envoys' departure. Ach.'s speech up to here may have been composed before P thought of introducing Phoenix. It might have been followed directly by Ajax's speech, 624–42, and that by 643–57, 669–89, 693 ff. In other words the passages relating to Phoenix, 427–621, 658–68, and 690–2, may all have been inserted into existing text (with a small alteration at 622 f.).

422. *τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων*: after *Δ* 323, where it is more appropriate. Here it seems to refer to the elided idea ‘so that they can debate further’.

425–6. Secondary? Condemned by Düntzer.

427. *Φοίνιξ δ᾽ αὖθι παρ᾽ ἄμμι μένων κατακοιμηθήτω*: Ach.’s answer is to be taken back by the two original envoys, Od. and Ajax. See 168 n.

429. *ἢν ἐθέλῃσιν*: the implied question provides a cue for Phoenix to speak.

430. The typical silence, *Γ* 95–6 n.; 431 ≈ *Θ* 29.

432. *γέρων ἱππηλάτα*: a combination established for more traditional figures such as Peleus (438, *H* 125, al.) and Oineus (*I* 581).

433. *δάκρυ᾽ ἀναπρήσας*: this sets the emotional tone of Phoenix’s speech.

434–8. He begins by answering the question implied at the end of Ach.’s speech. He dilutes the certainty that Ach. will leave tomorrow by expressing it as a conditional: if Ach. is really planning to leave, he will go with him, for otherwise he would be left isolated (438 *οἷος*). This leads naturally to his account of himself and the explanation of his close bond with Ach. **(p.225)**

438–43. First we hear of Phoenix’s role as Ach.’s escort and adviser on the Trojan expedition; this seems to be transferred from Patr. (*Λ* 786–9 n.). Later (485–95) we shall learn how he had been close to Ach. in the latter’s childhood, treating him as the son he never had and making him the man he now is. The account is not easily reconciled with the story of Ach.’s education with Chiron (*Λ* 832), which is here left aside.

439. = 253.

445–6. The fantasy of rejuvenation serves to take Phoenix back to the beginning of his story. His tale was presumably familiar to Ach. and is included for its own interest.

447–57. Cf. *EFH* 373. The father’s curse in 454–7 somewhat resembles the mother’s in the Meleager story (566–72) and may be influenced by it: Hades and Persephone (457 ≈ 569) are more obviously appropriate there, where it is the death of the son that is sought.

458–61. On these uncanonical lines, attested only by Plutarch (who perhaps knew them from Seleucus), see *Studies* 12 n. 26, 208, 251 f.

464–5. The family’s entreaties look like another motif borrowed from the Meleager story (574 ff.). What are they asking of him?

470. *εἰνάνυχες*: cf. *A* 53 n.

486. *ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέων*: after 343.

496. *ἀλλ᾽, Ἀχιλεῦ*: only now does Phoenix begin his appeal to Ach. to change his mind.

497–501. Cf. 158 n.

502–12. For the type of didactic myth about personified abstracts cf. *EFH* 373. This one conveys a rather curious lesson about the relationship of entreaties to Ate: if a man, his judgment impaired, starts out on a line of action that will lead to disaster, the entreaties of others may save him if he listens to them. If he does not, the disaster takes its course (at the Entreaties' request, oddly). The doctrine is tailored to Ach.'s case. It is implied that he has been touched by Ate and, to avoid disaster, should heed the envoys' entreaties.

502. *καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι*: admonitory assertion of the existence of a (novel, abstract) deity, cf. Hes. *Op*. 11–46 n.

***Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο*:** this gives them a divine status, something like that of nymphs (*ζ* 105, etc.), but the connection with Zeus also suggests a delegated authority that it would be unwise to defy; cf. 511 f., and Hes. *Op*. 256 *ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα*, with the following lines where Hes. says that when men mistreat Dike she goes and reports them to Zeus so that he can punish them. P's statement that the Entreaties likewise go to Zeus and call on him to punish the offender is a new invention on the Hesiodic model. **(p.226)**

505–7. For the personified Ate cf. *T* 91–136 n. The word basically means 'detriment'.

520–2. ~ 197 f. Cf. 168 n.

[523]. *Studies* 208 f.

524–99. *Meleagris*. As an old man, like Nestor, Phoenix is able to draw on lore of the past to reinforce his advice. He was not himself involved in the Meleager story that he now relates at length, though there is an artful ambiguity on the point; he 'remembers it from long ago' (527 f.), but introduces it as if it belonged among the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων τῶν πρόσθεν* that we have heard about. It comes, evidently, from that body of Pylian, Elean, and Aetolian saga to which Nestor's reminiscences mostly belong; cf. *B* 641–2 n.

We discern here the outlines of an epic song that P knew, or that formed an item in his own repertory, but he has modified the details for the sake of closer parallelism with Ach.'s situation. For the unmodified version, to be reconstructed, we may use the name *Meleagris* (following Kakridis 25). It had its own prehistory.

There had once been (at least) two separate stories about Meleager:

(1) The great boar-hunt in which he played a leading role and killed the monstrous boar. A boar-hunt is an epic theme in itself, cf. *IEPM* 430. The hunt of the Calydonian Boar is depicted on the François Vase and other vases of the first half of the sixth century, and it formed the subject of Stesichorus' *Syotherai*. Acc. to Bacchyl. 5. 113 it lasted six days.

(2) The story of the fatal log or brand with which Meleager's life was bound up. His mother Althaia kept it safe from the time of his birth to prevent his death, but after he killed a brother or brothers of hers she burned it up and he died. This is alluded to by various authors from the fifth century on, and was no doubt an old folk tale (Kakridis 14–16, 127–48).

There was no organic connection between the two stories (Erhardt 149 f.), but in time a link was created by saying that it was in the boar-hunt, or in a dispute over the spoils, that Meleager killed his uncle(s). The *Meleagris* that underlies Phoenix's account represented a further development in which the story was raised to a more heroic plane. The dispute over the boar-spoils was turned into a regular epic-style war between the two principal Aetolian cities, Pleuron and Calydon. Althaia had come from Pleuron to marry Meleager's father Oineus, and her brothers were fighting on the Pleuronian side and so facing Meleager in battle, a natural context for the killing. The magical log was eliminated; instead Althaia prayed to the gods below that Meleager might die in the same way as her brother(s). To avoid fulfilment of the curse he withdrew from the fighting and shut himself in his chamber with his wife. This allowed the Kouretes to gain the upper hand, and they advanced to the gates of Calydon. Everyone implored Meleager to return to the fight, but only at the **(p.227)** last minute did his wife succeed in persuading him, which she did by pointing out what would happen to her if the city fell. He then armed himself and went out to save her from that fate, knowing that he would lose his own life in the process. He drove the enemy away and the city was saved, but he was killed, probably at the hand of Apollo ('Hes.' fr. 25. 12 f.; *Minyas* frr. 5 and 7. 2; Apollod. 1. 8. 3).

Like Howald 119–21, I do not believe that this poem, as P had it, contained a full narrative account both of the boar-hunt day by day and of the events that followed upon Althaia's curse. That would have made it too episodic and lacking in unity for P and his peers. It began rather in the way that Phoenix's résumé does, with the two parties fighting at Calydon; then perhaps a question like that in *A* 8, 'which god set them against each other?' Followed by the answer that it was Artemis, the explanation of what had angered her, and an account of the boar-hunt, but only in summary form as the background to the main narrative of the poem.

The modifications made in the Iliadic version to enhance the parallels with Ach.'s situation are: (1) Meleager's real motive for staying at home is suppressed, Althaia's curses being described in vague terms without reference to death in battle. His motive is given as anger; but you do not refuse to fight for your city because you are mad at your mother (whose family ties are rather with the enemy side). (2) His dearest comrades join in the efforts to persuade him, cf. 585–6 n. There are further details that may or may not be innovations as against the *Meleagris*, see 550–2, 588–9 nn.

J. P. Mahaffy (*Über den Ursprung der homerischen Gedichte* [Hanover 1881], 11), Finsler (i. 41 f.), Mülder (50–6), and others argued that the story of Meleager's wrath was the original upon which the whole story of Ach.'s wrath was modelled. By my analysis, however, the wrath motif was not original in the *Meleagris* but transferred from Ach. to Meleager in the present passage.

I have noted elsewhere (*A* 8, *Z* 450–65, *I* 372–429, 381–2, 401 nn.) motifs that P may have borrowed from the *Meleagris*. He may have been acquainted with the poem all along, but only realized in the course of composing *Il*. that he could use certain motifs from it, especially in the portrayal of Ach.'s obstinacy. I suspect that he was already doing this before he thought of introducing Phoenix. Then at some point, probably at the same time as or after bringing Phoenix in, he had the idea of actually incorporating the Meleager story as an admonitory paradigm for Ach.

526. *δωρητοί τ᾽ ἐπέλοντο παραρρητοί τ᾽ ἐπέεσσιν*: the tale that follows is actually of a hero who resisted gifts and gave in to persuasion only when it was too late to get them.

544. *πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας*: this will reflect **(p. 228)** a catalogue in a poem about the hunt. Lists of the heroes who took part in it appear in the mythographers and Ov. *Met*. 8. 301–17; cf. Stes. *PMGF* 222.

545. *καὶ κύνας*: these too might have been listed; seven are named on the François Vase.

546. *πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ᾽ ἀλεγεινῆς*: these words, which are in the style of *A* 3 f., might well have stood in the proemium of the *Meleagris*.

547–9. The connection between the boar-hunt and the war is indicated in a very compressed and allusive way. In the *Meleagris* it must have been explained more fully.

550–2. This parallels Ach.'s effect on the Trojans, 352 f., *E* 788–90 n. It is hard to be sure whether it was original to the *Meleagris* or has been invented here to assimilate Meleager further to Ach. (so Noé 78). P neglects to identify the Kouretes' city.

555. As the focus is on what Meleager was doing, an account of the action of Althaia that provoked his anger cannot be accommodated here. It has to wait till after completion of the description of his lying-in and the particulars of his wife.

556. *κεῖτο παρὰ μνηστῆι ἀλόχωι*: as noted above, this is not an obvious way to express *χόλος*. The remotivation may have been facilitated by the memory of *Z* 326, where Paris is found in his bedroom with Helen instead of on the battlefield and Hector reproaches him for being angry.

***Κλεοπάτρηι*:** E. Howald, *Rh. Mus*. 73 (1924), 411, observed that her name is formed from the same elements as *Πάτροκλος*. He thought that Patr. was created as her counterpart; cf. Howald 132. R. Oehler, on the other hand (*Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* [Diss. Basel 1925], 16), notes that her primary name was Alkyone and argues that P coined the by-name to suggest a parallel with Patr.; cf. Schadewaldt 140, Scheliha 247 f.; *contra*, Kakridis 29–32. In this case she would, I think, be his counterpart as the one he stays in with, rather than as the one who eventually persuades him to action. Persuasion of Ach. by Patr. does not come into question at this stage, and when it does, it does not produce an effect parallel to that produced by Kleopatra on Meleager.

557–64. The detail of Kleopatra's background seems excessive when so much of the story is dealt with elliptically. She was, however, the crucial figure at the climax (590 ff.).

565. Resumes 555 f. by ring composition to enable 566 ff. to be attached.

***χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσων*:** ~ *Δ* 513 (of Ach.).

567. *κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο*: again a very compressed allusion. P does not name the brother or explain the circumstances of his death. Acc. to Bacchyl. 5. 127–9 Meleager killed two of them, Iphiklos and Aphares; sch^{T}, however, names Prokaon and Klytios, for whom cf. Stes. *PMGF* 222 i 4, Bacchyl. 25. 29. **(p.229)**

569. Cf. 447–57 n.

572. *ἔκλυεν*: meaning that Meleager did die; but that is looking beyond the portion of the story that Phoenix is telling. The hint serves to complete the frame within which the account of Calydon's salvation is set. Phoenix can now proceed with the description of Meleager's reactions to the approaches made to him. The parallels with Ach. become more insistent.

573. *ἀμφὶ πύλας ὅμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ὀρώρει*: as will soon be the situation along the Achaean defences, cf. *M* 289. **574–5**. The elders and priests were the men not engaged in the fighting. Cf. *Γ* 146–60 n.

576–80. If the priests and elders knew the reason for Meleager's unwillingness to fight, the offer of gifts would seem illogical, as if he died fighting he would get no benefit from them. But (*a*) they may not have known, or (*b*) they may have argued that it was uncertain whether Althaia's prayers would be answered, and they themselves would offer up countering prayers for his life. In rejecting the gifts Meleager might have declared that he would not agree even if he were offered all the wealth of Orchomenos and Thebes (381–2 n.), since no amount of wealth was worth as much as his life (cf. 401 ff.).

581. *γέρων ἱππηλάτα Οἰνεύς*: cf. 432 n. The observance of Oineus' digamma shows his relative antiquity in this formula.

584. *κασίγνηται*: v.l. *-τοι*, but the brothers would be out fighting.

***καὶ πότνια μήτηρ*:** despite her ties with the enemy she is as anxious as anyone to avoid the fall of the city, and as she desires Meleager's death she has a further reason for wanting him to go out to fight.

585–6. *ἑταῖροι, | οἵ οἱ κεδνότατοι καὶ φίλτατοι ἦσαν ἁπάντων*: these interrupt the natural or conventional sequence of elders, father and other immediate family, wife (Kakridis 19–22), and also breach the principle that all the men of fighting age are out fighting while those entreating Meleager are women and old men. The dear comrades are inserted to match the envoys to Ach., cf. 197, 204, 521 f., 630 f., 641 f.

588–9. Corresponding to the point at which Ach. will eventually take action. Cf. his statement of intent in 650–5. The reference to fire could be another new detail added to match the later situation in *Il.*, but it is natural enough in an attack on a city.

590–5. It is finally Kleopatra's entreaties that move him, in particular by drawing his attention to her own likely fate if the city falls. Hector too is more troubled by the thought of what may happen to Andromache than by what may happen to his parents, brothers, or city (*Z* 450–65). Had P put a similar speech in Meleager's mouth? Cf. Kakridis 49–61.

596. *χροὶ δ' ἔντε' ἐδύσετο*: reflecting the typical arming scene before the hero enters the battle. **(p.230)**

598. *εἴξας ὧι θυμῶι*: that is, to the emotions aroused by his wife, cf. 595. The phrase would have been clearer in a version in which he was not already consumed by *χόλος*.

***τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν*:** as he was killed in the fighting after saving the city, he would not have got the gifts even if he had acceded to the original offer. But Phoenix needs to indicate to Ach. that he may lose what is on offer, and

the prestige that it represents, if he leaves it too late. He spells the point out in 602–5.

607–8. *οὔ τί με ταύτης | χρεὼ τιμῆς*: a remarkable renunciation. He is not concerned with the prestige that comes from material enrichment, he is content with that which comes from his destined role in the story of Troy.

***Διὸς αἴσηι*:** the phrase combines the ideas of destiny and Zeus' will, both representing the force of poetic tradition that makes his departure from Troy impossible. As the expressions in 609 f. indicate, he knows, despite his present situation, that it is his lot to devote his energies to fighting till the end. In 619 f. he keeps the question open, but after Ajax's speech he will say no more of it. In 682 Od. will report Ach.'s threat to depart without saying that he has changed his mind, leaving Ag. to reckon with the possibility (701).

611. Cf. *A* 297 n.

612. *ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων*: cf. 433.

617. *σὺ δ᾽ αὐτόθι λέξεο μίμνων*: renewing the proposal made in 427.

622–42. The third and least eloquent envoy finally has his say. The effort to persuade Ach. has clearly failed, and at first it seems that Ajax is not going to attempt to contribute anything further to it. He and Od. must now go back, and in accord with the epic habit of prefacing actions with proposals, he proposes to Od. that they do so. But in 630 ff. he proceeds to comment critically on Ach.'s attitude, at first in the third person, then changing to the second, and the speech mutates after all into a final appeal.

624. Ajax ignores Phoenix. His speech may have been composed before Phoenix was introduced into the episode, cf. 421–4 n. Otherwise we might have expected some reference to him rather than the tacit assumption that he was accepting the invitation to stay with Ach.

626. *τῆιδέ γ᾽ ὁδῶι*: suggesting that Ach. may give way at some later point.

632. *κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο* (v.l. *φονῆος*): after 567. The loss of a brother (or son) whom someone has killed is now used as the paradigm of the most grievous class of offence that one may suffer, by contrast with Ach.'s relatively trivial loss of a girl captive.

641. *ἔξοχον ἄλλων*: after 631.

649. Ajax's proposal to leave having fallen without issue, Ach. supplies a new one.

650–5. The programmatic statement points forward (not altogether **(p.231)** accurately) to what will happen later, and does not cater for the resolution of Ach.'s grievances; the prospect of his sailing off recedes again (cf. 608 n.). The arrival of fire at the ships is set as the cue for him to take action (cf. *Λ* 666 f., *Π* 61–3). In the event he will send Patr. out as his proxy, but that course of action, to be proposed by Nestor in *Λ* 794 ff., could not be anticipated here.

657. *ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς*: ≈ 192. Od. appears again as leader of the expedition, as he was before the introduction of Phoenix. Cf. 673, 688 f.; Noé 93.

658–68. While the envoys return, Ach.'s party put themselves to bed, following a typical scene pattern (cf. *A* 609–11 n.): a bed is prepared for the guest (Patr. passes on to the attendants the direction given him by Ach. at 620 f.), he settles down, and then the hosts lie down with their respective bedfellows.

664. *τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγεν*: cf. 129, 130 nn.

668. *Σκῦρον ἑλὼν*: acc. to sch^{T} he went to retake the island from the Dolopes, who had revolted from Peleus' rule. This was at the time when an army was being recruited for the Trojan expedition. An alternative account found in the Cycle (sch^{D} *T* 326) had Ach. on Skyros at that juncture for a different reason: Peleus hid him there, disguised as a girl, to avoid his being drafted. There he seduced Deidameia, who gave birth to Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos. But acc. to the *Cypria* (arg. 7) he married her after being blown to Skyros by a storm, following the Teuthrania episode. The references to Neoptolemos in *Il*. are in my view interpolated (*T*326–37, *Ω* 466 f.: *Studies* 12), but P clearly knows of an association of Ach. with Skyros. Cf. p. 43.

669–72. The leaders gathered in Ag.'s quarters are found just as they were when the envoys set out. Ag. himself naturally takes the lead in asking about the outcome.

674. *νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δήιον πῦρ*: after 347.

676. *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*: *Θ* 97 n.

677–92. Od.'s reply is quite short and largely thrown together from lines previously used by Ach. 'Man sieht: der Dichter eilt zum Schluß' (Noé 92).

678. *οὐκ ἐθέλει σβέσσαι χόλον*: Od. picks up Ag.'s last phrase first.

680–1. ~ 347, 423 f.

683. *νῆας … ἅλαδ' ἑλκέμεν*: a very elliptical version of Ach.'s threat to return to Phthia (357–63), but complemented in 685 by *οἴκαδ' ἀποπλείειν*, and sufficient for P's audience. The Achaeans have now to proceed on the basis that they will be getting no help from Ach. It would only have confused their

deliberations if P had made Od. refer also to Ach.’s less negative statement in 650–5.

684–7. ~ 417–20.

689. *κήρυκε δύω*: 170 n.

***πεπνυμένω ἄμφω*:** after *H* 276.

691–2. ~ 428 f. **(p.232)**

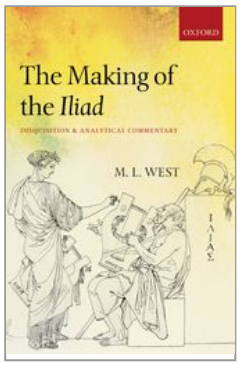
693–6. = 29–31 (694 is a concordance interpolation). Again Diom. is chosen as the voice of optimism and positive action (cf. *H* 398–9 n.). The wise Nestor has nothing to contribute.

697. = 677.

705–9. Diom.’s programme rounds off the day’s action, which has already been well prolonged beyond nightfall, and states the agenda for the morrow: to resume the fight, with Ag. taking the leading role. This points forward to *Λ* and Ag.’s aristeia there. There is no place for further action during the night—the bedtime proposal should correspond to the next action—and the intrusive nature of *K* is plain to see.

706. = *T* 161, where it has much more point.

713. After *H* 482.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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K

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It is the almost unanimous (and certainly correct) view of modern scholars that this rhapsody is an insertion in *Il*. by a different poet. The conclusion is based on several considerations:

(1) *K* breaks the organic connection between the end of *I* and the beginning of *Λ*, cf. *I* 705–9 n.

(2) Although it looks back to events in the earlier part of *Il*. (12 n., 59, 106 f., 251–3 n.), and was clearly composed to stand in its present position, nothing in *A*–*I* foreshadows it and nothing in *Λ*–*Ω* looks back to it (though cf. *Θ* 490–1 and *Ξ* 9–11 nn.). The events narrated bear no relation to the plan of the poem (Reinhardt 248 f.). There is no other rhapsody that could be removed from *Il*. without leaving a trace. In particular it is remarkable that the wonderful horses captured from Rhesos in this episode are never mentioned again, not even in the context of the chariot race at Patr.'s funeral games, where Diom. races with the horses he captured from Aeneas in *E* (Christ 76).

(3) The preceding considerations would be compatible with the *Doloneia*'s being a last insertion by P. But its peculiarities of style, language, and composition are such that one cannot believe it is by the same poet as the rest, even allowing for evolution of his technique over time. See esp. Danek.

The note in sch^{T}, *φασὶ τὴν ῥαψωιδίαν ὑφ' Ὁμήρου ἰδίαι τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδο, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποίησιν* (cf. Eust. 785. 41), is of a quite different character from the usual reports of ancient scholarship found in the scholia, which come from Alexandrian sources and make no reference to the supposed Pisistratean recension. This recension was a construction of Pergamene scholarship. The notice about the *Doloneia* might

perhaps have been drawn from a work of Crates and mediated by a later Alexandrian such as Seleucus. But what was it based on? The claim that *K* was not an original part of *Il*. is in striking agreement with modern conclusions. But it is hard to believe that an ancient scholar arrived at this result simply by observing how *K* interrupts the connection between *I* and *Λ*; and if he had been struck by its linguistic and stylistic peculiarities, he might have declared it to be interpolated, but he would not have said that it was a separate composition by the same poet, Homer. It seems most probable that he was moved by some kind of external evidence. It is not credible that there was a genuine tradition going back to the **(p.234)** sixth century to the effect that *K* had a separate origin from the rest of the epic. Nitzsch 226 supposed that there must have been copies of *Il*. in which *K* was absent. This is conceivable, but if so, it is surprising that there is no record of it in the Aristarchean tradition. If the division of the poem into twenty-four rhapsodies goes back to Hipparchus' organization of recitations at the Panathenaea (pp. 74–6), *K*'s position in it was guaranteed at least in the Attic tradition from that time on. An independent line of tradition in which *K* was absent would be most plausibly sought in Ionia. Zen.'s text reflects an Ionian tradition separate from the Attic (*Studies* 32, 43–5). Zen.'s text, however, did not lack *K*. Another possibility is that *K*, being such a self-contained piece of narrative, tended more than other rhapsodies to be copied and read on its own. Its separate circulation (of course under Homer's name) might have been responsible for the notion that it had been an independent poem of his from the beginning and that its inclusion in *Il*. had been due to Pisistratus. Yet it should have been obvious that it was designed to stand in *Il*., between the end of *I* and the beginning of *Λ*.

Nothing suggests that the story of the night foray and the killing of Rhesos had any traditional basis. Rhesos achieves nothing at Troy and therefore has no place in the war. '*K* does not sound as if anything of its content were more than its poet's invention' (Wil. 64). The motif of Diom. and Od. going on a clandestine expedition together was doubtless adapted from the story of their theft of the Palladion (*Little Iliad*). (The two were also linked in other episodes; cf. Hainsworth on *K* 243. For Od. cf. also *δ* 240 ff.; *ξ* 468 ff.) The nocturnal spying expedition may be compared with two episodes in the Old Testament, cf. *EFH* 374.

K may be dated to the end of the seventh century or the very beginning of the sixth, as Dolon is represented with other Iliadic heroes on a Corinthian cup of about 580: Friis Johansen 70–5. Wilamowitz (62 f.) senses in the narrative lively reflections of the contemporary world, esp. of encounters with Thracians in a time not far removed from Archilochus'. P^{K} certainly worked a generation later than Archilochus, but the allusion is suggestive. He seems to have known the Troad, and may have been one of the local poets among whom *Il*. was initially current; cf. pp. 69 f.

As we know that he is closely acquainted with the rest of *Il*. and is working with it in view, we may feel some confidence, when we find a non-trivial parallel with a particular passage, that he is drawing on that passage; even if he knew similar verses in other poems, the one(s) in *Il*. will have been his immediate model. The nature of his relationship with *Od*. is more debatable. His tendency to use what is normally Odyssean language is noticeable, cf. 340, 384, 413, 576–7 nn. In one place (214 n.) we have the impression that he has adapted an Odyssean line. More often, however, it looks as if P^{Od} has taken a **(p.235)** passage in *K* as his model (158, 278–82, 290, 292–5, 457 nn.). See also 243 and 540 nn.

1–4. See *B* 1–2 n.

5–8. An ambitious but immoderate simile inspired by *I* 4–8.

12. *πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρό*: deliberately re-evoking the setting described in *Θ* 553 ff., cf. *I* 77, 234.

13. *αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ᾽ ἐνοπὴν*: the Trojans are not sleeping but keeping watch, cf. *Θ* 508 ff., 529, 554 *εἵατο* = 563. P^{K} adds the further colourful detail of their music-making and other noise. There is a hint of the disorderliness that characterizes the Trojan side in *Γ* 2 ff., *Δ* 429 ff. Auloi are mentioned in the wedding scene at *Σ* 495 and herdsmen's panpipes at *Σ* 526, but these are the only references in Hom. to wind instruments.

14. *νῆάς τε … καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν*: after *I* 424/681. There the ships and army are coupled as being in imminent danger and in need of salvation; that explains Ag.'s frantic reaction to the sight of them here.

15. *προθελύμνους*: after *I* 541.

17. After *B* 5 (the pondering of the sleepless Zeus).

18. Once again Nestor is brought in to initiate a plan of action. We have to overlook the fact that he has already proposed one plan this night, and that following its execution it has been agreed that nothing more is to be done till morning.

19. *μῆτιν ἀμύμονα*: possibly after *I* 423 (Danek 66 f.).

21–2. After *B* 42–4.

23. *δέρμα λέοντος*: a new item. P^{K} has an interest in heroes' individual apparel and accoutrements, and a partiality for cloaking them in animal skins, cf. 29, 177, 334. Ag. and Men. don them evidently for warmth in the night (sch^{bT}); they correspond to the woolly cloak donned by Nestor in 133 f. The heroic lionskin is appropriate for the overlord, but Diom. too will put one on at 177.

25–202. Much verse is devoted to convening the meeting at which Nestor will propose the spying expedition. First Men. is brought in beside his brother; he too is lying awake worrying, and he gets up independently and joins Ag. He is sent to rouse Ajax and Idomeneus, while Ag. goes and wakes Nestor. Ag. and Nestor go and rouse Od. and Diom. The whole process is embellished with plenty of dialogue and descriptions of dressing. They all go out past the sentinels and the trench to confer; the venue is chosen apparently 'for the sake of the nocturnal scenery, the uncanniness, the corpse-covered battlefield' (Reinhardt 247, cf. Danek 108).

25–6. *οὐδὲ γὰρ αὖ τῶι | ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε*: contradicting 1 f. For Men.'s intuitive sharing of his brother's feelings cf. *B* 408 f. **(p.236)**

37–41. Men. is made to anticipate what Nestor will eventually propose, but not the heroes' willingness to volunteer for the mission.

41. *μάλα τις θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται*: ≈ *N* 343.

43–4. *χρεὼ βουλῆς … | κερδαλέης*: after *I* 75 f. It implies another council of war; that is the reason for fetching other leaders (53 f.). But in 56–9 the purpose is confused. The whole speech lacks logical development, cf. Danek 187. Ag. ignores Men.'s speculation.

46–52. Ag. dwells repetitively on Hector's successes.

53. *Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα*: *A* 145 n.

56–9. Nestor's son Thrasymedes (*I* 81) and Meriones will supply equipment to Diom. and Od. (255 ff.). This is the overt reason why Nestor must visit the sentinels. The visit is prepared for by presenting it as an idea of Ag.'s, but no satisfactory motivation is offered. Ag. suggests that Nestor may give the sentinels fresh instructions, but they know their duty and there is nothing to add to it. In 98 f. he will find a different reason for going.

59. *τοῖσιν γὰρ ἐπετράπομέν γε μάλιστα*: in *I* 80–6 they are two among seven equal captains.

65. *αὖθι μένειν*: but see 125 n.

67–9. Here it is envisaged that Men. will rouse more than the two specified in 53.

68. *πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον*: after *I* 11.

70. *πονεώμεθα*: after *I* 12.

74–9. Typical treatment of a visitor's arrival, with description of the condition and attendant circumstances of the one visited. Nestor seems not actually to be asleep, cf. 96—another contradiction of 1 f.

74. *τὸν δ᾽ ηὗρεν παρά τε κλισίηι καὶ νηῒ μελαίνηι*: after *A* 349. Nestor's bed would naturally have been inside his hut (as is Od.'s, 140), not beside it, though cf. 151–6.

84. *οὐρήων*: this should mean 'mules' (cf. *A* 50, *Ψ* 111, 115), but P^{K} probably means it to stand for *οὖρων* 'guards'. The epic language did admit some such artificial forms, as *ἡνιοχῆες* for *ἡνίοχοι*, *πατροφονῆα* for *-φόνον*.

88. We might have expected Ag. to begin by answering Nestor's suggestions (84) in the negative, cf. *Z* 383–6 n.

89–90. *εἰς ὅ κ᾽ ἀϋτμή | … ὀρώρηι*: ineptly copied from *I* 609 f.; Ag.'s vital energy is irrelevant.

97–9. Cf. 56–9 n. A check on the sentries would not require Nestor's assistance.

101. *μή πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα*: ≈ *Θ* 510.

104–7. Nestor responds as if to Ag.'s remarks in 46–52 (Danek 195).

108. Despite the inadequacy of the reason given, Nestor agrees to go with (p.237) Ag., and he proposes summoning other leaders too, so that the prospect of a council of war comes back into view (43 n.).

109. *Τυδείδην … ἠδ᾽ Ὀδυσῆα*: first he names the two who will in the event undertake the spying mission.

110. *Αἴαντα ταχὺν*: the lesser Ajax, *Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας*. Elsewhere he is always identified by his father's name.

***Φυλέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν*:** Meges; cf. 229 for the allusive use of a patronymic expression referring to a minor hero. Meges and the lesser Ajax are not normally counted as members of the deliberative council and seem to be added to make the list a little longer, Ajax and Idomeneus being reserved for the next sentence.

111–18. Ajax and Idomeneus are not included with those whom Nestor proposes to summon, because P^{K} has already provided for their summoning; Men. is not included because we know that he too is already in action. Nestor is therefore made to propose that 'someone' should go for Ajax and Idomeneus (cf. *Ω* 74), and to criticize Men. for (apparently) leaving Ag. to do all the work.

112. *ἀντίθεόν τ᾽ Αἴαντα*: after *I* 622 f.

113. *τῶν γὰρ νῆες ἔασιν ἑκαστάτω*: Ajax's are, at least (*Θ* 224 f. =*Λ* 7 f.), and this makes an *ad hoc* reason for sending somebody else.

118. After *Λ* 610.

121–3. A singular characterization of Men., perhaps improvised simply to contrast with (and so emphasize) the initiative he has shown in the present case.

125. *οὓς σὺ μεταλλᾶις*: after *N* 780, with a misuse of *μεταλλᾶν* (cf. Danek 90). The persons meant are Ajax and Idomeneus (112), for whom Men. was indeed sent (53). He was not, however, told to bring them out to the sentry post before the gates, where Ag. now says they will be found, but to wait with them. P^{K} has decided to streamline the operation to avoid Ag.'s having to go and collect the three of them, but he has neglected to revise 61–6 accordingly.

128. The line is repeated unchanged from 102, and comes again in 143; *Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ* also in 138, 157, 168, 203 (and 543). Such stolid repetition of the same formula within a relatively short space is not characteristic of P; cf. *Γ* 199 n.

131–2. ≈ 21 f.

133–4. Cf. 23 n.

137–76. They proceed to rouse Od. and Diom. as Nestor proposed in 109.

The sequence of visits is as in the Epipolesis, *Δ* 329–421. The brevity of the spoken exchanges enhances the sense of urgent business.

137. After *B* 169 (n.). **(p.238)**

139. *φθεγξάμενος*: cf. 67.

***τὸν δ' αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή*:** perhaps inspired by *B* 41, although the wording is quite different.

145. = *Π* 22. Cf. Danek 99. **[147]**. Taken from 327 to fill out the syntax, but inappropriate to the meeting planned. For other interpolations of the same type cf. *Studies* 12 n. 29.

151–6. P^{K} indulges his taste and talent for graphic description and for individualization. Diom. and his men eschew the comfortable bedding that Nestor had (75), sleeping in the open with their weapons to hand. Diom.'s oxhide groundsheet goes with the penchant for animal skins noted in 23 n. But he does have a less austere pillow.

154. *λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός*: after *Λ* 66, where it is daylight. Cf. Danek 100 f.

158. *λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας*: the younger man gets a ruder awakening than Od. in 139, and is even reprimanded for being asleep, with a spurious justification in 160 f. The hemistich recurs at *o* 45 (Telemachos waking Peisistratos), which may be derivative, cf. Wil. *HU* 15 n. 4.

160. *ἐπὶ θρωσμῶι πεδίοιο*: after *Λ* 56 (=*Y* 3).

165–7. Diom. is allowed to understand that all the *βασιλῆες* are being roused.

172. *χρειὼ βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιούς*: after 142/5.

174. *ἦ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος … ἦε βιῶναι*: cf. *I* 78.

175–9. P^{K} is ready to move on to the next stage, and dispenses himself from composing dialogues with the other two heroes whom Nestor named in 110 by having Diom. sent to fetch them and simply reporting that he did so. He omits altogether to tell us that Men. fulfilled his mission to fetch Ajax Minor and Meges.

176. *ἄνστησον*: Diom. ought to be told where to bring them, but as in 165–7 (n.) P^{K} is content to let him intuit something that we know.

177. *δέρμα λέοντος*: cf. 23 n.

178. = 24.

180. *οἳ δ᾽*: *prima facie* Nestor and Ag. continuing their progress, and at 190 Nestor addresses the sentries as he has addressed the heroes he has woken. But by 195 f. the whole group of *βασιλῆες* has joined him, without our being able to say just when or by what stages they arrived—a skilful conclusion to what has been a fussy and over-extended process of rounding people up.

***ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν*:** after *Γ* 209, where *ἀγρομένοισιν* has more sense. Their arrival among the sentries means that they have passed through one of the gates in the wall (cf. 126); it is noteworthy that this is not mentioned.

183–6. Another simile in the style of 5 ff., giving the sentries' passive **(p.239)** vigilance an edge of aroused alertness. The wild animal and the clamorous hunt presumably correspond to Hector and the previous day's battle, though there is still some noise from the enemy's direction.

190. *τοὺς δ᾽ ὁ γέρων γήθησεν ἰδὼν*: after *Δ* 255, 283, 311.

194. *τάφροιο διέσσυτο*: on why the leaders' meeting has to take place outside the fortifications, cf. 25–202 n.

196. Thrasymedes and Meriones now come into play; cf. 56–9 n.

199. Cf. *Θ* 490–1 n.; **200–1** refer back to that passage.

203–17. Nestor proposes that one of those present make a solo foray into the Trojan camp, to kill any of the enemy he may find isolated on the fringes and/or to learn something of the Trojans' plans. The first motive hardly seems adequate for such an expedition, but it anticipates the main thing that will actually be achieved (206 *ἐσχατόωντα* ~ 434 *ἔσχατοι ἄλλων*).

208–10. A rather feeble attempt to suggest alternative courses of action that the enemy may be considering. Their intentions cannot really be in doubt. Nestor does not consider the possibility raised by Ag. at 101, that they might be planning a night attack. The alternatives he does consider, staying put or withdrawing, correspond to those that Hector (with better reason) wants to know if the Achaeans are planning (309–12).

212–13. *μέγα ... κλέος εἴη | πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους*: P^{K} no doubt thinks of his own addition to *Il*.

214. After *α* 245 =*π* 122, *τ* 130 *ἴσσοι γα` ρ νσοισιν πικρατουσιν αριστοι*. Cf. Danek 111 f.

217. *αἰεὶ δ' ἐν δαίτῃσι καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσται*: this is suspiciously like Thgn. 239 f. *θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ | ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν*, also a passage promising future *κλέος* among all men; the banquets are those at which Kyrnos will be sung of, not ones he will attend. Leaf notes that 'clearly Theognis has the more original form', but as he assumed Theognis to belong to the later sixth century he was unable to consider the possibility that his verse was the model for the present line (unless 214–17 were a later interpolation). That is, however, quite compatible with my early dating of Theognis (*Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* [Berlin–New York 1974], 65–71).

218–19. = *H* 398 f., *I* 29 + 31, 693 + 696. Diom., game as ever, is predictably the first to volunteer.

220. *κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ*: after *I* 635; again in 244 and 319, cf. 128 n.

222. *εἴ τίς μοι ἀνὴρ ἅμ' ἕποιτο καὶ ἄλλος*: it is to be a two-man expedition. Nestor could have proposed this from the start, but P^{K} has preferred to distribute the proposals between him and Diom. Diom. chooses the **(p.240)** companion he wants, but only after many have volunteered and Ag. has invited him to choose.

227–32. After *H* 161 ff., though with a partly different set of names and altogether different wording. As there, the Aiante come early in the list and Od. at the end. Ag. and Nestor naturally do not join in; the omission of Meges seems to be casual.

229. *Νέστορος υἱός*: cf. 110 n.

234. = *E* 243, 826. The speakers there, Sthenelos and Athena, have closer relationships to Diom.

240. The motif of Ag.'s fear for his brother echoes *Δ* 148 ff. and *H* 104 ff.

243. = *α* 65, where the *ἔπειτα* is hard to justify (Niese 65 n. 1, 195 n. 1) but the idea of forgetting about Od. seems more in place. Perhaps another, lost model was the source for both verses. Cf. Danek 117 f.

246. *καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο*: cf. *EFH* 374.

251–3. This acknowledges that much of the night has been spent in other activity, and refutes any idea that *K* was intended to stand in the place of *I*.

254–71. The arming scene is a typical element before action in which particular heroes are to be at the centre of attention: *Γ* 328–39 n. This one, however, diverges greatly from the formulaic pattern as analysed by Arend. Diom. is already carrying a spear (178), and Od. a shield (149). The supplementary equipment that they now take up is provided by Thrasymedes and Meriones. It was for this that P^K detached them from the guard company; none of the others present is fully armed, the need not having been foreseen (cf. 256; Danek 217 f.). Diom. receives a shield, both heroes get swords and unconventional non-metal helmets, and Od. also a bow and arrows. The corslet and greaves of the usual panoply are omitted. Diom. presumably continues to wear his lionskin (177), while Od. so far as we know is naked.

258–9. *ἥ τε καταῖτυξ | κέκληται*: P^K makes a point of the distinctive nature of this headgear.

260. *βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην*: the Cretan Meriones may seem an appropriate source of these; he normally fights with a spear, but uses the bow at *N* 650 and wins the archery contest in *Ψ* 850 ff. But it is hard to see of what service a bow could have been to Od. in the dark, and he makes no use of it in the event except as a horse-whip (500, 513 f.). He is given it perhaps because of his portrayal in *Od*. as a master of the bow (Danek 218 n. 92).

261. ≈ 257. Cf. 128 n.

266–7. Eleon is in Boeotia (*B* 500), Amyntor Ormenides was the father of Phoenix (*I* 448), and the famous thief Autolykos was Od.'s own maternal grandfather (*λ* 85, *τ* 394, etc.). But the three do not belong together; P^K has probably made an arbitrary construction, cf. Wil. 62. A damaged Mycenaean **(p. 241)** tholos tomb at Eleon might have given rise to the idea of a burgled treasury there, cf. *I* 381 n.

268. *Σκάνδειαν … Κυθηρίωι Ἀμφιδάμαντι*: Cythera makes a convenient intermediate point between Boeotia and Crete. Skandeia was its port. This Amphidamas has no known mythological role; P^{K} might have plucked the name from Hesiod (*Op.* 654). Cf. *Ψ* 87 n.

270. ≈ *B* 107.

274–95. The omen and consequent prayers further distend the preparatory section of the adventure. The outset of an expedition is an appropriate moment for a bird omen (cf. *Ω* 308 ff.), but this one is untypical in being a heron, in being heard and not seen, in being sent by Athena, not Zeus, and by being followed rather than preceded by a prayer. Cf. Stockinger 129–31.

277. Athena is the appropriate deity for the heroes to pray to, whether or not they have identified her as the sender of the omen.

278–82. The prayer is modelled on Diom.'s in *E* 115–20 (Danek 123); common to both are *κλῦθί μοι, αἰγιόιχοιο Διὸς τέκος … νῦν αὖτε* (…) *με φῖλαι, Ἀθήνη, δὸς δὲ* … In 279 *ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι* is after 245, while *ἤ τέ μοι αἰεί—παρίστασαι* (a second-person predication at home in a prayer) is clearly copied in *ν* 300 f.

282. *ῥέξαντας μέγα ἔργον, ὅ κε Τρώεσσι μελήσει*: anticipating the killing of Rhesos and his followers, though Od. does not yet know he will have an opportunity for any such feat.

284. *Διὸς τέκος, Ἀτρυτώνη*: completing the borrowing from *E* 115.

285–91. ≈ *E* 116 f., 804, *Δ* 382–98.

289. *μέρμερα μήσατο ἔργα*: an elliptical allusion to what is related at *Δ* 391 ff. With the killing of the Thracians Diom. in his turn will accomplish *μέρμερα ἔργα* (524).

290. Adapted in *ν* 391, also in the context of a single hero overcoming a much larger number of enemies.

292–5. The vow is better motivated here than at *γ* 382–5 where the lines are repeated. Its fulfilment is not recorded, as 571 cannot be an allusion to it.

297–8. These striking lines leave us in heightened anticipation as the scene shifts from Diom. and Od. to the Trojan side. They show a Gothic taste that may have been new in epic; we find it also in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*, which dates from perhaps a generation later. *διά τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα* is from *Ψ* 806; cf. Danek 128.

299–313. A Trojan spy is to come out too. This is set in motion by a process parallel to that which has launched Diom. and Od., but more abbreviated: Hector

(who has already made arrangements for the night in *Θ* 502 ff.) calls a meeting of the leaders and asks for a volunteer for the mission, promising a handsome reward. P^{K} thus copies P's procedure in *H* when **(p.242)** he made both sides independently come up with the same idea of a day's intermission in the fighting for burial of the dead.

302. = *B* 55.

310–11. Hector already envisaged at *Θ* 510 f. the possibility that the Achaeans might make their escape under cover of night, and he was anxious not to let them do so with impunity.

312. *καμάτωι ἀδηκότες*: after 98; again in 399 and 471.

314. *ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων*: cf. *E* 9 n. This means of introducing a new character takes the place of the expected *ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε* (cf. Danek 132 f.). Dolon's name suggests a sneaky character, but he will not display any deviousness or subtlety of mind.

***Εὐμήδεος*:** a colourless name with no apparent significance here.

315. *πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος*: cf. *E* 9 and 613 nn. Dolon's wealth is relevant to his attempt to ransom himself at 378–81.

317. *μοῦνος ἔην*: as an only son he would be especially precious to his father, who he is sure will pay handsomely to ransom him (389 f.).

***μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν*:** in effect 'despite having many sisters'; *πέντε* is the metrically convenient numeral. There may be a suggestion that having been brought up in a household full of girls he cannot be expected to be much of a man.

319–20. = 220 + 308.

321. *τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνάσχεο*: after *H* 412.

323. *οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα*: after *B* 770. Hector had said 'whichever may be the best horses at the Achaeans' ships' (306); Dolon knows which they are and adapts the line that says so. The delusive prospect of outstanding horses as a prize for Dolon's excursion is conceived as a foil to the successful capture of Rhesos' horses by Diom. and Od.

326–7. Dolon's surmise corresponds more closely to Ag.'s consultations at *I* 13 ff./669 ff. than to those in *K*.

***ἄριστοι | βουλὰς βουλεύειν*:** after *I* 74 f. *ὃς κεν ἀρίστην | βουλὴν βουλεύσηι*, where the cognate acc. carries an adjective as it should.

332. *ἐπίορκον ἐπώμοσε*: assuring us in advance that Dolon will not win the horses. It is not implied that Hector did not make the promise in good faith.

333–5. A concise counterpart to the arming scene in 254 ff. Dolon wears a wolfskin, appropriate to a 'lone wolf', cf. *IEPM* 450 f. (and above, 23 n.). His leather helmet differs from both Diom.'s and Od.'s and is denoted by another out-of-the-way word. He carries both a bow (cf. 260 n.) and a javelin.

335. *ἔπι κτιδέην*: the word-division is guaranteed by 458, but it must earlier have been **ἔπ᾽ ἰκτιδέην* (P. Maas, *Kl. Schr*. 196). The marten-skin helmet then was not first introduced to epic by P^K. The verse he took as a **(p.243)** model will have continued *κυνέην θέτο* or … *ἔθηκεν*; in his compressed formulation the verb has been squeezed out (Danek 135).

336–7. *οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ἔμελλεν | … ἄψ Ἕκτορι μῦθον ἀποίσειν*: cf. *B* 36–40 n. Our sense of anticipation is enhanced, not diminished, by knowing that Dolon is doomed.

340. *διογενὴς Ὀδυσεύς*: adapted from the full-line vocative formula used in 144 (=*B* 173, al.). It reappears five times in *Od*.

344–8. Od.'s proposed tactic is shrewd: it turns out that Dolon is indeed a fast runner (316) and will have to be chased down.

348. *ἔγχει ἐπαΐσσων*: ~ 369.

358. *λαιψηρὰ δὲ γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα*: after *X* 144 (Hector turning to flee from Ach.).

360–2. An excellent simile, well differentiated from those used for Ach. in *X* (139–42, 162–4, etc.; in 189–92 a hound chasing a fawn).

367–8. After *X* 207.

369. = *Λ* 361.

373. *δεξιτερὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὦμον … ἀκωκή*: ≈ *E* 16, *Π* 478. We expect 'flew over' before 'stuck in the earth', cf. Danek 139 f.

374. *ἐν γαίηι ἐπάγη*: ≈ *X* 276.

***ὃ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔστη τάρβησέν τε*:** after *B* 268 (Thersites).

375. *ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίνετ᾽ ὀδόντων*: for the motif cf. *N* 283.

378–81. after *Z* 46–50; *ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον* ≈ *X* 50.

383. *μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιος ἔστω*: after *P* 201. Od. (the cunning one) uses a form of words that avoids promising Dolon his life but leads him to think he will be spared.

384. *ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον* (v.l. *ἀγόρευσον*): this formula, frequent in *Od*. (thirteen times), appears in *Il*. only in *K* (twice) and *Ω* (twice). Cf. 413 n.; Danek 145 f.

385. ≈ 82, 141.

387–9. Developing 342 f.

391–9. Based on Hector's speech in 303 ff., with the reward stated as there before the nature of the mission. 395–9 are adapted from 308–12.

402–4. From *P* 76–8.

409–11. It was represented as being a principal purpose of the mission to discover this (208–10), but Dolon does not supply the answer.

413. *τοὶ γὰρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ᾽ ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω* (v.l. *καταλέξω*): again in 427, but nowhere else in *Il*.; nine times in *Od*. (sometimes with *πάντα* or *ξεῖνε* for *ταῦτα*). Cf. 384 n.

415. *βουλὰς βουλεύει*: ≈ 327 (n.).

***θείου παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου*:** *Λ* 166 n.

416. *νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβου*: the phrase is from *E* 322; the sense must correspond to *Θ* 490 *νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγών*, with *φλοῖσβος* presumably the noise of the sea (*πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*), not (as elsewhere in *Il*.) the tumult of battle.

420. *πολύκλητοι*: after *Δ* 438. Cf. Danek 148 f.

428–31. The list of allies does not completely match that in *B* 828 ff.: the Kikones, Paphlagones, and Halizones are missing, while the Leleges and Kaukones are additional (Kaukones only in plus verses after 855). The Kaukones will be glimpsed at *Y* 329. The Leleges belonged in Ach.'s Pedasos campaign (*Y* 96, *Φ* 86). The last four peoples in Dolon's list are concentrated in *B* 858–77.

428. *Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι*: after *B* 848; elsewhere in *Il*. they are *ἱπποκορυσταί* (*Π* 287–8 n.), and that association may be the source of *Μηιόνες ἱπποκορυσταί* in 431.

429. *δῖοί τε Πελασγοί*: ≈ *τ* 177.

432–41. Dolon goes on to reveal more than he was asked. But this is what the story requires Diom. and Od. to learn, and there was no question they could have asked that would have led them to it.

434. *Θρήϊκες … νεήλυδες*: evidently a separate contingent from those in *B* 844, *Δ* 519 ff., *E* 462, *Z* 7. They must be imagined to have arrived after the previous day's fighting. For their full integration into the *Il*. narrative that event ought to have been described when it happened.

***ἔσχατοι ἄλλων*:** cf. 206 (203–17 n.).

437. *θείειν δ᾽ ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι*: of horses, cf. *Π* 149, *T* 415; *IEPM*466.

439. *τεύχεα … πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι*: from *Σ* 82 f.

447. *Δόλων*: Diom. should not know his name. Cf. 478; *A* 380–1 n.

454–7. For the motif of the failed supplication cf. *Z* 45–65 n.

457. = *χ* 329; less appropriate there (*pace* Danek 151), because Leodes has completed his supplication speech and Od. has responded to it.

458–9. ~ 333–5.

462–4. The prayer marks the transition from the encounter with Dolon to the assault on the Thracians.

469. *διά τ᾽ ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα*: after 298.

471. *καμάτωι ἀδηκότες*: 312 n.

473. *παρὰ δέ σφιν ἑκάστωι δίζυγες ἵπποι*: after *E* 195.

478. *Δόλων*: 447 n.

481. After *E* 228.

483–4. After *Φ* 20 f.; there too a simile follows, after which Ach. seizes twelve Trojan youths, as here Diom. kills twelve Thracians. The reddening of the earth would not have been visible in the night.

486. *κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούσηι*: after *Π* 783. **(p.245)**

496–7. Rhesos' bad dream: *EFH* 375. Zen.'s text, followed by Ar. Byz., omitted 497, but the content of dreams is always specified.

κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη: *EFH* 187 f.

503–11. Od. is already preparing to leave the scene (498–502), but the less sharp-witted Diom. is still busying himself at it. Rather than have him decide of his own accord that it is time to stop and get away, P^{K} makes it a divine initiative. Diom. is pondering other options, and Athena intervenes, cf. *A* 188 ff., *E* 671 ff., *Θ* 167 ff., *Π* 713 ff.; Arend 111; Danek 155 f.

506. After *E* 673.

508. *ἐγγύθεν ἱσταμένη*: the question of where she is coming from is passed over, as with Apollo in 515 ff.

511. *μή πού τις καὶ Τρῶας ἐγείρησιν θεὸς ἄλλος*: as Apollo will do directly.

512. = *B* 182.

515–25. The Thracians and Trojans are woken up so that we have the opportunity to enjoy their dismay. If they had been left to sleep till morning, we should never have had that chance. Again a god is brought in to account for the development.

522. After *Ψ* 178 =*Ω* 591, where *ὀνόμηνεν* introduces an actual address with Patr.'s name. This poet has no time for that (Danek 158).

523. *Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὦρτο κυδοιμός*: after *Γ* 2 + *Σ* 218.

524. *μέρμερα ἔργα*: cf. 289 n.

532. *Νέστωρ δὲ πρῶτος*: after being roused by Ag. in 73 ff. Nestor increasingly took over the initiative from him, and he proposed the scouting expedition. On the heroes' return he is the one who hears them coming and who questions them and hears their report, while Ag. remains out of the picture.

534. = *Δ* 140; *κέλεται δέ με θυόμ* ≈ *T* 187.

536–7. Nestor has no reason to expect that Diom. and Od. will be bringing horses back.

538. *αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή*: ≈ *A* 555, *I* 244.

539. A somewhat clumsy line put together from pre-existing phrases: *Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι* =*Δ* 260, *ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ* =*I* 248 (shortly after *ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κτλ*.).

540. *οὔ πω πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος*: a device to convey immediacy, also in *π* 11 (Od. says he hears footsteps approaching, and Telemachos enters) and 351. Cf. the interruption of Dolon's words by his killing in 457. A similar Ugaritic formula: *EFH* 198.

543–4. After *I* 672 f.

549. *γέρων περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής*: after *E* 571 ≈ *O* 585. **(p.246)**

550. *οὔ πω τοίους ἵππους ἴδον οὐδ᾽ ἐνόησα*: after *A* 262. Nothing has been seen of these horses before, and nothing will be heard of them after this episode, not even in the chariot race at the Funeral Games.

552. From *H* 280.

555–63. Od. begins by answering Nestor's question, which was prompted by the immediately visible result of the expedition; then he works backward to the killing of Rhesos and his followers, the capture of Dolon, and his dispatch by Hector.

559. *τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ᾽*: as in 477, Od. shows little interest in Rhesos' identity.

560. *πάντας ἀρίστους*: after 273, 300, hardly appropriate here. Cf. *π* 251 *δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἄριστοι*.

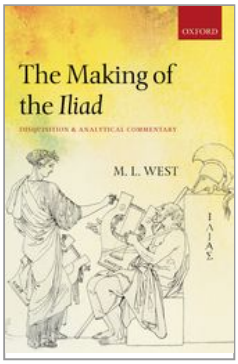
561. After 495; Dolon was actually the fourteenth after those just described.

566. *ὅτε Τυδείδεω κλισίην εὖτυκτον ἵκοντο*: ≈ *N* 240. They take the horses to be stabled with Diom.'s because Od. has none; like Ajax, he does not use a chariot, coming as he does from an island unsuitable for it (*δ* 601–8).

570. *ἔναρα βροτόεντα Δόλωνος*: the armour borrowed from Meriones and Thrasymedes is no longer of interest, and P^K does not mention that the heroes took it off or what they did with it.

576–7. Bergk condemned these lines, and the second bath certainly seems otiose as well as un-Iliadic. The bathtubs are abruptly introduced. There are no others in *Il*., whereas *ἀσάμινθος* (evidently an old poetic word, not a neologism) occurs ten times in *Od*. This is also the only passage in *Il*. where heroes oil themselves. 576 =*δ* 48, *ρ* 87; 577 ≈ *ζ* 96, there too leading in to a *δεῖπνον*. A bath in *Od*. is always followed by a meal. This is Od.'s third repast of the night, but we cannot say he does not deserve it.

579. P^K ends with a libation, perhaps to match the end of *I* where his insertion began. He does not trouble to send everyone to bed. It is true that little remains of the night, but P would surely not have omitted the usual sleep.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Λ

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After the interruption by the *Doloneia* the narrative continues on the lines proposed by Diom. at the end of *I*: the Achaeans resume the battle, with Ag. in the forefront. He is successful at first, but then Zeus sets about furthering his plan and the balance progressively shifts in favour of the Trojans.

In our *Il*. this is the third day of fighting and the fifth day since Ag.'s dream which beguiled him into a confident battle offensive. But in my view the greater part of *Λ* was originally composed to describe the first day of fighting, the immediate sequel to the dream and sortie related in *B*(–*Γ* 14). To recapitulate the reasons:

(1) Here we find what we were led to expect then as the immediate sequel, Ag. in his pomp (cf. *B* 477–83) leading the Achaeans out, and the disappointment of their expectations as the Trojans steadily gain the upper hand.

(2) Except in 48 and 51, there is no reference in *Λ* to the wall and trench which the Achaeans built round their position in *H*. Yet there is a series of places in which we might expect the existence of these fortifications to have been taken account of (311, 569, 601, 803, 823–4 nn.). This is consistent with the bulk of *Λ*'s having been composed before *Γ*–*I*.

(3) Other passages suggest that a supplication to Ach. is anticipated for the evening following this day of battle instead of having taken place the previous evening: see 187–94 and 609–10 nn.

Following the separation of this battle from the daybreak in *B* by the intercalation of two extra days in *H*, a new introduction to the battle was needed, comprising the appearance of dawn, the arming of the Achaeans and Trojans,

and their coming together. This was initially provided in *Θ* 1–65. Then with the insertion of a further day and the Embassy, the same need arose again, and it is now met in *Λ* 1–83. The section is much more cursory than the preparations for battle in *B*, and it omits the expected meal (*B* 381 ff., *Θ* 53, *T* 155 ff.). It contains several indications of secondary composition (5–6, 11–14, 47–55, 56, 57–60 nn.). The description of Ag.'s arming, however, might be part of the original version; 15–46 would fit comfortably between *B* 452 and 780.

From 84 to 805 we have what may be taken as the original narrative with only occasional expansions or interpolations (307–8, 354, 501, 534–7, 575–95, 665–762, 765–90 nn.). It is excellently planned and paced, and notable for the quantity and quality of its similes (cf. Wil. 195). P operates with a restricted **(p. 248)** cast: the Locrian Ajax does not appear, nor Teukros, nor 'the Aiante', nor Meriones, and Idomeneus only once in passing (501 n.); on the Trojan side Aeneas (58), Sarpedon, and Glaukos are all missing, and Dardanians and Lycians collectively are mentioned only once (285 f.). Cf. pp. 63–5.

1–2. Cf. *Θ* 1 n.

***Τιθωνοῖο*:** *IEPM* 224 f.

3. *Ζεὺς δ᾽ Ἔριδα προΐαλλε*: the great day of battle is given its initial impulse by Zeus. For the figure of Eris cf. *Δ* 439–40 n.

5–6. After *Θ* 222 f. (224–6 are a concordance interpolation from *Λ* 7–9); the two lines are clearly apter to the human vociferant in *Θ* (Schadewaldt 32, Reinhardt 178).

7–9. Ajax and Ach. are located at the extremities on account of their strength and courage. This corresponds to their later tombs at Rhoiteion and Sigeion respectively. But these may not have existed in P's time (*Ψ* 125 n.). Cf. Bethe iii. 75 (contradicting ii. 357).

10. *ἔνθα στᾶσ᾽ ἤϋσε θεὰ*: = *E* 784. For the deity's mighty war-cry cf. *EFH* 363. Sometimes, as in *O* 321, its effect is to strike terror into the enemy, sometimes, as here and *Ξ* 147 ff., *Y* 48 ff., to instil courage and martial spirit. The despondency that gripped the Achaeans after their reverses of the previous day is gone; it is a fresh start (Schadewaldt 102).

11–14. After *B* 451–4; cf. Schadewaldt 32 f. Lines 13 f. were absent from Zen.'s text, and their point is less clear here than in *B*. The option of returning to Greece was offered to the Achaeans also in *I* 17–28, but there they showed no reaction. It was mooted again at *I* 680 ff., but not before the whole army, and Diom.'s proposal to continue the fight prevented its being seriously considered by the leaders. Cf. Erhardt 176 f.; Schadewaldt 33 f.

15. Ag. takes the initiative at the human level by giving the order to arm. There are none of the preliminaries of sacrifice, prayer, and breakfasting described in *B*.

16–46. As Ag. is to play the central role in the first phase of the battle, his own arming is dwelt on at length (cf. *Γ* 328–39 n.), with descriptive and historical embellishment of some items in his equipment (cf. *Δ* 105–11 n.).

20–3. The reference to Cyprus may reflect some recent contact of P's with Cyprus or Cypriots; cf. pp. 23 f.

45. *Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη*: cf. *A* 194–5 n. Their activity is compatible with what is said in 75–7 but does not consort well with it (Lachmann 37). The thunder, exceptionally, does not come from Zeus, who has other plans and will produce a different sort of omen in 53–5.

47–55. This passage serves to set the Achaeans in motion before we cross over for a look at the enemy in 56–66. But it is awkwardly composed and looks like a replacement for a more original account. It is the only place in **(p.249)** *Λ* where the Achaean fortifications are mentioned (cf. Christ 23 f.). The lines about keeping the chariots at the trench while the heroes go forward on foot are adapted from *M* 76 f., 84 f., where the Trojans adopt the tactic with good reason (Schadewaldt 4–6, cf. 40 f.); here there is a distinct lack of clarity in the procedure. The reference to dawn in 50 strikes oddly after 1–2, and the Achaeans' noise contrasts with their quiet deployment in *Γ* 8 f., *Δ* 429.

53–4. *ἐέρσας | αἵματι μυδαλέας*: the morning dew has a bloody tinge. Cf. the bloody raindrops in *Π* 459–61; *EFH* 375; *IEPM* 488.

55. ≈ *A* 3 (n.); more echoes of *A* follow in 76 f., 81.

56. *Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν*: the ellipse of a verb such as *θωρήσσοντο* (cf. *Y* 1–3) is remarkable. Probably it was easier to supply it from the preceding sentence of the original version (47–55 n.); cf. Cauer 668.

***ἐπὶ θρωσμῶι πεδίοιο*:** we are still in the part newly composed after *Θ*–*I*, as the Trojans are out on the plain, not coming from the city (Wil. 184). Contrast *Θ* 55 *Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὡπλίζοντο*.

57–60. A cursory selection of prominent figures on the Trojan side; Polybos does not appear elsewhere. Aeneas does not reappear in *Λ*, and he was apparently not in P's original roster of heroes. The list does not include any of those who will turn the battle by wounding major Achaean heroes. Many others might have been mentioned, cf. *M* 88–104. The absence of the Lycians and other allies is noteworthy, as is the prominence of Antenorids; cf. 221–63 n. P dispenses with an account of the Trojans' arming.

62–5. The chief hero is illustrated with a simile.

67–71. The battle begins as usual with general description and a simile (*Δ* 446–56 n.). For the reaping imagery cf. *EFH* 228 f.

72. ***λύκοι ὥς***: *Δ* 471 n.

73–9. P continues with the idea that Eris is present as Zeus' agent (3–12). The other gods stay at home; Zeus alone is to be in charge, that is, his plan is to proceed without hindrance, though he does not take positive action until 182. The gods' sequestration and their collective discontent recalls the ban imposed on them in *Θ* 1 ff. (Schadewaldt 46). On the hypothesis that in the previous stage of expansion that scene directly preceded *Λ* 84 ff., we may suppose that P has put in the present lines as an alternative form of notice that the gods will stay out of the battle. He does not explain how they know what Zeus' intention is; cf. *Θ* 9 n. The reference to it in 79 serves to remind us what to expect.

76–7. *ἦχι ἑκάστωι | δώματα καλὰ τέτυκτο*: after *A* 607.

80–3. The picture of Zeus settling down to watch the battle corresponds to that in *Θ* 47–52, where he transferred himself to Ida for a closer view, as he will do in 183 below.

81. *τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε*: as in *A* 498. **(p.250)**

83. *ὀλλύντάς τ᾽ ὀλλυμένους τε*: *Δ* 451 n.

84–5. = *Θ* 66 f. The worsting of the Achaeans will not be achieved suddenly. It will be a prolonged process, and it will not be apparent for some time. Typically it is preceded by its opposite. For the first section of the day the battle is equal. Then for a while Ag. enjoys his aristeia and the Achaeans have the upper hand (86–180). 'Agamemnon muß erst Sieger sein, denn eine Niederlage, die nicht mit einem Siege begänne, wäre keine beispielhafte Niederlage' (Reinhardt 217).

86–9. We expect 'but when midday came', cf. *Θ* 68 n. The lumberjack's lunch-break makes an earlier turning-point, which we may think of as mid morning (Fick 10). It is still only the mid part of the day at *Π* 777. There is an analogy between the felling of trees and the slaughter of battle, cf. *IEPM* 494 f.

90. *σφῆι ἀρετῆι*: so long as Zeus does nothing the Achaeans' natural superiority shows itself; cf. *Z* 2–4, *Θ* 69–72 nn.

91–147. The account of Ag.'s aristeia begins with his killing of three pairs of opponents, each in one chariot, in sections of increasing length. Cf. *E* 144–65 and 580 nn.; Fenik 82. The first pair, Bienor and Oïleus, are nobodies. The second, Isos and Antiphos, are sons of Priam about whom there is a story. The

third, Peisandros and Hippolochos, are also brothers, sons of another notable Trojan. They plead for their lives, but when Ag. learns who their father is he shows them no mercy.

92. *πρῶτος*: *Δ* 457 n.

101. *Ἄντιφον*: he appeared briefly at *Δ* 489.

103. *εἰν ἑνὶ δίφρωι ἑόντας*: cf. *E* 13 n.

104–6. The motif that the victims had previously been captured by Ach. and ransomed recurs with another Priamid, Lykaon (*Φ* 34 ff.; cf. *Z* 45–65 n.). Lykaon falls into Ach.'s hands again and is recognized; Ag.'s recognition of Isos and Antiphos requires more circumstantial explanation (111 f.).

108–9. *τὸν μὲν … δουρί, | Ἄντιφον αὖ … ξίφει*: cf. *E* 145–6 n.

113. *ὡς δὲ λέων*: Ag. is repeatedly likened to a lion in this episode, cf. 129, 173, 239.

123–5. The reference, to which more detail is added in 138–41, is to the embassy of Od. and Men. at the beginning of the war, for which see *Γ* 203 n. Antimachos' sons have no existence outside the present passage. A third one will appear and die at *M* 188.

127. *εἰν ἑνὶ δίφρωι ἑόντας*: ≈ 103.

130. *γουναζέσθην*: for the motif of the unsuccessful supplication cf. *Z* 45–65 n.

131–5. ≈ *Z* 46–50.

139–41. This goes beyond what is related in 124 f. and may be an *ad hoc* elaboration to increase Antimachos' guilt. **(p.251)**

143–6. Cf. 108–9 n., and for the charioteer's attempt to flee, *E* 20–4 n.; for the beheading, 261, *N* 202, *Ξ* 497; *IEPM* 492.

148–80. The battle description becomes general again. The Achaeans succeed in driving the Trojans back towards the city, their progress being marked by successive reference to different landmarks (166 f., 170, 181).

148. *τοὺς μὲν ἔασ'*: *E* 148 n.

150–1. *πεζοὶ μὲν πεζοὺς ὄλεκον … | ἱππῆς δ' ἱππῆας*: *IEPM* 114–16.**155–7**. The hero compared to a forest fire: *EFH* 250; *IEPM* 494.

159–62. Cf. *IEPM* 486.

160. *κείν' ὄχεα κροτάλιζον*: for this motif cf. *O* 453.

162. *γύπεσσιν πολὺ φίλτεροι ἠ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν*: cf. *IEPM* 491 f.

163–4. An encounter between Ag. and Hector is to be avoided, as P does not want either to be wounded by the other, and no gods are in play to rescue either of them in mid combat. So he explains that Zeus was keeping Hector away from the most critical part of the fighting. This is developed in 185 ff.

165. ***ἕπετο … Δαναοῖσι κελεύων***: after 154.

166. *παρ᾽ Ἴλου σῆμα*: the tumuli of the area around Troy provided natural landmarks; cf. *B* 793, 811–14, *Ψ* 331. Ilos' tomb reappears at 371 f. (n.) and *Ω* 349, and P^{K} uses it at *K* 415.

167. *παρ᾽ ἐρινεὸν*: *Z* 433 n.

169. ≈ *Y* 503; cf. 534–7 n.

170. *φηγὸν*: *E* 693 n.

171. *ἔνθ᾽ ἄρα δὴ ἵσταντο*: the alternative would have been to flee into the city, bringing the battle to a premature end.

172–6. Cf. *IEPM* 495.

173. *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι*: *IEPM* 224.

178. *αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων*: after 154. The verse is re-used at *Θ* 342.

181–4. When Ag. gets close to the city it is time for a change of direction, and now Zeus comes forward to Ida and makes a positive intervention. His relocation might have been described with more ceremony (contrast *Θ* 41–52, *N* 17–38), but P was probably conscious of having delayed it unduly (cf. 82 n.) and did not want to dwell on it.

184. *ἔχε δὲ στεροπὴν μετὰ χερσίν*: P seems to anticipate that Zeus will deploy his thunderbolt from Ida as in *Θ* 75, 133, 170, but in the event he does not. He will thunder at *O* 377 and *P* 595, but P is hardly planning ahead for that.

185. *Ἶριν δ᾽ ὤτρυνε*: *Θ* 398 n.

187–94. A programmatic statement of the kind noted in *Θ* 470–6 n., but incorporating instructions for Hector. He is to stay out of Ag.'s way so long as the aristeia continues; but when Ag. is wounded and takes to his chariot, **(p. 252)** Hector will be able to fight his way forward to the ships, whereupon night will fall.

When he composed these lines P cannot have had it in mind that the Trojans were to reach the ships by the early afternoon and then be driven back almost to

the city by Patr. What he implies is that they will advance steadily until they achieve the position that we saw them achieve in *Θ*, pressing the Achaeans back to the ships, being overtaken by nightfall, and camping out on the plain. That was the situation that prompted the embassy to Ach., and in *Λ* 609 f. Ach. will speak as if no such embassy has yet taken place. What we have before us, apparently, is a survival from the original draft of *Λ* for which the embassy has not yet happened but is to happen in the coming night.

191. *ἢ δουρὶ τυπεὶς ἢ βλήμενος ἰῶι*: Ag. will be wounded by a spear, but Diom., Machaon, and Eurypylos will be wounded by arrows, and P may not have decided yet just how Ag. is to be disabled.

195–9. The standard messenger sequence. Iris addresses Hector undisguised, and he absorbs the message without surprise or comment.

201. *Ζεύς με πατὴρ προέηκε τεΐν τάδε μυθήσασθαι*: *EFH* 193.

211–14. ≈ *E* 494–7, *Z* 103–6. Hector rallies his troops for the next phase of the battle in accordance with instructions (204 f.), and the two sides are repositioned on equal terms.

216–17. *ἐν δ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων | πρῶτος ὄρουσ᾽*: = 91 f. The phrase is repeated to re-establish Ag. in his role as dominant champion as the starting-point for the next episode.

***ἔθελεν δὲ πολὺ προμάχεσθαι ἁπάντων*:** cf. *E* 536 n.

218–20. The question to the Muses (*B* 484–93, *E* 703 nn.) marks a significant turning-point, alerting us to the fact that Ag. is about to meet more serious opposition, men who will take the initiative in coming against him and end his run of successes.

220. *ἠ᾽ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἠὲ κλειτῶν ἐπικούρων*: the explicit mention of the allies seems laboured, and as in the original version the Trojans apparently did not have allies from outside the Troad, the line is probably an addition. Iphidamas, although brought up in Thrace, is an Antenorid and thus of Trojan stock. He has not come with the Thracian contingents but independently with a small fleet of his own (228).

221–63. Ag.’s last named opponents are another pair of brothers, sons of Antenor, but not among the three named in 59 f. (We hear of eleven altogether.) Both are killed, but one of them inflicts a wound that will shortly force Ag. off the field. The first, Iphidamas, receives an ample introduction (221–30).

224. ***Θεανὼ***: *E* 69, *Z* 298 n.

226. = *Z* 192. He marries an aunt, but her identity appears to be of no **(p.253)** significance. The marriage makes his death pathetic (242–5); cf. *B* 700 f., *N* 173, 365 ff., 428 ff., *P* 36.

232–40. A typical encounter (Fenik 6, 87 f., 145 f.): the first warrior's throw misses, his opponent deals him a non-fatal blow, and then the other kills him.

236. *οὐδ᾽ ἔτορε ζωστῆρα*: cf. *Δ* 186 n.

241. *χάλκεον ὕπνον*: cf. *EFH* 573; *IEPM* 387 f.

243–5. The quantity of livestock given and promised somewhat counteracts the impression given in 226 that Kisses was eager to bestow his daughter on the fine young man.

251. *λαθὼν Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον*: by catching Ag. off guard he scores a hit that would otherwise have been beyond his capability.

254. = *Δ* 148.

257–60. Koön is killed while removing his brother's body; cf. *Δ* 466–9 n.

269–72. The pains of childbirth as simile: *EFH* 251.

273. *ἐς δίφρον δ᾽ ἀνόρουσε*: the chariot is treated as being there at the moment when it is needed. Cf. *E* 192–204 n.

277. He is already afraid for the ships. Cf. Wil. *Vorl*. 244; Schadewaldt 67, 68.

284. *Ἕκτωρ δ᾽ ὡς ἐνόησ᾽*: cf. *E* 95 n.

285–6. The only mention of Lycians and Dardanians in *Λ* (apart from Aeneas in 58, cf. 57–60 n.).

296. *αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν πρώτοισι*: now that Ag. has gone, Hector can take centre stage.

299. *τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ᾽ ὕστατον*: 218–20 n.

304. *τοὺς ἄρ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἡγεμόνας Δαναῶν ἕλεν*: we have not heard of any of them. The distinction between named *ἡγεμόνες* and unnamed *πλῆθύς* (cf. *B* 487 f.) serves here to convey the idea that Hector slew far more than P can identify individually. No further named Achaeans are killed in the rest of the rhapsody.

307–8. The transition from the wind scattering the clouds to the spray falling from the waves is awkward. It looks as if 307 f. was originally the continuation of the simile in 297 f., cf. *Studies* 212. In that case 299–306 is an expansion.

310. *ἔνθά κε λοιγὸς ἔην*: a typical trope for introducing a change in the direction of events, cf. *Z* 73, *Θ* 130, *Π* 698, *P* 319, *Φ* 544.

311. *καί νύ κεν ἐν νήεσσι πέσον*: the trench and wall are ignored.

312. With Ag. gone, the Achaean resistance will depend on such figures as Diom., Od., and Ajax. Ajax is reserved for the role of last bastion; Diom. and Od. are next in line to be wounded and forced to retire. They now make a stand. For their association cf. *Θ* 91–8 n. **(p.254)**

***Τυδείδηι Διομήδει*:** this would be his first appearance in the original draft of the poem, unless an earlier one has been eliminated.

315. *εἴ κεν νῆας ἕλῃι*: cf. 277 n.

318–19. Like Ag. in 278 and Hector in 288 f., Diom. recognizes Zeus' will in the way things are going. Cf. *I* 110 n.

320. *Θυμβραῖον*: not mentioned elsewhere; nor are Molion (322) or the two killed by Od. in 335.

324–5. The simile after 292 f.

329–32. = *B* 831–4. It is odd that the brothers' names, Adrestos and Amphios, are not given here. Wil. 189 n. 1 thinks that they were removed by a rhapsode to obscure the apparent contradiction with *Z* 37 ff., where an Adrestos is killed.

336–7. The meaning seems to be that Diom.'s and Od.'s activities have checked the Trojan advance and temporarily restored the balance that obtained between the two armies in 72. We are reminded that Zeus is still in overall control.

338–400. Diom. is the hero of this episode, the last in which he will be seen in battle. Besides killing another lesser victim, he clashes with Hector for the first and only time (having retreated before him in *E* 596 ff.) and proves his merit by landing a severe blow on him and making him pull back; but he is then wounded by an arrow shot by Paris and forced to withdraw.

343–5. =*E* 590 f. + 596.

353. *τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*: Hector is saved by having a superior helmet given by a god; cf. *Y* 268 =*Φ* 165, *Φ* 594. For Apollo as his patron cf. *H* 81 n. He is elsewhere a giver of bows to archers: *B* 827 (n.), *O* 441.

354. The line looks like a short alternative to 355–60; *μίκτο δ' ὁμὶλωι ~ ἐξέλασσ' ἐς πληθύν*. P may have composed it first and failed to cancel it after working out the longer version. But the whole passage 355–68 may be an expansion; cf. 362–7 n.

355–6. = *E* 309 f.

362–7. = *Y* 449–54 (Ach. to Hector), where the sentiments are more appropriate to the speaker and where Apollo actually has intervened; cf. Schadewaldt 6 and above, 354 n.

368–78. Diom. is hit while stripping his victim; cf. *Δ* 466–9 n. Paris' arrow pins his foot to the ground: inspired by the death of Ach.? Cf. the Chalcidian amphora, *LIMC* Laodokos 1 (*c*.540); Pestalozzi 17; Reinhardt 254.

372. *Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο παλαιοῦ*: after 166. Wanting something that Paris can hide behind, P thinks of the tumulus which he mentioned earlier and which he may have identified with an actual stele-bearing mound on the plain. **(p.255)**

380–3. Paris' boast: cf. *E* 276–89 n.

383. *οἵ τέ σε πεφρίκασι*: perhaps with allusion to Diom.'s aristeia in *E*–*Z* (VdM 196).

385. Cf. *Γ* 39.

***παρθενοπῖπα*:** cf. *A* 122 n.**388–90**. Like Ag., Diom. at first makes light of his wound but then finds that he cannot continue fighting.

395. Cf. 162.

399–400. = 273 f.

402. *φόβος ἔλλαβε πάντας*: others such as Men. and Ajax will presently step forward, but for the moment it is convenient to represent Od. as isolated.

403. 'Spoke to his own heart': *EFH* 199. Other internal monologues in *P* 90 ff., 200 ff., 443 ff., *Σ* 6 ff., *Y* 344 ff., *Φ* 54 ff., 552 ff., *X* 98 ff., 297 ff.; cf. Voigt 87–102, Schadewaldt 62 f., Fenik 96–8. The present instance, where a hero in a perilous situation considers his options, is paralleled in *P* 90 ff., *Φ* 552 ff., and *X* 98 ff. The form of opening is stereotypical (403, 404 *ὤι μοι ἐγώ*), as is the self-reprimand in 407 (=*P* 97, *Φ* 562, *X* 122). It is Od., the most thoughtful of heroes, whose inner reasoning is presented to us in this episode.

406. *Κρονίων*: cf. 318–19 n.

407. A typical line in these monologues: *P* 97, *Φ* 562, *X* 122.

414–18. The simile again (324–5 n.) after 292 f.

425. *ἔλε γαῖαν ἀγοστῶι*: *IEPM* 490.

426–58. This scene in which Od. is wounded follows the same pattern as the one where Ag. is wounded (Fenik 89): the hero kills one brother, the other attacks and wounds him and then is himself killed.

429–33. Sokos 'is allowed to speak a few words because he is to wound Od.' (Wil. 191). For the motif 'today either you kill us or I kill you' cf. *M* 172, *O* 557 f.; *IEPM* 476 f.

434–8. Cf. *Γ* 357–60, *E* 281–2 nn. In bringing Athena in, P forgets that the gods are supposed to be keeping out of the action (75); cf. *Θ* 311 n.

442. *ἤτοι μὲν μ᾽ ἔπαυσας*: though he knows the wound is not life-threatening, Od. realizes at once (unlike Ag. and Diom.) that he cannot carry on fighting.

443–5. ≈ *E* 652–4.

447–9. ≈ *E* 40–2.

450. *ὦ Σῶχ᾽, Ἱππάσου υἱὲ*: Sokos has mentioned his father's name, but it is not clear why Od. should know his identity. Other sons of Hippasos appear at *N* 411, *P* 348.

452–4. The hero exults in the prospect of his victim's body being eaten by the birds; cf. *A* 4–5 n. **(p.256)**

463–72. Men. and Ajax now come into view for the first time in this battle. Hearing Od.'s shouts for help, Men. proposes that they go to assist him, and they do so. Ajax does not speak, he acts. Men. helps Od. to get away (487) and then disappears again till *N* 581, while Ajax takes up the main role in the defence.

480. *ἐπί τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων*: the simile is extended to accommodate the approach of Ajax; *ἤγαγε δαίμων* as it seems to the frustrated jackals, cf. *ω* 149. The lion frightens the jackals away, but he cannot be represented as the stag's saviour, so the final detail, *αὐτὰρ ὃ δάπτει*, somewhat spoils the effect.

489–97. Ajax's efficacy is conveyed typically with a few lines listing men he killed (one of them a bastard son of Priam) and a simile illustrating the overall effect of his activity; cf. 301 ff., and for the simile, *E* 87–92.

497–8. *οὐδέ πω Ἕκτωρ | πεύθετ᾽*: Ajax is able to enjoy such success only in Hector's absence. Soon Hector will arrive in the vicinity and Ajax will retreat.

***μάχης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ*:** *E* 355 n.

501. *Νέστοράτ᾽ … καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἰδομενῆα*: neither has so far been mentioned in the present battle, and for Idomeneus this (with his speech in 510 ff.) is his only appearance between *Θ* 263 and *N* 210. Why are these two introduced here? Nestor is being put in place for the immediately following incident, which will

take him back to the ships: he is needed there to advise Patr., and in particular to propose the idea of his going out to fight in Ach.'s place (794 ff.). His departure from the field in support of Machaon is typically cued by a proposal, and Idomeneus serves as the one to make it. But why he? P has chosen to put in the wounding of Machaon before Hector's move from left field (521 ff.). He therefore locates Nestor in that sector, and he needs another Achaean hero there to make the proposal. Perhaps Idomeneus is picked on simply as one who has not been seen in the main battle in the centre. But he is again associated with the left sector in *N*: after withdrawing to the ships with a wounded comrade (210–14), he returns with Meriones, decides to go and support the battle on the left side (306 ff.), and there encounters and kills Asios, who had himself made for that side in *M* 118. He is not on the left in *N* because he was there in *Λ*, but possibly the converse is the case if the present passage is secondary. It may be so, as 501–20 break a natural connection.

504–20. Machaon is a surprising addition to the series of heroes whose wounding undermines the Achaeans' resistance. His importance is not as a warrior but as a healer (*B* 732, *Δ* 193 ff.), and the purpose of the episode is presumably to take him back to the ships so that he can tend to the other wounded, though we never see this happening. At the beginning of *Ξ* it seems as if Nestor is about to bring them to him, but then the narrative develops **(p.257)** differently and they return to the battlefield to encourage the rest. In *Π* 28 f., on the other hand, Patr. says they are all receiving medical care. Hermann v. 59–62 argued that a song has been incorporated in which Machaon was not wounded but simply sent off the field for his own safety—or more likely, I would think, to tend to wounded major heroes. Possibly that corresponds to an earlier version of P's, and then he decided it was finer if Machaon were made a heroic casualty himself. He does not behave like a wounded man in what follows, and references to his wound are cursory (612/650, 664).

505. *Ἀλέξανδρος*: Paris is brought in again as the one who inflicts the wound. But both before and afterwards (581) he is operating in the centre, not in the left sector where Machaon is fighting—another sign that this passage is not fully integrated.

506. *ἀριστεύοντα*: a perfunctory justification for the claim that Machaon's wounding had a serious effect on the military situation. The suggestion in 504 that those among whom he had been fighting were now forced to retreat is not followed up in 521 ff., as Hector at once departs from that sector.

507. *κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον*: cf. 583–4 n.

521–95. The scene will move with Nestor to the ships at 597, but while he is on the way there further action on the battlefield is presented using the interweaving technique noted in *A* 306–487 n. The ambiguity of Ajax's and

Hector’s successes in different parts of the arena is resolved as Hector, on Kebriones’ proposal, crosses to where Ajax is fighting and Ajax is forced back.

521. *Κεβριόνης*: *Θ* 318 n. He is driving his brother Hector’s chariot as arranged then.

527. *εὐρὺ γὰ ῥάμφ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἔχει σάκος*: Ajax’s distinctive armament, described in *H* 219 ff. and reflected in the name of his son Eurysakes.

528–30. ≈ 499 f.

534–7. ≈ *Y* 499–503, cf. above, 169 n.; *EFH* 375 f. As at 362–7, Schadewaldt (7 f., cf. Reinhardt 254) argues persuasively for the priority of the parallel passage in *Y*. But the language of 538 f. is strange—*μίννυθα δὲ χάζετο δουρός* is indeed unintelligible—and 534–9 is perhaps an interpolation, or part of the same interpolation as the following lines.

[540–3]. Lachmann 39 saw the incompatibility of these lines both with what precedes (Hector is coming to deal with Ajax) and with what follows (Ajax takes fright). Cf. Hentze iv. 55–7, 97 f. A rhapsode wanted to portray Hector as afraid to face Ajax in person, and repeated 540 f. from 264 f. so that he could attach 542; 543 is a subsidiary interpolation, absent from the direct tradition.

544–74. The whole account of the doughty hero’s reluctant retreat is magnificent. The two fine long similes in 548–65 might have been composed as alternatives, as either could stand without the other (Mazon 186 n. 2, cf. **(p. 258)** Hermann viii. 17; Haupt in Lachmann 102 f.); but accumulation of similes is not foreign to P’s technique (Fenik 110 f.). The first one is repeated at *P* 657–67.

569. *προέεργε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ὀδεύειν*: again the Achaeans’ fortifications are ignored. Ajax himself appears as the only obstacle. Contrast the retreats at *Θ* 213 and 336 (Bethe 132, 138).

573–4. ≈ *O* 316 f., where there is a better contrast with the spears that do reach men’s flesh (Schadewaldt 7).

***λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἆσαι*:** *IEPM* 462.

575–95. Eurypylos has made occasional appearances in the fighting (*E* 76, *Z* 36, *Θ* 265), and at *H* 167 he is reckoned among the *ἄριστοι* who volunteer to fight Hector in single combat. Now he makes a brave attempt to assist Ajax and after one token success becomes Paris’ third victim, the fifth in the series of wounded who withdraw to the ships. Unlike the others, he gets no chariot transport.

Patr. will meet him limping in at 809, and he will then be responsible for delaying Patr.'s return to Ach. The purpose of that delay is to accommodate the great expansion of the assault narrative in *M*–*O* (Niese 87; Fick 95 f.). In an earlier version presumably Patr. was not held up in this way, and his departure from Nestor at *Λ* 805 was separated from his return to Ach. at *Π* 2 by less than two hundred lines describing the fighting (e.g. *O* 592–609, 615–67, 674–*Π* 1). In such a version the present episode would have had no point and was probably absent.

576. *βιαζόμενον βελέεσσιν*: after *O* 727 =*Π* 102.

580–2. Cf. 368–76 n.

583–4. *μηρὸν … δεξιόν*: each of Paris' victims is hit in a different part of the body, though in each case on the right (foot, shoulder, thigh). **586–7**. = 275 f. Eurypylos' exhortation focuses on Ajax as the crucial figure to support, and leaves us in suspense as to how Ajax will manage.

589. *βελέεσσι βιάζεται*: 576 n.

596. *μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο*: Cf. 155–7 n.

597. *Νέστορα δ'*: picking up from 520.

601. *εἰσορόων πόνον αἰπὺν*: the ship's stern deck gives Ach. a raised viewpoint, but there is no consciousness of the defence wall obstructing the view. That would have been the natural place for him to stand if it existed in P's mind at this point (Bethe 137). In *Ξ* 8–15 Nestor says he is going out *εἰς περιωπήν*; he goes out of his hut and sees the battle before him, *ἐρέριπτο δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν*.

603–7. Perhaps a secondary addition, cf. *Studies* 214. Single-line speeches

(606) are otherwise confined to *Σ*–*Ω*, in which there are eight examples (Lachmann 81). **(p.259)**

604. *ἶσος Ἄρηϊ*: foreshadowing his sortie as a warrior (sch^{T}).

***κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή*:** signalling that this is the start of the train of events that will lead to his death.

609–10. *νῦν οἵω περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιούς | λισσομένους*: it is natural to read this as implying that Ach. has not received such an approach up to now, and that the passage was composed when P still intended to place the Embassy during the following night. We saw another pointer to this in 187–94 n., and it receives corroboration in *Π* 52–9, 72 f., 85 f. Cf. chapter 5.

611–17. Ach.'s curiosity about who it is that Nestor has brought back in his chariot is the mechanism for sending Patr. to Nestor (Niese 86 f.). P needs to bring him into Nestor's presence so that Nestor can make the proposal that he go out to fight in Ach.'s place. His progress to the meeting-place is interlaced with Nestor's own. He sets off in 617, Nestor and Machaon complete their journey in 618 ff. and settle themselves down, Patr. arrives at 644.

620. The horses' unharnessing is a typical conclusion to a chariot journey, e.g. *E* 369, *Θ* 50, *N* 35; Arend 87–91. On Eurymedon cf. *Θ* 114 n.

621. *ἱδρῶ*: cf. *B* 388–90 n.

624–7. Nestor's woman servant is an entirely subsidiary figure who did not even need a name (cf. 843), but P has provided her with an identity and background; she will reappear at *Ξ* 6. Her name is perhaps adapted from that of Agamede in 740, the Epeian princess skilled in *φάρμακα* (Wil. 199 n. 3, Schadewaldt 59 n. 1). The whole scene is treated amply with much pictorial detail.

625. *ἐκ Τενέδοιο … ὅτ᾽ ἔπερσεν Ἀχιλλεύς*: acc. to the *Cypria* (arg. 9 +Apollod. epit. 3. 23–7) the Achaeans landed on Tenedos before reaching Troy and Ach. killed its king Tennes. It was there that Philoctetes was bitten by the snake.

632–5. The description of Nestor's great goblet shows features of a Bronze Age vessel, and the allusion to his *εὔποτον ποτήριον* in the early inscription on the Ischia skyphos (*CEG* 454, *c.*735–720 BCE) shows that it was established in pre-Iliadic tradition. Cf. *EFH* 376.

636–7. The hero's strength enables him to do things that an ordinary man cannot, cf. *Π* 141 f. =*T* 388 f., *Ω* 453–6; *IEPM* 426.

638–40. The description of the cheese-grating also seems to come from older poetic tradition: *JHS* 118 (1998), 190 f.

645–8. The etiquette as in *I* 193 ff., *Λ* 777 f., where Ach. jumps up when visitors appear, draws them in, and offers them seats. Cf. Arend 35. Patr., however, declines to sit down because his business is too pressing: for this motif cf. *Z* 258–65 n. **(p.260)**

650–1. Patr. puts the question he has been told to put, but as he can see what the answer is, P by a stroke of naturalism allows him to anticipate the reply. Cf. *δ* 138 ff. Machaon remains silent throughout the scene and is otherwise ignored in it, having nothing to contribute.

656–803. The exceptional length of Nestor's speech results from two major expansions (665–762, 765–90 nn.). In the opening lines Ach.'s paradoxical

concern over a wounded man provides the cue for Nestor to summarize the military situation and criticize Ach.'s failure to do anything.

665–762. A long story from Nestor's past is worked in with a somewhat forced shift of thought in 668 f. and an abrupt shift back in 762 f. As in *A* 260 ff. and *H* 132 ff., his reminiscences are associated with criticism of the Achaeans' current behaviour. But the recital has no bearing on the present situation and seems to be included so that Patr.'s stay is not too brief. On its parallels with the story of David and Goliath cf. *EFH* 376.

666–7. In Nestor's mouth this is a rhetorical question, but it actually corresponds to something Ach. has said and to P's programme, cf. *I* 650–5 n.

670. *εἴθ᾽ ὡς ἠβώοιμι*: *H* 132–3 n.

677–81. Quantities of livestock taken as booty: *IEPM* 451 f.

689–93. For Neleus' twelve sons and Heracles' assault on Pylos cf. *E* 395–7 n., 'Hes.' frr. 33–5, *Sc*. 359 ff.; Gantz 185.

699. *τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι*: the only reference to a team of four (*Θ* 185 is interpolated). As *ἐλθόντες μετ᾽ ἄεθλα* in 700 suggests, P probably has the Olympic Games in mind (anachronistically with respect to their foundation myths). Cf. p. 19. For 'prize-winning horses' cf. *IEPM* 467.

709. *Μολίονε*: *B* 621 n.

711. ≈*B* 811.

***ἔστι δέ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις*:** cf. *Z* 152 n.

712. *νεάτη Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος*: cf. *I* 153 n.

726. *ἔνδιοι*: cf. *Θ* 68 n.

735. Sunrise is the traditional time to begin fighting: *IEPM* 473.

738. *πρῶτος ἐγὼν ἕλον ἄνδρα*: cf. *Δ* 457 n.

744–6. The enemy flee on seeing their leader fall: cf. *Π* 290–2, *Φ* 206–8; Fenik 13; *IEPM* 490.

748–9. *πεντήκοντα δ᾽ ἔλον δίφρους*: cf. *IEPM* 481 f.

***δύο δ᾽ ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον | φῶτες*:** killing both occupants of a chariot is a typical heroic feat, cf. *E* 580 n.

750. *καί νύ κεν Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε παῖδ᾽ ἀλάπαξα*: he could not in fact kill them, as Heracles did so acc. to the tradition.

751–2. As the narrator, Nestor is allowed a poet's understanding of the gods' machinations. Cf. 721, 758. **(p.261)**

762. *αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς*: repeated from 664 where (probably) the expansion began. The sense continues from there: all the best warriors have been disabled (658–64), and Ach. will be left to display his prowess on his own.

765–90. A second expansion; it cannot be part of the original stratum in *Λ* because it is secondary to a passage in the Embassy, *I* 252–9, where Od. recalls Peleus' advice to Ach. when he and Nestor went to recruit. (Cf. *E* 197–8, *H* 123–60 nn.) Now Patr. and his father are also said to have been present, and Peleus and Menoitios to have both given their sons advice in parallel. An explanation of why Menoitios brought his son to Peleus' house will be given in *Ψ* 85 ff.

766. After *I* 253, 439.

773. *πίονα μηρία καῖε βοὸς Διὶ*: Peleus happens to be sacrificing, so the visitors are assured of a good dinner with little delay. Cf. *γ* 5 ff.

777–8. Cf. 645–8 n.

***ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς*:** after *I* 193.

780–1. Food before business, as usual.

784. = *Z* 208 (Glaukos' father's injunction to him when he set out for Troy). Peleus' advice to Ach. was somewhat different in *I* 254–8, and that version would have been more relevant here if Ach. were being addressed, but P prefers the one-line alternative so that he can move on more immediately to what Patr. was told.

786–9. The commission laid on Patr., to be Ach.'s guide and mentor, is in *I* 438–43 claimed by Phoenix. The two accounts are in competition.

790. After *I* 259, where *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* fits better.

794. *εἰ δέ τινα … θεοπροπίην ἀλεείνει*: Thetis' prophecies are a recurrent motif (*I* 410–15 n.), and they are such as might well deter Ach. from fighting if he were not a true hero. Nestor has to postulate something that might keep Ach. at his ship but not make him unwilling to send Patr. out. In the event (*Π* 48 ff.) he denies that he is inhibited by any prophecy, reaffirms the basis of his grudge, but nevertheless agrees to let Patr. go out in his place.

797. *φόως*: *Z* 6 n.

798–9. The exchange of armour may not have been an element of the original plan—802 f. give an alternative reason why the sortie may succeed—but it is well embedded in our *Il*.; cf. Erhardt 307, Rothe 290, Reinhardt 330. It is the loss of

Ach.'s armour, which Hector strips from Patr.'s body in *P*, that necessitates the making of a new set by Hephaestus in *Σ*. That is the real purpose of the exchange (Mülder 165).

802–3. Athetized by Aristarchus as being more appropriate in the parallel passage *Π* 44 f.; the Trojans are not yet at the ships. Danger to the ships has been a recurrent motif (277, 311, 557, 666). Still, it does look as if these lines were composed with or after *Π* 44 f. Cf. Lachmann 64; Wil. *Vorl*. 306. **(p.262)**

***προτὶ ἄστυ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων*:** again no mention of the Achaeans' fortifications.

804–5. Patr. is affected by Nestor's speech; his emotion may be taken to include arousal by the idea that he himself may go out to fight (Schadewaldt 89). There is nothing for him to say in reply, and he leaves at once.

806. Here begins a major expansion, cf. 575–95 n.

***κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσῆος*:** in the middle of the beach, cf. 5 f. =*Θ* 222 f. But its designation as the Achaeans' central place of assembly and worship is new (and has no point in the context). An altar to Zeus Panomphaios was mentioned at *Θ* 249 f.

810. Perhaps interpolated (Erhardt 193; *Studies* 214).

823–4. Again the trench and wall are ignored as potential obstacles to the Trojans' advance.

825–6. Cf. *Π* 23–45 n.

***πάντες*:** a rhetorical exaggeration. Idomeneus and Ajax are still fighting; Men., Teukros, the Locrian Ajax, Antilochos, and Meriones are uninjured and will appear in the battle in *M–N*.

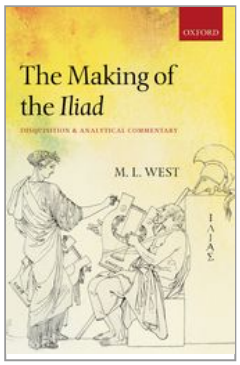
830–2. A rather far-fetched justification for engaging Patr. as healer (Fick 96). The medical expertise that Machaon derived from Chiron through his father Asklepios (*Δ* 219) is extended to Ach. and by association to Patr. Ach.'s mighty spear was a gift of Chiron to Peleus (*Π* 143, *T* 390), but his education by the Centaur is not alluded to elsewhere in *Il*.; cf. *I* 438–43 n.

838–41. Patr.'s hesitation reflects the tension between P's earlier and later designs. Note that the purpose of his return to Ach. is not now to tell him the answer to the question he had asked but to communicate Nestor's advice.

846. *ἐπὶ δὲ ῥίζαν βάλε πικρήν*: Patr. is not of course carrying a medicine pack with him. We are to understand that he was able to find a suitable herb

growing nearby. This justifies the delay of his return to Ach., and we accept the minor implausibility.

848. To round off the episode P gives the impression that the treatment of Eurypylos' wound is completed. But Patr. must stay longer, and when we return to him at *O* 390 he is represented as continuing to apply medicaments.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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M

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The account of the battle is taken up again from *Λ* 596, now with a focus on the Achaeans' defences, which were notably ignored in *Λ*. P shows his genius for controlled development and retardation. The Trojans have no easy victory. But four or five hundred lines of hard fighting culminate in Hector's breaking in through one of the gates in the Achaean wall. The rhapsody can be enjoyed as a self-contained epyllion, but it is part of a larger organic whole that carries on through *NΞO*. The narrative proceeds smoothly and appears not to have undergone expansion except in 5–39 and perhaps 175–81, 335–70. In several places lines or similes seem to have been adapted from passages in *Λ* or later rhapsodies where they are a better fit: see 41–8, 43, 47, 106–7, 167–70, 305–6, 385–6, 415 nn.

1–9. The lines in effect tell us to keep Patr.'s situation in mind for later as we return to the fighting. At the same time they announce a new phase of the battle in which the Achaeans' wall will be breached.

5–6. ≈ *H* 449 f. In *Studies* 214 f. I argued that 6 was a concordance interpolation from *H* 450 (cf. also Erhardt 212). But if, as concluded below, *H* 442 ff. and *M* 10 ff. are expansions, things take on a different complexion. Before the introduction of the motif that Poseidon was affronted at the building of the wall and given leave to destroy it after the war, the present passage referred only to its impending breach by the Trojans; 8 *θῶεν δ' ἀέκητι τέτυκτο* provided an explanation of why it failed. But 6 is then necessary to explain why the gods were adverse. The omission of hecatombs was not mentioned when the wall was actually built (*H* 436–41), only in Poseidon's speech in the expansion (450). I infer that it was invented *ad hoc* at *M* 6 and then taken over into the expansion in *H*, where it does not relate to any general adverse reaction by the gods

collectively. It may be that 5–9 represent an initial expansion of 1–4, to which 10 ff. were added subsequently.

10–33. This look into the future is abnormal in terms of epic practice and distorts the sequence of thought. We naturally take 9 to be picking up 3 f. and to refer to the imminent breach of the wall by the Trojans—the wall was *ἔμπεδον* only up to that—but now we hear that it remained *ἔμπεδον* till after the sack of Troy (10–12), and that only then did the gods' displeasure issue in its destruction. In *O* 361–6 Apollo will knock it down like a sand-castle; there seems to be no consciousness there of the annihilation planned for after the war. This future event is indeed prepared for in *H* 459–63. But **(p.264)** I believe that it was a late invention by P, and that both *H* 442–64 and the present passage are expansions. This one most likely extends to 39, with 40 having originally begun *Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν* (perhaps following directly after 4). Erhardt 104–6, 194 f., took a similar view, regarding *H* 433–64 and *M* 10–34 as expansions (with *M* 35 modified).

For the poetic motivation for the complete removal of the wall after the war see *H* 442–63 n. The description of how Poseidon and Apollo did it seems inspired by the Mesopotamian Flood myth and also by some account of Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon in 689; see *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 211–18 ≈*EFH* 377–80; above, p. 19.

10–11. The essential meaning is 'so long as Priam's city stood', contrasting with 15. The ending of Ach.'s *μῆνις* and the death of Hector will not in themselves herald the abolition of the wall; they are evoked (*per contrarium*) to relate the statement more closely to what is happening within *Il*., and to indicate that these will be significant steps towards the eventual fall of Troy.

[14]. *Studies* 215.

15. *δεκάτωι ἐνιαυτῶι*: cf. *B* 295–8 n.

17. *Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων*: the builders of Laomedon's wall (*H* 462 f., *Φ* 441 ff.). Apollo is one of the chief gods on the Trojans' side, but Poseidon is for the Achaeans.

20–2. Of these eight rivers only Scamander and Simoeis have a regular place in poetry about Troy; Aisepos, which flows into the Propontis some eighty miles east of Troy, is the only other one mentioned elsewhere in *Il*. All eight, however, except Karesos, appear in Hesiod's catalogue of rivers in *Th*. 337–45, which may be the source. The location of the four named in 20 was problematic for ancient scholars. If they are borrowed from Hesiod, there is no guarantee that they were in Asia Minor at all; Rhodios and Heptaporos are grouped with Thracian rivers in

Th. 341, and Rhesos and Karesos also sound like Thracian names. Cf. Bethe ii. 304, 308–10; *Mus. Helv*. 52 (1995), 208.

23. *ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*: the term *ἡμίθεοι* occurs only here in Hom. Hesiod and others use it, as here, in speaking collectively of the men of the heroic age from the viewpoint of the present; cf. Hes. *Op*. 160 n. P is not necessarily drawing on Hesiod, but he shares with him not only the word *ἡμίθεοι* but the concept of the heroes as a distinct breed of men: *Op*. 159 f. *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται | ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ᾽ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν*. If we read the line as suggesting that the Trojan War marked the end of the breed of heroes, that makes another link (cf. *Op*. 161–5). Cf. Bethe ii. 308–10.

37. *Διὸς μάστιγι*: *EFH* 116.

40. *ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν … ἶσος ἀέλλῃι*: echoing *Λ* 297.

41–8. For the simile cf. *Λ* 414–18; less apt here. It would have been better **(p. 265)** suited to Ajax, whose role in the Achaean resistance is no longer being featured (Erhardt 196 f.; cf. Leaf i. 525, Wil. 211).

43. *πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες*: = *N* 152, where it is better integrated, having a clear reference to the close formation described in 130–3. Here too it refers to the Achaeans rather than the hunters of the simile.

46. *ἀγηνορίη δέ μιν ἔκτα*: a hint that Hector's heroism will be the death of him. A similar detail in a simile appears more pointedly of Patr. in *Π* 753.

47. *στίχας ἀνδρῶν πειρητίζων*: after *O* 615, where *στίχας* is better governed by *ῥῆξαι*. In that context too *πυργηδόν* appears (*O* 618).

50–9. The trench comes into focus; the Trojans have reached the fortifications. The picture of Hector's horses neighing and shying, defeated by the trench, recalls *Θ* 348 f.; cf. *Θ* 213 n. The trench itself is described in more detail here than in *H*–*Θ*.

59. *πεζοὶ δὲ μενοίνεον εἰ τελέουσιν*: pointing forward to the tactic that Polydamas is about to propose.

60. *Πουλυδάμας*: named with Hector at *Λ* 57, but not properly introduced until *Σ* 249 ff., where his qualifications as a counsellor are stated. That may have been the first composed of the passages in which he appears. He gives Hector prudent advice also at *M* 210 ff., *N* 725 ff.

61–79. Polydamas carefully points out the difficulty of trying to get the horses and chariots across the trench, and the danger they will be in if they succeed in that and the Achaeans then rally (as will happen in *N*–*Ξ*). He accordingly urges

leaving the horses behind and forcing the crossing on foot with Hector leading the way.

76–7, 84–5. ≈ *Λ* 47–9; see *Λ* 47–55 n.

86. *σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες*: after 43.

87–104. A mini-catalogue to preface the major assault. Like the Myrmidons in *Π* 171 ff., the Trojans and their allies are here organized in five divisions. Three leaders are named for each. This distribution of forces prepares for the separate actions of Asios in 108 ff., of Hector and Polydamas in 196 ff., and of Sarpedon and Glaukos in 290 ff. The second and fourth divisions, however, those led by Paris and Aeneas, play no part in the narrative and serve merely to accommodate those unignorable figures. Aeneas has hardly been heard of since *E* 572 (token mentions in *Z* 75–7, *Λ* 58), and will not reappear till *N* 459.

88. ≈ *Λ* 57. Hector naturally leads the first division, and it is the best. Polydamas is coupled with him because of the preceding dialogue.

91. *Κεβριόνης*: Hector's brother, already familiar as his charioteer (*Θ* 318 f., *Λ* 521), so we need the assurance that someone else (unnamed) is looking after his horses.

93. *Πάρις … καὶ Ἀλκάθοος καὶ Ἀγήνωρ*: the grouping of these **(p.266)** three together seems to be arbitrary. Alkathoos is a new name; obituary at *N* 427–33. Agenor is an Antenorid, named at *Λ* 59 and earlier at *Δ* 467.

94. *Δηΐφοβος*: not mentioned hitherto; he will be prominent in *N*, and Athena will assume his form to deceive Hector in *X*. In the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis* he was married to Helen following the death of Paris; cf. *δ* 276, *θ* 517.

96–7. = *B* 838–9 (n.).

98–100. ≈ *B* 819–23.

101–2. The allies are represented by the two great Lycians Sarpedon and Glaukos and by the Paionian Asteropaios, on whom see *B* 848 n. But Asios

(95) ought also to be reckoned among the allies.

103–4. 'The couplet explains the inclusion of Asteropaios, for Glaukos would be an automatic choice' (Hainsworth).

105. *ἀλλήλους ἄραρον τυκτῆισι βόεσσιν*: the close formation, resembling that of the hoplite, that also appears in *N* 130 ff., *O* 618, *Π* 212 ff. Cf. 43 n.

106–7. Perhaps after *P* 637–9 (Wil. 212 n. 1).

108–10. *ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι … | ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ Ὑρτακίδης ἔθελ᾽ Ἄσιος*: for the exception to what previously (cf. 82 f.) everyone had been said to be doing, cf. *A* 605–*B* 2. The wisdom of Polydamas' advice will now be illustrated from what happened to the man who rejected it.

113–17. We are told at once that Asios' initiative is a mistake, and what is to befall him, though he will not meet his doom till *N* 384 ff.

***οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλε*:** cf. *B* 36–40 n.

118. *νηῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερά*: *E* 355 n.

119. *σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν*: it seems to be implied that the Achaeans had a causeway over the trench at this point and that Asios followed them across to a gate in the wall that was open to let them in.

122. *ἔχον ἀνέρες*: the gate was not unguarded; this points forward to 127 ff.

124. *τοὶ δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο*: not the whole division of which Asios was one of three leaders (94 ff.); Helenos and Deiphobos are not with him.

125–6. After 106 f.

129–30. *Πολυποίτην | … Λεοντῆα*: *B* 740–6. **132–4**. Warriors stand firm as trees: *IEPM* 494 f.

137. *πρὸς τεῖχος*: the focus shifts from the gate to a stretch of wall, from which the attackers will be subjected to a hail of stones (154 ff.).

139–40. Cf. *E* 677–8 n. The five new names give flesh and blood to the detachment following Asios. The first two will be killed in 193, the other three in *N* 506–75.

141. *οἳ δ᾽*: Bentley may have been right to conjecture *τὼ δ', sc*. the two Lapiths; cf. 145. It is unclear otherwise who is meant. However, they were in **(p.267)** front of the gate at 131, and now (if *ἑόντες* is the right reading) we have men who are inside.

146–50. Another simile based on a confrontation between wild boars and huntsmen with dogs, cf. *Λ* 292 f., 324 f., 414–18, *M* 41–8, *N* 471–5; 149 ≈*Λ* 417.

151. *ὣς τῶν κόμπει χαλκὸς*: a rather awkward exit from the simile, the clatter of the boars' teeth or tusks (149) corresponding to that of the warriors' armour. There are other cases where a simile is given different relevance fore and aft, as in *N* 492–5, *O* 624–9; cf. *Π* 393 n.

153. After 135.

156–8. Snowstorm simile: *EFH* 49 f.

159–61. The hail of rocks from the wall is now transformed into a two-way bombardment, perhaps to justify the reference above to the clattering of the Lapiths' armour, but detracting from the motivation for Asios' complaint to Zeus.

162. *καὶ ὣ πεπλήγετο μηρώ*: *EFH* 200.

164. *φιλοψευδὴς ἐτέτυξο*: presumably alluding to Zeus' assurance to Hector in *Λ* 206–9, as if all the Trojans had heard it. For reproaches to Zeus cf. *N* 631–5 n.

167–70. Simile in speech: *Γ* 60–2 n. Less apt than the wasp simile in *Π* 259 ff., and probably adapted from it (168 ≈*Π* 261).

170. *ἄνδρας θηρητῆρας*: after 41. Honey-gatherers are presumably meant.

172. *ἠὲ κατακτάμεν ἠὲ ἁλῶναι*: cf. *Λ* 429–33 n.

174. = *O* 596. Asios' discomfiture is reconciled with Zeus' general plan to favour the Trojans by saying that it was specifically Hector whom he wanted to glorify.

175–80. P's intention in these lines is apparently to keep his audience in mind of the general situation round the wall before he comes to the Lapiths' *ἀνδροκτασίαι* (VdM 206; *Studies* 218). But elsewhere it is always the ships, not the wall, that the Trojans bring fire against, and 175 recurs at *O* 414 with *νέεσσιν* in place of *πύλῃσιν*. I suspect therefore that the lines (which were absent from Zen.'s text) are adapted from a passage originally composed for that context and referring to ships, not gates, with 175 *πύλῃσιν* substituted for *νέεσσιν*, and 177 f. *περὶ τεῖχος … λάϊνον* for *περὶ νῆας … δάϊον*. The wall, however, though it had some stone parts (29; probably the coping), was not properly describable as a stone wall.

176. The poet apologizes for not going into more detail: cf. *B* 488–90, *P* 252 f., 260 f.; Hes. *Th*. 369 n.; *IEPM* 470 f.

179–80. Cf. *Λ* 78 f. The pro-Achaean gods cannot come into action at this stage, but P wants to remind us of their existence (Schadewaldt 118 n. 1). **(p.268)**

181. The line may have been absent from Zen.'s text. It serves to bring the focus back to Polypoites and Leonteus. But it comes abruptly after what precedes, and may be an insert.

182–94. A series of kills by the two Lapiths serves to conclude the account of Asios' failed assault. Except for Iamenos and Orestes (193 ~ 139) the victims are new names. Asios himself disappears from view till *N* 384.

188. *Ἀντιμάχοιο*: *Λ* 123–5 n. There he had a son Hippolochos; Hippomachos here is a variation of the name.

191. *Ἀντιφάτην*: perhaps after the Antiphos of *Λ* 101 ff. (Wil. 213 n. 1).

195–207. We turn to the principal division of the Trojans, the men led by Hector. (197 f. are repeated from 89 f.) They are still in perplexity behind the trench, which we might expect them to have crossed by now. It is explained that they had been preparing to when an omen made them hesitate.

201. *ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων*: so it was on their right, making it significant as an omen; cf. 239.

210. = 60. The seer Helenos is with a different group (94), so the wise Polydamas, who has already provided Hector with advice, interprets the prodigy.

211–15. Hector's rejection of Polydamas' warning is prepared for by representing him as habitually spurning his good advice (as he will again at *Σ* 249 ff.). Cf. *N* 726–35, where however Hector does accept his recommendations. It is a typical storyteller's motif that someone who is to suffer disaster rejects the warnings of a seer or wise counsellor and imputes base motives to him.

218–21. After 200–3; [219] is a concordance interpolation from 201.

223–4. *εἴ πέρ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν | ῥηξόμεθα*: the difficulty of crossing the trench is elided, and it will be ignored in the following narrative.

228–9. Polydamas acknowledges that he is not a recognized seer (cf. 210 n.) but claims that a seer would judge no differently.

231–4. ≈ *H* 357–60.

235–6. Hector feels entitled to be sceptical of a bird omen, seeing that he has Zeus' own promise of success (*Λ* 185 ff.). That promise, however, was limited in its scope, and it will turn out that there is some validity in the omen too.

238. *τῶν οὔ τι μετατρέπομ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀλεγίζω*: after *A* 160.

252–7. Zeus assists, confirming Hector in his trust. Under cover of the dust storm the Trojans reach the wall. For the motif of the dust storm or darkness obscuring the battle cf. *E* 506–7 n.

256. After 135, 153.

257. *πειρήτιζον*: this and 261 *ἔλποντο* underline the fact that the imperfects in these lines describe endeavour, not achievement. 262–4 preserve the balance between the two sides. **(p.269)**

265. *Αἴαντε*: we left Telamonian Ajax fighting a rearguard action at *Λ* 595. The Locrian Ajax has not been mentioned in the present battle. The Aiante(s) were last mentioned (apart from the *Doloneia*) at *Θ* 262. Their appearance here prepares for the episode in 335 ff., where questions arise about their diachronic identity (335–414 n.).

269–70. *ὅς τ᾽ ἔξοχος ὅς τε μεσήεις | ὅς τε χερειότερος*: emphasizing that every single man must do his utmost. For the addition of the middle term to a polar dyad cf. *IEPM* 103.

278–86. Elaborated from 156–8 (n.).

290–399. Sarpedon comes to the fore and achieves a breach in the rampart. The wound that has kept him out of action since *E* (*E* 672–98 n.) is now forgotten.

290–2. *οὐδ᾽ ἄν πω … | εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽*: a conventional trope for introducing a new development. Sarpedon's partial success does nothing in fact to accelerate Hector's more complete one—P does not indicate that Hector broke through at the place from which Ajax had been drawn away—though poetically it may be considered a step towards it.

***πύλας καὶ μακρὸν ὀχῆα*:** anticipating 454 ff.; cf. *N* 124.

***υἱὸν ἑὸν*:** Sarpedon's assault is ascribed to Zeus' initiative, allowing P to remind us that he was Zeus' own son. This will become an important pathetic circumstance when he is killed by Patr. in *Π*.

294–306. The extended shield description and simile signal the significance of the hero's intervention. For the simile cf. *E* 136–43 n.

305–6. *ἠ᾽ ἥρπαξε … ἠὲ καὶ αὐτός | ἔβλητ᾽*: a variant of the heroic 'kill or be killed' motif (172 n.).306 after *Λ* 675; *ἐν πρώτοισι* suits the warrior, not the lion.

309. *αὐτίκα δὲ Γλαῦκον προσέφη*: Fenik 24 f. identifies a recurrent pattern by which one warrior on the Trojan side persuades another to join him in an offensive, an Achaean seeing them approaching calls for help, and the attack is repulsed with at least one casualty: *M* 309–414, *N* 455–539, *P* 483–542.

This is the first we have seen of Glaukos since *H* 13, and the first time we have seen him together with Sarpedon.

311. = *Θ* 162.

313–14. ≈ *Z* 194 f.

315. *μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντας*: *E* 536 n.

323. *ἀγήρω τ᾽ ἀθανάτω τε*: *B* 447 n.

322–8. Cf. *EFH* 380 f.

328. *ἠέ τωι εὖχος ὀρέξομεν, ἦέ τις ἡμῖν*: cf. 305–6 n. The construction after *ἴομεν* is loose, and the line may be secondary to *N* 327 (Erhardt 214).

331. *Μενεσθεύς*: the first time we have seen him in battle. **(p.270)**

335–414. *Αἴαντε*: Menestheus is not up to resisting the Lycians and sends for assistance. Ajax and Teukros come over and help him out, Ajax with his spear and by rock-throwing, Teukros with his bow. We have seen these two brothers (or half-brothers) operating together in *Θ* 266 ff., where Teukros shot his arrows from the protection of Ajax's shield. As Wackernagel brilliantly perceived (*Δ* 273 n.), these two were the original *Αἴαντε*, 'the Ajax pair', i.e. 'Ajax and his brother'. He pointed out that the present passage appears to be adapted from an account in which that ancient usage was still maintained: hence the awkward appendage of Teukros to the Aiante in 335 f. and the strange instruction to Thoötes in 343 ff. to fetch 'the Aiante, preferably both of them, but if they cannot both come, let Telamonian Ajax come by himself, and Teukros with him'. In our text the Aiante are clearly the homonymous Ajaxes; the Locrian is named explicitly in 365. Merkelbach, *Philologica* 32–4, proposed to recover the older version simply by removing lines 336, 344 f., 348–50, 357 f., 361–3, 365–70. This looks frighteningly plausible. But if these verses are P's addition, what was the source of the underlying text? We cannot escape the fact that it describes an assault by the Lycians on the Achaean wall; and that wall was P's invention. Dilemma: either P's Aiante were always Ajax and Teukros (as Wackernagel maintained), and the verses and passages in which they are the two Ajaxes represent modifications by a different poet; or P himself, finding perhaps that the old use of *Αἴαντε* was too confusing for his audiences, made a conscious decision to change its meaning to the one generally understood. Some may consider the second alternative to be the bolder of the two, but it is the one I incline to prefer. The lines identified by Merkelbach as supplementary do not read like alien insertions but are well integrated into the whole passage. See further *H* 179–80, *Θ* 267, *N* 46, 197, *P* 720 nn.

336. *νέον κλισίηθεν ἰόντα*: he retired hurt at *Θ* 332. Bergk 589 noted that heroes' wounds heal fast.

350. *τόξων εὖ εἰδώς*: anticipating what he will do in the coming scene.

356. *μίννυνθάπερ*: this will be a brief episode, cf. 369 and 378 nn.

366. *Λυκομήδης*: deprived of the support of the greater Ajax, the lesser one might seem inadequate to hold the position on his own, so P gives him for the nonce another comrade, a minor figure mentioned in *I* 84, *P* 345 f., *T* 240. He also appeared in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 16).

369. *αἶψα δ᾽ ἐλεύσομαι αὖτις*: his return is not reported, but he is back with the other Ajax by *N* 46.

371. *κασίγνητος καὶ ὅπατρος*: though an illegitimate son of Telamon (*Θ* 284), he counts as a brother to Ajax, cf. *O* 436, 466. Similarly the illegitimate Medon (*B* 727) counts as a brother to the other Ajax, *N* 694 f. =*O* 333 f.

[372]. *Studies* 220. **(p.271)**

378. *πρῶτος*: *Δ* 457 n. The brothers' achievements are in fact limited to this one kill by Ajax, the wounding of Glaukos by Teukros, and their joint wounding of Sarpedon.

383. *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ᾽*: *A* 272 n.

385–6. *ὃ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικώς | κάππεσ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ πύργου*:

≈ *Π* 742 f. The wall is not so high that Sarpedon cannot reach to pull away the parapet (397).

392. *Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος*: he is back in action at *Ξ* 426, but still troubled by his wound at *Π* 510.

400. *Αἴας καὶ Τεῦκρος ἁμαρτήσανθ᾽*: Sarpedon's killing is reserved for Patr. (cf. *E* 662); now he must be biffed just hard enough to blunt his impetus. But as he is rated a greater hero than Glaukos, it takes both Achaeans to accomplish this.

401. *τελαμῶνα*: for the motif that a shield- and/or sword-strap stops what would be a fatal blow from a missile cf. *Ξ* 404 ff.; *Δ* 186 n.

402–3. Cf. 292 n.

404–5. ≈ *H* 260 f.

411. *θέσθαι … κέλευθον*: after 399.

413–35. Reversion to general description; Sarpedon fades out of sight till *Ξ* 426. The battle remains in the balance for a while longer.

415. =*Λ* 215; less appropriate for the defenders on the wall, which is perhaps the reason for the addition of 416 *τείχεος ἔντοσθεν*.

417–25. Cf. *O* 406–13 n.

433–5. For the image of the balance representing the fortunes of war cf. *Θ* 69–72 n.

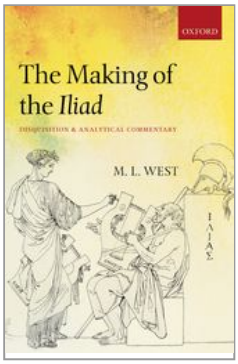
437–8. We approach the critical point at which the Trojans break through the defences. The credit is given to Hector and to Zeus' support of him. This eclipses the partial breach of the wall achieved by Sarpedon in 398 f., and Hector is labelled as the one *ὃς πῶρτος ἐσήλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν*, though in *Π* 558 that title will be bestowed posthumously on Sarpedon.

445–66. Each detail of the climactic moment when Hector smashes through the gates is given full treatment: the shape and weight of the rock he used, the ease with which he lifted and carried it, his stance as he deployed it, the construction of the gates, the exact effect of the blow on them, how the boulder carried on through and landed inside, and the terrible, unstoppable splendour of Hector himself as he leapt in after it.

[449]. *Studies* 221.

466. *νόσφι θεῶν*: Poseidon is about to intervene and rally the Achaeans.

467. After 408.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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N

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In *Λ* the battle progressed to a point where the Achaeans were in full retreat before Hector, with their best warriors out of commission and Ajax fighting a rearguard action. From here P could, if he had chosen, have proceeded directly to the Trojans' reaching the ships and starting to set them on fire; that is, to the extreme crisis that would trigger either Ach.'s or Patr.'s re-entry into the fighting.

In *M*–*O*, with the introduction of the Achaeans' defensive wall, he has divided the Trojans' task into two stages. First they have to breach the wall, and only then will they be in a position to press on to the ships. The first stage is purposefully covered in *M*, by the end of which Hector has broken through the defences and brought the Trojans back where they seemed to be in *Λ*, needing only one final push. But P wants to delay their arrival at the ships for a good deal longer. This requires an intermission in Zeus' active assistance to them, complemented on the Achaean side by the intervention of Poseidon (who declined to act against Zeus in *Θ* 208–11). The intermission, which lasts through *N*–*Ξ*, is due initially to Zeus' inattention and then prolonged by his distraction by Hera. In the first part of *O*, belatedly becoming aware of what is going on, he takes action to stop Poseidon and reassert his own command. Meanwhile the Achaeans have driven the Trojans back across the trench, so that the final crisis is still held off for a while longer.

The extension of the battle enables P not only to add further bulk to the epic and to maintain suspense for longer, but to give attention to certain lesser heroes of whom not much has hitherto been seen, such as the Cretans Idomeneus and

Meriones, the Athenian Menestheus, the Trojan Deiphobos. Cf. 91–3 n.; Christ 83; Strasburger 98.

1–9. Having brought Hector within range of his goal, Zeus takes his eye off the game, leaving the mortals to their toils and tribulations and turning his attention away from the Troad to adjoining lands.

5–6. *Ἱππημολγῶν | γλακτοφάγων*: on the significance of this reference for the dating of *Il*. cf. p. 18.

***Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων*:** a mythical virtuous people of the north, like the Hyperboreans; cf. *IEPM* 349 f.

8–9. Zeus relies on the continuing effectiveness of the threats he made at the beginning of *Θ* (9 ≈*Θ* 11). The other gods were shown remaining passive in *Λ* 75–9, and since *Λ* 438 none of them has stirred. **(p.273)**

12–13. *ὑψοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑληέσσης | Θρηϊκίης*: P had noted that the peak of Samothrace is visible from Troy behind Imbros, making it an excellent vantage-point for Poseidon, well away from Ida where Zeus is.

15. *ἐξ ἁλὸς*: in *Λ* 75 ff. all the gods were on Olympus, but it would be pedantic to enquire just when Poseidon moved down into the sea, his element. Presumably P thinks of him as having been in his underwater home at Aigai, to which he will now repair to fetch his armour and chariot.

19. ≈ Hes. *Th*. 842 f. *ποσσὶ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι μέγας πελεμίζετ᾽ Ὄλυμπος | ὀρνυμένοιο ἄνακτος*, a line already cited as the possible source of *Θ* 443; cf. *Θ* 478–82 n.

20–1. The god’s giant strides: *EFH* 113; *IEPM* 152.

22. *χρύσεα*: cf. *EFH* 112; *IEPM* 154.

23–38. Poseidon equips himself ‘like a hero for his aristeia’ (Reinhardt 279). Gods’ chariots: *E* 356 n. The chariot ride (which follows a typical pattern: *Γ* 259–66 n.) is put in to lend grandeur to the god’s journey; he can cross the sea perfectly well without a vehicle. Further splendour is added by the motif of the sea creatures’ delight in their lord’s coming (27–9), for which see *EFH* 381 f. For the association of a god’s chariot journey with his surveying things from a mountain-top viewpoint (12 f.) cf. *Θ* 41–52, a related passage; 23–6 ≈*Θ* 41–4.

32. *ἔστι δέ τι σπέος*: cf. *Z* 152 n.

34–5. ≈ *E* 368 f.**39–42**. A brief recapitulation of the situation to which Poseidon is arriving.

41. *ἄβρομοι αὐίαχοι*: contrast their noisy comportment elsewhere (*Γ* 2–13 n.). The implication is that they are now following Hector in a thoroughly disciplined fashion.

45. *Κάλχαντι*: a seer's advice is to be taken seriously, though what Poseidon says here has no mantic aura. Calchas has not been heard of since *A* 105 ff. (and *B* 300 ff.) and will not be heard of again. His appearance in the mêlée ought to have been surprising to the Aiante, and in fact they realize that it is a god in disguise.

46. *Αἴαντε*: cf. *M* 335–414 n. It is clear from 66 f. that the two Ajaxes are meant. The Telamonian has returned to the Locrian (*M* 369 n.). Teukros is elsewhere (91).

47–58. Poseidon urges the Ajaxes to go and defend the sector where Hector is attacking. Ajax has not confronted Hector since *Λ* 544 ff. (when he retreated). If the Trojans are to be stopped, it is essential that he does so now.

53. *φλογὶ εἴκελος*: after 39. The phrase will recur in 330, 688, and later.

54. *ὃς Διὸς εὔχετ᾽ ἐρισθενέος πάϊς εἶναι*: an extraordinary assertion; **(p. 274)** Hector is not a son of Zeus and never claims to be (cf. 825). Possibly it has been taken over from a context where it referred to Sarpedon; cf. *M* 437–8 n.

55. *σφῶϊν δ᾽ ὧδε θεῶν τις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ποιήσειεν*: Poseidon wants them to interpret the surge of spirit that he is about to infuse in them as the answer to Calchas' prayer.

59. *σκηπανίωι*: the staff that the god carries in his guise as Calchas functions as his magic rod, for which motif cf. *EFH* 382.

61. = *E* 122.

62–72. The manner of Poseidon's departure reveals his divinity; cf. *EFH*

184. He shoots off *like* a hawk, not in the shape of one (cf. 71 f.), but the simile recalls passages where Homeric, oriental, or Norse deities do fly away in bird form (*EFH* 185, *IEPM* 153).

64. *διώκειν ὄρνεον ἄλλο*: Poseidon is going on to rouse others (83).

68. *τις … θεῶν*: as Poseidon did not identify himself, the mortal can say only that it was 'some god'.

71. For the gods' distinctive features, including their gait, cf. *IEPM* 133.

73–9. Cf. 60 f.

79–80. *μενοινώω δὲ καὶ οἷος | Ἕκτορι … μάχεσθαι*: anticipating his clash with him at 190 ff.

83–90. Poseidon strengthens the Achaean front by rounding up and reinvigorating those who have left it from exhaustion and demoralization.

91–3. The list of names provides circumstantial detail; cf. *E* 677–8, *M* 139–40 nn. The seven here are all men we have heard of before, but only Teukros has so far been mentioned in the present day's fighting. We last saw him fighting with Ajax in *M* 400–3, and had not heard of his retiring to the ships. He is closely associated with Ajax, and P wants him in action in the next episode (170 ff.). As for the other six, he seems to be gathering up some heroes of the second rank who have not yet been given anything to do in the battle. Leïtos and Peneleos come from the very beginning of the Catalogue of Ships; Peneleos will not be mentioned again till *Ξ* 487, Leïtos not till *P* 601, Thoas not till *O* 281 (except as an alias of Poseidon in *N* 216 ff.). Deipyros will be killed at 576. Meriones and Antilochos will play more prominent roles in the following scenes.

94. *ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*: still in the likeness of Calchas, presumably.

95–124. The longest speech between *Λ* and *Π* (if *O* 64–71 are spurious).

95. *κοῦροι νέοι*: Mülder 150 sees in this form of address the influence of paraenetic elegy. Cf. Tyrt. 10. 15 and 11. 10 *ὦ νέοι*.

102–4. Simile in speech: *Γ* 60–2 n. Fleeing like deer: *EFH* 248; *IEPM* 495.

108–13. Poseidon avoids any criticism of Ach., putting all the blame **(p.275)** on Ag. and on the troops' annoyance with him (cf. *Ξ* 49–51, *T* 85 f.). The *μεθημοσύνη* reprehended is that of the men being addressed, cf. 116, 118, 121.

123–4. The two lines look like a secondary addition. 124 after *M* 291.

126–9. We return to the Ajaxes; we are to understand that the others harangued by Poseidon are now rallying to their support. Note the linking phrases *φάλαγγες καρτεραί* ≈ 90; 128 *οἱ ἄριστοι* ≈ 117.

127–8. ≈ *Δ* 539 ff., *P* 398 f.

129. *κρινθέντες*: cf. *IEPM* 454.

130–3. After *Π* 215–17 (Erhardt 238); [131] is a concordance interpolation from there, as is indicated by its absence from a papyrus. For the polyptota cf. *IEPM* 114–16.

For the close formation cf. *M* 105 n. It is treated as something that the Homeric army adopts under pressure; it is not a special tactic such as would have needed

Nestor to propose it. It is effective in stopping Hector, but after 155 it is no longer adverted to.

136–42. Poseidon’s activities have established the basis for a new phase of the battle; it now goes forward, with an introductory simile that describes Hector’s tremendous but finite impetus and anticipates the outcome of his meeting with the newly stiffened Achaean front.

150–4. Hector’s heroic confidence is not shaken; he continues to trust in Zeus’ support and believes that the check is only temporary.

156. *Δηΐφοβος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖσι*: here the detailed part of the narrative begins. For Deiphobos cf. *M* 94 n.

159. *Μηριόνης*: his activity in this rhapsody was prepared for in 93.

162. *ἐν καυλῶι ἐάγη δολιχὸν δόρυ*: the broken spear (cf. 564, *Π* 801, *P* 607) is here a mechanism to take Meriones back to his hut (167 f.) in preparation for the later scene with Idomeneus (246 ff.).

163. *δεῖσε δὲ θυμῶι*: emphasizing how near Meriones came to succeeding. His mishap does not leave Deiphobos exulting.

169. A single line of general description as transition to the next section of personal encounters (170–205), which features Teukros and the Ajaxes.

170. After *M* 378. On Teukros cf. 91–3 n.

171–6. The victim’s biography gives him reality; cf. *E* 39, 612–14, *Λ* 226 nn., and Fenik 126. 174–6 =*O* 549–51.

177. *ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι*: we normally expect Teukros to operate as an archer. His ability with the spear too is retrospectively affirmed at 314.

178–80. He falls like a tree: *Δ* 482 n.

182–90. Further typical motifs: warriors attacked as they go to strip their victim, *Δ* 466–9 n.; the spear missing its target and hitting someone else, *Δ* 491–2 n. **(p.276)**

185. *Ἀμφίμαχον, Κτεάτου υἷ᾽*: *B* 620. P picks on him for a purpose, cf. 206–9 n.

190. After 183.

191–3. Hector is not to be wounded, nor Ajax’s thrust to be without effect: its weight pushes Hector back. Cf. *M* 400 n. and *P* 605–7.

***χαλκῶι | σμερδαλέωι*:** after *M* 463 f.

195–205. Perhaps an expansion (Erhardt 238; Bethe iii. 116).

195. *Στιχίος*: a new name, to reappear with Menestheus at 691; described as his trusty comrade when he is killed at *O* 329–31.

197. *Ἴμβριον αὖτ᾽ Αἴαντε*: for Wackernagel (*Δ* 273 n.) this is telling evidence for *Αἴαντε* = Ajax and Teukros, as Teukros should be involved in carrying off and stripping his own victim. In 202 f. P goes out of his way to make it explicit that they are the two Ajaxes, but he may be retouching his own text, cf. *M* 335–414 n.

202. Beheading: *Λ* 143–6 n.

203. *κεχολωμένος Ἀμφιμάχοιο*: it is not clear why the Locrian Ajax should feel a special tie with the Epeian Amphimachos. His anger duplicates Poseidon's better motivated wrath (206).

206–9. The fall of Amphimachos is used to motivate further action by Poseidon, his grandfather. This launches the aristeia of Idomeneus.

207. *υἱωνοῖο*: P, whose familiarity with Pylian–Elean saga appears in various passages, assumes knowledge of the genealogy. Cf. Wil. 221. Amphimachos' father Kteatos was one of the Aktorione, the twins fathered by Poseidon, cf. *Λ* 750 f.; 'Hes.' fr. 17a/b.

208. *παρά τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας*: as in 83 ff., he directs his attention to those not actively fighting.

211–14. Explanation of why Idomeneus is off the field; he has by no means lost heart for the fight. The wounded comrade exists only for this and is not even dignified with a name. The motif echoes Nestor's accompaniment of Machaon off the field in *Λ* 510 ff. This is all devised so that Idomeneus can meet up with Meriones (246) and they can re-enter the battle together (295 ff.).

216. *Θόαντι*: cf. 91–3 n.

219–20. Poseidon's address is remarkably short. Idomeneus' response reads like the reply to a longer one that contained the accusation of yielding to *δέος* or *ὄκνος* (224), cf. *E* 812/817.

***ποῦ τοι ἀπειλαί | οἴχονται, τὰς Τρωσὶν ἀπείλεον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*:** cf. *Θ* 229–34 n.

225–6. *ἀλλά που οὕτω | μέλλει δὴ φίλον εἶναι ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι*: ≈ *B* 116 =*I* 23, where the opinion sits more aptly in speeches of resignation and despair.

227. = *M* 70. **(p.277)**

235–6. *ταῦτα δ᾽ ἅμα χρή | σπεύδειν, αἴ κ᾽ ὄφελός τι γενώμεθα καὶ δύ᾽ ἐόντε*: apparently a proposal that they go into battle together; but the pseudo-Thoas at once goes off and leaves Idomeneus.

237. *λυγρῶν*: after 119.

241. The typical arming scene before an aristeia is here represented by a single line (≈ 25), but set up by the injunction in 235 and followed as usual by a simile.

246. After 210.

247. *μετὰ γὰ ρ δόρυ χάλκεον ἤιει*: a reminder of 167 f. There Meriones was represented as going to his own hut; now, for convenience of meeting, P has diverted him to Idomeneus'. He has been on his way towards it during the action of 170–245. In 256 he confirms that he is coming to look for a spear in Idomeneus' hut, and in 268 he explains that although he does not lack for captured weaponry in his own hut, it is not so near.

256–8. Another laconic speech. (255 is an interpolation of the type noted in *Studies* 13.) In ampler style Meriones would have explicitly negated Idomeneus' suggestions in 251 f. before giving the real answer, cf. *A* 65–7 n. But the dialogue continues with speeches of increasing length, becoming positively long-winded as the two heroes extol their own and each other's courage and prowess.

259. = 221, 274, 311. In this dialogue P is not concerned with *variatio* in the lines that name the speakers; 266 = 254. Cf. *Γ* 199 n.

260–8. This evidence of Idomeneus' and Meriones' many victories over Trojans compensates for our having seen so little of them in action up to now (one kill each at *E* 43, 59).

268. *ἀλλ᾽ οὐ σχεδόν ἐστιν ἑλέσθαι*: 247 n.

279–86. This sententious passage recalls the manner of martial elegy.

292–4. P acknowledges that it is time to end all this talk. Meriones is to get the spear he came for, and they will return to the fight.

298–303. As usual, a simile for the warrior(s) going out to battle (*E* 87–92 n.). Its content is suggested by the formulaic *θοῶι ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ* in 295, though it is now Idomeneus who corresponds to Ares and Meriones to Phobos. On Phobos cf. *Δ* 439–40 n.

306–27. Unexpected at this point, a further piece of dialogue to determine which sector of the battle the two heroes will make for. Idomeneus' choice of the left means that they will be away from where the Ajaxes and Hector are operating. This allows for an extended episode of fighting without involvement

with them down to 672 (Wil. 223). It will also bring Idomeneus to face Asios, cf. 384 n.

308–9. *ἠ᾽ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν … ἦ᾽ ἀνὰ μέσσους | ἦ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερόφιν*: theoretical options, but the left is the standard alternative to the centre (*E* 355 n.). **(p.278)**

312–23. P gives ‘a conspectus of the situation as he himself now conceives it’ (Mülder 154).

314. *ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν σταδίηι ὑσμίνηι*: cf. 177 n.

315. *μιν*: as if Meriones had mentioned Hector; has his speech been modified? [316] is a clarifying interpolation, as the external evidence shows.

323. *χερμαδίοισιν*: perhaps in anticipation of Ajax’s flooring of Hector with a boulder in *Ξ* 409 ff.

324–5. For Ajax’s rating against Ach. cf. *B* 768–9 n.

327. After *M* 328.

333–44. The state of the battle on the left as the Cretans arrive: equally balanced but intense. Several details suggest a relationship (of dependence?) with Hes. *Th*. 698–706: 334 f. the winds rousing a dust-storm, ≈*Th*. 706; 340–1. *ὅσσε δ᾽ ἄμερδεν | αὐγή* ≈*Th*. 698 f.; 343 f. the effect on the imaginary observer ≈*Th*. 700–3 *εἴσατο δ᾽ ἄντα | ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν ἠδ᾽ οὔασιν ὅσσαν ἀκοῦσαι | αὖτω ὡς ὅτε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν | πίλνατο*. For the observer motif cf. *Δ* 539–44 n.

345–60. Recapitulation of Zeus’ plan (disregarding his present inattention) and Poseidon’s contrary endeavour. Cf. *E* 508–11 n.; Schadewaldt 165 n. 1.

353. = 16.

355. *Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει*: cf. *Δ* 59 n.

***καὶ πλείονα εἴδη*:** a formulaic consequence of seniority (*T* 219, *Φ* 440), but here we should have expected a reference to Zeus’ superior strength, cf. *Θ* 211, *O* 165 f./181 f.; that is why Poseidon is afraid to oppose him openly. It is P who acknowledges Zeus’ superior knowledge. The point is that Poseidon is acting in incomplete understanding of Zeus’ plan. Cf. ‘Hes.’ fr. 204. 120.

360. *ἄρρηκτόν τ᾽ ἄλυτόν τε*: after 37.

361. After these two preparatory paragraphs the aristeia begins.

***μεσαιπόλιός περ ἐὼν*:** Idomeneus' age will later (484 f., 512 ff.) be mentioned as a factor limiting his native prowess.

363. *Καβησόθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα*: ≈ *O* 438, where *ἔνδον ἐόντα* is intelligible, as it is not here.

365–9. For the motif cf. *EFH* 382.

***Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην*:** *Γ* 124 n. Cassandra was no doubt already an established figure in the Troy saga, cf. *Cypria* arg. 1, *Iliou Persis* arg. 1, 3, *λ* 422. She will make a brief appearance at *Ω* 699.

370. After 159.

374. *Ὀθρυονεῦ*: Idomeneus is allowed to know his identity and circumstances.

384. *Ἄσιος*: continuing and completing his story from *M* 174. It is in accord with *M* 118 that he turns up in the left sector.

385. *πεζὸς πρόσθ᾽ ἵππων*: the emphasis on Asios' horses and chariot in **(p. 279)** this episode reflects his obstinate decision to bring them through the defences in *M* 110 ff.

386. *ἡνίοχος θεράπων*: he remains anonymous (as he was in *M* 111) even when he is killed, which is unparalleled.

389–93. = *Π* 482–6. If 393 is original and not a concordance interpolation from there, it indicates that the whole sequence of lines is from *Π*, where *βεβρυχώς* heralds a dying speech from Sarpedon (*Π* 486 n.); it is anomalous that Asios should go on roaring after being felled, especially as a spear has been driven through his throat (Naber 185).

396. *Ἀντίλοχος*: cf. 91–3 n.

397–8. After 371 f.

399. = *E* 585 (another charioteer killed by Antilochos).

402. *Δηΐφοβος*: last seen at 164.

404. = 184; again in 503 and in *Π*–*P*.

406–7. Description of the hero's shield, which was passed over in the brief mention of his arming at 241.

410–12. The spear misses the man aimed at but hits another: *Δ* 491–2 n.

***Ἱππασίδην Ὑψήνορα*:** stock names, see Janko.

418–23. Suspect lines (Payne Knight; Wil. 48 n. 1). (i) Grief for Hypsenor's death is already recorded in 417, with which 424 connects well. (ii) If he was a comrade of Antilochos, we should expect to have had some previous indication of it. (iii) Antilochos has just driven off with Asios' horses (400 f.) and ought not to be suddenly present again. (iv) A hero's pain at another's death is normally mentioned as a stimulus prompting him to attack the killer (as in 403), not merely to run and protect the body. (v) 419–23 ≈*Θ* 330–4, where the same Mekisteus and Alastor appear as *ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι* of the wounded Teukros and carry him away. 422 is absent in cod. A and could be a concordance interpolation from *Θ*; the bearers are then untypically anonymous (but cf. 211–14, 386, 537, 600 nn.). (vi) Hypsenor must be dead (as Deiphobos boasts) and cannot therefore be groaning. This difficulty can be met by adopting the ancient variant *στενάχοντε* in 423. It will not do to excuse it as the oral poet's thoughtless use of a typical scene (Fenik 132, Janko). (vii) It is normal for a wounded man to be led or carried back to the ships, but not for a dead one. One would gladly be rid of the lines. It is hard to discern a motive for their insertion, whether by P himself or a subsequent poet; but if they are original it is hard to see the motive for composing them in the first place.

424. A further anomaly at this juncture is that Idomeneus does not strike back at Deiphobos but looks for other Trojans to kill, kills one, and then challenges Deiphobos to stand against him. In other words Deiphobos is allowed to fall out of the picture between 416 and 444.

425–6. Cf. *M* 172 n. **(p.280)**

427. *Αἰσυιήταο*: *B* 793.

428. *Ἀλκάθοον*: *M* 93 n.

***γαμβρὸς δ᾽ ἦν Ἀγχίσαο*:** preparing for Aeneas to be brought in (cf. 463 f.).

434. Poseidon's intervention now goes beyond rousing the Achaeans' spirit. Cf. 554, 562 f., 678.

435–8. Cf. *IEPM* 489.

443–4. A Gothic modification of the formula in *Π* 612 f. =*P* 528 f.

445. After 413; again in *Ξ* 453, 478.

449–53. The hero recites his genealogy; cf. *Z* 150 ff., *Ξ* 113 ff., *Y* 213 ff., *Φ* 157 ff., 187 ff.

455. *Δηΐφοβος δὲ διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν*: for the *μερμηρίζειν* motif cf. *A* 189 n. Here, abnormally, Deiphobos opts for the first alternative. If he accepted the challenge he was unlikely to survive. But tradition dictated that he did survive. P

therefore makes him retreat and engage Aeneas' help; this removes him from immediate danger, besides bringing into the picture a major Trojan hero of whom we have seen nothing for too long.

459–60. *τὸν δ' ὕστατον ηὗρεν ὁμίλου | ἑσταότ'*: an *ad hoc* explanation of Aeneas' long absence from the narrative, backed up by an invented motivation. The idea of bad feeling between Priam and Aeneas may be inspired by the fated change of dynasty (*Y* 180, 213–43 nn.); cf. VdM 216, Kullmann 342.

465–6. *ὅς σε πάρος γε | … ἔθρεψε δόμοις ἔνι τυτθὸν ἐόντα*: probably a further improvisation.

469. Repeated from 297, with a changed sense of *μετά*.

471–5. Cf. *M* 146–50 n.; 472 ≈*M* 147, where the *κολοσυρτὸς πολὺς ἀνδρῶν* corresponds to a crowd of enemies coming on. In the present case there will come to be a crowd (489 f.) but it is not so yet.

477. *αὖε δ' ἑταίρους*: Aeneas does likewise at 489 f., so that instead of being a one-to-one encounter it becomes a clash of two larger groups. But the focus reverts to Aeneas and Idomeneus at 499 ff.

478–9. ≈ 92 f., *I* 82 f. Askalaphos is to die in 518, Aphareus in 541, Deipyros in 576. **484–5**. Cf. 361 n.

487. *ἕνα φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντες*: cf. *EFH* 233.

490–1. Referring back to *M* 93 f.

492–5. Cf. *M* 151 n.

503. Idomeneus dodges a spear as in 404, but this time it does not hit anyone else but sticks in the ground, as in the two passages cited in 443–4 n.

506. P avoids making Idomeneus throw at Aeneas, as that would have meant either repeating the 'missed him' motif or giving him an ineffective hit. He prefers to have him make a kill. **(p.281)**

***Οἰνόμαον*:** one of three named in *M* 140 who will all be killed in the next seventy lines.

510–15. Cf. *Δ* 532–5 n. 510 f. =*E* 621 f. P adds the additional explanation that Idomeneus' age (361 n.) made him slow to get to or away from a slain victim.

516. Idomeneus' slow withdrawal exposes him to another throw by Deiphobos, but he is not injured. This is the last we see of him till *O* 301.

517. *δὴ γάρ οἱ ἔχεν κότον ἐμμενὲς αἰεί*: a reminder that this is the continuation of a clash that started with Deiphobos' bitterness over Asios' death (403).

518. *Ἀσκάλαφον*: *B* 518, *I* 82.

520. After 508.

521. *οὐδ᾽ ἄρα πώ τι πέπυστο*: we should have expected this to come after the intervention of further narrative, cf. *X* 437. Ares is told in *O* 110.

523–5. A reminder of the gods' sequestration (*Λ* 75 ff.). Events at Troy were in principle visible from Olympus; perhaps the golden clouds under which Ares sits are to be understood as obscuring his view, cf. *Ξ* 342 ff. At any rate they suggest a blissful state of detachment from the mortal world.

526. After 496.

528. Meriones has another go at Deiphobos, on whose shield he broke his spear in 159 ff. This time he wounds him and removes him from the scene.

533. *Πολίτης*: *B* 791 n.

536. *ὄπισθε μάχης*: if we posit consistency with *M* 81 ff., this means beyond the Achaeans' trench. But cf. 657 and 684 nn.; Erhardt 222 f. For the motif of the wounded warrior taken away by chariot to recover in a calmer place cf. *IEPM* 486.

537. *ἡνίοχον*: another anonymous figure; cf. 211–14, 386, 418–23, 600 nn.

545. *Θόωνα*: *M* 140. The same stock name has been given to other Trojans killed at *E* 152 and *Λ* 422.

548. *ὕπτιος*: he might more realistically have fallen on his face, but realism of that sort yields to P's desire for the pathetic gesture with which Thoon holds out his arms towards his friends (Fenik 142). Cf. 653, 658 nn.

550. After *Λ* 580.

554. *Ποσειδάων*: 434 n.

560. *Ἀδάμαντα*: *M* 140, named beside Thoon (545).**562–3**. Cf. *Z* 306 n.

571. *τόν τ᾽ οὔρεσι βουκόλοι ἄνδρες*: after 390.

576. *Δηΐπυρον*: *I* 81–6 n.

***Ἕλενος*:** his first mention since *M* 94. His killing of Deipyros is his one achievement in battle; he will immediately be wounded and forced to withdraw. He cannot be killed because of his place in the tradition (*Z* 76 n.). **(p.282)**

581. *Ἀτρείδην δ᾽ ἄχος εἷλε*: a typical motif for bringing in a third party to confront a warrior who has slain someone; cf. *Δ* 494 n. Men. is brought in as a major hero who has been out of sight since *Λ* 487; we are not aware of any special tie between him and Deipyros (cf. 203 n.). He will stay in the foreground till 647.

583. *τόξου*: Helenos' use of his sword against Deipyros suggests that he had already discharged or lost his spear(s). In any case it would be anomalous for him to deploy a spear after using a sword, so P makes him now turn to his bow.

594–5. Not only is Helenos disabled, his bow itself is damaged by the accurate missile; cf. *IEPM* 485.

598. *Ἀγήνωρ*: in mind from 490.

600. *θεράπων*: another anonymous one, cf. 537 n.

601–42. Peisandros is a new figure, of no significance in himself (a homonym was killed at *Λ* 143), but his fatal encounter with Men. is given ample treatment. It provides the occasion for Men. to make a passionate speech about the wrong done to him in the abduction of Helen (Strasburger 81). For the pattern of the fight (Men.'s throw misses, Peisandros deals him a non-fatal blow, and then Men. kills him) cf. *Λ* 232–40 n.

602. *τὸν δ᾽ ἄγε μοῖρα κακὴ*: cf. *E* 629 n.

604–5. Recycled from *Λ* 232 f., where *Ἀτρείδης* was Ag.

609. *ὃ δὲ*: Men., not (as with the usual reading in 610) Peisandros; see *Studies* 225 (where in line 8 correct *δὲ* to *καὶ*).

610. = *Γ* 361.

612. *ἀξίνην*: axes as weapons only here and at *O* 711.

624–7. This is the only explicit expression in *Il*. of the idea that Zeus as Xenios may have an interest in punishing Troy for Paris' behaviour, though there is a hint of it in *Γ* 351–4. In other contexts (*Δ* 160–8 n.) it is Pandaros' violation of the treaty oaths that is treated as the dangerous offence likely to turn Zeus against Troy.

624. *Ζηνὸς … ἐδδείσατε μῆνιν*: cf. *EFH* 128.

631–5. Remonstration with Zeus: cf. *EFH* 515–17 (where I should have cited this passage).

632. *τάδε πάντα*: probably ‘this whole situation’, but it could be ‘the whole world around us’, cf. *IEPM* 341 f.

643–59. Harpalion’s death follows the pattern of Adamas’ in 560–75 (Fenik 143): each attacks an Achaean hero who has just made a kill; he throws a spear which hits the middle of the Achaean’s shield but does not penetrate; he retreats towards his company, but as he does so Meriones strikes him in the lower regions, inflicting a grisly death.

643. *Πυλαιμένεος*: the Paphlagonian leader, *B* 851, *E* 576. **(p.283)**

646–7. After 606 f.

650. *Μηριόνης δ᾽ ἀπιόντος*: after 567, but Meriones now resorts to the bow; cf. *K* 260 n.

651–2. After *E* 66 f., again with spear-throw adapted to arrow-shot.

653. *ἐζόμενος*: perhaps deliberate variation from the more natural and less excruciating collapse in the parallel passage, *E* 68 *γνὺξ δ᾽ ἔριπ᾽ οἰμώξας*. Cf. 548 n.

654. *ὥς τε σκώληξ ἐπὶ γαίηι*: a uniquely contemptuous simile for the dying man, aurally derived from 564 f.

655. *δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν*: cf. *EFH* 236 f.

657. The chariot seems to be on hand, not waiting beyond the trench; cf. 536 n.

658. *μετὰ δέ σφι πατὴρ κίε δάκρυα λείβων*: the father lamenting his slain son is a pathetic touch. P forgets that Pylaimenes himself was killed in *E* 576–9.

660–2. Before leaving the left sector P wants to give Paris a little action; he has been mentioned at *M* 93 and *N* 490, but we have not seen him draw his bow since *Λ* 581–3. His intervention is conventionally motivated from anger over the most recent casualty, and here, unlike in 203 and 581, P is conscientious enough to supply the reason why Harpalion’s death provokes him. However, he does not direct his wrath against Harpalion’s slayer Meriones but against a new figure. Cf. Fenik 139.

663. *ἦν δέ τις*: *E* 9 n.

***Εὐχήνωρ, Πολυΐδου μάντιος υἱός*:** cf. ‘Hes.’ fr. 136. 7 ff., where the story of Polyidos’ prophecy was evidently told but Euchenor was not his son (*HCW* 80 f.).

For the motif of the victim whose father was a seer cf. *E* 10 n.; for the son going to war in spite of the father's prophesying his death cf. *B* 832–5 =*Λ* 330–2.

664. *ἀφνειός*: cf. again *E* 9 n.

669. *θωιὴν ἀλέεινεν Ἀχαιῶν*: the traditional hero chooses death in battle rather than long life because of his desire for glory (*I* 410–15 n.), not from fear of painful illness or to avoid paying a forfeit. This is the only clear reference to a fine imposed on those who avoided the draft, though the Sicyonian Echepolos gave Ag. a gift in order to be excused it (*Ψ* 296–9), and we may also recall Cinyras' sending of gifts in lieu of personal participation in the expedition (*Λ* 20–3 n.). Corinth and Sicyon both lay within Ag.'s own domain (*B* 569 ff.), and Euchenor and Echepolos may have been (in P's conception) under a more positive obligation to obey Ag.'s call than men from other areas. It is not clear whether he treated the Achaean leaders as all bound to serve by oaths taken as Helen's suitors, cf. *B* 339–41 n.

671–2. = *Π* 606 f. **(p.284)**

673–4. Transition back to the central battle sector.

***Εκτωρ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπέπυστο*:** ≈ *Λ* 497 f., where Hector was the one in the left sector.

678. *πρὸς δὲ σθένει αὐτὸς ἄμυνεν*: cf. 434 n.

679–724. This section (first condemned by H. A. Koch, cf. Wil. 228) may be an expansion, as in 676–8 we have the apodosis of an unfulfilled condition with no protasis, and 725 would supply it.

681. *ἔνθ᾽ ἔσαν Αἴαντός τε νέες καὶ Πρωτεσιλάου*: in *Λ* 7–9 Ajax's ship is at the end of the line, whereas Hector is now fighting in the centre. But P is thinking ahead to *O* 674 ff., where Ajax will defend from the ships' decks, springing from one to another ship, as Hector approaches that of Protesilaos, which was the first to land at Troy and so (the logic seems to be) the furthest up the beach. Ajax's own ship is not specified in that episode, but his association with ships there explains its mention here. Cf. Erhardt 228 f.

682–3. *αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν | τεῖχος ἐδέδμητο χθαμαλώτατον*: an improvised detail, the idea being that this is where the Trojans are finding it easiest to swarm across in Hector's support.

684. *αὐτοί τε καὶ ἵπποι*: a formulaic phrase (*IEPM* 465), but the mention of horses seems pointed. The Trojan chariots have now come forward. Cf. 536 n.

685–700. We have seen that P has been making an effort to bring in lesser heroes and generally to fill out the picture of a battle fought by large and varied forces. Now, with the Catalogue of Ships in mind, he endeavours, impressionistically rather than studiously, to cover some of the remaining gaps with a mini-catalogue in which five whole tribal contingents appear.

***Βοιωτοὶ*:** first named are the Boeotians, who were first in the Catalogue, *B* 494 ff. Their leaders Peneleos and Leïtos were mentioned in 91 f., which is no doubt why they are passed over in 689 ff. when leaders are named for the other contingents.

***Ἰάονες*:** only here in Hom., though ‘Ionians’ were certainly a major quantity in P’s contemporary world. The long chitons, out of place on the battlefield, reflect his knowledge of Ionians in Asia Minor or the islands. His epic Ionians are of course not from those parts. Besides the Athenians, specified in 689–91 with their familiar leader Menestheus accompanied by Stichios (195) and two new names, P may also have had the Euboeans in mind; their one named leader Elephenor was killed in *Δ*.

***Λοκροὶ*:** *B* 527 ff. No leader is named here. They ought to have been led by Ajax Oïliades; it is explained in 701–22 why they were not.

***Φθῖοι*:** a term not used elsewhere. Phthia is included in Ach.’s kingdom at *B* 683, but Ach.’s men are not fighting. P may have intended his ‘Phthians’ to represent the northern tribes generally. They are led here by Podarkes **(p.285)** (*B* 704) and Medon (*B* 727), the replacements for Protesilaos and Philoctetes respectively.

***Ἐπειοί*:** *B* 615 ff. Most of the regions surveyed in *B* 557–652 are accounted for by the realms of Diom., Ag., Men., Nestor, Od., Thoas, and Idomeneus, who have all featured in the narrative enough to leave no sense that their cohorts have been inactive. Of the three leaders named in 692 only Meges (*B* 627 n.) has appeared before.

689. *προλελεγμένοι*: cf. 129 n.

694–7. = *O* 333–6, where the biographical detail comes more typically at the man’s death.

696. *ἐν Φυλάκῃι*: in *B* 695 ff. it is Podarkes who comes from Phylake, not Medon.

***ἄνδρα κατακτάς*:** a conventional explanation for migration, cf. *B* 661 ff., *O* 432, *Π* 573 f., *Ψ* 85 ff.; Strasburger 29 f.

700. *μετὰ Βοιωτῶν*: mentioned to compensate for omitting to name their leaders.

701–22. The lesser Ajax is never seen fighting apart from his namesake. P is unwilling to show him ranging independently with his Locrians. In 709–18 his separation from them is underlined by contrasting it with Telamonian Ajax's devoted following and is explained from the Locrians' special style of fighting. In 719–22 this glides into a view of the five tribes' tactics, the rest deploying their spears in front while the Locrians hide behind them and shoot over their heads, throwing the Trojans into confusion.

723–5. The introduction of these forces would seem to promise a successful push against the Trojans. But P is not yet ready to have them driven away from the ships, so he needs to counter the new development with another initiative on the Trojan side. It starts from a further proposal by Polydamas (cf. *M* 60 n.).

726–35. On this long prefatory part of the speech cf. *M* 211–15 n.

738–47. Polydamas points out that the Trojan forces are scattered over a wide front. We might expect his advice to be simply to concentrate them in the hope of punching through the Achaean lines, and 740, 'summon all the *ἄριστοι* to come here', fits with this. But then he makes this the summons to a discussion of strategy: should they pursue their assault on the ships in the hope of victory, or withdraw before they have to face Ach., who will surely not remain inactive much longer? As in *M* 216 ff., his counsel is one of prudence.

The anticipation of Ach.'s return to the fight has poetic value. Polydamas is presenting Hector with a fatal choice. If he had considered the alternatives and chosen the prudent one, he would have avoided the fate that is to befall him. In what follows, however, although Hector is said to accept Polydamas' advice (748), he brings his leaders together simply to fight as a unit, and there **(p.286)** is no discussion of whether to advance or retreat. Perhaps 741–7 (condemned by Düntzer, cf. Hentze v. 16) are a replacement for the more straightforward plan of concentrating forces, and P neglected to follow it up with the debate in which Polydamas' alternatives were stated and Hector insisted on pressing forward. Or perhaps, if the debate was part of his original concept, he elided or suppressed it in what follows, so as not to detract from the urgency of the narrative.

The effect of the concentration of forces is to end the division of the fighting between two sectors, which has served its purpose.

745–6. *τὸ χθιζὸν … | χρεῖος*: referring to the battle in *Θ*, which ended with an imbalance that the Achaeans may now redress.

[749]. Concordance interpolation from *M* 81. Hector is not in his chariot.

751–7. Very compressed. Hector’s reply is elliptical, the odd simile applied to him in 754 is not clarified by development, and we are not told what he said to the men he found, only that they obeyed and reported to Polydamas.

752–3. Ineptly adapted from *M* 368 f. (Erhardt 232); *κεῖσε* now has no reference, and *ἀντιόω πολέμοιο* takes on a very forced sense.

758–83. A longer section is devoted to apprising Hector of the major casualties sustained in the other sector. It serves also to recapitulate them for us and to make it clear that the Trojans are not having it all their own way. The absence of any mention of Aeneas in this passage is strange; he does not reappear till *Ξ* 425.

764. ≈ *Λ* 659/826, with *ἐν νηυσὶ* awkwardly replaced by *ἐν τείχει*, meaning in the city.

765–8. Typical finding and speaking sequence: Arend 28 ff. It was with Paris that the account of the fighting on the left concluded (660–72).

769. = *Γ* 39, where it has more point (Naber 175 f.).

770–3. *ποῦ τοι … | ποῦ δέ τοι*: cf. *EFH* 552 f.

***Δηΐφοβός τε βίη θ᾽ Ἑλένοιο ἄνακτος*:** he asks first about the two most important. Because of their importance they have only been wounded, not killed, so they can remain conveniently paired in Paris’ answer, 781.

***νῦν ὤλετο πᾶσα κατ᾽ ἄκρης | Ἴλιος αἰπεινή*:** this despairing cry seems so inappropriate to Hector and to the actual situation that one may suspect it to have been composed for a different context.

775. *ἀναίτιον αἰτιάασθαι*: ≈ *Λ* 654.

783. *φόνον δ᾽ ἤμυνε Κρονίων*: a legitimate assumption.

784–5. This anticipates that Hector wishes to lead Paris somewhere else.

790–2. A summary list of *ἄριστοι* who have gathered round Polydamas; cf. *E* 677–8 n.

***Κεβριόνην*:** *M* 91 n. The names in 791 f. are nearly all new. Some of them reappear in *Ξ* 513–15. **(p.287)**

794. *ἠοῖ τῆι προτέρηι*: forestalling the question why we have not heard of these notables before. In fact Askanios was present four days ago (*B* 862). For the motif of recent arrivals at Troy cf. *Φ* 155 f. and the *Doloneia* (*K* 434).

795–801. Now that we have a defined body of men ready to fight, a simile is as usual deployed to describe their onset. For the wave image cf. *EFH* 245. **803–5**. There is no place here for an arming scene, but the descriptive references to Hector's armour serve a similar purpose.

809–37. Ajax and Hector come face to face again, as last in 190–4. Ajax issues a confident challenge and anticipates that Hector will soon be fleeing to the safety of the city. An eagle appears on the right, boosting the Achaeans' confidence that it will be so. Hector replies with an equally confident prediction that this day will bring disaster on the Achaeans. We should expect the exchange of speeches to inaugurate an engagement between the two heroes, but this is postponed till Ξ 402; the dialogue remains posted against a background of general fighting (806–8, 833–7). Cf. Fenik 156–8.

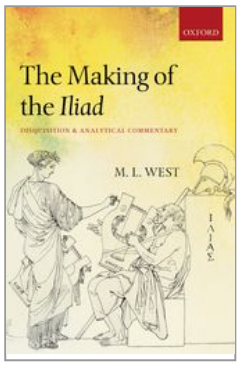
812. *Διὸς μάστιγι*: *M* 37 n.

821–2. Such an omen would normally be considered to be sent by Zeus, but his attention is elsewhere.

824. *ἀμαρτοεπές, βουγάϊε*: *A* 122 n.

825–8. ≈ Θ 538–41.

837. Cf. *B* 153 n.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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[Ξ]

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1–134. We return to Nestor, whom Patr. at *Λ* 805 left ministering to Machaon; 1 *πίνοντά περ ἔμπης* is put in to recall that scene, as are the references in 6 f. to Hekamede (*Λ* 624) and to Machaon's bloody condition. The shouting from the nearby combatants (1 *ἰαχή* ~ *N* 834 f.) now turns Nestor's attention back to the state of the battle, and he goes outside to see what is going on; of Machaon we shall hear no more. The seriousness of the crisis prompts Nestor to go and find Ag. This raises an expectation that he will offer some wise advice (cf. 62 *εἴ τι νόος ῥέξει*), but in the debate that ensues among the three wounded leaders he makes no recommendation and it is Diom. whose proposal determines the action taken. Perhaps P originally intended Nestor to offer the tactical advice that Poseidon gives in 370–7.

Alternatively it may have been here, in P's original scheme, that Nestor proposed the Embassy to Ach. If this had not taken place before *Λ*, now was the time for it. There is a certain parallelism between the present scene and the one in *I* that leads to the actual Embassy (cf. Schadewaldt 125 f.). As there, Ag. is despondent and proposes sailing away. Diom. indignantly rejects the notion and is for fighting on. Nestor and Od. are present. In *I* Nestor advises Ag. to propitiate Ach.; in *Ξ* he cannot advise that, and he is left not advising anything at all. Cf. also 16–19, 44–7, 69, 74–81, 82–132 nn.

Another loose end is that the healer Machaon, after being brought to the scene, is not given any healing to do, despite the presence of wounded heroes who would benefit; cf. *Λ* 504–20 n., *Π* 28 f.

8. *ἐς περιωπήν*: to an elevated vantage-point (cf. *Ψ* 451). He expects to have to go to where he can see over the wall. Cf. *Λ* 601 n.

9–11. The circumstance that Nestor and Thrasymedes (*I* 81–6 n.) have each other's shields is no doubt mentioned for the sake of harmony with some previous incident, presumably the one where Thrasymedes gives his shield to Diom. for his night foray (*K* 257); afterwards (540 ff.) Diom. reports to Nestor, though it is not said either that he left Thrasymedes' shield with Nestor or that Nestor's had meanwhile been supplied to Thrasymedes. If we accept the allusion to those events and the genuineness of the present lines, the implication will be momentous: not (as some claim) that P himself composed the *Doloneia*, which there is good reason to dispute, but that by the time he put the finishing touches to his work he knew it and admitted it **(p.289)** as a contribution to his epic (cf. VdM 183, 219). But it is equally possible that P^{K} has modified these lines to make a link with his own invention, cf. *Θ* 490–1 n.

14. = *O* 7, where it sits better; here it seems to ignore the Achaean rally in *N*, which is holding the Trojans at bay.

16–19. The simile is related to that in *I* 4 ff. (Schadewaldt 120).

24–6. A last brief characterization of the battle before we concentrate on the debate.

29. *Τυδείδης Ὀδυσεύς τε καὶ Ἀτρείδης Ἀγαμέμνων*: the three major casualties in *Λ*; Machaon and Eurypylos are comparatively insignificant, and anyway secondary additions to the list (*Λ* 504–20, 575–95 nn.). Although Ag., Od., and Diom. will decide to go back onto the field and contribute encouragement (128–32), this is no more than token activity; they will do no more fighting in the poem. So why has P brought them into view here? Perhaps originally to arrange for the Embassy, as suggested above; otherwise just as a further reminder of events in *Λ* (Erhardt 247).

30–6. Further detail of the arrangement of the ships, meant to explain why Diom., Od., and Ag. were so slow to become aware how close the fighting had come. The point is that their ships were a long way off, though it is hard to understand just how this follows from what is said in 31 f., that they were furthest from the shore and separated from it by several rows of others. In *Θ* 222 ff. =*Λ* 5 ff. Od.'s ship was said to be in the centre. But P does not seem to be strictly consistent, cf. *N* 681 n.

37. *ὅΨ' ἀϊόντες*: on the reading see *Studies* 225 f.

43. *τίπτε λιπὼν πόλεμον*: the question serves to signal the fact that Ag. and the others have been out of touch with events since their own withdrawal from the field. It does not get an answer, and it hardly could have got one without tedious rehearsal of events already narrated. P lets it hang, and makes Nestor

respond only to the main part of Ag.'s speech, 44–8, in which he comments on the military situation.

44–7. ≈ *I* 229–46 (Schadewaldt 121 f.).

45. *ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ᾽ ἀγορεύων*: looking back to *Θ* 489 ff. But Ag. cannot speak as if he had been present among the Trojans the previous evening, so he sets the occasion in a more indefinite past (*ποτε*).

47. ≈*Θ* 182.

48. =*B* 330, where it is better suited to the seer (Schadewaldt 123 n. 1). **[49–51]**. *Studies* 226 f.

56. ≈ *H* 338, 437.

***ὀρινόμενοι κλονέονται*:** after 14.

***ἀϋτὴ δ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἵκει*:** ≈ *N* 837.

61. After 3. **(p.290)**

62–3. *πόλεμον δ᾽ οὐκ ἄμμε κελεύω | δύμεναι*: Nestor's advice sanctions the fact that none of them is going to fight any more.

68. = 56.

69. =*I* 23; cf. *N* 225–6 n.

74–81. Cf. *I* 26 ff.; 74 (=*B* 139, *I* 26) is better suited to the larger audience that Ag. was addressing in those passages (Erhardt 248).

75. After *O* 654 (VdM 235 n. 26), where there is better reason to refer to this set of ships.

82–132. Od. castigates Ag.'s defeatism; Ag. accepts his criticism; Diom. then (typically for him, *H* 398–9 n.) proposes a bolder course of action. In *I*, Ag.'s speech is directly followed by Diom.'s without an intervention by Od.: it is Diom. who castigates Ag.'s defeatism, and then Nestor, after moving the debate to a smaller forum, tells Ag. what he has done wrong and sets out a course of action; Ag. accepts the criticism and the practical proposal. Od. gets a long speech in the Embassy itself.

95. = *P* 173, where *νῦν δέ* sits better.

108. *ἢ νέος ἠὲ παλαιός*: because Diom. is young, cf. *I* 57. The phrasing would be better suited to a larger assembly (cf. 74–81 n.); Diom. and Nestor are the only others present.

111–12. In *I* 53 ff. Nestor told Diom. that his counsel, though good for his age, was imperfect because of his relative youth.

113–25. Against Diom.'s youth is to be set his good lineage. The question of his credentials for advising the others provides an opportunity (by no means the first possible) for reciting his genealogy and recalling the fame of Tydeus, all of which is of course well known to his hearers (cf. 125). For the introduction of heroes' genealogies cf. *N* 449–53 n., for Tydeus *Δ* 372–99 n.

117. *Ἄγριος ἠδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ᾽ ἦν ἱππότα Οἰνεύς*: augmented triad with 'and as third', cf. *O* 188, *IEPM* 118. In 'Hes.' fr. 10a. 52–4 five sons of Porthaon (= Portheus) are listed, including these three.

120. *πλαγχθείς· ὡς γάρ που Ζεὺς ἤθελε*: glossing over the traditional reason for Tydeus' migration, his killing of his uncles. Similarly in the following lines, although Diom. has mentioned in 114 that his father died at Thebes, he avoids reference to the war and portrays Tydeus as an affluent squire who happened to be an outstanding spearman too.

124–5. *κέκαστο δὲ πάντας Ἀχαιούς | ἐγχείηι*: ≈ *B* 530.

128. *καὶ οὐτάμενοί περ*: Nestor has now faded out of the picture; it is the other three that P envisages as going out among the combatants, cf. 379 f.

129. *αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐχώμεθα δηϊοτῆτος*: cf. 62–3 n.

131. *ἄλλους δ᾽ ὀτρύνοντες ἐνήσομεν*: the proposal, which the others take up, sounds constructive but in fact leads to nothing in the following narrative. It serves to exempt P from the need to mention Ag., Od., or Diom. **(p.291)** again during the rest of the battle. There is just a follow-up reference to their officious presence at 379 f.

135–52. Link passage serving to bring Poseidon, last mentioned in *N* 357, back into the picture, ally him with the latest Achaean initiative, and have him there ready for further action once Hera has lulled Zeus to sleep.

135. ≈*N* 10; not quite so apt here, as Poseidon has not been on watch in the same sense, but passable, in that he does not fail to note and act upon the new development.

136. *παλαιῶι φωτὶ ἐοικώς*: the speech of encouragement that Poseidon here makes to Ag. is an anticipation of the one he will make to the Achaeans generally at 364–77. There too he will play down the absence of Ach., but he will go on to make a tactical proposal of the sort that would normally be put in Nestor's mouth. Nestor will not be there to make it, but P may have thought of having Poseidon make it in the guise of Nestor. In the event the god does not adopt any particular identity in that passage, though he speaks in the persona of an

Achaean leader. Here, where he is reintroduced in readiness for that scene, his guise is indicated; but it cannot be that of Nestor, whom Ag. and the others have just left, so it becomes an unspecified ‘old man’. Zen.’s text contained a plus-line that made him Phoenix.

142. Cf. Diom.’s dismissal of Ach. after the failure of the Embassy in *I* 701–3, and below, 368 f.

143. The assurance about the gods’ disposition, if not made in a deity’s own persona, ought to come from a seer such as Calchas, whose identity Poseidon adopted in *N* 45 ff.

145. *σὺ δ᾽ ἐπόψεαι*: cf. *Δ* 353 n.

146. *φεύγοντας προτὶ ἄστυ νεῶν ἄπο*: this is achieved by the end of *Ξ*. **147–51**. Cf. *Λ* 10 n. 148 f. =*E* 860 f. (cf. 860–3 n.); 151 f. ≈*Λ* 11 f. Note the shift of focus from the three wounded leaders to the Achaeans in the mass.

153–362. The deception of Zeus. This episode was not essential to the mechanism of the narrative, since Poseidon is already operating without Zeus noticing. But it provides a more cogent explanation of Zeus’ inattention, especially as this is becoming so prolonged. As the original explanation given in *N* 1–9 is plainly inferior, we may suppose that it was only later that P had the idea of bringing in the marital seduction. (Cf. Bergk 609 n. 178; Rothe 269.) As appears from 249 ff., he already knew from another context the motif of Hera’s engaging Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep while she made mischief. Seductions by goddesses were by no means an original theme, cf. *EFH* 204 and 382.

154. *ἐξ Οὐλύμποιο ἀπὸ ῥίου*: like Zeus and Poseidon (*N* 12), Hera takes in the situation from a mountain-top viewpoint.

163–5. The sexual desire and the sleep with which Hera plans to overpower Zeus are developed, as the narrative progresses, into the deities Aphrodite and **(p.292)** Hypnos, each of whom subdues all gods and all men (199, 233) and each of whom Hera persuades to put their powers at her service.

166–86. The goddess preparing to seduce someone bathes and adorns herself: *EFH* 204 f.

169–72. ≈ *Hymn. Aphr.* 60–3.

181. *ἑκατὸν θυσάνοις*: ≈ *B* 448.

190–2. P sees that there is a good reason why Aphrodite might be unwilling to help Hera. She would surely refuse if she knew what Hera was planning. As Mülder 126 observes, this is a problem that would not have existed in the poem about Heracles in which Hera had previously put Zeus to sleep, though it is not

clear that Aphrodite was involved in that narrative (250–6 n.). P overcomes the difficulty firstly by making Hera address Aphrodite in winningly friendly tones, and secondly by letting her pretend to a mission that would take her as far away from Troy as it is possible to go; Aphrodite would perceive advantage for the Trojan cause in that.

201–7. For Oceanus and Tethys as 'the origin of the gods' and their estrangement cf. *EFH* 147, 383. The story that Hera was evacuated to them during the Titanomachy is presumably an improvisation. For P's allusions to the Titans and their present location cf. *E* 898 n.

212–13. Aphrodite finds a supplementary reason for agreeing to Hera's request.

214–17. Cf. *EFH* 383 f.

224. *ἣ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς δῶμα*: typically P does not leave Aphrodite standing about at the end of the dialogue but tidies her away. Cf. *A* 531 f.

225–30. Hera darts from peak to peak to reach Lemnos; cf. *N* 20–1 n.

230. *Θόαντος*: *Ψ* 745 (with *Φ* 40 f.). He belonged in the Argonautic saga, being the father of Hypsipyle (*H* [468–9]).

231–82. Lemnos is a convenient staging-post on the way to Ida, but not the only available one, and this is not a sufficient explanation of Hypnos' being located there. The only god who would naturally be found there is Hephaestus (*A* 593 n.), and this visit to Hypnos is evidently based on a visit to him: Hypnos' recollection of Zeus wanting to throw him down from heaven in 249 ff. is a variation on Hephaestus' tale in *A* 590 ff., while the Charis that Hera promises to Hypnos as wife in 267 f. corresponds to the Charis who is Hephaestus' wife in *Σ* 382.

P is using motifs from the myth, related in the fragmentary *Hymn to Dionysus* and evidently popular from around 600 BCE, of how Dionysus came to be received in Olympus. It is reconstructed as follows (*ZPE* 134 [2001], 1–11). When Hera gave birth to the cripple Hephaestus she was disgusted with him and cast him down from heaven into the sea. He grew up there among the Nereids, developing his engineering skills. Then he sent his mother **(p.293)** a fine throne he had made, fitted with a secret mechanism. When she sat down she found herself trapped. None of the gods was able to free her, and clearly Hephaestus would have to be induced to come back and undo what he had done. Ares went and tried to capture him by force, but failed because he defended himself with fire, which Ares could not face. Then Dionysus went, equipped with wine and perhaps authorized to say that if he consented to come he could have Aphrodite for his wife. The wine made Hephaestus drunk, and he was escorted back to Olympus in a merry state, riding on a donkey or mule. He freed Hera and duly

received Aphrodite (rather to her distaste). Dionysus' reward was to be admitted as an Olympian.

We see echoes and adaptations of this myth in several places in *Il.*: *A* 590 ff. (Hephaestus thrown out of heaven by Zeus to Lemnos; perhaps the gods' laughter, *A* 599 n.); *O* 18 ff. (Hera bound fast by Zeus, who is throwing gods out of heaven; none of them can free her); *Σ* 382 f., 395 ff. (Hephaestus has Charis as wife; was once thrown out by Hera because a cripple; his sojourn with the Nereids and practice of crafts); and in the present passage at 238–41 (a fine throne to be made by Hephaestus), 257 f. (Zeus throwing gods about, would have thrown Hypnos down into the sea), 267 f. (promise of Charis as wife). P's Charis is a substitute for the Aphrodite of the underlying story; in Demodocus' song in *θ* 267 ff. it is Aphrodite who is Hephaestus' (unfaithful) wife, Ares is again involved in the tale, and the motif of the trap-furniture appears in a different application. Cf. also *A* 524–30 n.

231. *κασιγνήτωι Θανάτοιο*: cf. *Π* 672; Hes. *Th*. 213, 756–66, esp. 756 *ἥ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσί, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο*, which could be the model. Sleep's kinship to death is irrelevant to the present story about immortals.

233–40. Hera's address to Hypnos is formally a prayer. With 233 cf. 199 and 163–5 n.; with 234 cf. *A* 453–5. **238–41**. Cf. *EFH* 384 (Ugaritic).

243. = 194.

246. After 201.

249. ≈ *A* 590.

250–6. Cf. *O* 18–30 for the story (and *E* 640–2 n. for other allusions to Heracles' Trojan adventure). The god-sent storm that drives the voyager to an unintended shore is a 'Motiv der Nostendichtung' (Reinhardt 104). Hera had evidently engaged Hypnos' help in a version that P knew or told. It is not clear whether this was associated as here with a seduction of Zeus; in that story Hera is active while he sleeps, whereas here she will stay in his arms while Poseidon acts. If it was a seduction it might have been an amusing *Einzellied* in the manner of Demodocus' song about Ares and Aphrodite. Cf. Nutzhorn 160; VdM 222 f.

256. *ὃ δ' ἐπεγρόμενος χαλέπαινεν*: for the chief god's anger when he **(p. 294)** discovers that another god has been secretly acting to obstruct his plans cf. *Θ* 397 n.

257. *ῥιπτάζων κατὰ δῶμα θεούς*: ~ *O* 22 f.

259. *Νὺξ*: Hypnos' mother in the Hesiodic genealogy (231 n.).

267–8. The promise of ‘one of the younger Charites’ is a distinct advance on the reward offered in 238–41. Once confirmed by oath, it suffices to overcome Hypnos’ reluctance.

271–9. Deity put an oath: *EFH* 181. The gods swear by the water of Styx, cf. *B* 755, Hes. *Th*. 400, 775–806; but the procedure is different in Hesiod, involving a libation of the water itself. For the divine witnesses cf. *EFH* 21 n.

84. Mortals swear by the gods; the gods are here imagined to swear by a different set of gods, the older ones who reigned before them.

274. *Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντες*: Hes. *Th*. 851; again in *O* 225.

276. Hypnos specifies the particular Charis he has always yearned after. Pasithea is the name of a Nereid in Hes. *Th*. 246.

279. *τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται*: ≈ Hes. *Th*. 851 *Τιτῆνές θ᾽ ὑποταρτάριοι Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντε* (cf. 274 n.); *Τιτῆνες* not elsewhere in Hom. However, there is a possibility that the line is not genuine, cf. *Studies* 227 f.

281. *καὶ Ἴμβρου*: from the point of view of a poet situated at Troy Imbros might seem a natural stepping-stone between Lemnos and Ida. But if he had had a proper map at his disposal he would have seen that it represents a considerable diversion. The two deities are heading for Lekton (284), the cape at the south-west extremity of the Troad.

285. *ἀκροτάτη δὲ ποδῶν ὕπο σείετο ὕλη*: cf. *A* 47 n.

286–91. Hypnos must wait for his moment. For the motif of gods perching in a tree in bird guise cf. *H* 58 ff.

288. *δι᾽ ἠέρος αἰθέρ᾽ ἵκανεν*: cf. *EFH* 384.

291. Language of gods: *A* 403–4 n.

293. *ἴδε δὲ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς*: in the usual arrival scheme we should expect ‘and she found Zeus’. P substitutes ‘and Zeus saw her’ because this is what aroused his desire.

296. *φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας*: an imaginative touch, not reflecting any myth.

299. It is not clear why Hera has not made the journey by chariot, as she does when she goes to Troy in *E* 720 ff. Zeus too finds it odd, and she finds it expedient to pretend she has (307 f.).

301–6. Abbreviated from 200–10.

309–11. The explanation for Hera's visit that P puts in her mouth may be suggested by the earlier scene (*Θ* 397) where Zeus, ensconced on Ida, has angrily stopped her from proceeding with another expedition. **(p.295)**

315–28. Cf. *EFH* 384. The list starts from mortal women, first those who bore lesser heroes and then those who bore Heracles and Dionysus, and it ends with goddesses. The hearer is left to identify Ixion's wife (Dia) and Phoenix's daughter (Europa). The outer structure is as in *Γ* 442 ff.; 314 f. ≈*Γ* 441 f., 328 =*Γ* 446.

318. *Πειρίθοον*: mentioned elsewhere in *Il*. as a Lapith beside whom Nestor fought (*A* 263) and as the father of Polypoites (*B* 741, al.).

322. *Μίνωα τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν*: but not Sarpedon as in 'Hes.' frr. 140–1. See *Z* 199 n. Minos has been mentioned as Idomeneus' grandfather, *N* 450 f.

329. = 300.

330–6. P imagines Hera disingenuously replying as many a mortal wife would if her husband proposed making love in an open-air location.

338–9. After 166 f.

343–4. *νέφος … | χρύσεον*: cf. *N* 523–5 n.

345. *οὖ τε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράασθαι*: on the Sun as the all-seeing one cf. *Γ* 277 n.

347–9. Cf. *EFH* 384.

***χθὼν δῖα*:** *IEPM* 193.

353. *ὕπνωι … δαμείς*: we can hardly write *Ὕπνωι* when it is coupled with *φιλότητι* (~ the *φιλότη* contained in the *κεστὸς ἱμάς*, 216); P leaves it to be understood that the god Hypnos, who has been brought for the purpose, was responsible. In the following lines, rather than leaving him perched in the tree or sending him straight back to his general duties, P makes use of him as the intermediary needed to take the news to Poseidon, even though Hera has not instructed him to do this or told him her motive in putting Zeus to sleep. This leaves her free to swear in *O* 41 f. that Poseidon had not acted on her instigation (Mülder 125; Rothe 269 f.).

358. *μίννυθά περ, ὅφρ᾽ ἔτι εὕδει*: anticipating the reversal that will take place when Zeus wakes.

361. *ἐπὶ κλυτὰ φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων*: he does not go back to Lemnos, where he had no real business to be (231–82 n.), nor to any other specific place; he operates all over the earth and has no particular home.

364. *μεθίεμεν*: in these lines Poseidon speaks in the guise of an Achaean leader, but is not assigned any specific identity. See 136 n.

366. *οὕτω φησὶ καὶ εὔχεται*: cf. 45.

368. *κείνου δ᾽ οὔ τι λίην ποθὴ ἔσσεται*: cf. 142 n.

370–82. The Achaeans' counter-attack that is to drive the Trojans back will be achieved by virtue of Poseidon's aid. But what does this aid consist of? He imbues them with courage; he leads them forward. But he does not personally kill any of the enemy: Homeric gods may help a human warrior to **(p.296)** make a kill but do not do it by themselves. (Exception: *E* 842.) P feels that something more is required from the god at the practical level, so he makes him produce the constructive tactical advice that the best warriors should now take the longest spears and the biggest shields. Cf. Erhardt 252.

379–80. Lest we forget the three wounded heroes, they are brought forward to supervise the exchange of armour. Cf. 131 n. 380 = 29.

384. *ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄράσφι*: after 134. A god leading the army: *E* 592 n.

386–7. *τῶι δ᾽ οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ μιγῆναι | … ἀλλὰ δέος ἰσχάνει ἄνδρας*: an improvisation to excuse the absence of any actual engagement between Poseidon and a Trojan, cf. 370–82 n.

388. *ἐκόσμει*: after 379.

392. The sea supports its god, and suggests the opening of the tripartite simile that follows.

396. *οὔτε πυρὸς τόσσος … βρόμος*: cf. *EFH* 384.

402. *πρῶτος*: this is the first piece of detailed battle narrative since *N*, and it is treated as if the battle were just starting. The clash between Ajax and Hector is the one that seemed to be impending in *N* 809–37 (n.).

403. *οὐδ᾽ ἀφάμαρτεν*: Hector's throw is a good one, and it is only Ajax's luck that saves him. Sarpedon was saved from Teukros' arrow at *M* 401 by a single shield-strap; it takes the thickness of two straps to keep out Hector's spear.

409–19. Ajax previously floored Hector with a boulder in the duel at *H* 268–71. Then Apollo quickly set him back on his feet. This time the effect is more potent:

he cannot go on fighting and has to be transported back behind the lines. This is the essential precondition for the success of the Greek rally.

410. *ἔχματα νηῶν*: emphasizing how close to the ships the fighting has come. **414–17**. For the simile of the tree felled by the lightning stroke cf. *IEPM* 495.

419–20. ≈ *N* 543 f.

425–6. Cf. *E* 677–8 n. P rounds up most of the Trojan leaders who are still fighting; Paris is passed over. The three in 425 were last heard of in *N*, Sarpedon and Glaukos in *M*. Glaukos' inclusion here is an oversight, as in *M* 387–91 he was wounded and had to withdraw from the fighting, and that remains his situation in *Π* 508 ff. Perhaps 426 was added secondarily after Sarpedon and Glaukos were introduced into the poem (Giseke 236).

429–32. After *N* 535–8. But there Deiphobos was leaving the battle for good and did go *προτὶ ἄστυ*; Hector's journey is halted at the river and he recovers there, to return at *O* 262 ff. And 432 *βαρέα στενάχοντα* is hardly appropriate to Hector, who is apparently unconscious (436). **(p.297)**

433–4. Cf. *E* 774 n. Hector's companions take advantage of the water to help revive him.

437–9. Vomiting blood, fainting: *IEPM* 489 f.

442. *Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας*: with the Achaeans now gaining the advantage we can be sure that it will not be long before Telamonian Ajax comes to the fore, as he does in 459. But P feels it is too obvious to turn to him immediately, and awards the first kill to the other Ajax—one of the rare occasions when he is seen acting independently of the Telamonian. Cf. 520–2 n.

443–5. ≈ *Δ* 474–6; cf. Strasburger 29.

444. *ὃν ἄρα νύμφη τέκε νηΐς*: for the motif cf. *Z* 21–2 (n.), *Y* 384.

449–507. Following this initial Achaean victory we have an alternating series of two Trojan and two Achaean ones, each capped by an insolent speech (454–7, 470–4, 479–85, 501–5). At that point the Trojans' morale fails and they turn to flight (506 f.).

450. *Προθοήνορα*: one of the Boeotian leaders, *B* 495; others will appear in 476 and 487. The Boeotian presence was recalled in *N* 685. **451–2. ≈** *N* 519 f. **458–9**. After *N* 417 f.

460. *τῶι Τελαμωνιάδηι*: added to distinguish him from the Ajax recently mentioned.

***τοῦ γὰ ρ πέσεν ἄγχι μάλιστα*:** an improvised reason for Ajax's being upset at the fall of a man with whom he has no particular tie. Cf. *N* 203, 581 nn.

462. *αὐτὸς μὲν ἀλεύατο κῆρα*: Polydamas is too important a figure to be killed. On the other hand Ajax's throw must not be ineffective, so it finds another victim. Cf. *Δ* 491–2 n.

463. *κόμισεν*: after 456.

464. *Ἀρχέλοχος*: *B* 823, *M* 100.

***τῶι γάρ ῥα θεοὶ βούλευσαν ὄλεθρον*:** by contrast with Polydamas.

471–2. *ἀντὶ πεφάσθαι | ἄξιος*: ≈ *N* 446 f.**472–4**. P is inconsistent about whether heroes know the identity of those they kill. Polydamas did not know who Prothoenor was (456), whereas Akamas can identify the lesser Boeotian Promachos (482) and Peneleos the minor Trojan Ilioneus (501). Ajax does not know who Archelochos is, but for the sake of his rhetorical point he is allowed to make a shrewd guess on the basis of his physical resemblance to Antenor. (But when had Ajax seen Antenor?)

476. *Ἀκάμας*: coupled with Archelochos in *B* 823 and *M* 100; mentioned also at *Λ* 60, *Π* 342.

***Πρόμαχον Βοιώτιον*:** cf. 450 n. Promachos has not been named before; he acquires a patronymic in 503. His name was perhaps suggested by Parthenopaios' son Promachos, one of the Epigonoi (Kullmann 150 n. 2). **(p. 298)**

478. After 453.

482. *εὖδει*: cf. *Λ* 241 n.

486–7. After 458 f.

***Πηνέλεωι*:** *B* 494, *N* 92; cf. 450 n. He is moved by the death of his Boeotian comrade.

491. *καὶ κτῆσιν ὄπασσεν*: cf. *E* 9 n.

492. *μοῦνον*: so his death will be especially grievous to his father, cf. 502.

508–22. It now becomes a rout. Achaeans do all the killing, which is related in summary style: six heroes are listed, each with one or two named victims except for the Locrian Ajax, who kills 'most of all'. A Trojan breakthrough is treated similarly in *O* 328–42. For the question to the Muses cf. *B* 484–93, *E* 703 nn.

510. *ἐπεί ῥ᾽ ἔκλινε μάχην κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος*: a reminder that Poseidon was behind the reversal, even if his contribution as described seemed insubstantial.

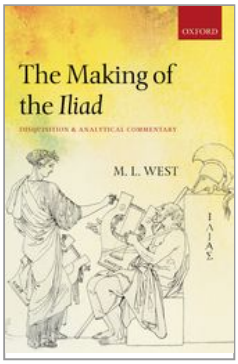
511. *Αἴας ῥα πρῶτος*: this time Ajax takes his natural place (cf. 442 n.). Cf. *Δ* 457 n.

512. *Μυσῶν ἡγήτορα*: cf. *B* 858 n.

513–16. As he did for the Trojans in 425 f., P now mentions most of the other major Achaeans who are still active in the battle but have not been mentioned since *N*: Antilochos, Meriones, Teukros, Men. He forgets Idomeneus. Of the Trojans named here, Phalkes and Morys appeared in *N* 791 f.; Hippotion was there Morys' father. There was also a Polyphetes, who corresponds to the Periphetes here.

516. *Ἀτρείδης*: Men., the only Atreid now fighting; cf. *P* 24.

520–2. The Locrian Ajax is singled out for special praise. P seems at pains to compensate for his earlier lack of profile; cf. 442 n. The implication of his formulaic epithet *ταχύς* is now spelt out.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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O

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The first part of the rhapsody is the postlude to the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*: Zeus wakes up, sees what has been going on, and takes steps to reverse it. The Trojans, having been driven back beyond the Achaean fortifications while Zeus was asleep, must now attack them again.

The continuing battle narrative as far as 591 completes (in my view) the great expansion that began at *Λ* 806, while 592 ff. is the original continuation from *Λ* 805. (Cf. *Λ* 575–95 n.) This latter part may itself have been expanded by short insertions at 638–52 and 668–73, but is otherwise straightforward. The section between 306 and 591, however, poses a peculiar problem.

The overall development is carefully controlled. The Trojans advance with Apollo's help (306 ff.); the Achaeans retreat behind their defences (343 ff.); Apollo breaches the wall and the Trojans swarm through with their chariots (355 ff.); Patr. sees this and leaves Eurypylos in order to return immediately to Ach. (390 ff.); after hard struggles the fighting presses in among the ships, forcing the Achaeans to retreat from the front line of ships (653 ff.); Ajax gets up on the ships' decks and defends them with a naval pike (674 ff.); Hector comes forward towards a ship, grasps its stern-post, and calls for fire (688 ff.); Ajax is driven back bit by bit, still warding off whoever tries to bring fire (727 ff.).

What is perplexing is the presence of certain lines between 385 and 435 that seem prematurely to describe the last phase in which the Trojans are right at the ships, in position to fire them, and the Achaeans are defending from the decks: see 386–9, 414–18, 420, 435.

The explanation appears to be that P has conflated two different versions or drafts. I assume that he composed 592 ff. before the rest (and before inventing the trench and wall). This took the story from a stage where the Trojans were pushing forward over the plain to the point where Hector seized Protesilaos' ship. In fitting in his *M*–*O* expansions, P was working towards the same goal, but instead of tailoring his narrative to the text he had already composed, he retold the story and arrived at its climax at 418, which looks designed to lead on directly to *Π* 1. But then he decided to incorporate the older version 592–746 as well. Between 418 and 592 he composed a new section, showcasing Teukros, Meges, Men., and Antilochos; bearing in mind the situation presupposed in 592 ff., he meant to keep the fighting on the ground, but in 420 and 435 he inadvertently introduced details appropriate to the situation he had evoked in 386–9 and 414–18. Cf. Erhardt 274 f., 278 f. **(p.300)**

1–3. After *Θ* 343–5, where it was the Achaeans who were fleeing. The Trojans' chariots are waiting beyond the trench in accordance with Polydamas' proposal in *M* 61 ff., but the fleeing army does not have the reason to halt at them that the Achaeans had to halt at their ships in *Θ* 345.

The Achaeans have now recovered the ground lost since the Trojan breakthrough at the end of *M*. That was when Zeus turned his attention away from the battle; now it is time for him to become aware of it again.

7. = *Ξ* 14.

9–11. Picking up from *Ξ* 428–39.

18–30. When Zeus is angry, as now, he is capable of extreme violence. But P is prevented (by epic convention or his own taste) from showing that violence in action; we hear of it only in threats of what he may do in the future or recollections of what he has done in the past. Cf. *A* 590 ff., *Θ* 10 ff., *Ξ* 249 ff., *O* 135 ff. The occasion he recalls here is the same one recalled by Hypnos in the *Ξ* passage (28 =*Ξ* 255), but the torture of Hera is a new element, perhaps invented for the present context (VdM 227).

23. *ῥίπτασκον τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ*: ~ *A* 591.

24. *ὀλιγηπελέων*: ~ *A* 593 *ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν*.

36–44. For Hera's oath cf. *Ξ* 271–9 n.; *EFH* 181, 385. The intimate references in 39 f. makes its expression more fervent and its dishonesty more ironic. It is true that she was not herself said to have taken steps to encourage Poseidon (*Ξ* 353 n.), but it was certainly her intention that he should exploit the opportunity.

47–63. P allows Zeus to be sufficiently mollified by the oath not to pursue his threats against Hera but to attend to the furtherance of the main story. Cf. Mülder 125.

49–52. For the motif that if Zeus and Hera agree, others will fall into line, cf. *Δ* 62 f., *α* 76–9.

53–262. For the mechanism (A, the father of the gods, tells B to fetch C, who is then sent as messenger to D) cf. *EFH* 190 f. Here C is represented by two deities, Iris and Apollo, who are to be sent on separate missions, one to terminate the help that the Achaeans are getting from Poseidon, the other to give a positive boost to the Trojans. While in real life they would be sent simultaneously, in epic the convention is to announce the two missions together but carry them out successively: 157–219 Iris, 220–62 Apollo. Cf. *A* 306–487 n., *Ω* 112 ff., *α* 81 ff./*ε* 1 ff. Note that Iris' mission has already had its effect when Apollo receives his instructions (222 f.).

Iris' mission parallels that in *Θ* 398 ff. Zeus' watchfulness there nipped the initiative of Hera and Athena in the bud, whereas his inattention in *N* has allowed Poseidon's to proceed. **(p.301)**

[64–71]. Perhaps composed by a rhapsode to round off a separate recitation of the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* with a brief prospectus of all that was to follow it, even to the sack of Troy; see *Studies* 230 f. For an interpolation of similar character cf. *Y* 30*a–c*. Line 69 is modelled on 601, but reference to a *παλίωξις παρὰ νηῶν* is inapposite after the killing of Hector. In 71 *Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλάς* alludes to Epeios' construction of the Wooden Horse, cf. *θ* 493, *Little Iliad* arg. 4, Stes. S 89.

72. *τὸ πρὶν δ'*: 'before that', *sc*. before the Achaeans fall back on their ships (63); amplified in 74.

75–7. An unusually explicit reference back to the circumstances in which Zeus formed his grand plan in *A*.

80–3. 'Swift as thought': *IEPM* 96. Cf. *Δ* 75–8 n.

84–142. Before Hera passes Zeus' instructions to Iris and Apollo, P fits in one of his lively scenes showing the whole divine company. The gods are found in their default state, eating and drinking cheerfully in Zeus' mansion; cf. *A* 531–3 n. His ban on their interference in the war is keeping them there, as we were reminded in *N* 521–5, where it was noted that Ares was among them and unaware of the death of his son Askalaphos. P uses this next Olympian scene as the occasion for him to receive the news.

87. *Θέμιστι*: not hitherto mentioned; she will appear again as Zeus' minister at *Y* 4. P wants Hera to speak initially in reply to an individual questioner before she addresses the whole company. Perhaps Themis, as a senior goddess and a consort of Zeus, is pictured as presiding over the gathering in the absence of Zeus and Hera. Or perhaps she is chosen to suggest that in this situation of

division between Zeus and the other gods, it is the latter who are in the right on a long-term view of things, Zeus' tilting of the balance towards the Trojans being a temporary disturbance of the war's proper course: cf. 598 *Θέτιδος ἐξαίσιον ἀρήν*. In the *Cypria* he consulted with Themis on how to bring about the war to relieve Earth of her burden of overpopulation; Themis' involvement implied that it was to be a justified war.

90. *ἀτυζομένηι δὲ ἔοικας*: Hera's demeanour (cf. 101–3) suffices to prompt Themis' question.

93–9. Hera replies in general terms about Zeus' wilful conduct, promising more specific information in a more public address to follow. The particular news she has to impart is the death of Askalaphos (though it is not explained how she knows of it), so the audience has to be widened to include Ares.

101. After *A* 570.

113. *θαλερὼ πεπλήγετο μηρώ*: *M* 162 n.

115–20. Ares' impulsive decision to rush off to join the fighting, besides serving to illustrate his distress and his character, adds to the series of rebellious initiatives by gods since Zeus announced his ban. Like the sortie of Hera **(p. 302)** and Athena in *Θ*, it is aborted and has no effect on events. His son's death ought to have prompted him to fight on the Achaean side, but he never does so (Erhardt 261 f.).

119. *Δεῖμόν τε Φόβον τε*: cf. *Δ* 439–40 n.

123. *Ἀθήνη*: the same goddess as led Ares out of the battle at *E* 29 ff.

128–9. *ἦ νύ τοι αὖτως | οὔατ᾽ ἀκουέμεν ἐστί*: cf. *EFH* 385.

139–40. For the motif 'better men have died' cf. *Φ* 107. The following remark implies 'they are only mortals, after all'; for this attitude on the gods' part cf. *A* 574 n.

143–4. Hera now attends to Zeus' bidding and gives Iris and Apollo their instructions. She calls them outside to do so because in a normal messenger sequence the person sought would be addressed alone, not in a crowd.

148. *ἔρδειν ὅττί κε κεῖνος ἐποτρύνηι καὶ ἀνώγηι*: the formulation finesses the need for Hera to explain the separate missions to be assigned to the two deities.

153. *ἀμφὶ δέ μιν θυόεν νέφος ἐστεφάνωτο*: presumably still the cloud in which he and Hera wrapped themselves at *Ξ* 350; but cf. *N* 523.

155. *στήτην*: a typical element in scenes where someone goes to find another, but normally followed by ‘and spoke’. Here the visitors are simply answering a summons and it is for Zeus to speak.

***οὐδέ σφωϊν ἰδὼν ἐχολώσατο θυμῶι*:** perhaps influenced by *A* 330.

161. *μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν*: after 54.

***ἠ᾽ εἰς ἅλα δῖαν*:** corresponding to 58 *τὰ ἃ πρὸς δώματα*. Here he is given the alternative of going to Olympus, but in the event he will return to the sea.

166. *γενεῆι πρότερος*: cf. *Δ* 59 n.

***οὐκ ὄθεται*:** after 107.

167. *ἶσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι*: after *A* 187.

171. A surprising meteorological simile, especially as Iris has her name from the rainbow (*P* 547, Xenophanes DK 21 B 32). Cf. *Δ* 75–8 n.

172. After 83, with a new hiatus created by the change of goddess.

173. *ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη*: before this we expect ‘and she found Poseidon urging on the Achaeans’; cf. e.g. 239–43. Perhaps P elided this bit of the typical sequence to avoid the vision of Iris addressing him amid a throng, cf. 143–4 n. The consequence is that he has to name Poseidon, abnormally, after *ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη προσέφη*.

176–83. Adapted from 160–7, with 163 f. reformulated.

184–219. Poseidon has to give in, but under protest. He is indignant about Zeus’ disregard of a previous arrangement made among the gods; cf. *EFH* 385. The genealogy in 187 f. is in agreement with Hesiod, but he is not the source for the Mesopotamian myth of the division of the universe by lot, for which see *EFH* 109 f., 137 f.; *JHS* 122 (2002), 115 f. **(p.303)**

188. Cf. *Ξ* 117 n.

191. *ζόφον ἠερόεντα*: cf. *EFH* 159 f.

195. *καὶ κρατερός περ ἐὼν*: after 164.

196. *κακὸν ὣς δειδισσέσθω*: ≈ *B* 190.

203. ~ *N* 115.

206/208. ≈ *Θ* 146 f.; 208–10 ≈*Π* 52–4.

[214]. Apparently interpolated with an eye to the theomachy in *Y*–*Φ*, where Hermes and Hephaestus will join in on the Achaeans' side (*Y* 33–6). Their support for the Achaean cause has not been mentioned hitherto, and naming them here would perplex the audience. Hera is less out of place, but Poseidon and Athena are the two who give concrete assistance on the battlefield.

219. *δῦνε δὲ πόντον ἰών*: he returns to the realm he has claimed as his own in 190, cf. 161 n. There is no reference to his waiting steeds (*N* 37 f.). Iris' movements are passed over.

220. *καὶ τότ' Ἀπόλλωνα προσέφη*: as if Apollo had been standing waiting since 155. Cf. 53–262 n.

224–5. For the motif of the noise from a gods' conflict reaching the underworld cf. Hes. *Th*. 681–3, 850–2. Line 225 ≈*Ξ* 274.

227. *νεμεσσηθεὶς ὑπόειξεν*: after 211.

231. Special attention is to be given to Hector, the key figure on the Trojan side, who is at present out of action.

233. ~ 63.

234–5. This indication that the Achaean retreat will not be final is not calculated to cheer Apollo but rather the audience (Wil. 233 n. 1). When P lets Zeus speak of his intentions he reveals his own—though never as fully as in [64–71].

237–8. *ἴρηκι ἐοικώς | ὠκέϊ φασσοφόνωι*: ≈ *Π* 582 f., where the simile has a sharper point. The rest of 236–7 =*Π* 676 f.

240–2. Hector is already starting to recover: it is not all left to Apollo. But this is thanks to Zeus' will, which is apparently conceived as operating from afar without Zeus himself coming near; cf. 461.

243–7. Apollo does not assume a mortal persona, and Hector recognizes that it is some god who has approached. It is not said that Apollo was visible only to him (cf. *A* 198 n.), but his comrades are ignored.

245. *ὀλιγηπελέων*: after 24.

246. *ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη*: otherwise in dying speeches, *Π* 843, *X* 337.

247. ≈ *Z* 123.

252. *ὄψεσθαι*: cf. *IEPM* 393. Hector has suffered a more severe nonfatal wounding than any Achaean does; this, and his belief that he would **(p.304)** die

of it, signals his vulnerability and foreshadows his actual death. Cf. Reinhardt 303.

254. *θάρσει*: typical reassurance in a divine epiphany, cf. *Φ* 288, *Ω* 171; *EFH* 185.

256. *Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα*: the god announces his identity, typically towards the end of the encounter, cf. *EFH* 183 f.

258–61. In the new phase of the battle the Trojan chariots, which have hitherto been kept back beyond the fortifications, are to advance through them, with a bigger breach being made in the wall. The breach made by Hector in *M* is no longer 'valid', as it were, because the Trojans have since been driven back.

260. *προπάροιθε κιὼν*: for the god going ahead of the army cf. *E* 592 n.

263–8. = *Z* 506–11, but 266–8, which do not suit Hector as they suited Paris, were absent from Zen.'s text and are probably a concordance interpolation. The case is similar to *Θ* [557–8]. Cf. *Studies* 231 f.

271–80. The military situation comes back into view. The Achaeans have pushed the Trojans back beyond the trench (1 f.) and are continuing to harry them; 278 =*N* 147. Hector's return at once undermines their morale.

271–2. ≈ *Γ* 24, *Λ* 549.

281–305. Thoas notes Hector's miraculous resurrection and makes a tactical proposal that may seem to us of dubious merit. It is immediately adopted, but it succeeds only temporarily in holding the Trojans back. Lines 301 f. point forward to Teukros' and Meges' performances in the section 419–591. It was argued in the introduction to the rhapsody that that section was not the original sequel to what precedes it. That suggests that the present section, which prepares for that one, is likewise not original in its context but an insertion (Erhardt 263 f.). The narrative runs perfectly well without it, if not better: 312 suggests an undivided army, as do the arrows in 313 and the simile in 323 ff., and in 328 ff. the Trojans find many lesser warriors facing them. Cf. Hentze v. 103.

281–4. We have met Thoas several times. He got a couple of lines of description at *N* 217 f., when Poseidon spoke in his guise. That passage probably suggested his choice as speaker here; it is the only time he speaks, and he now gets a longer introduction that emphasizes his quality as a persuader. For *ἀαγορή* as the complement of fighting ability cf. *Δ* 400 n.

[291–3]. *Studies* 233.

301–2. For the summary listing cf. *E* 677–8 n. Teukros belongs with Ajax, Meriones with Idomeneus. Ajax, Teukros, and Meges will enjoy spells of prominence in what follows (cf. 281–305 n.), as also will Men. and Antilochos, not named here. The Cretans Idomeneus and Meriones are left for *Π*–*P*.

306. = *N* 136. **(p.305)**

307. *πρόσθεν δ᾽ ἔκι᾽ αὐτοῦ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*: cf. 260 n.

310. *Διὶ δῶκε φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν*: Zeus, however, never participates in mortals' battles at ground level. It is usually Athena who wears the aegis, as in *B* 446 ff., *E* 738 ff. Its association with Zeus may result from a reinterpretation of his old epithet *αἰγίοχος*, for which see *Hes. WD* 366–8; *EFH* 115; *IEPM* 248.

312. ≈ *E* 498. Cf. 281–305 n.

314–17. ≈ *Λ* 571–4 (n.).

318–22. Adapted from *Θ* 66 ff. ≈*Λ* 84 ff. ≈*Π* 777 ff.

321. *ἐπὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄϋσε μάλα μέγα*: cf. *Λ* 10 n.

325. *σημάντορος οὐ παρεόντος*: implying that the Achaeans are without their commander, *sc*. Ach. rather than Ag.

328–42. The general description having been concluded with a simile, the focus narrows to individual encounters, a series of kills by half a dozen Trojan principals: Hector, Aeneas, Polydamas, Polites, Agenor, Paris. Cf. *Ξ* 508–22 n. The victims include several listed in the Catalogue and seldom or never mentioned since then; cf. Kullmann 128 n. 1. 'To the general battle description only brief detail is added … The poet is hastening to restore with a couple of strokes the situation reached at the end of *M*' (Mülder 156).

328. =*Π* 306.

***ἀνὴρ ἔλεν ἄνδρα*:** cf. *IEPM* 113.

329. *Στιχίον*: *N* 195 n.

***Ἀρκεσίλαον*:** *B* 495. His Boeotian comrade Prothoenor was killed at *Ξ* 450.

332. *Μέδοντα*: *B* 727, *N* 693.

333–6. = *N* 694–7 (n.).

337. *Ἴασος*: not mentioned elsewhere.

339. *Μηκιστῆ*: *Θ* 333 =*N* 422.

***Ἐχίον*:** Mekisteus' father in the passages cited, but here probably a mere name that came into P's mind by association. Cf. *Ξ* 513–16 n.; Kullmann 128 n. 1.

***Πολίτης*:** *B* 791 n.

340. *Κλονίον*: another Boeotian, *B* 495.

***Ἀγήνωρ*:** *Δ* 467 n.

341. *Δηΐοχον*: only here; acc. to sch^{T} ancestor of the Athenian colonists of Samos, and acc. to sch^{b} the only Achaean to be hit in the back while fleeing. This is Paris' last appearance in battle.

343–51. The stripping of armour delays the Trojans' onrush, while the Achaeans retreat in disorder behind their fortifications. Hector urges his forces not to waste time stripping corpses but to keep up the pursuit (for the **(p.306)** motif cf. *Z* 67–71), with ferocious threats against anyone seen hanging back (cf. *B* 391–3, *M* 248–50, *N* 232–4).

343. ≈ *M* 195.

344. After *M* 72, with *σκολόπεσσιν* coming in between *τάφρωι* and *ὀρυκτῆι*.

348. After *B* 391 (n.).

355–66. Apollo, fulfilling his promise in 260 f., makes a broad path for the chariots across the trench and through the wall. It is abnormal for a deity to perform such a physical feat without human agency, but the Trojans could not have done it for themselves. After providing this necessary service for them, Apollo disappears from the narrative apart from a minor intervention at 521 f.

362. *ῥεῖα μάλ'*: *Γ* 381 n.

367–9. ≈ *Θ* 345–7, cf. 1–3 n.

370–8. P will soon be taking up the theme of Patr.'s progress towards Ach.

Before doing so he gives us another sight of Nestor, whose message Patr. is carrying and whose activity behind the lines was related in *Ξ* 1–134. Nothing has been heard of him since then. As an old man (not too old to fight, but not capable of achieving much in the present situation) he is a suitable figure to voice prayers; cf. [Hes.] *Sc*. 245–7. The transition from the general praying to Nestor's prayer follows 658 ff. (if that passage was the first composed, cf. *Λ* 575–95 n.); 370 = 659.

372–6. He reminds Zeus not only of past services (*A* 37–41 n.) but of the god's own previous promises; cf. *EFH* 274.

376. = *Θ* 244 (a prayer to Zeus from Ag. in a similar situation).

377–80. Zeus thunders in acknowledgment of Nestor's prayer, but this does not disconcert the Trojans, who take it as a good omen for them (as it was in *Θ* 170). The ambivalence reflects the mixed character of Zeus' motives (Reinhardt 305).

381–9. Before briefly leaving the scene to revert to Patr., P sums it up: the yelling Trojans are swarming across the wall like a wave washing over the side of a ship, their chariots are driving in, and they are fighting at the ships themselves, the Achaeans defending from the stern decks. This last detail is premature as things stand, cf. the introduction to the rhapsody.

390–404. The crisis demands that Patr. return to Ach. without delay. First we get a reminder of what he was doing when we left him at the end of *Λ*. Cf. *Λ* 848 n.

393. *ἔτερπε λόγοις*: this explains his extended delay; cf. *Λ* 643 for the motif.

395–6. ≈ *M* 143 f. K. Brandt, *Jb. f. kl. Ph*. 130 (1885), 656, pointed out that the phrasing suits what was happening in *M* 467–71 better than what has just **(p. 307)** been described in 381–9. This reinforces the hypothesis that 390 ff. were originally composed to follow *M, N* 1–*O* 389 being a subsequent expansion (cf. p. 62).

397–8. ≈ 113 f.

403–4. ~ *Λ* 792 f.

405. *πόδες φέρον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοί*: P again uses his interlacing technique (*A* 306–487 n.), describing more of the fighting while Patr. is on his way. Hector has to be held off from the ships for a while longer, so the battle is once again portrayed as evenly balanced (Schadewaldt 93).

406–13. For this way of describing forces in deadlock cf. *M* 417–25. It is repeated at the individual level in 416–18.

407. *παυροτέρους περ ἐόντας*: cf. *B* 123–8 n.

413. = *M* 436.

414–18. These lines seem an untimely anticipation of a phase of the battle not yet reached; see the introduction to the rhapsody. They may originally have been meant to lead straight on to *Π* 1.

414. ≈ *M* 175; cf. 395–6 n.

419–83. This section is composed in an ample, unhurried style, with attention to personalities.

419. *Κλυτίοιο*: one of the three brothers of Priam named in *Γ* 147 = *Y* 238. Sons of each of them, all cousins of Hector, appear in this episode and are killed, the other two being Dolops (525 ff.) and Melanippos (546 ff.). That P has a clear idea of the family relationships appears from 422 *ἀνεψιόν*, 554 *ἀνεψιόο*.

420. *πῦρ ἐς νῆα φέροντα*: the danger of the ships being fired now takes visible form. But it really comes too soon, cf. the introduction to the rhapsody.

424–5. = *Λ* 285 f.; cf. 484–7 n.

430. *τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ᾽*: cf. *Δ* 491–2 n.

***Λυκόφρονα*:** only here, but he acquires some dignity from the close relationship with Ajax and Teukros that appears in 431 f. and 437–9.

432. *ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα κατέκτα*: cf. *N* 696 n.

435. *νηὸς ἄπο πρυμνῆς*: cf. 387. Otherwise the whole battle is described as if on the ground; at 478 Teukros goes to his hut, and at 656 the whole army regroups at the huts (whose position in relation to the ships is never made very clear). Only in 674 ff. does Ajax mount the ships. See the introduction to the rhapsody.

436. *κασίγνητον δὲ προσηύδα*: Teukros is brought forward as Ajax's natural comrade-in-arms; cf. *M* 335–414 n.

440. *ποῦ νύ τοι ἰοί*: ≈ *E* 171.

441. *ὅ τοι πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*: cf. *B* 827 n.

442–65. This brief performance by Teukros (foreshadowed in 302) uses **(p.308)** similar motifs to *Θ* 309–29 (Erhardt 273, Fenik 227): he kills a charioteer, who is replaced; he shoots unsuccessfully at Hector; he is prevented from further archery when his bowstring is broken.

442. *θέων δέ οἱ ἅγχι παρέστη*: perhaps after 649.

445. *Κλειτόν*: another unknown who is the comrade of someone notable; the name perhaps invented after that of Klytios (419) (Janko).

448. ≈ *Λ* 148.

452. = *Θ* 122, 314.

453. *κείν᾽ ὄχεα κροτέοντες*: cf. *Λ* 160 n.

455. *Ἀστυνόωι*: another unknown.

458. ≈ *Θ* 309.

461. *Διὸς … νόον*: cf. 240–2 n.**463–5. ≈** *Θ* 328 f. Cf. *Z* 306, *Θ* 328 nn.

466. After 436.

468. *δαίμων*: the divine power that the mortal apprehends but cannot identify; similarly 473 *θεός*. Hector, however, can recognize the agency of Zeus (489 ff.).

478. *ὣς φάθ᾽· ὃ δ᾽ δ᾽*: after 442, where there was a double consonant to lengthen the second princeps (Janko).

479–82. An abbreviated version of the typical arming sequence, omitting the greaves, corslet, and sword that Teukros will be wearing already. Now that he is deprived of his bow, we hear no more of him in the battle.

483. *θέων … παρέστη*: after 442.

484–7. ≈ *Λ* 284–7 (but 486 may be a concordance interpolation, see *Studies* 233). As there, Hector triumphantly draws his men's attention to the neutralization of an Achaean hero and claims that Zeus is helping; cf. also *Θ* 172 ff. But here he develops his speech into a fuller, impassioned exhortation.

489. *Διόθεν*: cf. 468 n. The following lines serve to justify Hector's ability to identify Zeus' work.

494–8. Lines strongly reminiscent of Tyrtaeus and Callinus; cf. *N* 279–86 n.

501–13. Ajax is given a hortatory address to match Hector's. The splendid pair of speeches effectively dramatizes the crisis.

514. Repeated mechanically from 500.

515–91. A further section of individual encounters designed to showcase three heroes of whom little has been heard recently or at all: Meges (foreshadowed in 302), Men., and Antilochos. It begins with a rapid alternation of killings by Trojans (Hector, Polydamas) and Achaeans (Ajax, Meges), and then broadens out.

515. *Σχεδίον Περιμήδεος υἱόν*: in *B* 517 he is the son of Iphitos, and it is as the son of Iphitos that he is killed for a second time at *P* 306. Perhaps P had meant this to be a different Schedios but then inadvertently added *ἀρχὸν* **(p. 309)** *Φωκήων* by association with the other one. Sch^{T} records that 'some' read *ἀρχὸν Ἀθηναίων*, and at *N* 195 that they had Schedios in place of the Athenian Stichios. Cf. Schadewaldt 59 n. 1.

516. *Λαοδάμαντα*: not elsewhere; perhaps invented after his brothers Laodokos in *Δ* 87 (n.) and Iphidamas in *Λ* 221, cf. Janko.

519. *ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν*: but not mentioned in *B* 615–30 (where Meges appears in a different contingent from the Epeians, cf. *B* 627 n.).

520–39. P compensates for the scant attention paid to Meges hitherto by giving him an extended encounter involving three of the enemy and by clothing him in a corslet with a history.

521–4. Polydamas (*M* 60 n.) is too important to be killed, and Meges too important for his throw to have no effect, though his victim is a nobody.

***οὐ γὰ ρ Ἀπόλλωνι | εἴα*:** cf. 355–66 n. Only Hector (and Sarpedon, *M* 402 f.) are important enough for Zeus' personal protection.

525. *Δόλοψ*: 419 n.

531. After *B* 659.

540. *Μενέλαος … ἦλθεν ἀμύντωρ*: two kills is apparently too much for Meges, and Men. is brought in to finish off his second opponent. Men. has not been heard of since *N* 642 and was omitted from the list in 301 f. He will remain inconspicuous until after the fall of Patr.

541. After *Λ* 251.

545. *κασιγνήτοισι*: here including cousins, cf. 419 n.

547. *Μελάνιππον*: 419 n. He is given more of a biography than the other cousins.

549–50. = *N* 174 f.; [551] is a concordance interpolation from *N* 176, cf. *Studies* 233 f.

554. *ἀνεψιόο*: cf. 419 n.

557–8. Kill or be killed: cf. *Λ* 429–33 n.

559. = *Λ* 472. Here Melanippos is shelved briefly, to reappear in 576.

561–4. Again (cf. 501–13 n.) Ajax is given a speech to match Hector's, albeit of only three lines. It is repeated from *E* 529 + 531–2 (with a variation in the first line, after 661); [562] is another concordance interpolation.

568. *Ἀντίλοχον δ᾽ ὦτρυνε … Μενέλαος*: transition to another hero we have not heard of since *N* (565) except for a passing mention in *Ξ* 513. The justification for calling on him is given in 569 f. Men. himself 'dashes off' in 572 and appears no more till *Π* 311.

573–5. ≈ *Δ* 496–8.

576. *Μελάνιππον*: linking up with the preceding action, 546–59.

577. ≈*N* 186; [578] interpolated from *N* 187.

585. ≈ *E* 571, where Aeneas retreats before Men. and Antilochos.

589–90. ≈ *Θ* 158 f. **(p.310)**

591. = *Λ* 595. Each is the last line of an inserted passage acc. to the hypothesis sketched in *Λ* 575–95 n.

592–746. In the remainder of the rhapsody no more individual encounters are described, the only man killed being Periphetes in 638 ff. This looks like the original continuation from *Λ* (Christ 41, Fick, Leaf); see *Λ* 575–95 n.

596–602. Another reminder of Zeus' motives and a reassurance that the Trojans' present supremacy is only temporary. Cf. *N* 345 ff., *O* 72 ff.; Schadewaldt 165 n. 1.

596. = *M* 174.

598. *ἐξαίσιον*: cf. 87 n.

605–8. Hector's battle frenzy: cf. *E* 185, *Θ* 299 nn. For the simile comparing him to a raging fire cf. *Λ* 155–7 n.

608–9. ≈ *N* 805.

[610–14]. *Studies* 234.

[611]. *πλεόνεσσι μετ᾽ ἀνδράσι μοῦνον ἐόντα*: cf. *Δ* 388 n.

615. Cf. *M* 47 n.

618. *πυργηδὸν*: ≈ *N* 152. Cf. *M* 105, *N* 130–3 nn.

***ἠΰτε πέτρη*:** cf. *IEPM* 494.

622. = *E* 527.

623. *λαμπόμενος πυρὶ πάντοθεν*: cf. *IEPM* 456.

624–9. ≈ 381–4. Warrior like a wave: *IEPM* 494. But the simile ends awkwardly in a different point of comparison from that with which it began; cf. *M* 151 n.

630. *ὥς τε λέων … βουσὶν ἐπελθών*: cf. *E* 136–43 n., 161.

631. ≈ *Δ* 483.

638–52. The Periphetes episode may be an overlay (VdM 235). Periphetes appears only here (and no one else in *Il*. is identified as a ‘Mycenaean’), but in the following lines he is built up into a hero of substance. His father Kopreus belongs to the Heracles saga. The name is ignominious, and 641 implies inglorious achievement.

645–8. We do not see Periphetes actually engage an opponent, but he suffers defeat through an unfortunate accident rather than through any shortcoming in his fighting skills.

***ἀμφὶ δὲ πήληξ | σμερδαλέον κονάβησε περὶ κροτάφοισι*:** after 608 f.

649. Cf. 442 n.

659–67. If *Λ* 806–*O* 591 are an expansion, in the earlier draft Nestor had just dispatched Patr. and might readily be chosen to voice these entreaties, especially as no other Achaean leader had been named in the interim.

659. Cf. 370–8 n.**661–6**. Another passage recalling the manner of hortatory elegy.

663. Cf. 497 f. **(p.311)**

668–73. Apparently composed for a version in which the battle had temporarily been obscured in darkness, as happens in *E* 506, *Π* 567, *P* 268 ff. (cleared in 643 ff.), *Φ* 6; presumably the dust storm of *M* 253 f. is not still raging. On the motif cf. *E* 506–7 n. Line 668 is influenced by *E* 127, which is no doubt why Athena appears as the deity responsible. She ought not to be interfering, cf. *Θ* 311, *Λ* 434–8 nn.

675. *ἔνθά περ ἄλλοι ἀφέστασαν*: as described in 655–7. The positioning of 668–73 implies that it was when Ajax was able to see the whole situation that he decided to get up on the ships’ decks, and that it was only because he had not been able to see it in the gloom that the Trojans had succeeded in reaching the ships.

677–8. *ξυστὸν μέγα ναύμαχον … | κολλητὸν*: ≈ 388 f.

688. *οὐδὲ μὲν Ἕκτωρ*: the focus on Ajax is matched by a focus on Hector. It is uncharacteristic of Hector to detach himself from his troops, cf. Strasburger 102 f.

690–2. Cf. *EFH* 248. The flocks of birds that are the eagle’s prey are described after *B* 459 ff. They ought to represent the mass of helpless warriors on whom Hector swoops, but in 693 these are replaced by the ship he is targeting.

696–703. In 674–95 Ajax and Hector have been portrayed on their own; this paragraph fills in the background once again and crystallizes the overriding objectives of the two sides.

704–6. Hector at last makes contact with a ship. It is that of Protesilaos, who was the first to land at Troy; cf. *B* 698–702, *N* 681 nn.

716. From the general description we revert to Hector, who has not let go of the ship and now calls for fire, exultant in his confidence of final success.

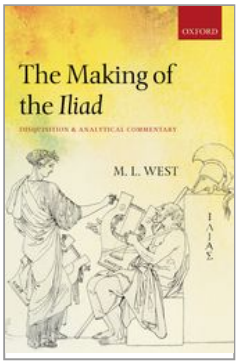
721–3. We heard previously that so long as Ach. was active the Trojans avoided coming out to fight (*E* 788–90 n.). Acc. to Ach. in *I* 353, Hector himself was reluctant to, but here Hector blames others for holding him back; *ἐθέλοντα μάχεσθαι* contradicts the *οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν* of *I* 353. For the motif of the city fathers over-cautiously restraining the hero cf. *EFH* 385.

727–46. Can Ajax counter the imminent peril? It looks bad: he is being forced back bit by bit, though doing his utmost to hold off the men who try to bring a flame as he desperately exhorts his comrades.

732. Repeats 687.

733–41. One more in the series of great rhetorical speeches in this rhapsody.

746. The hero kills multiple opponents: *EFH* 212, *IEPM* 481 f. For the number twelve cf. *Σ* 230; *IEPM* 429, 481.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Π

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The greater part of this rhapsody, telling of Patr.'s sortie and death, belongs to the first stratum of composition. There are several indications that it was laid down before the Embassy (72–3, 84–6 nn.) and before the *M–O* expansion (23–45, 71–2, 777–80 nn.). Where these later strata are presupposed, it seems that we have to do only with brief insertions made for particular reasons (27, 60–3, 369–71 + 377–83).

I suspect several other passages of being secondary insertions, in a few cases (74–9, 158–65, 242–5) by a later rhapsode or rhapsodes but otherwise by P. His major addition is the Sarpedon episode, 394–683, in which the *M–O* expansion is presupposed (500, 508–31, 558 nn., cf. Christ 67); 152–4 and perhaps 326–9 were inserted at earlier points in preparation for it. The others are 145–7, 168–97, 268–77, 284–363, and 798–800.

1–4. Picking up from *O* 405. Cf. *O* intro. and 414–18 n. The usual arrival sequence is abandoned: we are not told what Ach. was doing when Patr. found him, and Patr.'s speechless tears replace his expected utterance, provoking Ach. to speak first.

3–4. See *I* 14–15 n.

7–19. Ach.'s speech is remarkably wordy, possibly to compensate for the fact that we have not seen him since *Λ*. (But before the *M–O* expansion that was not so far back.) He distends it with a long simile of his own, and then guesses at reasons for Patr.'s distress. The two alternatives formulated in 12, a public or a private matter, are given greater definition in 13–17 in chiastic order. Perhaps Patr. has heard some bad news from Phthia; P takes the opportunity for an emotional sidelight by reminding us of the two men's ageing but still living

fathers back at home. The alternative mooted in 17 f. approaches the reality. Ach. is himself aware of the Achaeans' plight in general terms, though Patr. knows more detail.

19. = *A* 363 (also after 'why do you weep?').

23–45. Patr. goes straight to the point without first negating Ach.'s suggestion in 13–16. The original motivation of his errand, to find out whether it is Machaon or someone else that Nestor has brought in (*Λ* 611–15), is forgotten, not unreasonably. (Cf. already *Λ* 838–41 n.) He concentrates on the other main casualties in *Λ*. It was the disabling of Diom., Od., and Ag. that undermined the Achaean effort; that of Eurypylos (27) is less significant, but it is added because of its prominent role in delaying Patr.'s return in the **(p.313)** expanded version. Apart from this line the passage ignores the expansion: the three wounded leaders' excursion at *Ξ* 128 ff./379 f. is disregarded (it is pedantic to argue that Patr. was not in a position to know about it), as is the breach of the wall, which he certainly observed at *O* 395.

In fact the whole speech is based on Nestor's in *Λ* 656 ff.: 23–6 are after *Λ* 658–61 (where [662] is a concordance interpolation from here; 23 f. were then re-used in the expansion at *Λ* 825 f.); the contrast in 29 ff. between the plight resulting from the woundings and Ach.'s uncaring attitude corresponds to *Λ* 664 ff.; 36–45 are adapted from *Λ* 794–803. It is a consequence of this dependence on the *Λ* speech that Patr. does not even refer to the immediate crisis at the ships, though it is visible from where they are, cf. 124 ff.

28. *τοὺς μέν τ' ἰητροὶ … ἀμφιπένονται*: cf. *Ξ* 1–134 n. (end).

30–5. Patr. takes it for granted that Ach. will still not be moved to take up his arms, and does not call on him to do so.

31. *τί σε' ἄλλος ὀνήσεται*: cf. *Λ* 762 f.

***ὀψίγονός περ*:** sch^{bT} explains that a hero benefits later generations by setting an example. There may also be an allusion to Ach.'s fame in epic song, cf. *B* 119 n.

34–5. Cf. *EFH* 386.

46–7. A typical annotation when a fatal step is taken. Cf. *B* 36–40, *Λ* 604 nn. 'He was going to pray for his own death' stands illogically for 'he was going to die as the result of his prayer'.

50–1. Cf. *Z* 383–6 n.

52–63. ~ *I* 646–53; 59 =*I* 648. But besides alluding in 61–3 to the Embassy, which is ignored in 72–3 (n.), the lines contain a suspicious anticipation of the Reconciliation; 60 ≈*Σ* 112 =*T* 65. In *Σ*/*T* it will be the loss of Patr. that makes Ach. realize that his wrath against Ag. was a pernicious thing and that he should lay it aside. In the present passage, where he has had no redress and is still refusing to take up arms, it is too soon for him to say *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν*. The plot demands that he grant Patr.'s request to fight in his armour, but that does not require him to come to terms with Ag.—if he did, there would be no reason for him not to go out and fight in person.

Patr. has said, 'if it is a prophecy from Thetis that holds you back, then send me in your place.' Ach. answers, 'it is not a prophecy that holds me back, it is an equally powerful constraint, my unresolved quarrel with Ag.; but I will send you as you ask.' This is given by 49–59 + 64 f. *τύνη δέ κτλ*. I suspect that P added 60–3 subsequently, with two ideas in mind. Ach. is to make a concession, so he may after all use the conciliatory phrases of *T* 65–8. And to justify his concession a 'tipping-point' is introduced: if Hector reaches the Myrmidons' ships with fire, Ach. will turn his mind to fighting (*I* 650 *πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι*, suggesting his personal return to the battle) and **(p.314)** end his anger (*Π* 62 *μηνιθμὸν καταπαυσέμεν*); the two passages are interdependent and will have been composed together. The coincidence of Patr.'s return from Nestor with his message and the first firing of an Achaean ship (albeit not a Myrmidon one) makes Ach.'s decision appear timely and necessary.

71–2. *τάχα κεν … | πλήσειαν*: by Homeric syntax this may be taken as the apodosis of a counter-factual condition, 'they would have filled'.

***ἐναύλους*:** he does not refer to the trench, which in the expanded version is the more obvious death-trap for the fleeing (*M* 72, *O* 344, *Π* 370, *P* 760).

72–3. *εἴ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἤπια εἰδείη*: the clear implication is that Ag. has done nothing to modify the unfriendly attitude shown by his action described in 58 f., and that these lines were composed when there was no preceding Embassy. Cf. *Λ* 609–10 n.; Page 309 f.

74–9. Perhaps a rhetorical expansion by a rhapsode (Nitzsch *olim*; Cauer 589 n. 12; VdM 242). After declaring that it is only his own absence from the field that has allowed the Trojans to gain the upper hand, Ach. is unlikely to say that it is because of Diom.'s and Ag.'s absence. And 79 is a very unfocused characterization of the situation.

75. *μαίνεται ἐγχείη*: cf. *Θ* 111 n.

84–6. Ach. wants Patr. to save the Achaeans from disaster while leaving them under pressure to restore Briseis to him with honorific gifts in addition. Again

the passage is incompatible with a preceding Embassy in which those very things were offered; cf. Page 308 f.

87–96. The typical storyteller's device of the warning that is disregarded. Ach. is anxious on two scores: that excessive success by Patr. will detract from his own prestige, and that if he gets too near Troy a god such as Apollo may strike him; this anticipates what will happen in the event (698 ff.). Cf. *P* 406–9 n.

97. The formulaic nature of the verse makes the mention of the hostile god Apollo so soon after 94 inoffensive. But as Ach. is saying that so far as he is concerned the Trojans and Achaeans can all slaughter each other, Apollo and Athena could be regarded as appropriate in their roles as the principal gods assisting the two sides.

100. Cf. *I* 48–9 n. It is an impossible fantasy; in fact neither of them will live to take part in the sack.

101–23. The arrangements are in place for Patr. to lead the Myrmidons out. P returns briefly to the fighting to describe the climactic moment when a ship is set on fire: that will be the cue for Patr. to go.

102. = *O* 727. But now the Trojan missiles are coupled with the purpose of Zeus (cf. *O* 240–2 n.), and Ajax is bound to give way. His difficulties are vividly portrayed. **(p.315)**

112. Cf. *Λ* 218–20 n.**119–21**. Cf. 102 n.

120. *μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κεῖρεν*: ≈ *O* 467, where the castration metaphor is especially apt to the severed sinew of the bowstring.

129. *δύσεο τεύχεα … ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω*: the exhortation and statement of intent programme the conventional preliminaries to a major sortie, the arming of the hero (130–44) and the gathering of forces (155–67). Notwithstanding the urgency of the situation, P devotes 117 lines to these and other preparatory scenes before the Myrmidons pour out.

130–44. The arming scene follows the typical pattern (*Γ* 328–39 n.), being especially close to that of Paris in *Γ*: 131–8 =*Γ* 330–7, except that the cuirass has a different owner (134 n.); 139 ≈*Γ* 338, with a pair of *ἄλκιμα δοῦρε* substituted for the *ἄλκιμον ἔγχος* for the reason explained in 140–4.

134. P takes the first feasible opportunity to remind us that it is Ach.'s armour that Patr. is putting on. If this was composed before the *Γ* scene, it provides the model for the verse that specifies that it was another man's cuirass that Paris put on, though that can be justified in another way (*Γ* 328–39 n.).

139. Adapted from *εἵλετο δ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὅ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει* (*Γ* 338, *ρ* 4, perhaps pre-existing as a formulaic line): *εἵλετο δ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος* is a formula elsewhere (*Ξ* 12, *O* 482, *α* 99, al.), and it is the heavy single spear that needs to fit the hand comfortably. *ἄλκιμα δοῦρε* (or *δοῦρα*) recurs only in Ag.'s arming scene *Λ* 43 (and in *Od.*, *χ* 125).

141–2. For the hero's unique strength and special weapon cf. *IEPM* 426, 460–4. A poetic reason why Patr. could not take the *Πηλιὰς μελίη* was that it would not then have been available for Ach. to fight and kill Hector with.

143–4. *Πηλιάδα μελίην … | Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς*: Centaurs, and heroes in some other IE traditions, fight with tree-trunks torn up from the ground (*IEPM* 461). The mighty spear made by a Centaur from a tree-trunk is only at one remove from that ruder stratum of myth.

***τὴν πατρὶ φίλωι πόρε Χείρων*:** ≈ *Δ* 219; for the spear cf. *Cypria* fr. 4. In *Il*. Ach.'s whole equipment was given to Peleus by the gods at his wedding (*P* 195 f., *Σ* 84 f.). But late archaic Attic vase-paintings and Euripides (*El*. 442 ff., *IA* 1071 ff.) attest a version in which Hephaestus made it for Ach. when he first set out for Troy, and Thetis brought it to him then. If this existed before *Il*., P suppressed it in favour of the *ὁπλοποιία* in *Σ*. Cf. Friis Johansen 92–127; Edwards 156.

145–54. Patr. takes Ach.'s horses and chariot too. Their excellence was noted in *B* 770, but they have not been seen in action before, and now they are properly introduced. Two of them are immortal, a gift from Poseidon to Peleus (154, 867, *Ψ* 277); Ach.'s possession of such animals is one of the **(p.316)** features that marks him out from other heroes, and it no doubt goes back to the original *Achilleis* (p. 45). A third, mortal horse is here attached to the team for the sake of the episode in 466–75. Cf. *Θ* 87 n. If the whole Sarpedon episode is an expansion, 152–4 will have been added at the same time.

145. *Αὐτομέδοντα*: *I* 209 n. These introductory lines about him, 145–7, appear to be a secondary insertion, as 148 *τῶι δὲ καί* goes better straight after 144 (cf. VdM 244, Heitsch 217).

150. *Ζεφύρωι ἀνέμωι*: a suitable father for wind-swift horses; cf. Boreas in *Y* 223 ff.

***ἅρπυια Ποδάργη*:** Harpies too fly with the winds, Hes. *Th*. 268 f. Podarge's name, 'Swiftfoot', resembles that of Men.'s horse Podargos at *Ψ* 295; cf. *IEPM* 465 f. She herself seems here to have the form of a mare (151; cf. *Y* 223).

152–4. Cf. 145–54 n. P accounts for this lesser horse by saying that Ach. took him from Hypoplakian Thebe, chief among the towns that he had sacked in the Troad (*A* 366 etc.); by association he gives the animal the name of another of these towns (Pedasos: *Y* 92, *Cypria* arg. 11, fr. 23), a name which also echoes

that of the more significant mythical steed *Πήγασος*. This is all invented *ad hoc* (Kullmann 290).

156–7. Simile for the army gathering for battle, as in *B* 455 ff. For the comparison to wolves cf. *Δ* 471 n. **[158–65]**. A somewhat lurid rhapsodic interpolation, probably: *Studies* 236.

167. After *B* 554.

168–97. This catalogue section appears to be an expansion (cf. Erhardt 291, who includes 198 f.; Robert 477); 166 f. herald the hortatory speech in 200 ff. The reference to the fifty ships has the Catalogue (*B* 685) in view; why mention ships here? Perhaps more telling is the appearance in 196 f. of Phoenix, who was brought into *Il*. for the Embassy (*I* 168 n.), and of Alkimedon, who looks like a late invention for an episode in *P* (*P* 467 n.).

For the fivefold division of the troops cf. *M* 87 ff., but there it plays a role in the following narrative, whereas nothing further is heard of these Myrmidon companies. In *M* each company has several leaders, and the overall leader Hector is included among them, as Patr. is not here. Of the five listed in this passage, only Alkimedon is mentioned in the following battle, and he not till well after Patr.'s death. The first two are sons of gods and appear with picturesque details of their backgrounds. The third, also a new name, is dealt with more summarily. The fourth and fifth are dispatched in a single line each. For the shortening of the sections towards the end cf. *B* 494–510 n.

169–70. *ἐν δὲ ἑκάστηι | πεντήκοντ᾽ ἔσαν ἄνδρες*: cf. *B* 123–8 and 509–10 nn. **(p.317)**

174. *διιπετέος ποταμοῖο*: cf. *IEPM* 350.

188. *καὶ ἠελίου ἴδεν αὐγάς*: *IEPM* 86 f.

193. *ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευεν*: after 179.

198–9. If 168–97 are an insertion, these lines have been revised to introduce the speech following its separation from 166 f.

200–9. The opening of the speech, 'remember the threats you made against the enemy before', is a traditional motif; cf. *Θ* 229–34 n. But then comes an awkward transition to complaints that the troops had made against Ach. This is a new idea, serving to indicate that they had all the time been eager to fight.

212–17. Cf. *M* 105 n.

216–17. = *N* 132 f. (*N* [131] is a concordance interpolation from *Π* 215.)

220–52. Ach.’s solemn private libation and prayer to Zeus serve to emphasize how important it is to him that Patr. comes safely through this venture. P is content to keep the battle on hold as he describes in leisurely tempo the chest that Ach. has in his cabin, the goblet that he keeps in it, and how he cleanses it and washes his hands before putting wine in it for the libation.

222–4. Thetis is pictured as the solicitous mother sending her son off to war with plenty of warm clothing and bedding.

231. = *Ω* 306, where *μέσωι ἕρκεϊ* seems more appropriate to the setting. Here it must be understood of the outer enclosure of Ach.’s quarters; cf. *Ω* 449–56 n.

233. *Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ*: Ach. comes from Pelasgian Argos (*B* 681); Dodona, also associated with Pelasgians (‘Hes.’ fr. 319), lies further west, on the far side of Pindus, but is brought in as Zeus’ major cult centre in northern Greece, cf. *B* 750 n. The reference to the ascetic priests is added for ethnographic interest (cf. *N* 4–6).

236–8. After *A* 453–5. In saying that Zeus has heard his prayer Ach. is conflating his request to Thetis (*A* 407 ff.) with her appeal to Zeus. She herself makes the same conflation in *Σ* 75. Cf. Bethe 203.

[242–5]. *Studies* 237.

248. *τεύχεσί τε ξὺν πᾶσι*: the loss of the armour will be a crucial motif in the event.

250. *ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε … ἕτερον δ’ ἀνένευσεν*: cf. *B* 419–20 n. We are told in advance how it will turn out.

254. As usual, P leaves no loose end: the goblet is properly put away, and Ach. goes indoors for the purpose, although he is to come straight out again.

259–65. Another simile as the men go forth, as in *Γ* 2–14, *Δ* 422–36, *Λ* 67–9, 72. For this one cf. *M* 167–70 n.; *EFH* 249.

268–77. The Myrmidons have had a hortatory speech from Ach.; now they **(p. 318)** must have one from Patr. But the passage is poorly composed, with incongruous re-use of lines from elsewhere (271–2, 273–4, 276–7 nn.), and seems to be a secondary addition (Wil. 127)—a hastily made one, if by P.

271–2. ≈ *P* 164 f., where the reference to Ach.’s *θεράποντε* (chief of whom is Patr. himself) has altogether more point.

273–4. = *A* 411 f.; condemned by Heyne, and indeed not very logical here.

275. = 210.

276–7. *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες | σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν ἀϋσάντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν*: =*B* 333 f., where more suitable.

279. *θεράποντα*: Automedon (219).

281. ≈ *Θ* 474. Patr.'s 'disguise' produces the intended effect. But little is made of it in the following narrative; he has to be shown as a hero succeeding on his own merits, not just through being mistaken for Ach. (Reinhardt 317 f., cf. 326).

283. = *Ξ* 507.

284. *πρῶτος*: *Δ* 457 n. Patr. at once occupies centre stage, directing his attack at the most vital point, where Protesilaos' ship has been set alight. But 284–96 may be part of the same expansion as 297–363, since in the original version the Trojans do not seem to have had allies from outside the Troad (pp. 64 f.). 283 makes an excellent join with 364.

285. ≈ *E* 8.

287–8. ≈ *B* 848 f. The Paiones have not been heard of since then. P brings them in to avoid exclusive concentration on the Trojans themselves and to remind us of the many allies that they have (at this stage of the composition). To suit the context he makes them now *ἱπποκορυσταί* instead of *ἀγκυλότοξοι*. He proceeds as if they were the sole force clustered at Protesilaos' ship, which could be rescued as soon as they were driven off.

290. *ἕταροι δέ μιν ἀμφ᾽ ἐφόβηθεν*: *Λ* 744–6 n.

293. *ἐκ νηῶν δ᾽ ἔλασεν*: 287–8 n.

294–6. The local victory is at once amplified into a general one: the Paiones' panic spreads to the whole Trojan army, while the Myrmidons are reinforced by the rest of the Achaeans and chase the enemy from the ships. 296 =*M* 471.

297–363. Erhardt 291 f. plausibly diagnosed this passage as an expansion. The simile in 297–300 (which develops the metaphor in 66) virtually duplicates that in 364 f., and 358–63 are not harmonized with 367 ff.; 306–51 are modelled on *E* 37–84 (Strasburger 63). The purpose of the expansion was to slow things down, make it a harder fight, and allow the other Achaean leaders to come into view. The series of individual encounters features nearly all the currently active ones: Patr. again, then Men., Meges, Antilochos and his brother Thrasymedes, the Locrian Ajax, Peneleos, the Cretans Meriones and **(p.319)** Idomeneus. Note that most of these (Meges, Antilochos, Thrasymedes, Ajax, Peneleos, Meriones) are figures not represented in the first phase of composition (the primary portions of *ΑΒΛΟΠ*). Their victims are all new names except for Akamas (342 n.). Telamonian Ajax is held back for 358–63, where he is paired with Hector in an

unresolved stand-off. But P has left this in too close proximity to 367 ff., where Hector is fleeing and Ajax does not reappear.

301–5. A caution that while the Achaeans did win a respite, the Trojans were not yet in full flight but still resisting.

306. = *O* 328 (n.).

308. *στρεφθέντος*: cf. *E* 40 n.

317–29. A pair of brothers kills a pair of brothers (cf. *E* 10 n.), though the fact that the victims are brothers (and Lycians) does not appear till 327 f.

321. *Θρασυμήδης*: he has appeared hitherto only at *I* 81 (and *K* 255), though he was mentioned also at *Ξ* 10.

322. *ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος*: = 314.

326–9. It is surprising that these details about Atymnios and Maris are given only now. Their identification as *Σαρπηδόνος ἐσθλοὶ ἑταῖροι* points forward to the Sarpedon episode, and if the whole of 297–363 was not added together with or subsequently to the Sarpedon episode, it may be that 326–9, like 152–4, were a secondary insertion in anticipation of it. Cf. Erhardt 292.

328. *Χίμαιραν*: cf. *Z* 180 n. As the creature was killed by Bellerophon, Sarpedon's grandfather (*Z* 196–9), Amisodaros' sons should be at least a generation older than Sarpedon. Cf. Erhardt 292 n. 1.

334. = *E* 83.

342. *Ἀκάμαντα*: an Antenorid who has been mentioned several times, last in *Ξ* 476 ff., where he retreated from Peneleos' onset. If that passage was composed before this one, he comes in here by association with Peneleos. Again he is running away.

343–4. ≈ *E* 46 f.

351. *οὗτοι ἄρ᾽ ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν*: = *B* 760. We infer that a vaster number of lesser Achaeans also achieved kills.

352–7. The wolf simile recalls 156 ff. The lines break a natural connection between 351 and 358 and may be a remnant from the earlier draft. The sheep and goats scattered on the mountainside would seem to match the Trojans scattered on the plain after crossing the trench (373 f.; 354 *διέτμαγεν* ~ 374 *τμάγεν*) (VdM 246). Cf. also Wil. 129 n. 2.

358–63. Ajax and Hector: cf. 297–363 n.

364–5. A doublet of the simile in 297 ff., cf. 297–363 n. It now has a slightly different reference. In 297 the emphasis was on the cloud moving off the mountain, whose outlines (~ the line of ships) thus become visible again; here it is moving out into the middle of the sky. **(p.320)**

369–71. Wil. 130 deleted these lines on the ground that 'die echte Patroklie' ignores the trench. So it does, at least in parts (cf. 71–2 n.), and there is some awkwardness in the reference here, as it is not clear why the trench is no obstacle to Hector's chariot when the rest are coming to grief in it (Naber 186). At best one might suppose that P imagined Hector's horses as having leapt across (cf. *Θ* 213 n.) but that he wanted to reserve explicit mention of the feat for Patr. in 380. (The causeway that Apollo made in *O* 357 is naturally ignored in this context.) It nevertheless looks rather as if 369–71 are a secondary insertion, and 377–83 likewise (Wil. l.c.). 372 reads well after 368.

369. *Τρωϊκόν*: the runover adjective in the expansion develops the simple, sufficient *λαόν* into a phrase paralleled only at *P* 723 f. and *Φ* 295 f. **370–1:** cf. *Z* 38–41 n.

372. ≈ *Λ* 165.

373. *ἰαχῆι τε φόβωι τε*: after 366.

377–83. These lines interrupt the close organic connection between the scene described in 373–6 and the simile in 384–93. They also contain several infelicities: 377 starts a new statement about Patr. too soon after 372; the wrecked chariots of 379 duplicate those in 370 f.; the horses that cross the trench in 380 must be Patr.'s, but this is not clearly expressed; in the corrupt line 382 (on the text cf. *Studies* 238) Patr. is evidently set on pursuing Hector, but that is not in place here, as VdM 247 notes—it anticipates his later rush of blood (684 ff.). The insertion belongs together with that of 369–71: after introducing the trench into the picture there, P had to explain how Patr. crossed it.

378. *ὑπὸ δ' ἄξοσι φῶτες ἔπιπτον*: a less graphic form of the motif in *Λ* 534–7 (n.).

379. *δίφροι δ' ἀνακυμβαλίαζον*: cf. *IEPM* 485 f.

383. *τὸν δ' ἔκφερον ὠκέες ἵπποι*: after 367 f.

384–92. The simile germinates from that in 364 f. (384 *λαλαπι* ≈ 365). For storm and flood as punishment for unrighteousness in the community cf. *EFH* 126, 127.

387–8. The language and the image of Dike driven out are evidently drawn from Hesiod (*Op*. 220–4, 250 f., 256–62). For *βίη* as the antithesis of *δίκη* cf. *Op*. 275. In *Op*. 256–62 it is made clear that Zeus' punishment for unrighteous dealings

falls upon the whole *δῆμος*. In 238–47 Hes. has set out a range of public calamities that Zeus may send upon the unrighteous man's community: famine, plague, sterility, decline, military disaster, shipwrecks. The storm and flooding described in *Π* 385–92 fall into the same category. But the passage is quite untypical of *Il*.

393. *ὣς ἵπποι Τρωιαὶ … στενάχοντο*: the verb answers 391 *στενάάχουσι*, but P surely did not compose the simile to illustrate the noise made by the horses; the picture he initially had in mind must have been of **(p.321)** them pouring over the plain in an unruly flood, with dead men being swept along in the tide (cf. 378). Then in the end he has given the comparison a different reference; cf. *M* 151 n.

394–683. The figures of the Lycians Sarpedon and Glaukos, and thus this whole episode, appear to belong to a secondary stratum in P's work (pp. 64 f.). If so, 393 may at one time have been directly followed by 684 ff., so that Patr. was at once carried away by his initial success and forgot Ach.'s instructions. In the definitive version he at first keeps to his brief and does not attempt to pursue the Trojans all the way to the city. In 394–7 this is explicit: he has cut some of them off and aims to catch them and cut them up, leaving the rest to flee. Sarpedon's death presupposes the *M–O* expansion, cf. 500, 508–31, 558 nn.

396–7. *μεσηγύ | νηῶν καὶ ποταμοῦ καὶ τείχεος*: i.e. in the parts of the plain nearer the ships. Some were still inside the Achaeans' wall, others were beyond it but penned in by the river; cf. *Φ* 1 ff.

399–418. A dozen of Patr.'s victims are named, none of them heard of otherwise. The deaths of the first three are described with suitable variety of graphic detail; the remaining nine are listed in the type of summary catalogue noted in *E* 677–8 n.

400. = 312.

414. ≈ *N* 544.

415. *Ἐρύμαντα*: the name has recently been used for another Trojan victim (345); it perhaps came back into P's mind after 411 *Ἐρύλαον*.

419. *Σαρπηδὼν δ᾽ ὡς οὖν ἴδ᾽*: cf. *E* 95 n. For the counter-attack following the list of men slain cf. *E* 679–89 n.

***ἀμιτροχίτωνας*:** this unformulaic epithet probably reflects P's personal observation of contemporary Lycians. For indications that he may have visited Xanthos cf. p. 23.

***ἑταίρους*:** there was no indication in 394–418 that any of Patr.'s victims were Lycians. Their identification as such now is a device to assist the transition to Sarpedon. Antilochos and Thrasymedes killed two of his comrades in 317 ff.; there too their identification as Lycians was posthumous (cf. 326–9 n.).

422. *αἰδώς, ὦ Λύκιοι· πόσε φεύγετε*; cf. *IEPM* 478.

423–4. *ἀντήσω γὰ ρ ἐγὼ τοῦδ᾽ ἀνέρος*: programming the major encounter.

***ὄφρα δαείω | ὅς τις ὅδε κρατέει*:** the victorious hero had been taken for Ach. (281). Sarpedon is allowed to feel doubts about this; otherwise perhaps he would not have had the courage to face him. 424–5 =*E* 175 f.

431–61. We might have expected an exchange of speeches between the two heroes, but it would have been difficult then to sustain the uncertainty about **(p. 322)** Patr.'s identity. Its place is taken by a dialogue of Zeus and Hera over whether Sarpedon is really to die. Cf. *Y* 290 ff., *X* 167 ff.; *EFH* 179 f., 343 f. The passage serves to express Zeus' grief over the death of his son. As it is fated (434), he cannot in fact prevent it: 'fate' = what is going to happen in the poem. But pathos is created by letting him play with the idea that he could. Hera treats it as if it would be a breach of form rather than a logical impossibility.

431. *τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε*: an awkward use of the formula, as Zeus' pity is only for Sarpedon; contrast *Θ* 350, *O* 12.

***Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω*:** Janko acutely observes that this formula probably came into P's mind rather than the commoner *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (as in *O* 12) because of *ἀγκυλοχείλαι* in 428.

432. *Ἥρην δὲ προσέειπε*: she is not now on Ida (cf. *O* 78 ff.), but P needs someone to hear Zeus' words and protest at his thought of saving the doomed man. Cf. 666.

436–7. The alternative to letting fate take its course is a rescue of the type we have seen before (*Γ* 379–80 n.). The notion of transporting Sarpedon all the way home to Lycia is based on what is to happen to his body.

438. After 420, 434.

443. = *Δ* 29.

450–7. Hera persuades Zeus by proposing honorific measures for Sarpedon's funeral, which will duly be enacted (666 ff.).

454. *Θάνατον … Ὕπνον*: brothers, *Ξ* 231 n. Their cooperation here implies that Sarpedon's death will be as gentle as a sleep; cf. Hes. *Op*. 116 and *Λ* 241 nn.

Vase paintings suggest that Memnon's body was similarly transported in the *Aethiopis*, and Neoanalysts such as Pestalozzi (13–15) and Kullmann (34 f.) hold that the motif was original for Memnon and secondarily transferred to Patr. I reject this, maintaining that Memnon had not yet been invented.

456. *ταρχύσουσι*: *EFH* 386.

***κασίγνητοί τε*:** men too unimportant to be mentioned in *Z* 199.

457. *τύμβωι τε στήληι τε*: it seems likely that P knew of an actual monument for Sarpedon in Lycia, probably at Xanthos. Cf. Eust. 1069. 37 *μαθὼν γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς ἴσως ἐξ ἱστορίας τεθάφθαι τὸν Σαρπηδόνα ἐν Λυκίᾳ, σκοπεῖται πῶς ἄν τοῦτο εἴη, κτλ*.

459. *αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας*: cf. *Λ* 53–4 n.

462. The engagement has been suspended since 430. The phrasing is now chosen to suggest that the combatants have had some distance to traverse during the dialogue of Zeus and Hera.

463–75. In the first round of the conflict both parties make a kill, but neither hits his main opponent. This is the only such case in *Il*. That Sarpedon only kills a horse hints at Patr.'s superiority, but that Patr. loses a horse hints **(p.323)** at his vulnerability. For the killing of the third (mortal) horse cf. *Θ* 87 n. Pedasos was introduced in 152–4.

477. ≈ 466. Sarpedon must have the first throw in the second round, as it is to be concluded by his death.

478–80. ≈ *E* 16–18.

482–4. For the tree simile cf. *Δ* 482 n.

486. *βεβρυχώς*: up to 485 we assume that Sarpedon is dead; then we suddenly hear that the felled figure is roaring, and he goes on to make a last speech before dying 'noch einmal' (Wil. 138). This suggests that the speech is an afterthought, with 486 appended to the preceding lines to lead towards it. Cf. *N* 389–93 n.

491. *φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον*: Sarpedon and Glaukos have repeatedly been paired as the two Lycian leaders. The dying one, foreseeing a battle over his body, puts the survivor on his mettle. Patr. and Hector too will be given dying speeches.

500. = *O* 428; *νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι* is better in place there, though cf. 395 above.

508–31. For Glaukos to do anything useful he must be healed of the wound that disabled him in *M* 387 ff. (Cf. *Ξ* 425–6 n.) A prayer achieves this, as it does for Diom. in *E* 114 ff.

513. *Ἀπόλλωνι*: as god of Lycia rather than as god of healing.

514–15. *ὅς που Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμωι | εἶς ἠὲ ἐνὶ Τροίηι*: cf. *A* 37–41 n.

522. *ὃ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὧι παιδὶ ἀμύνει*: ~ 431–61.

532–3. ~ 495 f.

534. *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα*: what followed in 497 was the instruction to fight for the body. To implement this Glaukos must bring in the main Trojan force.

535. *Πουλυδάμαντ᾽ ἔπι … καὶ Ἀγήνορα*: P goes out of his way to recall the existence of these two important Trojans who otherwise do not appear in *Π–P* except for Polydamas at *P* 600.

538–47. For Glaukos' rebuking of Hector cf. *E* 471 n. and *P* 140 ff.

543. *ὑπὸ Πατρόκλωι*: ≈ 490; P makes no further use of the idea of the Trojans' being deceived about Patr.'s identity.

546. *Δαναῶν κεχολωμένοι ὅσσοι ὄλοντο*: a reminder of the Achaean near-disaster at the ships. Cf. 398.

554. Patr. comes back into view.

555. =*N* 46, where *πρώτω* has more point (Leaf). Patr. needs to announce to his side that the battle is on for Sarpedon's body and armour. He could have said *ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες*. But Glaukos has engaged the Trojans by addressing Hector individually, and to match this P makes Patr. address the Aiante. They (or at any rate the Telamonian) are chief **(p.324)** among the other heroes in the field. They are not mentioned again in this rhapsody.

558. *ὃς πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν*: *M* 437–8 n. This does not strictly lie within Patr.'s knowledge; cf. *A* 380–1 n.

562. = *O* 565.

567. *Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ νύκτ᾽ ὀλοὴν τάνυσε*: cf. *E* 506–7 n. The purpose is not (to judge from 568 and the placing of the sentence) to conceal the removal of Sarpedon's body in 666 ff.

570. *μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν*: the Achaeans are all involved now, but the focus remains on Patr. and his men until 603.

572–4. For the motif cf. *N* 696 n.

577. *ἁπτόμενον νέκυος*: cf. *Δ* 466–9 n.

578–80. After 412–14.

587. *χερμαδίωι*: ≈ 578.

588–92. The Trojans retreat a distance; but the fight is still round Sarpedon’s body, 629, 638 ff.

593. *Γλαῦκος δὲ πρῶτος*: Glaukos must have at least one success in the battle for the body; this is it.

594. *Βαθυκλῆα*: another Myrmidon, cf. 570 n. His name may have been suggested by 571 *Ἀγακλῆος*; cf. also 189 *Ἐχεκλῆος* (Janko).

596. *ὅλβωι τε πλούτωι τε μετέπρεπε*: cf. *E* 9 n.

603–32. Meriones appears (last in 342–4) to remind us that it is not all about the Myrmidons. He kills a man and has an inconclusive brush with Aeneas. An encounter with Hector would have been fatal; he is being held back for the climactic meeting with Patr.

604–5. *Διὸς ἱρεύς | Ἰδαίου*: cf. *E* 10 n.

616–32. The exchange of speeches takes the place of an answering throw by Meriones; it appears in 623 as a counter-factual conditional. Patr. then steps in, reprimands Meriones for not getting on with the job, and leads him away. So he is parted from Aeneas, and P solves in a novel way the recurrent problem of concluding a duel between heroes who must both survive.

633–44. Reversion to general description, with similes. That of the woodcutters has overtones of systematic slaughter, like that of the reapers in *Λ* 67–71; slain heroes fall like trees, *Δ* 482 n.

637. = *Ξ* 26.

638–40. The account of the dreadful state of the body prepares for its cleansing by Apollo in 667 ff. For the imaginary spectator cf. *Δ* 539–44 n.

641–3. Flies simile: cf. *B* 469 ff.; *EFH* 249.

644–55. The theme of Zeus keenly observing the proceedings is taken up again from 461. This time he is not constrained by fate but able to decide how long to let Patr. continue before he is killed. We may see his pondering as a **(p.325)** reflection of P’s own: is it time to bring the episode to a conclusion, or shall Patr. enjoy a further bout of successes? But there is no question; Sarpedon’s armour is yet to be secured, and before he dies Patr. has to seal his own fate by forgetting Ach.’s instructions and driving the Trojans towards their city, which

has not happened so far (cf. 685 ff.). The glimpse into Zeus' mind serves to underline the fact that Patr. is doomed and to heighten our anticipation of the event.

656. *Ἕκτορι δὲ πρωτίστωι*: if Hector flees, they all will.

660. *πάντες*: not 'all the Lycians', but 'all, including the Lycians'.

***ἐπεὶ βασιλῆα ἴδον βεβλαμμένον ἦτορ*:** that is, when they saw that Hector's courage had failed. [661–2] were added by a rhapsode who misunderstood *βεβλαμμένον ἦτορ* and took the *βασιλεύς* to be Sarpedon. The variants *βεβ(ο)λημένον* and *δεδαϊγμένον* are secondary.

663–5. This concludes the struggle over Sarpedon. His armour is taken and sent back to the ships. His body remains to be dealt with as previously arranged between Zeus and Hera.

666. = *O* 220. Apollo is chosen as the Lycian's god, cf. 513 n. P does not trouble to explain his presence on Ida (677), cf. 432 n. Zen.'s text showed alterations to meet the difficulty, cf. *Studies* 27.

667–9. The thought is confusedly expressed. As we see from 678 f., *ἐκ βελέων* logically goes with *πολλὸν ἄποπρο φέρων*, and the cleansing of Sarpedon's wounds should take place after he has been moved to the river.

671–5. ~ 454–7. One of three papyri omits 675, and it might be a concordance interpolation.

676–7. ≈ *O* 236 f. Cf. 666 n.

680. *χρῖσέν τ' ἀμβροσίηι, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσεν*: probably a relic of a version in which Sarpedon was granted immortality. Cf. *IEPM* 157 with n. 126.

684. The way is now clear to follow Patr. to his doom.

686. *ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο*: in 83–96.

691. After 656.

692. Cf. *E* 703, *Λ* 218–20 nn.

693. *θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσσαν*: cf. *EFH* 395.

694–701. Cf. *E* 677–8 and 679–89 nn.

699. After *Λ* 180. *ὑπὸ χερσί* is awkwardly constructed with *ἕλον*.

702–11. ≈ *E* 436–44 (n.); cf. *EFH* 363. The whole passage from 698 may be adapted from one describing the death of Ach. Cf. Q.S. 3. 26 ff.

704. *νύσσων*: perhaps after 637.

712–25. The Trojan rout has to be reversed. Hector's indecision is resolved by Apollo in the guise of an uncle, who urges him to make a direct attack on Patr. **(p.326)**

717–19. These details of Hekabe's family are not recorded elsewhere except in derivative sources. There was no firm tradition about her origins.

727. *Κεβριόνηι*: acting as Hector's charioteer as in *Θ* 318, *Λ* 521 ff.**728–30**. Apollo makes further input by direct action.

732. After 724.

728. *οὐδὲ †δὴν ἄζετοχ2020; φωτός*: *Studies* 240. The sense should be 'he did not hit his man' (Hector).

732. *οὐδ᾽ ἀλίωσε βέλος*: Patr. is a formidable hero, and his throw does achieve something notable. It kills his enemy's charioteer, and while that is in itself a typical occurrence (*Θ* 119–22 n.), this charioteer is a son of Priam who has made several previous appearances and ranks as a worthy warrior in his own right, cf. *M* 91, *N* 790. His gruesome death is given ample treatment.

738. *νόθον*: cf. *B* 727 n.

742–3. *ὃ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικώς | κάππεσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ εὐεργέος δίφρου*: ≈ *M* 385 f.

745–50. Patr.'s mocking comment is in the same vein as Aeneas' to Meriones in 617.

753. *ἔβλητο πρὸς στῆθος, ἑή τέ μιν ὤλεσεν ἀλκή*: the simile takes an unexpected turn, foreshadowing Patr.'s downfall. Cf. *M* 46 n.

755. ≈ 733. This seems to herald the final showdown between Hector and Patr. But now things are delayed by a battle for Kebriones' body. We have had the motif earlier in the battle for Sarpedon's body (but that episode was probably composed later), and it will appear again on a grander scale in *P*, the battle for Patr.'s body. A battle for Ach.'s body, as in the *Aethiopis*, was probably the primary model for all of these.

770–1. = *Λ* 70 f.

774. *ἀσπίδας ἐστυφέλιξαν*: ≈ 703 f. ≈*E* 437.

775–6. *ὃ δ᾽ ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων*: ≈ *ω* 39 f., of Ach. Kakridis 85 (after Eva Sachs) took both passages to be dependent on an epic account of Ach.'s death; cf. Kullmann 38. But Dihle 23 points out that *λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων* is less appropriate to Ach. than to the charioteer Kebriones, and that *κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί* is an ungrammatical adaptation of *μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθείς | κεῖτο* (*Σ* 26, of the live Ach. grovelling in grief), where the adverb qualifies *τανυσθείς*. We may accept that P is likely to have used the latter expression when telling of Ach.'s death and that he has adapted it here to Kebriones'. In so doing he precludes himself from applying it to Patr. soon afterwards.

777–80. For the pattern cf. *Θ* 66 ff., *Λ* 84 ff.; 777 ≈*Θ* 68. When the time of day was last indicated it was mid or late morning (*Λ* 86–9 n.); now it is still **(p.327)** the mid part of the day. Without the *M–O* expansion we would not have had the sense that it ought to be a good deal later (Fick 9 f., 95).

780. *ὑπὲρ αἶσαν*: because overall they were on the losing side in this battle.

784–6. *τρὶς μὲν ... | ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον*: after 702 ff.; 786 = 705.

785. *τρὶς δ᾽ ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνεν*: cf. *EFH* 212; *IEPM* 330 f., 482.

788. *ἤντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος*: Apollo's involvement in Patr.'s death is probably inspired by his involvement in Ach.'s, though it takes a different form. It contravenes the still obtaining embargo on gods taking part in the fighting.

791–2. Apollo's assault is unusually physical. Gods in *Il*. normally use more indirect means to affect the outcome of a combat. As in 704, Apollo uses only his hands; cf. *O* 356. Greek sentiment would not allow Patr. to be killed by Hector unaided: it takes the assistance of both Apollo and Euphorbos (Bethe 318). By the time Ach. hears of it, Euphorbos has been killed; all his fury will be directed against Hector (Bethe 324).

793–804. In earlier versions Ach.'s armour probably conferred invulnerability (*P* 194 *ἄμβροτα τεύχεα* ='armour of non-dying', cf. *IEPM* 157 n. 126), and had to be removed before the wearer could be killed; cf. Janko 334. That was a good reason for Patr. to borrow it. Apollo removes the helmet, shield, and cuirass in the reverse order to that in which Patr. put them on in 133 ff.; the spear comes out of sequence.

798–800. A secondary addition (Robert 77 n. 1), anticipating *P* 192 ff., where Hector puts the captured armour on; the idea of his doing so only occurred to P in the course of composing that rhapsody or some time afterwards. Cf. *P* 122, 130–1, 186–288 nn.

800. *σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἦεν ὄλεθρος*: ~ *P* 201 f.

801–2. *δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος | βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν*: as if he had after all taken Ach.'s heavy spear; cf. 139 n.

805. *τὸν δ᾽ ἄτη φρένας εἷλε*: cf. *IEPM* 488 f.

807–11. Patr. is such a major hero that even the man who hits him non-fatally in the back when he is disarmed and dazed must be a doughty warrior (Strasburger 34 f.). His victory as a novice over twenty foes fits the traditional profile of a hero: *IEPM* 429. Yet he is not in the same league as Patr., as 814 f. confirm.

807. *Δάρδανος ἀνήρ*: perhaps after an older account of the killing of Protesilaos, cf. *B* 701 (Mülder 177). But his father Panthoos is one of the Trojan elders in *Γ* 146. His other son Polydamas makes more regular appearances.

822. After 599.**823–6**. After 756–8.

829–63. P concludes the scene with a triumphant speech by Hector and a dying riposte by Patr.; Hector has the last word. **(p.328)**

838–42. Hector was mistaken in his prediction in 836, and he is mistaken in his conjecture about the instructions Patr. had from Ach.

844–54. Patr.'s speech is remarkable for its defiant tone. He denigrates Hector's achievement (cf. 791–2 n.) and correctly prophesies his doom at Ach.'s hands. He ignores the assertion that he will be prey for vultures and does not plead for his body to be respectfully treated, as Hector will in *X* 338 ff. (cf. 254 ff.).

845. *Ζεὺς Κρονίδης καὶ Ἀπόλλων*: Zeus' intent may always be assumed in what happens, but Patr. is allowed to know that Apollo was directly involved, and even (in 850) the identity of the man whose spear-cast hit him from behind.

847. *ἐείκοσιν*: perhaps after 810, though cf. *I* 123 n.

852. *οὔ θην*: *θην* is characteristically used in confident surmises, especially about the future. Patr.'s prediction has for us the weight of a prophet's, as we know from 800 that it corresponds to what is going to happen. Hector, however, does not know this and treats it as an open question (859–61).

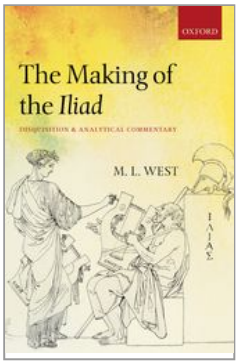
855. = 502.

856. =*X* 362; *IEPM* 490.

864–7. The ensuing battle is to be over the body. Ach.'s chariot and immortal horses are not to be in danger; they make their getaway at once, with Hector vainly trying to get a shot at Automedon. But they come back into the picture in

P 426 ff. Hector’s pursuit of them makes space for the killing of Euphorbos in *P* 9–60 (Reinhardt 332).

867. *θεοὶ δόσαν*: more specifically Poseidon acc. to Ψ 277.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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P

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The next essential requisite of the main plot is the reporting of Patr.'s death to Ach. But P does not immediately set about arranging for this. The battle is at a critical stage, and he must describe how it develops. Patr.'s body is the focus, the prize on which both sides now concentrate their efforts. P had no doubt described the battle for Ach.'s body in similar terms (Pestalozzi 18–22). He composes so fluently and resourcefully that over 600 more lines pass before the question of sending a messenger to Ach. is even raised. For an overview of the structure see Fenik 159 f.

The composition seems to be all of a piece, without detectable stratification. It shows many links with the expansions in *Π* and was evidently composed in conjunction with them. In 216–18 we see the same concern as in *Π* 301–65 (n.) to bring into view minor figures who ought to be present on the battlefield but who have not hitherto made an appearance. Of the lesser Achaean heroes who briefly surface in that passage of *Π*, all except Meges reappear in *P*. Glaukos and the death of Sarpedon, which appear secondary in *Π*, are integral in *P* (140 ff.). The sole reference to the trench in *P* (760 n.) has the same air of being superimposed as the two in *Π*.

Further features that link *P* with the expansions in *Π* are (i) the presence of Phoenix (*Π* 196, *P* 555), which presupposes the Embassy (cf. 147–8, 561 nn.); (ii) the series of passages describing Zeus' thoughts on the developing situation (*Π* 431 ff., 644 ff., *P* 198 ff., 441 ff.); and (iii) the tendency to bring in new pieces of invention that have not been anticipated or properly prepared for in what went before: Sarpedon's dying speech (*Π* 486 n.); Hyperenor's taunting of Men. (*P* 24 n.); Hector's putting on Ach.'s armour (130–1, 184–7 nn.); the Automedon

episode (441–542 n.), which links up with the lodging of Alkimedon's name in *Π* (467 n.); the chariot of Idomeneus and Meriones (610 n.). See also 233 n.

1–8. Men. takes the initiative in defending Patr.'s body. The manuscript title of this rhapsody, *Μενελάου ἀριστεία*, is a misnomer, but he plays a prominent role throughout. P may have felt that he had not given him much to do hitherto.

4–8. ≈ *E* 299–301. For the simile cf. *EFH* 386 f.

9–60. Euphorbos, the man who first hit Patr., immediately gets his comeuppance, just as Pandaros, the truce-breaker in *Δ*, was killed within a few hundred lines. Euphorbos is a serious antagonist (*Π* 808–11 n., cf. *P* 80) and **(p. 330)** challenges Men. with a fearless speech. Men. replies in kind, and Euphorbos answers still more boldly.

13. *ἕα δ᾽ ἔναρα βροτόεντα*: in *Π* 793 ff. Apollo knocked the helmet off Patr.'s head and the shield off his shoulders, shattered his spear, and undid his cuirass; in 815 he is said to be *γυμνός*, cf. 846. But here and henceforth (125, 187, 205 f., *Σ* 82 f.) he is treated as a normal corpse in armour which will be stripped off by Hector. Cf. Lachmann 74; Reinhardt 337 f., who thinks that P has combined different versions.

23. *Πανθόου υἷες ἐϋμμελίαι*: after 9.

24. *Υπερήνορος*: killed by Men. in *Ξ* 516–19, but not identified there as a son of Panthoos or given a speech; his taunt is newly invented here.

26. *ἐλέγχιστον πολεμιστήν*: cf. 588 *μαλθακὸς αχμητής*. There is nothing in the narrative to justify these denigratory descriptions.

32. *ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*: perhaps after Hes. *Op*. 218; cf. *Π* 387–8, *P* 738 nn.

36. Cf. *Λ* 226 n.

43–6. ≈ *Γ* 347–50, where the words of Men.'s prayer follow; here the mention of it seems to be due only to the influence of that earlier passage (VdM 255). It does not relate to the exclamatory *Ζεῦ πάτερ* in 19. For the pattern of the encounter cf. *E* 15–19 n.

51–8. P dwells on the figure of Euphorbos: a fine young man of elegance and promise, destroyed by a superior force.

52. *χρυσῶι τε καὶ ἀργύρωι*: cf. *B* 872 n.

60. *τεύχε᾽ ἐσύλα*: this is the point of departure for the next scene, cf. 70, 85, 91.

63–4. = *Λ* 175 f.

71. *Απόλλωνι*: he has been involving himself in the action since *Π* 715, cf. *Π* 788 n.

72. *ὅς ῥάοι Ἕκτορ᾽ ἐπῶρσε*: Hector needs to be brought back into the frame. He was going after Automedon with his spear at *Π* 864 ff.; now he is represented as actually racing after the chariot. Apollo is introduced to check him and turn his attention to Men., which he does using the typical rebuke pattern (*E* 471 n.; Fenik 163).

73. The model for *α* 105. The Kikones were registered at *B* 846, but their leader there was Euphemos. Neither he nor Mentes is mentioned elsewhere.

87. = 3 (and *Δ* 495, etc.).

89. *οὐδ᾽ υἱὸν λάθεν Ἀτρέος*: after 1.

90–105. Men.'s internal debate resembles Od.'s in *Λ* (*Λ* 403 n.), though it comes to a different conclusion. The following passage shows a particular relationship with that portion of *Λ*. As there, the hero's pondering ends with the approach of the Trojan lines (106 f. ≈*Λ* 411 f.); he retreats (108 ≈*Λ* 461); **(p.331)** Ajax is brought over to support him, and the Trojans at once back off (115 ff., *Λ* 461 ff.; 128 =*Λ* 485). When in *Λ* Ajax in his turn is forced to retreat, there are further links with the present narrative: 109–12 ≈*Λ* 547 ff.; 114 =*Λ* 595; 115 *Αἴαντα μέγαν Τελαμώνιον υἱόν* =*Λ* 563, 591.

91–2. *τεύχεα καλά | Πάτροκλόν θ᾽*: *prima facie* the armour is still Euphorbos' and it is Euphorbos' body that Men. is crouching over. But following this close linking with the body of Patr. a shift seems to take place in P's consciousness, and it is Patr.'s body that Men. retreats from in 108/113.

***ἐμῆς ἕνεκ᾽ ἐνθάδε τιμῆς*:** for Men.'s sensitivity to this cf. *Γ* 99 f.

98–101. Cf. *E* 601–6 n.

102. Ajax is the natural counter to Hector. He has not been seen since *Π* 555–62, but now he will play a central role in securing Patr.'s body. His reappearance is engineered by Men.'s first thinking of him and then running to fetch him.

104. *πρὸς δαίμονα*: ~ 98.

116–17. ≈*N* 765–7.

***μάχης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ*:** *E* 355 n. This accounts for Ajax's recent absence from the narrative.

120. *δεῦρο, πέπον*: cf. 179 n.

122. *γυμνόν· ἀτὰ ρ τά γε τεύχε᾽ ἔχει κορυθαιόλος Ἕκτωρ*: Men.’s retreat from the body in 108 has given Hector the opportunity to strip the corpse, but we have not been told that he has done so. It is presupposed again in 125; on the other hand 229–32 imply that the armour has not yet been taken (Erhardt 321). We can distinguish three stages in P’s thinking on the matter: (i) the armour remains on the corpse, at least for the time being; (ii) Hector takes it and sends it back to Troy (130–1 n.); (iii) Hector puts it on himself (186 ff.). In shifting from (i) to (ii) P may have made changes in the present passage, leaving the anomaly that there is no statement that Hector stripped the body. He may have brought in 122 from 693.

128–9. Cf. 90–105 n.

130–1. There is clearly not yet any idea that Hector will put on Ach.’s armour. See 186–228 n.

With the loss of the armour, all that is necessary before Ach. is informed of Patr.’s death has been done; P could have set that in motion at any time from now on.

140–68. For the battle to develop further, Hector must be brought back to face Ajax and Men. This is achieved by another rebuke-speech, this time from Glaukos. It develops the reproaches he voiced in *Π* 538–47 (n.) at greater length and with harsher abuse of Hector.

142. *εἶδος ἄριστε*: transferred from rebukes to Paris, *Γ* 39 =*N* 769.

147–8. ≈ *I* 316 f., where the words spring more naturally from the context.

(p.332) The threat in 154 ff. to withdraw the Lycians from the war and go home looks to be inspired by *I* 356 ff.

150–3. We last saw Glaukos in the battle over Sarpedon’s body, at *Π* 593–9. Now (and in 163) he shows no knowledge of what was so memorably described shortly after that, the supernatural transportation of the body home to Lycia. Two possible explanations: either *Π* 431–61 and 666–83 represent a later idea of P’s and were inserted after he composed the present passage, or he purposely represents Glaukos as mistakenly believing that the Achaeans have taken the body. Against the first alternative, *Π* 431–61 and 666–83 seem well integrated in the Sarpedon episode and nothing suggests that they are secondary insertions. As for the second alternative, naturally the gods’ removal of the body was not observed by mortals on the ground, and the narrative in *Π* was skilfully shaped to avoid the question of spectators. The Trojans and Lycians all turned to flight just before the event (656 ff.), and they might well have assumed that the Achaeans had got the body. It is nevertheless surprising that Glaukos is allowed to speak with this presupposition and with no corrective comment from P of the

sort seen in *δ* 772 =*ν* 170 =*ψ* 152 *ὣς ἄρα τις εἶπεσκε, τὰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἴσαν ὡς ἐτέτυκτο*.

164–5. Cf. *Π* 271–2 n. Glaukos rightly underlines the importance of Patr.'s body to Ach. The reminder of Ach.'s brooding presence at the ships is the more effective for not naming him.

166. *Αἴαντος*: at the end of his speech Glaukos focuses on the immediate situation.

176. After *Π* 688. (*Π* [689–90] are interpolated from here.) There Zeus had indeed put fear in Hector's heart and made him flee (656 f.), and made Patr. over-bold. Here it is just an excuse.

179. *ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δεῦρο, πέπον, παρ᾽ μ᾽ ἵσταο*: = *Λ* 314. As with Men. and Ajax above, we have the motif that a hero faced with danger that he cannot meet alone calls in another to support him, and together they put up a brave front.

***καὶ ἴδε ἔργον*:** like Od. in *Δ* 353, Hector responds to the charge of cowardice by inviting his accuser to watch how he conducts himself in the imminent battle.

180. *πανημέριος*: in effect 'for the rest of the day'. P has his time-frame in mind; the day is well advanced (*Π* 779), and it will end at *Σ* 239. Hector's success is to continue till nightfall (*Λ* 192–4).

182. *περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος*: after 120.

186–228. After what has preceded, we expect that Hector will complement his exhortation to fight valiantly (184 f.) by hurling himself into the fray. It is a surprise to find him suddenly announcing that he is about to leave the front line. The idea of his putting on Ach.'s armour seems to be quite new, cf. 122 **(p.333)** and 130–1 nn. It involves his chasing after the men taking it to the city and cancelling the instructions he has given them. It is ignored in 231 f. and never alluded to afterwards except in *X* 323, which has every appearance of being added; the same must apply to the anticipation in *Π* 798–800. It is ignored again in *Σ* 334 f. Naber 188 supposed 184–219 to be secondary, but Hentze vi. 72 pointed out that the address to the allies in 220 ff. does not fit well after 183, and he accurately defined 186–228 as the insert.

194. *ἄμβροτα τεύχεα*: *Π* 793–804 n. Hector is in haste and P does not give him a detailed arming scene.

195–6. *ἃ οἱ θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες | πατρὶ φίλωι ἔπορον*: at his wedding, cf. *Π* 144, *Σ* 84 f.

198–211. Another in the series of Zeus' musings (*Π* 431 ff., 644 ff., *P* 441 ff.). As in *Π* 644 ff., it assures us that the hero's doom is approaching, while promising that he is still to enjoy a spell of successes.

200. *προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν*: *Λ* 403 n.

206. *κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω*: ≈ *Λ* 192.

208. *Ανδρομάχη*: a reminder of the dear wife whom we know from *Z* and whose grief at Hector's death will be movingly portrayed in *X* and *Ω*.

209. =*A* 528, the only other occasion when a statement of Zeus' intent was judged to call for this solemn act of confirmation.

210–32. A typical pre-battle sequence, arming—*ἐπιπώλησις*—hortatory speech, though the first two elements are very abbreviated. In 184 ff. Hector called on the Trojans and allies to hold the line while he absented himself briefly. Now on his return he calls on the allies in particular to support him. There is a steady escalation: at first it was Men. facing Hector, then Men. was augmented by Ajax, then Hector by Glaukos; now Hector is rallying a larger force, and in response at 245 ff. Ajax and Men. will call up their allies.

213. *ἰνδάλλετο δέ σφισι πᾶ σιν*: his adoption of Ach.'s armour creates a visual impression and raises his men's morale, but has no further consequences for the narrative.

216–18. A mini-catalogue of the type noted in *E* 677–8 n. P makes an effort to bring in most of those listed in the catalogue of allies in *B* who have not already been killed: besides Glaukos we have Hippothoos (*B* 840, Pelasgian), Chromi(o)s and Ennomos (858, Mysian), Phorkys (862, Phrygian), Mesthles (864, Lydian); for the Paionian Asteropaios see *B* 848 n. Medon and Deisenor are not mentioned elsewhere. Hippothoos, Phorkys, and Chromios will reappear in the present battle. Thersilochos, unmentioned hitherto, will be killed at *Φ* 209. Glaukos will not be mentioned again.

227–8. *ἠ᾽ ἀπολέσθω | ἠὲ σαωθήτω*: cf. *IEPM* 476 f.

231–2. Cf. 186–228 n.

233. The Trojan attack goes forward. Fenik 173 observes that the sequence **(p. 334)** of events from here to 274 repeats that in *Π* 552–69. There too Hector led the charge after being stung by a rebuke-speech from Glaukos (above, 140–68 n.). Patr. urged the Aiante to resist (*Π* 554), as here Men. urges other leaders (245 ff.); the forces clashed (*Π* 565: *P* 262–8); Zeus covered the conflict in darkness (*Π* 567: *P* 268); the Trojans pushed the Achaeans back (*Π* 569 =*P* 274).

237–45. Cf. 210–32 n. The motif of the double danger, to Patr.'s body and to the Achaean heroes themselves, recurs at 509 ff., 634 ff., 712 ff.

249–50. *οἵ τε παρ᾽ Ἀτρείδηις … | δήμια πίνουσιν*: like the Trojan allies in 225 f., they are reminded that they must earn their keep.

252. *ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι διασκοπιᾶ σθαι ἕκαστον*: an apology for not naming individuals; cf. *M* 176 n.

256–61. Three of the other main Achaean heroes are named, and then again P uses a trope to excuse himself from naming more. The Locrian Ajax comes first to make up the pair with his namesake. In *H* 164–6 and *Θ* 262–4 the Aiantes are immediately followed by the two Cretans in virtually the same lines as 258 f., and then by Eurypylos, who could not appear here. Meges, Thoas, and Peneleos are others who might have been added; Antilochos (with his brother Thrasymedes) is being kept back for another purpose (377 ff./652 ff.).

262–365. Now that both sides have gathered their forces a wider battle opens up. First (262–87) its beginning is described in general terms, with similes for the Trojan assault and Ajax's counter-attack; then a series of engagements involving individuals.

262. = *N* 136, *O* 306.

268–72. Zeus similarly shrouded the fight over Sarpedon's body in darkness, *Π* 567; cf. above, 233 n. That ended, presumably, when the body was removed to Lycia. This new gloom will last till 643–50. The motive ascribed to Zeus for creating it is not very rational. Apart from being a conventional motif (*E* 506–7 n.), it will serve the poetic function of preventing the fact of Patr.'s death becoming apparent to everyone on the battlefield (366–80).

274. = *Π* 569; above, 233 n.

275–6. *οὐδέ τιν᾽ αὐτῶν | Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι ἔλον ἔγχεσιν*: P is not quite ready to describe individual conflicts.

277. *ἀλλὰ νέκυν ἐρύοντο*: P's hearers will have been dismayed at the apparent loss of the body to the Trojans, but quickly reassured by the next lines.

279–80. Cf. *B* 768–9 n. The best available man is on the job.

281. ≈ *Π* 582, *Δ* 253.

288–9. ~ *B* 842 f.; cf. 216–18 n. Hippothoos killed while trying to drag Patr. off: typical motif, cf. *Δ* 466–9 n.

291–2. = *O* 449 f.

298–300. Cf. Fenik 139 f. **(p.335)**

301. *τῆλ᾽ ἀπὸ Λαρίσης*: cf. *Λ* 817 n.

302–3. = *Δ* 478 f.

306. *Σχεδίον … Ἰφίτου υἱόν*: *O* 515 n.

312. *Αἴας δ᾽ αὖ*: the encounter between Hector and Ajax is not continued; Ajax finds a new victim. Cf. Fenik 137.

***Φόρκυνα*:** cf. 216–18 n. His father's name has not previously been given;*Φαίνοπος υἱόν* may be an improvisation after *E* 152.

314–15. = *N* 507 f.

316–17. = *Δ* 505 f.

319–20. = *Z* 73 f. Cf. also *Θ* 130 ff., *N* 723 ff., *Π* 698 ff., *Φ* 544 ff.; Fenik 175 f. In the last two passages, as here, it is Apollo who intervenes.

322–32. In 71 ff. P brought in Apollo in human guise to direct Hector into action; he now repeats the move to activate Aeneas, of whom we have heard nothing since his inconclusive encounter with Meriones in *Π* 608–31.

324. *Ἠπυτίδηι*: a fit patronymic created from the formula *ἠπύτα κήρυξ* for the otherwise unrecorded herald. Cf. *E* 59–64 n.

***παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι*:** Anchises is still alive; cf. *E* 271.

327. *καὶ ὑπὲρ θεὸν*: after 321, which however shows that the saving of the city (for today) is in accord with Zeus' destiny, as acknowledged again in 331.

331. That Zeus intends a Trojan victory is known to Apollo but would not be known to the herald he is impersonating. As Aeneas realizes that it is a god speaking, he is encouraged by the assurance and reports it to Hector.

334. *ἔγνω ἐσάντα ἰδών*: as appears from 338, he recognized that it was a god who had spoken to him, but did not know which god, cf. *N* 68 n. *ἐσάντα ἰδών* suggests that there was something about Apollo's face or appearance that betrayed his divinity; cf. *IEPM* 133.

336–7. After 319 f.

344. *Λειώκριτον*: not mentioned elsewhere. For his comrade Lykomedes cf. *M* 366 n.

348–9. After *Λ* 578 f. and *N* 411 f., producing a new individual by contamination of a previously used name and patronymic.

350. ≈ *E* 44, *Y* 485, cf. *N* 793.

***ἐκ Παιονίης*:** he is made a Paionian so as to motivate an appearance of Asteropaios (217; *B* 848 n.).

352. After 346.

354. *ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως ἔτι εἶχε*: Asteropaios' sally leads to nothing; he is being saved for a more important episode in *Φ*.

357–60. Ajax's instructions preclude further individual encounters and bring us back to general description.

363–5. Possibly an expansion, cf. *Studies* 242. Lines 364 f. probably reflect a doctrine of paraenetic elegy, cf. Tyrt. 11. 11–13 *οἳ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ᾽* **(p. 336)** *ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες | ἔς τ᾽ αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι, | παυρότεροι θνήισκουσι, σαοῦσι δέ λαὸν ὀπσίσω*.

366–440. For the next 75 lines the fighting continues unremittingly as a backdrop while three other things are presented to our attention in successive sections of increasing length, each beginning with a new general view of the battle. First (366–83) we learn that Antilochos and Thrasymedes, fighting in another sector, are not yet aware of Patr.'s death; this is in preparation for 652 ff., where Antilochos will be looked for as a messenger to take the news to Ach. Secondly (384–411) we are reminded that Ach. does not yet know that his friend has fallen. Thirdly (412–40) we are shown his two immortal steeds standing motionless on the edge of the battlefield and grieving for Patr.

366–73. P reminds us of the darkness covering the area around Patr.'s body (268–72 n.) and emphasizes that it was only local. Outside this limited area men were fighting in bright sunshine.

373. *μεταπαυόμενοι δ᾽ ἐμάχοντο*: as the *ἄριστοι* were concentrated in the centre (368, 377), the peripheral fighting was not only free from the inconvenience of restricted visibility but was altogether less strenuous. The opposing sides kept at a greater distance from each other and hurled their spears more desultorily. This sets off by contrast the intensity of the central conflict round the body (*ἐν μέσωι*, 375–7).

378. *Θρασυμήδης Ἀντίλοχός τε*: these two sons of Nestor were fighting together in *Π* 317 ff. and have been off screen since.

379. ≈ 10.

381–3. An impromptu explanation of why these young worthies were not fighting with the *ἄριστοι* in the centre. It was not cowardice, they were just following their father's instructions.

384. *πανημερίοις*: 180 n.

385–7. Cf. *B* 388–90 n.

395–6. *μάλα δέ σφισιν ἔλπετο θυμός | … ἐρύειν*: after 234 f.

398–9. Cf. *Δ* 539 n.

403–6. Patr. has been killed near the city, too far away for Ach. to see. In

Π 87 ff. he instructed him not to pursue the Trojans that far, as there might be danger from Apollo. Nevertheless he now assumes that his repulse of the Trojans has continued successfully and that he will soon return.

406–9. It follows from the instructions Ach. had given Patr. that he did not expect him to (try to) sack the city on his own, *ἄνευ ἔθεν* (~ *Π* 89 *ἄνευθεν ἐμεῖο*). But the addition of *οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτῶι* is unexpected. It suddenly transpires that Thetis has often told him that Zeus did not mean to allow Patr. to take part in the sack. These prophecies are certainly an impromptu invention, developed in *Σ* 9 ff. Cf. *I* 410–15 n. **(p.337)**

414–23. The two *τις*-speeches, each addressed *ὦ φίλοι*, serve to express the extreme determination of both sides.

419. ≈ 287.

425. *χάλκεον οὐρανὸν*: cf. *E* 504 n., and for the noise reaching heaven *B* 153 n.

426–8. Weeping horses: *IEPM* 490 f., cf. 467 f.

***μάχης ἀπάνευθεν ἑόντες*:** Automedon drove them to safety in *Π* 866 (vainly pursued by Hector, *P* 75 f.). Now he has told them of Patr.'s death, which they did not themselves witness. In an earlier version something like 426–55 might have been the immediate sequel to Patr.'s death, leading on to Automedon's escape (Erhardt 331 f.). A similar episode might have been related following the death of Ach. (Kullmann 133 n. 3, 134, 329).

432–3. *οὔτ᾽ ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆας … | … οὔτ᾽ ἐς πόλεμον*: presumably Automedon wanted them to continue to the ships, where they could have given Ach. the news; the sense is 'they would not go back to the ships, any more than they would towards the fighting'. But in what follows, the idea of their returning to the thick of the battle is taken up instead; see 441–542 n.

434. *ἀλλ᾽ ὥς τε στήλη*: ≈ *N* 437.

437. *οὔδει ἐνισκίμψαντε*: ≈ *Π* 612.

441–542. Once again (198–211 n.) we hear Zeus' thoughts on the situation. Each of his musing sessions issues in a decision, and this time it introduces a development that P has only recently conceived. Ach.'s retainer Automedon came into prominence in *Π*, but only in the subordinate role of charioteer. Now P decides to send him back into the fighting with the immortal steeds and let him do something as a warrior on his own account. He had clearly not yet envisaged this when he removed him from the scene in *Π* 866 (Erhardt 331, VdM 256 f.). Zeus heralds it in 451–4 with the assurance that the horses will save Automedon from the fighting. As things are, they have already done so, so what Zeus refers to must be a further involvement in the battle, not the completion of their withdrawal: that is what calls for *μένος* in heart and knees and what gives relevance to the Trojans' renewed advance to the ships. Zeus is guaranteeing that Automedon will not fall in battle like Patr. and that the horses will not be captured.

442–3. After 200 f.

447. *ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει*: *EFH* 235, cf. *IEPM* 125.

453–4. *ἔτι γάρ σφισι κῦδος ὀρέξω*: to the Trojans. P uses the bare pronoun without their having been mentioned because he is adapting the sentence from *Λ* 192 f., *τότε οἱ* (Hector) *κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω | κτείνειν, εἰς ὅ κε νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἀφίκηται*. It is perhaps for the same reason (Leaf) that he speaks of them reaching the ships, whereas in the event they **(p.338)** will get no further than the trench (*Σ* 215 ff.); the trench did not exist in *Λ*. (Cf. however *P* 760 n.) [455] = *Λ* 194 is a concordance interpolation.

457. *ἀπὸ χαιτάων κονίην … βαλόντε*: reversing the dusty defilement described in 439.

463. *ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ἥιρει φῶτας*: Automedon cannot both drive the chariot and wield a spear. If he is to do any effective fighting, someone else must be found to take over the chariot.

467. *Ἀλκιμέδων*: this man conveniently presents himself to manage the chariot while Automedon fights. His name looks as if it may derive from 429 *Αὐτομέδων Διώρεος ἄλκιμος υἱός*; when the two are paired later they become *Αὐτομέδων τε καὶ Ἄλκιμος* (*T* 392, *Ω* 474, 574). His cursory appearance as battalion-leader at *Π* 197 comes in what is probably a secondary expansion (*Π* 168–97 n.).

468–80. The short exchange of speeches enables Automedon to dismount and fight. Alkimedon points out that his present behaviour is irrational, and he replies with the invitation to take over the reins.

474. For the structure of the line cf. *IEPM* 405.

475–6. Alkimedon’s special expertise as master of Ach.’s horses is invented *ad hoc*.

479–80. ≈ *E* 226 f.

483. *νόησε δὲ φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ*: the reappearance of the desirable horses catches Hector’s attention. He thinks that he and Aeneas together will be able to overcome Automedon and Alkimedon and capture the animals.

494. *τοῖσι δ᾽ ἅμα Χρομίος τε καὶ Ἄρητος*: there needs to be someone whom Automedon can kill. For Chromios cf. 216–18 n.; Aretos is a new name.

495. *μάλα δέ σφισιν ἔλπετο θυμός*: after 234/395.

497. *νήπιοι, οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλον*: *B* 36–40 n. We are led to expect that both will be killed, but in the event Chromios survives unharmed.

ἀναιμωτεί γε: after 363.

498. *ὃ δ᾽ εὐξάμενος Διὶ πατρί*: after 46.

501–2. The horses and chariot are to be kept nearby for Automedon’s getaway in 540 f. But the reason given here, that Hector is likely to capture them for himself, is irrational. P has left out a step in the underlying train of thought: ‘we ourselves are not going to be able to stop Hector; let us call upon the Aiante to help us.’ Cf. 102.

***ἐμπνείοντε μεταφρένωι*:** ≈ *N* 385.

507. *καὶ Μενέλαον*: included because of his association with Ajax earlier, but he does not do anything in the rest of the scene.

514–15. Wanting Automedon to get his kill in before the Aiante take command of the situation, P makes him decide to have a go without waiting for them. Erhardt 333 f. argues that the lines fit better after 501–6, and that **(p.339)** 507–13 (with 532) represent a secondary insertion, bringing in at 509 a reference to Patr.’s body, which is otherwise out of focus.

***θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται*:** *EFH* 222.

518–19. ≈ *E* 538 f.

523–4. Cf. *N* 443–4 n.; Fenik 134.

526–9. = *Π* 610–13.

530. ≈ *H* 273. There the uncompletable duel between Hector and Ajax was stopped by the intervention of the heralds, here that between Hector and Automedon is stopped by the Aiante.

533–4. The Trojans retreat, as neither Hector nor Aeneas can be killed or wounded, though Chromios could have been.

536–42. Automedon takes his spoils, utters a little boast, and makes his departure.

543. *ἂψ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλωι*: after this interlude Patr.'s body resumes its place as the focus of the fighting.

544–6. Athena makes an intervention on the Achaeans' behalf. This is another breach of the embargo on gods' taking part in the battle (*O* 668–73, *Π* 788 nn.), but we are told that Zeus sanctioned it, having modified his pro-Trojan stance. However, Athena accomplishes nothing more than inspiring Men. to kill an unimportant Trojan, and Zeus very soon switches his favour back to the Trojans (593 ff.). P is making rather loose use of his gods.

547–52. Cf. *A* 47 n.; Fenik 182 f.

549–50. *ὅς ῥά τε ἔργων | ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπαυσεν*: ≈ Hes. *Op*. 494 f.

***μῆλα δὲ κήδει*:** cf. Hes. *Op*. 512 ff.

555. ≈ *N* 45.

***Φοίνικι*:** named as leader of one of the five Myrmidon battalions (*Π* 168–97 n.), though he makes no appearance in the fighting. Cf. *I* 168 n.

556. ≈ *Π* 498. Once again we have the technique of addressing a rebuke to a hero to rouse him to action (*E* 471 n.).

559. = *Π* 501.

561. *Φοίνιξ, ἄττα γεραιὲ*: after *I* 607, where *ἄαττα* is appropriate in Ach.'s mouth.

562. *βελέων δ᾽ ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν*: ≈ *Δ* 542.

565. *πυρὸς αἰνὸν ἔχει μένος*: cf. *Λ* 155–7 n.

575–6. *ἔσκε δ᾽ ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι Ποδῆς … | ἀφνειός*: cf. *E* 9 n.

***μάλιστα δέ μιν τίεν Ἕκτωρ*:** so the news of his death will grieve Hector and spur him to greater action—in fact to lead the final advance that will not be halted until Ach. himself appears.

582–90. Athena's approach to Men. in human guise is matched by one of Apollo to Hector. It parallels the one he made to him under a different **(p.340)**

disguise in 72 ff.: there too a rebuke of Hector is coupled with the news that Men. has slain a man dear to him.

583. *Φαίνοπι*: the name comes from 312 (n.). His father Asios is presumably the son of Hyrtakos who was prominent in *M–N*; he comes from the right area (*B* 836 f.). Apollo took the form of a different Asios in *Π* 716.

588. *μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής*: cf. 26 n.

589–90. Apollo holds back the identity of Men.'s victim to the end.

591–2. As in 83 ff., Hector is grief-stricken and marches forward through the front lines; 592 = 87.

593–6. Zeus' activity signals that this Trojan advance will be the definitive one.

597. *πρῶτος*: usually (*Δ* 457 n.) we hear which warrior had the first success in a series of slayings. Here the emphasis is put on the worsted Achaeans: we are told that Peneleos was wounded, and only then who did it. Peneleos was last heard of at *Π* 340, Polydamas at *Π* 535.

601. *Λήϊτον*: Peneleos' comrade (*B* 494), associated with him as in *N* 91 f. His father has not been named before.

***σχεδὸν οὔτασε χεῖρ᾽ ἐπὶ καρπῶι*:** = *E* 458/883.

603. *τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας*: = *Λ* 546.

607. ≈ *N* 162. Idomeneus' throw does Hector no harm, but checks him and so saves Leïtos. Cf. *N* 188–94.

609. *δίφρωι ἐφεσταότος*: after throwing his spear to no effect Idomeneus has mounted the chariot to get away.

610. *Μηριόναο ὀπάονάθ᾽ ἡνίοχόν τε*: Meriones has three times been called the *ὀπάων Ἰδομενῆος* (and his *θεράπων, N* 246); now he is given an *ὀπάων* of his own. Koiranos is not mentioned elsewhere. 612–14 are put in to explain why Meriones suddenly has a charioteer when he and Idomeneus went into the battle on foot (*N* 297 ff.) and neither of them has been seen in a chariot at any point (though cf. Janko on *N* 326–7). For the charioteer killed by a mis-aimed spear cf. *Θ* 119–22 n.

611. *αὐτῶι*: *prima facie* Meriones, who would also be the subject in 612 f.; but it is Idomeneus who would have been the great prize for the Trojans if Koiranos had not arrived and proved his salvation. In his effort to explain Koiranos' presence P has got himself into a tangled sentence.

615. *φάος*: *Z* 6 n.

617. *τὸν βάλ᾽ ὑπὸ γναθμοῖο καὶ οὔατος*: = *Π* 606.

620–5. Idomeneus flees in the newly materialized chariot. Meriones remains in the fight (668).

626. *Αἴαντε … καὶ Μενέλαον*: cf. 507 n. This time Men. will have a part to play.

629–47. Ajax formulates a programme. The recognition that Zeus is **(p.341)** favouring the Trojans justifies a general retreat. On the other hand they must make sure to secure Patr.'s body (635); and someone must take the news of his death to Ach. (640).

639. = *I* 235.

640. *ἑταῖρος*: foreshadowing the choice of Antilochos.

641. *ἐπεὶ οὔ μιν ὀΐομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι*: Ajax surmises what we know from 401 f. to be the case.

643. *ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πηι δύναμαι ἰδέειν τοιοῦτον Ἀχαιῶν*: there is no visual contact with the area where Antilochos is fighting because of the patch of darkness round Patr.'s body (368–80). P now arranges for this to be removed. Ajax prays to Zeus for its removal, and he responds.

652–5. Now that there is a clear view over the battlefield, Ajax invites Men. to see whether he can see Antilochos—if he is still alive. Then he is to tell him to hurry to Ach. and report the bad news. The second instruction can presuppose the successful outcome of the first, because Antilochos is indeed alive and findable. For this logic cf. *H* 365–78 n., and *α* 289–97: Telemachos is not going to learn that his father is dead and arrange his mother's marriage to another man, so the killing of the suitors remains next on his agenda.

Men. is needed as intermediary because the Aiante must stay where they are to defend Patr.'s body.

657–67. Wil. 150 n. 2 condemns these lines. The simile is adapted from *Λ* 548 ff. (659–64 = *Λ* 550–5; 666 ≈ *Λ* 557), where it is far more apt; the point of it here is that Men. feels reluctant to leave the corpse that is being fought over (666), but it is a bad match. Also 657 *βῆ δ᾽ ἰέναι* awkwardly anticipates 668 ff., where Men. first speaks to the men he is leaving behind and then departs with another, perfectly good simile.

668. *Μηριόνηι*: he remains on the scene from 623. He will become useful at 717.

669. After 508.

672. = 478.

682–3. = 116 f.

685. *διοτρεφές*: after 679.

686. *λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης*: after 642.

690. ≈ *Λ* 471.

692. *αἴ κε τάχιστα νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆα σαώσηι*: foreshadowing what Ach. will achieve by his great shout at *Σ* 217 ff. The fact that he will be without armour is passed over here, to be remarked in 709–11.

693. = 122.

698–9. Antilochos discards his armour so as to run faster; cf. *B* 183; though as his chariot is at hand, he might have made his journey quicker still by using it. His charioteer Laodokos is not mentioned elsewhere. **(p.342)**

700. *πόδες φέρον ἐκ πολέμοιο*: the time needed for his journey is occupied by further action; cf. *A* 308–487 n.

702–6. Men. returns to the Aiante, leaving Nestor's other son Thrasymedes (378) to command the Pylians.

704. After 690.

707. ≈ *M* 353.

708–14. Men. takes up the three agenda items from Ajax's speech in 634–42 (712 f. ≈ 634 f.). He reports that the third has been dealt with, and he re-states the other two.

709–11. The problem of Ach.'s lack of armour is noted in preparation for *Σ*.

716–21. In reply Ajax agrees that the objectives are rightly stated and directs how they are to be pursued. The Aiante as usual will bear the brunt of the Trojan attack, while the other two present, Men. and Meriones, carry Patr. to safety. In the *Aethiopis* (arg. 3 and fr. 3, cf. *Little Iliad* fr. 2) Ajax carried Ach.'s body while Od. fought the Trojans off.

720. *ὁμώνυμοι*: here it is explicit that 'the Aiante' are the two Ajaxes, not Ajax and Teukros (who was fighting at Ajax's side in *O* 483 but has not been mentioned since). Cf. *M* 335–414 n.

730–1. ≈ *O* 277 f.

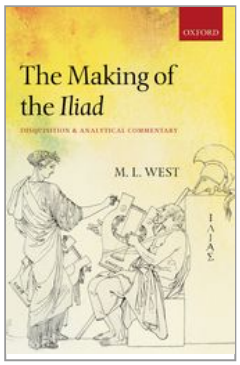
737. *ἠΰτε πῦρ*: cf. *Λ* 596 n.

738. *μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι*: perhaps from Hes. *Op*. 244 (cf. 325), where the phrase is used in a more natural way. We have found what looked like other echoes of the same passage in *Π* 387–8, *P* 32 nn.

746. After 735.

760. *περί τ᾽ ἀμφί τε τάφρον*: it need not be significant that the Achaeans' fortifications have not been mentioned hitherto in this rhapsody; the fight has been out in the plain (Bergk 586), and it was reasonable to speak of people returning 'to the ships' (625, 736) without any reference to their passing the trench and wall. Still, it may be felt that the present reference is somewhat contrived, like *Π* 369–71 and 377–83, which I diagnosed as insertions. When we next return to the fighting the Trojans are close to the trench (*Σ* 198, 215), and P may have thought to prepare for that by putting a mention of the trench in here.

761. *πολέμου δ᾽ οὐ γίνετ᾽ ἐρωή*: = *Π* 302.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Σ

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As in several other cases, the change of scene was taken as the opportunity to make a division between rhapsodies, though the battle for Patr.'s body is not yet over. The nightfall at *Σ* 239–42 would have been a more logical place for the break in some ways, though it would have produced a rhapsody of record length, and the narrative continues on into the night. The actual division brings into one rhapsody Thetis' colloquy with Ach., culminating in her promise to get him new armour from Hephaestus, and her visit to Olympus in which she fulfils the promise.

P has now settled down to composition in his finest and best controlled manner, without the erratic introduction of new ideas noted as a feature of the previous two rhapsodies (*P* intro.).

3. *τὸν δ᾽ ηὗρε*: a typical element in the messenger's arrival pattern (*A* 497–502 n.). But in place of the usual statement of the visitee's visible activity we have a statement of what is going through his mind. Ach. already has a foreboding of what Antilochos is about to report.

5–14. Cf. *Λ* 403 n.

9–11. A further development of Thetis' prophecies, cf. *I* 410–15, *P* 406–9 nn.; Erhardt 372; Kakridis 65 n. 2. She is represented as having used an imprecise phrase, 'the best of the Myrmidons', which Ach. now surmises to refer to Patr. He guesses further that Patr. has disregarded his instructions and opted to fight Hector, with fatal results.

17. *δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων*: ≈ *Π* 3. The typical element 'and stood before him' is elided.

18–19. ≈ *P* 685 f.

20–1. The essential facts are imparted with the utmost brevity; 21 ≈*P* 693.

Ach. does not ask for details; that would have necessitated a rehearsal of what has already been sufficiently narrated (Rothe 288). The important thing now is Ach.'s reaction.

22. = *P* 591.

23–5. Cf. Gilgamesh lamenting Enkidu: *EFH* 340.

26–7. In my edition I bracketed these lines for reasons explained in *Studies* 243 f. They may perhaps be defended as an addition by P, adapting verses he had used in telling of Ach.'s death; see *Π* 775–6 n.

28–31. A proper lamentation scene calls for a crowd of female mourners; cf. 50–1 n., *T* 301 f., *Ω* 720 ff. **(p.344)**

***ἃς Ἀχιλεὺς λῃΐσσατο Πάτροκλός τε*:** cf. 341 f.; *Ω* 7–8 n.

[34]. Cf. *Studies* 244.

35–147. Thetis' visitation. This scene has much in common (including some whole lines, as noted below) with Thetis' first appearance in *A* 357–428. As there, she comes up out of the sea on hearing Ach.'s cry of distress, though in *A* it is an appeal addressed to her directly. She asks him what is the matter, speaks sorrowfully of his unhappy destiny, and undertakes to help him by going up to Olympus and prevailing upon another god to perform a particular service on his behalf; the god is in her debt because she has saved him from tribulation in the past. In each case, following some further narrative of events on earth, her visit to Olympus is described with its successful outcome. The *A* scene was composed with greater care for circumstantial concinnity, in that Ach. is alone by the seashore and Thetis comes alone. Here in *Σ* she comes accompanied by dozens of her sisters (who say and do nothing); this reflects what P had been accustomed to describe in relating the death of Ach., when the Nereids all came to lament him (cf. *Aethiopis* arg. 4 and *ω* 47 ff.; Mülder 193; Pestalozzi 32; Kakridis 66–73). Moreover, Ach. is not alone this time but in close contact with Antilochos and surrounded by breast-beating women, all of whom have to be ignored from this point on.

35. *σμερδαλέον δ᾽ ὤιμωξεν*: the great cry of *ὤι μοι* serves to attract the attention of Thetis in the sea depths. Her wailing in turn (37) causes the rest of the Nereids to join her. In telling of Ach.'s death P might have made it a collective Achaean groan that she heard: *σμερδαλέον δ᾽ ὤιμωξαν*, with the same continuation as here.

36. = *A* 358.

38. *κατὰ βένθος ἁλὸς*: after 36.

39–49. The catalogue of Nereids is evidently based on Hes. *Th*. 243 ff. (cf. Robert 563; Inez Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod* [Hamburg 1934], 59–61; Klaus Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* [Berlin–New York 1977], 230–6). Nickau observes that the Nereids that are common to the two lists all come in the first half of Hesiod's catalogue (243–50), except for Nemertes, who is prominent as the one he names last. Several of the names that are not among Hesiod's Nereids occur elsewhere in *Th*.: Thaleia (77), Klymene, Ianeira (351, 356). For the last line (49 ≈ 38) cf. *M* 176 n. Kakridis 75 infers from it that the poet had before him a full list of fifty names (as in Hesiod).

There remains a question about the authenticity of the passage. In my edition and in *Studies* 244 f. I took it to be a rhapsode's interpolation. Certainly it is easily detachable, and its disproportionate and irrelevant suspension of the progress of the narrative may be thought a departure from P's normal **(p.345)** manner. If he was responsible for it, perhaps he added it after composing the main narrative.

50–60. P might have used these same lines in describing Thetis' lament following Ach.'s death (Kakridis 72).

50–1. *αἳ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι | στήθεα πεπλήγοντο*: ≈ 30 f.

***Θέτις δ' ἐξῆρχε γόοιο*:** as in a ritual lament led by a soloist.

56. *ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος*: cf. *EFH* 242. The simile generates a kindred one in 57.

59. *τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις*: Thetis knew all along that Ach. was to die young (*A* 416 f., 505), but this is the first time she has stated that he will not return from Troy. Cf. *I* 410–15 n.

61–2. Cf. *A* 417 f., also followed by an *εἶμι* 'I will go'.

***καὶ ὁρᾶι φάος ἠελίοιο*:** *E* 120 n.

64. *ὅττί μιν ἵκετο πένθος*: ≈ 73 =*A* 362.

65–145. The scene is symmetrically constructed (Lohmann 142): Nereids arrive; speech of Thetis; speech of Ach.; central two-line comment of Thetis forecasting his death; speech of Ach.; speech of Thetis; Nereids depart.

66–7. *περὶ δέ σφισι κῦμα θαλάσσης | ῥήγνυτο*: typical motif, cf. *N* 29, *Ω* 96.

71. *ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύσασα κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἑοῖο*: more appropriate to her arrival to lament the dead Ach. (Kakridis 67 f.). For holding the dead man's head cf. *Ψ* 136, *Ω* 712, 724.

73–4. ≈ *A* 362 f.

75. *ὡς ἄρα δὴ πρίν γ' ηὔχεο*: cf. *Π* 236–8 n.

76. ≈ *A* 409.

78. = *A* 364.

80–1. Cf. *EFH* 340 f.

82–3. *τεύχεα δ' Ἕκτωρ | δηιώσας ἀπέδυσε*: as a reason for Ach.'s grief the loss of the armour ranks far below that of Patr., but it is essential to tell Thetis of it.

84–93. P glides skilfully from the armour, via the parental wedding at which it first appeared (*Π* 143–4 n.), to existential anguish, and from there to Ach.'s resolve to avenge Patr. on Hector.

84. ≈ *Π* 867.

89–90. After 59 f., but here the prediction has to be given a different basis, as Ach. lacks his mother's foreknowledge. An illogicality results (VdM 271): 'you will not see your son come home, because I have no desire to live unless I can kill Hector'. That Hector's death will bring his own in its train is not revealed till 96.

92. ≈ *Π* 861.

94–5. ≈ *A* 413, 417. **(p.346)**

96. *αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος*: Thetis knows that Ach. will defeat Hector, cf. 133. But the prediction that he will die straight afterwards does not fit what happens in *Il*. After killing Hector his immediate impulse is to go on to attack the city, but then he checks himself and turns back to the ships (*X* 381 ff.), after which there is no further fighting in the poem. The days he spends on Patr.'s funeral and funeral games and those of the truce that he agrees with Priam in *Ω* 656 ff. mean that he is going to survive for at least another fortnight. The present line reflects an earlier conception of the narrative plan—doubtless a version that P had actually sung—in which Ach., instead of ceasing to fight once Hector was slain, did just what Patr. does after killing Sarpedon: forgot the warning he had been given and went on pursuing the enemy to the gates of Troy, there to be killed at the Scaean Gates by Paris and Apollo. Cf. Schwartz 27 f.; *CQ* 53 (2003), 7 f.

106. Cf. *Δ* 400 n.

109–10. *μέλιτος γλυκίων … | … ἠΰτε καπνός*: cf. *EFH* 387.

114. *νῦν δ᾽ εἶμ᾽*: having realized that his anger with Ag. has brought disaster, Ach. resolves to return to the fight at once and kill Hector. In his passion he forgets his lack of armour, and has to be reminded of it by his mother.

115–21. For the hero's recognition of the universality of death and acceptance of his own cf. *EFH* 341, 387.

117–19. For P's references to Heracles cf. pp. 30 f. He, or at least his Ach., shows no knowledge of Heracles' apotheosis, cf. 120 f.

121. *κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην*: *E* 3 n.

126. *μηδέ μ᾽ ἔρυκε μάχης*: anticipating the well-founded objection that Thetis is about to make.

133. *ἐπεὶ φόνος ἐγγύθεν αὐτῶι*: cf. 96 n.

136–7. Going to a smith for new weapons before an armed excursion: *EFH* 387. P may be adapting a story that Thetis brought Ach. armour made by Hephaestus when he first went to war, cf. *Π* 143–4 n.

***ἠῶθεν*:** so Ach. will have the armour and be ready for action with the new day. Thetis counts on Hephaestus making it during the night, as indeed he will, despite the gods' normal habit of retiring to bed at night (*A* 605–8 n.). Nights serve to divide up the action in the human arena; the gods fit in around it. For folk beliefs in dwarf smiths who work underground by night and make things for men to find in the morning see *IEPM* 296.

Thetis has a claim on Hephaestus' kindness, as will appear in 394 ff., but P does not take time to explain it here as in *A* 396 ff. it was explained in advance why she had a claim on Zeus.

139–42. The other Nereids must return to the sea; this is brought about by an instruction from Thetis.

142. *ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον*: it is noteworthy that Hephaestus' workshop **(p. 347)** is on Olympus, not on Lemnos; cf. *Ξ* 231–82 n. Thetis' journey thus repeats the one she made in *A*.

148. P uses his technique of interlacing a journey with an account of events proceeding elsewhere (*A* 306–487 n.). He now has to complete his narrative of the day's fighting with the final securing of Patr.'s body. We return to the situation as it was in *P* 755–61. But the focus is so much on Hector and the

defending Ajaxes that Men. and Meriones, who were carrying the body, are no longer mentioned: it is just being pulled this way and that.

150. ≈ *O* 233.

151–2. *οὐδέ κε … | ἐκ βελέων ἐρύσαντο*: we expect a fairly immediate *εἰ μὴ* …, but the explanation of the crisis is so extended that the apodosis of the counter-factual condition has to be re-stated in 165.

155–7. *τρὶς μέν … | τρὶς δὲ*: cf. *E* 436–44 n.

***ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκήν*:** *A* 149 n.

161–4. For the simile cf. *EFH* 388.

165. = *Γ* 373.

166–8. Only Ach. can save the situation, and he can do it even without armour, but he needs divine prompting. As in *A* 194 f., the providence is Hera's, but she dispatches another goddess to instruct Ach., the presence of bystanders being ignored.

167. =*Λ* 715, which may account for the inexact use of *θωρήσσεσθαι* (188 n.).

168. *κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν*: Zeus' ban on divine interventions is still in force.

170. ≈ *A* 146.

176–7. A novel idea of Hector's intentions; contrast *P* 160–3. Impaling an enemy's severed head: *EFH* 388.

179. = *P* 255.

182. *Ἶρι θεά*: as in *A* 199 ff., Ach. recognizes the divine visitor and asks for clarification, and she explains who has sent her.

188. *πῶς ταρ ἴω μετὰ μῶλον*: Iris has told him simply to rise up and defend Patr. He can understand this only in terms of an armed sally (as indeed suggested by 167 *θωρήσσεσθαι* ~ 189). The idea of just showing himself at the trench is held back for a second speech of Iris'.

190. ~ 135.

192–3. The possibility of Ach.'s wearing Patr.'s armour is not raised. Ajax's famous shield, transcending as it does an ordinary mortal's equipment, is the one item that occurs to him as suitable, but he rightly surmises that Ajax is

heavily engaged with it. It will be the shield that gets the most emphasis when his new armour is made.

197. *κλυτὰ τεύχε᾽ ἔχονται*: after 130. **(p.348)**

199. ≈ *Λ* 799, *Π* 41. [200–1] are interpolated from those passages.

203–31. For the motif of the hero terrifying the enemy by showing himself at the fortifications cf. *EFH* 339 f. Athena now involves herself on Ach.'s behalf. By cloaking him in her aegis she lends him a supernatural power of instilling terror.

205–14, 225–7. The flame from Ach.'s head: *E* 4–7 n.

215. *ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν*: ~ 198.

217. *ἔνθα στὰς ἤϋσ᾽*: ≈ *E* 784, *Λ* 10 (n.). There Athena gave a mighty shout of her own, here her participation strengthens Ach.'s. For the hero's war-cry which itself brings about the death of a whole number of the enemy cf. *IEPM* 457. Here their deaths are rationalized and they do not simply die of fright.

220. The situation imagined echoes the preceding simile, 208.

228–9. *τρὶς μὲν … | τρὶς δ᾽*: after 155–7.

230. *δυώδεκα*: cf. *O* 746 n.

231–8. Enough of the battle; swift transition to Ach. mourning over his friend's body.

239–44. The day that began at *Λ* 1 is finally brought to an end. It has gone badly for the Achaeans, but at the last they have achieved their limited objective of saving Patr.'s body. Responsibility for the sunset that fixes this is assigned to Hera, who came into the picture in 168. For the sake of this the sun himself is described as being unwilling (240). Perhaps 239 *ἀκάμαντα* (cf. *IEPM* 211) is meant to suggest that he never tires of shining and is keen to continue, but it does not normally take another deity to induce him to set. In *ψ* 241 ff. Athena delays the dawn. Sappho (197) prayed (to Aphrodite, presumably) to double the length of a night.

245–367. What the Trojans did after sunset (245–314); what the Achaeans did (314–55); Zeus and Hera comment on the situation (356–67).

P had the choice of sending the Trojans back into the city for the night or keeping them out on the plain. As in *Θ* 489 ff., he has them hold an assembly to decide the matter. On that occasion Hector proposed staying out, and there was no opposition. This time we find the prudent counsellor Polydamas first arguing on the other side; for his role cf. *M* 211–15 n.

249–52. A fuller introduction of Polydamas than we have had before; cf. *M* 60 n. For the antithesis in 252 cf. *Δ* 400 n. It gives due notice that Polydamas will give wise advice.

257. *Ἀγαμέμνονι μήνιε δίωι*: Polydamas is allowed to know the reason for Ach.'s abstention from the battle.

259. *χαίρεσκον … θοῆις ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἰαύων*: in fact the Trojans have only done this for one night.

267. *ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα*: after 261. **(p.349)**

269. *σὺν τεύχεσιν*: anticipating Ach.'s re-equipment.

270. *ἀσπασίως*: ~ *Φ* 607, 610.

277. The line goes better with the main clause that follows it in 303 and *Θ* 530.

284–5. = *M* 230 f.

288. *πρὶν μὲν γὰρ*: there seems to be a step missing in the argument: '<For formerly we could not come out because of Ach.'s dominance in the field, and being all crowded in the city, we used up most of its resources.>' Perhaps something like this dropped out of the text at an early stage by a *saut du même au même*.

***πόλιν μέροπεϛ̄ ἄνθρωποι*:** the metrical irregularity results from adapting the formula *πόλις* (or acc. pl. -) *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* (342, 490, *Y* 217).

290–2. The lines may reflect the historical perception that the fall of the Trojan kingdom was succeeded by the rise of Phrygia and Lydia (W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* [Stuttgart 2002], 65).

298–9. ≈ *H* 370 f., cf. 380.

303–4. = *Θ* 530–1. Cf. 277 n.

306. *ἄλγιον, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησι, τῶι ἔσσεται*: after 278, where *αἴ κ' ἐθέλησιν* has a clearer sense.

308. *ἤ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος ἦ κε φεροίμην*: ≈ *N* 486; cf. *Λ* 429–33 n.

309. *καί τε κτενέοντα κατέκτα*: cf. *IEPM* 111.

311–14. P leaves us in no doubt that the Trojans are making a wrong decision. We leave them to their dinner, and will not return to them till *Y* 3.

316–23. Cf. Gilgamesh's lamenting for Enkidu: *EFH* 341–3.

316–17. = *Ψ* 17 f., where *χεῖρας ἀνδροφόνους* has a sharper point after the killing of Hector (Wil. 75 f., 176).

***ἐξῆρχε γόοιο*:** cf. 50–1 n.

324–7. P adds a new detail to the occasion recalled by Nestor in *Λ* 765 ff., when Menoitios and his son were found in Peleus' house and Patr. and Ach. eagerly accepted the call to the war.

329–32. Ach. now takes as a certainty what his mother indicated to him in 95 f.; there it was not clear how completely he believed it.

333. *Πάτροκλε*: Ach. turns from the Myrmidons to address Patr. directly; cf. *EFH* 343.

335. *τεύχεα*: this ignores Hector's adoption of Ach.'s own armour, which we saw was a secondary motif (*P* 186–228 n.).

***καὶ κεφαλήν*:** implying that he will behead Hector, as Hector hoped to do to Patr. (176 f., *P* 126). The idea is later dropped as being incompatible with the ransoming of Hector's body and his solemn funeral in Troy (Macleod 18).

336–7. Preparation for Patr.'s funeral, *Ψ* 22 f., 175 f. **(p.350)**

339–42. We have already seen these women lamenting in 28 ff., cf. *T* 301 f.

341–2. Cf. *Ω* 7–8 n.

354–5. ≈ 315. The summary statement that served to open the lamentation episode now serves to round it off in a transition to other scenes. The Myrmidons are left to continue their lamenting through the night, but it remains evening for Zeus' dialogue with Hera and for Thetis' arrival at Hephaestus' house. Cf. Rothe 294.

356. ≈ *Π* 432.

357–9. Zeus' intention was that the Achaeans should find no relief from the Trojans' supremacy until they restored Ach. to full esteem (*A* 509 f.). By sending Iris and rousing Ach. to action, Hera has slightly subverted the plan, though in fact Ach. will get his settlement before he goes out to fight next morning. That he would return to the fight and kill Hector Zeus has known all along (*P* 201 ff.).

360–1. = *A* 551 f.

365–6. = *Δ* 60 f.

367. *Τρώεσσι κοτεσσαμένη*: cf. *Δ* 31–6 n.

369–79. Thetis now arrives at Hephaestus' abode and workshop and finds him engaged in manufacturing activity, typical for him and pertinent to her visit. The whole episode has a striking precedent in the Ugaritic Baal epic: *EFH* 388 f. Hephaestus has several points of contact with the Ugaritic craftsman god Kothar, cf. *A* 607 n.; *EFH* 57. But divine smiths also appear in IE traditions: *IEPM* 154–7.

371. *ὅν ῥ᾽ αὐτὸς ποιήσατο*: as he built houses for the other gods (*A* 607 f.).

***Κυλλοποδίων*:** Baruch Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT* (Berlin–New York 1989), 293, interprets one text (*KTU* 1. 6 vi 52 f.) to mean that Kothar was lame, though this is controversial. A more certain analogue is the Nordic elf-smith Volund, lamed by his master to prevent him from escaping: *IEPM* 156.

372. *ἰδρώοντα*: Hephaestus makes things that are beyond mortal craftsmen, but P does not apply to him the concept that gods do things without toil or effort. He prefers to portray him in the realistic colours of a human smith. Cf. 414 f.

373. *ἐείκοσι*: cf. *I* 123 n.

382. *τὴν δὲ ἴδε προμολοῦσα Χάρις*: on the normal messenger-arrival pattern Thetis would go up to Hephaestus, stand before him, and speak. Instead we have an informal, naturalistic, domestic scene of a kind more characteristic of *Od*. The intervention of Hephaestus' wife recalls that of Helen in *δ* 137 ff. On Charis cf. *Ξ* 231–82 n.

385. *τίπτε Θέτι τανύπεπλε ἱκάνεις*: with two metrical irregularities **(p.351)** resulting from adaptation of a presumed nominative **Θέτις τανύπεπλος*; cf. *B* 6, *Δ* 338, *Θ* 471, *Σ* 288, *T* 400 nn. Charis' question is left unanswered so as not to anticipate 424/429 ff.

395–405. The recital, explaining why Thetis is such a friend of Hephaestus and has a claim on his kindness, is analogous to the one in *A* 396–406 explaining why she had a claim on Zeus. For the myth cf. again *Ξ* 231–82 n.

398. *Εὐρυνόμη*: Hes. *Th*. 358 n., where the inference that she is here classed as a Nereid is hardly valid. In Hes. *Th*. 907–9 she is mother of the Charites, which would make her Hephaestus' mother-in-law.

***Θέτις θ᾽ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπωι*:** ≈ *Z* 136 (n.).

399. *ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο*: cf. *EFH* 146–8.

408. *παράθες ξεινήϊα καλά*: reinforcing the promise of 387 and skilfully giving the impression that Thetis is indeed served with food and drink during what follows, though it is not mentioned explicitly.

409–16. The perspiring, bare-chested workman transforms himself suitably for the reception of the lady visitor, tidying all his work things away, cleaning himself up, and putting on a chiton.

412. *φύσας … ὅπλα τε πάντα*: after 409.

417. After 411.

419–20. After Hes. *Op*. 61–4. Hesiod's Pandora is a living woman who learns her *ἔργα* from Athena, but how could goddesses teach anything to Hephaestus' mechanical robots, which are made from gold and not alive but merely *ζωῆισι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι* (418)?

423–5. After 384–6. A seated handshake is abnormal.

426. = *Ξ* 195; [427] is a concordance interpolation (*Studies* 248).

437–43. = 56–62; [441] is interpolated from there.**444–56**. Thetis summarizes the essentials of the story from the beginning of *Il*., re-using a number of lines and phrases previously employed. It is as if Hephaestus, concentrating on his own affairs, has followed nothing of the mortal conflict, which he declared in *A* 573 ff. to be of little concern to the gods.

444–5. ≈ *Π* 56 + 58.

446. *τῆς ἀχέων*: ≈ *B* 694.

***φρένας ἔφθιεν*:** ≈ *A* 491.

448–52. The lines give a telescoped version of events: the penning in of the Achaeans at their ships is put before the Embassy, as if things had reached that point in *Θ*, and the following morning's fighting (*Λ*–*O*) is wholly elided, as if Ach.'s decision to send Patr. out had been the immediate outcome of the Embassy. It is hard to conceive that this reflects a real stage in P's workings. Cf. Bergk 594 n. 126; Erhardt 369–71; Wil. 173; Schadewaldt 113 n. 1.

448. *τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες*: from *I* 574 (the Meleager story). The approach to Ach. came out of a council of the *γέροντες, I* 89. **(p.352)**

449. *περικλυτὰ δῶρ᾽ ὀνόμαζον*: ~ *I* 121.

453. *πᾶν δ᾽ ἦμαρ*: the implication of the preceding lines is that Patr. went out to fight in the early morning. His aristeia is accordingly stretched out to fill most of the day.

***περὶ Σκαιῆισι πύλῃσιν*:** ~ *Π* 712.

454. *καί νύ κεν αὐτῆμαρ πόλιν ἔπραθον*: ~ *Π* 698 ff.

458–60. No spear will be needed: Ach. will take the *Πηλιὰς μελίη* from his cabin (*T* 387 ff.). Cf. *Π* 140–4. It seems to be by an oversight that Thetis does not ask for a sword (and Hephaestus does not make one) to replace the one Patr. took in *Π* 135; Ach. has one nevertheless in *T* 372, *Y* 284, etc.

468. *τὴν μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ*: that is, seated (389, 422) and provided with food and drink (408 n.). She remains in suspended animation until he returns with the completed armour towards dawn (615); cf. Rothe 294.

470. *ἐείκοσι πᾶσαι*: after 373.

476–7. Although Hephaestus is perhaps ambidextrous (*A* 607 n.), P presumably pictures him holding the hammer in his right hand and the tongs in his left, making an exception to the usual rule in epic (Hes. *Th*. 179 n.) that the left hand's action is given before that of the right.

478–608. P launches into a long and elaborate description of the decoration on the shield, I suppose as a bravura exercise. It cannot be closely based on a real object, since some of the scenes are cinematic, but its general conception owes much to Cypro-Phoenician art of the early seventh century, cf. p. 18.

482. *δαίδαλα πολλὰ ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσιν*: after 400, 380.

484. *ἠέλιόν τ᾽ ἀκάμαντα*: after 239.

***σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν*:** on a real work of art a crescent moon would be more likely.

486. = Hes. *Op*. 615. There the Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion are a group of constellations in the same quarter of the sky; Hesiod is referring to the season of their setting, which is the time to plough. In *Σ* the verse serves as a ready-made selection of constellation-names to give specificity to the *τείρεα*. P adds only one other. If he had not had the Hesiodic line conveniently to hand, he might have mentioned Sirius or Bootes to give a wider coverage of the sky.

489. *λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο*: *IEPM* 212.

490–606. The human world is represented by a series of complementary scenes:

(A i) a city at peace, with joyful wedding festivities and a solemn judicial hearing;
(A ii) a city under attack;
(B i) agriculture: ploughing (November); **(p.353)**
(B ii) agriculture: harvest (May);
(B iii) agriculture: vintage (September);
(C i) pastoralism: cattle;
(C ii) pastoralism: sheep;

(D) a festive scene with dancers and acrobats. Possibly this should be regarded as part of (C ii).

514–15. Cf. *Γ* 146–60 n.

516. *ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*: ≈ *E* 592 (n.), cf. *N* 127 f. ≈*P* 398.

[535–8]. Interpolated from [Hes.] *Sc*. 156–9, with the variant in 535 *ὁμίλεον* (≈ 539) for *ἐθύνεον*. Further verses from the same source are added in a papyrus after 608.

540. *νεκρούς τ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἔρυον*: a motif that has been central in the narrative since Patr.’s death.

579–86. P enlivens the pastoral scene with a crisis of the sort that he often imagines in his similes, as in 161 f., *O* 630–6, *P* 61–7.

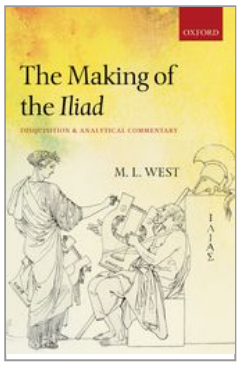
583. ≈ *Λ* 176 =*P* 64.

603–6. See *Studies* 250–2.

609–13. The other items of equipment are described cursorily. Cf. *B* 494–510 n.

615. Cf. 468 n. P dispenses with any further dialogue or leavetaking and takes Thetis straight back to Troy.

616. *ἴρηξ ὠκς*: cf. *N* 62–72 n.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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1–3. Thetis left Ach. before sunset and reached Hephaestus after it. Now dawn falls between her leaving him and returning to Ach.

4–6. Picking up from *Σ* 354 f.; 5 f. ≈*Σ* 233 f.

8. ≈ *Σ* 112.

23–39. Ach. proclaims himself ready to prepare for battle without further ado. But he is concerned about the corruption of the body by worms—another link with the Gilgamesh epic, cf. *EFH* 343. Thetis reassures him, undertaking to keep the flies away, and gives Patr. a nasal infusion of ambrosia and nectar to preserve his flesh. Cf. the preservation of Hector's body by Aphrodite and Apollo in *Ψ* 184–91. Pestalozzi 31 thinks that the motif was adapted from an account of the death of Ach., when seventeen days of mourning intervened before his cremation (*ω* 63–5) and his body needed to be kept in good condition.

34–6. Before disappearing, Thetis gives her son the instructions that programme the next scene. He is to call the army together and make up his quarrel with Ag.; then he can ready himself for battle. Without divine injunction he would never have tarried to perform the reconciliation. In a sense it is 'now only a formality' (Mülder 198).

38. *ἀμβροσίην καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν*: cf. *A* 598 n. The divine nutrients are now used not to confer immortality but as preservatives; cf. *Π* 680, *Ψ* 186 f.

39. *χρὼς ἔμπεδος*: after 33.

40. *αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης*: ≈ *A* 34, 349 f. Thetis' departure is passed over (but was supplied in an ancient plus-line).

43–4. *κυβερνῆται … | καὶ ταμίαι*: classes of men we have not heard of before. P's imagination is filling in corners of the canvas as he describes the sensation caused by Ach.'s reappearance.

45–6. *οὔνεκ' Ἀχιλλεύς | ἐξεφάνη· δηρὸν δὲ μάχης ἐπέπαυτ' ἀλεγεινῆς*: = *Σ* 247 f.

47–53. The three major heroes who were wounded in *Λ*, have played little part since, and will do no more fighting in the poem, are brought back into the picture for this episode, rather as in *Ξ* 27 ff. Ag., the most essential figure, is held back for the last entry. He and Od. will have important roles in the ensuing dialogue, with Od. (rather than Nestor) playing the part of prudent counsellor; Diom. will remain silent.

53. ~ *Λ* 248–53. **(p.355)**

54–5. ≈ *A* 57 f., recalling the original speech of Ach. that led to the quarrel; 55 =*A* 58 (also followed by "*Ἀτρείδη*, …"). Ag. will recall it explicitly in 88 f.

58. *εἵνεκα κούρης*: as Ajax remarked disapprovingly in *I* 637.

59. *Ἄρτεμις*: *Z* 205 n.

60. *Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσας*: *B* 690–3 n.

64. *δηρὸν ἐμῆς καὶ σῆς ἔριδος μνήσεσθαι ὀΐω*: anticipating epic poetry on the subject; *Ἀχαιούς* (63) as in *γ* 203. Cf. *B* 119 n.

65–6. = *Σ* 112 f., there too followed by *νῦν δέ*.

71. *ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἰαύειν*: ≈ *Σ* 259.

72–3. ≈ *H* 118 f.

75. *μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος*: ≈ 35.

77. *αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἕδρης*: Ag. explains his departure from assembly procedure in 79–82. Conditions are too noisy for speeches meant for everyone to hear. It becomes more of a private discussion among the leaders. The army will receive brief exhortations in passing (153, 190), but their reactions will no longer be reported as in 74. Cf. *Studies* 252 f.

83–4. Ag. will address himself to Ach.; the crowd is to stay in the background and acquiesce.

86. *νεικείεσκον*: as Nestor did in *I* 106 ff. There too Ag. admitted to having been a victim of Ate, and followed up the admission by offering Ach. handsome restitution.

87. *ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς*: it is not clear why she is relevant. Possibly her appearance in the Meleager story in the Embassy (in the same formula, *I* 571) led P to associate her in his mind with the personified Ate of *I* 504 ff., whom he is about to bring in again.

91–136. Expansion. The *θεός* in 90 was originally unspecific, 'God', and it is awkward to have it then identified as a particular deity; awkward too is the shift from *ἄτη* as something that other gods have put into Ag.'s wits (88, resumed in 137) to *Ἄτη* as an independently active figure. She has already appeared as a personified goddess in connection with the Litai in *I* 504–12, and this passage is composed in the same spirit.

91. *Διὸς θυγάτηρ*: like the Litai in *I* 502.

92–3. The imagery is of the same order as in *I* 505 f., where Ate was *σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος*.

94. *βλάπτουσ᾽ ἀνθρώπους*: = *I* 507.

95–133. The goddess's irresistible power is illustrated by the tale of Heracles' birth, the circumstances of which, through a trick that Hera played on Zeus, made the hero subject to Eurystheus. For P's interest in Heracles mythology cf. pp. 30 f. Ate's role in the birth story is an embellishment added for the present context. For the rest, the story might have stood at the beginning of an epic on Heracles' Labours (Nitzsch 290). **(p.356)**

95. *καὶ γὰρ*: typical in introducing a mythical exemplum; cf. *Ω* 602.

101–2. = *Θ* 5 f.

108–13. Deity put on oath for the purposes of a trick: cf. *EFH* 181.

109. ~ 104.

114. = *Ξ* 225.

126–31. For Zeus' casting of the hateful goddess out of heaven cf. *EFH* 390.

126. *εἶλ᾽ Ἄτην κεφαλῆς*: touching another deity's head may be appropriate for swearing an oath (*Hymn. Aphr.* 27, Sapph. 44A. 5), but in this case Zeus is angrily grabbing Ate by the hair preparatory to throwing her down to earth.

129. *Ἄτην, ἣ πάντας ἀᾶται*: after 91.

131. *ἵκετο ἔργ᾽ ἀνθρώπων*: where she now operates. Cf. *Ξ* 361.

133. ≈ *Θ* 363.

137–8. ≈ *I* 119 f.

***καί μοι φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς*:** linking up with 87, though the alliance of Zeus and Ate does not sit very well with the story just told.

139. *ἀλλ᾽ ὄρσεο πόλεμόνδε*: responding to Ach.'s stated intention in 68 ff. 'I admit I was wrong, I will compensate you; so go ahead, hasten to battle.'

***καὶ ἄλλους ὄρνυθι λαούς*:** as Ach. urged Ag. to do in 69. From now on Ach. is effectively in charge of the army, cf. *Y* 2, *Ω* 656–8 n.; Naber 24–7. The original aim of the war has faded out of sight, and Ag.'s overlordship is no longer relevant (Mülder 198).

140–1. P does not want to repeat the whole list of offers that was twice rehearsed in *I* (122–56, 264–98), nor to give a shortened version, so he just refers back to the Embassy.

***χθιζός*:** accurate if one takes the day to be formally reckoned from sunset to sunset (cf. Hes. *Th*. 124 n.); but perhaps used more loosely in looking back from 'before today's fighting' to 'before yesterday's fighting'.

142–4. The promised treasures must be handed over before the fighting starts, as once it gets going there will be no opportunity; after Hector's death P will want Ach. to concentrate on lamenting Patr. and preparing his funeral. So Ag. at once proposes to produce them. Ach. will demur, but after a series of speeches the transfer will go ahead.

147. *δῶρα μὲν*: Ach. begins by answering Ag.'s last point. P's easiest option would have been to let him accept the offer and to get the restitution over as quickly as possible. He prefers to highlight his hero's temperament by showing him eager to go after Hector without delay, indifferent as to whether he gets his gifts now or later.

154–83. To counter Ach.'s indifference about the gifts and ensure that the restitution proceeds, P has the prudent Od. advocate a pause for breakfast, to be combined with the presentation of the gifts and the formal reconciliation. **(p. 357)**

154–5. After *A* 130 f., where *ἀγαθός περ ἐών* has more point.

162–70. The argument is developed at unnecessary length. P is in no hurry.

162. *πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα*: the conventional time frame for epic fighting, cf. *B* 385–7 n.

171–80. Od. lays down a programme for action.

175–6. The oath that Ag. offered to swear at *I* 132 f. is put back on the agenda. 176 is repeated mechanically from *I* 133 = 275, *τῆς* ‘of her’ having no reference here, ‘as Briseis has not been named or even remotely alluded to’ (Leaf).

179–80. This part of Od.’s programme will not be carried out until the evening (*Ψ* 35 ff.) because of Ach.’s refusal to eat before he fights.

181. *Ἀτρείδη*: Od. could have put 172 ff. as a direct address to Ag. He turns to him now to cue his response in 184 ff., in which he declares himself willing to swear the oath and proceed with the reconciliation.

185–6. Ag. endorses the programme.

189. After 142.

193. Preparing for 238 ff.

194–5. After 140 f.

196–7. Because of the poetic significance of the event, Ag. will solemnize his oath with a sacrificial ceremony as in *Γ* 103 ff. Talthybios (*A* 320–32 n.) is charged with fetching the victim as in *Γ* 118. He arrives with it punctually at 250.

198–241. Erhardt 382 plausibly suggests that this is an expansion, primarily because 242 makes more sense directly after 192–7 than in its present position. Ach.’s and Od.’s speeches cover the same ground as their previous ones in 145–83.

199. Ach. repeats the formulaic line from 146, eschewing the lively but uncivil *varietas* of *A* 122, 149, 225.

200–14. Ach. is not so easily persuaded to postpone his sortie. He thinks the Achaeans should fight now and eat afterwards, at the end of the day. He personally will take no food or drink while his friend lies unavenged. Cf. *EFH* 390; *IEPM* 459.

204. = *Λ* 300.

207. *νήστιας ἀκμήνους*: combining words from Ach.’s speech, 156 and 163.

211. *δεδαϊγμένος ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι*: after *Σ* 236.

212–13. *πρόθυρον*: cf. *Ω* 449–56 n.

***ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἑταῖροι | μύρονται*:** after 5 f.

215–37. Od. presses his argument and insists on breakfast, which has to be eaten in spite of Ach.

222–3. Reaping imagery: *Λ* 67–71 n. **(p.358)**

***τάλαντα*:** *Θ* 69–72 n.

238. *ἦ, καὶ Νέστορος υἷας ὀπάσσατο*: he passes straight on to action in accord with Ag.'s instruction in 193 ff., leaving no room for further objection from Ach. For the list of seven men cf. *E* 677–8 n.; the number corresponds to that of the tripods and women (243–6). Nestor's two sons featured in the battle for Patr.'s body, as did Meriones.

239. *Μέγητα Θόαντά τε Μηριόνην τε*: these three appeared in loose association in *O* 281–305. Meges was last seen in *Π* 313.

240. *Λυκομήδεα*: associated with one of the Nestorids and Meriones in *I* 81–4. He appeared in the fighting at *M* 366 and *P* 346.

***Μελάνιππον*:** a new name on the Achaean side, but one that P has twice used to end the hexameter in lists of Trojans (*Θ* 276, *Π* 695; Fenik 148).

243–8. An accurate summary of the list in *I* 122–32 ~ 264–74; 244 =*I* 123 = 265. There is naturally no reference to the further rewards promised to Ach. if and when Troy is taken (*I* 135 ff.).

249–50. *ἄν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων | ἵστατο*: P is conscious that Ag. has been seated throughout (77).

252–4. ≈ *Γ* 271 ff.

258–60. ≈ *Γ* 276 ff. (nn.).

266. ≈ *Γ* 292.

268. *ῥῖψ' ἐπιδινήσας*: from a slightly later context in *Γ* (378, Men. with Paris' helmet).

270–4. Ach. too blames Zeus and Ate, without actually admitting that Ate had affected himself as well as Ag. He supposes that in instigating their quarrel Zeus had a larger purpose.

275. = *B* 381. Ach. has now fallen in with Od.'s (P's) programme. He called the assembly, and he now closes it (Wil. 176).

278–81. The gifts are not left lying about but brought to Ach.'s ship by his followers and put in the appropriate places.

282–302. Perhaps another expansion (Erhardt 382); *αὐτόν* in 303 is more easily understood after 279–81 than after 301 f.

Briseis' lament supplements those in *Σ*, and would no doubt have been put with them if she had been available. It was indicated in *A* 348 that she was at least reasonably happy with Ach., and in *I* 336–43 that he loved her. That she looked forward to becoming his lawful wedded wife, and that Patr. had gained her affection by fostering these hopes, are new details of the ménage in the present passage, probably conceived for it (Wil. 248). A narrative of the sack of Lyrnessos would not have included a scene of Patr. consoling Briseis.

282. *ἰκέλη χρυσῆι Ἀφροδίτηι*: cf. *EFH* 243.

283. After 211/*Σ* 236.

290. *κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ*: cf. *Π* 111 n. **(p.359)**

292. *δεδαϊγμένον ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι*: after 283.

296. *Μύνητος*: *B* 692.

301–2. The seven Lesbian women take the role of a responding chorus in a quasi-ritual lament, cf. *Σ* 28–31 and 50–1 nn. They have less reason than Briseis (or than Ach.'s slave-women in *Σ*) to bewail Patr., but P brilliantly justifies their tears.

303–8. The Achaean leaders beg Ach. to take some food, but he steadfastly refuses. Cf. *EFH* 391.

309–39. As a counterweight to the lament of Briseis with her chorus of seven women, we have a further one by Ach. with a chorus of six men who remain with him when the other leaders disperse.

311. Perhaps a secondary addition to give Phoenix a mention; cf. *I* 168 n. and Noé 52, 86.

315–18. He begins from the theme of eating before battle. We saw Patr. serving food in *I* 206 ff.

319. *κεῖσαι δεδαϊγμένος*: after 211 f.

320. *ἄκμηνον*: after 163, 207.

322–3: cf. *Π* 15 f. (with 7–19 n.).

[326–37]. This and the other passage that alludes to Neoptolemos, *Ω* 466 f., must be regarded as rhapsodic interpolations designed to take account of a figure who featured in the *Little Iliad, Iliou Persis*, and *Nostoi*, and was known to P^{Od} (*λ* 492 ff.). In *Il*. we have a consistent picture of Ach. as a doomed young man whose divine mother and distant, aged father are his only family (cf. 422); that he has no issue is confirmed by *Ω* 538 f. Cf. *Studies* 12. The addition is

awkwardly attached to what precedes by 326 *ἠὲ τόν*, which has no clear syntax. The idea in 334 f. that Peleus may already be dead contradicts 323 f., while the alternative that he is living and grieving duplicates it.

[332–3]. The picture strongly recalls the prologue of Sophocles' *Electra*. If the interpolation could be as late as the fifth century, it might conceivably reflect a similar prologue to a play that began with Neoptolemos' return to Phthia after the war in the company of Phoenix.

338–9. After 301 f.

340–56. P believes in the arguments he has put in Od.'s mouth about the necessity of taking sustenance before fighting, and he now provides for Ach. to receive some by divine agency. Athena is the natural deity to supply his needs; she does so on Zeus' instructions.

340. ≈ *P* 441.

344. After *Σ* 3.

346. *ἄκμηνος καὶ ἄπαστος*: cf. 320 n.

348. *στάξον ἐνὶ στήθεσσ'*: the idea of the infusion is adapted from 38 f., **(p. 360)** where it went in through the dead man's nostrils. As this would be grotesque with the living Ach., P avoids specifying an orifice.

349. = *Δ* 73.

351–2. *αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοί | αὐτίκα θωρήσσοντο*: this does duty for the stereotypical 'and she found Ach. arming himself amid the other Achaeans', facilitating a seamless progression in mid line (356) into the arming scene.

357–63. As in *B* 455 ff., the effect of the army's flashing armour, the gleam of which 'reached heaven' (362 ≈*B* 458), is described with a simile and followed by a reference to the noise of their feet (363 ≈*B* 465 f.). Here the armour is resolved into helmets, shields, plated cuirasses, and spears.

357. ≈ *M* 278, cf. *M* 156–8 n. The simile is more aptly applied in those passages to showers of missiles.

***νιφάδες Διὸς*:** cf. *E* 91 n.

358. ≈ *O* 171.

[365–8]. A rhetorical interpolation: *Studies* 253 f.**369–83**. The arming follows the typical scheme (*Γ* 328–39 n.). The arming of Patr. is the immediate model:

369–73 =*Π* 131–3 + 135–6 (=*Γ* 330–2 +334–5; cf. *Λ* 17–19), after which the splendiferous shield and the helmet receive some extra lines of comment.

[374]. Added to supplement the elliptical syntax; for other instances of the kind cf. *Studies* 12 n. 29. The simile, which clashes with that in 375 ff., may have been suggested by the comparisons to a star in 381 and to the sun in 398.

375–8. The simile is akin to that in *Σ* 207–13, and 379 ≈*Σ* 214.

380. *καλοῦ δαιδαλέου*: ≈ *Σ* 611 (of the helmet).

381. *ἀστὴρ ὣς ἀπέλαμπεν*: ≈ *Z* 295 (n.).

384–6. Here we expect the warrior to take up his spear or spears, but first Ach. needs to flex his limbs and see how comfortable the new armour is. **388–91**. = *Π* 141–4.

392. ≈ *Π* 145; for the Alkimos who now appears beside Automedon see *P* 467 n. The yoking and harnessing of the horses is described more amply in accord with the significance of the occasion.

398. ≈ *Z* 513.

400. *Ξάνθέ τε καὶ Βαλίε*: ≈ *Π* 149. As elsewhere (*Σ* 385 n.), conversion to the vocative results in a metrical irregularity.

***τηλεκλυτὰ τέκνα Ποδάργης*:** *Π* 150 n. The elevated form of address reflects the dignity of these steeds.

404–18. Speaking and prophetic horses: *IEPM* 467 f. P may have used the motif in telling of Ach.'s death (Edwards 283).

406. ≈ *P* 440.

407. *αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ*: cf. *EFH* 391. Why Hera? We may think of her other interferences with the course of nature mentioned in *Σ* 239 and *T* 118 f. **(p. 361)**

409–10. *ἀλλά τοι ἐγγύθεν ἦμαρ ὀλέθριον*: cf. *Σ* 96 n. If that passage reflects a version in which Ach. was killed on the same day as Hector, the present one does not, as appears from 408. Cf. *Y* 127.

***οὐδέ τοι ἡμεῖς | αἴτιοι, ἀλλὰ θεός τε μέγας καὶ Μοῖρα*:** after 86 f. and *Π* 849.

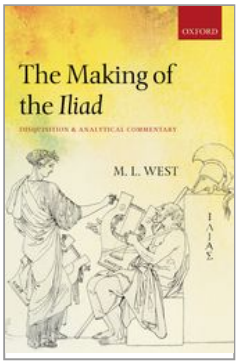
413. Like Patr. himself (*Π* 845 n.), the immortal horse is aware of Apollo's part in the killing.

414. =*Σ* 456.

415. ≈*Π* 149 f.

417. *θεῶι τε καὶ ἀνέρι*: adding further precision to the previous intimations of Ach.'s coming death. P is thinking of his own narrations of that event; his audiences will have heard them and known which god and man were meant. If not, they will learn at *X* 359. Cf. also *Φ* 278.

420. ≈ *Π* 859.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Y

M. L. West

To heighten the climactic effect of Ach.'s final encounter with Hector, it is held back for more than a thousand lines, during which we shall see how Ach.'s return to the field transforms the military situation as he massacres Trojans and sends the survivors fleeing in confusion to the safety of the city walls. Other Achaean heroes—the Ajaxes, Men., Idomeneus, Meriones—vanish from the narrative entirely, reappearing only in *Ψ*.

As in *E*, the aristeia is raised to a grander plane by the involvement of gods in the fighting. The first thing that happens is that Zeus revokes his embargo on their participation.

In *E* intro. it was suggested that the more extravagant scenes with gods, those in which Diom. attacks them, were at least in part a secondary overlay. There is reason to think that the same is true of the theomachy motif in *Y*–*Φ*. To summarize my conclusions in advance:

- The Scamander flood and its drying up by Hephaestus (*Φ* 233–382) represent an expansion of the original narrative, as does the following series of tussles between pairs of deities (*Φ* 383–520).
- To prepare the way for these, insertions were made in the early part of *Y* (1–155).

In the first version, I believe, the Olympians played no bigger a role in the narrative than in *Π* and *P*. The river Scamander became distressed when Ach. drove a horde of Trojans into him and slaughtered them in such numbers that they were blocking his flow, but after he complained Ach. desisted and returned to fighting on the plain (*Φ* 1–232). Then P thought of a way of making the river

episode more sensational: the Scamander would burst its banks and inundate the plain, putting Ach. in danger of drowning. P had no doubt seen the river flooding in winter or spring; he had also seen it running low in the fiery heat of summer. He had the idea of combining the seasonal extremes in the events of a single hour. The choking of the stream with corpses provided a naturalistic explanation of the flood. For its drying up, water's antithesis, fire, had to be brought in, and that meant deploying Hephaestus at the instigation of Hera.

This contest for supremacy between two divinities then suggested the notion of a whole series of bouts between pro-Trojan and pro-Achaean gods (Erhardt 414, 417; Robert 233). P constructed these in a light-hearted way as an **(p.363)** appendix to the Scamander–Hephaestus conflict, and finally, to integrate them better into the larger narrative, he made insertions in the part of *Y* that describes the beginning of the day's events.

From 156 on all is straightforward, except for some probable expansions in Aeneas' speech at 200–58 and another at 292–320. In 1–155 it is difficult to arrive at a clear stratification. Pieces inserted to prepare for the *Φ* expansion include at least 7–9, 32–40, 67–74, 138–43, and 151–2, perhaps the whole of 112–55. It is possible to imagine an original version consisting only of 1–3 + 48–53 + 79–111 (with probably some further lines before 156). But certain awkwardnesses within the rest suggest that it is not just a matter of a single layer of insertions in a fluent primary text, but that P's efforts to revise the section have resulted in something of a patchwork. See further the nn. on 4–31, 7–9, 32–40, 48–53, 54, 67–74, 75, 112–55, 120–31, 138–43, 156, *Φ* 233, 515–21.

3. = *Λ* 56.

4–31. The divine assembly is the counterpart to that in *Θ* 2 ff., when Zeus banned the gods from entering the battle. There have been breaches of the ban from time to time, but on the whole it has been maintained. Now he gives them the opposite order: they are to go down and assist whichever side they favour. If we except the section *Φ* 233–520, this makes little difference to the course of events: Apollo gives intermittent help to the Trojans and Athena to the Achaeans, but they were doing much the same yesterday, and it did not require a plenary meeting to enable them to go on doing so; nor to make possible Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas. Critics have accordingly taken the convocation to be preparation for the theomachy in *Φ*. However, the gods do not do there what Zeus invites them to do here: they spar with one another instead of assisting the Achaeans or Trojans. And the lines in this part of *Y* that more clearly relate to the theomachy (7–9, 32–40, 67–74) are easily detachable and have the look of secondary additions; see the nn. on each.

4. *Θέμιστα*: cf. *O* 87 n. She appears in *β* 68 f. as the goddess who presides over men's *ἀγοραί*.

7–9. Previous assemblies have not involved the Rivers; they are included this time in preparation for the role played by Scamander in *Φ* (Kammer; Wil. 81). Oceanus is excepted because he, like Hades, is too firmly bound to his cosmic location to be a conceivable visitor to Olympus. The Nymphs come naturally with the Rivers, being, like them, all children of Oceanus (Hes. *Th*. 337–70). Thetis and the Nereids were clearly not in P's mind. It is not easy to picture the seats in Zeus' house being crowded with Rivers and Nymphs, and this favours the hypothesis that 7–9 were added after 10–12 had already been composed.

12. = *A* 608. **(p.364)**

13–14. *οὐδ' Ἐνοσίχθων | νηκούστησε θεᾶς*: his compliance is noted in view of his rebellious behaviour in *Ξ*–*O*. Having been picked out for this reason, he is made to ask the reason for the summons and partly to guess the answer. In *Θ* 4 ff. Zeus simply spoke without preliminary.

***ἐξ ἁλὸς ἦλθε*:** he retired to the sea at *O* 219.

22–3. Zeus himself will remain above the fray and enjoy the spectacle; cf. *Φ* 388–90. We might have expected him to take his seat on Ida, as in *Θ* 47 ff.

26–30. The justification for the ordinance is artificial, but behind it lies P's need to prolong the battle and delay Ach.'s triumph.

32–40. This represents the typical catalogue of forces that precedes a new battle; there is no arming scene (Edwards 290). The eleven deities listed are precisely those who will be involved in the theomachy in *Φ*. Cf. 4–31 n.

34–7. To the regular trio of pro-Achaean divinities are appended Hermes, who has not hitherto appeared in the narrative, and Hephaestus, who although worshipped in Troy (*E* 10) has made Ach.'s armour for Thetis. The real reason for his inclusion is that his fire will be needed to counter Scamander's flood. Iris does not appear for either side.

37. = *Σ* 411.

38–40. Ares, Apollo, and Aphrodite have appeared before as helpers of Troy. Artemis and Leto come in by association with Apollo (cf. *E* 447), and Xanthos-Scamander because Ach. will antagonize him in *Φ*. Aphrodite, however, will play no active part in the coming battle, not even to save her son Aeneas; she appears only at *Φ* 416 ff., where she comes to tend Ares and gets pushed to the ground by Athena.

43. = *Σ* 248, *T* 46.

48–53. This little block of lines is similar in type to *Δ* 439–45 (with the same opposition of Athena and Ares), *Λ* 3–12. We should expect to find it in the initial account of the armies' mobilization, for example after 3 (cf. Erhardt 389). As it is, there is an awkward join, as it does not supply the expected continuation to 41–7, which would have been 'but when the gods joined the battle, <both sides had to labour equally>'. If there is no actual lacuna, it would seem that P has juxtaposed, not quite felicitously, verse sequences that were not composed together. Cf. 156 n.

48. *Ἔρις*: *Δ* 439–40 n.

***αὖε δ' Ἀθήνη*:** cf. *Λ* 10 n.

49. ≈*I* 67; cf. *Σ* 215–18.

50. *ἐπ' ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων*: the Sigeion and Rhoiteion headlands on either side of the ancient bay north of Troy, the *εὐρὺς κόλπος* of *Φ* 125.

53. *ἐπὶ Καλλικολώνηι*: a location not previously mentioned. It was no doubt, as Strabo supposed, one of the heights to the east of Troy. I imagine P looking up towards Troy from near the coast and choosing a suitable area **(p.365)** up the Simoeis valley for Ares to patrol opposite Athena. His knowledge of local topography and legend is noticeable in this rhapsody (Hentze vii. 53; Mazon 216 f.); cf. 145, 215 ff.

54. *ὣς τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους … ὀτρύναντες*: this reflects the original concept of the gods' involvement as proposed in 25, in which they assist the human armies. The next line, however, refers to their own strife and leads in to a baroque account of its effects. One may feel uncertain whether this was all part of the primary text.

56–66. The gods' entry into the battle is described in terms of the general effects they produce: tremendous noise, quaking of the earth, and the like. The passage shows the influence of Hesiod's Titanomachy and Typhonomachy; cf. Edwards 293 f. The sequence of Zeus, Poseidon, and Aidoneus, the three sons of Kronos (*O* 187 f.), suggests the three levels of the universe, sky, earth, and underworld. 'Zeus, though a self-declared bystander, is involved in the activities because he features in the regular Titanomachy motif' (Edwards 295). With 56 cf. *Th*. 839; with 61–5, *Th*. 681 f., 850–2 (cf. *EFH* 391 f.); with 65, *Th*. 739 = 810 (for *εὐρώεντα* cf. *EFH* 161); with 66, *Th*. 705.

67–74. The gods are paired off in preparation for their individual encounters in *Φ* 328 ff.:

67–8	Poseidon–Apollo	~	*Φ* 435 ff.

69	Athena–Ares	391 ff.
70–1	Hera–Artemis	479 ff.
72	Hermes–Leto	497 ff.
73–4	Hephaestus–Xanthos	330 ff.

(Aphrodite is left out, cf. 38–40 n.) The first, second, and fifth pairings are more or less self-explanatory; Artemis and Leto then had to be allocated between Hera and Hermes. For the principle of pairing off antagonists in advance cf. *IEPM* 472.

The pro-Achaean and pro-Trojan deities are named in chiastic order throughout. As in 33 ff., Hermes and Hephaestus come fourth and fifth of the pro-Achaean ones, and Leto and Xanthos fourth and fifth of the pro-Trojan. Poseidon and Apollo are put first, perhaps because Poseidon was the most recently mentioned (57, 63). There is partial correspondence also with the sequence of pairs in the *Φ* narrative, but Hephaestus and Xanthos, who come last in this list, will have the most significant of the conflicts in *Φ* and it will be related first. Their pairing only makes sense in terms of that peculiar episode, the outlines of which P must already have thought out **(p.366)** (cf. Erhardt 390). That being so, it is probable that the same is true of the other encounters and that the whole *Φ* theomachy was worked out before the present lines were composed. The logical connection between 67 and 66 is unsatisfactory, and the passage looks like an overlay, with 66 having originally been picked up directly by 75 (cf. Edwards 296). The confrontations are ignored in the following scenes, e.g. at 79, 112 ff.

74. *ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί*: cf. *A* 403–4 n. Scamander was evidently the name in use in P’s time, Xanthos one current in poetic tradition.

75. *ὣς οἳ μὲν θεοὶ ἄντα θεῶν ἴσαν*: this continues (and concludes for the time being) the theme of the gods fighting each other; the line may be part of the revision, or remodelled to suit the revision.

***αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς*:** for the next 750 lines or so the focus will be on Ach. After an initial reminder that his main ambition was to catch Hector, Aeneas comes forward to face him in an episode that will last till 352. This is P’s only chance to show Ach. fighting Aeneas and other Trojans, and the final meeting with Hector is delayed until this need has been fully satisfied.

78. = *E* 289, *X* 267, where it sits more naturally.

79. *Αἰνείαν δ᾽ … ὦρσεν Ἀπόλλων*: Aeneas counts as one of the greatest heroes on the Trojan side, though he has killed only six men and had no aristeia. He has been worsted by Ach. in the past, and his resolve to stand against him is appropriately explained from a god’s prompting. Of the pro-Trojan deities, Apollo is the only one who actually takes initiatives.

81. *Λυκάονι*: previously mentioned in *Γ* 333; he will be the subject of an important episode in *Φ* 34 ff., cf. Mazon 214.

83–5. As often, a hero is stirred to action by a rebuke (*E* 471 n.). For the reference to past boasts (invented *ad hoc*) cf. *Θ* 229–34 n.; 83 ≈*N* 219.

87–102. Aeneas is disheartened by his previous failure against this opponent and by his clearly having a god helping him, guiding his spear true and protecting him from those of others. There is a general similarity with Pandaros' reply in *E* 179 ff. to Aeneas' rebuke (171 *Πάνδαρε, ποῦ τοι τόξον κτλ*.), and also with Idomeneus' reply in *N* 222 ff. to Poseidon-Thoas' rebuke (he blames contrary gods) (Reinhardt 296).

88. *ἀντία Πηλείωνος*: after 80.

89–96. ~ 188–94. Ach.'s sack of Lyrnessos has been recalled before (*B* 690–3 n.); now Pedasos is coupled with it. His pursuit of Aeneas all the way to Lyrnessos is a new feature of the story, geographically surprising. Perhaps the Aineiadai of the Troad had a connection with Lyrnessos that Aeneas' flight there served to justify. Or perhaps P invents the pursuit *ad hoc* and, to give it a context, links it with the major exploit of Ach. from the earlier years of the war. The combination reappeared in the *Cypria*. In *Λ* 104 ff. a foray of Ach.'s in the pastures of Ida was mentioned without such a link. **(p.367)**

98. After *E* 603, where it fits better.

102. *οὐδ' εἰ παγχάλκεος εὔχεται εἶναι*: he makes no such claim, but there may be an echo of the invulnerable hero motif; cf. *Δ* 510 n.

108–9. Anticipating 177 ff.

112–55. If the gods are involved in the fighting, we should expect them to encroach on this focal contest between Ach. and Aeneas. But it is to be a normal encounter between two heroes until Aeneas has to be rescued by supernatural means. To restore normal conditions, P now contrives for the gods to hold themselves apart. Hera proposes to Poseidon and Athena that they intervene, but Poseidon demurs (as in *Θ* 208 ff.) and counter-proposes that they provisionally withdraw and watch from a vantage-point. This clears the way for his later intervention on Aeneas' behalf (Bethe 305 f.).

113. *ἀντία Πηλείωνος*: after 80 and 88; again in 118.

114. *ἄμυδις καλέσασα θεοὺς*: having no way of saying 'calling together the pro-Achaean gods', P uses a phrase that suggests all the gods; he would have done better to omit the explicit summons. The following dialogue indicates that

only the five pro-Achaeans are meant, cf. 125 *πάντες*, 136 *ἡμεῖς*. Of these, Hermes and Hephaestus are ignored in Hera's address in 115.

117. After 111.

119. Hera's first option is not poetically realistic: the duel must go forward.

120–31. Her alternative proposal corresponds to what Poseidon and Athena will actually do in *Φ* 284 ff. when Ach. is in fear of Scamander.

125. *πάντες*: clearly 'all five of us'. Hera is expressing the aims of the pro-Achaean deities, whose principal interest is to ensure that Ach. fulfils his potential on this day: he is destined to die soon, but not today.

127–8. *σήμερον*: P has determined that Ach.'s death is not to follow on straight after Hector's (*Σ* 96 n.) but to be put off for another occasion. Cf. *T* 409–10 n.

***ἀσσά οἱ Αἶσα | γεινομένωι ἐπένησε λίνωι*:** *IEPM* 379–85.

129–31. Anticipating Ach.'s later encounter with a divine opponent. Just as Diom. needed explicit instruction and encouragement from Athena before facing gods, so, P feels, should Ach.; though in the event this is omitted.

134. ≈ *Θ* 210, cf. 112–55 n.; [135] is interpolated from *Θ* 211.

136–7. Cf. *E* 29–36, where Athena leads Ares out of the fray to watch from the sidelines.

***πόλεμος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει*:** *Z* 492, cf. *α* 358, *λ* 352, *ϕ* 352; here given an unconventional twist.

138–43. Poseidon's readiness to fight if the gods on the other side do so looks forward to *Φ*, where, following Scamander's conflict with Hephaestus, Ares will in fact initiate the series of gods' duels (391) and Poseidon will take this as his cue (437). The theoretical alternative that they may hold Ach. back **(p.368)** is added for parallelism with Hera's unrealized suggestion in 119. 141–3 also anticipate *Φ*, where the gods' conflict is indeed soon completed and they do return to Olympus. So these lines at least belong to the secondary stratum. Poseidon's speech could well have ended at 137.

142. *θεῶν μεθ᾽ ὁμήγυριν*: cf. *EFH* 177.

144. Poseidon does not wait for further debate. Cf. *T* 238 n.

145–8. Cf. 53 n.; *E* 640–2 n. The place had an association with Poseidon, as it was he who sent the sea monster. P assumes that his hearers know the circumstances.

151–2. Matching action from the pro-Trojan gods, as in 51–3, where Kallikolone appeared as a location favoured by Ares. Apollo and Ares are picked out as in 138.

153–5. Transition to the scene of battle. Yes, says P, the gods are sitting it out, and yes, this is contrary to what I told you Zeus called for in 24 f.

155. *ἥμενος ὕψι*: ≈ 22 f., but the phrase is striking; cf. *EFH* 114.

156. *τῶν δ'*: the human armies. It does not look as if this was originally composed to follow 155. If we admit the possibility that the whole of 4–155 is made up of expansions in more than one layer, it would go well after 3, or perhaps after 3 + 48–53.

158. *δύο δ' ἀνέρες ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι*: ≈ *N* 499 (Aeneas and Idomeneus), cf. *P* 753 (Aeneas and Hector).

159. =*Z* 120 (Glaukos and Diom.); we shall see that the present episode contains several echoes of that one. Ach.'s descent from his chariot (*T*397–424) is taken for granted, as often.

164–73. An especially elaborate simile for Ach.

172–3. *ἤν τινα πέφνηι | ἀνδρῶν, ἦ' αὐτὸς φθίεται*: cf. *Λ* 429–33 n.

176–7. A formulaic sequence to introduce the usual altercation between two heroes about to fight, cf. *E* 630/2, *Z* 121 f., *Φ* 148 f., *X* 248 f.

180–6. If, as suggested below, 213–43 is an expansion, the same will be true of these lines, in which Ach. belittles Aeneas' claim to nobility and so provokes him into reciting his genealogy (cf. Reinhardt 512). The notion that he nursed the ambition to rule over the Trojans presupposes the tradition that he and his descendants did take over Priam's throne after the sack of Troy. Cf. 300–8; *N* 459–60 n.

184–5. After *Z* 194 f.

187–94. ~ 89–96 (n.).

189. *σεῦα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων*: ≈ *Z* 133.

193–4. *λῃϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας … | ἦγον*: a reminder of Briseis. 193 ≈*Π* 831.

196–8. ≈ *P* 30–2.

200–9. The opening of Aeneas' speech mirrors chiastically Apollo's advice **(p. 369)** in 104–9: first 'do not try to scare me' ~ 108 f., then the suggested argument in support of his superiority ~ 105–7.

203. *ἴδμεν δ᾽ ἀλλήλων γενεήν*: in *Z* 144 ff., where Glaukos recites his ancestry to Diom., it is in answer to the question who he is. But P could not present Aeneas as someone Ach. did not recognize, so the transition to genealogical matters appears rather forced. They are both celebrated figures, and anyone who knew their names also knew their parentage.

204. *πρόκλυτ᾽ ἀκούοντες ἔπεα*: P is no doubt thinking in terms of celebrity sustained by the medium of verse. For *πρόκλυτος* cf. *IEPM* 397.

208–9. ≈ *E* 247 f.

211. ≈ 200.

213–43. This looks like a secondary addition to the speech, not anticipated in 203–9. Aeneas' earlier ancestry and his relationship to Priam (his second cousin once removed) are of no relevance to his confrontation with Ach. and clearly dragged in from other motives. What they are relevant to is the legitimacy of the later Aenead dynasty, which is of concern to P in this episode (180, 300 ff.). Cf. Hentze vii. 59; Erhardt 401; VdM 304 f.; *Studies* 255 f.

213–14. After *Z* 150 f.

216. *Δαρδανίην*: Aeneas' own realm (*B* 819), for which seniority is here claimed over Ilios. No specific town is mentioned. Jachmann 260 n. 31 suggests that 'Dardania' stands for Scepsis; cf. p. 26.

223. *Βορέης*: cf. *Π* 150 n.

224. *ἵππωι δ᾽ εἰσάμενος παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτηι*: this looks like the adaptation of a verse **ἵππωι δ᾽ εἰσάμενος παρελέατο Κυανοχαίτης* (cf. Hes. *Th*. 278). It would probably have referred to the birth of Adrastos' famous horse Arion (*Ψ* 346 f.), whom Poseidon begot after taking horse form and having intercourse with Erinys (*Thebaid* fr. 11). Arion is the only horse to whom the epithet *κυανοχαίτης* is otherwise applied (*Thebaid* l.c., [Hes.] *Sc*. 120). P will have known the verse from a (or the) *Thebaid*. Cf. *Δ* 372–99 n.

227. ≈ 'Hes.' fr. 62. 1 (Iphiklos).

231–2. See *IEPM* 119.

233. ≈ 220.

234. *Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν*: P has not absorbed the myth to the extent of actually showing Ganymede in this role in the Olympian scenes.

235. ≈ *Hymn. Aphr*. 203.

237. *Τιθωνὸν*: if P had known of Tithonos' son Memnon, who was to play such a major role in the *Aethiopis*, he might have included him in the genealogy (Reinhardt 349, 380 f.).

238. = *Γ* 147; cf. *Studies* 186. **(p.370)**

240. The upshot of the genealogy is that Aeneas ranks equal with Hector (Hentze vii. 60 f., cf. *E* 467 and Reinhardt 454, 510).

241. = *Z* 211.

242–3. The remark comes in reply to Ach.'s accusation that Aeneas is angling for the kingship, and has a similar function to the lines prefixed to Glaukos' genealogy (*Z* 146–9; Reinhardt 513). The fortunes of Aeneas' family (*ἀρετή* here ='social status') may go up or down in future: it might attain royal power in Troy, but everything depends on the will of Zeus. For the idea that the god can do either of two opposite things 'as he wishes' cf. *EFH* 267 f.

244–58. This final part of the speech is markedly repetitious and sententious. 248–50 in particular seem weak and lacking in point. Possibly 244–9 and 251–5 represent alternative versions (L. Friedländer, *Jb. f. kl. Ph*. Suppl. 3), cf. *Studies* 256. The speech might originally have consisted simply of 200–12, 244–5, 256–8. Cf. Hentze vii. 58–60.

244–6. Returning to the opening of the speech, 200–2; 244 =*N* 292.

259. As usual, the lesser warrior opens the duel with an unsuccessful spear-cast.

262. *ταρβήσας*: this unexpected detail underlines the seriousness of Aeneas' challenge.

265. *οὐ ῥηΐδι᾽*: P stops short of saying that the armour was invulnerable.

***θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα*:** ≈ *Γ* 65.

266. After *P* 77.

[269–72]. Concocted on the basis of *Σ* 474 f. and 481 to match the technical detail of 275–81.

278–9. *ἀπὸ ἕθεν ἀσπίδ᾽ ἀνέσχεν | δείσας*: after 261 f.

283. *ταρβήσας*: after 262.

285–7. After *E* 302–4.

288–90. Before being interrupted the duel reaches a climax, with each hero posing a different imminent mortal threat to the other. But P hints that Ach.'s shield or helmet would have protected him from fatal injury.

291–340. Poseidon intervenes to rescue Aeneas, but only after a dialogue justifying the move. The action on the ground is treated as frozen while this takes place. But the dialogue (292–320, condemned by Moritz Schmidt) may be an expansion. 288–91 would seem to herald an instant intervention (321 *αὐτίκα*) rather than an instant conversation (292 *αὐτίκα*).

It is unclear why Aeneas is saved by Poseidon, a pro-Achaean god (albeit not the most intensely so), rather than by his mother Aphrodite or Apollo as in *E* 311 ff., 432 ff. For Aphrodite's failure to appear cf. 38–40 n. Apollo was the one who persuaded Aeneas to fight Ach. in the first place (cf. 295); that might be thought all the more reason why he should save him, but Poseidon denies his ability to do so (295 f.). Perhaps P thought it would be **(p.371)** inappropriate for the same god to prompt Aeneas to fight and then have to rescue him. Three other explanations are worth considering.

(1) Some have taken the episode to be adapted from an *Einzellied* composed for the Aineiadai (by P himself?). If they revered Poseidon (Leaf; Bethe 306), he might be a natural saviour of their ancestor. Certainly he had a footing in the Troad; after all, he collaborated with Apollo in building the walls of Troy. His characterization as a pro-Achaean deity may not have been a feature of the earlier phase of composition of *Il*.

(2) As Zeus has ruled out intervention by himself, Poseidon is the senior Olympian available to ensure that destiny follows its proper course; cf. 309–15 n.

(3) Less likely, perhaps, is the hypothesis of Robert 225 f. and Merkelbach 29–32, that in the *Einzellied* it was not Aeneas but Ach. who had to be rescued. Poseidon was an appropriate agent for that, and 291 *εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ ὀξὺ νόησε* would then originally have followed a simple protasis (288) instead of the unusual and somewhat awkward double one (288–90).

292. *ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπεν*: as if the gods were all together on Olympus. Cf. 114 n. In fact the dialogue is limited to the pro-Achaean group; Hera responds in 309.

297–308. Poseidon gives two arguments for saving Aeneas: firstly that he is a pious man (≈*X* 170–2) who shares no responsibility for the war, secondly that his death would contravene his Zeus-sanctioned destiny, which was to survive, assume the kingship of Troy, and pass it on to his descendants.

303–4. *ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ … ὄληται | Δαρδάνου*: the premise that Priam's line is about to be extinguished implies the death of Astyanax at the sack of the city (*Z* 476–81 n.).

***ὃν Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων*:** a large claim, reflecting the outlook of the Dardanian dynasty of P's time.

307–8. ≈ *Hymn. Aphr.* 196 f., where it is even clearer that the dynasty is to continue indefinitely, i.e. into the poet's own time.

***παίδων παῖδες*:** cf. *EFH* 226.

309–15. Hera speaks on behalf of herself and Athena. Her response, 'do it if you will, but don't expect us to support you', resembles her reply to Zeus when he thinks of saving Sarpedon (*Π* 443) and Athena's in the parallel passage about Hector (*X* 181). The effect is temporarily to release Poseidon from the consortium of anti-Trojan deities.

319. = *E* 167.

321. *κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν χέεν ἀχλύν*: it would breach epic convention for Ach. to witness Aeneas sailing off through the air. It is more usual in these cases to wrap the rescuee in mist so that nobody can see what happens **(p.372)** (*Γ* 381, *E* 23, 345, *Y* 444, *Φ* 597). In the present context the focus has been so much on Ach. to the exclusion of others round about that P finds it sufficient to blind him.

324. For the supernatural return of the hero's weapon cf. 440, *X* 276 f.; *IEPM* 463.

325. *ἔσσευεν*: unlike previous divine rescuers (*Γ* 380, *E* 318, 445) Poseidon does not carry his protégé to safety, he throws him, cf. 327, 330. The great boulder that he was poised to hurl at Ach. is forgotten; this is hardly a problem, but it would have been less of one in a version in which it was Ach. who was rescued (cf. 291–340 n.).

329. *Καύκωνες*: cf. *B* 855*ab*, *K* 428–31 nn. Their location on the river Parthenios would make them almost the remotest of Troy's allies, so it is fitting that they should fight on the edge of the battle.

331–9. Poseidon does not take mortal guise to speak to Aeneas; P wants him to give advice with divine authority.

332. *τίς σ᾽ ὦδε θεῶν*: Aeneas did not know it was a god who had spoken to him in 79 ff. He is now allowed to infer that it was, but in accord with usual epic convention he may not know which god.

333. = 88.

336–9. Cf. Zeus' warning to Hector in *Λ* 185 ff. The injunction will ensure that Aeneas stays out of the picture for the rest of the poem. It reveals that Ach. will die before the war ends and that Aeneas will not.

340. Poseidon departs without waiting for a reply, avoiding the need to describe Aeneas' reaction to being hurled across the battlefield and then addressed by a god who does not identify himself.

347–8. Ach. acknowledges Aeneas' claims, which he earlier ridiculed.

***φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν*:** cf. *EFH* 130 f.

349–80. Ach. gives up on Aeneas and turns to engage the mass of the enemy. Before he comes to grips with them he and Hector each make stirring speeches to their armies, exhorting them and declaring their personal resolve. Hector announces his intention of going forward and facing Ach., but Apollo, speaking in his own person (331–9 n.), warns him off and tells him to stay within the lines. P wants to show us Ach. doing plenty of other killing before he meets Hector.

349–50. *οὔ οἱ θυμὸς ἐμεῖ᾽ ἔτι πειρηθῆναι | ἔσσεται*: P has already decided to make no further use of Aeneas.

351. *Δαναοῖσι φιλοπτολέμοισι κελεύσας*: Ach.'s exhortation to the army serves as a reminder of its existence, though we shall hear almost nothing of it during the fighting.

358. *οὐδέ κ᾽ Ἄρης … οὐδέ κ᾽ Ἀθήνη*: ≈ *N* 127 f., *P* 398.

***θεὸς ἄμβροτος*:** *IEPM* 127. **(p.373)**

366–7. Hector speaks as if the Trojans had heard Ach.'s address to the Achaeans.

371–2. For the epanalepsis of the half-line see *EFH* 256; *IEPM* 106 f.

381–418. Ach.'s killing spree is represented by four victories over men not previously heard of; the second is a son of Antenor and the fourth a son of Priam. There is a good deal of recycling of verses previously used.

382–92. The first victim, Iphition, has a romantic background (a nymph as mother, cf. *Z* 21 f., *Ξ* 444; Fenik 150–2). It may be invented *ad hoc*, but given the mention of a *temenos* in a specific location at the confluence of two rivers in a region where P knows another landmark (*Ω* 614 ff.; cf. pp. 20 f.), there may be a real local legend behind it. Wanting Ach. to utter a boast over the kill but lacking material to put in it, P allows him to know the man's biography and divides its particulars between the narrative and the speech.

387. = *Π* 412.

389. *πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν*: *A* 146, *Σ* 170, both times of Ach. himself; why it should suit Iphition is not apparent. Possibly P is adapting a verse spoken over Ach. at his own death: **κεῖσαι, Πηλείδη, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν*.

397–400. ≈ *M* 183–6.

401. After *Λ* 423.

402. =*E* 56.

404. *Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα*: doubtless at Mykale (Hdt. 1. 148. 1, Strabo 8. 7. 2). Cf. p. 20.

412. = *Λ* 342.

414–15. ≈ *Δ* 132 f.

417. ≈ *E* 68.

419–54. Incensed by his brother's death, Hector forgets Apollo's instructions and attacks Ach. We expect this to be the final encounter, but P, ever fertile in means of retarding his climaxes, has much more on his agenda, and he brings Apollo in again to save Hector.

425. *ἐσεμάσσατο θυμόν*: after *P* 564, where it referred more appropriately (VdM 308) to the effect of Patr.'s death on Ach.

429. = *Z* 143.

431–3. = 200–2.

435. = *P* 514 (n.).

440. *ἦκα μάλα ψύξασα*: it requires little effort from a god, cf. *Γ* 381 n., *O* 362.

***τὸ δ' ἄψ ἴκεθ' Ἕκτορα δῖον*:** the motif is repeated from 322–4, cf. 324 n.

441–4. *προπάροιθε ποδῶν*: ≈ 324.

***αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς – σμερδαλέα ἰά χων*:** ≈ 283–5.

***τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων – ἠέρι πολλῆι*:** ≈ *Γ* 380 f. **(p.374)**

445–6. For the threefold assault cf. *E* 436–44 n.

449–54. = *Λ* 362–7 (with a slight change in the last line); cf. the n. there.

455–503. A further, longer sequence of killings. Ten more victims.

456. *προπάροιθε ποδῶν*: after 441.

463–72. A plea for life rejected, cf. *Z* 45–65 n.

463. *Τρῶα*: the name follows Dardanos by association.

472–4. Moulios and Echeklos have both already been killed by Patr., *Π* 694–6. Echeklos is now identified as a son of Agenor, on whom cf. *Δ* 467 n.

475–7. ≈ *Π* 332–4.

484. *Πείρεω*: presumably the same as the Thracian *Πείροος* or *Πείρως* of *B* 844 and *Δ* 520/5.

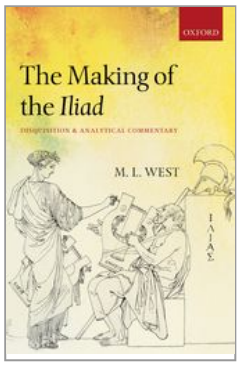
486. After 413.

490–503. The list of victims is rounded off with a pair of similes; for the comparison of the hero to a forest fire cf. *Λ* 155–7 n. The section ends with a general view of Ach. rampaging.

491–2. ≈ Hes. *Th*. 692–4.

499–502. ≈ *Λ* 534–7 (n.). Ach. is back in his chariot.

503. ≈ *Λ* 169.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Φ

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1–2. = *Ξ* 433 f. The start of a new rhapsody was made at the first mention of the river that will be at the centre of the next phase of action. The Scamander has previously been mentioned as defining the edge of the battlefield (*E* 36, *Z* 4, *Θ* 560, *Λ* 498 f., *Π* 397), but the fighting has not hitherto spilled into it.

3–16. It is clear that the Trojans fleeing towards their city do not need to cross the river and are not attempting to. Ach. cuts them in half: those on his left continue over the plain towards Troy, but run into a thick mist sent by Hera, while those on his right are trapped between him and the river, into which they are tumbling because of the press of men.

4. ≈ *Z* 41.

5. *ἤματι τῶι προτέρωι*: in the *O* battle.

***ὅτ᾽ ἐμαίνετο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ*:** ~ *O* 605.

6–7. *ἠέρα δ᾽ Ἥρη | πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν ἐρυκέμεν*: Ach. is going to attend first to those on the river side; the mist serves to confuse and delay the others so that they do not get clean away.

12–14. For the locust simile cf. *EFH* 246.

17–26. Ach. leaps into the river and slaughters all within reach. This initiates the process that will lead to the Scamander's being choked with corpses (218 ff.) and bursting its banks.

18. *μυρίκησιν*: cf. 350 n.

26–33. Transition back to fighting on land. The twelve prisoners are taken in preparation for their sacrifice on Patr.'s pyre (*Ψ* 175) in accordance with the vow made in *Σ* 336 f., cf. *Ψ* 22 f.

29. *τεθηπότας ἠΰτε νεβρούς*: ≈ *Δ* 243.

31. *τοὺς αὐτοὶ φορέεσκον*: P has to postulate this, as Ach. could not otherwise have laid his hands on a supply of straps.

32. *δῶκε δ᾽ ἑταίροισιν*: Ach.'s men, hardly mentioned otherwise, have to appear here to perform this task. Clearly Ach. has come out of the river on the same side as he went into it.

34–135. This merciless killing of a son of Priam despite his supplication foreshadows the fate of Hector. Ach. has already shown such ruthlessness in the present battle at *Y* 463 ff.; for the motif cf. *Z* 45–65 n.

35. *ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι*: the detail serves the interests of continuity. *Λυκάονι*: previously mentioned in passing at *Γ* 333 and *Y* 81.

36–43. The episode was related in the *Cypria* (arg. 11). But it has little value **(p. 376)** as a self-standing heroic exploit and has the appearance of an improvisation; why was Lykaon working out of doors at night? It was probably invented here as background for the present encounter. It is used again at *Ψ* 746 f.

41. *υἱὸς Ἰήσονος*: Euneos, *Ψ* 747; cf. *H* [466–81] n.

43. *Ἴμβριος Ἠετίων*: Imbros follows Lemnos by association, cf. *Ξ* 281, *Ω* 753. This Eetion is not mentioned elsewhere.

***Ἀρίσβην*:** from where he could make his way back to Troy overland. Cf. 58 f.

47–8. *ὅς μιν ἔμελλεν | πέμψειν εἰς Ἀΐδαο*: so we know the outcome in advance. Cf. *B* 36–40 n.

48. *οὐκ ἐθέλοντα*: after 36.

53–4. = *Y* 343 f.

60. *δουρὸς*: Ach. had of course taken up his spear again after getting out of the river.

64. *τεθηπώς*: after 29.

69–70. ≈ *Y* 279 f.

ἱεμένη χροὸς ἅμεναι: cf. *Λ* 573–4 n.

79. *ἑκατόμβοιον*: *B* 449 n. Acc. to *Ψ* 746 f. the payment was a Phoenician silver mixing-bowl, but that may not yet have been in P's mind.

81. *δυωδεκάτη*: ~ 46.

84–6. *μινυνθάδιον δέ με μήτηρ | γείνατο*: ≈ *A* 352. By using an expression that refers to the mother P is able to work in the fact that Lykaon is brother to Polydoros whom Ach. killed in *Y* 407 ff. The pairing is significant, cf. *X* 46–8.

***Ἄλταο γέροντος, | Ἄλτεω, ὃς*:** cf. *B* 671–3 n.

87. *Πήδασον*: sacked by Ach., *Y* 92.

88. *πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας*: for Priam's polygamy cf. *Z* 243–50 n.

89. *δειροτομήσεις*: not in fact what happened to Polydoros.

92. *κακὸν ἔσσεαι*: after 39.

93. *ἐπέλασσέ γε δαίμων*: after 47, 82 f.

94–6. The family details put Lykaon (=*P*) in mind of a further reason why Ach. might be merciful. 96 ≈*P* 204.

98. After *Λ* 137, where *ἀμείλικτον* more effectively answers *μειλιχίοις*.

113. *ἢ ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστῶι*: an arrow it will be, as we know. The premonitions of Ach.'s death gradually gain in definition, cf. 278, *X* 359 f.

115–16. ≈ *Ξ* 495 f.

119. = *N* 655.

120. *ποταμόνδε λαβὼν ποδὸς ἦκε φέρεσθαι*: it was necessary to keep the river under pressure.

[126–35]. See *Studies* 258 f. If the whole passage is a rhapsode's interpolation, his motives were firstly to expand on the gruesome picture of the **(p.377)** fishes feasting on Lykaon's body and secondly to give Scamander more explicit cause for offence. The poet apparently knew something about local cults (131 f.); cf. the priest of Scamander in *E* 77. 130 after 8.

136–8. Scamander is starting to get cross. In the hope of checking Ach. he encourages the grandson of another major river to stand against him.

139–204. The killing of the Paionian Asteropaios, on whom see *B* 848 n. He is Ach.'s only regular antagonist-victim before Hector (Strasburger 91).

141–3. Asteropaios has been mentioned three times before, but now he is properly introduced with details of his parentage.

145–6. *μένος δέ οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκεν | Ξάνθος*: the divine river does what an Olympian would do in the circumstances (Reinhardt 439).

148–53. After *Z* 121–7, 144–5. Cf. *Y* 159 n.; *EFH* 215.

150. *τίς πόθεν εἰς*: *IEPM* 431.

155–6. *Παίονας ἄνδρας ἄγων*: **≈** Callin. fr. 4 *Τρήρας ἄνδρας ἄγων*.

***ἤδε δέ μοι νῦν | ἠὼς ἐνδεκάτη, ὅτ᾽ ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα*:** after 80 f. For the motif of recent arrivals at Troy cf. *N* 794 n. It explains why Asteropaios is not known to Ach.

161–81. An untypical engagement: Fenik 146.

165. = *Y* 268.

167–8. *ἣ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | γαίηι ἐνεστήρικτο*: after 69 f.

170. After 140.

176–7. The triple attempt: *E* 436–44 n.

181. = *Δ* 526.

184. *κεῖσ᾽*: ≈ 122.

186. *εὐρὺ ῥέοντος*: after 157.

187. *γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς*: contrast *Y* 106/206, where Ach.'s claim to descent from Zeus was suppressed in favour of Aeneas'. In his denigration of rivers he forgets that Scamander himself is Zeus' offspring (2) (VdM 316).

192. Another insult to Scamander.

196–7. Cf. *EFH* 137 f.

200. The hero confirms his supremacy by being able to draw the spear from the rock after his adversary has failed.

[202–4]. Probably interpolated; the fight has taken place not on a sandy shore but on a hard, high bank, a *κρημνός* (168 ff., cf. 26, 234), and 203 f. show the same taste for the macabre as [126–35].

205. *Παίονας ἱπποκορυστάς*: *Π* 287–8 n.

206–8. The fall of the leader undermines the morale of his men: *Λ* 744–6 n.

209–10. A typical summary list (*E* 677–8 n.). Thersilochos was mentioned in Asteropaios' company at *P* 216. An(other) Ophelestes appeared in a list of Teukros' victims at *Θ* 274.

211. ≈ *E* 679. **(p.378)**

215. ~ *Y* 98.

218–20. For the motif of the river blocked with corpses cf. Archil. *POx*. 4708 fr. 1. 8 f.; *EFH* 392; *IEPM* 491. Alc. fr. 395 echoes *Il*.

224–6. Anticipating the development of the narrative: the Trojans will be penned into the city before Ach. faces Hector. This reverses the typical sequence (206–8 n.) by which the leader is killed first and then his followers flee. Cf. *X* 378–84 n.

226. *ἤ κέν με δαμάσσεται, ἦ κεν ἐγὼ τόν*: cf. *Λ* 429–33 n.

230–2. The reference is perhaps to Zeus' instruction to Apollo in *O* 220 ff., though that was the previous day and designed for a different situation. The one constructed here expresses the actuality that the day will end without the city being taken. For sunset as the time limit in Zeus' programmes cf. *Λ* 194, *P* 455.

233. *ἦ· καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν*: of 27 verses in *Il*. beginning with, *ἦ, καὶ*, this is the only one where the subject changes from the speaker to another. The irregularity coincides with the most bafflingly illogical transition in the whole poem. In 223–6 Ach. agreed to Scamander's plea that he should confine his massacres to the plain. We expect that this will be the end of the river episode and that Ach. will now turn to pursue the other body of Trojans, the ones who fled towards the city in 3–7. This he seems to be doing in 227. In 228–32 Scamander makes what looks like his signing-off speech, calling upon Apollo to take up his responsibility for protecting the Trojans from defeat and implying that the focus now moves to the assault on the city, where Apollo will come into action in 545 ff. But at this point Ach. incomprehensibly jumps back into the river, which rises, bursts its banks, and floods the plain. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this represents a change of plan and that the extension of the river episode is a secondary expansion that has not been properly integrated with 211–32. The present line, we may assume, has been modified from one in which, *ἦ, καὶ* continued with something else that Scamander did before the story moved on.

Christ (72, 645), Fick (13), and Leaf (383) suggested that the expansion includes the entire theomachy. This is plausible inasmuch as the overcoming of Scamander by Hephaestus would seem to be the germ from which the whole series of divine sparrings was developed (Erhardt 414, 417). However, the secondary stratum can hardly reach as far as 539, as Leaf supposed, since

Priam’s order to open the gates (526 ff.) is integral to the following primary narrative. See further 515–21 n.

***ἔνθορε μέσσωι*:** the absence of a noun with *μέσσωι* is another awkwardness.

237. *μεμυκὼς ἠΰτε ταῦρος*: cf. *EFH* 392.

240. *κυκώμενον*: after 235. **(p.379)**

242. *πτελέην*: cf. 350 n.

244. *ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα*: causing the river to burst its banks.

249–50. After 137 f., now with redundant *μιν*. But 250 is omitted by a couple of manuscripts and may be a concordance interpolation.

251. *ὅσον τ᾽ ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωή*: abbreviated from *O* 358 f., which comes straight after *γεφύρωσεν δέ* (357 ≈*Φ* 245).

276–8. Cf. 113 n.

***λαιψηροῖς*:** from 264.

284–98. Zeus cannot respond, and Hera’s mechanism for checking the flood cannot be deployed instantly, so as a stopgap P lets the other two main pro-Achaean deities come and give Ach. assurance. He then seems to have inserted a foreshadowing of this in *Y* 120–31 (n.).

288–9. ≈ *E* 827 f. For the ‘fear not’ motif cf. *O* 254 n.

290. *Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος*: true only inasmuch as Zeus has given all gods permission to help who they like; put in here to plug the gap between the prayer to Zeus and the response by Poseidon and Athena.

***ἐγὼ*:** P does not trouble to have Poseidon identify himself to Ach.

292. *ὅδε μὲν τάχα λωφήσει*: Poseidon could not know how this was going to be achieved, but P knows and can provide the assurance to Ach. through Poseidon’s mouth.

294–7. Cf. 224–6 n. Again Poseidon is allowed foreknowledge of later events.

297. *δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι*: ≈ *B* 15 (pre-Alexandrian variant; see *Studies* 175).

301. *δαὶ κταμένων αἰζηῶν*: = 146.

302. *τοῦ δ᾽ ὑψόσε γούνατ᾽ ἐπήδα*: ≈ 269 (with 270 *γούνατ᾽*).

305. ≈ 248.

307. *Σιμόεντι δὲ κέκλετ᾽ ἀΰσας*: when Scamander flooded it was natural that Simoeis too should be running high. He does not reply to Scamander's address and P does not complicate the narrative by involving him; it will remain an affair between Scamander and Hephaestus.

313. *ἴστη δὲ μέγα κῦμα*: ≈ 240.

314. *φιτρῶν καὶ λάων*: after *M* 26, where the timbers and stones are those of the Achaeans' fortification.

324. *κυκώμενος*: after 235, 240.

326–7. *κῦμα διιπετέος ποταμοῖο | ἴστατ᾽*: ≈ 240, 268.

331–2. *ἄντα σέθεν γάρ | Ξάνθου … ἠΐσκομεν εἶναι*: referring to the line-up at *Y* 73.

333. *ἀλλ᾽ ἐπάμυνε τάχιστα*: = 311.

334–7. These supporting actions by Hera are not mentioned in what follows. **(p. 380)**

338–9. ≈ *Y* 108 f.

344. Repeated from 236.

350. *πτελέαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἠδὲ μυρῖκαι*: an accurate reflection of the trees that grow beside the Scamander; cf. p. 25.

353. *ἐγχέλυές τε καὶ ἰχθύες*: = 203.

359. *λῆγ᾽ ἔριδος*: but Hephaestus had started on Hera's instructions and will not stop until she tells him to, cf. 340 f. So Scamander must appeal to her (367 ff.).

373–6. The river's appeal to Hera is reinforced with an oath to withhold all help from the Trojans from now on. In 375 f. P thinks forward to the total triumph of fire at Troy. 374 =*Y* 315 (where 316 f. are a concordance interpolation from here).

378. ≈ 330.

380. *βροτῶν ἕνεκα*: *A* 574 n.

381. ≈ 342.

383–513. We now work through the other four pairs of gods who were lined up against each other in *Y* 67–74 (n.). The first two encounters are of equal length, the other two progressively shorter; cf. *B* 494–510 n. They do not match up to the seriousness and intensity of Scamander's conflict with Hephaestus, but they follow the pattern it sets in that all the pro-Trojan gods are either beaten or withdraw without fighting. Athena quickly floors Ares with a boulder, and when Aphrodite comes to help him up, she pushes her to the ground too. Poseidon's challenge is declined by Apollo, who slinks away. Hera seizes Artemis' quiver and clips her round the ear with it. Hermes declines to fight Leto at all. It is an amusing interlude that has no effect on the course of the human battle, though it presages the failure of the Trojan cause (Bethe 62).

385–8. First a general description of the cosmic upheaval as in *Y* 55–66. It is implied that they are all fighting simultaneously, but when the details are given the individual encounters are treated as successive in time.

388–90. ~ *Y* 23.

389. *ἐγέλασσε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ*: *IEPM* 89.

390. *θεοὺς ἔριδι ξυνιόντας*: ≈ *Y* 66.

391–433. Ares vs. Athena.

391–2. *Ἄρης | ῥινοτόρος*: ≈ Hes. *Th*. 933 f.

394. *θεοὺς ἔριδι ξυνελαύνεις*: ≈ *Y* 134.

396. Recalling *E* 826 ff.

400. An adaptation of *ὣς εἰπὼν οὔτησε κατ᾽ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ᾽ ἐΐσην*

(*Λ* 434 =*P* 43).

403–4. ≈ *H* 264 f.

407. *ἑπτὰ δ᾽ ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα*: for the suggestion of Ares' monstrous hugeness cf. *E* 860. **(p.381)**

413–14. *Ἀχαιούς | κάλλιπες*: cf. *E* 832–3 n.

416. Aphrodite was discredited as a fighter in *E* (331–3, 428–30) and not included in the cast for the theomachy (*Y* 38–40 n.), but P takes the opportunity to show her discomfited again. Her sisterly closeness to Ares once more recalls *E* (355 ff.).

***χειρὸς ἑλοῦσα*:** ≈ *E* 30, where Athena leads Ares out of the battle.

417. *ἐσαγείρετο θυμόν*: ≈ *O* 240, of Hector, who had been likewise laid out with a rock.

418–20. = *E* 711 + 713 f.

421. *δὴ αὖθ᾽*: perhaps with allusion to *E* 363 ff.

***κυνάμυια*:** after 394.

431. *ἐμῶι μένει ἀντιόωσα*: after 151.

435–78. Poseidon vs. Apollo.

437. *ἀρξάντων ἑτέρων*: cf. *Y* 138–41 n.

438. *ἴομεν Οὔλυμπόνδε*: anticipating the general withdrawal at 518–20.

441–60. These lines could be a secondary expansion. To justify his antagonism towards Apollo, Poseidon recalls how the two of them laboured for Laomedon, who cheated them of their agreed wages. Cf. *H* 452 f. and *Z* 435 n. Poseidon maintains his enmity towards Laomedon’s house and people, while Apollo supports them.

441–2. *νηπύτι᾽*: after 410. Again in 474 and 585.

***οὐδέ νυ τῶν περ | μέμνηαι, ὅσα δὴ*:** ≈ 396.

455. The line looks like an addition or alternative to 453 f. For this sort of mutilation cf. *EFH* 430.

461–9. P cannot well let this contest go ahead; both parties are too important to suffer physical ignominy, and Apollo must remain in good shape to play his role as defender of the city (VdM 324). So he is given both a professed and a psychological motive for backing out.

463. *βροτῶν ἕνεκα*: cf. 380 n.

464. ≈ *Z* 146.

470. *τὸν δὲ κασιγνήτη μάλα νείκεσε*: Artemis’ scolding of her brother reinforces our impression that he is the moral loser in the conflict with Poseidon, and at the same time it makes the transition to her spat with Hera.

***Πότνια θηρῶν*:** *EFH* 56.

474. *νηπύτιε*: after 410, 441, but now with a metrical anomaly.

475–6. ≈ *A* 396 f. Cf. *Θ* 229–34 n.

479–96. Hera vs. Artemis.

481. *κύον ἀδδεές*: *Θ* 423.

485–6. Like Aphrodite in *E* 428 f., Artemis is reminded of her proper province and advised to stick to it.

487. After *Y* 213. **(p.382)**

488. ≈ 411.

493–5. After *X* 139 ff.? (VdM 325 n. 51). That would be consistent with the theomachy being a secondary expansion.

497–504. After Apollo and Artemis we come to the matronly Leto, to whom Hermes cedes the victory without a fight. She tidies up the arrows that fell from her daughter's quiver; P does not like to leave loose ends.

503. *στροφάλιγγι κονίης*: after *Π* 775.

505–12. We return to Artemis, picking up from 496. Her tearful complaint to Zeus echoes Aphrodite's to Dione in *E* 370 ff.; 509 =*E* 373.

505. After 438.

507. *ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀμβρόσιος ἔανος*: ≈ *Ξ* 178.

514. We expect Zeus to have the last word in the manner of *E* 428 ff. and 889 ff., putting Artemis in her place; but Hera has already done this in 485 f., and the dialogue is broken off.

515–21. This concludes the theomachy. The gods return to Olympus except for Apollo, who goes in to Troy to make sure that the Achaeans do not take it this day (cf. 230–2 n.). P has not considered that very soon he will need to bring him out again for the Agenor scene (538 ff.).

Somewhere here we pick up the text of the first draft (cf. 233 n.). 515–17 are probably part of it, with Apollo responding to Scamander's rebuke in 229 ff. And we need something about Ach.'s approach to the city before Priam catches sight of him in 527, so from 520 *αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς* onwards all is in order. The intervening sentence, 518–20 *κελαινεφεῖ*, buttons the theomachy on to the original narrative, of which the remains seem to be:

	καὶ τότ᾽ Ἀπόλλωνα προσέφη ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης·
	"ὦ πόποι, Ἀργυρότοξε, Διὸς τέκος, οὐ σύ γε βουλάς
230.	*εἰρύσαο Κρονίωνος, ὅ τοι μάλα πόλλ᾽ ἐπέτελλεν*

	Τρωσὶ παρεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν, εἰς ὅ κεν ἔλθηι
	δείελος ὀψὲ δύων, σκιάσηι δ᾽ ἐρὶβωλον ἄρουραν.”
	ἦ, καὶ [
515.	*αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ἐδύσετο Ἴλιον ἱρήν,*
	μὲμβλετο γάρ οἱ τεῖχος ἐϋδμήτοιο πόληος,
	μὴ Δαναοὶ πέρσειαν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἤματι κείνωι.
520.	]*αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς*
	Τρῶας ὁμῶς αὐτούς τ᾽ ὄλεκεν καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους·

The last sentence may be adapted from a line *αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς Τρῶας ὁμῶς αὐτούς τε καὶ ἵππους* and another following.

517. ≈ *Y* 30.

522–3. After *Σ* 207; here a rather unnatural simile. Cf. *EFH* 393. **(p.383)**

526–36. As the victorious Ach. and the fleeing Trojans approach the city Priam comes into view as a spectator on the wall, as he was in *Γ*, but now in anticipation of *X*, where he will witness the death of Hector. Seeing that there is no stopping the rout, he goes down and orders the gates to be held open for long enough to let the Trojans in but not the enemy. P wants the final showdown between Ach. and Hector to take place on a clear stage.

538–9. *αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων | ἀντίος ἐξέθορε*: Apollo will delay Ach. so that he does not get into the city on the heels of the Trojans.

544. = *Π* 698 (…700 *εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος*….).

545. *Ἀγήνορα*: *Δ* 467 n. His stand against Ach. anticipates Hector’s (Mülder 243, Strasburger 93).

548. *Θανάτοιο βαρεῖας χεῖρας*: after *A* 97 (n.).

549. *φηγῶι*: *E* 693 n.; as a station for gods, *H* 22, 60. Apollo needs to be on hand to rescue Agenor and take his place (596 ff.).

552–70. Cf. *Λ* 403 n.

568. *καὶ γάρ θην τούτωι τρωτὸς χρὼς*: cf. *Y* 102 n.

573–8. The simile owes something to the one that follows Od.’s internal monologue at *Λ* 414 ff.; 573 ≈*Λ* 415.

574–5. *οὐδέ τι θυμῶι | ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται*: ≈ *M* 45 f.

581. ≈ *M* 294.

584. *ἤματι τῶιδε πόλιν πέρσειν*: a dramatic possibility that P has repeatedly hinted at, cf. *Y* 30, *Φ* 230–2, 517, 544.

***πόλιν πέρσειν Τρώων ἀγερώχων*:** ≈ *Π* 708.

585. *νηπύτι᾽*: 441–2 n.

***ἦ τ᾽ ἔτι πολλὰ τετεύξεται ἄλγε᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆι*:** P lets Agenor make a true prediction. Epic singers had much action to tell of before the city fell.

588. *σὺ δ᾽ ἐνθάδε πότμον ἐφέψεις*: also true.

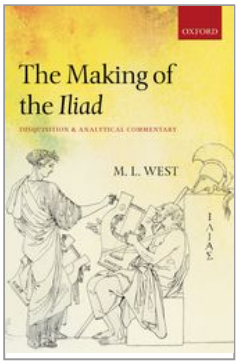
592. *κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέροιο*: ~ *Σ* 613.

594. *θεοῦ δ᾽ ἠρύκακε δῶρα*: ≈ 165 =*Y* 268.

597. ≈ *Y* 443 f.

598. *πολέμου ἔκπεμπε νέεσθαι*: a studiously vague expression; did Apollo take him into the city or not? At the same time he miraculously substitutes himself for Agenor without Ach. noticing.

607. *ἀλέντων*: after 534.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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X

M. L. West

In this rhapsody the story reaches its climax, and P's genius rises to the challenge with a stunning display of sustained brilliance. The narrative structure is clear, purposeful, and straightforward. However, P did not pour it all out in a single gush of easy inspiration. He worked over it, and there are several signs of expansion or revision: 59–76, 167–207, 329, 485–99, 508 nn.

1–89. P sets up the scene with a sure touch: the two armies (the Trojans 1–3, the Achaeans 3–4), the two protagonists (Hector 5–6, Ach. 7–25), the two royal spectators (Priam 26–78, Hekabe 79–89).

1–3. These lines contain several echoes of the last hundred: *πεφυζότες* ≈*Φ* 528, *ἰδρῶ ἀπεψύχοντο* ≈*Φ* 561, *ἀκέοντό τε δίψαν* ~ *Φ* 541, *κεκλιμένοι* ≈*Φ* 549.

***ἠΰτε νεβροί*:** cf. *Δ* 243 n.

5. *Ἕκτορα δ'*: he has been out of the picture since his rescue by Apollo in *Y* 443.

***Μοῖρ' ἐπέδησεν*:** *Δ* 517. The traditional notion of the supernatural fetter that holds the warrior fast (*IEPM* 489) has become a dead metaphor; Hector stays outside the gates of his own free will (31, 78, 91 ff.).

6. *πυλάων τε Σκαιάων*: *Γ* 145 n.

7–13. Ach. must now be brought back from his wild goose chase. Apollo, having achieved his aim of saving the city from immediate capture, reveals his deception, notwithstanding the consequence that this seals Hector's fate.

10. *θεός εἰμι*: in the circumstances he has no need to say which one.

13. *οὔ τοι μόρσιμός εἰμι*: 'I am not fated to die at your hands' is an odd thing for a god to say. The line was perhaps originally composed for a mortal speaker such as Ach. who knew that he was not fated to fall to the adversary facing him.

20. Cf. *EFH* 393.

24. ≈*O* 269 (of Hector, following a different horse simile).

25. A reprise of Priam's sighting of Ach. in *Φ* 526 f. We understand, without it being spelt out, that he is back on the wall.

26–32. ≈ *E* 5 (n.); cf. *EFH* 252.

27. *ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαί*: ≈ *N* 244, and **32 =** *N* 245.

28. *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι*: *IEPM* 224.

45. *περνὰς νήσων ἔπι τηλεδαπάων*: ≈ *Φ* 454.

46–8. ~ *Y* 407 ff., *Φ* 84 ff.; ≈*Γ* 236–8. **(p.385)**

51. Altes (*Φ* 85 ff.) is dragged in out of interest for these family details; that Priam has plenty of wealth available for ransoming a son is not something that calls for explanation.

59–76. Perhaps an expansion.

60–1. *Κρονίδης … | … φθείσει*: ~ *Y* 306.

63–4. *νήπια τέκνα | βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίηι*: cf. *Z* 476–81 n.; *EFH* 393.

65. *ἑλκομένας τε νυούς*: cf. *Z* 454–65 (with 456–8 n.). The daughters-inlaw have the appearance of an afterthought; the repetition of *ἕλκεσθαι* from 62 is infelicitous.

66–71. The dogs are brought into the picture in preparation for 75, cf. 71–6 n.

66. *πρώτηισι θύρηισιν*: just where Priam was killed acc. to *Little Iliad* fr. 25.

71–6. ≈ Tyrt. 10. 21–30. P has adapted, if not Tyrtaeus himself (Mülder 157 f., VdM 333), a closely similar, presumably elegiac protreptic (Cauer 650–2). Cf. sch^{bT} 71–3; *N* 279–86 n. Its purpose was clearly encouragement of young men to fight to the death (as in Tyrtaeus), not to avoid fighting by taking refuge behind city walls (as here). Tyrtaeus contrasts the fine spectacle of the slain young warrior with the ugly and shameful vision of the old, white-haired, white-bearded one as he expires clutching his bleeding genitals. In *Il*. the antithesis breaks down: the fine young corpse (irrelevant to Priam's argument) is still juxtaposed with an old man with white hair and beard and lacerated genitals, but he is not a warrior fallen in the front line but Priam himself, who has not

fought in the field and will not be wounded by a spear; his laceration has therefore to be attributed to savaging by dogs, not scavenging strays but his own house-dogs. It was for this that that grotesque and unconventional motif was introduced in 66 ff.

The verbal similarities with the Tyrtaeus passage are so great (see the following nn.) that Tyrtaeus—more or less a contemporary of P so far as we can determine—comes seriously into question as the source, though it would be surprising that his poetry became known so quickly in Ionia. On the other hand he is writing in a tradition of Ionian elegy, and he may have taken over material from Ionian elegists and repeated it with little change.

71. *νέωι δέ τε πάντ᾽ ἐπέοικεν*: ≈ Tyrt. 10. 27 *νέοισι δὲ πάντ᾽ ἐπέοικεν*.

73. *πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντί περ*: ≈ Tyrt. 10. 30 *καλὸς δ᾽ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών*.

74. *πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον*: ≈ Tyrt. 10. 23 *λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γὲνειον*.

82. *καί μ᾽ ἐλέησον*: balancing 59.

86. *σχέτλιος*: ≈ 41.

91. After 78. **(p.386)**

92. *Ἀχιλῆα πελώριον*: after *Φ* 527.

98–130. Cf. *Λ* 403 n. This is the longest and most elaborate of these internal monologues. Hector considers and rejects two alternatives to fighting Ach.: retreating into the city, or laying down his arms and offering peace terms. He does not consider the option that Agenor considered in *Φ* 553 ff., that of running away; but that is what he will actually do when Ach. comes at him.

99. ≈ *Φ* 553.

100–3. ~ *Σ* 249 ff. Hector realizes his mistake in disregarding a wise adviser.

105–10. The shame culture in operation. 105 =*Z* 442.

109–10. ‘Kill or be killed’: *Λ* 429–33 n.

112. *πρὸς τεῖχος ἐρείσας*: ≈ 97.

114–17. ≈ *Γ* 458, *H* 350 f., 389 f.

118–20. ≈ *Σ* 511 f.

122. = *Λ* 407 (n.).

126. *ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης*: cf. *EFH* 431. The proximity to 122 *ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα* recalls Hes. *Th*. 35 *ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην*; Cf. VdM 334.

127–8. Cf. *Y* 371–2 n.

131–5. The picture of Ach. as he came into Priam's view (25–32) is painted afresh as he comes into Hector's.

131. ≈ *Φ* 64.

137–8. *βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς, | Πηλείδης δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε*: for the motif of the hero who flees before the swift-footed Ach. and is pursued in a long chase cf. *Y* 90 ff./ 187 ff. (Aeneas); *Cypria* arg. 7 (Apollod. epit. 3. 17) (Telephos).

144. ≈ 24.

145. *σκοπιὴν*: meaning perhaps the part of the wall from which people look out over the plain. It cannot be the *σκοπιή* to which the gods resort in *Y* 137/144 ff.

***ἐρινεὸν*:** *Z* 433 n.

147–53. The present tenses imply features to be seen in P's own day. The hot and cold sources of the Scamander of course belong up in the mountains (see Leaf, *Troy* 48–52; Cook 292): P must have known of them by hearsay (possibly in connection with Ach.'s pursuit of Aeneas through Dardania, cf. Mülder 242) and wrongly attached them to the city. The washing-troughs, on the other hand, are genuine; they are located on the western side of the lower town, where a large fig-tree now grows: see M. Korfmann in *Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit* (exhibition companion volume, Stuttgart 2001), 73–5 with photographs; Latacz, *Troy and Homer* 83–5. They are fed by an underground spring, which P evidently confused (whether by error or creative **(p.387)** fiction) with the hot and cold springs he had heard of. He picked on the troughs as a conspicuous landmark on the circuit of the hill, to mark the point at which the chase reached its climax (208).

154–6. For the poignant contrast with the happy past cf. *EFH* 393. 156 =*I* 403.

162–4. The racing simile is suggested by a combination of 22 and 159 f.

***ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος*:** funeral games with horse races were an ancient institution, cf. VdM 358–60; *IEPM* 501 f.

166. *θεοὶ δ᾽ ἐς πάντες ὁρῶντο*: like the spectators at the horse-race in the simile (Wil. 99). All the gods except Apollo withdrew to Olympus at *Φ* 518.

167–207. This section separates the *τρίς* of 165 from the *ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον* (208) which normally follows at once (*E* 436/8, *Π* 702/5, 784/8, *Y* 445/7). E. Bernhardt athetized the passage (*Beitrag zur Homerkritik*, 1873), followed by Hentze viii. 10–13, Robert 247 f.; Erhardt 432–4 included 166 with it. It is more plausible to see it an expansion by P, who thought it would be effective to have a reprise of *Π* 431–61 (n.), the scene in which Zeus considered saving his son Sarpedon. It then becomes a collection of lesser addenda: first two more of the similes that had come into P's mind to describe the pursuit (189 ff., 199 f.), and then the odd sentence 202–4, put in to prepare for the mention of Apollo in 213. Cf. 186–7, 209–13 nn.

170–2. For the argument from piety cf. *Y* 297–308 n.

171. *Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῆισι*: P may be thinking of the shrine on Gargaron (*Θ* 48), though that would have been quite a long pilgrimage for Hector.

173. ≈ 8.

177. *θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*: in the parallel scene at *Π* 439 it is Hera who objects to the suggestion of saving the doomed man. Athena takes her place here for the sake of a smooth transition to her intervention in the action (185–7).

178–81. ≈ *Π* 440–3.

182–4. ≈ *Θ* 38–40 (n.).

186–7. = *Δ* 73 f. The lines look forward to 214 ff., but an explicit descent from Olympus is not a prerequisite of Athena's appearance there (Erhardt 435, VdM 338). If 167–207 is an expansion, P has taken the opportunity to strengthen her role by showing us that it was sanctioned by Zeus.

194. *πυλάων Δαρδανιάων*: *E* 789 n.

203. *πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον*: heralding Apollo's desertion of Hector in 213.

204. After *Y* 93 (parallel situation).

205–7. The *λαοί* have been largely ignored during Ach.'s aristeia, cf. *Φ* 32 n.; they were last mentioned in 3. P seems now to have been struck by the **(p.388)** thought 'how can I account for their doing nothing to help Ach.?' and conscientiously inserted this makeshift explanation. For Ach.'s motivation cf. *Π* 90.

209–13. ≈ *Θ* 69–72 (n.). The weighing has often been judged *de trop* given that Zeus has already accepted Hector's death in 182 ff., but it may have been in the text before the addition of 167–207. The parallel scene in the *Aethiopis*, where the fatalities of Ach. and Memnon were weighed against each other, was in my

view copied from this one, Memnon himself being a post-Iliadic innovation. See Reinhardt 384–8.

213–14. Apollo abandons Hector, Athena arrives to help Ach.: the silent rearrangement confirms the tilting of the balance. What made Apollo give up? Poetic necessity.

215–25. The chase ends not with Ach. finally outrunning Hector but with a divine deception matching the one that earlier sidetracked Ach. (*Φ* 599 ff.). Then Apollo impersonated an enemy of Ach.; now Athena will impersonate a brother and ally of Hector. First she tells Ach. what she is going to achieve, though not how. She does not need to identify herself to him, cf. *A* 202 n.

220–1. Conscious that he has made Apollo capitulate without a struggle, P now imagines the possibility of his grovelling before Zeus for a reversal of his decision.

227. *Δηϊφόβωι*: *M* 94 n.

228. = 215, though a papyrus and cod. V have a variant that =*B* 172.

230. ≈ 173.

244–6. ≈ 130; cf. 109–10 n.

254–67. Ach.'s maltreatment of Hector's body will be an important theme presently. In preparation for it Hector proposes a mutual pact on the issue, which Ach. rejects out of hand. Cf. the pact he proposed before fighting Ajax, *H* 76 ff.

262–6. See *EFH* 394 f.

266–7. ≈ *E* 288 f

276–7. The spear returned to the hero's hand: *Y* 324 n.

***λάθε δ' Ἕκτορα*:** Hector may not see the miracle happening. Cf. *Γ* 379–80, *E* 516 nn.

289. = 273. It is a typical scheme that after the first warrior's spear has missed, the second's hits his shield or armour but fails to penetrate it, and the first one goes on to win the contest. Cf. *Λ* 233 ff., *N* 604 ff.; Fenik 87 f., 145 f.

291–2. ≈ *Ξ* 406 f.

293. *οὐδ' ἄλλ' ἔχε μείλινον ἔγχος*: Hector usually carries two spears, but because he is facing Ach., who is a one-spear man, he too is represented as having only one. Similarly in his duel with Ajax, *H* 244 ff.

297. *θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσσαν*: *Π* 693 n. **(p.389)**

298–9. P makes it explicit that Hector understands what we already know is the case.

305. *καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*: *B* 119 n.

306. *εἰρύσσατο φάσγανον ὀξύ*: normally a hero draws his sword when neither he nor his opponent still has a spear.

313–20. At this climactic juncture the splendour of Ach.'s appearance is once again described, as in 26 ff. and 132 ff. The Sirius of 26 ff., brightest of the fixed stars, is now replaced by the still brighter Venus, and the luminosity is concentrated in the fatal spear-point.

315. ≈ *T* 382; [316] is interpolated from *T* 383.

323. ≈ *P* 187. The line is inorganic and appears to be a secondary insert; cf. *P* 186–228 n. Naber 212 observed that at 368 and 399 there is no hint that Ach. is recovering his own armour. Nor is there any consciousness at 111 f. or 258 f. that Hector is wearing armour taken from Patr.

327. = *P* 49.

329. *ὄφρα τί μιν προτιείποι*: with disarming candour P declares his motive for keeping Hector's windpipe unsevered; 'der Dichter überträgt in schöner Kühnheit die Absicht seiner Erfindung auf die Waffe' (Wil. 102). Perhaps he added 328 f. in response to criticism. Schwartz 28 sees these lines together with the exchanges in 337–66 as a loosely attached *Einschub*.

***ἀμειβόμενος*:** anticipating that Ach. will speak first.

330–67. The dialogue that concludes the encounter is composed in parallel to that at the death of Patr. in *Π* 829–63, but more complex in that the victor and victim each have an extra speech. In both passages the victor begins with an exultant utterance, declaring that the other man's presumed expectations are confounded and that he will be carrion. The dying man ends by prophesying the death of the victor, and after he expires the victor makes light of the prophecy and pulls his spear out of the body.

331. *ἀτάρ που ἔφης*: ≈ *Π* 830.

337. ≈ *Π* 843, and =*O* 246.

338–43. Again Hector pleads for respectful treatment of his body, the antithesis being not now maltreatment by Ach. as in 256 ff. but the exposure to scavenging dogs that Ach. has just threatened. The general notion of giving the body back

(259) is developed into a ransoming for riches to be provided by Priam; this looks forward to *Ω*, as does the reference to a proper civic funeral.

338. *σῶν τε τοκήων*: it will be by invoking Ach.'s father that Priam will touch his heart in *Ω* 486 ff.

342–3. = *H* 79 f.

344. = 260.

349. ≈ *I* 379. **(p.390)**

351. For the idea of weighing the body against gold (not what actually happens in *Ω*, though it did in Aeschylus' *Phryges*) see *EFH* 395 f.

352–4. ≈ 86–9.

357. *σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός*: Cf. *B* 490 n.

359–60. Cf. *T* 417, *Φ* 113 nn.

361–2, 364. = *Π* 855 f., 858; [363] is a concordance interpolation.

365–6. ≈ *Σ* 115 f. Cf. *Φ* 106, 108–13.

369–75. The *λαοί* reappear; cf. 205–7 n.

378–84. With Troy's great defender slain, Ach.'s and the Achaeans' first thought is to press home the advantage and if possible finish off the war. In an earlier version Ach. may have continued the offensive and met his own death the same day, cf. *Σ* 96 n. But in P's present design that event is excluded from the poem, and the narrative must take a different course. There will be no more fighting: the Achaeans will return to the ships, and the rest of the poem will be occupied with the payment of their due honours to the two great fallen heroes, Patr. and Hector.

In the hypothetical death-of-Ach. version the Trojans would have fled towards the city not before but after their champion was killed, according to the normal pattern (*Λ* 744–6 n.). Ach. would have led the Achaeans in hot pursuit, right to the gates of Troy. Then, the poet would have averred, they would have taken the city *ὑπὲρ μόρον* on that very day (≈*Π* 698, *Y* 29 f., *Φ* 517) if Apollo had not quickly alerted Paris, urged him to aim his bow at Ach., and guided the fatal shot to its target.

In the present version P has brought the Trojans into the city first, leaving Hector isolated. This, with Ach.'s return to the ships after killing Hector, is already anticipated in *Φ* 224–6 (n.), 294–7, *X* 217. Ach.'s change of mind at 385, therefore, does not reflect a sudden change of plan on P's part but a

reconciliation of the older version with the newer one that is already well on course. What Ach. proposes in 381–4 is a necessary modification of the original pursuit of the Trojans. As they are now safe inside their walls, he can only propose a show of arms to see whether they are minded to continue their resistance.

378. Aristarchus rightly dismissed (and Wil. 104 n. 1 wrongly championed) Zen.'s variant *Ἀτρείδη τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν* The leaders who were wounded in *Λ* were still unfit on the morning of the present battle (*T* 47 ff.): they have clearly taken no part in it but stayed back at the ships. Ach. has been treated as sole commander, cf. *Y* 2.

385. After 122; in effect 'but what am I thinking of?', but oddly transferred from internal monologue to public address.

389. Hades as a place of oblivion: *EFH* 160 f.

391–4. The triumph-song: *EFH* 396. Without it the return to the ships would be at risk of bathos. 391 ≈*A* 473. **(p.391)**

396–400. Cf. *IEPM* 492. Ach.'s chariot reappears at need.

401–4. ≈ *Π* 795 ff.

404. *ἀεικίσσασθαι*: ~ 256, cf. 395.

405–515. The action follows the Achaeans back to the ships. But before their next activities are related—they will fill *Ψ*—we witness the Trojans' reactions to Hector's death. His father and mother lament in turn, echoing their appeals to the living Hector in 37 ff. and 79 ff., against a background of communal grief; the mother, who appeared in second place there, is mentioned first here. Then a longer scene is devoted to Andromache, mirroring at a greater distance her meeting with Hector in *Z*. On laments for epic heroes cf. *IEPM* 498 f.

405. *μήτηρ*, 408. *πατὴρ*: both are identified only by their relationship to Hector (though Hekabe is named in 430), and likewise with Andromache (437 *ἄαλοχος*); cf. 451 n.

410–11. The remarkable simile hints at the future burning of the city.

411. *ὀφρυόεσσα*: an apparently untraditional epithet of Ilios that reflects acquaintance with the landscape.

413. *πυλάων Δαρδανιάων*: after 194.

414. *κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον*: ≈ *Ω* 164 f., 640, where the dung seems more in place; *κυλινδόμενος* in entreaty after 221.

415. ≈ *I* 11.

416–22. Priam's desire to go and supplicate Ach., making reference to old Peleus, anticipates *Ω*, cf. 338–43 n. In *Ω*, however, he undertakes the journey at Zeus' instigation.

418. *ἀνέρα τοῦτον*: ≈ 38.

423. ≈ 44.

424–5. *τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι … | ὡς ἑνός*: ≈ *Z* 450–4.

οὗ μ᾽ ἄχος ὀξὺ κατοίσεται Ἄϊδος εἴσω: cf. *EFH* 396 f.

429. *ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο πολῖται*: like a ritual chorus; cf. the next line where Hekabe leads the women, with *Σ* 28–31, 50–1, 316, *T* 301–2 nn.

437. *ἄλοχος δ᾽ οὔ πώ τι πέπυστο*: the lively transition takes the place of the expected *ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες*. P has previously used the motif of the person who 'did not yet know' that one of his nearest and dearest had been killed (*N* 521, *P* 377, 641). Andromache's name is not mentioned in this scene, cf. 405/8 n.

440–3. Andromache is at home weaving and giving instructions to her servants: exactly what Hector told her to go and do when we last saw her at *Z* 490 ff.

441. ≈ *Γ* 126.

443–4. Homely realism, embellishing the traditional picture of the warrior hero's way of life. **(p.392)**

447–74. For this scene cf. *EFH* 397.

447–8. Like Ach. in *Σ* 3 ff., Andromache gets an intimation of disaster from the general commotion before her fears are confirmed. 447 ≈ 409.

450. *δύω μοι ἔπεσθον*: cf. *Γ* 143 n.

451. *ἐκυρῆς ὀπὸς ἔκλυον*: ~ 407. Again Hekabe's name is omitted.

454. ≈ *Σ* 272.

455–9. Andromache's accurate speculation moves in two stages from Ach.'s isolation and pursuit of Hector to his killing him.

457. *ἀγηνορίης*: she always feared that his courage would be the death of him, cf. *Z* 407 (and *M* 46, *Π* 753).

459. *πολὺ προθέεσκε*: cf. *Λ* 216–17 n.

460. *μαινάδι ἴσῃ*: cf. *Z* 389 n.

470–2. Aphrodite's presence at Hector's wedding is an extraordinary autoschediasm, 'erfunden, um die Hochzeitsfreude als Kontrast heranzuziehen' (Wil. 105); cf. Kullmann 16.

473. *γαλόωι τε καὶ εἰνάτερες*: ~ *Z* 378/383.

479–80. ~ *Z* 395 ff.

481. *δύσμορος αἰνόμορον*: a metrical substitute for *δύσμορος δύσμορον*. For that figure cf. *IEPM* 113 f.; for juxtaposition of different compounds with the same second element, ibid. 111.

485–99. This looks like an expansion (*Studies* 265); the *Ἀστυάναξ* that comes in so abruptly at 500 would originally have followed directly on 484. The first lines, 485–9, relate to him, but 490–9 (which could be a separate expansion) is a sententious description of the plight of orphans generally, not specifically of Hector's son, and the harsh juxtaposition with 500 is a forced way of refocusing on him. The parallelism between 483–5 and *Ω* 725–7 may signify either that 484 was already followed by 485 when *Ω* was composed, or that 485 ff. was composed on the model of the *Ω* passage.

499. ≈ 492.

506. *Ἀστυάναξ*: again the name is brought in roughly, now with the irrelevant explanation of why he had it (≈*Z* 402 f.). What we expect after 505 is an amplification of the *πολλά* that the boy will suffer: that is, the recital we have already had in 487–99, which might originally have been composed to follow 477–84 + 500–5.

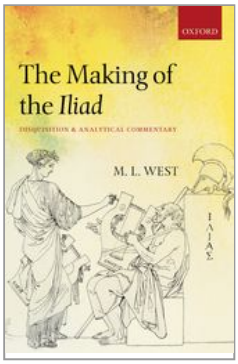
508. *νῦν δὲ σὲ*: these lines look like an alternative draft to 482 ff. that P has accommodated by appending it to the second-person reference in 507.

The discontinuities and awkward transitions identified in the three preceding notes suggest that the whole speech has been worked over and revised by cutting and pasting. Cf. *Studies* 265 f.

510. *γυμνόν· ἀτάρ τοι εἵματ'*: after *P* 122 = 693, *Σ* 21, prompting the inconsequential lines about clothes. **(p.393)**

515. ≈ 429, 437, and =*Ω* 746. But the line seems a superfluous duplication of *Ψ* 1, and it could well be an addition made in the Panathenaic text to round off the rhapsody before the next rhapsode took over. Cf. Bergk 496 n. 44; Erhardt lxxxiv, 85 f. But cf. *Z* 311 f., *O* 365/7, *P* 423 f., for the double *ὥς*, the first summing up what has just been described, the second looking back over a longer span.

X



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Ψ

M. L. West

This long rhapsody covers the remainder of the day that dawned at *T* 1 and the two days following. On the first of these Patr.'s pyre is prepared and set alight; on the second it is extinguished, the bones are gathered and conserved, a tumulus is raised, and funeral games are held. The raising of the tumulus might be thought a big enough job to fill out the second day, and the games a big enough event to merit a day to themselves. In fact there are grounds for suspecting that the games were not part of the original plan but added as an afterthought (257–897 n.).

1. After the full account of the Trojans' lamentations we return to the Achaeans. Cf. *X* 405–515 n.

3. = *T* 277 (followed by what the Myrmidons did).

4. *Μυρμιδόνας δ' οὐκ εἴα ἀποσκίδνασθαι*: the day's work is done, but preparation begins at once for the next day's, the funeral. This concerns the Myrmidons in particular. They begin with formal lamentation and circumequitation of the dead hero.

6. *ταχύπωλοι* otherwise an epithet of *Δαναοί*; attracted to the Myrmidons here from the context.

10–11. Unharnessing the horses and taking dinner will mark the end of the day's activity.

12. *ἦρχε δ' Ἀχιλλεύς*: cf. *Σ* 50–1 n.

13. *τρὶς περὶ νεκρὸν … ἤλασαν ἵππους*: see *IEPM* 502 f. The body was previously in Ach.'s cabin (*T* 211); it is now thought of as out in the open, but still on its bier (25) and still close to Ach.'s ship (28/34); cf. 59–61 n., 109 f.; Hentze viii. 42 f. Thetis is suddenly present. Kakridis 84 (after Eva Sachs) plausibly takes 13 f. to have been originally composed for the funeral of Ach.; cf. *Σ* 35–147 n.

17–18. = *Σ* 316 f. (n.). But if *ἀνδροφόνους* has a sharper point now following Ach.'s return to battle and slaying of Hector, *ἀδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο* is less appropriate to the speech that follows in 19–23 (Hentze viii. 43).

20. *τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπέστην*: ~ *Σ* 333 ff.

21–3. Perhaps a rhapsode's expansion (Payne Knight), with 21 after *σ* 87 *μήδεά τ' ἐξερύσας δώηι κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι* (≈*χ* 476), where the syntax is more straightforward; 22 f. ~ *Σ* 336 f., cf. *Φ* 27 ff.

24. Instead of responsory groaning from the Myrmidons we have a line repeated from *X* 395. But what is Ach. doing now? His unceremonious depositing of the body in the dust will correspond to the promised exposure for dogs (21), only that motif has to be faded out, so that the *ἀεικέα ἔργα* remain unspecific (Mülder 266). **(p.395)**

27–34. Completing the programme laid out in 6–11.

29. *τάφον μενοεικέα δαίνυ*: with transference of epithet from *I* 90 *παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα*; cf. 139 n. The evening meal is treated as the funeral feast, which would normally come after the funeral (Richardson 166 f.). Its significance is underlined by emphasis on the numbers present and the quantities of animals consumed. 34 suggests libations of blood poured about the corpse.

30–3. ≈ *I* 466–8 (n.).

35–56. The purpose of taking Ach. to Ag.'s quarters is firstly so that he can refuse the king's offer of a hot bath, secondly so that he can propose the programme for the morrow and have it agreed.

39. ≈ *B* 442. Heating bath-water is not among heralds' normal functions. Contrast *Ξ* 6 f., *Σ* 343 ff., *X* 442.

40–1. ≈ *Σ* 344 f.

42. *αὐτὰρ ὃ ἠρνεῖτο στερεῶς*: cf. *IEPM* 459.

43. ≈ *T* 258.

48. After *Θ* 502 f./*I* 65 f. Ach. and the Myrmidons have already dined, but provision must still be made for the rest.

49. *ἠῶθεν δ᾽*: as in *H* 331, *Θ* 530, *I* 707, the following day's action is prepared for by a proposal made at night. Here the proposal is for activity that is itself preparatory to the main event, Patr.'s funeral, which was already foreshadowed in *Σ* 334, *X* 336, 386, *Ψ* 22.

***ὄτρυνον*:** *ὄτρυνε* in my text is an error; it is Bentley's conjecture, which I inadvertently took over from the text of Allen's OCT.

51. *νέεσθαι ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα*: cf. *EFH* 159 f., *IEPM* 388.

58. ≈ *A* 606.

59–61. Instead of returning to their ships, Ach. and his men bed down on the shore around Patr.'s body (13 n., 110).

62–3. *ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε … | … ἀμφιχυθείς*: cf. *EFH* 234. But P is not content with a formulaic sleep; he gives us a feeling of its quality by reminding us of Ach.'s exceptional exertions in the hours preceding.

65–101. The dream-apparition of Patr. For the typical aspects of such dreams cf. *EFH* 186–8; for the specific parallel with Gilgamesh's dialogue with Enkidu's ghost and their embrace, ibid. 344 f.

69. *εὕδεις*: *B* 23 n.

73. *ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο*: cf. *EFH* 155 f.; *IEPM* 389–91.

74. Not easy to reconcile with 71–3; cf. *Studies* 266. **(p.396)**

75–6. *καί μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρ᾽*: this points (but not accurately) toward the attempted embrace in 97 ff.

***οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ αὖτις | νίσομαι*:** cf. *EFH* 154 f.; *IEPM* 388 f.

80–1. P summons prophecies of Ach.'s death from every source that might be credited with foreknowledge: from his mother, from his horse, from Hector on the point of death, and now from his friend's ghost.

82–91. For the request for a shared grave cf. *EFH* 398.

85–90. Cf. *Λ* 765–90, *N* 696 nn. P belatedly supplies an explanation of Patr.'s long-standing association with Ach. The passage may be an insert (Erhardt 452).

87. *ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον Ἀμφιδάμαντος*: a childish brawl over a game of knucklebones cannot have had more than a tangential place in epic tradition, and the incident is probably invented *ad hoc*. Who is this Amphidamas? In Hes.

Op. 656 n. I ventured the conjecture that, with funeral games already on his mind, P lit on the name under the influence of that passage, where Hesiod relates that he once attended funeral games organized by the sons of Amphidamas. Cf. below on 631.

101. *τετριγυῖα*: cf. *EFH* 162 f.

***ταφὼν δ᾽ ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς*:** cf. ibid. 189.

104. On the problem of this line cf. *Studies* 267 f.

110–24. Ag. at once sets about organizing the gathering of wood for the pyre, as proposed by Ach. in 49 ff. The detailed and picturesque description of the expedition contrasts with the brevity of the corresponding ones in *H* 418/20, *Ω* 778/784. No truce is necessary as there is no danger that the Trojans will venture out. Ach. remains out of the picture while this is going on.

112–13. Someone needs to be in charge of the tree-felling party, as Od. was of the expedition to Chryse in *A* 311. It does not call for a front-rank hero, but for someone of moderate distinction, competent and able-bodied. Meriones was a suitable choice.

124. After 113.

125. *ἐπ᾽ ἀκτῆς*: cf. *ω* 82 (Ach.'s grave-mound), *ἀκτῆι ἔπι προυχούσηι ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντωι* A tumulus on the crest of the Sigeion ridge was later identified as Ach.'s. It seems to date only from the later sixth or fifth century (Cook 159–65). If Ach.'s association with the Trojan War was a relatively recent development (cf. chapter 4), there may have been no tumulus yet identified as his in P's time.

126. *ἠδὲ οἷ αὐτῶι*: in accordance with Patr.'s plea in 82 ff.; cf. 245–8 n. Ach. accepts his approaching death to the extent of making preparations for it.

127–257. The funeral. On the ritual cf. *EFH* 398 f.

134. *μυρίοι*: after 29.

139. *μενοεικέα*: also after 29. **(p.397)**

140–63. Apparently an expansion, with *ἔνθ᾽ αὖτ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἐνόησε* corresponding to a new idea of P himself. It interrupts the building of the pyre (139 → 164); hence the repetition of *νήεον ὕλην* (139) in 163 to lead back to the point of departure. It breaks the continuity of the narrative in other ways too: in 141 we have Ach. standing 'apart from the pyre' which is only built in 164; and in 158–60 the greater part of the crowd that was assembled and waiting for the ceremony in 128 is sent away again, limiting the participants to a smaller group. All this was noted by Erhardt 452–4.

141. *στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς*: after 194, in the wake of 140 = 193; cf. the preceding n.

***ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην*:** Ach. promised in 46 to cut his hair for Patr., though he might be considered to have done this with the other Myrmidons in 135. The primary purpose of the expansion would be to give his personal offering greater prominence and to embellish it with the rhetorical address to Spercheios.

150. = *Σ* 101.

153. After 108; cf. 154 with 109.

158–60. The motive for this change of plan (140–63 n.) may be to allow for the Achaeans' regular dinner, for which there is no space in the funeral sequence. Those who stay at the pyre have to go without dinner, but at least the rest of the army gets its meal.

166. = *I* 466.

175–6. ~ *Σ* 336 f., *Φ* 27 f., *Ψ* 22 f.

***κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα*:** = *Φ* 19.

179–83. ≈ 19–23.

182. *πῦρ ἐσθίει*: cf. *EFH* 254; *IEPM* 268 n. 100.

184–91. As Patr.'s body was preserved in a perfect state by Thetis (*T*23–39), so will Hector's be protected by Aphrodite and Apollo. This is stated here to nullify Ach.'s threat in 183. P looks ahead over several days: Aphrodite kept those dogs away by night and day, and it is added that Apollo took separate measures to protect the body from the sun. If 187 (suspected by Nauck and others) is genuine, P also anticipates the further danger that will arise in a couple of days, the lacerating effects of being dragged behind Ach.'s chariot (*Ω* 18 ff., 414 ff.). That is provided for anew by Apollo in *Ω* 18–21. It may be that a rhapsode composed 187 on the model of *Ω* 21, or that P did so as an afterthought so that Hector should receive comprehensive protection from the beginning.

185. *κύνας μὲν ἄλαλκε*: falsifying Ach.'s assertion in *X* 348 that there would be no one to do this.

190. *πρὶν*: looking forward by implication to the time when Hector can be buried (Macleod 17). **(p.398)**

192–217. Again Ach. has a new idea (193 = 140). This time there is no particular indication that the passage was an afterthought on P's part. If it was, 191 might originally have been followed by something like *παννύχιος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς*, later refashioned into 217 f. Kakridis 80–3 (with

89) argues ingeniously that the motif of the Winds' reluctance to blow was transferred from the funeral of Ach. after he had killed Memnon: as sons of Eos (Hes. *Th*. 378) they were half-brothers to Memnon, hostile to his slayer, and unwilling to help his pyre to burn until Iris on Zeus' instructions came and commanded them. But this only works on the premise that the story of Memnon already existed, which I deny.

195. *Βορρῆι καὶ Ζεφύρωι*: ≈ *I* 5. These were the two winds to which the site was most exposed.

198–9. *ὦκα δὲ Ἶρις | ἀράων ἀϊοῦσα μετά γγελος ἦλθ᾽ ἀνέμοισιν*: P could have made the Winds simply come in response to the prayer. With the mediation of Iris and the full personification of the Winds he turns the episode into one of his charming vignettes of life among the gods. It must be granted to Kakridis (192–217 n.) that Iris' intervention is curious in the absence of any instruction from Zeus, though cf. *Γ* 121 and *E* 353. Normally prayers are heard only by the deity to whom they are addressed, and *ἀράων ἀϊεῖν* signifies his or her favourable response.

200. *Ζεφύροιο … ἔνδον*: if P had known the Aiolos of *Od*. we might expect him to have located the Winds' feast in his house, cf. *κ* 5 ff., 60 f.

201. *εἰλαπίνην δαίνυντο*: the default activity of gods, cf. *Δ* 2–4 n.

202–12. Etiquette requires that someone arriving during a meal is invited to sit down and take part. But Iris' business is too urgent, and she must excuse herself on grounds of other business; cf. *Z* 258–65 n. To provide her with a plausible excuse P resorts to the motif of those Aithiopes by Oceanus whose pious sacrifices attract the gods away from our world, as in *A* 423 f.; cf. also Hera's pretended journey to Oceanus for a different purpose in *Ξ* 200 f./301 ff. Iris implies that the gods are all on their way to the Aithiopes' feast: this is clearly untrue and implausible at this juncture—the first example of a 'Gesellschaftslüge' (Rothe 321)—but the whole thing is a light-hearted improvisation. As Zephyros' house must be in the west, P may imagine the Aithiopes to lie beyond it. In *α* 22–5, where it is Poseidon who is visiting them, they are said to be divided between the far west and the far east; it must be from the western ones that Poseidon is returning at *ε* 282 when he espies Od. sailing for Ithaca on an easterly course (273–7).

209. ~ 195.

212. *ἀπεβήσετο*: Iris does not wait for a reply. She departs not of course in the direction of the Aithiopes but back to Olympus, where she will be available for service in *Ω* 77. **(p.399)**

217–25. The pyre burns through the night. Cf. *H* 433 n.

222–3. For the simile cf. *EFH* 399.

227. *κροκόπεπλος*: *Θ* 1 n.

229. *οἳ δ᾽ ἄνεμοι πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι*: having fulfilled the function for which they were brought in with such ceremony, the winds are seen back to where they belong. We do not ask whether *οἶκόνδε* means back to Zephyros’ house or back to their individual homes.

230. *Θρηΐκιον κατὰ πόντον*: cf. *I* 5.

231–4. The exhausted Ach. is allowed a brief sleep, but woken in time to give instructions for the completion of the funeral. He does not go on to announce the following games, which P may not yet have planned, cf. 257–897 n.

245–8. Procedure requires a mound to be erected at the conclusion of Patr.’s funeral, but Ach., who is to share his tomb (83 ff., 125 f.), is not yet dead. Hence the compromise of a modest-sized tumulus that will be enlarged later and in which Patr.’s remains are not yet deposited. This may correspond to actual practice in cases where persons who did not die together were intended to be covered by one mound, see Richardson 199.

257–897. The funeral games. Ach.’s death in the *Aethiopis*, and no doubt already in P’s tellings, was followed by games whose course was related in detail. On this ancient custom for the honouring of dead heroes see *X* 162–4 n. It occurred to P to provide Patr. with games modelled on those for Ach. That this may have been an afterthought is suggested by the abruptness of the transition in 257 f. and the absence of any preparation for the event in Ach.’s programmatic speech in 236 ff. (cf. Bergk 639). Fick 106 notes that it turns the aorist *κίον* (257) into an imperfect. See further *Ω* 1–5 n.

The games are described on the most ample scale, further evidence of P’s extraordinary ability and willingness to prolong his poem indefinitely. The account of the first event, the chariot race, is especially full; succeeding sections become progressively shorter, illustrating the principle noted in *B* 494–510 n. The events and competitors are:

262–652	chariot race: Eumelos, Diom., Men., Antilochos, Meriones.
653–99	boxing: Epeios, Euryalos.
700–39	wrestling: Ajax, Od.
740–97	running: Locrian Ajax, Od., Antilochos.
798–825	duel in armour: Ajax, Diom.
826–49	weight-throwing: Polypoites, Leonteus, Ajax, Epeios.

850–83	archery: Teukros, Meriones.
884–97	javelin: Ag., Meriones.

On chariot racing cf. *Λ* 699 n.

(p.400) In his choice of contestants P turns in the first instance to those with a special claim to expertise, cf. 288–351, 665, 754–6, 836–8, 859–60 nn. But he also wants to give roles to all the major heroes. Nestor is too old to compete (621 ff.) but makes significant appearances on the sidelines (304–50 n.). It is perhaps for the same reason that Idomeneus, who is ageing (*μεσαιπόλιος N* 361, cf. 512–15, *Ψ* 476), does not appear as a competitor like his comrade Meriones, but he again is given a prominent speaking part to compensate. Phoenix receives an honourable mention (359–61). The overlord Ag. comes in only in the final event, and there only as a nominal entrant, as Ach. spares him the effort of throwing the spear: strenuous sport is perhaps felt to be beneath his dignity. Cf. 884–97 n.

In the games for Ach. as related in the *Aethiopis* the best men appear to have won more straightforwardly: acc. to the abbreviated report in Apollod. epit. 5. 5 Eumelos won the chariot race, Diom. the foot race, Ajax the discus, and Teukros the archery (the events being named in the same order as in *Ψ*). In *Ψ* various twists make the outcomes less predictable and the story more entertaining.

257. *αὐτοῦ*: where? The Achaeans have returned from the pyre and tomb on the headland (125 n.); perhaps we are to understand ‘and they were about to disperse to their ships and cabins, but Ach. kept them in the open area before the ships’. The unclarity may result from using a verse originally composed for Ach.’s funeral, where Ag. might have ‘kept the army there’ for the games.

259–61. The list of prizes corresponds only roughly to the details given later.

262–70. Except in the weight-slinging contest (826 ff.) the number of prizes offered anticipates the number of competitors, none of whom goes away unrewarded.

262. *ποδώκεσιν*: of horses in *B* 764, *P* 614, *Ψ* 376, and here clearly with reference to the horses presupposed by *ἱππεῦσιν*. An odd transfer. The *ἵπποισιν* read by ‘some’ acc. to sch^{T} was a sensible conjecture but nothing more; cf. 273.

274–84. Ach.’s own horses are unsurpassable; cf. *B* 770. He gives a special reason why they are not going to compete and win him the first prize (their grieving for Patr., ~ *P* 426 ff.), but in fact, as organizer of the games, he does not take part in any of them. The pool of competitors is almost the same as in the games that followed his death; in the *Aethiopis* Antilochos has been killed by

then, but we cannot say whether this rests on any tradition—his slayer, Memnon, is an innovation.

277–8. ~ *Π* 867, *P* 443.

283–4. *οὔδεϊ δέ σφιν | χαῖται ἐρηρέδαται*: ≈ *P* 439 f., *T* 405 f.

288–351. The choice of the five competitors is partly based on horses.

(p.401) (1) Eumelos had a pair acknowledged as the best in the Achaean camp apart from Ach.'s (*B* 763–7), though neither he nor they have made any appearance in the poem outside the Catalogue. Whatever lies behind their reputation, he was a prime candidate for inclusion; he won the chariot race in the games for Ach. in the *Aethiopis* (257–897 n.). (2) Diom. is in possession of a fine Trojan pair captured from Aeneas (291–2 n.). (In *K* he also gets the even more wonderful horses taken from Rhesos, but in the genuine *Il*. they do not exist.) Let us see how they match up against Eumelos'. (3) As observed in 257–897 n., P wants to give coverage to the major heroes, but is reserving Ag. for special treatment. However, the Atreidai achieve immediate representation through Men., who uses one horse of his own and one of Ag.'s (295). (4) In *Θ* 104 ff. Diom. contrasted his Trojan horses with Nestor's slower ones. Now we shall see how the latter can perform, driven by Antilochos with the benefit of advice from Nestor on how to compensate for their intrinsic lack of speed by the application of skill and cunning. (5) The two Cretans, Meriones and Idomeneus, are also brought in, despite not being notable charioteers (cf. *P* 610 n.). Meriones drives the chariot, while Idomeneus plays a leading role among the spectators (450 ff.).

The order in which the contestants are listed reflects their notional quality, and we shall find the same in later contests (cf. 665, 754, 836, 859, 887). In the narrative of the race they appear in the same order, but 1 suffers an accident and comes in last, 2 takes over the lead and keeps it, 3 is overtaken by 4, and 5 maintains his place behind them.

288–90. After *H* 162 f.

289. *Ἀδμήτου φίλος υἱός*: ≈ *B* 713–15.

***ὃς ἱπποσύνηι ἐκέκαστο*:** cf. 288–351 n.

290. = *H* 163. Now that we have left the battle context behind, Diom. and Od. (709 ff.) are treated as fully recovered from the wounds that still handicapped them in *T* 47 ff. Cf. *M* 336 n.

291–2. ~ *E* 263 ff., *Θ* 108.

295. These horses of the Atreidai have not been named before. Cf. 288–351 n.

296–300. Perhaps, like *B* 572 (n.), an interpolation designed to give Sicyon a foothold in epic tradition and to account for the absence of Sicyonians at Troy; cf. the cases of the Cypriot Cinyras (*Λ* 20–3 n.) and the Corinthian Euchenor (*N* 669 n.).

296. *Ἀγχισιάδης Ἔχέπωλος*: ≈ *Δ* 458. Anchises is a surprising name for an Achaean; acc. to Acusil. 2 F 3 and Pherec. 3 F 20 he was the son of Kleonymos and a grandson of Pelops.

301. *Ἀντίλοχος*: in the race he will appear as Men.'s particular rival. For previous contacts between the two see Richardson 208. **(p.402)**

304–50. Nestor is past competing in any of the events (621 ff.), but here he comes into his own as wise adviser and earns his place in the story of the games. Cf. 288–351 n. He will prate again in 626 ff.

309–10. *ἀλλά τοι ἵπποι | βάρδιστοι θείειν*: ~ *Θ* 104 (n.), cf. above, 288–351 n. But Meriones' horses are called the slowest in 530, and so they have proved to be.

315–18. A priamel with triple anaphora. Cf. *EFH* 509 f., 526; *IEPM* 109, 116 f.

326–48. Antilochos will overtake Men. by bold and skilful driving at a narrow place (418 ff.). Nestor cannot anticipate this specific situation, but offers instruction for the analogous one that will arise at the turning-post. Perhaps this part of his speech—or the whole of 303–50 (Niese, cf. Hentze viii. 51; Erhardt 458 f.)—is a secondary addition, as in 333 he says that Ach. has already defined the course, which does not actually happen till 358. 326–32 look as if they may have been adapted from a context in which someone was giving directions to a traveller on the road mentioned in 330; 326 =*λ* 126, where *σῆμα* is more in place. See also 415–16 n.

327–32. The curious structure that Nestor describes must be something P had seen; 331 f. reflect his own speculations as to its purpose. Having observed that it was surrounded by level ground suitable for horse racing (*λεῖος δ' ἱππόδρομος ἀμφίς*) and that it might once have served as a *νὺσσα*, he decided to identify it as the turning-post in the chariot race at the games for Patr. (and Ach?).

331. ≈ *H* 89.

346. *Ἄρίονα*: famous from the Theban war, cf. *Thebais* fr. 11 and *Y* 224 n.

348. *τοὺς Λαομέδοντος* these horses too are from epic tradition about events of an earlier generation, cf. *E* 265 ff., 640. Diom. is racing with steeds of their stock (291).

***οἳ ἐνθάδε γ' ἔτραφον ἐσθλοί*:** ≈ *Φ* 279.

351. *ἐΰτριχας ὡπλίσαθ᾽ ἵππους*: after 301.

360. *Φοίνικα*: a final appearance in an appropriate role for this trusty retainer, last heard of in the same line as Nestor was, *T* 311. Cf. *I* 168 n.

362–72. As in a battle description, P begins with a general view of the scene. He then proceeds to encounters between pairs of contestants: Eumelos and Diom. (375–400), Men. and Antilochos (401–47).

373–4. *ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ πύματον τέλεον δρόμον … | αψ ἐφ᾽ ἁλὸς*: in 334 ff. P indicated the excitements that might arise when the chariots rounded the turning-post, but he passes over this stage in the narrative.

374–5. *ἀρετή γε ἑκάστου | φαίνετ᾽*: the horses' intrinsic quality became apparent as Eumelos took the lead, followed by Diom., Men., and Antilochos. Cf. 288–351 n. **(p.403)**

382–400. P wants to enliven the race by depriving the favourite of victory, but given the natural supremacy of Eumelos' horses this calls for divine interference. From his own resources Diom. cannot catch up, though he is excitingly close, and this is expressed by saying that he *would have* overtaken or drawn level *if* Apollo had not intervened; cf. *A* 191 n. Then Athena counters Apollo's action by returning the goad to Diom.'s hand (cf. *Y* 324 n.) and breaking Eumelos' chariot yoke. So Diom. does take the lead, but not by virtue of his horses outrunning Eumelos'.

383. *Ἀπόλλωνι*: he had reared Eumelos' horses (*B* 766), and he no doubt resented Diom.'s lack of respect for him in *E* 432 ff.

394. = *Z* 42.

397. = *P* 696.

401. Transition to the second 'duel' (362–72 n.).

402. ≈*Θ* 184, *T* 399.

403–16. Antilochos addresses his father's horses as if they understand every word, and 417 implies that they do. Cf. *Θ* 184–97 n.

404–6. He knows he has no chance of catching up with Diom.'s Trojan horses, and he even knows that Athena is lending them extra speed. P is not consistent about denying heroes the knowledge of which deity has intervened. Cf. 782 f.

414. ≈ *Θ* 191.

415–16. Antilochos' tactic is obscurely related to Nestor's advice in 326 ff., though that concerned the turning-post, and the competitors are now on the final straight. He has a plan to be put into effect at a narrow place which he has not yet seen (he sees it in 419) but which he is looking out for (*οὐδέ με λήσει* ≈ 326), as if it were the place Nestor had told him about.

417. = *M* 413.

432. ≈ *Π* 590.

439. ≈ *Γ* 365.

441. *ἄτερ ὅρκου γ'*: preparing for (and explained by) 581 ff.

422. ≈ 402.

446–7. ≈ 417 f.

448. After the pairings of Eumelos with Diom. and of Men. with Antilochos, the fifth contestant, Meriones, is left on his own without opportunity for close interaction with anyone. Instead of trying to make his situation interesting, P changes the viewpoint to that of the spectators at the ships as the returning horses come into view. Idomeneus is chosen as protagonist to stand in for Meriones (257–897, 288–351 nn.); 451 provides an *ad hoc* explanation of why he descried the horses before anyone else. The lively dialogue scene that follows occupies time as the charioteers cover the last stretch of the course: P's characteristic interlacing technique. **(p.404)**

449. ≈ 372.

452. *ὁμοκλητῆρος ἀκούσας*: = *M* 273. The noun picks up *ὁμοκλήν* in 446: it is Men.'s shouting that Idomeneus hears, for the sake of poetic continuity.

456. = 271; again in 657, 706, 752, 801, 830.

460–8. Idomeneus rightly surmises that Eumelos, who was previously in the lead, has had an accident. The avoidance of the name seems to be part of a poetic strategy, cf. 481 n.

462. *τὰς πρῶτα ἴδον περὶ τέρμα βαλούσας*: if the horses are only now coming into view, the turning-post ought to be out of sight. P needs Idomeneus to have seen Eumelos in the lead at an earlier point in the race. But now he is miring himself in contradictions: if he saw him rounding the post, he would have seen the accident that he speculates about in 465–8. Cf. Erhardt 463 f.

469–72. Idomeneus' growing certainty about the identity of the front runner is simulated by the progression from less precise to most precise denotation: an Aetolian—a king—the son of Tydeus—Diomedes. Cf. 481 n.

473–98. The lively dispute, with the offer of a wager, is no doubt inspired by P's observation of spectators at games (Bergk 643 f.). For Idomeneus' association with the Aiante (but more with Telamonian Ajax) cf. *A* 145 n.

476. *οὔτε νεώτατός ἐσσι*: he is *μεσαιπόλιος, N* 361.

481. *Εὐμήλου*: the delayed arrival of the name (cf. 460–8 n.) has the same effect of climax as in 472.

483. ≈ *Γ* 39 =*N* 769.

484. *ὅ τέ τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής*: ≈ *Π* 35.

492. After 489.

495. ≈ 448.

496. *ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης*: = 437.

499. The first horses approach; cf. 448 n.

501. *ῥίμφα πρήσσοντε κέλευθον*: = *Ξ* 282.

505. *ἁρματροχιὴ*: perhaps newly coined under the influence of 422 *ἁματροχιάς*; not again before Philo.

512–13. *γυναῖκα | καὶ τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα*: ~ 263 f.

***ὃ δὲ λῦεν ὕφ' ἵππους*:** typically no loose ends are left.

525. ≈ 295.

527. ≈ 382.

528–9. Meriones, not mentioned during the race, finishes in fourth place, well behind Men.

530–1. Antilochos compensated for his horses' lack of speed by his own skill; Meriones had even slower steeds and lacked the skill. Cf. 310 n.

536. *ἐλαύνει μώνυχας ἵππους*: after 532. **(p.405)**

539. *πάντες*: the non-contestants.

540. *ἵππον*: ~ 265 f.

546–7. *ὤφελεν ἀθανάτοισιν | εὔχεσθαι*: for this motif cf. 769 and 863/872. Antilochos rightly attributes Eumelos' failure to divine hostility, but Athena's breaking of his yoke (392) was not connected with his having neglected to pray.

553–4. There are echoes here of Ag.'s defiance in *A*, cf. *A* 19, 298, 302.

556. *ὅτι οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος*: in the *Aethiopis* Antilochos' death at the hands of Memnon served the same function as Patr.'s death in *Il.*, to provoke Ach. into avenging him. The special intimacy there implied (cf. *ω* 78 f.) does not appear in *Il.*; Antilochos is Ach.'s *φίλος ἑταῖρος* here, but so is Automedon in 563 (cf. *Ω* 574 f.). See further *CQ* 53 (2003), 10 f.

560. *θώρηκα, τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων*: ~ *Φ* 183. Cf. 807 f.

563. *Αὐτομέδοντι*: *I* 209 n.

565. ≈ *A* 446.

567–8. *ἐν δ' ἄρα κήρυξ | χερσὶ σκῆπτρον ἔθηκε*: as if it had become a formal assembly; cf. 573 ff.

572. *οἵ τοι πολὺ χείρονες ἦσαν*: the relative quality of all the horses is undisputed, cf. 288–351 n.

577. After 572.

579–85. Cf. 441 n.

591. ≈ *T* 220.

607. ≈*I* 492.

608. *σός τε πατὴρ*: anticipating Ach.'s award of the redundant fifth prize to Nestor in 616 ff.

***ἀδελφεός*:** Thrasymedes (*I* 81, *Π* 321, *P* 378, 705).

610. *ἵνα γνώωσι καὶ οἵδε*: = *A* 302.

611. ≈*O* 94.

612. *Νοήμονι*: not mentioned elsewhere.

613. *λέβηθ'*: the third prize, 267.

614–16. ~ 269 f.

621. *οὐ γὰρ πύξ γε μαχήσεαι, οὐδὲ παλαίσεις*: the next two events in the games. But in 622 f. Ach. does not keep the sequence. Cf. 634 n.

624. ≈ 565.

625–52. Erhardt 466 suggests that this passage with Nestor's speech is an expansion; for the sequence 624: 653 he compares 797 f.

[628]. *Studies* 271.

629. = *H* 157, *Λ* 670; cf. *H* 132–3 n.

630. *Ἀμαρυγκέα*: the father of Diores, *B* 622, *Δ* 517. Cf. 'Hes.' fr. 12 with *HCW* 60. It is doubtful whether there was any independent tradition of his funeral games; epic convention, so far as we know, would not favour games in **(p.406)** which four out of the five contests were won by the same hero. P has invented games of an earlier generation for Nestor to reminisce about, and chosen as the honorand the father of an Epeian killed at Troy. At least some of the competitors had a place in myth.

631. ≈ Hes. *Op*. 656. Cf. 87 n.

634. *πὺξ μὲν*: the five events are the same as presupposed in 621–3 (where the four listed supplement the chariot race that has taken place). The chariot race, which would naturally come first, is held back to the end (638) as being the one that Nestor did not win; the rest follow the same order as their counterparts in the main narrative.

***Κλυτομήδεα, Ἤνοπος υἱόν*:** unknown.

635. *Ἀγκαῖον … Πλευρώνιον*: a variation on Ankaios of Calydon, a brother of Meleager killed by the Calydonian boar (Bacchyl. 5. 117). Did P choose him as a wrestler by mental association with Heracles' opponent Antaios? Or, as Richardson suggests, with *ἀγκάς* (711), *ἀγκάλη*?

636. *Ἴφικλον*: Meleager had a maternal uncle of this name, whom he killed (Bacchyl. 5. 128). P has probably chosen the name by association with the Thessalian Iphiklos who was a fabulously swift runner (*B* 705, 'Hes.' fr. 62).

637. *Φυλῆα*: the father of Meges, *B* 628. Polydoros is unknown.

638. *Ἀκτορίωνε*: cf. *B* 621 n. Nestor also contended with them in battle, *Λ* 709, 750.

641–2. *δίδυμοι*: actually conjoined twins (*B* 620–4 n.), hence the abnormality of a chariot carrying two men in a race. For the epanalepsis (here expressive) cf. *Y* 371–2 n.

643. *ὥς ποτ᾽ ἔον*: ≈ *Λ* 762.

655. *ἐξέτε᾽ ἀδμήτην*: = 266.

657–8. = 271 f., cf. 456 n.

662–3. After 654/6.

665. The winner is named first. Epeios, not hitherto mentioned, was celebrated as the builder of the wooden horse (*θ* 493, *λ* 523, *Little Iliad* arg. 4, etc.). He is here represented as a skilled boxer, and he claims to be unbeatable.

667. After 663.

670–1. The logic is obscure, but the point may be to justify Epeios' non-appearance in the previous narrative. Cf. Niese 62; Kullmann 132; *Studies* 271 f.

674. *κηδεμόνες*: perhaps with Diom. in mind, son of Euryalos' cousin Deipyle.

677–8. ≈ *B* 565 f. On Euryalos cf. *B* 563–6 n.; he made only one passing appearance in the fighting (*Z* 20).

679. *ὅς ποτε Θήβασδ' ἦλθε*: if this refers to Mekisteus, as chronology would suggest, the point is that Euryalos is the son of a champion boxer. The **(p.407)** funeral games for Oedipus may be as impromptu an invention as those for Amarynkeus (630 n.). But *δεδουπότος Οἰδιπόδαο* suggests a larger narrative context, one in which Oedipus fell in battle (so Aristarchus rightly interpreted *δεδουπότος*).

699. *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*: the loser's prize, 656; Epeios claimed his mule in advance of the fight, 666.

701. *ἀλεγεινῆς*: after 653.

703. *δυωδεκάβοιον*, 705. *τεσσεράβοιον*: cf. *B* 449 n.

706. Cf. 456 n.

707. Contrast the more explicit announcement in 658 ff. P is beginning to abbreviate.

708–9. There is no indication that the pairing of Ajax and Od. here has anything to do with their later fatal dispute over the arms of Ach. (*Aethiopis, Little Iliad, λ* 543 ff.), as is often supposed (Pestalozzi 51, Kullmann 81 and 335, etc.).

***πολύμητις*:** a formulaic epithet of Od., but here, reinforced by *κέρδεα εἰδώς*, chosen deliberately in anticipation of 725. On Od.'s state of fitness cf. 290 n.

710. ≈ 685.

713. After *Π* 213; cf. *Studies* 272.

725. *δόλου δ' οὐ λήθετ'*: ≈ Hes. *Th*. 547 (~ 540).

729. *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*: cf. *Θ* 97 n.

733–5. After 490–2; cf. *H* 273 ff.

736–7. *ἀέθλια δ᾽ ἴσ᾽ ἀνελόντες | ἔρχεσθ᾽*: P does not explain how the prizes were made equal; neither a tripod nor a woman is much use if cut in half.

740. After 700.

743–7. To maximize the value of the bowl P makes it a Phoenician one of fine workmanship (cf. *Z* 290–2 n.). He must then explain how it came to be in Ach.'s possession at Troy (VdM 365), which he does by developing the story of Lykaon's ransom (cf. *Φ* 36–43 and 79 nn.). In 744 f. I suspect that a reference to Thoas' island of Lemnos has disappeared through rewriting or the omission of a line; see *Studies* 273. Patr.'s involvement is a new detail; it recurred in the *Cypria* (arg. 11).

748. *καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς θῆκεν ἀέθλιον*: reprising 740 by ring composition to make it possible to append the essential information that the silver bowl was the *first* prize, before proceeding to specify the second and third.

752–5. ≈ 706–9; again in 830 f. + 836 f.

754–6. The three competitors, all of whom have already played significant parts in the account of the games, are named in order of merit, cf. 288–351 n. Ajax's excellence as a runner is implicit in the formula *Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας* (or *ταχὺς υἱός*); for Antilochos' cf. *O* 569 f. and *γ* 112 ≈*δ* 202. 754 = 488. **(p.408)**

757–97. The account of the foot race is similarly constructed to that of the chariot race. Once the competitors have lined up and Ach. has defined the course (757 = 358), it starts with a tussle between the two leaders, who are closely matched (758–66 ≈ 375–81). When they are on the last stretch (768 ≈ 373), divine intervention causes the front runner to have an accident and the one in second place overtakes him. On the earlier occasion this is ascribed to his failure to pray (546–7 n.); in the present case to the fact that the runner-up did pray (768 ff.).

772–4. Athena makes Od.'s limbs feel light, but she cannot make him actually faster than Ajax, which would have been to alter the two men's intrinsic qualities. She can however let Od. win by bringing his opponent to grief, and does so. As in 388 ff., she acts both positively to ease things for her favourite and negatively to obstruct his antagonist.

Ajax's mishap is a comical one that provokes mirth (784). He was portrayed as a coarse and unsympathetic character in 473 ff. (though he had not been previously), and his present misadventure is evidently meant to be suitable for him. At the sack of Troy he was to incur Athena's wrath and seal his own fate by his impious treatment of Cassandra. Cf. Kullmann 350.

771–2. = *E* 121 f.

775–6. P is not content with unspecific animal dung: he has to tell us how it got there. He connects it with the last oxen mentioned (166).

778. After 729.

782–3. Ajax knows or correctly guesses that Athena is to blame. Cf. 404–6 n.

784. ≈ *B* 270.

785. Again as in the chariot race (528 ff.), the remaining contestant arrives at the finish after an uneventful run.

786–92. Antilochos' good-humoured acceptance of defeat, his ironic observation that the runners have succeeded in inverse proportion to their youth, and his sincere praise of Ach. match P's conception of his character.

797. = 624.

798. *αὐτὰρ Πηλείδης*: after 700 = 740 P settles into the habit of using *Πηλείδης* for Ach. in the first line of each new section; cf. 826, 884. The exception is 850, where Ach. is simply 'he'.

800. ~ *Π* 663. The panoply is a fitting prize for the duel in armour. In each of the remaining contests too the prize is related to the nature of the event.

801. Cf. 456 n.

802. = 659.

808. *τὸ μὲν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων*: cf. 560 n.

811–21. The armed duel naturally has much diction in common with battle narrative, esp. with an episode such as Men.'s duel with Paris in *Γ*. But **(p.409)** the passage is generally rich in repeated lines: 811 = 708, 812 ≈ 290, 813 =*Γ* 340, 814 ≈*Z* 120 =*Y* 159, 815 ≈*Γ* 342, 816 =*Γ* 15 etc.

823. ≈ 736.

825. =*H* 304.

826. *αὐτὰρ Πηλείδης*: 798 n.

***σόλον*:** the single prize is the iron weight to be used in the contest; cf. 800 n.

827. *ὃν πρὶν μὲν ῥίπτασκε μέγα σθένος Ἠετίωνος*: again, as in 560, 741 ff., 800, 808, Ach. produces a prize that bears witness to his (or Patr.'s) past exploits. His sack of Eetion's city has been mentioned repeatedly (*B* 690–3 n.). But the *σόλος* will be an invention (Kullmann 14, 291).

830–7. Cf. 752–5 n. It looks as though something is missing before 832 (Nauck).

836–8. Polypoites and Leonteus are the Lapith pair, *B* 740–6, *M* 129 ff., evidently conceived as especially brawny. Telamonian Ajax enters his third contest and Epeios his second, both of them notably big, strong men. The four competitors are not quite named in order of merit (288–351 n.), but the best is put first and the worst last. Then in 839 ff. we work backwards from Epeios' risible attempt to Polypoites' winning one.

843. *καὶ ὑπέρβαλε σήματα πάντων*: the phrase seems designed for someone who wins a contest by out-throwing more than two rivals; cf. *θ* 192.

851. *δέκα μὲν πελέκεας*: axes and archery go together (cf. 800 n.): P was evidently thinking of the kind of contest in which the participants had to shoot through a line of axes, as in *τ* 570 ff. On this cf. *EFH* 431 f.

852–5. For the form of this contest cf. *IEPM* 485.

857–8. Severing the string would seem too unlikely an outcome to be worth providing for, but P makes Ach. provide for it because it is what is actually going to happen. Cf. Mülder 292.

859–60. Teukros (*Θ* 266 n.) is the principal archer among the Achaeans, and the best acc. to *N* 313 f.; for Meriones cf. *K* 260 n. No one else on the Achaean side uses a bow in *Il*.

860. ≈ 528.

861. ≈*Γ* 316.

863–7. As in the chariot race, victory eludes the obvious favourite. The great archer fails to pray to his god and consequently misses the dove; cf. 546–7 n. But he does the next best thing, severing the string, and so qualifies for the second prize. His failure to pray appears as the rationale for his lack of success. But I suspect that it was an afterthought on P's part, incorporated by rewriting 863 + 865; see *Studies* 275.

870–81. Meriones has not yet had his go. If he does not act immediately the dove will have flown out of range. Seizing the bow, he prays to Apollo, **(p.410)** shoots his arrow, and brings the bird down. Mazon 255 thinks that he is given victory in this contest to compensate for his poor showing in the chariot race.

873. = *Δ* 102/120 (Pandaros' vow to Apollo before shooting at Men.). Cf. *Γ* 350–4 n.

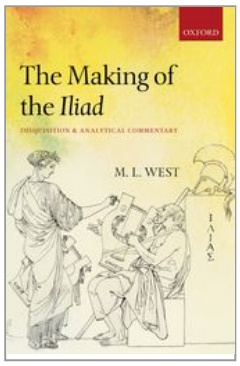
881. = 728.

884–97. The last contest, which does not get as far as taking place, seems designed solely to secure a prize for Ag., who has not entered any of the previous ones and is now awarded victory without having to put himself to the test. This sets the seal on Ach.'s reconciliation with him. Meriones is apparently chosen as Ag.'s rival only because he is in mind and on the scene from the last event; 888 = 860. We have the sense that P's stamina is failing and that he is hastening to the end of the episode.

884. = 798. But that was Sarpedon's spear: what is this one? It seems a trivial prize, albeit appropriate to the contest (cf. 800 n.). However, it turns out in 892–7 that the spear, despite having been mentioned before the cauldron, is the second prize, not the first. W. Jordan thought that it was not initially intended as a prize at all, only as the spear to be used in the contest, and then Ach. made it a complimentary prize for Meriones; cf. Hentze viii. 60. But *κατὰ … θῆκε* surely means 'put down as a prize'.

886. It is a further sign of perfunctoriness that Ach.'s announcement is omitted.

897. *Ταλθυβίωι κήρυκι:* *A* 320–32 n.



The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary
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Ω

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1–5. The games are concluded, the day's action is at an end. The pattern of two days earlier (*Ψ* 55–60) is repeated: others go off to their dinner and their beds, while Ach. lies lamenting for Patr. He reverts to the condition he was in before the games (cf. Wil. 70). We have noted that this day's ending would not have fallen untimely following the raising of the tumulus, at *Ψ* 257, and that the games seem to have been added as an afterthought (*Ψ* intro. and 257–897 n.). K. Grashof observed that the removal of *Ψ* 258–*Ω* 3 would leave a neat join:

Ψ 257	*χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίον. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς*
Ω 4	*κλαῖε φίλου ἑτάρου μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος* etc.,

with 13–21 making a natural sequel to the funeral (K. H. F. Grashof, Über das Fuhrwerk bei Homer und Hesiod (Progr. Düsseldorf 1846), 11). But this is not satisfactory as an original draft without modification: the statement that Ach. could not sleep needs to be preceded by an indication that the day has ended and others have gone to bed. We shall have to suppose that *Ψ* 257 is the reduction of a sequence of several lines in which *πάλιν κίον* was separated from *αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς* by something similar in content (and very likely in wording) to *Ω* 1–3.

6–9. These verses, or 7–9, may be an addition; they break the connection of thought between 5 and 10, 7 is awkwardly attached to 6, and 8 possibly derives from Od.

7–8. Cf. *EFH* 345 f. (Gilgamesh and Enkidu). In *Σ* 341 f. too Ach. speaks of Patr. as having shared in all his exploits (cf. *Σ* 28), but there is little trace of it in the tradition; cf. Scheliha 236–9, 245, 392.

8. = *θ* 183, *ν* 91, 264, where the reference to crossing seas seems more appropriate. Erhardt 493 notes that the line is easily dispensable.

12. *παρὰ θῖν᾽ ἁλός*: cf. *Ψ* 59–61 n. It is the typical setting for solitary misery, cf. *A* 34, 350.

13. *λήθεσκεν*: up to 12 the verbs, including the frequentative *δινεύεσκε*, have seemed to describe Ach.'s behaviour during one night. The appearance of dawn with a matching frequentative develops it unobtrusively into a description of several consecutive days. **(p.412)**

14–21. For the ransoming of Hector's body to come about, divine initiative will be necessary; the gods will be prompted to act by the offensiveness in their eyes of Ach.'s continuing maltreatment of the corpse (Howald 98 f.). To this theme, therefore, P now returns. He combines the dragging behind Ach.'s chariot (*X* 395 ff.) with the triple circuiting of Patr.'s tomb (as of his bier in *Ψ* 13). Cf. *Ψ* 24 n.

18. ≈ *Ψ* 25.

19–21. Cf. *Ψ* 184–91 n. The measures taken there to conserve Hector's body included protection (by Aphrodite) against the effects of being dragged, if 187 (≈ *Ω* 21) is genuine, but it was not unnatural to reassert the motif here where the problem arises. The discrepancy in the detail is in principle immaterial, though the golden aegis as protective wrapping is a curious novelty. 'It is golden, because divine things are characteristically golden' (Macleod 87); cf. *B* 448 n.

24–31. The idea of Hermes' stealing the body may be seen as one that P considered but rejected (cf. Mülder 262). Erhardt 479–83 argues that it is a secondary addition, and that these lines (or 23–30), 71–3 (n.), and 107–11 are all inserts. This is worth considering, though 112 would come abruptly straight after 106.

24. *ἐΰσκοπον*: cf. *IEPM* 282.

28–30. 28 is a variation on *Δ* 47 = 165 = *Z* 449 *καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ᾽ ἄτης* is from *Z* 356, cf. *Γ* 100 (*ἄτης* and *ἀρχῆς* being variants in all three places, cf. Studies 197 f.). It is evidently meant to supplement *πρῶτον* in 27 by recalling the beginning of the war. It does not in itself explain the three deities' enmity towards Troy; 29–30 represent an attempt to supply the explanation at least for Hera and Athena, but it seems unlikely that P would introduce his only reference to the Judgment of Paris at this late stage (cf. *Δ* 31–6 n.), or that he would have contemptuously dismissed the *δῶρ᾽ ἐρατὰ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης* (*Γ* 64) as *μαχλοσύνη*. I regard these two lines as a rhapsode's interpolation. Perhaps the same rhapsode altered 28 from its formulaic form.

31. = *A* 493. As there, the line comes after a description of Ach.'s behaviour over several days and it is unclear what *ἐκ τοῖο* refers to. In 107 Zeus says that the dispute among the gods has been going on for nine days. P makes it a twelve-day period here because he has a suitable verse available from *A* 493, not because he wants to create a mirror effect between *A* and *Ω*.

32. *Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*: the debate is opened by the principal male god on the Trojan side. Hera will speak for the opposition (55–63), and then Zeus will make his decision and set action in motion.

34. Apollo argues that Hector's piety should be taken into account. Cf. *Y* 297–308 n. **(p.413)**

36–8. Anticipating the return of the body and the ensuing funeral.

49. Cf. Archil. 13. 5–7. Archilochus' *θεοί* seem more suitable givers of endurance than P's *Μοῖραι* (VdM 373), which may have been substituted because a god is speaking (Macleod 93).

[54]. Cf. Studies 277 (where the first 'Hector' should be 'Achilles').

60–3. It looks as if P knows a poetic account of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Cf. *P* 195 f., *Σ* 84 f. It was related in the Cypria as part of the background to the war (arg. 1, frr. 2–4); cf. 'Hes.' frr. 210–11, Alc. 42. 5 ff., Pind. Pyth. 3. 92 f., Nem. 4. 65 ff., 5. 22 ff., Aesch. fr. 350, Eur. IA 1036 ff.

66–70. Zeus confirms with emphasis what Apollo has said about Hector's piety (34 n.). 69–70 = *Δ* 48 f.

71–3. Before announcing his course of action Zeus disposes of the gods' earlier idea of stealing the body (24). P has to invent a reason for its rejection. The lines may be secondary, cf. 24–31 n.; the statement that Thetis is with Ach. day and night sits oddly with what follows, where Iris swoops down to find her in the sea.

***αἰεί | … παρμέμβλωκεν*:** after *Δ* 11.

74–140. For the logistics of the message-sending see *O* 53–262 n.

74. *εἴ τις καλέσειε θεῶν*: a nice variation on the direct instruction to Iris as in *Θ* 399, *O* 158. It is she who undertakes the mission all the same.

75. *ὄφρα τί οἱ εἴπω πυκινὸν ἔπος*: Zeus does not send Thetis instructions to speak to her son, just a summons to come to Olympus for an important message. Nor does he yet announce his plan to send a separate message to Priam. But he reveals in a nutshell the outcome to be achieved: *ὥς κεν Ἀχιλλεύς | δώρων ἐκ Πριάμοιο λάχῃι ἀπό θ' Ἕκτορα λύσῃι*.

77–87. Typical messenger sequence.

77. = *Θ* 409.

78. ≈ *N* 33. Thetis is to be sought in the sea depths somewhere not far from Troy. (73 is forgotten.) Why specifically between Samothrace and Imbros, it is hard to say, but the availability of *N* 33 as a model verse no doubt had something to do with it.

80. For the simile cf. *EFH* 399.

83–6. Thetis is found in a characteristic situation: in an underwater cave (cf. *Σ* 50, 402) amid her sister Nereids (cf. *Σ* 36 ff.), lamenting her son's approaching death.

86. ≈ *Π* 461.

88. The summons is tersely communicated in a single line; contrast Hymn. Dem. 321–3.

***Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς*:** Hes. Th. 545, 550, 561; Hymn. Aphr. 43, Dem. 321; only here in Hom.

89–92. Thetis replies, voicing reluctance but agreeing to go. **(p.414)**

91. *ἔχω δ᾽ ἄχε᾽ ἄκριτα θυμῶι*: = *Γ* 412, in Helen's reluctant response to Aphrodite's summons.

96. *ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρά σφι λιάζετο κῦμα θαλάσσης*: cf. *Σ* 66–7 n.

97. *ἀκτὴν δ᾽ εἰσαναβᾶσαι*: after *Σ* 68. P sensibly leaves the location vague.

98–9. After 83 f.

100. *εἶξε δ᾽ Ἀθήνη*: that she sits next to her father is evidently a given, as in Pind. fr. 146, Aesch. Eum. 998 f. (reading *ἡμένας* with Bothe).

101–2. Hera as mistress of the establishment makes the unhappy visitor welcome; she is after all her own protégée (59 f.). Her own vindictive wishes regarding Hector have been blocked, but she may be supposed content with the forecast of compensation for Ach. from Priam.

104–19. Zeus' speech, kind and sympathetic in tone, sets out in a beautifully clear and measured way what the situation is and what is to be done.

107–11. Cf. 24–31 n.

107. *ἐννῆμαρ*: cf. 31 n.

109. After 24.

114. *φρεσὶ μαινομένησιν*: Zeus endorses Apollo's complaint in 39 f. that Ach. is off balance. P in his own voice has spoken of Ach.'s *ἀεικέα* or *κακὰ ἔργα* (*Φ* 19, *X* 395, *Ψ* 24, 176).

116. *ἐμέ τε δείσῃ*: cf. *N* 624 n.

117–19. To forestall questions about procedure Zeus now announces the other part of his plan, to mobilize Priam.

120–1. ≈ *B* 166 f.

126. *ἄγχ᾽ αὐτοῖο καθέζετο*: a departure from the formulaic *ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη* (87 and often); formal convention gives way to tenderness. The wording is influenced by *A* 360 *καὶ ῥα πάροιθ᾽ αὐτοῖο καθέζετο*, and 127 = *A* 361.

129–30. *σὴν ἔδεαι κραδίην*: cf. *Z* 202 n.

***μεμνημένος οὔτέ τι σίτου | οὔτ᾽ εὐνῆς*:** anticipating the ending of both privations later on, when Ach. will eat two dinners and settle down for the night with Briseis.

131–2. ≈ *Π* 852 f.

133. ≈ *B* 26 = 63.

134–6. ≈ 113–15.

137–40. Thetis does not pass on the information that Iris is to organize a visit from Priam. P does not want to spend time explaining the arrangements to Ach., and he wants Priam's arrival to be a complete surprise for him. So Thetis just says 'come on, ransom him'; Ach. asks no questions and makes no objections, but simply says 'let someone bring the ransom and collect the body'. 'Even if this is a different Achilles from the Achilles of wrath and **(p.415)** revenge, he has not mutated; he is different because the situation of *Ω* requires a different Achilles' (Howald 96).

141–2. Conventionally Thetis would now depart. By leaving the conversation of mother and son to continue, P not only achieves a charming naturalism but also enhances the sense of activity going on simultaneously in different locations as Zeus proceeds with the other part of his plan announced in 117.

144. *ἔδος Οὐλύμποιο*: cf. *E* 360 n.

145–7. ≈ 117–19.

148. *οἷον, μηδέ τις ἄλλος ἅμα … ἴτω*: preparation for the intimate meeting between Priam and Ach.

149–58. Zeus explains the logistics of the expedition and provides the assurances that Iris will have to give Priam to overcome his fears. Hermes will guide him safely through the Achaean camp, and Ach. will do him no harm: Zeus can guarantee that on the basis of Ach.'s character. This goes beyond normal divine insight, and is really P's guarantee.

Erhardt 485–7 acutely noted a series of indications that P originally conceived Priam as making the journey unaccompanied, driving the mule-cart. The herald comes in awkwardly after 148 = 177. In 189 f. and 263–78 the emphasis is on preparing the mule-cart; only in 279–86 do the horses and chariot suddenly appear. In 322–6 it seems at first as if Priam is driving out on his own, and then it is explained that the herald went first in the mule-cart and Priam followed in the chariot. After that everything proceeds as if this had been the plan from the beginning. If the herald and the second vehicle were not part of P's initial concept, he worked them in before getting far on with his account of the expedition.

149. *γεραίτερος*: P does not want to dilute the sense of Priam's defencelessness in Ach.'s presence by providing him with a younger escort (Howald 103 f.). The alarm of the first encounter with Hermes (352 ff.) also depends on Priam's having only an old man with him.

154. *ὃς ἄξει*: ~ 183 *ὅς σ' ἄξει*. Perhaps we are to understand elided *ἑ* (*Fε*) after *ὅς*. But this is not a form in normal use, and we must in any case infer that the composition of Zeus' speech is secondary to that of Iris'.

159. = 77. Having there described Iris' journey from Olympus to Thetis' abode, P can omit an account of her present journey to Troy.

160–8. The usual statement of what the person visited was doing when found is elaborated to recreate the scenes of grief and lamentation described in *X*, focused now on Priam's household, his numerous sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law (~ *Z* 244 ff.).

164. *κόπρος*: ~ *X* 414; cf. *EFH* 340. **(p.416)**

167. *τῶν μιμνησκόμεναι*: ≈ 9.

170. *τυτθὸν φθεγξαμένη*: so as not to be heard by the others. It is implied that they do not see her either; see *A* 198 n.

171. *θάρσει … μηδέ τι τάρβει*: *O* 254 n.

174. = *B* 27, 64.

175–87. ≈ 146–58.

188–90. There is no discussion: Iris departs straight away, Priam accepts her instructions without hesitation. His preparations typically begin with an order to others. He calls on his sons rather than on *ἑταῖροι* (as in *Γ* 259) because they are already on the scene; this will create the opportunity for him presently to abuse them and contrast them with Hector (253 ff.).

191–2. Priam goes indoors both to tell Hekabe what he intends and to collect treasures with which to ransom Hector. Oriental opulence is concisely evoked by the description of the *θάλαμος*. 191 ≈ *Z* 288.

195–6. = 118 f., 146 f., ≈ 175 f.

197–9. Priam has already set preparations in motion. If he is now represented as slightly uncertain about the venture, it is only to make an opening for Hekabe to voice the commonsense objections, which he will then reject.

203. *οἷος*: ~ 148/177. Priam has not mentioned this detail; cf. *A* 380–1 n.

204. *πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλούς*: ≈ 167.

205. *σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ*: *X* 357 n.

207–8. *οὔ σ᾽ ἐλεήσει | οὐδέ τί σ᾽ αἰδέσεται*: ≈ 44.

217. *γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής*: this becomes a recurrent formula in speech-introductions in this rhapsody (299, 372 = 386 = 405 = 552 = 659, 634).

220–2. ≈ *B* 80 f. (perhaps more suitable here: Erhardt 18); 221 ≈ *A* 62.

223. *ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην*: cf. *A* 198 n.

224. ≈ 92.

229–34. The goods are listed in the order in which they would be heaped up, ending with the most distinctive item.

234–6. *ὅ οἱ Θρῆικες πόρον ἄνδρες | ἐξεσίην ἐλθόντι*: a typical piece of circumstantial detail to lend individuality to the goblet. Cf. *Z* 290–2, *Ψ* 743–7 nn.

***οὐδέ νυ τοῦ περ | φείσατ᾽*:** emphasizing the preciousness of this last object.

237–64. Priam’s irascible words to the Trojans standing around and to his sons are designed to reflect his disturbed state of mind.

249–51. A mini-catalogue of the type described in *E* 677–8 n. Each line is an ‘augmented triad’ (*A* 145 n.). Helenos, Paris, Polites, and Deiphobos are familiar figures, while Antiphonos is perhaps the same as the Antiphos of *Δ* 489 and *Λ* 101. The other four are new names. **(p.417)**

257. *Μήστορα*: killed by Ach. in a raid on Aeneas' cattle, Apollod. epit. 3. 32 (from the Cypria); cf. Dio Prus. 11. 77.

***Τρωΐλον*:** ambushed and killed by Ach. at the shrine of Thymbraean Apollo, Cypria arg. 11, cf. fr. 25. P deliberately does not make Priam mention Lykaon and Polydoros, whom he missed in *X* 46–8 (n.) but thought they might have been captured alive; he will be no better informed now. Nor does he mention Kebriones (*Π* 737 f.) or seven other lesser sons killed by other Achaeans in the course of Il.

258–9. ~ *X* 394, 434.

263. Priam ends by repeating the instruction he had given in 189 f., enabling the preparations for the journey to go ahead.

266–7. ≈ 189 f.

268–74. A virtuoso exercise in versifying technicalities.

278. *τούς ῥά ποτε Πριάμωι Μυσοὶ δόσαν*: an ad hoc embellishment, cf. 234–6 n. In *B* 852 the Paphlagonian Enetoi are named as the source of mules, and the Mysians follow a few lines later at 858. Anacreon PMG 377, however, accepts the Mysians as inventors of mule-breeding.

282. *κήρυξ*: ~ 149; presently (325) identified as Idaios.

283–321. Hekabe accepts that Priam is going to go in spite of her. Her misgivings are eased after he follows her suggestion of praying to Zeus for a favourable omen and Zeus obliges. Cf. *EFH* 399.

292–3. *ὅς τέ οἱ αὐτῶι | φίλτατος οἰωνῶν*: ≈ *I* 521 f.

297. After *I* 517; cf. 292–3 n.

306–7. ≈ *Π* 231 f.

308. *Ἴδηθεν μεδέων*: Priam prays to Zeus of Ida, as Ach. to Zeus of Dodona (*Π* 233).

310–13. ≈ 292 ff.

315. = *Θ* 247.

325. *Ἰδαῖος*: *Γ* 248 n.

332. *ἰδὼν δ' ἐλέησε γέροντα*: this makes it seem that sending Hermes was a new idea of Zeus', prompted by pity, but it has been fully prepared for in 153 ff./ 182 ff.

334–5. *σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν | ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι*: Hermes is appropriate not as a universal escort but more particularly as a god of wayfarers (IEPM 282 f.) and accomplice of sneak-thieves (Hippon. 3a. 2 *φωρῶν ἑταῖρε*), able to smuggle them past defences and guards (cf. Hippon. 79. 9 f.). He has already featured in another scheme for recovering Hector's body (24 etc.).

340–5. Cf. *EFH* 191.

343. *ῥάβδον, τῆι τ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει*: needed in order to get Priam past the guards (445); it has no such point in the derivative **(p.418)** passages *ε* 43–9, *ω* 2–4, cf. *α* 97–101. For the motif of the magic wand cf. *EFH* 382.

344. *τοὺς δ᾽ αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει*: added for the idea that a god can equally well do either of two opposite things; cf. *EFH* 267 f.

347.–8. For the god in the likeness of a young man cf. *EFH* 183.

349. *οἳ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν*: we should have expected the typical envoy sequence to continue with Hermes 'finding' Priam, *ηὗρε δὲ* …. Instead P switches back to the travellers and describes their alarm when Idaios catches sight of the stranger (Richardson 310).

***σῆμα … Ἴλοιο*:** *Λ* 166 n.

350. *στῆσαν ἄρ᾽ ἡμιόνους τε καὶ ἵππους*: the meeting and initial dialogue with Hermes cannot well take place while Priam and Idaios are riding along in their vehicles, so P brings them to a halt; cf. Erhardt 488.

351. *ἐν ποταμῶι*: probably at the ford which they will pass by on the way back at 692, where Hermes will leave them as he now joins them. Cf. *E* 774 n.

***δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλυθε γαῖαν*:** nightfall is made the reason for the stop; it is a normal time for travellers to halt, though Priam's stop can only be a brief one. It has to be at night that he comes to Ach. unseen by the rest of the Achaeans (Howald 99).

355–6. *ἄνδρ᾽ ὀρόω … | ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ φεύγωμεν ἐφ᾽ ἵππων*: after *E* 244 (where *ἄνδρ᾽* is dual) + 249.

359. *ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν*: = *Λ* 669, where of Nestor.

362–439. In terms of the number of speeches (nine), this dialogue is the longest in Il. After Hermes' initial address the introductory verses are remarkably stereotyped, *τὸν δ᾽ ἠμείβετ᾽ ἔπειτα γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής* alternating regularly with *τὸν δ᾽ αὖτε προσέειπε διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης* except at 424. Cf. 217 n.

366. *θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν*: Hes. Th. 481; also *K* 394, 468.

368–9. Cf. 149 n.; 369 after *T* 183.

373. *φίλον τέκος*: despite having been advised that Zeus would send Hermes to escort him, Priam remains unaware of his identity until he is told at 460.

377. *μακάρων δ᾽ ἔξεσσι τοκήων*: P will have intended the double meaning.

379. = *A* 286, *Θ* 146.

381. *κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά*: *I* 330.

383. *καταλείπετε Ἴλιον*: a possibility envisaged by Ach. at *X* 383.

385. *σὸς πάϊς*: Hermes gives a strong hint that he knows who Priam is.

387. ‘Who are you, and who is your father?’ is a traditional question, cf. *IEPM* 431.

***ἔξεσσι τοκήων*:** after 377. **(p.419)**

388. *ἀπότμου παιδὸς*: Priam cagily avoids confirming the identity of his son and so of himself. This at any rate is how Hermes interprets his wording; he proceeds to name Hector and so proves that he does know Priam’s identity.

390–404. Hermes answers chiastically, first taking up Priam’s reference to his son and then working his way to his own identity.

397. *Πολύκτωρ*: a fictitious name suitable for a wealthy man. Hermes does not give himself a name.

401–2. A plausible reason for the pseudo-Myrmidon’s presence out in the plain: he is reconnoitring in anticipation of the morning offensive. 403–4 attempt to explain why this is happening after so many days’ inaction: the leaders have been holding the army back (why?), but they cannot restrain them any longer. P is not planning any further battle narrative—if at an earlier stage he had intended to go on to the death of Ach., he had by now abandoned the idea—but he wants to sustain awareness that the war is not over and fighting must soon be resumed.

411–12. Again a chiastic response, first negating Priam’s second alternative, then confirming his first.

***κύνες … οὐδ᾽ οἰωνοί*:** the formulaic pair (*A* 4–5 n.) expands on Priam’s ‘dogs’.

413. *δυωδεκάτη*: ~ 31.

414–23. Hermes describes the effects of Aphrodite’s and Apollo’s protective ministrations against natural corruption (414 f.: *Ψ* 188–91) and laceration (416

ff.: *Ψ* 185–7, *Ω* 18–21). From his pretended mortal viewpoint it is a wonder (418), but a sure sign of the gods' concern for Hector (422 f.).

415. ≈ *T* 31.

417. *ἕλκει ἀκηδέστως*: ≈ *X* 465.

***ἠὼς ὅτε δῖα φανήηι*:** ~ 12 ff.

420. *σὺν δ᾽ ἕλκεα πάντα μέμυκεν*: a new detail, doubtless attributable to Aphrodite's ambrosial unguent.

421. *πολέες γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶι χαλκὸν ἔλασσαν*: ~ *X* 371/375.

424. *γήθησεν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων*: Priam's emotion on hearing the news is too important to be passed over, and demands a divergence from the pattern of alternating speech-introductions (362–439 n.).

425–8. Hector's piety (34 n.) is emphasized again. Priam sees it as having been duly rewarded.

428. *τῶν οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο*: after Hes. Th. 503, with ellipse of *χάριν*?

430. *πέμψον δέ με*: Priam's last speech in the dialogue ends with the entreaty to escort him to Ach. Hermes responds that he is more than willing, and the expedition continues.

***σύν γε θεοῖσιν*:** as in 377, Priam speaks truer than he knows. **(p.420)**

433. ≈ 390.

434–6. Hermes is allowed to know that the treasures are for Ach.

440–1. The god becomes the king's charioteer: *E* 837–9 n. 441 = *P* 482.

442. ≈ *P* 456.

443. *πύργους τε νεῶν καὶ τάφρον*: the first mention of the Achaean fortifications since *Y* 49. It was natural to bring them back into view where guard-posts had to be crossed.

444. *φυλακτῆρες*: ≈ *I* 66 (there too associated with *δόρπα*).

445–6. The god puts the guards to sleep: cf. *EFH* 182, 400. Prepared for in 343 (n.).

448. ≈ *Λ* 618.

449–56. None of the Achaeans' *κλισίαι* has been described previously. Now that Ach.'s is to be the setting for an important scene, a detailed account of it is inserted parenthetically between 'when …' and 'then …', much as in *Z* 242–52. Appropriately to its owner's status, it is portrayed as no mere shack but a substantial timber building that can be called an *οἶκος* (471, 572), *δώματα* (512), *δόμος* (673), or *μέγαρον* (647); it has a capacious porch (*αἴθουσα* 644, *πρόδομος* 673). To suit the requirements of the narrative it has an outer enclosure in which Priam can leave his animals, vehicles, and treasure while he goes indoors (469–71), and where he can later be laid down to sleep with the opportunity for clandestine departure (643 ff.).

454–6. Cf. *Λ* 636–7 n.

460–9. Hermes finally discloses his identity (cf. *EFH* 183 f.; *IEPM* 133) and takes his departure after telling Priam how to proceed. When a deity identifies him- or herself to a mortal, it is normally at the beginning or the end of the encounter; when it is at the end, he or she then usually departs at once, as Hermes does in 468. Cf. *λ* 253 ~ 'Hes.' fr. 31. 5, Hymn. Dem. 275 ff.

463. *νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη*: an improvised excuse for Hermes' not staying. There was no place for him in the following scene.

464. ≈ *Φ* 380.

[466–7]. Cf. *T* [326–37] n. *ὑπὲρ πατρὸς λίσσεο* corresponds to 486, but Ach.'s mother and son do not come into it.

469. P does not pause to describe Priam's reaction to the god's revelation. He might have been awestruck; he might have said 'Heavens, yes, Iris told me Zeus would send you'.

470–1. *ὃ δὲ μίμνεν ἐρύκων | ἵππους ἡμιόνους τε*: in a typical arrival scene the animals would be unyoked without delay (Arend 87–91); here the party's welcome is uncertain, and until it is clarified at 576 ff. Idaios and the animals remain waiting, ready to depart again if necessary.

472–7. P takes pains to maintain continuity with the last time we saw Ach. Then he was sitting amid his comrades, who were preparing a meal (122 ff.); **(p.421)** Thetis at 129 implied that he himself was still off his food. Now (as suits the time of day, cf. 444) he has just finished a meal and the things are being cleared away; 474–6 provide graphic detail. That he is no longer groaning and fasting indicates that 'the full violence of his grief has passed' (Macleod), a necessary precondition for his reception of Priam.

P needs to keep Ach.'s entourage in the background. Only the two familiar retainers Automedon and Alkimos (*I* 209, *P* 467 nn.) are still busy near him, and

they fail to notice Priam entering. The general astonishment at his supplication is noted in 484, but after that the subordinates are ignored until 573.

478–9. *χεῖρας | … ἀνδροφόνους*: ≈ *Ψ* 18.

488–9. *περιναιέται ἀμφὶς ἐόντες | τείρουσ᾽*: perhaps alluding to the tradition that Peleus was driven out of his kingdom by the sons of Akastos (Soph. Peleus, Eur. Tro. 1127 f. with sch, Apollod. epit. 6. 13: after the Nostoi?); cf. *λ* 495–7.

493–4. ≈ 255 f.

495. *πεντήκοντά μοι ἦσαν*: ~ *Z* 244–6. For Priam's polygamy cf. *Z* 243–50 n.

499. *οἷος ἔην, εἴρυτο δὲ ἄστυ*: ≈ *Z* 403.

501–2. ≈ *A* 12 f. Priam does not list the goods he has brought: we know what they are, and it is of little concern to Ach. Similarly in 555 f.

504. *μνησάμενος σοῦ πατρός*: returning to the opening of the appeal, 486.

505–6. ~ 478 f.

516. *πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον*: *X* 74 (n.).

[519–21]. ≈ 203–5. Studies 279.

522–6. Cf. *EFH* 347.

526. *ἀκηδέες*: ≈ Hes. Th. 61, Op. 112.

534. After *Π* 867 ≈ *Σ* 84.

538–42. If Neoptolemos had existed for P he would have had to mention him here; cf. *T* [326–37] n. Ach. implies that he himself will not return home alive, but to say it more explicitly would have involved speaking of his mother's prophecies: these were hardly suitable for mention to Priam, though in 561 f. he does refer to her earlier visit with instructions from Zeus.

544–5. The geographical definition of Priam's realm is presumably not a traditional datum but P's own construction. The Hellespont makes an obvious boundary to the north. Stories of Priam's relations with Phrygia (*B* 862 n.) implied its status as the neighbouring state to the east. Neither Phrygia nor the waters of the Hellespont formed part of his kingdom. On the other hand, *ὅσσον Λέσβος … ἐντὸς ἐέργει* surely means that Lesbos is included, not that he ruled the sea up to its coast. It reflects seventh-century **(p.422)** Lesbian claims to the Troad, cf. Strabo 13. 1. 38. Ach. has taken the island (*I* 129/271, 664): this may

once have been a mythical tradition unconnected with the Trojan War, and one that contributed to Ach.'s becoming associated with the war. Cf. pp. 43 f.

***Μάκαρος ἔδος*:** this too reflects Lesbian legend.

552. P uses the same line as in the dialogue with Hermes (386 n.); again in 659.

555–7. Cf. 501–2 n. Like Chryses in *A* 18 f., Priam expresses the wish that if the man he is appealing to accepts the ransom offer, he may achieve all he hopes for.

560. *μηκέτι νῦν μ᾽ ἐρέθιζε, γέρον*: after Ag.'s reply to Chryses, *A* 26/32. It is not clear why Ach. should feel provoked.

561. *Διόθεν δέ μοι ἄγγελος ἦλθεν*: after 194.

563–70. Ach. perceives that Priam too must have come under divine direction. So they must both get on with what the gods require and not go on stirring up each other's emotions.

571. = *A* 33.

574–5. *ἥρως Αὐτομέδων ἠδ᾽ Ἄλκιμος*: ≈ 474. Automedon and Alkimos now fulfil the typical role of the two accompanying servants or other persons, cf. 573 ≈ *B* 822, *Γ* 143.

***οὕς ῥα μάλιστα | τῖ᾽ Ἀχιλεὺς ἑτάρων*:** cf. *Ψ* 563.

576–7. Idaios and the animals were left waiting at 470 f. Now that Priam's overtures have been accepted, Ach.'s hospitality is extended to them.

579. ≈ 276.

582. *λοῦσαι κέλετ᾽ ἀμφί τ᾽ ἀλεῖψαι*: 'Hector's corpse is washed, although it is clean and fresh (cf. 411–23) … The washing emphasizes Achilles' humane concern' (Macleod).

583–6. Again Ach. is concerned to avoid further emotionalism on Priam's part, cf. 563–70 n. But 586 may be a rhapsode's over-dramatic embellishment after 570 (Leaf), of the same character as *Σ* [34]. The whole scene is so designed that Priam does not set eyes on Hector's body.

590. The body is loaded onto the wagon ready for transport. This cannot wait overnight because Priam will be making his getaway before dawn.

591. = *Ψ* 178.

592–5. After Ach.'s previous promises to Patr. of all he was going to do to Hector (*Ψ* 21, 183), it is only fitting that he now asks for his understanding and forgiveness. But P spends no longer on this than necessary. Cf. Howald 96.

593. *εἰν Ἄϊδός περ ἐών*: ≈ *Ψ* 19 = 179.

594. *οὔ μοι ἀεικέα δῶκεν ἄποινα*: Ach. has paid little attention to Priam's offerings. P could have described him watching them laid out and taking satisfaction in their opulence. **(p.423)**

597. *ἔνθεν ἀνέστη*: ~ 515.

598. *τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέρου*: ≈ *I* 219.

599–620. The speech is an exceptionally good example of 'ring composition':

> Your son is ransomed, tomorrow you can take him away.
> But now let us take thought for food.
> For even Niobe thought about food, who lost twelve children.
> Apollo and Artemis killed them, because of Niobe's boasting:
> she boasted of having borne many more than Leto:
> therefore they killed them.
> Yet Niobe took thought for food;
> so let us too take thought for food.
> Then you can lament your son when you take him home.

Having arrived after dark, Priam is late for dinner, and Ach. has had his (475). But a shared meal is called for both by the etiquette of hospitality and the poetic need for this confirmation of the concord reached between the two men. Ach., who has only recently recovered his appetite for food, assumes that Priam still lacks his (confirmed in 642) and needs to be coaxed into eating. He uses the myth of Niobe as an exemplum. Her relevance is that, like Priam, she lost a large number of children, not that she was famous in story for taking up eating again after she had finished weeping: this detail is evidently P's own invention *ad hoc* (Mülder 260; Kakridis 99). It is incompatible with her turning to stone (Cauer 575 n. 11, who wrongly infers, after Ar. Byz. and Aristarchus, that 614–17 cannot be genuine; likewise Kakridis 97). Another odd feature of the present version is also explained by the desire for parallelism with Priam's situation (Kakridis 102): that the slain children lay unburied for many days until at last the gods took action in the matter.

611. *λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων*: the culmination of the story was that Niobe was turned to stone, *sc*. into the rock face near Sipylos that resembled the figure of a woman. That the whole people were turned to stone is a peculiarity of P's version: either he has invented it to account for the children's lying unburied —it seems an arbitrary act on Zeus' part—or local legend identified a group of rocks near the Niobe rock as her people. Another myth derived the *Λέλεγες λαοί* from 'chosen stones' (*λεκτοὶ λᾶοι*) that Deucalion threw ('Hes.' fr. 234); P inverts the metamorphosis in turning *λαοί* into stones.

615. After *B* 783.

616. *Ἀκελήσιον*: see *Studies* 280. The reference to the nymphs of this minor river is a further indication of P's personal knowledge of the area.

***ἐρρώσαντο*:** ≈ Hes. *Th*. 8. **(p.424)**

617. *θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει*: that is, she continues to weep, as could be observed from a suitable distance (Paus. 1. 21. 3, Q.S. 1. 294–306, Nonn. *D*. 2. 159 f.). The contradiction with 613 reflects the tension between the underlying myth and the twist that P has given it to make Niobe eat.

618. ≈ *Δ* 418 =*E* 718.

621. *ἦ, καὶ ἀναΐξας*: after 440. P does not make Ach. wait for a response from Priam.

622. ≈ *Ψ* 167.

623–4. = *H* 317 f.

625–8. ≈ *I* 216 f. + 221 f.; for the connection with this passage cf. 598 n. As usual in descriptions of meals, the emphasis is on the preparation and serving.

631. The structural parallelism with 629 emphasizes the mutuality of admiration.

633–6. Business is completed. Sleep is next on the agenda, introduced as a proposal by Priam.

636. ≈ 3.

639. *κήδεα … πέσσω*: ≈ 617.

640. ≈ 161–5, *X* 414, *Λ* 774. Perhaps a rhapsode's embellishment.

642. *πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι πεπάσμην*: ≈ *Σ* 386/425. P belatedly supplies information that was presupposed earlier (601–17 n.). Neglect of food goes together with neglect of sleep, as in 129 f.

643–76. The scene follows a typical pattern, see *I* 658–68 n.; 643 ≈ *I* 658.

644. *ὑπ᾽ αἰθούσηι*: Priam and Idaios cannot be put to bed indoors like Phoenix in *I*, as that would make their midnight flit impossible. Ach. has the beds made up outside in the porch and provides a justification in 650 ff. In the imitations of the passage at *δ* 294 ff. and *η* 335 ff. there is no comparable reason for the guests to sleep out of doors (Reinhardt 492 n. 12, 500–4).

649. *ἐπικερτομέων*: 'in jest'. *ἐκτὸς λέξο, γέρον* initially sounds rude and contemptuous, but Ach. then makes it clear that it is amicably meant and spoken with Priam's interests in mind.

650–2. The idea that Ach. often receives nocturnal visits from other leaders was perhaps suggested by the Embassy in *I*.

653. = 366.

656–8. Nothing now stands in the way of the return of Hector's body to Troy. P at once starts preparing for the funeral, which will require a continuation of the armistice. (Cf. the truce for burials in *H* 331 ff.) Ach. negotiates this with Priam now (P knows it will be too late in the morning); since his return to the fight he has in effect (despite 654) become the Achaeans' supreme commander, cf. *T* 139 n. Of course, as Rothe 331 f. observes, P could not have made him say 'I will convey your request to Ag. and the other leaders and send you a message if they agree'. **(p.425)**

656. = 380.

659. Cf. 552 n.

662–3. These two lines seem to be a secondary addition by P; see 784 n.

664–6. The lamentation and funeral are to occupy eleven days; for the time-scale of heroic funerals cf. *IEPM* 497. The exact length results from using the convenient *ἐννῆμαρ* (*A* 53 n.; most recently 610), augmented by the two days necessary for the cremation and raising of the tumulus.

669. ≈ *Φ* 223; *γέρον Πρίαμ'* after 650 *γέρον φίλε*, with a change to avoid hiatus.

674. = 282.

675–6. ≈ *I* 663–5. Cf. 129–30 n. As we observe Ach. for the last time in the poem we note with satisfaction that he now has Briseis back as his bedfellow: the original cause of his wrath has been put right.

677–81. After *B* 1 ff. (cf. *B* 1–2 n.; 677 =*B* 1). Here too a god stays awake pondering how to achieve the end he desires, though P omits 'and this is what he decided to do' (≈ *B* 5 f.). Zeus sent a dream as his proxy, Hermes comes in the manner of one.

682. = *Ψ* 68; cf. *B* 5–40 n.

685. ≈ *Φ* 42.

687–8. The danger of Ag. discovering Priam's presence is taken up from 654. This is the last mention of Ag. in the poem: still in principle the Achaeans' overlord, but marginalized by the story-line.

688. ≈ *A* 411/*Π* 233; *Ψ* 661.

689–94. The narrative becomes highly abbreviated. P omits to say that Priam woke up with Hermes' voice in his ears and that he and Idaios got dressed (≈ *B* 41 ff.); the yoking of the animals is cursorily dealt with, as is the whole journey back to Troy. 'As the old man's outward journey is described in detail, the poet passes over the return as quickly as he does over the arming of one party when he has given details of the other's' (Rothe 333).

689. After 571.

691. *αὐτὸς ἔλαυνε*: cf. 440–1 n.

692. = *Ξ* 433, *Φ* 1. This is probably where Hermes first appeared to Priam (351 n.), and now that he has seen him back past the sentry line he takes his departure to Olympus without speaking further. 694 = 468.

695. Cf. *Θ* 1 n. As at *T* 1, the return from a nocturnal mission coincides with daybreak, so that its results can be brought to the attention of those now waking: 696 *οἳ δ' εἰς ἄστυ ἔλων* corresponds structurally to *T* 3 *ἦ δ' ἐς νῆας ἵκανε*. For the change of viewpoint to that of those waiting and watching cf. *Ψ* 448 (Rothe 334).

698. *ἀνδρῶν καλλιζώνων τε γυναικῶν*: for the polar reference to both sexes cf. *Z* 442, *Θ* 5; *IEPM* 102 f. **(p.426)**

699. *Κασσάνδρη*: *N* 365–9 n. Why is she picked on? Perhaps under the influence of some other context where as a prophetess she cried out a warning to the citizens from the Pergamos (Apollo's special seat and vantage point, *Δ* 508 n.; VdM 387). The occasion of Paris' return from Sparta with Helen may be particularly relevant; acc. to Colluthus 390 Cassandra saw them *ἀπ' ἀκροπόλης* as they arrived in the harbour, and tore her hair and veil. Differently Kullmann 247: 'in this passage Cassandra's gift of supernatural vision is rationalized in a remarkable way. Here she does not foresee the future, she just sees better into the distance: she has keener sight.'

705. ≈ *E* 157. Is there a reminiscence of Hector's return in *Z* 237–41?

710. *πρῶται … ἄλοχός τε φίλη καὶ πότνια μήτηρ*: anticipating their laments, which come first in the series beginning at 723.

713. ≈ *Ψ* 154.

720–76. The first three lines appear to describe lyric threnodies by professional singers with congregational responses; cf. Leaf's n. and my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 23, 339, 388. In what follows, their place is taken by the rhetorical laments (of decreasing length) of the three women who were closest

to Hector, in each case answered by the wailing of a quasi-chorus. Cf. *Σ* 50–1, *T* 301–2, *X* 429 nn.; *EFH* 396 f.; *IEPM* 498 f.

722. *ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες*: *T* 301, *X* 515; again in 746.

725–7. ≈ *X* 483–5.

***ἆνερ*:** 'each of the three laments begins by placing Hector in his relationship to the speaker' (Macleod).

727–8. *οὐδέ μιν οἴω | ἤβην ἴξεσθαι*: anticipating that of the two alternative fates for Astyanax envisaged in 732–5 it is the second that will befall him—as P knows it will (*Z* 476–81 n.).

730. *ἔχες*: alluding to Hector's name. Cf. the explanation of Astyanax's in *Z* 403, *X* 506 f.

732. *καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆισι*: ~ *Z* 454 ff., cf. *Z* 456–8 n.

***σὺ δ' αὖ, τέκος*:** it is natural to suppose that Astyanax is present at these domestic lamentations.

733–5. *ἔργα ἀεικέα ἐργάζοιο | ἀθλεύων πρὸ ἄνακτος ἀμειλίχου*: the phrasing suggests the influence of a verse about Heracles' labours, cf. *T* 133.

***ἤ τις Ἀχαιῶν | ῥίψει … ἀπὸ πύργου*:** cf. 727–8 n.; *X* 63 f. As in *Φ* 110–13, the speaker contemplates alternative eventualities, one of which corresponds to what will actually happen.

***χειρὸς ἑλὼν*:** *metri gratia* for *λαβὼν ποδός* (*Φ* 120) or *ποδὸς τεταγών* (*A* 591, *Little Iliad* 29. 4) (but cf. also *T* 126).

736–8. We cannot tell whether P had a specific Achaean in mind. In the *Little Iliad* (fr. 29) the deed was done by Neoptolemos, who does not exist for **(p.427)** P (538–42 n.); in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4) by Od. (cf. Stat. *Silv*. 2. 1. 145, Triphiod. 645). Neither fits the category of those who have lost a relative to Hector.

741. = *P* 37.

744. After 75.

746–7. After *X* 429 f.; 746 more exactly = *T* 301, *X* 515. In 760 and 776 P takes pains to vary the expression; cf. *Γ* 199 n.

750. ≈ 428.

751–3. ~ *X* 44 f. It is odd that Hekabe does not mention those killed; contrast 204 f.

***Ἴμβρου καὶ Λῆμνου*:** ~ *Φ* 40/43/58/79.

756. *ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ᾽ ὅς*: ≈ 551.

757. *ἐρσήεις*: ~ 419.

762. After 748.

[763–4]. *Studies* 282 f.; already condemned by J. H. J. Düntzer, *Homerische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1872), 391. [764] after *H* 390.

765–6. ≈ *τ* 222 f., where the year of Od.'s homecoming is counted as the twentieth from the start of the war (as regularly in *Od.*: *β* 175, *π* 206, *ρ* 327, *τ* 484, *ϕ* 208, *ψ* 102, 170, *ω* 321). That makes sense: the war lasted ten years (*B* 134, 295, 328–30, *M* 15), and so did Od.'s wanderings. But Helen's reckoning only works if ten years passed between her elopement and the Achaeans' arrival at Troy, which is difficult to account for; cf. *Studies* 281 f. The 'twentieth year' has often been explained as the result of mechanical borrowing from the *Od*. passage. But *μοι* is better in place here than *οἱ* (s.v.l.) in *τ* 222, and *ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης* better here than *ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθε πάτρης* in *τ* 223 (where an aorist would have been more suitable): it must be P^{Od}, as usual, who is imitating *Il*., cf. Kullmann 193 n. 0, Reinhardt 485–90. It appears to have been P^{Od} himself who extended Od.'s wanderings from three to ten years.

769. ≈ *Z* 378/383.

770. *ἐκυρὸς δὲ πατὴρ ὡς ἤπιος ἦεν*: put in on account of *Γ* 162–5, 172. The whole line may be an afterthought; *ἐκυρή* ignores Hekabe's presence.

773. *καὶ ἔμ᾽ ἄμμορον*: ≈ *Z* 408.

775. *πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν*: cf. *Γ* 159 f.

777–81. As in 713 ff., lamentation is halted by Priam. The next business will be the gathering of wood for the pyre. He now gives the order for this and explains that he has arranged an eleven-day truce with Ach. These are the last words spoken in the poem.

784. *ἐννῆμαρ … ἀγίνεον ἄσπετον ὕλην*: in 664 the first nine days were meant to be for lamentation, and in *Ψ* 111 ff. the wood for Patr.'s pyre was **(p. 428)** gathered in a day; cf. *H* 418–20. But P feels he has dealt with the lamentations in 723–76, and now he has nine days to fill. He decides to re-use the motif of woodcutting expeditions from *Ψ* and make them occupy the nine days. He then inserts 662 f. in Priam's programmatic speech so that this major woodcutting effort is properly prepared for in advance (*Studies* 280 f.). He does not reproduce the amplitude of the woodcutting scene in *Ψ*, cf. *Ψ* 110–24 n. The

whole funeral is going to be swiftly dealt with; it is ‘almost an abstract’ of Patr.’s (Leaf), without games.

785. ≈ *Z* 175.

787. ≈ *Ψ* 165. P omits to mention the onset of darkness, probably because the pyre burns on through the night (791); cf. *H* 433 n.

789. ≈ *H* 434.

791–3. ≈ *Ψ* 237–9/250–3.

799–800. The Trojans’ apprehension about a possible Achaean attack serves to remind us that the end of the truce period is approaching and that the fighting will soon be starting again. Cf. 401–2 n.

801. ≈ *Ψ* 257.

802. *δαίνυντ᾽ ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα*: in *Ψ* 29 ff. the feast takes place on the eve of the funeral; in 665 above it was scheduled for the day of the funeral, before the raising of the tumulus. Its displacement here to the end of the whole process lets the poem end on a note of repose and repletion.

[804]. *ὣς οἵ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο*: P. Lit. Lond. 6 col. xxii and sch^{T} attest an ancient variant *ὣς οἳ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος· ἦλθε δ᾽ Ἀμαζών*, followed by either *ὀτρηρὴ θυγάτηρ εὐειδὴς Πενθεσίλεια* (pap.) or *Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο* (sch). (On the divergence see *Studies* 283–5.) It signals the arrival of the Amazon Penthesileia who was to fight on the Trojan side and be slain by Ach. in the first part of the *Aethiopis*. It is usually supposed that someone with *Ω* 804 before him as the last line of *Il*. altered it in order to obtain a continuous narrative running on into the *Aethiopis*. But even in the version of the direct tradition the line looks very much like the beginning of a transition to a new topic (VdM 390), and one may feel that 803 makes a more satisfactory ending to *Il*.

Could 804 be all that remains of a continuation by P? But we know what was to come next on his programme: resumption of fighting on the day after the completion of the funeral rites. Any continuation, therefore, would have begun with the dawning of the next day, whereas *ὣς οἳ γ᾽ ἀμφὶεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος* has all the appearance of a transition to something else that happened on the same day. What can that have been but the arrival of Penthesileia? It was appropriate that she should arrive on this day, ready to go out to battle the next morning. But P knew nothing of her.

(p.429) The main part of the *Aethiopis* was concerned with another exotic arrival at Troy, the Aethiop Memnon, his aristeia and defeat by Ach., and then the death and funeral of Ach. himself. The Penthesileia episode had no organic

connection with that, and there is some likelihood that it was originally an independent *Einzellied* about an encounter between Ach. and the Amazon, with no particular context; cf. *CQ* 53 (2003), 13. The *Aethiopis* may be regarded as the conjunction of an *Amazonis* and a *Memnonis*.

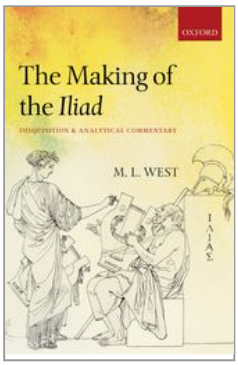
As an *Einzellied*, the *Amazonis* did not relate to any specific phase of the Trojan War. But once associated with the *Memnonis*, which related the death of Ach., an event felt to be impending in *Il*., the Penthesileia episode was bound to be squeezed in between the funeral of Hector and the arrival of Memnon. We may infer that verses which bring the Amazon to Troy immediately after Hector's funeral are leading in, not to the free-standing *Amazonis*, but to the composite *Aethiopis*.

How did the *Aethiopis* begin? With a conventional invocation of the Muse and an indication of the main subject matter? But then it becomes difficult to understand why someone should see fit to eliminate this proemium and make the poem continuous with *Il*., dovetailing the two epics so closely that phrases from both were combined in one line. It may be preferable to suppose that it was written from the start not just as a sequel but as a textual continuation of *Il*., just as the *Catalogue of Women* was written as a continuation of Hesiod's *Theogony* (*Hes. Th*. 48 f., *HCW* 125–8). On this view P's *Il*. ended with *Ω* 803; Arctinus (if that was the poet's name) continued with *ὣς οἳ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος· ἦλθε δ᾽ Ἀμαζών κτλ*. Cf. F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus* ii (Bonn 1849), 170 n. 1.

An alternative possibility would be that the *Memnonis* was composed as an independent poem with its own proemium, and that the poet of the *Amazonis* then appended his work to *Il*. with the idea that this extended *Il*. should form a continuous narrative with its sequel, the *Memnonis*. He might at the same time have made a suture joining *Amazonis* and *Memnonis*. In any case he was taking a Cyclic approach.

In the case of Hesiod a separation was made at an unknown date between the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue*, though it was not a clean separation of Hesiodic from post-Hesiodic material, as the last part of the *Theogony* is itself post-Hesiodic. At the time of the separation the extended text may have been the only version current. With *Il*. it is hard to imagine a time when it was current only with the *Amazonis* or *Aethiopis* attached. But our text apparently goes back to one in which the accretion had to be cut off. The surgeon took the backward-looking sentence *ὣς οἳ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος* as properly belonging to *Il*., and filled out the verse with *ἱπποδάμοιο*. So Christ 728, 'versus 804 ex formula ista transitoria nescio an relictus sit'; Fick **(p.430)** 235, 'Der vers ist zu streichen; er … stammt aus der anknüpfung der Aithiopis des Arktinos an die Ilias'.

The prior version with the first couple of lines of the continuation was noted by some Hellenistic scholar and became a matter of record. It would not have been surprising if it had found its way into a few medieval manuscripts, as happened in the Hesiodic tradition with the first two lines of the *Catalogue* (= *Th*. [1021–2]); see *Hes. Th*. 437.



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M. L. West

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(p.431) Envoi

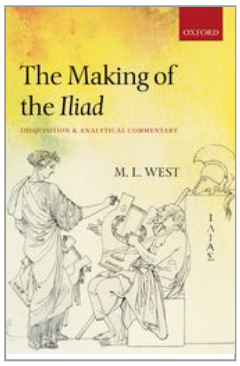
> I make myself no illusions about the unpopularity to which a work of dissection is doomed—in England especially. That most longer works of literature must have come into being piecemeal over a period of many years, and that some traces of this process must remain in the finished productions, everybody will admit. But the moment anyone attempts to trace out such a process in one particular case, he finds himself face to face with the whole forces of prejudice and thoughtlessness.[1]

Far be it from me to brand my readers as thoughtless or prejudiced, but as I indicated in the Preface, I feel a pessimism similar to Powell's concerning their persuadability. Some, I know, will be dismayed at what they see as a regression to an antiquated style of analysis. Some will dismiss it as a self-indulgent bacchanal of the imagination ('West thinks he knows …'). As Theognis remarked, not even Zeus can please everybody, rain or abstain.

The main thrust of the book will be easy to grasp, but it will certainly be no simple matter to follow all the detail. I cannot expect anyone to do so who does not personally engage with the text of the *Iliad* and consider for him- or herself the issues to which I draw attention. It has taken me much careful contemplation to work out my conclusions, and the same will be required of the reader in order to be able to judge them. Perhaps only a minority will take this trouble. But if a few do, and if after doing so they see the point, I shall have succeeded in starting, or re-starting, the kind of critical study that I believe the *Iliad* needs.

Notes:

(1) J. Enoch Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge 1939), viii.



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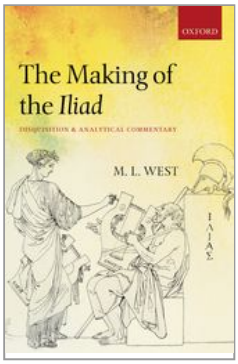

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