KEITH STANLEY

The Shield of Homer

Narrative Structure in the Illiad

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NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN THE *ILIAD*

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For the Memory of My Mother and Father

"La forme n'a assurément qu'une valeur relative, mais la plus belle idée du monde n'est perceptible que par une forme."

—Albéric Magnard to Paul Dukas, 6 May 1902

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THE SHIELD OF HOMER

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Form and Interpretation in Homer

(1) The *Shield of Achilleus* as a Problem in Interpretation

When in *Iliad* 19 Achilleus rearms himself to avenge the death of Patroklos, the shield he carries into battle is like no other in the poem. Only one, Agamemnon's, is described in similar if far briefer detail (11.32–37); but instead of its symbols of violence—Gorgon, Terror, Fear—the scenes Hephaistos has worked onto the shield for Achilleus present an artfully balanced conspectus of human life: cities at peace and at war, seasonal vignettes of plowing and harvest, of herding and its losses, seen against the encircling River of Ocean and the cosmic order of sun, moon, and stars (18.478–608). The most immediate of several apparent paradoxes here is that Achilleus' return to battle is motivated not by the ideal of stability that seems to resolve the elements of conflict in these scenes, or by an impulse to aid his fellow Achaians, but by an overwhelming and self-destructive desire for private revenge. Ancient readers as early as Euripides noted a striking disjunction between the artwork and the purpose it is meant to serve.[1] The contrast is implicit in Achilleus' own reaction to the divine gift (19.16–19), which both inflames his anger (*min mallon edu cholos*) and delights him with its craftsmanship (*terpeto . . . echon theou aglaa dora. . . . tetarpeto daidala leusson*).

Modern scholars, reluctant to follow the model of Achilleus as Hephaistos' ideal reader, have been more responsive to the craftsmanship than to the anger. Modern discussion of the former may be fairly said to begin in 1766, with the several chapters of Lessing's *Laokoon* devoted to the *Shield*. Here Lessing waxes epigrammatic: "Since the shield had to be made, and since the necessary never comes from the hand of divinity without grace, the shield had to be embellished."[2] But instead of asking how this might be reconciled with the necessities of the poem, Lessing contents himself with a note on the success of Homer in making "his shield the very essence of all that had happened in the world by means of but a few pictures"—in contrast to Vergil's pedantic attempt to "introduce the whole of Roman history in a shield," which is in any case lost on Aeneas, who gazes on the work of Vulcan characteristically oblivious to history (*rerum ignarus*: *Aeneid* 8.730).[3] Constrained by the critical issues of his day, Lessing is more concerned with the correct number of the

scenes, whether they were disposed on both sides of the shield or only one, and the relevance of the *Shield* to the current debate over the role of narrative in painting and in poetry.[4] A change in the Homeric text suggested not quite thirty years later might have challenged Lessing to respond with a more considered view of Hephaistos' choice of subjects.

In his 1795 *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, F. A. Wolf argues, on the testimony of Athenaeus, that a passage from the *Odyssey* should be restored at *Iliad* 18.604, adding to Hephaistos' scene of dancing youths and maidens the figure of the "divine bard" accompanying them with his lyre and his song.[5] If Wolf is right, we have a further paradox in the contrast between the poet on the *Shield* and the poet of the *Iliad*, who seems more concerned to follow the ruthless course of Achilleus' revenge than to linger on scenes of peaceful festivity. Is there a disjunction also in the poet's use of his craft? Is the poet of the *Iliad* wholly committed to the celebration of a world of violence and retribution, or is there some way in which we can view the *Shield* as Homer's also?[6] In other respects the *Shield* and the poem are not mutually exclusive: There are at least reflections, or anticipations, of the action of the *Iliad* in Hephaistos' scenes of a fight by a river, a watch from the walls of a city at war, and the dragging of a corpse before it; and the question of a division of the spoils of the city (510f) will be echoed in Hektor's despondent review of his alternatives as he faces Achilleus at 22.119ff.[7] But just how the vision of the *Shield* can be said to be comfortably integrated with the poem is harder to define without a clearer idea of that vision—and, as we shall suggest, of the poet's point of view in the epic.

The problem of the *Shield* thus provides a focus on the problem of the poem, where in similes and asides the joys of peace are frequently set against the knotted cruelties of battle, but where reconciliations, when they come (Achilleus' with Agamemnon, with Priam), merely seem to accept a world of violent means to violent ends rather than ensure a recovery of peace. Our perennial difficulty is one of encountering the text on its own terms, and in this regard Lessing is both a help and a hindrance. In differentiating our response to the organization of a painting and that of a poem, he notes that we apprehend a work of art by viewing "its parts singly, then the combination of parts, and finally the totality," in a rapid operation unavailable to the poet, who must take us "from one part of the object to the other in the best possible order."[8] Even in discussing writers of his own period, Lessing regards poetry as a succession of "arbitrary symbols," not a visually retraceable text; although one can always repeat and vary the act of visual appraisal, the elements of a poetic description are lost to the ear unless they remain in the memory.[9] For Lessing, who assumes that the Homeric passage is to be taken as an actual *ekphrasis* (or technical description of a work of art), it is important to establish the best

form of such description in poetry. Homer's achievement lies in presenting the coexistent elements of the *Shield* in a sequence not of mere enumeration but of actual creation, "thereby making the living picture of an action out of the tedious painting of an object."[10] In representing this action, the poet distinguishes one scene from the next by various phrases that describe the god contriving, placing, making, or elaborating each element in a succession that prevents us from the detached contemplation invited by Vergil's account of the shield of Aeneas, where the shield is produced merely "for the sake of its decoration."[11]

Lessing's perception of the importance of sequence in the Homeric narrative and the way it is articulated is indispensable; but in emphasizing the consecutive at the expense of the coexistent, he deprives us of a total view of the *Shield*. We have no clear sense of the formal relationship of its scenes and therefore its meaning, which we tend to locate in the unavoidable interaction of sequence and coexistence—much as in speech itself meaning derives from the interplay between a temporal series of words and their atemporal syntactic relationship.[12] And Lessing fails to address the further question of the relationship between the representation (or text) attributed by the poet to the artist and the text (or representation) attributable to the poet by the reader.[13]

Attempts since Lessing to explore the significance of the *Shield* have tended to depart from the text however viewed, on the assumption that interpretation should proceed from emphases apparent in a reconstruction of the Shield as artifact, rather than in the arrangement of the poetry. Readings have therefore differed according to divergent visual designs, circular and rectangular. In heliocentric schemes, for example, the cities and the the seasons revolve about the astronomical cosmos that governs them, serving as reminders of the "passion, order, and the changeless inevitability of the world as it is" (Whitman); or the Shield "makes us think about war and we see it in relation to peace," and it "brings home the loss, the cost of the events of the *Iliad*" (Taplin). In Sir John Myres' scheme there is no center, only a continuous Anglo-Zoroastrian revolution of order and disorder which teaches us that "only when kings work together with gods, is evil enmeshed, and humanity safe; only when king and people work together, does man win his fight with lions or any assault of nature."[14]

In purely graphic terms, such reconstructions are beset by difficulties inherent in the poet's refusal to specify the relative position of the scenes. In contrast to the earlier account of Agamemnon's shield—with three such indications in six lines—there is in the entire passage devoted to the shield of Achilleus only one, which places the River of Ocean at the rim (607f), repeating the reference to the "streams of Ocean" at 489, and thus concludes the description by binding it into a formal unity.[15] The poet's

decision to avoid calling attention to the physical design of the finished product in favor of the act of fabrication places emphasis on Hephaistos' point of view, as the poet presents it through his own verbal arrangement.[16] In attempting to explain this decision and in order to recover the emphases created by this particular relationship of sequence and coexistence in the *Shield* as poetry, we shall need more than a sketch pad, a history of armor, and (Lessing's ultimate arbiter) a refined taste. As a first step, we shall have to equip ourselves with a little light philological armor of our own for a confrontation with the peculiarities of the Homeric style itself, lest we proceed, like Lessing and his successors, *rerum ignari.*

(2) Ring-Composition in Homeric Digressions

Fortunately our weapons are ready at hand, and we can be brief. Students have for some time recognized that the Homeric sentence is paratactic in character.[17] A periodic (or hypotactic) style relates secondary elements in a statement to its more important ideas by means of elaborate grammatical subordination and suspension (the inevitable example is Ciceronian oratory, where suspension occasionally seems designed as much to obscure the facts as to make a point); parataxis simply juxtaposes one thought to another. Elements in this "threaded" or freely flowing series are joined most often by conjunctions or particles (*gar, de*) that render the editorial imposition of full stops somewhat arbitrary, failing the presence of a strong disjunctive, such as *autar*, or the correlative *men . . . de* ("on the one hand . . . on the other"). Like the Homeric sentence, Homeric narrative presents an ongoing series in which each successive action seems at first glance to receive equal status—just as time, in direct narrative, generally moves forward in an uninterrupted flow in which even simultaneous events seem to be treated as a linear sequence.[18] The origin of this aspect of Homeric style has been related to a preliterate way of apprehending the world[19] or, alternatively, to an oral singer's technical and quite practical need to avoid confusing his listeners (and himself) by frequent shifts in time or in elaborate stylistic subordinations.[20]

A closer look shows, however, that even in linear movement forward in time, the poet describes certain actions with an exhaustive compilation of detail on one occasion, on another with a summary economy that reduces a series of discrete elements to one. This mixed treatment of the overall succession of events draws attention to process on the one hand, completion on the other. The poet may also interrupt and rearrange elements of his series to establish emphasis and contrast in patterns that range from simple to complex, in units small and large. But although he often exceeds the requirements of clarity in oral verse, our poet seldom

disregards the storyteller's basic need to conclude a deviation from expected sequence with a return to the point of departure. The result is a ring-compositional style that creates not an "illusion of form" (von Groningen) but form consistent with its origin in an accretive parataxis.[21]

The simplest interruption of narrative flow is found in the simile, involving a temporal suspension in which the poet compares A to B and then describes B in greater or less detail, before resuming the narrative with a return to A signaled by the conjunctive adverb *thus* (*hos*): "The troops advanced like a cloud, which etc.; *thus* did the troops advance." Extended interruptions occur in the form of flashback or foreshadowing, where the return to the present may be indicated by a phrase of reorientation, such as "but at *this* time" (*tote de*), that corresponds to the "thus" statement of a simile. Other digressive interruptions include recollections (as in Nestor's frequent evocation of the past), mythic paradigms (Glaukos' story of Lykourgos' impiety in 6.130–40, Agamemnon's myth of *ate* in 19.90–133), lists or catalogues, and descriptions of objects.

These more elaborate digressions are incorporated into the narrative by means of elements that are external or internal to the inserted material, used separately or in combination. External form, which sets the interruption apart from the main narrative like printed parentheses, is achieved by *anaphoric ring-composition*, in which the formula or phrase used at the point of departure is repeated as the narrative is resumed, much as in the *thus*-statement of a simile or the "but at *this* time" statement following a flashback or foreshadowing.[22] An instance often cited occurs in *Odyssey* 19. While bathing Odysseus' feet, Eurykleia notices the trace of an old wound on his thigh: "she recognized the scar immediately" (392f, *autika d' egno oulen*). The phrase is repeated and expanded at 467f when, after the digression on the occasion of the injury, the poet returns to the main narrative with "this (scar) the old woman recognized, as she touched and caressed it with the flat of her hands" (*ten greÿs cheiressi kataprenessi labousa gno rh' epimassamene*).

Internal framing, or *inclusive ring-composition*,[23] is created within the digression when a phrase used at the outset reappears at the end of it. In the same passage in *Odyssey* 19, the explanation at 393f, "the scar which the boar inflicted once with his white tusk when he went to Parnassos with Autolykos and his sons" (*oulen, ten pote min sus elase leukoi odonti Parnesond' elthonta met' Autolykon te kai hyias*), recurs with adjustment at 465f, "how the boar struck him with his white tusk as he went hunting on Parnassos with the sons of Autolykos" (*hos min thereuont' elasen sus leukoi odonti, Parnesond' elthonta syn hyiasin Autolykoio*).[24] This combination of anaphoric and inclusive techniques has been termed a *complex ring*; and when more than one repeated element appears in either type of ringing, one may speak of *multiple rings*.[25]

Finally, *motivic ringing* occurs when the poet frames a passage by repeating an earlier motif or its antithesis, or by resuming an activity or situation left in suspense, and may involve more than one pair of elements.[26]

Methods of external ringing are not only used to incorporate digressions into the main narrative but may also define structural entities of a more extensive nature, as we shall see in our subsequent discussion. Within digressions, a sequence of fixed or similar phrases may emphasize the serial relationship between the elements of a catalogue or description, as in the account of Achilleus' shield, where, as Lessing notes, successive portions of the decoration are introduced by variants of "and then he (Hephaistos) placed on it. . . ." (*en d' etithei*, etc.). The poet may also organize ordinary narrative in this way, as in the *Epipolesis* of Book 4 (251–421), where Agamemnon's progress from one contingent to the next is described with recurrent phraseology at the beginning or end of each encounter. This principle of internal ordering by formulaic repetition we may term "refrain-composition" (in an overdue domestication of van Otterlo's "Ritournellkomposition").[27]

More complex internal organization may entail *annular* or *interlocking* arrangement. The simplest form of annular structure is the ABA pattern of similes; an extension of this pattern is evident when a speaker proposes two or more topics and proceeds to deal with them in reverse order. A well-known example—delightful in its artistic play despite the seriousness of the situation—appears in the first *katabasis* of the *Odyssey* (11.170–203). Here, to Odysseus' queries of his mother Antikleia (whether she died of old age, disease, or the gentle darts of Artemis? how are Laertes and Telemachos? is his property still intact? what of Penelope?), she responds to the questions hysteron proteron, ending with the response that she herself died not from old age but from longing for Odysseus.[28] Annular structure is essentially a developed form of inclusive ring-composition, in which the second series of elements forms a balance in reverse order to the initial series (ABCD DCBA). A further extension of this technique, as we shall see shortly, is used in both digressions and the narrative proper to frame and thus set off for emphasis a central element (ABCD E DCBA). The components of these series will be separate entities generally enclosed by ring-structures of their own; their similarities—of A_1 with A_2, B_1 with B_2, etc.—vary from a relatively simple beginning and conclusion of an action to a more complex thematic or motivic relationship of parallel or contrast. As for interlocking order, the simplest form occurs in an interchange between two speakers, in which the initial pattern of address/response is repeated at least once (ABAB), though the structure itself is open and may continue indefinitely (ABCD . . . ABCD . . .).[29] Here also a central element may be framed by its surroundings,

with an isolating effect similar to annular emphasis, in the form ABCD E ABCD.

In short, the Homeric style is not simply a vehicle developed to ensure coherence in sequential narrative: It offers a variety of means for organizing sequence into coexistent patterns of emphasis, parallel, and contrast that are not merely optional but, as we shall see, habitual to our poet and essential to an understanding of his art.

(3) The Function of Ring-Composition in the Description of the *Shield*

Viewed in these terms of analysis, the *Shield* reveals a remarkable unity of design.[30] The poet establishes an overall frame by anaphoric ringing with the phrase "great and mighty shield" (*sakos mega te stibaron te*) at 478 and again, as the main narrative resumes, at 609 (see Chart 1.1). Within the digression, "the streams of Okeanos" at 489 balances *thalassan* at 483, providing the initial section (483–89) with a motivic ring; "the strength of the river Okeanos" in the brief concluding section (607f) serves as an inclusive motivic ring to the entire passage. As we noted above, the major internal divisions of the description (indicated on Chart 1.1 as A_1, B_1, etc.) are, with one exception, established by refrain-composition illustrating both repetition and variety. The phrase, *en men . . . eteux'* ("he forged on it," 483) introduces A_1; in the concluding A_2 we find *en d' etithei* ("he placed thereon," 607). Section B_1 contains the introductory phrase *en de dyo poiese poleis* ("he made on it two cities," 490); in B_2 we have *en de . . . poikille* ("on it he elaborated," 590). C_1, describing the City at War, has no introductory phrase, because that in B_1 referring to both cities applies here as well; but in C_2 the poet uses *en d' . . . poiese* twice (at 573 and 587) to establish a frame, which he strengthens with mention of the pasture at the beginning and at the end of the section (*nomonde*, 575/587, *nomon*).[31] Only D_1, E, and D_2 share the same introductory formula (*en d' etithei*, at 541, 550, and 561); this triple repetition produces an impression of emphasis and connection that will be confirmed when we compare the content of the descriptions.[32]

Together with the use of refrain-composition to distinguish each section, we find ringing devices like those in A_1 and C_2 in three others: D_1 is unified by the new land (*neion*, 541/547, *neioio*), arable (*arouran*) in 541, freshly ploughed (*areromenei*) in 548; section E by reference to the harvesting of grain in 550–56a and by distribution (or scattering) of grain in 559f; and B_2 by mention of the dancing-floor (*choron*) at 590 and 603. The two most striking exceptions to this pattern occur in the two longest sections, B_1 and C_1, which are organized by interlocking form. In B_1 the

CHART 1.1

The Shield of Achilleus

478ff: "First he made the shield, great and mighty" (*sakos mega te stibaron te*) with its triple rim, strap, five folds and intricate decoration (ring: *daidallon*, 479/482, *daidala*)

- **A_1** 483ff: "On it he forged" (*en men . . . eteux'*, 483) the earth, sky, sea, sun, moon, constellations, streams of Okeanos (ring: *thalassan* , 483/489, *loetron Okeanoio*)
  - **B_1** 490ff: "On it he made two cities" (*en de dyo poiese poleis*, 490)
    - 491: City at peace, with marriages and banquets
    - 492f: wedding procession with shining torches
    - 494: whirling dancers and loud flutes and lyres
    - 495bf: women at doorways admire spectacle
    - 497ff: assembly at marketplace, quarrel over murder
    - 501f: procession to judges
    - 503a: heralds restrain crowd
    - 503bff: judges with sceptres seated on stone benches hear case
  - **C_1** 509ff: City at war besieged by two armies debating whether to destroy city or to raise siege and divide spoils
    - 513ff: in city, men arm for ambush while wives, children, elders stand watch from walls
    - 516ff: men leave city with Ares and Athena leading (embossed in gold larger than rest), men settle in ambush by river
    - 523ff: two scouts, apart, wait for cattle; they arrive with two piping shepherds, who are attacked and slain
    - 530ff: besiegers, still debating, hear clamor, pursue and overtake others
    - 533f: battle at site of ambush by river
    - 535ff: Eris, Tumult, and Death, with victims, bloodied cloak
    - 539f: fight like living men, dragging of corpses
  - **D_1** 541ff: "On it he placed" (*en d'etithei*, 541) a ploughing scene, men given wine (ring: *neion . . . arouran*, 541/547f, *neioio . . . . areromenei*)
    - **E**
      - 550ff: "On it he placed" (*en d'etithei*, 550) a harvesting scene in royal precinct; reapers with sheaf-binders and children gathering swathes
        - 556bff: the king, holding sceptre, looks on in silent pleasure
      - 558ff: messengers prepare an ox for feast as women distribute barley
  - **D_2** 561ff: "On it he placed" (*en d'etithei*, 561) a vineyard scene: youths and maidens gather grapes, keeping time as child sings and plays the Linos-song
  - **C_2**
    - 573ff: "On it he made" (*en d'. . . poiese*, 573) herding scenes: cattle led to pasture beside marshy river
      - 579ff: two lions attack and kill ox
    - 587ff: "On it he made" (*en d'. . . poiese* , 587) a meadow with sheep and pens (ring: *nomonde*, 575/587, *nomon*)
  - **B_2** 590ff: "On it he made" (*en de . . . poikille* , 590) a dancing-floor like that of Daidalos at Knosos: unmarried youths and maidens weave labyrinthine dance with [bard and] whirling tumblers, watched by admiring throng (ring: *choron*, 590/603, *choron*)
- **A_2** 607ff: "On it he placed" (*en d'etithei* , 607) at the rim the strength of river Okeanos (cf. 489)

609ff: Listing of armor resumes ("But when he made the shield huge and mighty" [*sakos mega te stibaron te*] cf. 47)

marketplace assembly to adjudicate a murder (497–500) provides a parallel by contrast to the scene of marriages and banqueting at the outset (491): The procession to the judges (501ff) recalls the wedding procession of 492ff, while the crowd restrained by heralds (503a) differs markedly from the unchecked festivity at 494f; and the seated judges of 503bff correspond to the women watching in similarly static posture from their doorways at 496. In C_1 the anomalous pair of armies of 509–12, debating whether to destroy the city or to raise the siege and divide the spoils, reappears in 530ff, where they dissolve their assembly on hearing the clamor of the attack on the shepherds; the decision of the men from the city to arm for ambush in 513ff is continued by the battle of 533f at the site of the ambush by the river; and the description in 516–22 of the men leaving the city led by Ares and Athena, embossed in gold larger than the other figures, is balanced by the figures of Eris, Tumult, and Death in 535–38; finally, the slaughter of the shepherds in 523–29 is echoed by the general scene of carnage at 539f.[33]

A similar use of parallel and contrast is evident in the entire annular symmetry. The picture of orderly ritual and legal process in the City at Peace in B_1 is balanced by the peaceful urban festivity of B_2: The marriages, dancing, and admiring women at their porticoes in the first section are answered in the second by the marriageable youths and sought-after maidens performing their labyrinthine figures before an admiring throng, on the *choros* like that contrived by Daidalos for Ariadne at Knossos.[34] The simile at 600f, comparing their circular formation to a potter making trial (*peiresetai*, 601) of his wheel, seems to be a playful transformation of the procession to trial (*peirar*, 501) before the judges seated in the sacred circle of 504. The City at War in C_1 is balanced in C_2 by contrasting pastoral scenes; but shepherds are present in both passages (525f, 583f), and both share the motif of an attack on a herd (523ff, cf. 579ff). The assault by the two lions in C_2 represents the activity of violence in the natural world that provides a common analogue, in the poet's general repertory of similes, to struggles such as that between the two forces in C_1 (533ff). But in the earlier battle here, the poet limits himself to a single simile, ironically comparing the fighters in the scene of carnage to "living mortals" (539).[35] Indeed, the emphasis on the realism of the figures, absent entirely in B_2 but found in C_1 both here and in 519, suggests that these scenes have an exemplary significance. And the battle by the river, the watch from the walls of the besieged city, and the dragging of corpses before it offer, as we have noted, obvious parallels to the action of the *Iliad* itself, where we also have two armies, like the two lions, contending over a city and its hapless flock.

There is of course nothing in the poem comparable to the idyllic pictures of ploughmen with their drafts of wine in D_1 and of grape harvest-

ing in D_2. The poet's insistent emphasis on the skill of Hephaistos' craftsmanship in 548f (describing the furrows of new land darkened by the plow, though they were made of gold) and 561–65 (the lovely vineyard made of gold) both enhances the sense of novelty and draws attention to a special effort on the part of the artisan appropriate to his subject (cf. 517f; less emphatic is the simple mention of material in 574–77). For in the surrounding context of warfare and violence, the joys of peace are indeed a "wonder" (*thauma*, 549). And in the centerpiece (E, 550–60), framed by scenes of reaping and of preparations for a feast, the picture of the benevolent ruler offers the most striking contrast possible both to the action of the poem and to the battle into which the shield will be taken. As with the attack on the herd (579–86ff), threshing and the slaughter of cattle are familiar areas of experience to which battle scenes are elsewhere compared (e.g., 20.403ff and 495ff, both of Achilleus' furious carnage); here, in a harmonious order under the reign of the good king standing by in silent joy, these motifs seem to present only the positive aspect of a visionary ideal, notwithstanding the distinction—a significant one, as we shall see—between a meal of barley-mash for the workers (*deipnon*, 560) and the more elaborate royal feast (*daita*, 558) for the king and his entourage.[36]

In the description as a whole, then, the poet uses refrain-composition, ringing devices, and interlocking form to emphasize the integrity of individual elements and establishes connection between them through repeated introductory phrases (D_1, E, D_2; cf. C_2). The two Cities are given a common structure, perhaps to suggest the inevitable alternation of these two faces of historical experience. The relation of the parts to the whole is established by an annular structure of parallel and contrast that isolates a central element of paradigmatic significance. At the same time, the poet creates linear contrast in the alternation of peaceful episodes (B_1, D_1 . . . D_2, B_2) with scenes marked by violence (C_1, C_2); and he provides for dramatic climax in B_2 by means of a wealth of detail and a lively evocation of sound and action, together with a heightened emphasis on craftsmanship. The reference to the "renowned cripple" Hephaistos (*en de . . . poiese periklytos amphigyeeis*) in the concluding element of the previous section (C_2, 587) is repeated in the colorful introductory formula at B_2, 590: *en de . . . poikille periklytos amphigyeeis* (found elsewhere only before and after the digression on the shield, at 462 and 614; only here within it are the verbs of making given a subject). The characterization at the outset of the god's artful contrivance (*daidallon*, 479/482, *daidala*, ringing the introduction) is echoed in 592 in the reference to the prototypical human artisan Daidalos; this allusion to craftsmanship is reinforced in turn by the simile at 600ff comparing the pattern traced by the dancers to

a potter testing his wheel.[37] The simile is equally suited to a technique of recursive composition and indeed suggests that the poet is conscious of a parallel between his portrayal of the Shield and Hephaistos' evocation of the craftsmanship of Daidalos.[38]

In this setting, the figure of the poet himself at the end of the section would balance the emphasis on the creator of the Shield at the beginning of it, suggesting a reciprocity in the relationship of poet and god: the one depicting a god, the other a poet. Wolf's emendation has this in its favor, but Smyth's comment that "a minstrel in the middle of a mighty throng, intent on other things, is apt to harp in vain" falls short of the ironies that would accompany the apppearance here:[39] For the context is antiquarian (emphasized by the references to Ariadne, Daidalos, and fabled Knossos), and the poet's function both antiquarian and Odyssean. For as we have noted, lines 604–6 appear unquestioned at *Odyssey* 4.17–19, where they reflect a picture of the bard as palace functionary characteristic of the *Odyssey*[40] but quite unlike Thamyris, the most prominent singer in the *Iliad* (2.595–600): an itinerant whose competitive arrogance suggests rather the rhapsode of the archaic and classical periods.[41] Not the least problematic note in this Odyssean connection would be the likelihood that our poet was aware of the Cyclic tradition that after Achilleus' death his shield went not to the deserving Aias but, by Athena's intervention, to Odysseus.[42]

As with Achilleus' commitment to battle, our poet's engagement with the *Iliad* curtails further dwelling on the scene; from this idealized picture of joyous creativity, he restores us to the "real" world by degrees. The description is completed by reference to the shield's rim, representing the river Okeanos (607f), with which the initial element 483–89 began and ended; and we continue with the rest of the armor in descending order of importance to any but the ill-destined Achilleus: breastplate and helmet, then greaves (610–13).

(4) Structure and Interpretation in the *Catalogue of Ships*; Implications for the *Shield*

We must admit at once that the organization of the *Shield*, as a verbal structure, only complicates the questions with which we began. Paradox remains as Achilleus accepts the Shield but excludes himself from its orderly vision by returning to battle and certain death. And while the *Shield* might be taken as a paradigm of human mortality that anticipates the stoic terms of Achilleus' brief restoration to human community in the closing books of the poem, the centrality of the "good" king remains

CHART 1.2

Transition and Frame for Catalogue of Ships

A1 General scene of Troops,

455–73: the army advances
1. with weapons flashing like fire on a mountain, with gleam reaching heaven — 455, *eute*
2. the ground underfoot resounds like the Kaÿstrian meadow as waterfowl congregate — 459, *hos*
3. numerous as leaves and flowers — 468, *hossa*
4. or as flies around a steading — 469, *eute*

B1 Leaders, Agamemnon

474–77a: leaders separate troops
5. like goatherds driving flocks to meadow — 474, *hos*

477b–83: Agamemnon
6. with eyes and head like Zeus — 478, *ikelos*
7. loins like Ares
8. chest like Poseidon — 480, *eute*
9. like a bull among men
"so did Zeus make Agamemnon on that day" (ring: *Dii*, 478/482, *Zeus*)

C *Catalogue*

484–93: Invocation 1:

a
- (a) 484: "Tell me, Olympian Muses"
- (b) 487: "who were the leaders of the Greeks"
- (b) 488: "the multitude I could not name"
- (a) 491: "unless the Olympian Muses should recall their number"

b
- (b) 493: "The leaders, then, of the ships I will tell, and all the ships." [*Catalogue*]
- 760: "These were the leaders" (cf. 487/493)

a
- 761: Invocation 2: "Who was the best (*aristos*) of the men, tell me, Muse"

b
- 762: and of the horses
- 763ff: Eumelos' horses best (*aristai*)

B2 The best of the men and horses, Achilleus (Agamemnon)

(a)
- 768f: of the men Aias *aristos*, so long as Achilleus angry (*menien*, 769)
- 769b: Achilleus *phertatos*, with his horses
- 771ff: But he lay apart angry (*apomenisas*, 772) with Agamemnon Atreides

- 773bff: His men relax at games by shore
- 775bff: and horses crop clover and parsley by chariots (cf. 471)
- 778f: And men wander about longing for a warlike leader (*potheontes*; cf. *potheon*, 703, 709, 726)

A2 General scene of Troops

780–85: the army advances like fire (cf. 455–58); the earth resounds like Typhoeos battered by Zeus (cf. 459–66)

problematic: For the kings of the *Iliad* are variously erratic (cf. Poseidon's *kakotes* of Agamemnon at 13.108, which Leaf takes as "incompetence"), ineffective (Nestor, Priam), contentious (Idomeneus), or nihilistic (Achilleus). The picture of society drawn for a concerned mother by the amiable Hephaistos—the picture of society taken by Achilleus into battle—seems at once anachronistic and negligent of the sacrifice that Achilleus is prepared to offer. The *Shield* is thus a synthesis neither of the world of the poet nor of the poem but seems instead to be a curiously isolated artistic construct. Nor have we resolved the issue of the two poets, for the bard remains an adjunct to the world depicted by Hephaistos, not the world of our poet. We confront a persistent double antithesis in Achilleus' relationship to the king in the *Shield* and in our poet's relationship to the creative figures associated with it: Hephaistos, Daidalos, the bard.

So far we have seen our poet doing the work, as Lessing emphasizes, of a god. To observe him doing the work of a poet, and in order to grasp the implications of his procedure in describing the Shield, we must take a second step. The assistance we need can be found in another prelude to battle, a more elaborate digression that generally claims attention rather as a locus of historical dispute than as a source of Homeric poetics. But in the *Catalogue of Ships* in Book 2, we shall find unmistakable indications of our poet's view of both his material and his role; and in this context the difficulties raised by the *Shield* will yield to reformulation.[43]

At 2.445–54, following Agamemnon's (third) assembly of the army on Nestor's advice, Athena joins the leaders in rousing the men to battle; in 455–83, the poet describes the scene with a series of comparisons that leads to the invocation of 484–93 and the ensuing catalogue of Greek forces. The passage from 455 to 483 does double duty as a transition from the events set in motion by Zeus' dispatch of False Dream to Agamemnon, and as an introduction to the *Catalogue* proper. In 455–58, the weapons of the advancing troops gleam like fire on the crest of a mountain; in the following lines the men proceed to the plain with the sound of geese, cranes, and long-necked swans settling into the Kaÿstrian meadow, numerous as leaves and flowers in their season (468), or as swarms of flies about a shepherd's steading in springtime (469ff). The leaders set the men in order like goatherds separating their flocks on the way to pasture (474ff), and among them Agamemnon (477ff), with eyes and head like Zeus (478, cf. 482), loins (*zonen*, 479)[44] like Ares, and a chest like Poseidon (479), like a bull among a herd of oxen (480f)—"so did Zeus make Agamemnon on that day." Although the similes are joined by refrain-composition appropriate to a series (with the introductory words *eute* at 455, 469, and 480, *hos* at 459 and 474, *hossa* at 468, and *ikelos* at 478 deployed to create the pattern of alternation indicated on Chart 1.2), they also move in what has been termed an associative progression from pano-

CHART 1.3

Catalogue of Ships

I. 494ff: Catalogue, from Boiotia to Athens and Salamis:
- No. 1. 494ff: Boiotians (ring: *Boioton*, 494/510)
- 2. 511ff: Orchomenians (story of Astyoche's secret union with Ares, 513ff)
- 3. 517ff: Phokians (ring: *Phokeon*, 517/525; note repetition of *Boioton* at 526, ringing No.1)
- 4. 527ff: Lokrians (ring: *Lokron*, 527/535; distinction between greater and lesser Aias)
- 5. 536ff: Euboians
- 6. 546ff: Athenians (story of Erechtheus, nourished by Athena, 547ff; Menestheus compared to Nestor)
- 7. 557[f]): Salaminians, Telamonian Aias (note description of position as in No.3)

II. 559ff: Peloponnese:
- 8. 559ff: Argives (ring: *ton auth' hegemoneue boen agathos Diomedes*, 563/567, *sympanton d' hegeito boen agathos Diomedes*)
- 9. 569ff: Mykenaians (576f: *Agamemnon / Atreides*)
- 10. 581ff: Lakedaimonians (586: "his [Agamemnon's] brother Menelaos . . . . eager to avenge Helen")
- 11. 591ff: Pylians (anticipation of Nestor; cf. 555)
  - 594ff: Inverse invocation: story of Thamyris (ring: "the Muses . . . stopped him from singing," 594f/599f, "his divine singing they took away")
  - 601f: "these Nestor ruled"
- 12. 603ff: Arkadians (612, *Agamemnon* . . . *Atreides*, 614; cf. 576f)
- 13. 615ff: Epeians

III. 625ff: Western Islands:
- 14. 625ff: Doulichians (ring: *Doulichioio*, 625/629, *Doulichion* ; story of Meges' parentage)
- 15. 631ff: Kephallenians (ring: *Odysseus*, 631/636)

IV. 638ff: West Central Greece
- 16. Aitolians (Oineus and sons already dead, 641ff)

V. 645ff: Krete and the Islands
- 17. 645ff: Krete (ring: *Idomeneus douriklytos hegemoneuen*, 645/650)
- 18. 653ff: Rhodians (ring: *Tlepolemos*, 653/657; 658ff: digression on Herakles' son Tlepolemos, with ring: *biei Herakleeiei*, 658/666, *bies Herakleeies*)
- 19. 671ff: Symeans (intrusion of Nireus, triple anaphora at 671ff, comparison with Achilleus [cf. similar anticipation at 555])
- 20. 676ff: Koans etc. (Herakles' grandsons Pheidippos and Antiphos; cf. 658ff)

VI. 681ff: Northern Greece
- 21. 681ff: Myrmidonians (Achilleus, 685; ring: *keito* . . . *koures choomenos Briseidos eukomoio*, 688f/694, *tes ho ge keit' acheon*; prophecy of return to battle, 694)
- 22. 695ff: Phylakeans (digression on Protesilaos: (a) 698–702: Protesilaos slain by a Trojan; (b) 703, "they were not leaderless, though they longed for their leader"; (a) 707f, but Protesilaos older and better; (b) 708f, "nor did they lack a leader, though they longed for an excellent one")
- 23. 711ff: Pheraians (with Eumelos, son of Admetus and Alkestis, *eidos ariste*, 715)
- 24. 716ff: Methoneans (ring: *ton de Philoktetes erchen*, 718/725, *Philoktetao anaktos; keito krater' algea paschon*, 721/724, *keit' acheon*, cf. 694; with prophecy of future return, 724f, cf. 694; 726=703)

VII. 729ff: Thessaly
- 25. 729ff: Oichalians
- 26. 734ff: Ormenians
- 27. 738ff: Lapiths (digression on Polypoites' birth, 740ff)
- 28. 748ff: Enienes (digression on Titaressos and Peneios, 752ff)
- 29. 756ff: Magnetans (ring: *Prothoos*, 756/758)

rama to vignette, from the general to the particular, from the men, whose armor flashes to the sky, to the leader and the god of the bright sky:[45] four similes for the troops, one for their leaders, four for the king.

The poet continues with an extended invocation in which the Muses and the leaders and troops appear in ABBA order: (a) 484, "Tell me, Muses," (b) 487, "who were the leaders," (b) 488, "for I could not recount the multitude," (a) 491, "unless the Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus [should recall them]." Line 493, "The leaders, then, will I tell and all the ships," with its verb of telling (*ereo*, cf. 484, *espete*), forms a motivic ring for the passage.[46] The *Catalogue of Ships* then begins with a clockwise swing around Boiotia and central Greece (494ff), ending with Athens (546ff) and the problematical mention of Salamis (557f); we proceed to the Peloponnese (559ff), the Western islands (625ff), and finally northern Greece (681ff), ending in 760 with "These, then, were the leaders of the Danaoi," ringing 493 and echoing 487, "who were the rulers and leaders of the Danaoi," before proceeding with a second invocation in 761, "Tell me now, Muses."

The *Catalogue* proper is thus framed by inclusive ring-composition (487/760) and the anaphoric invocations (484/761). Within the catalogue, refrain-composition links each contingent with the phrase "And those who dwelt in" and its variants. The "ideal" form of each entry, as Beye has observed, comprises the elements of "rubric," "anecdote" (or "augment" [Powell] or "elaboration" [Edwards]), and the number of ships, though this general scheme admits considerable flexibility.[47] There are also several important structural idiosyncracies that deserve greater emphasis than they have received: the grouping of entries from each geographical area into seven separate formal entities, the introduction of the story of Thamyris (594–98), and the skewing of the geographical arrangement so as to allow the appearance of Achilleus toward the end of the listing as a balance to the earlier emphasis on Agamemnon in the preliminary transition and again in 576f. And we shall see that the element of "anecdote" is no mere decorative padding but serves a structural function of considerable importance for the integration of the *Catalogue* into the rest of the poem.

Scholars have viewed the priority of the Boiotians at the head of the list as unjustified by their subsequent minor role in the poem and have interpreted this place of honor as evidence that the *Catalogue* is for the most part a creation of the Boiotian school of poetry imported with minimal change into the body of the *Iliad*.[48] But the list ends in similar fashion with an equally peripheral group, the Magnetans (756–59); and aside from the complex historical questions at issue, it is clear that the relatively insignificant Boiotians provide a useful contrast in tone to the climactic

appearance of Agamemnon at the end of the transition to the *Catalogue*. Then, as the entries begin to move further south with mention of Mykenai in 569, expectation of Agamemnon's return begins to mount, until we reach another climax with more adulatory description of the king in 576–80, followed by Menelaos in 586–90 and a reminder in the reference to Helen (590) of the reason for mustering the troops in the first place.[49]

That calculated formal interests are at issue can be observed further in the structure of the entire passage (494–558). The first three entries list the Boiotians (ringed by *Boioton* at 494 and 510), the Orchomenians (with an anecdote at 513ff recalling the secret union of their leaders' mother Astyoche with Ares), and the Phokians (ringed by *Phokeon* at 517 and 525). The repetition of *Boioton* at 526, describing the position of the Phokians relative to their neighbors, establishes a ring for the first group, combining all three into a unit whose central digression on the birth of Askalaphos and Ialmenos will find a balance in the even more remarkable birth of Athena's protégé Erechtheus, noted at 547ff in the Athenian entry (#6 on Chart 1.3). In the Lokrian entry (#4, ringed by *Lokron* at 527 and 535), there is a pointed distinction between their leader Aias, son of Oileus (527ff), and the greater Aias, son of Telamon—whose brief mention in the Salamis entry (#7) serves to balance #4 and with the detail of location relative to the preceding Athenians (558) repeats the similar detail found at the end of the initial group, #1–3 (526).[50]

The comparison of Menestheus to Nestor in 555 anticipates the Peloponnesian group, to which the poet now proceeds (559–624). Entry #8 is emphatically ringed by "of (all) these the leader was Diomedes good at the war-cry" at 563 and 567. Balancing these easternmost cities (among them "Hermione and Asine along the deep gulf," 560) is entry 13, listing the westernmost cities of the group (including "Hermine and farthest Myrsinos" at 616). Anticipation of Agamemnon's name with the reference to Mykenai in 569, reinforced by mention of Adrestos' kingship at Sikyon (572), is satisfied by the resounding enjambement of *Agamemnon/ Atreides* at 576f.[51] Agamemnon's prestige is further emphasized by the unusual "anecdote" of 577–80, on the superiority of his troops. The poet appears to regard entry 10 as inseparable from #9, for the phrase "of these *his* brother was leader" (586) refers to Agamemnon in the previous entry. This pair of listings is answered by #12, where *Agamemnon/Atreides* appears again in more widely separated form (612/ 614) as the supplier of ships to the landlocked Arcadians.

A similar anticipation of Nestor appears in "And those who dwelt in Pylos" (591). But as in so many interruptions by Nestor himself, expectation is thwarted by digression before the catalogue resumes in 601 with "These, then, the Gerenian horseman Nestor ruled." Thamyris, who boasted that he would outdo the Muses in contest and who in punish-

ment lost both his song and his memory (600), is not included simply for the sake of ironic contrast with the loquacious Nestor of total recall. For his story establishes an implicit comparison between the impious and ungrateful singer and the dutiful poet who openly acknowledges that he is powerless without the Muses' aid (489ff) and in hymnic fashion with them makes his beginning and his end.[52] Following close on the restatement of the cause of the war (589f), the digression functions as an inverse invocation, framed by the two conventional ones that enclose the whole. Indirectly but unmistakably, as in the reference to Daidalos in the description of the *Shield* (no less than the debated figure of the bard), the poet calls attention to his role as maker of the verse at hand.

On completing the Peloponnese, the catalogue proceeds westward to the islands (625ff), with two entries. The first (#14) is ringed by *Doulichioio*, 625/629, *Doulichionde*, and contains in the story of Meges' parentage a reference to angry withdrawal (628f, "Phyleus, who once withdrew to Doulichion, angry with his father") that will shortly be seen to play a thematic and structural role.[53] The second entry, introduced by the strong adversative *autar Odysseus* (631), brings us to the Kephallenians and is ringed by repetition of Odysseus' name in 636.

The single entry of Section IV (#16) returns us to the Aitolians of west-central Greece; with the story of the deaths of Meleagros and Oineus and his sons, it provides another important thematic allusion—that of the absent leader—which will be repeated in VI (#21, 22, and 24). Then, in a sudden leap, we go to Crete and the eastern islands (V). The Cretan entry (#17) is ringed by *Idomeneus* at 645 and 650; the following three are treated in more complex fashion. The Rhodian entry, ringed at 653 and 657 by the name of their leader Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, is at 658 expanded with a digression on his parentage and exile following the murder of Likymnios, which is organized by references to Tlepolemos at 657, 661, and 667 (*autar ho g'*) and by the phrase "strength of Herakles" at 658 and 666. Balancing this entry with further descendants of Herakles (679) are the Koans at 676–79 (#20). Central to Section IV is the appearance of Nireus of Syme. The transparent etymology of his name (and parentage: "Gleaming one, son of Splendor and Bright-eyes"), the extraordinary emphasis created by its repetition at the beginning of three successive lines (671ff), and the absence of Nireus and the Symeans elsewhere in the poem suggest that he is an invention calculated to arouse anticipation of Achilleus with the description "the handsomest man who came to Ilion, of all the Greeks after the blameless son of Peleus" (673f).[54]

Now, at last, in 681ff we do indeed return to Northern Greece and Achilleus himself (685ff). Some controversy has turned over whether *nun au*, beginning 681, should be interpreted as a proem heralding the final nine entries in the catalogue.[55] The instincts of ancient commentators

seem right in finding here unusual emphasis, achieved by adding *nun* to the *au* of 493 and 671 (cf. *autar* at 517 and 631, and *d' ar* [*a*] at 546 and 615; otherwise the entries are connected by the less colorful *de* or, in 494, *men*).[56] Moreover, the ellipsis of a verb either of telling or of leading[57] to govern the accusative *tous* of 681 creates a sense of disjunction, as if in impatient interruption of the deliberate pace of the listing of places and names to hurry on to this long-awaited goal. But rather than accepting *nun au tous* as an implied new appeal to the Muses, as indeed Pope translated the passage, it seems more reasonable to interpret the phrase "and now, however (*au*), as for all those who dwell in Pelasgic Argos" as a means of emphasizing by an unexpected grammatical suspension Achilleus' present inactivity as commander: After a brief list of place-names (682ff), the poet proceeds, "of the fifty ships, then (*au*), Achilleus was leader, but the men paid no heed to clamorous battle, for there was no one to marshall them into formation" (685ff).

As to the question of division within the concluding elements, there are several indications that entries 21–24 (681–728) form a unit independent of the Thessalian entries further north (#25–29, lines 729–59).[58] Entries 21, 22, and 24 are linked by the theme of an absent leader. In the first of these, the digression on Achilleus' absence from the muster is framed by "swift-footed Achilleus lay apart by the ships/ angry over the girl, fair-haired Briseis" (688f) and "grieving for her he lay apart" (694). Similarly the Methonean entry (24), ringed by reference to Philoktetes as leader at 718 and 725, repeats the theme of lying apart in the ring at 721, *keito . . . paschon* ("he lay apart . . . suffering")/724, *keit' acheon* ("he lay apart grieving"), the latter repeating the phrase applied to Achilleus at 694.[59] Further, a prophecy of the leaders' return appears in both passages (694 and 724f) to contrast with their present isolation. Finally, the motif of troops not going leaderless despite their longing for their chief (726) echoes the second entry in the section (#22), where it is combined with the description of Protesilaos' death and replacement by his brother Podarkes: (a) 698ff: "Of these, then, warlike Protesilaos was leader while alive"; (b) 703 (–726): "nor yet were they leaderless, though they longed for their leader"; (a) 707f: "But older and better was the warlike hero Protesilaos"; (b) 708f: "Nor did the troops go without a leader, though they longed for an excellent one." This interlocking ring serves to frame the untypically allusive digression (699–702) on Protesilaos' death at the hands of "a Dardanian man" (701). The one entry in this series lacking the theme of the absent chief is #23 (711–15), describing the Pheraians under Eumelos. Apart from geography, the single connecting link with other members in the section appears to be reference to "Alkestis, most beautiful of women" (714), recalling the description of Briseis at 689, though the poet's silence here about the myth of Alkestis as we know it

from other sources makes it risky to draw any functional comparison or contrast between these two women whose departures produce such extravagant reaction from their mates; a further link between Eumelos and Achilleus will, however, appear in the comparison between their horses in 763ff.

The final group of entries, more loosely organized, takes us to the northernmost Greeks (VII, 729ff). The first two (#25 and 26) and the last (#29) lack anecdote, and only 29 is ringed (*Prothoos*, 756/758). Of the central pair, #27 contains a digression on Polypoites' birth, alluding to the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs (740ff) on the day of his father Perithoös' wedding to Hippodameia; #28 describes the remarkable confluence of the rivers Titaressos and Peneios.

Although the basic information in each listing is regular, the elements of anecdotal augment are not. Some of these are obviously related to the heroes or locales in individual sections; others appear to be more arbitrary. A schematic list will suggest their structural function and should help lay to rest the question whether the *Catalogue* has been adjusted to our *Iliad*:

Section I: theme of seduction (513ff, Ares' secret encounter with Astyoche);
theme of better leader (527–30, 527ff, comparison of the Aiantes; 553ff, comparison between Menestheus and Nestor, anticipating II)

II: theme of superiority (577–80, Agamemnon);
theme of disruption of marriage (588ff, Menelaos)
[inverse invocation: 594–600, Thamyris and Muses]

III: theme of angry withdrawal (628f, Phyleus)

IV: theme of absent leader (641f, Oineus and Meleager)

V: theme of seduction (658ff, Herakles' rape of Astyocheia);
theme of withdrawal by exile (661–66, Tlepolemos);
theme of superiority (673f, Nireus vs. Achilleus, anticipating VI)

VI: theme of angry withdrawal/disruption of relationship (686–94, Achilleus);
theme of better leader (702–9, Podarkes and Protesilaos);
theme of absent leader (687f, Achilleus; 698f, Protesilaos; 721–25, Philoktetes
[suppressed invocation: 681])

VII: theme of disruption of a wedding (743ff, Polypoites son of Peirithoös)

Themes of seduction and of the disruption of a marriage, relationship, or wedding (if with Leaf we are to understand *teketo* in 742, emphatically repeating 741, as "conceived," as in 513) appear in I, II, V, VI, and VII; the theme of a better leader occurs in I, II, V, and VI; that of angry with-

drawal or forced exile in III, V, and VI; that of the absent leader in IV and VI:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1. Seduction, disruption:	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
2. Better leader:	✓	✓			✓	✓	
3. Angry withdrawal:			✓		✓	✓	
4. Absent leader:				✓		✓✓✓	

The first thematic complex occurs in the first two and the last three sections, providing a frame for the *Catalogue* as in the poem itself (the seizure of Briseis from Achilleus in Book 1, the funeral for Andromache's husband Hektor in 24). The theme of the better leader is represented in I by the Aiantes and by the comparison of Menestheus to Nestor; the latter looks forward to the appearance of Nestor in II, just as the comparison of Nireus to Achilleus in V anticipates Achilleus' appearance in VI, though in neither II nor VI is the theme repeated in the anticipated context (Nestor and Achilleus) but is applied, respectively, to Agamemnon and to Protesilaos. The theme of angry withdrawal in connection with the eastern and western islands of III and V frames that of the absent leader in IV. Taken together, at the center of the *Catalogue*, these allude to the central theme of the poem. The poet repeats them in VI, but it will be some time before he will develop the reference to Meleagros (642), as a negative example, in Phoinix's vain attempt to persuade Achilleus to return to battle while there is still hope of receiving the gifts of honor (9.529ff).

Most impressive is the iteration of all these themes in VI, much as in the proliferation of similes at such climactic moments as the introduction to the *Catalogue* and elsewhere in the narrative. The seductions of Astyoche in I and of Helen of II are echoed in the seizure of Briseis; the question of the better leader, represented by the Aiantes and Menestheus/Nestor in I, by Agamemnon in II, and by Achilleus/Nireus in V is applied to Protesilaos/Podarkes in VI; angry or forced withdrawal, exemplified by Phyleus in III and Tlepolemos in V, is in VI reflected by Achilleus; and the absent leader of IV appears in VI three times, in connection with Achilleus, Protesilaos, and Philoktetes. Each of these themes is related to the problems of leadership, of misused authority, and the disruption of personal relationship that have been elaborated prior to the *Catalogue*; disposed in this way in the *Catalogue*, they affirm a connection between weaknesses and susceptibilities characteristic of the Greeks at large and the rupture between Achilleus and Agamemnon that will jeopardize a Greek victory. Their cumulation in VI creates a powerful undercutting irony—subverting what, but for the Quarrel, might have been a hopeful climax to a thunderously confident muster of the troops.[60]

With the second invocation of 761ff, irony is compounded as the poet begins another digression that repeats the Question/Answer form of the first invocation and catalogue, giving the entire passage 484–779 an interlocking form. Anticipation of Achilleus' name is again roused by the question itself and soon satisfied (769ff), allowing the poet to juxtapose to Agamemnon's appearance in the transition to the *Catalogue* a description of Achilleus' withdrawal in this appendix to it. In form, 761ff is arranged chiastically: The question of who was the best of the men and horses is answered in reverse order; and 771–79 constitutes a subsidiary digression, describing Achilleus and his men and the horses. Agamemnon, who was "remarkable among the troops and distinguished among the heroes" in the transition (483) and "best" of the heroes in 579f, is not even in the running here. Although Eumelos' mares are best among the horses (763f) and Telamonian Aias best among the men in Achilleus' absence (768f), Achilleus, even while inactive, is "by far the mightiest" (*poly phertatos*, 769), gaining the epithet Agamemnon has claimed for himself in Book 1.186.

As Achilleus lies apart in anger by his ships, his men divert themselves with athletic contests while their horses graze on clover and parsley, echoing the pastoral simile of 474ff; and in 780ff the poet resumes his description of the advance of the troops by repeating the fire-simile with which the transition to the *Catalogue* began (455–58), as well as the motif of the sound of their advance (459–66). Earlier the reverberation had been compared to that of waterfowl settling into a meadow by the Kaÿstros. Now, in a simile more appropriate to the oncoming attack, the poet combines in the battering of Typhoeus the motif of sound and that of Zeus which enclosed the similes applied to Agamemnon, balancing in the final simile of the Greeks' advance the framing element of the last group of comparisons in the initial survey.[61]

It is evident that the poet achieves formal unity here in a variety of ways, including ring-composition, sequential arrangement, and functional disposition of similes and repeated themes. An overall motivic frame is established by the assembly of warriors in the transition to the *Catalogue* and by their advance into battle at the end of it. The series of similes used to heighten the description of the assembly does not simply continue, at the close, in additive fashion: As the army sets out, the poet chooses rather to repeat elements of the first two and the last group of his earlier similes, on the principle of anaphora found in ring-composition, conferring on them a clear structural function. Thus it appears that although a frame may be established by the preparations for an action and the subsequent execution of it (or by narrative segments concerned with different stages of the same action, or by an action and its result),[62] the

connection between these elements may be further enhanced by repeated similes, or by cognate similes used to similar effect. Within the *Catalogue*, the juxtaposition of Agamemnon and Achilleus at equivalent positions in the series (in the second and next-to-last sections) demonstrates an interest less in a consistent geographical logic than in placement of two conflicting elements in a formal balance that reflects and emphasizes the dramatic polarity established in Book 1. At the same time, the poet achieves both internal balance and linear progression in his deployment of thematic elaboration in the anecdotal material, providing as in the description of the Shield for both formal emphasis and dramatic climax in a manner that we shall find characteristic of larger structures in the poem.

Although the two invocations employ repetition of verbal formulas to create a unity, the digression on Thamyris illustrates the use of thematic reversal, serving less to validate the *Catalogue* indirectly than to call attention to the poetic act that sustains the whole. For the poet who seems to observe himself as craftsman in the description of the *Shield* and in reverse as the arrogant Thamyris of the *Catalogue* stands at a similar distance from the language of praise in which these digressions are couched. In both cases he has created texts that ironize themselves; and in the *Catalogue*, through formal manipulation, the revered historical "record" is subjected to (and subverted by) interpretation and evaluation consistent with what will emerge as the poet's view of the drama of the *Iliad* as a whole. Richard Martin has suggested that Thamyris, on his way from [a contest at?] Oechalia, is meant to evoke the lost *Capture of Oechalia*, describing Heracles' sack of the city in revenge for being denied the hand of king Eurytos' daughter: Our poet would thus assert the priority of his *Iliad* over a lesser tradition.[63] But as Martin notes, the *Capture of Oechalia* was thought by some to be the work of Homer; and the allusion here combines with the element of rivalry a note of disclaimer. In view of his handling of the *Catalogue* in general, this pointed, if otherwise anachronistic, juxtaposition of the quasi-rhapsode Thamyris to Nestor—figures whose status is represented as peculiarly dependent on their memory—suggests that our poet is engaging in polemic not simply with a rival tradition but with an earlier stage of his own.

As for Hephaistos' bard in the *Shield*, it would seem, if we admit him, that he should be regarded as an even more outmoded figure, appropriate to the antiquarian context in which he appears but marginal to a poetic purpose more complex than the celebration of violence and retribution. And the vision of the *Shield* itself emerges as not so much a contrast to the world of the poem as in fact a mask—more deceptive than the staring Gorgon on Agamemnon's shield but no less malignant—for the violence that supports the traditional system it depicts in such elaborately contrived detail. The centrality of the joyous, feasting king, surrounded in

heraldic fashion by scenes of reaping and the slaughter of an ox, echoes the emphasis in the *Catalogue* and in the poem on the question of leadership, its values and its demands. More specifically, the royal feast evokes the king's role as "distributor of portions representing *timê*"[64]—at the banquet as at the official division of spoils—and is thus an inadvertently provocative allusion to the cause of the quarrel that has issued in Patroklos' death. In this context the *Shield* is less a reminder of human mortality or of the cost of war than of Achilleus' relationship to the world of Agamemnon: an ambivalence he has expressed to the Embassy of Greeks in Book 9 and again to Patroklos in Book 16 but has yet to resolve as he returns to battle with the Shield, divided between resurgent anger and an admiration for Hephaistos' artistry in portraying this world. To achieve this effect, the poet adopts the guise of merely describing Hephaistos' craftsmanship in action, while at the same time reporting centrally what he regards as central to Hephaistos' purpose, thus imposing one artifact, one form of representation with its own interpretive emphases, on another. We can therefore identify the *Shield* (and the paradox with which we began) as the poet's also: an interpretive construct with Achilleus, angry and admiring, as its ideal reader.[65]

At the conclusion of Book 1, Hephaistos appears in the unexpected guise of cupbearer and peacemaker at the feast of the gods, urging submission to the power of Zeus; in Book 18, in celebrating the exclusive pleasures of the earthly feasting of an earthly king, he again appears as spokesman for the status quo. The poet orchestrates both scenes with some humor at Hephaistos' expense: earlier by reporting the gods' laughter at his limping officiousness (1.599f), here in the details of his sweaty, lumbering, painstakingly (in)correct reception of Thetis.[66] Hephaistos' revisionist account of his debt of hospitality to Thetis (18.394–409) marginally improves on the very different story of his expulsion from Olympos (aired in 1.591ff) by an angry Zeus during a shameful domestic brawl; now the reason given is Hera's chagrin at the lameness of her son. Respectability and propriety are further emphasized by the presence not of wanton Aphrodite, cause of the war and of Hephaistos' own misery in Demodokos' song at *Odyssey* 8.266–366, but of Charis ("grace, loveliness"), who confers on her union with the craftsman god an element less of passion than of allegory.[67] The vision of Hephaistos' artwork, as the poet presents it, is similarly conventionalized; and its affirmation of convention would presumably extend to a preempted bard in the Shield, singing to the dance a song less compromising to Hephaistos' dignity than that of Demodokos.

Our poet, on the other hand, sings to a different dance and is concerned to retrace with his hero a labyrinth less decorative and more complex, as we shall see, than that mimed by the youths and maidens on the

Shield.[68] From this perspective, the *Shield* and the *Catalogue* may be taken as statements of the poet's view of his role and his relationship to his heritage; they allow us to observe him subjecting conventional material to patterns that analyze rather than merely promote the tradition it represents;[69] and they reveal a poet self-consciously distancing himself from the craftsmen of an earlier age as well as from a singer closer to the tradition we shall ultimately be able to identify in greater detail as his own.

(5) Oral Theory and the Question of Structure

The implications of this stance for an understanding of the poem as a unified entity we must ourselves trace in similar patterns of sequence and coexistence. Clearly these are not generalized structures embedded within the text that would indicate to the formalist or structuralist investigator how the *Iliad* is like other poems but are instead particular and overt patterns in the poet's manner of telling his story that show how the *Iliad* is like (and sometimes unlike) itself. It may be helpful at this point to locate this cumbersome project in some further critical perspective before we suggest how the techniques we have been using may clarify the trend of ordinary narrative as well as programmatic digressions. For beyond passing attention to the few formal characteristics of epic poetry described by Aristotle, the question of internal organization in the Homeric poems has tended to occupy a position at the periphery of discussion that has proceeded with a dynamic—not to say dialectic—of its own.

Despite shifts in the appreciation of manners and personalities in the *Iliad* that can be charted from one period to another, readers have remained understandably fascinated above all by its characters, gods and humans alike.[70] Attempts to elaborate or refashion figures and situations in the original have been doomed to fall short of its definitive outlines and ambiguities, as Aeschylus admitted in describing his own work as mere "scraps from the Homeric banquet."[71] But in ways that have been devised to understand and describe formal aspects of the poem—ranging from its poetic language and narrative organization to issues of historicity and the date and circumstances of composition—one can trace more radical alternations, conditioned by the aims and procedures of the given approach no less than by cultural and personal predispositions of the individual critic.[72] Each phase in the lengthy and complex controversy over the nature of Homeric poetry thus exhibits circularities, however subtle, that are inevitable when the object of study is determined by the methodological point of departure. At the same time there has been an increasing if not

always linear enrichment of the "Homeric question" by evidence both in the text and outside it that might have passed unnoticed but for a given theoretical bias.

The case in point for the English-speaking world during the past fifty-odd years, thanks to the contributions of Milman Parry, has been the exploration of features of oral versification that seem to persist in the Homeric literary corpus, most obviously in the pervasive use of repeated epithets and phrases.[73] Earlier Analysts had sought to identify the "original" use of a given phrase or passage and labeled any duplication elsewhere as imitative interpolation. Unitarians prior to Parry had maintained that such repetitions indicated a traditional fund of epic diction; but it was left for Parry and his successors, arguing on the model of contemporary south-Slavic oral composition, to suggest just how this might be so.[74] But enthusiastic development of the theoretical implications of oral analysis led in some quarters to a tendency to simplify the task of interpretation by severely restricting its scope: It was maintained, for example, that epithets, always and everywhere serving metrical convenience alone, function generically without any particularizing effect; that any concern with the portrayal of character is irrelevant to a tradition in which individuals are simply stock figures expressing themselves uniformly in a conventional inherited language; and that conscious design is out of the question in an extemporizing poetry concerned only with the effectiveness of the episode at hand.[75]

All this placed Homericists in a position not so far from Jean Paul's schoolmaster Wuz, who was too poor to acquire the masterpieces of his day and so kept abreast by composing them to suit himself (e.g. *The Joys of Werther*). Comparatists and theoreticians, viewing these developments at some remove, responded with a doctrine of the "uninterpretability" of oral epic, in which the poet is concerned not with fact, truth, entertainment, creativity, or history, but simply and exclusively with the re-creation of his *mythos*.[76] But for some time there has been a movement, even among oral critics, to explore the possibility that Homeric epithets may indeed be relevant to context; that individual character is, after all, portrayed with noteworthy consistency and psychological penetration; and that formal design may in fact have some function in the poem.[77] In effect, instead of heeding the call to develop a poetics of Homeric epic that would differ in kind from that applied to written literatures, a growing reaction has begun to assert that, with appropriate adjustments, elements of traditional criticism are not irrelevant to oral *poiesis*; most recently, methods of structuralist and post-structuralist reading have been brought to bear, with some promising results.[78] But if the evidence of the poem does not support a "fundamentalist" oral approach, we are left with the

question of just how the formation of our *Iliad* is to be related to hypothetical techniques of ancient improvised poetry. Majority opinion has tended to associate Homer with the development of the Greek alphabet during a period of renaissance in the eighth century B.C. and has been content to attribute to the poet's unusual personality those qualities of complexity and sophistication that appear to be susceptible to conventional literary analysis and thus set "Homer" apart—certainly from south-Slavic *guslari* and perhaps also from his own predecessors.[79] A gap nevertheless remains between attested traditions of oral performance and our own elusive literary evidence.[80] In this respect oral theory and the reaction to it have not yet answered the ultimate Homeric question; in many quarters we are still presented with an iconic figure not greatly different from the noble savage of Robert Wood's 1767 *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*. The poem itself remains stranded in a zone of critical uncertainty whether its attitude toward the world it presents is one of praise or blame, and whether the poet speaks from within or at some remove from that world, in his own voice or by some feat of ventriloquial mimicry compromised by the inherent ambiguities of language itself, as text or in dialogue. And there is little agreement, on more practical terms, whether our poem represents an effort to provide a "collector's edition" of an ideal but unperformable *Iliad* or is the record of a preeminent singer's handling of inherited material intended to set a standard of public recitation by his successors.

Whatever picture of the circumstances and technique of composition we may contrive to account for the *Iliad* as we have it, our text clearly represents no casual transcription or assemblage. Whether we choose to believe that a proprietary exemplar approximating our vulgate was recorded on leather scrolls or wooden tablets at some point in the eighth century B.C. or at a rather later period on papyrus, the accomplishment must, by virtue of its phenomenal length, have been a prodigious technical feat, as well as one of singular character, cost, and purpose.[81] Our task is therefore twofold. Our first objective will be a description of the text as a whole, in terms of narrative organization and the patterns that raise questions and suggest meaning within this structure. For design in the *Iliad* is not simply a consequence of generic precedent or autonomous artistic play but provides, as we have begun to see, a consistent and indispensable guide to point of view and thus to poetic discourse.[82] And in clarifying this organization and suggesting its function in the narrative (Chapters II–IV), we shall find evidence—within the limits and at the level of this method—that will help to define a relationship not only of form and content but also between our *Iliad* and its predecessors, and its function as a performable entity in a specific cultural context (Chapter V).

(6) Previous Views of Homeric Form

Before proceeding, we should pay our respects to that generation and more of Homericists of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose commitment to Unitarian structural analysis produced a contribution no less influential than that of the Analysts in whose shadow they worked—not least in providing the critical background of Parry's unitarianism. In seeking to relate the ordering of the *Iliad* to the circumstances of oral recitation as it was then understood, these scholars sought to isolate the component "Rhapsodies" of the poem, which they arranged in performable groups according to principles that continue to appear in discussion of such features as narrative balance and contrast, triadic arrangement, and the framing of central episodes by parallel scenes.[83] To take only one example, Drerup outlined a plan of five groups of three rhapsodies each (concerned with the first three days of battle followed by Achilleus' reentry into the fight), flanked by two groups with two rhapsodies each (the first two and the last two books of the text) to create a frame for the whole.[84] Drerup's principle of organization accommodated both chronological unity where posssible (as in the sequence comprising Books 3–7.312, devoted to the first day of battle) and narrative balance (as in this combination, where the central *aristeia* of Diomedes of Book 5 is framed by interrupted duels of Paris and Menelaos in 3 and of Hektor and Aias in 7).

In similar fashion, Sir John Sheppard divided the Homeric "*Schlachtsymphonie*" into three "Movements" or "rhapsodies" (Sheppard's nomenclature, like his method, is promiscuous) composed of symmetrically grouped and symmetrically structured "chapters": the first, consisting of Books 1–9 (centering, as in Drerup, on Book 5 flanked by the two interrupted duels), separated from the second (Books 11–17) by the "interlude" of the *Doloneia* (10), as the second is separated from the final Movement (19–24) by the *Hoplopoiia* (the *Forging of the Armor* in 18).[85] Sheppard was concerned less with practicalities of recitation than with aesthetic effects and in his discussion of symmetry sought to demonstrate also the structural use of repeated similes and phrases. Perhaps most usefully for subsequent discussion in English, Sheppard indicated, without analyzing in detail, the responsion between Books 1 and 24 (with Achilleus' anger in 1 resolved in 24 through his reconciliation with Priam).[86]

The virtues of Sheppard's work and, one guesses, its rather diffuse presentation directly prompted the more systematic approach of Sir John Myres, who followed his study of the *Shield* with an examination of the

poem as a whole, viewed as a symmetrical scheme of balancing motifs centering on the climactic *Embassy* of Book 9.[87] Sheppard had employed a terminology based on music, the novel, and the visual arts ("centrepiece," "side-panel"); Myres preferred comparison with the disposition of decorative elements in Greek Geometric vase-painting, developing a similarity between the two media that had already become apparent during the previous half-century or so, thanks to increasing acquaintaince with pre-classical art made available by the new science of archaeology.[88] More recently Cedric Whitman has produced an even more elaborate analysis of the "geometric" character of the *Iliad*, based in particular on the use of similar or antithetical elements as framing devices in Athenian monumental pottery of the eighth century B.C.; and T. B. L. Webster has in similar fashion examined certain portions of the poem with further attention to the structural function of similes.[89]

But although Myres and Whitman have given us much of value in their comments on and interpretations of individual passages, their attempts to provide comprehensive schemes for the *Iliad* have quite rightly been criticized for lacking system and consistency; indeed, both indulge—in a spirit not unlike that of earlier Analysts—in the temptation to omit from consideration entire books when they seem inessential to the schemata they reconstruct: Whitman modestly confines himself to omitting 10; Myres vigorously expels the whole of Books 11, 12, and 13.[90] Their critics have alleged, moreover, that parallels in profusion are inevitable in a poem of restricted subject matter composed in a style whose very nature involves repetition of traditional formulaic elements. But a more fundamental problem in the method of Myres and Whitman lies in their failure to define clearly just what are to be regarded as comparable structural entities.[91] Myres was content to accept the traditional books as functional elements in his design without arguing for their individual formal integrity; Whitman analyzed some as units, others in groups. Both were aware of the importance of sequence of scenes or of speakers in a scene and of the significance of recurrent motifs and their antitheses, yet neither offered the kind of systematic discussion of the text as a whole, element by element, that is essential to a coherent view of the poet's narrative procedure and its significance.

Despite the inadequacies of previous structural analysis and contrary efforts to preclude by fiat any further discussion of overall design, the search for artistic unity has continued, sustained by the implication of structural intent in the general consistency with which the drama of the *Iliad* is unfolded.[92] Without contesting the "geometric" scheme proposed by Whitman, Nagler, for example, has sought to elucidate broader patterns in the poem in order to account for design in terms of his theory that formulaic diction in oral poetry is determined not so much by metrical

convenience as by a "pre-verbal *Gestalt*" underlying the narrative.[93] The basis for his formal analysis is the archetypical pattern of Withdrawal—Devastation—Return (*WDR*) found in other folklore traditions, which in his view generates not only the basic contour of the Homeric narrative but its subsidiary elements as well.[94] In the *Iliad*, Nagler maintains, this *WDR* pattern is repeated three times, beginning with Achilleus' Withdrawal in Book 1, followed by Devastation in the fighting of the ensuing books, leading to Achilleus' Return through his surrogate Patroklos. Citing 16.220f, where Achilleus reenters his shelter, leaving Patroklos to arm himself and lead the Myrmidonians into battle, Nagler argues that with the juxtaposition of the Return of Patroklos-as-Achilleus and another Withdrawal of Achilleus a new *WDR* pattern begins, proceeding with the Devastation of Patroklos' death and the Return of his corpse to the Greek camp, followed by Achilleus' Return to battle to avenge his death. But (as Nagler rightly emphasizes) Achilleus is motivated less by reconciliation with the Greeks than by a spirit of personal vengeance; indeed, the death of Patroklos impels Achilleus into even deeper isolation from the Greek cause, and from this new Withdrawal there results another Devastation, in Achilleus' battle with the river Xanthos and the *Theomachy* of Books 20 and 21, before his Return—to normalcy—in 24. But the functional equivalence of the elements embraced in each term of Nagler's pattern seems debatable; and its interpretive utility is equally open to question, for despite important and convincing insights offered by the way, Nagler fails to establish a consistent and meaningful relationship between this pattern and the varied wealth of narrative detail with which it is developed. Nor is it altogether clear that such a connection is demonstrable, in theory or in practice.[95]

A more specific approach to Homeric structure has been undertaken by Walter Nicolai, who begins by identifying just those basic narrative units—that is, the individual "paragraphs" (*Absätze*) recording discrete actions, speeches, and the like—that have eluded systematic discussion in previous analysis.[96] These, he argues, are organized into thirty-three separate "chapters," each of which narrates an individual episode characterized by a regular sequence of introduction, the initiation of action, a central encounter, and somewhat variable use of secondary material. These chapters serve to narrate an overall series of five major conflicts (in Book 1, that between Chryses and Agamemnon; in Books 2–7, that between Greeks and Trojans; in 8–17 the conflict between Achilleus and Agamemnon; that between Achilleus and Hektor in 18–23; and in 24 the confrontation between Achilleus and Priam). Each of these conflicts embodies a formal sequence of offence, appeal, reprisal, advice leading to a vain effort at reconciliation, and resolution. But again, although his brief descriptions of paragraphic sequence are often convincing, Nicolai re-

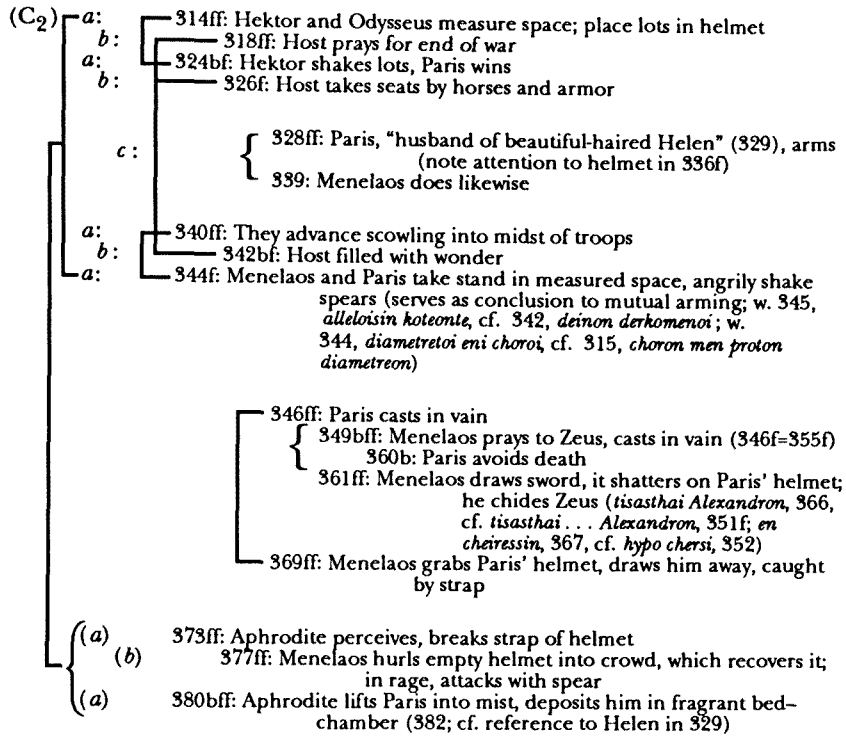
mains more concerned with general dramatic contour abstracted from its overt expression, and his overall schematization fails in the end to come to terms with the concrete artistic form of the narrative.

(7) The Organization of Narrative Outside Digressions

We resort again to the text. The *Shield* and the *Catalogue* illustrate the variety of unifying devices within digressions and the poet's method of integrating these digressions with their surroundings; it remains to indicate, as a basis for what follows, the ways in which these techniques are applied in the narrative proper. As an example we may take a short but independent section from Book 3. The arming and duel of Menelaos and Paris (3.314–82) represent two of a number of narrative sequences that repeat certain essential features with such regularity that they have been termed "type-scenes" or "action-patterns." These scenes appear to represent, like formulaic diction, an essential part of the heritage of oral poetic practice; in some quarters they have been regarded as not only "thematic" in function but the determinants of significance in Homeric narrative. That is, the conventional, generic character of Homeric language "requires that one look to such higher and more complex levels of the narrative as type scenes, themes, or character types as the primary vehicles of the significant contrasts, oppositions, similarities, and patterns which invest the story with meaning."[97] It has been shown, moreover, that these patterns are seldom repeated intact but are subjected to modification appropriate to the context and—perhaps more importantly—to the poet's view of the context.[98] It is therefore useful to observe departures from the (in many cases) hypothetical "standard" pattern in order to discern what emphasis has been created by additions to or omissions from the range of traditional possibilities in each case. For the sake of practical formal analysis, these patterns can also be helpful, in combination or isolation—and with some caution—in determining independent narrative units where breaks in the narrative (indicated by a change of scene or speaker, for example) are uncertain or lacking altogether. In this episode as conventionally printed (Leaf, Allen, etc.) a paragraphic division falls at 310, where the poet describes the departure of Priam and Idaios from the field after participating in the sacrifice preliminary to the duel. The preparations for the duel proper ensue at 314 without any indication of break, as Hektor and Odysseus measure off the ground and prepare lots. But Priam's departure formally completes the sequence that began in 245, as the heralds summoned him to the field, while the action from 314 belongs to the narrative of the actual confrontation, comprising the arming and

CHART 1.4

Book 3.314–82



duel patterns, and concludes with a scene change at 383, as Aphrodite goes to fetch Helen at the wall.

It seems clear, therefore, that in isolating 314–82 we are dealing with a discrete formal unit, the first element of which is the action of Hektor and Odysseus in marking out the dueling ground and placing lots in a helmet (314–17).[99] The narrative is at this point interrupted by a description of the reaction of the armies (318–24a) and their prayers to Zeus that the duel may at last bring an end to hostilities, echoing in 323 ("Let the friendship and the sworn faith be true for the rest of us" [Lattimore]) the conclusion of Hektor's offer in 85b–94 ("while the rest of us cut our oaths of faith and friendship"). The device of introducing the thoughts of the men at such a juncture is found elsewhere, but this passage differs from its closest analogue (7.201–16; cf. 177–80) in the bitterness of the wish that the (unspecified) cause of their suffering might go to the House of Hades (321f) and in the repetition of this motif of reaction in sustained

counterpoint to the main heroic action (forming an ABAB scheme indicated in Chart 1.4).[100] At 324b the poet returns to the lot-taking: Hektor shakes the helmet; the first spear-cast goes to Paris, allowing him a symbolic reenactment, in what follows, of his role in precipitating the war.[101]

The arming of the two warriors (328–39) follows in the case of Paris the usual order of such patterns, as he puts on greaves and breastplate, then takes up his sword, shield, helmet, and spear. Although the passage is a relatively simple example of the arming-sequence,[102] there is some irony in the collocation of epithets applied to Paris at 329 ("godlike Alexander, husband of fair-haired Helen"),[103] while Menelaos, Helen's lawful husband, receives merely his frequent but not exclusive epithet "warlike" at 339; but irony becomes anticipation when Paris is rescued by Aphrodite to protect his union with Helen. And although the scene proceeds in conventional sequential fashion, the elaborate attention given to Paris' arming (11 lines, in contrast to Menelaos' one) creates an emphasis on his appearance consistent with the disparity between his good looks and his cowardly deeds developed with some rancor by Hektor earlier in the book (38–57).[104] Here, as there, the deeds will fall short of the appearance. Further, in the sequence of the armor Paris now takes up, the climax is reached not with the spear (which in 338 receives cursory treatment, without the flash that conventionally portends victory) but with the helmet (336f: "on his mighty head he placed the well-made helmet with its horsehair crest; and the crest nodded terribly from above").[105] Although the language is entirely formulaic, the poet's ability to alter conventional phraseology allows him to place such emphasis where it is required: It is just this helmet that will shortly prove to be Paris' near undoing.[106] Indeed, Paris is here preparing to play an atypical role in borrowed armor (the breastplate mentioned in 332f is his brother Lykaon's):[107] For he is an archer, and his preparations to do battle as a spearman carry a suggestion of sham, as the result is something of a farce.

Menelaos and Paris advance to their confrontation at 340ff (returning us to the A-sequence), and at 342b the reaction of the spectators is again noted, in conventional language that also serves to continue and thus balance the earlier B-sequence. Preparations conclude in 344f as the warriors take their stand, brandishing their spears. The mutual anger of these very special enemies echoes in 345 (*alleloisin koteonte*) their scowls of 342a (*deinon derkomenoi*); and the atypical reference to the measured space in 344 (*diametretoi eni choroi*) recalls the initial measuring element (315, *choron men proton diemetreon*), ringing the whole with an emphasis appropriate to the effort to limit the war to its two main antagonists, whose arming it frames.

The narrative proceeds with the duel itself (346–82). At 346 Paris casts at Menelaos and strikes but does not pierce his armor. At 349b Menelaos

advances with a justifiably self-righteous prayer to Zeus to grant him vengeance on godlike Alexander (*dos tisasthai . . . dion Alexandron*, 351f), and casts, hits, and penetrates Paris' shield. But at 360b Paris turns aside to avoid a wound. Menelaos then attacks with his sword (361ff); it shatters on Paris' helmet, provoking his stunned rebuke of Zeus, where the phrase "I thought to take vengeance on Alexander for his wickedness" (366, *tisasthai Alexandron kakotetos*) echoes his previous appeal; and his cry "But now my sword has been shattered in my hands" (*en cheiressin*, 367) reflects "conquer at my hands" (*hypo chersi damasson*) of 352.[108] Although the sequence of actions is typical, the addition of these two prayers, in combination with the motif of unsuccessful attack, serves to link 349b–359 and 361–68 as a frame for the central motif of Paris' avoidance of death in 360b and articulates the contrast between normal expectation of the gods' recognition of a just cause and the present complication (the promise to Thetis in Book 1) that hinders Zeus' response. At 369–72 the pattern concludes unconventionally, in a collapse of the heroic posture, as Menelaos grasps Paris' helmet and drags him off, caught by his own chin strap.[109]

At 373 the final segment begins even more unusually: Aphrodite perceives the plight of Paris, causes the strap to break, and Menelaos, at 377ff, hurls the empty helmet into the host, where it is recovered. These elements recall the use of the helmet for taking lots in the preparations for the duel and the emphasis on Paris' helmet in the arming sequence, as well as the earlier refrain of the armies' reactions. In this context the gesture expresses the futility of these elaborate preparations and effectively returns the problem to the men at large, as Aphrodite intervenes again to protect Paris from Menelaos' renewed attack (380bff) and removes him in a dense cloud—not to the house of Hades, but to his fragrant bedchamber (382, echoing the reference to Helen in 329). The poet thus creates a contrasting thematic balance with the initial scene (314–45) by means of an opposition of divine caprice to human purpose and aspiration.

Within the passage, therefore, typical narrative elements are manipulated to serve both characterization and design; verbal and motivic repetition, parallel, and contrast combine in a clear and orderly ring-compositional entity centering on the duel, the thematic heart of the confrontation. At the same time, the poet's interposition of Aphrodite in the dramatic climax of the action is calculated to demonstrate the futility of human intentions—whether clothed in the forms of tradition or not—when they conflict (doubly in this case) with divine will. What emerges is not merely a temporal sequence of events that tend logically toward a certain end, but a selection of elements adjusted to serve prospective and retrospective functions in the design of the whole. The resulting pattern does not simply tell a story ("Aphrodite intervenes to foil the duel of Paris

and Menelaos") but constitutes its significance ("The inadequacy of the heroic response in isolation from Zeus' will"). As in the *Shield* and the *Catalogue*, traditional elements are adjusted and arranged in a structure that provides a commentary on the action and thus creates a new form of statement of and about it.[110] The poet selects and adapts elements at hand according to his thematic purpose; ring-composition provides the syntax of combination and thus of communicating this purpose.

(8) Structure within Books

One last preliminary question, which we can answer only by anticipation and therefore somewhat abstractly: How are such narrative units as the Duel related to their surroundings? Digressions, as we have seen, are integrated into the sequence of events by resumptive signals provided by anaphoric or motivic ringing. It will become clear, as we proceed, that discrete blocs of ordinary narrative are organized by the same annular and interlocking arrangements of individual components we have seen within digresssions and the narrative units themselves. Similar or analogous type-scenes (Departure, Return), or simply the beginning and continuation or completion of an action, may establish the basis of formal connection between sections (again indicated as A_1, A_2, etc.). Comparable thematic or motivic relationship will often explain a connection not otherwise apparent, indicating an important and neglected aspect of the poet's analytical view of his material. Verbal parallels may also be evident in these pairs, along with related or contrasting similes and imagery; in such context, these too may be said to play a structural role.

Of the two methods of sequential arrangement, interlocking patterns predominate when simultaneous events, especially at different locations, are being described (as in Book 6, where the scene shifts between roughly simultaneous actions of Greeks and of Trojans) or when the poet wishes to indicate a special relationship of cause and effect or of parallel or contrast between two sequences (as in Book 5, where Diomedes' excesses in the initial sequence produce not resolution but mere repetition of violence in the second). In both cases a unit of particular significance may be framed at the center of patterns in the form ABCBA or ABCAB, in this way achieving emphasis within the general parataxis (exceptions in which a focal center is absent we discuss in the following chapters as they arise). These central sections generally precede scenes of secondary focus on a climax in the development of action or theme, as in the duel we have just examined.[111] Thus, in the overall narrative of Book 3, the interrupted duel is the culmination of action that began earlier with Hektor's rebuke of Paris in 38ff; but the formal center of the larger sequence of events we

shall find to be occupied by Helen's appearance among the Trojan elders at the wall. The resulting tension between linear progression and closed form often provides a context in which both formal center and dramatic and/or thematic climax acquire a more complex resonance from their mutual relationship; as in the *Shield* and the *Catalogue*—where climactic optimism is undercut by the formally central question of leadership—the traditional reference of narrative language acquires a new dimension.[112] An awareness of these juxtapositions thus becomes essential to interpretation: For foreground is by no means an exclusive preoccupation in Homeric poetry, as Auerbach has claimed in an unfortunate but persistently influential essay. On the contrary, the narrative is constantly redefining itself by a recursive process of ironic self-reference, creating structures that are inseparable from and indeed expressive of content.[113]

In looking beyond separate episodes to their formal interrelationship, we inevitably encounter the question of the traditional book divisions—their authenticity and their relevance to the structural entities they comprise. There has been a general tendency to see in these divisions some reflection of Alexandrian numerical schematicism or, more simply, the practical needs of commercial book-production.[114] Difficulties remain: The wide variation in the length of individual books does not make for uniform papyrus-rolls and ready reference in a Hellenistic book-chest; and the use of the old Ionian alphabet (with twenty-four characters) to designate each book needs explanation, when the Alexandrian numbering systems would serve if the divisions were a novelty without precedent.[115] The important consideration at this point, however, is that there is no independent obstacle to early, even "original," division into individual units—whether we think of them as rhapsodies or books—though the reasons for this are not immediately apparent and will bear further discussion. Previous students of the poem have found that the book-divisions as we have them, whatever their date, do in most cases embrace unified blocs of narrative.[116] To anticipate here what our own analysis will confirm, the traditional divisions accommodate both content and structural purpose; and where problems occur (as they do), it is more useful to account for and learn from them in the light of internal evidence than to abandon the general principle in favor of uncertain external factors.

With these formal characteristics and issues in mind, we may proceed to a sequential study of the individual books and return, in Chapter V, to the implications of our findings for the general question of the nature of Homeric composition and the function and date of our *Iliad*. I should point out that the charts that will continue to illustrate the text are not intended to predispose the reader to a visual interpretation of Homeric structure by way of suggesting parallels in vase-painting or any other

artistic medium. They are meant simply as an aid in presenting to the mind's eye a synchronic view of a complex diachronic sequence. At the same time, the patterns of recurrence in our poem demand a "spatialized" analysis that will answer to the way our poet has conceived and used them. Like the device of printing on separate staves in a footnote the several voices in the stretto of a Bach fugue, the charts isolate relationships in the poem that even a trained hearer is likely to have apprehended only in a general way through the interaction of association, intuition, and expectation—factors than nevertheless emerge as essential to the poet's method of evoking and guiding interpretive response.[117]

On the other hand, there are several things the charts do not attempt. They do not indicate those traditional methods of storytelling, such as the "Rebuke and Consultation" or "call for help" patterns, for example, that are an undeniable and potent aspect of the poet's handling of narrative sequence but have, in the view presented here, been subordinated to overriding formal strategies.[118] They are not, moreover, intended to distinguish in every case purposeful design from that process of associative opportunism in which the poet exploits the possibilities of a motif or a thematic expansion in a given context, sometimes at the expense of consistency with other elements in the total pattern.[119] Again, it is to be expected that connecting links—of theme and motif, verbal cross-reference, narrative pattern, and simile—tend to multiply quite apart from formal organization as a function of the poet's inherited technique, his familiarity with the tradition, and his understanding of its characters. When these are used with noticeable regularity within rigorously comparable structures, the case for design seems clear; at other times, they take on a life—uncharted here—of their own.[120] Nor (slight mercy, perhaps) have I attempted to indicate *every* instance of ring-composition in the poem, though I have in many cases noted where omitted analyses may be found.

Finally, it may be useful to recall, from one of the founders of Romantic (indeed modern) literary theory, a passage in Friedrich Schlegel's "Über Goethe's *Meister*" (1798):

> But it is no less necessary to be able to abstract from all the details, to have a loose general concept of the work, survey it en bloc, and grasp it as a whole, perceive even its most hidden parts, and make connections between the most remote corners. We must rise above our own affection for the work, and in our thoughts be able to destroy what we adore; otherwise, whatever our talents, we would lack a sense of the whole. Why should we not both breathe in the perfume of a flower and at the same time, entirely absorbed in the observation, contemplate in its infinite ramifications the vein-system of a single leaf?[121]

II

The Structure of *Iliad* 1–7

(i) *Plague. Wrath*

The narrative of Book 1, following the poet's invocation (1–8), opens with the question of the return of Chryses' daughter and, arising from it, Agamemnon's threat to seize Achilleus' concubine. Although the second issue grows out of the first, the two are treated, to line 533, as an interlocking series of parallel events rather than as elements in a linear causal sequence:

(1a) 9–52: summary of Greek refusal to return Chryseis and resulting plague sent by Apollo

(2a) 53–307: narrative of quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilleus over the return of Chryseis; Agamemnon threatens to seize Briseis

(1b) 308–18a: preparations for the return of Chryseis

(2b) 318b–430a: seizure of Briseis; Achilleus' prayer to Thetis, their interchange

(1c) 430b–87: journey to Chrysa to placate Apollo for seizure of Chryseis

(2c) 488–532a: Achilleus' continued sorrow and Thetis' appeal to Zeus to rectify the injury

In juxtaposing these episodes in this way, the poet does more than simply elaborate the theme of Achilleus' wrath (*menis*) announced in line 1: He not only establishes but explosively compounds the dual theme of the seizure/return of a woman.[1] We are introduced to the ten-year war over the abduction of Helen obliquely, via the Greek refusal to return Chryseis, the ten-day plague, and the seizure of Briseis.[2] Thus, the plague incurred by the *menis* of Apollo (75) and the quarrel stemming from the *menis* of Achilleus (1) and Agamemnon (247) become figures for the war itself; the issues surrounding the conflict with Troy are anticipated in microcosm by issues that emerge in the conflict within the Greek leadership.

In each of the shorter components of 1–532, formal arrangement creates more specific emphasis, relating the two series of events in a thematic counterpoint. The overall issues of human wrath, divine will (*boule*, 5), and the strife (*eris*, 8) that will involve both are simply and rapidly established by the invocation.[3] The sequence it serves to introduce (1a) is arranged in an annular symmetry to focus on Agamemnon's impious and insulting abuse of Chryses:

- 9–12a: the role of Apollo as agency of the plague and, indirectly, of the quarrel
- 12–16: Chryses approaches the Greek camp with boundless ransom to appeal to all the Greeks and the Atreidae;
- 17–21: his appeal
- 22f: all the Greeks urge acceptance of the glorious ransom
- 24–33a: Agamemnon's refusal to accept ransom and return Chryseis
- 33b–43a: Chryses' departure, his appeal to Apollo
- 43b–52: Apollo descends from Olympos with arrows of plague

The poet establishes a frame for this section with the "epic regression" of 9–12a,[4] anticipating the plague, and 43b–52, where the sending of plague is described. The two passages are connected by the motifs of death in 10 and 52, and divine anger in 9 (*cholotheis*) and 44 (*choomenos*; cf. 46).[5] The latter passage, as Mark Edwards has pointed out, is a Divine Visitation type-scene that uses elements unparalleled elsewhere to orchestrate a mood of menace and destruction, culminating in the comparison of Apollo's swift descent to the coming of night.[6]

In the intervening segments, typical elements are manipulated in similar fashion to serve context and design. In 12b–23 the sympathetic reaction of the army to the old priest displaces Agamemnon's response from the position it would occupy in an ordinary Supplication scene[7]—indeed, the soldiers' endorsement is presented as an integral part of the frame of Chryseis' appeal, which is ringed by reference to "all the Achaians" at 15 and 22 and "boundless ransom" at 13, echoed by "glorious ransom" in 23. Agamemnon's response is thus dislodged from its expected place in the sequence to serve as the focus of the larger pattern; the poet exposes the king's heartlessness by first presenting an ordinary human reaction to

a father's plea.[8] Similarly, Chryses' departure and appeal to Apollo (33b–43a)[9] is answered not by a conventional brief response of assent or denial (as in Zeus' immediate refusal of Agamemnon's sacrifice at 2.419bf) but by an independent scenic element, the Divine Visitation of 43b–53. Parallelism between the two scenes of appeal is thus enhanced by the aspect of delayed response in both; and the reactions, when they come, gain dramatic force in isolation.

Sequence 2a centers on the exchange between Achilleus and Agamemnon and the decision of the latter to seize Briseis despite Achilleus' contention that his own deeds are inadequately compensated by the share of booty he receives:

53–68a: On tenth day of plague, Achilleus, inspired by Hera to take responsibility, summons Greek assembly to seek prophecy
- 68bff: Kalchas, as voice of prophecy, pleads for protection against royal anger (80; ring: *omosson . . . arexein*, 76f/83, *saoseis*)
- 84ff: Achilleus' reassurance
- 92ff: Kalchas' prophecy about the restoration of Chryseis (ring: *hekatombes*, 93/99, *hekatomben*; note refrain–formulae at 68 and 101)
  - 101bff: Agamemnon angrily agrees, but insists he cannot go *agerastos*
  - 121ff: Achilleus' rebuke, offer of later gifts (ring: *dosousi*, 123/129, *doisi*)
  - 130ff: Agamemnon orders return of Chryseis, insists on immediate compensation
    - 148ff: Achilleus insists that his own gifts are unworthy of his deeds, threatens to leave
    - 172ff: Agamemnon will take Briseis (*karteros*, 178/186, *pherteros*)
    - 188bff: Achilleus hesitates whether to slay Agamemnon, draws sword
      - 194bff: Athena sent from heaven by Hera to intervene
      - 199ff: Achilleus amazed, inquires her purpose
      - 206ff: Athena urges restraint (208f=195f), promises future gifts
      - 215ff: Achilleus agrees, sheathes sword (220, cf. 194a)
      - 221bff: Athena returns to Olympos (ring: *elthe . . ./ouranothen*, 194bf/221, *he d' Oulymponde bebekein*)
    - 223ff: Achilleus swears to withdraw aid, casts down sceptre (ring: *ou po lege choloio*, 224/247a, *heterothen emenie*)
  - 247bff: Nestor, as voice of tradition, intervenes advising compromise based on distinction between bravery and royal power (280f, *karteros/pherteros*; cf. 178, 186)
  - 285ff: Agamemnon agrees, rebukes Achilleus for insubordination
- 292ff: Achilleus yields, withdraws from responsibility; assembly dissolved, Achilleus returns to hut (overall ring: *agorende kalessato*, 54/305, *lysan d' agoren*)

Again, the poet creates emphasis by the adjustment of typical elements.[10] It is not Agamemnon who takes responsibility for summoning the assembly, but Achilleus; his stature is further emphasized by Athena's guarantee of proper compensation in the intrusive Divine Visitation scene (194b–222). Achilleus thus dominates the passage, occupying both frame and focal point. The sequence as a whole is organized precisely and strikingly to articulate the conflict that emerges between honor due the divinely sanctioned king and that owed the divinely favored hero.[11]

The issue is first introduced as Kalchas asks Achilleus to protect him

from Agamemnon's anger (74–83), in terms that present rank as a potential obstacle to truth. To Kalchas' definition of royal might as a function not of personal strength but of the degree of external obedience the king commands (78f), Achilleus answers implying that this kind of superiority is merely an empty boast (cf. his contempt, at 91, of Agamemnon's claim to be "best of the Achaians," repeated by Achilleus of himself at 412).

Agamemnon's dependence on externals to sustain his self-esteem is evident in his reply (106–20), in which Chryseis is viewed, with respect to her beauty, figure, disposition, and domestic abilities, as interchangeable with his own wife; but she is expendable for the safety of the army if a replacement can be found, for it is improper for him, alone of the leaders, to lack a "prize" (118f). Achilleus rejects this latter principle as sheer greed (*philokteanotate panton*, 122). He points out that the store of prizes taken has already been allotted, and that it is equally "improper" (*ouk epeoike*, 126, reflecting Agamemnon's *epei oude eoiken*, 119) for them to be gathered together for redistribution; later, he suggests, Agamemnon can be repaid three and four times over. Agamemnon considers Achilleus' argument merely an attempt to defraud him by deception (*me . . . klepte nooi*, 131f) and to demean his status by keeping his own prize while he, Agamemnon, goes without. The issue of compensation he defers, however, and gives orders for the return of Chryseis, escorted by any one of the leaders—perhaps Achilleus himself, "most terrible of men" (146).

The implication that Achilleus, whatever his personal qualities and despite the epithet, remains subject to the whims of Agamemnon, proves too much: At the formal and dramatic climax of the section, Achilleus bitterly replies that he will return home to Phthia (149–71), for his own share of the spoils is never commensurate with his achievements in the war, and now even that is subject to recall at the caprice of Agamemnon. Agamemnon reacts heatedly (173–87), first claiming that Zeus and the others will honor him if Achilleus will not; if, moreover, Achilleus has strength (*karteros*, 178), that is a gift from the gods. He, Agamemnon, is the mightier (*pherteros*, 186), as Achilleus will see when he comes in person to take Achilleus' prize.[12] Athena quickly intervenes to settle Achilleus' hesitation between violence and restraint, and Achilleus declares that because Agamemnon lacks the physical stamina to validate his political position, he will withdraw his support entirely (225–44). Dramatically he emphasizes his rejection of Agamemnon's claim by casting down the sceptre that symbolizes the political (or rather, military) order centered on the king.[13]

Agamemnon's distinction between physical prowess and royal power is now taken up by Nestor (254–84), whose speech corresponds in interlocking order to Kalchas' and who, like Kalchas because of age and phys-

ical limitation, stands at the periphery of the active life of the other Greeks. His world differs from that of the seer, however, and is in a sense (as we see in Book 2) its antithesis: For Nestor derives his authority from tradition, not from insight into the divine will. His self-confidence contrasts, moreover, with Kalchas' diffidence, as he justifies his right to speak by his link with the past, his intimacy with and influence among the superior heroes of a previous age, with whom not even Achilleus can compare (underlined by the insistent repetition of *kratistoi* to describe them in 266f; cf. 271f).[14] More courteous than Agamemnon, who disdains to specify which god is the source of Achilleus' power, Nestor accepts Achilleus' strength (*karteros*, 280) as a gift of his goddess mother but asserts the priority of Agamemnon's claim (*pherteros*, 281) on the basis of his special favor, as king, from Zeus (279) and the greater number of his subjects (281; cf. Kalchas at 78ff). Unable to resolve the terms of conflict, Nestor simply urges both men not to press their competing claims to the point of rupture: Achilleus should conquer his anger, Agamemnon should let the girl Briseis be.

But another abusive outburst from Agamemnon renders conciliation impossible (286–91, echoing his intemperance in the exchange of 101b–47). Achilleus retorts that he would become a cowardly nonentity if he submitted to the king (*deilos te kai outidanos kaleoimen*, 193; cf. 231, *outidanoisin anasseis*). And with an extraordinary reversal of the traditional values of a competitive system in which men are judged by their success or failure in visible action, Achilleus withdraws to prove his worth by his very absence (240ff).[15]

In what follows, the poet continues to subject traditional patterns to his own narrative purpose. With 308–18a (1b) we begin the preparations for the return of Chryseis, inaugurating a Departure scene that might be expected to proceed with the journey, arrival, and return. But the sequence is suspended, as the expedition sets out, with a brief and unique account of the purification and sacrifice performed at Agamemnon's command by the Greeks left behind (313–17), and yet another Departure pattern begins with 2b (318b–430a; see the chart on page 44).[16] The narrative following Agamemnon's dispatch of the heralds is enclosed by their departure and return, linked by the motif of unwilling submission (327 and 348; cf. 430) to emphasize the atmosphere of muted anger and regret that pervades the episode. But in contrast to the continued intemperance of Agamemnon ("Nor did Agamemnon lay aside the contention [*eris*] with which he first threatened Achilleus," 318bf; cf. 6), Achilleus is now tactful and restrained with the fearful Talthybios and Eurybates. Despite their failure to relay Agamemnon's order, and without the prompting of a second Divine Intervention, Achilleus orders Patroklos to summon Briseis with a self-control broken only at the center of the episode by a resur-

318bff: Agamemnon, in anger, instructs the heralds on their mission to take Briseis

327ff: they go unwilling (*aekonte*, 327) to Achilleus' hut

333ff: Achilleus welcomes them, instructs Patroklos to give over Briseis, scorns Agamemnon's *noos* (343)
345bff: Patroklos brings Briseis to the heralds

347bff: the heralds return to Greek ships with Briseis unwilling (*aekous'*, 348)

348bff: Achilleus, grieving alone, prays to Thetis
357bff: Thetis appears from sea like mist; her query
364ff: Achilleus on the injustice done to him (372–75=13–16; 376–79=22–25)
413ff: Thetis promises to consult Zeus, departs from Achilleus robbed unwilling (*aekontos*, 430) of Briseis

gence of his earlier indignation, as he calls on the heralds to witness the foolishness of Agamemnon in offering vain sacrifice (or indulging in ruinous anger; *thyei* in 342 is ambiguous) and his mental incapacity for making connections between past and future (*oude ti oide noesai hama prosso kai opisso*, 343). Achilleus, in effect, establishes the first overt indication of what will soon become a continuing dialectic of values expressing the conflict between foolishness and insight, between external appearance and inner reality, that will undermine not only Agamemnon's position but Achilleus' as well.[17] For the moment, after the departure of Briseis with the heralds at 348a, the narrative turns aside to follow Achilleus as he reacts in sorrow to the loss of Briseis: The initial departure-sequence ends not with a full description of the heralds' return to Agamemnon, providing the expected balance to 318ff, but with a picture of the emotional effect of his angry command.

In this juxtaposition of the preparations for the return of Chryseis (1b) and the seizure of Briseis (2b), there is a telling contrast between the purely formal expiations ordered by Agamemnon, with no trace of regret for Chryseis, and Achilleus' confusion of courtly restraint and wounded pride (of his genuine affection for Briseis, obscured for the moment by circumstances, we hear in detail only later at 9.341ff). The one hero is permitted by his external position to impose his sexual claim regardless of persons and his sense of prestige at the expense of Achilleus', yet does not act as his own agent either in the return of Chryseis or, despite his

threat to do so, in the seizure of Briseis;[18] the other hero, more accustomed to deeds than to words and still longing for fighting and the din of battle (as we hear in 492), cannot yet find find a means of expressing his sense of outrage except by withdrawal and appeal beyond the human context. The elements of Prayer and Divine Visitation that conclude the episode join Achilleus' plight to that of Chryses;[19] the parallel is underscored by Achilleus' gratuitous (365) retelling of the series of events for Thetis' benefit.

The poet now returns to the issue of Chryseis. (1c, 430b–87) is an elaborate and leisurely resumption of the action begun in (1b, 308–18a); structure clearly distinguishes central emphasis, and the whole is framed by the elements of Arrival and Return to form an inclusive thematic ring:

- 430b—39: arrival at Chrysa[20]
  - 440–46a: Odysseus, as leader of Greek embassy, addresses Chryses
    446b–57: Chryses accepts his daughter and prays to Apollo
  - 458–76: Greeks offer sacrifice
- 477–87: at dawn, return from Chrysa to Greek encampment (with 480ff cf. 433ff)

The ensuing plea of Thetis before Zeus (2c) concludes the interlocking sequence with a balancing contrast to the earlier prayer of Chryses: To the appeal to Apollo by a dishonored father whose tears (42) have been allayed by the return of a daughter, the poet juxtaposes an appeal to Zeus by a mother whose tears (413) are provoked by the dishonor to a son. But in placating one god the Greeks offend another, and there are from this point indications of a new formal emphasis marked by a departure from the initial alternation of parallel scenes.

In 488, the consecutive movement forward in time is effectively arrested by a momentary return to Achilleus' continuing distress on the shore, echoing 348b–430a generally, with "he raged" (*ho menie*, 488) anaphorically recalling Achilleus' anger at 429 (*choomenon*).[21] With the addition of further elements, the complex frame for the journey to Chrysa is transformed into a multiple ring: The repetition of Zeus' eleven-day absence from Olympos (493) recalls 425; in her plea to Zeus, Thetis' allusion to her previous assistance in his difficulties with the other gods (503f, cf. 394–406) and her even more succinct account of Agamemnon's abuse of her son reflect in inverse order the main points of Achilleus' speech of 365–412.[22] Her lament for Achilleus' mortality at 505 (*okymorotatos*, in the superlative) intensifies "short-lived" (*okymoros*) at 417; and her ascent from the sea in 359 is repeated at 496. Further, Thetis' plea to Zeus parallels Chryses' appeal to Apollo to lift the plague and also recalls Chryses' earlier prayer for vengeance (cf. the reference to previous favors at 40f and 503f and the formulaic *tode moi kreenon eeldor* in 504

and 41; Chryses' repetition of the phrase in 455 effectively cancels his earlier prayer). Thus, Zeus' response in 517–27 to Thetis' plea forms a motivic balance to Apollo's response to Chryses at 43bff. And in the final episode (533b–611, the scheme below), the *loigia erga* of Zeus and Hera (573; cf. 518) are linked with the quarrel between Achilleus and Agamemnon brought on by the *loigos* of Apollo (67).[23]

533bff: as Zeus resumes throne, gods rise in greeting
536bff: Hera's rebuke
544ff: Zeus' reply, veiled threat
551ff: Hera's accusation of secret dealings with Thetis
560ff: Zeus repeats threat, orders Hera to acquiesce
568bff: Hera submits, sits beside Zeus in silence

570: gods aggrieved

571ff: Hephaistos, "famous craftsman," urges Hera not to engage in *loigia erga* with Zeus, who is by far *phertatos* (581), lest feast be disturbed

584ff: Hephaistos places wine cup into Hera's hand
586ff: urges her to endure, recalls previous occasion when his assistance brought ejection from heaven
595bf: Hera smiles, accepts cup from her son's hand

597ff: gods laugh as Hephaistos distributes nectar

601ff: gods enjoy feast, entertained by Apollo and Muses until sunset, when they retire to palace built by Hephaistos

609ff: Zeus retires with Hera ("golden-throned," cf. 611)

The initial quarrel between Zeus and Hera is ringed by the motif of enthronement in 536, as Zeus takes his seat, and 569, as Hera reluctantly joins him.[24] In the concluding "resolution" (609ff), this symbol of Zeus' political power over the gods is replaced by his bed (609), sign of Zeus' sexual domination over Hera; but the initial throne motif reappears in Hera's final epithet, "golden-throned" (*chrysothronos*, 611), as she joins Zeus once again. An inner frame is established by the motif of the gods' chagrin at Zeus' treatment of Hera (570), which is released by their

laughter at Hephaistos playing cupbearer to the assembly (597–600; with *ana doma* of 570 cf. *dia domata* at 600). Hephaistos' advice to Hera (571–83), urging her not to disturb the gods' feast, is reflected in the elaborate description of the feast itself in 601–5. The epithet "famous craftsman" (*klytotechnes*), applied in 571 to Hephaistos, anticipates mention in the balancing passage of his role as builder of the gods' dwelling in 606ff, where the epithet "well-renowned" (*periklytos*) repeats the compounding element *klytos*. The central speech, in which Hephaistos recalls the disastrous result of his previous effort to aid Hera, is ringed by his gesture of placing the wine cup into his mother's hand (*en cheiri tithei*, 585) and her acceptance of it (*edexato cheiri*) in 596.

Apollo's response to Chryses (A_1 in Chart 2.1) and Thetis' response to her son's appeal (A_2) share the same basic form of the Supplication scene; the gatherings of Greeks (B_1) and of gods (B_2) are similarly balanced Assembly scenes sharing some of the same idiosyncracies. Despite the contrast between the two—in B_1 Hera's will on behalf of Agamemnon prevails (194ff); in B_2 Zeus imposes his will on Hera—both passages nevertheless contain elements of rebuke, threat, and submission. And both are marked by Mediation scenes in which a third party intervenes in a quarrel (with Nestor's rebuke of 254ff, cf. that of Hephaistos in 573ff). In the first of these Nestor, hampered by age, invokes the authority (*kratistoi*, 266 etc.) of his own youthful prowess in urging the mighty (*karteros*, 280) Achilleus to yield to the more powerful Agamemnon (*pherteros*, 281); in the second passage, the crippled god Hephaistos invokes the lesson of his past in urging Hera to yield to Zeus as *phertatos* (581). The one figure idealizes a bygone era but cannot apply it usefully to the present; the other has learned from experience. The earlier quarrel ended in bitter separation; now, on the divine level, order is temporarily restored through the gods' recognition of Zeus' evident supremacy, and strife gives way to feasting and a semblance of harmony. Zeus' response to Thetis (A_2) and the difficulty between Zeus and Hera (B_2) echo in interlocking form scenes 1a ($=A_1$) and 2a ($=B_1$), to establish a frame for the entire sequence. But the series of events that began with the invocation of the poet, powerless without the Muses' aid to describe strife among mortals and the deaths caused by Apollo, ends with festal goodwill among the immortals enlivened by the presence of Apollo with the Muses: The emphatic contrast between the two passages makes it clear that the book-division at 611 marks the end of the first major narrative unit of the poem.[25]

The interlocking structure of the parallel narratives of return and seizure (1a through 2c) formally exposes the selfishness of Agamemnon and the incompleteness of his gesture of reconciliation with Apollo (who will, in the event, remain hostile to the Greeks throughout the poem); it gives

CHART 2.1

Book 1

1ff: Invocation

1*a* (1–52)

- 9ff: Role of Apollo as agency of the plague and thus the quarrel
  - 12bff: Chryses approaches with boundless ransom to appeal to all the Greeks and the Atreidae; his appeal; all the Greeks urge acceptance of glorious ransom
  - { 24ff: Agamemnon refuses to return Chryseis
  - 33bff: Chryses leaves Greek camp, appeals to Apollo for vengeance
- 43bff: Apollo sends the plague (47: Apollo like night)

A_1 A god's response to the dishonoring of a daughter — S

2*a* (53–307)

- 53ff: On 10th day of plague, Achilleus, inspired by Hera to take responsibility, summons Greek assembly to seek prophecy
  - 68bff: Kalchas, as voice of prophecy, pleads for protection against royal anger (80: *kreisson gar basileus*)
  - 84ff: Achilleus' reassurance
  - 92ff: Kalchas' prophecy re: restoration of Chryseis (refrain formulae at 68, 101)
  - 101bff: Agamemnon agrees but insists he cannot go giftless (eyes like fire, 104)
  - 121ff: Achilleus' rebuke; offer of later gifts
  - 130ff: Agamemnon orders return of Chryseis, demands immediate compensation
    - 148ff: Achilleus insists that his own gifts are unworthy of his deeds, threatens to leave
      - { 172ff: Agamemnon will take Briseis (178, *karteros*, cf. 186, *pherteros*)
    - 188bff: Achilleus hesitates whether to slay Agamemnon, draws sword
      - 194bff: Athena sent from heaven by Hera to intervene
        - 199ff: Achilleus amazed, inquires her purpose
        - 206ff: Athena urges restraint (208f=195f), promises future gifts
        - 215ff: Achilleus agrees, sheathes sword (220, cf. 194a)
      - 221bf: Athena returns to Olympus
    - 223ff: Achilleus swears to withdraw aid, casts down sceptre (ring: *ou po lege choloio*, 224/247a, *heterothen emenie*)
  - 247bff: Nestor, as voice of tradition, intervenes advising compromise based on distinction between bravery and royal power (*karteros*, 280/281, *pherteros*; cf. 178/186), comparing heroes ["like the gods," 265]
  - 285ff: Agamemnon agrees, rebukes Achilleus for insubordination
- 292ff: Achilleus yields, withdraws from responsibility; assembly dissolved, Achilleus returns to hut

B_1 Mortal quarrel over concubine resolved by external rank — S

1*b* (308–318a) 308ff: Agamemnon orders the return of Chryseis; remaining troops to purify themselves and offer hekatomb to Apollo

2*b* (318b–430a)

- 318bff: Agamemnon, in anger, instructs Talthybios and Eurybates in their mission to take Briseis
  - 327ff: They go unwilling (*aekonte*, 327) to Achilleus' hut, stand in silence
    - { 333ff: Achilleus welcomes them, instructs Patroklos to hand over Briseis, scorns Agamemnon's *noos* (343)
    - 345bff: Patroklos brings Briseis to the heralds
  - 347bf: They return to Greek ships with Briseis unwilling (*aekous'*, 348)
- 348bff: Achilleus, grieving alone, prays to Thetis
  - 357bff: Thetis appears from sea like mist (359); her query
  - 364ff: Achilleus explains the injustice done to him (372–75=13–16; 376–79=22–25)
  - 413ff: Thetis laments Achilleus' fate (*okymoros*, 417), warns of 12-day delay (425), promises to consult Zeus, departs from Achilleus, in anger (*choomenon*, 429), robbed unwilling (*aekontos*, 430) of Briseis;

(to 488ff)
(to 493ff)

S

C_1 Thetis undertakes Achilleus' cause

CHART 2.1 (*cont.*)

1c (430b–487)
- 430bff: Arrival at Chrysa
  - 440ff: Odysseus, as leader of Greek embassy, addresses Chryses
    - { 446bff: Chryses accepts his daughter and prays to Apollo
  - 458ff: Greeks offer sacrifice, retire for night
- 477ff: Return from Chrysa

D Return of Chryseis

2c (488–533a)
- 488ff: Achilleus, alone by ships, mourns loss (*ho menie*, 488; cf. *choomenon*, 429)
- 493ff: As gods return to Olympos on 12th day, Thetis rises from sea (ring: *Olympon*, 494/497, *Oulympon*)
  - 498ff: Thetis approaches Zeus, appeals for restitution of Achilleus' honor (Achilleus *okymorotatos*, 505; cf. 417)
  - 517ff: Zeus promises solution, nods, thunders, shaking Olympos (530, cf. *Oulympoio*, 499)
- 531f: Thetis returns to sea, Zeus to palace

C_2 Thetis pleads Achilleus' cause

A_2 A god's response to the dishonoring of a son

- 533bff: As Zeus resumes throne, gods rise in greeting
- 536bff: Hera's response
- 544ff: Zeus' reply, veiled threat
- 551ff: Hera's accusation of secret dealings with Thetis
- 560ff: Zeus repeats threat, orders Hera to acquiesce
- 568bff: Hera submits, sits beside Zeus in silence
  - 570: Gods aggrieved
  - 571ff: Hephaistos, "famous craftsman," urges Hera not to engage in *loigia erga* with Zeus, who is by far *phertatos* (581), lest feast be disturbed
    - 584ff: Hephaistos places wine cup into Hera's hand
    - 586ff: Urges her to endure, recalls previous occasion when his assistance brought ejection from heaven
    - 595bf: Hera smiles, accepts cup from her son's hand
  - 597ff: Gods laugh as Hephaistos distributes wine
  - 601ff: Gods enjoy feast, entertained by Apollo and Muses until sunset, when they retire to palace built by Hephaistos
- 609ff: Zeus retires with Hera ("golden-throned," 611)

B_2 Divine quarrel between mates resolved by real power

(*n.b.*: S = simile; S ¬ = simile subsequently balanced by a parallel or comparable simile; S ⌟ = balancing simile)

way to a combination of annular and interlocking responsion as the problem of honor is brought to the divine level by Thetis (C_2, C_1). The resulting formal emphasis establishes the centrality of a scene (1c=D) that, given the ironies attending it, offers a hollow paradigm of piety and the restoration of continuity and right relationship by external submission to divine will. The one pattern functions to elucidate aspects of the immediate narrative situation; the other focuses on the moral issue central to the war and to the poem, thus relating the quarrel within the Greek camp to the larger conflict. For the issue of Chryseis' return (and by implication that of Helen) is now surrounded by, embedded in, the issue of the retaliatory seizure of Briseis—in the dilemma of humans limited by a system of value in which *time* is measured by external control of goods and persons (Agamemnon as *pherteros*) rather than by actual worth (Achilleus as *karteros*), not to mention the principle of inner quality that

Achilleus will eventually adumbrate. In this system, when the treasury of possessions is fixed, one man's honor can only be maintained at the expense of another's and can only be increased by further pillage and theft of honor, regardless of affection, loyalty, or the bond of marriage.[26] This exaltation of possessions is epitomized, in a manner appropriate to the context of the war, in the seizure of women as prizes; the theme is associated with both sides in the conflict, as both sides participate in a culture based on appearances.

The problem becomes one of cosmic—that is to say, philosophical—importance when it is escalated to the divine level and extended to Zeus and Hera in scenes of Supplication (493ff), Entertainment (571ff), and Retirement (601ff) that formally link action on earth (D) with that in heaven, where the one god promises to find a way of vindicating Achilleus' *time*, and the other is determined, as we shall see in Book 2, not to let the Greeks lose face by abandoning Helen as an object of pride for the boastful Trojans. The temporary reconciliation among the gods, like that between Apollo and the Greeks, offers no answer to conflict on either the divine or the human level: The problem is merely deferred. But Zeus' assertion of his supreme power over his momentarily silenced wife (*akeousa*, 565, 569) differs in purpose from Agamemnon's imposition of conventional political power on his unwilling victims (*aekonte*, 327, of Talthybios and Eurybates; *aekous'*, 348, of Chryseis; *aekontos*, 430, of Achilleus), as well as from Hera's impulsive intervention to further her own partisan commitments (55, to end the plague; 195, to save Agamemnon): For in his dealings with his wife, Zeus uses the threat of violence in order to maintain freedom and time for detached reflection and planning (*noesai*, 549, cf. 543) apart from her and the rest of the gods. In this sense, Zeus' position is analogous less to that of Agamemnon than it is—in its isolation from and variance with the system of which he is the chief representative—to that of Achilleus.[27] The similarities between Zeus and Agamemnon, based on their conventionally acknowledged primacy, constitute a virtual charge-sheet of the abuses of position; the parallel with Achilleus raises the question of the nature and responsibilities—ultimately the limits—of sheer force, on the divine level as on the human.

(ii) *Dream. Test. Boiotia,* or *Catalogue of Ships*

In Book 2 the results of Zeus' troubled nightlong reflections on the issue of Achilleus' *time* further reveal the poet's view of the conventional wisdom of his traditional characters. Lines 1–401 make use of a double Assembly pattern (indicated on Chart 2.2 as 1a–d, 2a–d), considerably elaborated with unconventional material,[1] to narrate a series of decep-

tions—conscious and unconscious—among the Greek troops and their leaders, culminating in their rejection of the "ugly truth" about their situation as not only articulated but, as Whitman has suggested, embodied by Thersites.[2] This latter episode (2d) is extended with motifs repeated from the earlier sequence in such a way that with the addition of lines 402–54 Thersites' rebuke of the Greeks for their treatment of Achilleus (E) becomes the thematic focus of an annular structure that embraces the entire passage. The narrative then proceeds with the *Catalogue of Ships*, the Trojan assembly, and a Catalogue of Trojans to create what emerges as an interlocking pattern embracing the entire panorama of pandemic delusion.[3]

The initial sequence begins with a Dream scene (1a–b),[4] in which Agamemnon is misled into thinking that the capture of Troy is imminent; Dressing and Assembly scenes follow (1c), in which Agamemnon communicates his delusion to the leaders. In the first element there is significant irony in that False Dream, without specific instructions from Zeus, assumes for his appearance to Agamemnon the form of Nestor, the figure of traditional wisdom;[5] and in an addendum to the Dream proper (ringed by "him he found sleeping" (18bf) and "he left him there" (35b), the king's foolish credulity is emphasized at unusual length (36–40). There is perhaps further irony in the way the poet dwells on the details of Agamemnon's dressing (1c, 42bff): For although the sequence reflects a formulaic pattern similar to the typical Arming scene,[6] Agamemnon is preparing not so much for a military encounter as for a losing battle, in the assemblies that follow, with the truth that lies beyond such externals as rank and dress. The emphasis given to the "forever imperishable" staff (46; cf. 100bff), which Achilleus has so contemptuously spurned in Book 1 and which Agamemnon now takes up, sets the stage for what is to come. In Agamemnon's hands the staff is used as an instrument of deception; as a token of office it becomes a hollow symbol for that complex of traditional values which Zeus, far from validating, will use as elements of weakness, turning them to Greek disadvantage in fulfilling his promise to honor Achilleus.[7]

Technically the first Assembly scene begins at line 48; but the motifs of Dawn and the ensuing council of leaders are extraneous to the pattern. Dawn is elsewhere used to herald divine councils and important new turns in the action (e.g., 8.1ff; 11.1ff, etc.); its combination here with a mortal Dressing scene suggests hyperbole, as the poet proceeds from a scene of deception to an exposure of Agamemnon's moral confusion.[8] For in the formally intrusive meeting with the chiefs (53–86), Agamemnon acts on the basis of half-truth: Despite his awareness that it was not the real Nestor but a dream that roused him, he remains unaware of Zeus' will. His tendency to manipulate realities to suit (and thus delude) himself

CHART 2.2

Book 2 (to line 455)

A_1

1a: 1ff: Zeus, concerned for Achilleus' honor, sends False Dream to Agamemnon promising capture of Troy (with 17f cf. 8f)

1b: 18bff: False Dream in Nestor's form repeats Zeus' speech to Agamemnon (28–32=11–15), urging mustering troops (ring: 18b/35b, with addendum on Agamemnon's foolish credulity, 36–40)

1c: 41ff: Agamemnon awakes, dresses (including *pharos*), takes scepter (46)

48ff: As Dawn appears, Agamemnon has heralds summon men

53ff: Council by Nestor's ship: Agamemnon describes dream (60–70=23–33), proposes test of men as *themis* (73)

B_1

76bff: Nestor commends dream because Agamemnon is "far the best of the Achaians" (82; 83=72)

85f: Sceptered kings are persuaded

1d: 86bff: Assembly of army: Men gather like bees driven by Rumor (87–94), brought to order by nine heralds (ring: *laoi*, 86/99, *laos*) S

100bff: Agamemnon, bearing sceptre from Zeus, deceives the army (testing human will) (ring: 101/109, with *autar*-refrain at 103, 105, 107)

142ff: Men scatter like waves under opposing winds or wind-tossed grain (144–49) SS

2a: 155ff: Hera, concerned for Greek loss of face, sends Athena to Odysseus to stop the flight to the ships (168=17)

C_1

2b: 169ff: Athena repeats Hera's speech to Odysseus (158–65=174–81)

D_1

2c: 182bff: Odysseus recognizes Athena, goes running, throws off *chlaina* etc.; taking speaker's sceptre from Agamemnon (186, cf. 46), rebukes leaders for failure to grasp Agamemnon's intention (*noos*) and chides men for their insubordination, asserting the divine source of the single king's sceptre and authority (with 206 cf. 186)

2d: 207bff: Assembly of army:

E

α_1 207ff: Men subside like waves (209f, cf. 142ff) S

β_1 211ff: Thersites described, rebukes Agamemnon's treatment of Achilleus, "a far better man," urges retreat (speech ringed by *neikee*, 224/243, *neikeion*)

D_2

γ_1 244bff: Odysseus rebukes Thersites, threatens to strip him of his *chlaina* etc. (262), and beats him with the sceptre

δ_1 270ff: Men laugh derisively, assent to Thersites' punishment

C_2

ε 278bff: Athena joins Odysseus as herald as he rises with staff; Odysseus unconsciously deceives the men, urging them to test the truth of the portent at Aulis (test of the divine will) (289f: simile of children and widows) S

B_2

δ_2 333bff: Men shout approval

γ_2 336ff: Nestor seconds Odysseus with oracle of his own (337f: simile of children) S

β_2 369ff: Agamemnon responds, blaming Zeus for his quarrel with Achilleus; ends with threat against malingerers

α_2 394bff: Men shout like waves, assembly dissolved (cf. 209f, 142ff) S

A_2 402ff: Agamemnon offers sacrifice (ring, enclosing list of leaders in attendance, *boun* at 402/410); deluded prayer to Zeus; feast

433ff: Nestor, expecting imminent downfall of Troy, advises mustering troops

441bff: Agamemnon has heralds assemble army for war (442–44=50–52)

445ff: Athena with aegis joins leaders, rouses men

is illustrated by his proposal to test the men, on the grounds that it is *themis* to do so. Elsewhere in the poem *themis* is associated with the right of consultation (9.33; 24.652) or with the place of assembly (11.807), with oaths (23.44 and 581), with hospitality (11.778), with the sexual union of men with women (9.134 and 276; 19.177), with what is fated (16.799), or with what one must *not* do (e.g., battle with lightning: 14.386). Various as they may appear, each of these represents an aspect of human behavior or experience that is held to be governed by an unquestioned divine sanction. On the other hand, Agamemnon's assertion of a right to test by deception has no such sanction and represents a capricious misuse of language.[9] Although Agamemnon may unconsciously imitate Zeus in his use of deceit to gain an end, a radical difference of purpose and of awareness separates the two; and in surrounding this episode (1c) with Zeus' deception of an unwitting Agamemnon (1a–b) and a deluded Agamemnon's gratuitous and nearly disastrous deception of the troops (1d), the poet underlines the contrast between the weakness and irresponsibility of the royal understanding of *themis* and the suprahuman potency of the divine will.

Unlike Agamemnon, Nestor reveals a degree of caution if not actual disbelief when he asserts, speaking in his own person (76bff), that if any other Greek had reported such a dream it would have been regarded as false. Nestor accepts the truth of the vision solely on the basis of Agamemnon's royal position, and in equating rank with truth Nestor deceives himself and his hearers. In supporting Agamemnon's boast that he is "by far the best of the Achaians" (82), he joins him in rejecting Achilleus' competing claim of 1.244=1.412 (cf. the irony of Achilleus' similar words in 1.91, of Agamemnon), thus abetting the disasters the Greeks will soon suffer. Indeed, the poet emphasizes Nestor's complicity by having him, rather than Agamemnon, dismiss the council by simply leaving it,[10] followed by the "sceptre-bearing kings" (86), whose epithet both rings the section by repeating the concluding motif of the initial element (the sceptre of 46f) and implicates them too in upholding a system based on pretence.

In the following assembly (1d), Agamemnon's compound deception of the troops is introduced by the simile of the men gathering like bees driven by Rumor—a forced but effective mixture of natural observation and abstract personification figuring the manipulation of purposeful activity by falsehood—and concluded by balancing similes reiterating the ideas of force and instability, as the men scatter in their foolish enthusiasm like waves driven by winds rushing from the clouds of Zeus or ears of grain bent by the blast of Zephyr.[11] At the same time, the reaction of the army to Agamemnon's test undercuts the heroic posture of the chiefs: The common soldier, it seems, prefers the modest comforts of home to the

struggle for someone else's glory. The note of realism here parallels the exposure in Book 1 of Agamemnon's heartlessness by the army's sympathy for Chryses. In the divided world of these scenes of deception and disaffection, Agamemnon's address is introduced by an elaborate genealogy of his staff (ringed by "But the ruler Agamemnon stood holding the sceptre," 100b/109, "leaning on this he addressed the Argives," and given internal structure by the refrain "but then" [*autar ara* or *ho aute*] at 103, 105, and 107) that epitomizes the general confusion of values through an implicit contrast between the source and past associations of this symbol of order, of continuity, and its present bearer.

In the second sequence (2a–d) the initial pattern begins again; but in contrast to Zeus' search for a means of establishing Achilleus' honor, Hera now expresses her concern that the Greeks will lose face if Helen should be left as a source of Trojan boasting. To stop the flight to the ships, she dispatches Athena, who arrives with the same alacrity with which False Dream had visited Agamemnon (*karpalimos*, 168=17). Thus, at Hera's urging (2a), relayed by Athena (2b), and as her spokesman (2c), Odysseus rushes forth to prevent departure. Unlike Agamemnon in the parallel scene (1c), Odysseus requires no Dressing sequence: On the contrary, he discards his cloak (the *chlaina*, or short cloak, appropriate to Odysseus, the man of action, contrasting with Agamemnon's *pharos*, or more formal mantle[12]) and passes it to the herald Eurybates, whose function he usurps in bringing the troops to order. But like Agamemnon he takes up the sceptre (186–46) and adopts a similar double approach to the army: one for the leaders he encounters, another for the mass.[13] The leaders he reproaches for their failure to perceive Agamemnon's intention (*noos*, 192). In handling the men, he is more astute than Agamemnon: He upbraids them for their unruly disrespect for their betters, appealing not to their will but—like Agamemnon and Nestor in Book 1 (B_1)—to the authority of a king, to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and justice (*themistas*, 206), and his leaders (*pherteroi*, 201), in contrast to whom the common soldier is weak and insignificant (201f).[14] Odysseus thus appeals to a hierarchy not only of power and influence but also of veracity and intelligence embodied in a system of rank that he defines in terms that echo the conventional notions of Agamemnon and Nestor in this book and the previous one.

A challenge to this view is voiced by Thersites, who rises in the second assembly (2d) to rebuke Agamemnon's treatment of Achilleus, a "far better man" (*meg' ameinona phota*, 239) despite the king's wealth of external tokens of political strength. As Agamemnon had done earlier but in language that reflects Achilleus' of Book 1,[15] Thersites urges retreat (236ff): not as a deceptive test of the men but to demonstrate the real qualities of Agamemnon, left alone with his booty but stripped of the support it conventionally signifies.

Odysseus steps forward, still wielding the sceptre (265), and with it physically drives Thersites (and the point of his argument) from the assembly. We have mentioned Whitman's symbolic reading of the episode as a rejection by the Greeks of the ugly truth, embodied in the one man of the entire Greek force—indeed of the entire poem—whose individual, atypical physical attributes are described in terms that depart entirely from ordinary formulaic usage.[16] Indeed, the Greeks react with hostility not so much to his words as to the very externals of Thersites' ugliness and his manner; it may be that they are unsettled also by an element of ambiguity in his social status.[17] The central episode in the sequence (287bff) is framed by the army's reactions, first of uncomfortable laughter (270ff), then of approval (333bff). Here Odysseus speaks not at the prompting of a dream-vision, but to recall the portent at Aulis.[18] Although the importance Odysseus attaches to Kalchas' interpretation of the snakes and sparrows will prove justified in the long run, Odysseus is at the moment no more privy to Zeus' intentions than Agamemnon had been earlier; and in urging that the men stay to test the divine will, Odysseus is taking a risk that parallels Agamemnon's. The situation is further complicated by the appearance of Athena as a herald to join Odysseus in executing Hera's will, not Zeus': The portent is thus manipulated to advance partisan ends on the divine level as on the human.

Nestor provides a doublet to this episode by recalling yet another omen (336ff)—that of lightning on the right as the Greeks departed from Aulis—and advising Agamemnon to muster the troops.[19] Nestor's reference to those, "one or two, who think apart from the Achaians" (346f), appears to refer to both Achilleus and Thersites, and his use of Zeus' portent to eliminate opposition recalls Odysseus' earlier use of Zeus' staff to banish Thersites from the assembly. Agamemnon's ensuing "apology" is something of an attempt to answer Thersites' rebuke, to which it is a formal balance. But the issues Thersites has raised are merely evaded, and there is no hint of restitution for Achilleus. This is the first in a notable series of illustrations of the hero's inability, as Dodds has shown,[20] to internalize responsibility. Appropriately, this assembly like the first ends not with a formal dismissal[21] but with a roar of deluded approval from the soldiers, described with a wave simile reversing that with which the gathering began (209f) and recalling the comparison used at the end of the previous assembly (144ff), thus concluding the series of links between the two.

The precision and consistency of the parallels between 1a–d and 2a–d make it clear that the poet is not simply proceeding according to a formulaic narrative pattern, for the two passages conform more closely to each other than to the basic Assembly scene. The interlocking arrangement indicates rather that with 2a another series of *deceptions* is being initiated: For in attempting to counteract the results of Agamemnon's test,

Hera, like Nestor, is unwittingly advancing Zeus' original purpose. The traditional prerogatives of rank (on which the first series of deceptions was based) and a system devoted to the cultivation of face-saving appearances (the basis of the second series) are thus presented as interrelated aspects of the same complex of motivation and susceptibility. By analyzing—albeit in mythical form—the renewal of war in these terms, the poet casts an unmistakable judgment on the values of heroic militarism.

As in Book 1, interlocking structure emphasizes thematic connection between two series of actions, but—again as in Book 1—this pattern gives way to annular form in order to frame and thus emphasize a scene of paradigmatic significance. Here, Thersites' speech of 211ff (indicated as E) is flanked by Odysseus' rebuke (D_2), balancing his remonstrations of 2c(=D_1): These share the motifs of rejection of the individual will, the sceptre of authority, even the *chlaina* (at 183 and 262).[22] Athena's return in 2d(=C_2) repeats her appearance in C_1. And Nestor's advice of B_2, based on Zeus' portent at Aulis, parallels his earlier speech (76b–83=B_1) in which his trust in the dream sent by Zeus prompted his call to arms.

The overall frame is completed by the addition of lines 402–54 (A_2), which constitute yet a third Assembly scene, echoing elements of 1–76a (A_1). The episode from 402–441a comprises elements of the Sacrifice and Meal scenic type, elaborated by the intrusive list of leaders called to attendance (405–8) and the "conversation following a meal," represented by Nestor's advice of 432ff; to it are added Agamemnon's instructions to the heralds (441bff) and Athena's Divine Intervention to help rouse the men to battle (445–54).[23] Although this sequence differs in type from A_1, its formal and thematic elements balance the earlier council. Agamemnon's concluding sacrifice (402–10) is unnecessary, even gratuitous, for the sake of logical continuity, but it completes the structure by echoing in reverse the initial element of the first sequence. The narrative began with a deceptive message sent to Agamemnon from Zeus, which he then communicated to his leaders; now, in the company of the leaders, Agmemnon offers a vain prayer for the same objective, the destruction of Troy. The poet's comment of 419f (on Zeus' acceptance of the sacrifice without changing his purpose), like that of 36–40 (on the sufferings both sides must yet endure), openly states the futility of Agamemnon's gesture: For a Greek force persuaded by the conventional wisdom of an Agamemnon, a Nestor, an Odysseus, to disregard Thersites' truthful evaluation of Achilleus and place a greater trust in position and appearance than in individual quality is left to the consequences of its own self-deception.

Significantly, the poet again has Nestor advise marshaling the host (433ff, cf. 336ff). In Agamemnon's response, as he orders the heralds to assemble the army (442ff), there is an appropriate repetition of the formula used to summon the earlier council inspired by the False Nestor

(50ff). Athena's appearance in 445ff to help gather the men recalls her interventions in the second Assembly sequence; her presence now with the aegis lends to the proceedings a false impression of Zeus' favor,[24] as in Agamemnon's use of the sceptre during his deceptive speech to the first assembly at 100bff. Thus, in this final Divine Intervention by Hera's agent, we have a last echo of Zeus' initial dispatch of False Dream and a restatement of deception compounded, as the army proceeds to a bellicose outer manifestation of its inner confusion.[25]

In this context the shaping of the *Catalogue of Ships* as we have discussed it becomes a pointed, indeed inevitable, extension of the themes developed earlier in the book. The simpler, briefer Trojan Catalogue (786–877; see Chart 2.3) contains a geographical sequence, verbal ordering, and thematic integration into the structure of Book 2 quite different from the *Catalogue of Ships*,[26] but like it makes use of thematic reversal to convey a more complex view of the action than is apparent without close attention to formal arrangement. The transition at 786–815 contains in 800 two similes, comparing the multitude of Greek besiegers to leaves and sand, the first of these echoing the third simile of the transition to the *Catalogue of Ships* (468). But the ensuing narrative, describing Iris' mission to Troy, reflects elements found earlier in Book 2. Iris' descent from aegis-bearing Zeus and her appearance to the Trojans in council in the guise of Polites, urging mustering of the troops, echo Athena's appearance, wielding the aegis, to rouse the Greeks in 445ff; these elements also repeat the motif of divine intervention in Athena's earlier effort, at Hera's behest, to stop the flight to the ships (155ff), and of course recall Zeus' dispatch of False Dream to Nestor at the outset. The result of Iris' exhortation is similar to that of False Dream, for Trojan preparations for battle rest on illusions that find expression three times in the catalogue proper: at 831ff, where Merops' gift of prophecy fails to prevent his sons from going to their death; at 858ff, where Ennomos cannot save himself through his own powers of augury; and at 873ff, where Nastes' splendid gold ornaments are no protection against his imminent destruction. Thematic augment in the *Catalogue of Ships* corresponds to elements in the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilleus; here the susceptibility of individual Trojan allies to glittering appearances and their inability to take effective action on the insights of prophecy are relevant to the poet's subsequent analysis of the Trojan character.

As in the *Catalogue of Ships*, thematic repetition is integrated with geographical division. The order of enumeration moves from north to south. After a description of the contingents from Troy and nearby, together with the European allies (816–50), the poet continues with the troops from the east described in two groups: those on the southern shore of the Black Sea (851–57) and those along a lower arc eastward (858–63).

CHART 2.3

Catalogue of Trojans

786–810: Transition to Trojan catalogue
786: Iris sent from aegis–bearing Zeus to Trojan assembly; as watcher Polites, she urges mustering of troops, comparing advancing Greeks to leaves and sand (800, cf. 468)
807: Hektor dismisses assembly, gates opened
811: Trojans gather at Hill of the Brier/Tomb of Myrine, where they are mustered in battle order

816–877: *Catalogue*

I — 816: Troy, neighbors, European allies, concluding with *telothen* . . . and anaphora of river Axios (849f)
α (831ff: *Merops' gift of prophecy fails to prevent his sons from going to death in battle*)

II — 851: Allies to east:
(a) to Black sea (857: *telothen*)
β (858ff: *Ennomos' augury cannot ward off his own destruction in river*)
(b) southward (863: *tel'*)
[note *lasion ker*, 851/859, *kera melainan*; cf. *keres . . . melanos thanatoio*, 834]

III — 864: Allies to south, ending with *telothen*, 877
γ (873ff: *Nastes' gold ornaments useless to fend off sad destruction in river* [874f=860f])

In each case, the listing proceeds in increasing distance from Troy along a series of radiating lines; each group is concluded and separated from the next by an emphasis on the uttermost point on its line, created by the refrain, "from far-off *x* or *y*" (*telothen*, in 849, 857, 877; in 863, *tel'*).[27] The poet allots one instance of the illusion-theme to each of the directional groups: Merops' sons from the north, Ennomos from the eastern groups, and Nastes from the south. Geographical sequence allows a polarization similar to that of the *Catalogue of Ships*: With the appearance of Hektor at the beginning and Sarpedon and his companion Glaukos at the end, the poet achieves a contrast as pointed as that between Achilleus and Agamemnon, in this case anticipating a complication yet to emerge in the narrative rather than reflecting a situation already developed.[28] Foreshadowing is explicit in the comment on the death of Ennomos and Nastes "in the river" (860f=874f), though neither is named specifically in the description of Achilleus' victims at 21.33ff.[29] The river motif at 874f functions also to link the last element of the catalogue with the first,

where the description of Axios was emphasized by anaphora at 849f ("the broadly flowing Axios—Axios, whose stream is the loveliest that flows on earth"). Among the fated victims of the three main sections, those of I and II (Merops' sons in 831ff and Ennomos of 858ff) are associated by reference to the spirits of death (*keres . . . melanos thanatoio*, 834, and *lasion ker*, 851/859, *kera melainon*), while the added motif of death in the river in II links Ennomos with Nastes of III.

With its triple emphasis on the motif of deception, the Trojan catalogue provides a thematic frame for the entire sequence; within this structure it balances the *Catalogue of Ships* to create the interlocking pattern we mentioned at the outset:

(1–454: Theme of deception)
- Divine motivation: Zeus sends False Dream to Agamemnon; Hera sends Athena to Odysseus; Assembly, sacrifice; Athena appears with aegis to help muster troops

(455–785)
- Transition and *Catalogue of Ships*

(786–815)
- Divine motivation: aegis-bearing Zeus sends Iris to Troy; troops assembled

(816–77: Theme of illusion)
- Catalogue of Trojans

The arrangement of the assemblies and the catalogues suggests that the two forces share the same world—a world bounded by the overall frame of the poem itself, united by the themes of deception among the Greeks (in Book 1) and illusion among the Trojans (who lament its effects in Book 24). The poet now turns to a closer view of the latter.

(iii) *Truce. Watch from the Wall. Duel Between Alexander and Menelaos*

Despite admiration in various quarters for the unity of Book 3, the narrative of the duel between Menelaos and Paris has long been criticized as an anachronism in the tenth year of the war and irrelevant to the story of the Wrath with which the poet began.[1] By presenting the duel at this juncture, however, our poet is able to introduce the two main protagonists in the conflict over Helen. More subtly and indirectly, rather than in terms of logical continuity, he also establishes certain parallels with Book 1 in such a way that Book 3 provides a thematic complement and formal balance to it, offering a means of probing further into the present state of the

CHART 2.4

Book 3

1ff: Introductory transition: Trojans advance (simile of cranes and pygmies, 2–7; cf. 2.459ff); Greeks advance (dust like mist, 10–14) — S S

A_1

- 15ff: Paris ("godlike Alexander," 16) advances in leopard skin to challenge Menelaos
  - 21ff: Menelaos rejoices like lion (23–28) on perceiving "godlike Alexander" (27), leaps from chariot — S
- 30ff: "Godlike Alexander" (forming ring at 30 and 37), like man fearing snake (33–36), on perceiving Menelaos retreats into crowd (note refrain, *ton d' hos oun enoesen* at 21 and 30) — S

B_1 *Paris with Hektor*

- 38ff: Hektor rebukes Paris angrily for lack of substance beneath his splendid appearance (*eidos*, 39, 45, 55; motif of Paris' death: 40 and 55)
- 58ff: "Godlike Alexander" accepts rebuke (Hektor's heart and *noos* like an axe driven by shipwright, 60–63), defends gifts of Aphrodite; proposes duel with Menelaos for Helen and treasure — S
- 76b: Hektor rejoices

C_1

- 77f: Preparations for truce: Hektor restrains Trojans
  - 78b: They are seated
  - 79ff: Agamemnon restrains threatening Greeks
    - 84bf: Troops grow silent
  - 85bff: Hektor conveys Paris' offer (90–94=69–73)
    - 95b: Troops silent
  - 96ff: Menelaos agrees to duel
    - 111bff: Greeks and Trojans rejoice, hoping for end to war, draw horses into ranks, disarm

D_1

- 116f: Hektor sends two heralds to bring lambs and summon Priam
- 118ff: Agamemnon sends Talthybios to ships to fetch lambs

E [a_1:] *Helen and Iris*

- 121ff: Iris, as beautiful Laodike, wife of Antenor's son, finds Helen in megaron weaving *diplax* (ring: *Iris* at 121/129) symbolic of her role as cause of war
  - 130ff: Iris urges Helen to view duel (ring: *nympha phile*, 130/138, *phile . . . akoitis*)
- 141ff: Helen departs, longing to see her former husband, with attendants arrives at wall
- 146ff: Oukalegon and Antenor, among elders around Priam, react to Helen (simile of cicadas, 151–53) — S
- 156ff: Their comment on Helen as cause of war (Helen like goddess, 158) — S

[b_1:] *Helen and Priam*

- 161bff: Priam asks Helen to sit by him, asks about Agamemnon (166f: *hos moi . . . exonomeneis,/ hos tis hod' estin*)
  - 171ff: Helen's self-rebuke; 177ff: her answer re: Agamemnon
  - 181bff: Priam's memories re: Amazons, Agamemnon; 191ff: asks about Odysseus (*deuteron aut' . . . hos tis hod' estin*) (196: Odysseus like ram) — S
  - 199ff: Helen's answer re: Odysseus
    - 203ff: Antenor's interruption, story of Odysseus' previous embassy, distinction between his appearance and his gifts (Odysseus' words like snow, 222; 224: *eidos*) — S
  - 225ff: Priam asks about Aias (*to triton aut' . . . tis t' ar' hod' allos Achaios aner*)
    - 228ff: Helen's answer re: Aias; 236ff: her self-rebuke re: Kastor and Polydeukes; poet's comment (230: Idomeneus like god) — S

CHART 2.4 (*cont.*)

D_2

245ff: Heralds in Troy fetch lambs and wine; 248ff: Idaios urges Priam to join preparations for truce and duel; 259bff: Priam reluctantly agrees, sets out with Antenor, reaches field

267ff: Preparations completed, Agamemnon makes solemn oath and sacrifice

297ff: Prayers of Greeks and Trojans, Zeus' refusal of prayers

303ff: Priam explains that he cannot bear to witness duel, returns to Troy with Antenor (311f=261f) and lambs

C_2

[c:] *Duel*

314ff: Hektor and Odysseus measure space, place lots in helmet

318ff: Host prays for end of war (320=276; with 323 cf. 94)

324bf: Hektor shakes lots, Paris wins

326f: Host takes seats by horses and armor (with 326 cf. 111b–15)

328ff: Paris, "husband of beautiful-haired Helen" (329), arms (note attention to helmet in 336f)

339: Menelaos does likewise

340ff: They advance scowling into the midst of troops

342bf: Host filled with wonder

344f: Menelaos and Paris take stand in measured space, angrily shake spears

346ff: Paris casts in vain

349bff: Menelaos prays to Zeus, casts in vain (346f=355f)

360b: Paris avoids death

361ff: Menelaos draws sword, it shatters on Paris' helmet; he chides Zeus (*tisasthai*, 351/366; *Alexandron*, 352/366; *chersi*, 352/367, *cheiressin*)

369ff: Menelaos grabs Paris' helmet, draws him away, caught by strap

373ff: Aphrodite perceives, breaks strap of helmet

377ff: Menelaos hurls empty helmet into crowd, which recovers it; in rage, he attacks with spear

380bff: Aphrodite lifts Paris into mist, deposits him in fragrant bedchamber

[a_2:] *Duel interrupted; Aphrodite and Helen*:

B_2

[b_2:] *Helen and Paris*

383ff: Paris with Helen: Aphrodite, as aged wool carder, summons Helen at wall

396ff: Helen recognizes (*enoese*, 396) and rebukes Aphrodite

413ff: Aphrodite threatens to abandon Helen to Greek and Trojan wrath

418bff: Helen yields, they go unseen to join Paris

421ff: Reaching their quarters, handmaidens turn to work, Helen goes to chamber, Aphrodite fetches diphron for Paris

426ff: Helen rebukes Paris (motif of Paris' death: 428, cf. 40 and 55)

437ff: Paris' excuse: gods on Trojan side (440, cf. 65f), invites Helen to bed (reference to original seizure, 443ff)

447bf: Helen yields, they retire

A_2

448ff: Menelaos ranges through crowd like a wild beast to find "godlike Alexander" (450); Agamemnon demands return of Helen and treasure S

conflict and its sustaining causes. So far we have seen something of the mechanism of failure of insight in the political microcosm of the men and their leaders in the Greek camp, their readiness to submit to the demands of rank, their inability to reconcile the conflicting claims of external power and actual worth—even when the discrepancy is articulated in umistakable terms, as in Book 1 by Achilleus, in Book 2 by Achilleus'

antipode Thersites. In the *Catalogues* we have seen the theme of illusory hope represented, in somewhat different terms, by both armies. In Book 3 we approach the difficulty of distinguishing appearance from reality as it affects individual Trojans on the level of personal relationship; and we gain a closer look at the roots of their inability to act on truths perceived and openly acknowledged.

The initial lines serve retrospectively to frame the *Catalogues*. The first simile, comparing the noisy Trojans to cranes bringing death to the Pygmies (2–7), recalls the second simile (of waterfowl in the Kaÿstrian meadow) in the transition to the *Catalogue of Ships* (2.459ff); and the second simile here (10–14), comparing the dust rising from the oncoming warriors to mist, reverses the atmospheric clarity of the first simile in the transitional series of 2.455ff, where the troops' weapons shone like fire on a mountain.[2] But in contrasting the unrestrained clamor of the Trojan advance with the disciplined silence of the Greeks,[3] the poet also foreshadows the essential theme of the ensuing narrative: for the duel that follows is not the center of a simple sequence,

Greeks agree to truce
  Trojans confirm the truce
    Duel
  Aftermath in Troy
Greek reaction.

Instead, by means of interruption and expansion, the primary formal emphasis is shifted from the duel to the appearance of Helen at the wall, as a narrative and thematic focus on the manner in which the Trojans, like the Greeks in their way, yield against their better judgment to the overwhelming power of *eidos*, "appearance."[4]

In lines 15–37 (A_1), the advance of Menelaos and Paris is described with contrasting similes appropriate to their actions: The one charges like a lion after his prey; the other, despite the savagery advertised by his leopard-skin cloak, retreats like a man avoiding a snake.[5] Repetition of the epithet "godlike" (*theoeides*) for Paris at line 16 and again at 30 and 37 (ringing the intervening lines) underlines this discrepancy between his appearance and his behavior. In the ensuing interchange (38–76b, B_1), the contrast is repeated as an opposition of self-control, represented in Hektor's relentless purpose (*atarbetos noos*, 63), to self-indulgence, in Paris' splendid appearance (*eidos ariste*, 39; cf. *eidos* at 45 and 55) and the ruinous effects of his uncontrolled sensuality (*Duspari, gynomaines eperopeuta*, 39; cf. the repeated reference to adultery in 56f that rings Hektor's rebuke of 38–57).[6] In terms that recall the Greek leaders' earlier acceptance of Agamemnon's kingship as a divine gift, worthy of respect despite its failings, Paris here defends his appearance as a gift of Aphro-

dite. Even so, he agrees to a duel with Menelaos, and in C_1 (77ff) his offer is conveyed to the Greeks and accepted, against a refrain of reactions by the troops—a device repeated, as we saw in Chapter I (section 7), in the corresponding C_2, describing preliminaries to the duel itself. In 116ff (D_1) Hektor dispatches heralds to summon Priam, as both sides prepare for the opening sacrifice.

The narrative is interrupted at 121 by a sudden shift to another summoning scene, in this case Iris' visit to Helen (E). The sequence provides a thematic continuation of the interchange between Paris and Hektor by repeating the motif of deceptive appearance in Iris' disguise as the beautiful Laodike (*eidos aristen*, 124; cf. 39), wife of Antenor's son; it is reinforced by the baneful effects of Helen's beauty, symbolized by her act of weaving like the fates a blood-red cloak (*diplax porphyreen*, 126) worked with figures of the war.[7] As Helen passes to the wall to take up her position as spectator, cause, and prize of the duel, the Trojan elders capitulate to her divine gift, demonstrating a susceptibility quite different from, but no less damaging than, the Greeks' acquiescence to Agamemnon's authority. The aged Nestor had proposed compromise between Achilleus and Agamemnon but failed to achieve reconciliation; with similar impotence, the elders earnestly wish Helen would return to Sparta (156ff) but are powerless to effect her departure. Helen's summoning and arrival at the wall are framed by mention of Antenor in 148 (emphasized, along with Oukalegon, by a change to the nominative case in a series of accusatives at 146f), balancing the reference to Antenor's son (*Antenoridao*) in 122; and the motif of deceptive beauty in Iris' disguise as Laodike is repeated in the elders' comment on Helen's dangerous charm in 156ff. The interchange following is organized by repeated or similar phrasing in Priam's successive questions (at 166f, 191f, and 225f) and by the symmetry of the formula "divine among women" introducing Helen's first and third responses (171, 228).

No less than in the duel, there is of course anachronism in Priam's request for information he would have sought long before the tenth year of the war. But the scene functions less to identify the Greek leaders for Priam during a "respite not otherwise possible"[8] than to introduce the audience to Helen and to Agamemnon's counterpart[9]—indeed, his antithesis: For unlike the demanding and contentious general, the gentle king is self-effacing in his tact. At the same time, in blaming the gods for the war (164f), Priam betrays an inability to internalize responsibility parallel to that of Agamemnon; and he is no less impressed with externals in his appraisal of the physical appearance of the warriors who provoke his questions of Helen. Indeed, the interchange is essential to the development of the theme of this particular book: For Helen's identification of Odysseus prompts the interruption of Antenor (203–24), which explicitly

and ironically emphasizes the conflict between appearance and reality by contrasting Odysseus' unprepossessing looks (*eidos*, 224, cf. *eoikos*, 219) with his gift of magnificent rhetoric—though it is a rhetoric that, as the reappearance of the speaker's staff reminds us (218ff, cf. 2.265ff), can be misused to support deception. Antenor's perception remains an isolated observation, falling short of the insight that might be usefully applied to the present conflict.[10] And despite the understanding born of bitter experience expressed in Helen's repeated self-rebuke (173 and 234ff), her knowledge remains limited by her circumstances, as the poet emphasizes by his intrusive comment (243f) that she is unaware that the brothers she scans the field to identify are now dead; her power of action, like that of Priam and the elders, is limited to that of passive participant.

In 245ff (D_2) preparations for the duel are resumed, continuing D_1 and completing the frame for the central *teichoskopia* as Priam journeys to the field to join Agamemnon and Odysseus in concluding the truce. Again, as in Book 2, the prayers offered are refused by Zeus, for with the dishonoring of Achilleus the issues of the war can no longer be restricted to the contest for Helen. This inconclusive note is reflected in Priam's refusal to witness the duel: Like Agamemnon unable to accept responsibility for his own actions, Priam avoids the result of a situation aggravated by his reluctance to assume decisive leadership.

So it is with the duel itself in C_2, answering the initial challenge of C_1. Although it begins deliberately, as we have seen[11]—with a casting of lots, an Arming scene, and prayers of the troops, who take their places as observers by their horses and stacked arms—the actual confrontation falls outside the workings of Zeus' will; this "reasonable" solution thus remains subject to partisan intervention by Aphrodite, abetting the irrational sensuality that continues to dominate Paris as it has in the past.

In B_2 we find a variation of the Rebuke pattern that culminated in Hektor's bitter criticism of Paris in B_1.[12] Answering the antithesis between battlefield and bedroom implied there,[13] the sequence here shifts literally from the one to the other—from the battle between heroes to the war between the sexes—where Aphrodite rebukes Helen for her reluctance to play her role in this context and Helen upbraids Paris for his failure in the other. As the struggle for the living body of Helen is the object in both (rather than the struggle over a corpse that generally figures in the conventional Rebuke pattern[14]), the sequence is an interlocking one, structurally intermingling themes of love and war.

There is also a striking reiteration of the theme of deceptive appearances when at 396ff Helen penetrates Aphrodite's disguise as an aged Lakedaimonian wool carder. Aphrodite's choice of disguise (incomplete at that, to judge from the telltale throat, breasts, and flashing eyes of

396f) is provocative, combining with the appeal of past domestic comforts and homely wisdom a reference to Helen's fatal weaving.[15] Helen ironically scorns the ruse as an indication that Aphrodite intends to seduce her into yet further promiscuous wanderings; Aphrodite's appeal she rejects as wrong in itself and socially blameworthy. In her subsequent rebuke of Paris (426ff), against a setting of conventional ease, Helen takes no note of his beauty; but her awareness of the discrepancy between his appearance and his underlying weakness is clear in her pointed comment on his failure to take a stand on the battlefield before the superior (*pherteros*, 431) Menelaos. Her spiteful wish that he had perished (428f) echoes Hektor's rebuke at 38ff (especially 40 and 55).

In Helen's confrontation with Aphrodite, the word *noein* (369ff)—used with significant frequency in a book devoted to the theme of *eidos*—is employed for the first time in its full sense, essential to the development of Greek thought, of perceiving a purpose or truth and its implications latent in deceptive appearances.[16] But Aphrodite's threatening reminder of her divine power and of the conflict that Helen has caused (413ff) are paralleled in Paris' self-defense (437ff), where he claims divine support (440b, as earlier in 65f) and recalls his original seizure of Helen, linking the present episode with the past. And Helen, repeating the motif of her submission to Aphrodite in 418ff, yields again (447b) to a Paris who is himself under the goddess' control. Helen (despite her perceptions) and Paris (despite the acknowledged truth of Hektor's words) are unable to translate knowledge into action helpful to themselves or to those who protect them; they yield instead to the illusion that the pleasure of the moment signifies a lasting sanction.

This episode, together with the return to the battlefield of A_2, completes the annular symmetry framing the central appearance of Helen at the wall. But Aphrodite's appearance in disguise to Helen, forcing her to join Paris, also repeats the pattern of the interruption of preparations for the truce in Iris' disguised appearance to Helen, summoning her to join Priam. The two sequences thus frame and maintain a secondary emphasis on the duel and on the reason for its frustration: the futility of the heroic response in the face of the wilfull unpredictability of Aphrodite's power. This double structural emphasis integrates the particular theme of sensual abandon in the case of Helen and Paris with the larger theme of the Trojans' collective failure to act on the distinction between truth and illusion. For as Paris is forcibly extricated from the usages of heroic society, and Helen yields to Paris despite her concern for her reputation and her disillusion with Paris himself, so the elders have yielded before Helen's beauty despite the sufferings of prolonged warfare she has brought them. In this way this book parallels the examination in Books 1 and 2 of Greeks en-

meshed in a system of values imposed by an authority thought to have divine sanction, subject to deception both within the forms of tradition and outside them: The Trojans too inhabit a world of values dominated by externally seductive but deceptive and potentially malignant appearances. The Greeks reject insight on external compulsion; the Trojans perceive the distinction between appearance and reality but lack the will to act on it. Fittingly, among Priam's counsellers the perceptive Antenor is paired with Oukalegon (148): "Heedless."

More specific elements shared with Book 1 support the function of Book 3 as its counterpart. Both books contain journeys to the Greek camp of fathers concerned with the return of a woman. In Book 1 the issue of woman stealing among the Greeks provided an oblique statement of the cause of the war; in Book 3 it is restated directly by the Trojans' failure to relinquish Helen and symbolically by her "re-abduction" by Aphrodite to Paris' chamber. Achilleus was forced in Book 1 to withdraw from fighting by Agamemnon's obsession with the externals of rank; in Book 3 Paris is withdrawn from battle by the divine patroness of a relationship based on external beauty rather than inner regard. At the center of Book 1, the restoration of piety through Odysseus' journey to return Chryseis served a paradigmatic function thematically recalled in the center of this book by the description of Odysseus' previous embassy to recover Helen (204ff). The earlier Greek effort to placate the gods was vitiated by the abduction of Briseis to serve Agamemnon's sense of self, if not his pleasure; in Book 3, resolution of the conflict is frustrated by Aphrodite's abduction of Paris and Helen's forced compliance with Paris' desire. Both books, finally, illustrate the misuse of a divine gift—royal power on the one hand, beauty on the other—leading among the Greeks to the subordination of individual worth to the will of the leader, among the Trojans to the cultivation of individual qualities at the expense of the community.

With Book 3 the poet completes his survey of the traditional cause of the war and of the complex of shared guilt and moral impasse that have prolonged it.[17] Like Book 1, the narrative ends inconclusively with the distractions of lovemaking between a quarreling husband and wife, without resolving the affront to those who have been deprived of their mates and their honor. Zeus' pledge to Thetis goes unfulfilled. The question of justice remains in doubt—as the brief epilogue (A_2) suggests with its description of the angry frustration of Menelaos and Agamemnon, providing in this alliance of the wronged husband and his principal supporter a formal balance to the initial pairing of the wrongful seducer and his principal defender (A_1). The brief comparison of Menelaos to a wild beast (449), echoing the animal similes of A_1, leaves an appropriate final impression of violence unsatisfied.[18]

(iv) *The Treaty Broken. Agamemnon's Review*

Book 4 has been rightly—if, as we shall see, inadequately—interpreted as a reassertion, in the context of the compromise between Zeus and Hera, of the Trojans' specific guilt, unobscured by related issues or divine partisanship.[1] The dramatic means the poet uses for this purpose involves the wounding of Menelaos by the otherwise obscure Pandaros, whose character is suggested by the ambush with which he won the horns for his bow (105ff), and whose treachery in breaking the truce restates the original wrong done to Menelaos by Paris' abuse of the laws of hospitality.[2] The result is a symbolic action in which the poet is able—as in the structural patterning and scenic modifications we have already observed—to make a statement about the characters or the situation in the poem without resorting to analytical language or the synthetic correspondence of action and significance that characterizes allegorical narrative. Allegory is, of course, part of the poet's technical repertory: It appears in the description here of Eris (440–45), to achieve an effect of grandeur, and in that of the limping daughters of Prayer in Book 9 (502–12), to enhance pathos. But our poet prefers to use fomal allegory sparingly, in favor of a schematic deployment of ordinary narrative elements to serve an analytic and symbolic function.[3] The basis in Homeric psychology for an appropriate response to this technique can be observed in Helen's identification of Aphrodite in Book 3: that is, in the act of perception through surface appearances to a deeper reality, identity, or intent. Thus, in the case of Pandaros, as in the ejection of Thersites or Helen's weaving and the rescue of Paris by Aphrodite, the poet is able to convey an idea indirectly, without departing from traditional language and methods of composition.[4]

The structural focus of the book is less immediately apparent, for instead of using a simple tripartite sequence,

A_1 Gods in council about the battle
  B Pandaros, as paradigm of Trojan guilt, breaks truce; Greek reaction
A_2 Gods intervene in the resumption of battle,

the poet subjects the latter two elements to progressively complex elaboration (see Chart 2.5). The Greek preparations for renewed conflict receive a structural development (the *Epipolesis*, or *Tour of Inspection*, indicated as C) independent of the gods' entry into battle (A_2, balancing the debate on Olympos in A_1), creating in effect a parity of emphasis on B and C to which we shall return.

In A_1 the initial motifs of divine conviviality and the quarrel between Zeus and Hera recall the end of Book 1, providing final framing elements for Books 1–3:

Book 1, end: quarrel between Zeus and Hera
conviviality among gods
lovemaking (Zeus and Hera)
. . . .
Book 3, end: lovemaking (Paris and Helen)
Book 4, beginning: conviviality among gods
resumption of quarrel between Zeus and Hera.

Within the context of A_1 and of Book 4 taken as a whole, the motif of conviviality establishes a contrast to the atmosphere of human fear and conflict with which both section and book will end, as the men of both sides gaze in dread at the portent of Athena's star-like descent (75–79, with *eisoroontas* of 79 balancing the gods' gaze of 4) and both sides are joined at her urging in unchecked slaughter (539–44, where starry glitter is replaced by the darkness of death in the formula "death covered his eyes" at 461, 503, 526; we return below to the structural function of these repetitions). Although the gods' disengaged enjoyment of the spectacle at Troy will soon be transformed into their own bitter involvement in the struggle, the normalizing presence of Hebe as cupbearer—replacing the impromptu performance of Hephaistos as a bandylegged Ganymede in Book 1—suggests the restoration of a temporary semblance of order on

CHART 2.5

Book 4

A_1 *Gods in Council on battle: decision to renew war*
- 1ff: Scene on Olympos: gods toast one another beholding Troy
  - 5ff: Zeus provokes Hera on question of war or peace
    - 20bff: Athena silent; Hera replies
      - 30ff: Zeus' offer of compromise
      - 50ff: Hera yields to Zeus as *pherteros* (56) so that Trojan guilt may be established (66f)
    - 68bff: Zeus' instructions to Athena, who leaves like star (75–79) (71f=66f) S
- 79bff: Trojans and Greeks shudder beholding portent; reaction on peace or war (82f=15f; ring: *eisoroontes*, 4/79, *eisoroontas*)

B *Paradigm of Trojan weakness: Pandaros breaks truce*
- 86ff: Athena, disguised as Laodokos, tempts Pandaros to gratify Paris and gain *charis* and *kydos* from Trojans by shooting Menelaos
- 105ff: Pandaros promises hekatomb to Apollo (119ff=101ff), shoots with bow made from horns of wild goat slain in ambush
  - 127ff: Athena brushes aside arrow like a mother a fly (130f); S
    Menelaos' leg stained with blood like ivory S
    (141–46) (ring: *Menelae*, 127/146)
- 148ff: Agamemnon reacts in despair
  - 183ff: Menelaos' reassurance
- 188ff: Agamemnon will summon healer
  - 192ff: Agamemnon sends Talthybios for Machaon
  - 198bff: Talthybios summons Machaon (205ff=195ff), who goes to Achaians (with 200ff cf. 88ff; 201=90; with 209 cf. 199)
- 210ff: Machaon finds Menelaos, treats him (216=187; with 218f cf. 190f)

CHART 2.5 (*cont.*)

C *Preparations for battle* (Epipolesis)

- 220f: Trojans meanwhile advance
- 222ff: Greeks mustered: Agamemnon exhorts the eager, rebukes slackers (like weary deer, 243–46) S
  - (a)
    - 251ff: Agamemnon comes to Cretans, Idomeneus (with strength like boar, 253) S
      - 255ff: Rejoicing (*gethesen*, 255), Agamemnon encourages Idomeneus, commends his temperance
    - 265ff: Idomeneus replies, assuring support
      - 272b: Agamemnon proceeds rejoicing (*gethosynos ker*, 272)
  - (b)
    - 273ff: Agamemnon comes to Aiantes (cloud-simile, 275–80) S
      - 283ff: Rejoicing (*gethesen*, 283), Agamemnon encourages them, moves on
  - (c)
    - 293ff: Agamemnon encounters Nestor, already instructing his men to maintain ancient discipline (308f)
      - 311ff: Rejoicing (*gethesen*, 311), Agamemnon laments discrepancy between Nestor's spirit (*thymos*) and his strength (*bie*)
    - 317ff: Nestor replies, promising support with words of counsel (*boulei kai mythoisi*, 323)
      - 326b: Rejoicing (*gethosynos ker*, 326), Agamemnon moves on
  - (d)
    - 327ff: Agamemnon encounters Menestheus, Odysseus; rebukes Odysseus' scheming, gluttony
      - 349ff: Odysseus' retort
    - 356ff: Agamemnon's retraction; he moves on
  - (e)
    - 365ff: Agamemnon encounters Diomedes, rebukes his preference for spying to frontline fighting; story of Tydeus (394: hero like gods) S
    - 401bf: Diomedes silent
    - 403ff: Sthenelos' angry response
    - 411ff: Diomedes rebukes Sthenelos

A_2 *Gods inspire renewed battle*

- 422ff: Greeks advance in silence like waves; Trojans noisy as sheep in herdsman's pen on hearing lambs SS
  - 439ff: Ares drives on Trojans, Athena the Greeks, with Deimos, Phobos, and Eris; allegory of Eris
  - 446ff: Armies clash like colliding rivers heard by shepherd (ring: *oimoge te kai euchole*, 450/456, *iache te ponos te*; *misgagkeian*, 453/456, *misgomenon*) S
- 457ff: (*protos*) Antilochos kills Echepolos, who falls like tower in mighty battle S
  - 463ff: Agenor kills Elephenor, attempting to strip Echepolos
  - 470ff: rest fight like wolves over body (471f) (n.b. *skotos*-formula in 461) S
    - 473ff: (*enth'*) T. Aias kills Simoesios, born by riverbank (475), he drops like poplar (482–88) by riverbank (ring: 473f/488f) S
      - 489bff: Antiphos misses Aias, hits Leukos
      - 494ff: In revenge, Odysseus kills Demokoön
      - 505ff: As Hektor and Trojans retreat, Apollo cries out encouragement, recalling Achilleus' absence (509ff)
    - 514bff: Athena rouses Greeks (n.b. *skotos*-formula in 503)
  - 517ff: (*enth'*) Peiros kills Diores, who falls in dust, stretching hands towards comrades
    - 527ff: Thoas kills Peiros but is prevented from stripping corpse and retreats
    - 536ff: Thus Peiros lies in dust beside Diores; many others slain (with *en koniesi*, 536, cf. 522, 482; n.b. *skotos*-formula in 526b)
- 539ff: (*entha ken*) Athena's aid, death on both sides

the divine level. Although Hera once more yields to Zeus' superior power (*pherteros*, 56), she nevertheless exacts from him a promise that the guilt of the Trojans, as first offenders, will not be canceled by the reconciliation. Instead of allowing the conflict to end with the caprice of Aphrodite's rescue of Paris, the gods agree that the abiding domestic issue at stake will be sustained as well as the problem of restoring Achilleus' honor; and the two ensuing sections restate these issues in ways that suggest a more general application to both sides in the struggle.

In section B_1 Athena, acting now with the endorsement of Zeus (rather than as Hera's agent), proceeds to "tempt" Pandaros in the specific terms of foolishness versus wisdom: She plays on his mental weakness (*toi de phrenas aphroni peithen*, 104) with the suggestion that he may obtain favor and glory from the Trojans, especially from Paris (95f)—a significant association of the past wrongdoer with the present one—and obtain from him "splendid gifts" (*aglaa dora*, 97: The phrase is used elsewhere in an ironic or even contemptuous way to describe gifts whose delusive promise serves no useful purpose).[5] Pandaros' seduction by the combined appeal of "face" and specious riches places his offense in the context of failure of insight and links him clearly with the theme of deceptive appearances developed in Books 1–3, on the Trojan side associated especially with Helen;[6] on the Greek, with Agamemnon.

The direct address to Menelaos framing the wounding itself (127f/146f) is a rhetorical feature of such climaxes.[7] The use of homely comparisons from everyday life is likewise common in reinforcing, by contrast, the horror of warfare.[8] But there is a certain special point in the use of a simile drawn from the world of domestic crafts to describe a wounding that symbolizes the rupture of Menelaos and Helen's home-life. In the unrealistic and inappropriate comparison of the bloodstains on Menelaos' leg to the dyeing of ivory, the poet characteristically starts from a single point of comparison—here, the visual mingling of two colors—then proceeds to develop the simile according to his purpose of the moment, without regard for point-by-point correspondence. The reference to ivory may, however, represent an ironic transformation of the ram's horns of Pandaros' bow, the instrument of Menelaos' wound; and at the same time, the elements of desirability, envy, contention for a prize, and *kydos* that are involved in the description of the ivory piece relate the wound to the object of the contest, which is less Helen as person than Helen as an object of boastful possession.[9]

With language that recalls Athena's search for Pandaros, Agamemnon sends Talthybios in search of Machaon to treat Menelaos (with 200ff cf. 88ff; 201=90).[10] The wound is healed easily enough despite Agamemnon's vindictive despair; but the wound to Greek pride remains, and preparations for a resumption of battle begin as the Trojans advance, signaling the beginning of a new section (C, 220ff). The lengthy pause at

this point for Agamemnon's inspection tour is as otiose, for the sake of practical realism, as the *Teichoskopia* and the duel between Paris and Menelaos are anachronistic; but like these episodes, the *Epipolesis* serves an overriding poetic and structural purpose. Agamemnon's last-minute exhortation of his leaders begins unexceptionally but soon reveals self-contradictions in the uniquely Greek idealization of the past and its cult of heroic action. These inconcinnities are reflected in the structure of the episode itself (see the accompanying insert).[11] Each of Agamemnon's first three encounters (a, b, c)—with Idomeneus, the Aiantes, and Nestor—is framed elaborately and contains at least one variant of the refrain "Agamemnon rejoiced seeing him," indicating in each case the harmonious relationship between the general and the heroes who place their strength and their loyalty at his disposal. But in the central encounter with Nestor (c) there is a hint of disintegration that is reflected dramatically and formally in the ensuing two confrontations. Agamemnon's comment on the discrepancy between Nestor's spirit (*thymos*, 313) and his present physical limitations is a tactlessly direct expansion of a theme implied in Nestor's failure to resolve the quarrel of Book 1; here it becomes an inadvertent admission of the inadequacy of tradition in dealing with the present crisis. Stunned perhaps by this reminder of his impotence, Nestor's reply is uncharacteristically brief: He admits that he cannot offer deeds but will contribute words of counsel (if one may take *boulei kai mythoisi*, 323, as hendiadys). This disjunction between past and present seems to unsettle Agamemnon, for in the following two encounters he descends to acrimonious challenge, and the refrain of rejoicing disappears.[12]

In the confrontation with Odysseus and Menestheus (d), Agamemnon claims that Odysseus (in contrast to the temperate Idomeneus, 262f) is preoccupied with confidence schemes and eating. This is an unexpected intrusion of the Odysseus of the *Odyssey* and the *Doloneia* (Book 10), certainly not the loyal supporter of Book 2; and in making the charges, Agamemnon betrays a suspicion of individualism and enterprise not unlike his mistrust of Achilleus' superior strength as a warrior. Odysseus' retort is terse but effective; it calls forth the ultimate diplomacy of which Agamemnon is capable: He simply refuses to believe that Odysseus means what he says and insists that the two of them think as one (361).

In his encounter with Diomedes (e), Agamemnon waxes Nestorian in his hearsay reminiscences of Tydeus, contrasting the deeds of the father with the words (cf. 400) of the son; but in so doing he reveals that he himself had no actual contact with Tydeus (374f) and thus stands at a remove from the very past he is offering as a model of heroic conduct.[13] Further, the failure of the earlier Mycenaeans to answer Tydeus' appeal for help against Thebes, due to the omens vaguely mentioned in 381, offers a dubious reflection on their commitment to the ideal represented by the generation of Tydeus. This seems in part to explain Sthenelos'

reminder, in his heated reply, that *his* generation, under favorable omens, not only besieged but captured Thebes.[14] His contention that the earlier heroes perished by their own foolishness (*atasthalieisin*, 409) poses openly the question whether traditional standards are, in fact, adequate to meet the present crisis. In effect, Sthenelos offers a challenge to Agamemnon's authority parallel to that of Achilleus' insubordination in Book 1. Diomedes' refusal to argue places him on the side of compliance with tradition and respect for the king, and the issue is evaded for the sake of decorum.[15] The encounter with Odysseus preserves at least the elements of a frame (327, 364), and Agamemnon's rebuke of Diomedes is doubly ringed by the reproachful address of 370f (answered by 399bf) and the transition to Tydeus in 372 (answered by 399a). But the interchange with Diomedes and Sthenelos as a whole is open-ended, as Diomedes leaps from his chariot, his fearful armor glittering (physically breaking the preceding framing-sequence), in his ambitious resolve to prove himself—with mixed results the poet will record in the next book.

The poet's handling of these two central episodes marks a departure from his use in 1 and 3 of annular structures to create primary thematic focus. Instead, as we have noted, B and C are juxtaposed as structurally independent entities, together framed by the decision of the gods to renew war and by their entrance into conflict. Episode B presents a pointed correspondence, mediated by the wounding of Menelaos by Pandaros, between the abduction of Helen and the acquisition of *kydos* by military prowess. In episode C, Agamemnon's insistence that his men distinguish themselves by maintaining the tradition of the past collapses in a confrontation that recalls his previous abuse of Achilleus' *time*. The poet restates themes of the preceding books in scenes placed side by side. Although the structure of each episode is independent of the other, the issues they dramatize are not: Both present a challenge to gain *kydos* through violence (with Athena's offer of *kydos* to Pandaros in 95, cf. Diomedes on the *kydos* of victory at 415); both depict a devotion to appearances, whether in the form of the lure of wealth and physical beauty or the dubious claims of an idealized past and its present advocates. There is a further parallel between the earlier scene of the Trojan elders' inability to take effective action in resolving the question of Helen's return and the depiction here of the ineffectual figure of Nestor, at the heart of a sequence confirming the submission of Greek heroes to Agamemnon's erratic authority. Thus, Trojan blame in accepting Helen's abduction is linked to Greek blame in accepting Agamemnon's leadership, and the inadequacies and susceptibilities shared by both sides are now formally surrounded by and at the mercy of the gods' actions.

These emphases are not, of course, wholly new. The structural justification for presenting them in this way and at this point in the narrative we

Formulaic Progression in the Epipolesis:

(a) 251: He came to the Cretans, going through the crowd of men
(*elthe d' epi Kretessi kion ana oulamon andron*)

255: Seeing them, the lord of men Agamemnon rejoiced
(*tous de idon gethesen anax andron Agamemnon*)

272: So he spoke and Atreides departed, rejoicing at heart
(*hos ephat', Atreïdes de paroicheto gethosynos ker*)

. . . . . .

(b) 273: He came to the Aiantes, going through the crowd of men
(*elthe d' ep' Aiantessi kion ana oulamon andron*)

283: The ruler Agamemnon rejoiced seeing them
(*kai tous men gethesen idon kreion Agamemnon*)

292: So speaking, he left them there and moved on to others
(*hos eipon tous men lipen autou, be de met' allous*)

. . . . . .

(c) 293: Then he encountered Nestor, the clear-voiced speaker of the Pylians
(*enth' ho ge Nestor' eletme, ligyn Pylion agoreten*)

311: The ruler Agamemnon rejoiced seeing him
(*kai ton men gethesen, idon kreion Agamemnon*)

326: So he spoke, and Atreides departed rejoicing at heart
(*hos ephat', Atreïdes de paroicheto gethosynos ker*)

. . . . . .

(d) 327: He found the son of Peteos, Menestheus driver of horses
(*heur' hyion Peteoo Menesthea plexippon*)

364: So speaking, he left them there and moved on to others
(*hos eipon tous men lipen autou, be de met' allous*)

. . . . . .

(e) 365: He found the son of Tydeus, high-spirited Diomedes
(*heure de Tydeos hyion hyperthymon Diomedea*)

370: " . . . son of Tydeus."
372: "not to Tydeus"
399a: "such was Tydeus"
399bf: "but a son he sired"

shall discuss in considering the relationships among the first seven books viewed as a group. It has often been noted, moreover, that both the treachery of Pandaros and Agamemnon's challenge to Diomedes offer motifs that converge in the next book and thus provide a motivation for the *aristeia* of Diomedes.[16] For the moment, the narrative closes with the

impact of the divine decision to renew battle.[17] With no ringing element to describe Agamemnon's reaction to his encounter with Diomedes and Sthenelos, we plunge directly into a general scene of tumultuous advance to battle, with troops on either side now—even more explicitly than in the *Catalogues*—placed at the mercy of unreason, personified by Terror, Rout, and Strife. The description of the Greek charge like waves beating on the shore (422ff) recalls the wave similes of the Greek assembly of Book 2 (especially at 142ff), used to convey the violence evoked by Agamemnon's previous deceptive challenge; the contrast between Greek silence and the noisy advance of the polyglot Trojan force evokes the similar description at the close of the catalogues at 3.2ff. In the context of Book 4, the use of animal similes to describe the Trojan outcry (433ff) recalls Agamemnon's comparison of the Greeks to dazed and weary deer (243–46) at the beginning of the *Epipolesis*.[18] But the passage functions less to conclude Agamemnon's review than to provide a turning point for the resumption of war.

The initial element (422–546) is tripartite: The general scenes of advance and encounter at 422ff and 446ff, united by the elements of noise, water, and herdsmen found in the similes of both, frame the appearance of the gods to inspire battle at 439ff; a balance is provided at the close of the book by the intervention of Athena and a scene of general devastation (539–44). Within the section, structure is articulated by refrain-composition, with each element introduced by "first" (*protos*, 457) and "next" (*entha*, 473, 517; cf. *entha ken* at the beginning of the final framing element, 539ff).[19] It is noteworthy that each of the passages beginning at 457, 473, and 517 contains one instance of the half-line "darkness covered both his eyes" (*ton de skotos osse kalypsen* at 461, 503, 526b), providing an illustration of the structural disposition of common formulae that we shall observe in subsequent battle scenes.[20] The central episode (473–516) begins with a brief *aristeia* of Telamonian Aias but reaches a climax with Apollo's intervention to encourage the Trojans by recalling Achilleus' absence (509ff). With dramatic emphasis we are reminded that Zeus' promise to Thetis remains unfulfilled. But the corresponding intervention of Athena to aid the Greeks—here (514b) and at the end (539ff), as at the beginning of the book, acting as her father's agent—suggests that his promise has not been forgotten. And it is clear that the problem of Achilleus' honor will be resolved in the context of both Trojan and Greek guilt: For as the thematic links between the elements of the central parataxis have indicated, the issues can no longer be separated.

Meanwhile, the concluding element in the inner frame for A_2 (517–38) presents in its picture of the Trojan ally Peiros and the Greek Diores lying side by side in the dust (526ff) an anticipatory epitaph for the named and nameless dead of both sides in the battles to come.[21]

(v) *Aristeia of Diomedes*

With Book 5 we reach the first great military set-piece of the poem. The protagonist, forced onto stage center by Agamemnon's intemperate challenge of Book 4, is both a type and an antitype. Within the system of accepted values, Diomedes' youth and energy represent a physical ideal. His unquestioning support of the king's authority embodies the moral norm. At the same time, the preeminence given his exploits here usurps the role that Achilleus ought properly to perform; and in a continuing implicit comparison between the eager conventionality of the one and the disaffection of the other, Diomedes establishes a clearer sense of the distance between the hero of tradition—or the poet's concept of tradition—and the hero of the *Iliad*.[1]

The poet's emphasis can be traced in an extraordinary concentration of unique motifs together with unusual deployment of traditional ones in typical patterns.[2] We begin with Athena's intervention to impart a special strength to Diomedes (1–7), symbolized by the light that shines from his armor like that of the baleful Dog Star, a foreboding motif used to signal the importance of the actor and the grim deeds he will perform.[3] The image of threatening glitter serves a structural purpose also, for it will be answered by the darkness spread by Ares at 506bf in a series of elements (A_2–F_2) that form an interlocking balance to the initial sequence (A_1–F_1), creating a complex frame for the central struggle of Greeks and Trojans around the phantom of Aineias (G).[4]

The narrative of 1–29a centers on Diomedes' attack on Phegeus and Idaios, sons of Hephaistos' priest Dares. Although the slaying of Phegeus is conventionally told, the unique elements of Idaios' flight and his rescue by Hephaistos anticipate the central action of the Book (431–70), where Apollo intervenes to save Aineias from Diomedes' attempt to subdue Aphrodite and her son: For in this initial confrontation Diomedes is only partially successful, and his prowess remains subject, as it will prove to be in the centerpiece, to frustration by power beyond his own.[5] The unusual prominence of Dares (whose name appears at the beginning of the encounter [9] and again in the description of the Trojan reaction in 27f) also links Diomedes to the Agamemnon of Book 1 as an offender against a priestly father; it looks forward, as we shall see, to similar killings in C_1 (49–68) and D_1 (133–165); and it evokes the prophets of the Trojan catalogue who failed to anticipate the doom of their sons.[6] Thus, although the sequence conveys a note of human limitation, it also repeats a theme present in Thetis' lament with Achilleus and to be developed more elaborately later: that of the limited consolation the gods can offer suffering humanity; and it implies a corollary warning against overconfidence in the gods' gifts, whether kingship, beauty, or prowess.[7]

CHART 2.6

Book 5: Sequence 1 (A_1–D_1)

A_1
- 1ff: Athena inspires Diomedes' entrance into battle, giving him *menos* and *tharsos*, causes light to shine from his armor like Dog Star — S
- 9ff: Sons of Dares, Phegeus and Idaios, encounter Diomedes; Phegeus slain; Hephaistos, *nykti kalypsas* (23), rescues Idaios
- 27ff: *Thymos* of Trojans aroused as they see fate of Dares' sons

B_1 29bff: Athena withdraws Ares (*brotoloige*, 31) from battle

C_1 38bff: Greek advantage results:
- Agamemnon kills Odios, who is thrown from chariot
- Idomeneus kills Phaistos, who is thrown from chariot
  - 48ff: Menelaos kills Skamandrios, protégé of Artemis, who is no help now
  - Meriones kills Phereklos, son of Harmonides, protégé of Athena (57=41, 58b=42b)
- 69ff: Meges kills Pedaios with blow to back of skull
  Eurypylos kills Hypsenor, cuts off arm

D_1
- 84ff: Diomedes charges like a torrent (87–94) — S
  - 95ff: Pandaros wounds him, urges on Trojans
  - 106bff: Diomedes retreats, summons Sthenelos
  - 111bff: Sthenelos removes arrow
- 114ff: Diomedes prays to Athena for vengeance against boastful Pandaros
  - 121bff: Athena gives Diomedes his father's strength; removes mist to allow discrimination between gods and mortals; only Aphrodite may be attacked
- 133ff: Diomedes returns to battle like lion (136b–43), slays 2 Trojans, 2 sons of vain prophet, 2 sons mourned by their father; like lion (161ff) slays 2 sons of Priam, strips them — S S

The next brief and unusual episode, in which Athena withdraws Ares from battle (B_1: 29b–38a), clears the field for Diomedes' encounter with Aphrodite; structurally, it is related to Apollo's subsequent intervention, during Athena's absence, to return Aineias to the fight (B_2, equally brief: 512–18, where Ares is again active alongside Eris). Its boundaries are firmly established by the double ring at 29f/35 and 32f/37f:

- 29f: But (*atar*) grey-eyed Athena,
  taking him by the hand, addressed with these words impetuous Ares
  - 32f: "Should we not allow Trojans and Greeks to fight?"
    . . . .
  - 35: So speaking she led from battle impetuous Ares.
  - 37f: Greeks pressed on Trojans, and each leader killed his man.

In the general scene of the advantage gained by the Greeks during Ares' absence (C_1: 38b–83), there is a notable series of schematic pairings of slain Trojans. Two (Odios and Phaistos) are thrown from their chariots, two (Skamandrios and Phereklos) are neglected by their divine patrons,

CHART 2.6 (*cont.*)

Sequence 1 ($E_1 - F_1$)

E_1
- 166ff: Aineias seeks Pandaros, urges him to shoot Diomedes, unless he is a god
  - 179ff: Pandaros not sure Diomedes is a god, has left horses and chariot at home against Lykaon's advice; curses bow
- 217ff: Aineias bids Pandaros to join him in his own chariot as driver
  - 229ff: Pandaros urges Aineias to drive his own chariot; joins him, they charge
    - 241ff: Sthenelos urges Diomedes to retreat before Pandaros and Aineias
      - 251ff: Diomedes cannot retreat, instructs Sthenelos to take Aineias' horses descended from Zeus' gift to Tros for Ganymede
        - 276ff: Pandaros challenges Diomedes, casts, boasts in vain
          - 286ff: Diomedes exults, hits Pandaros with Athena's help
            - 297ff: Aineias dismounts, protects Pandaros like a lion (299)
            - 302bff: Diomedes casts huge stone, hits Aineias
        - 311ff: Aphrodite protects and rescues Aineias
      - 319ff: Sthenelos takes Aineias' horses to Deipylos
    - 330bff: Diomedes hits Aphrodite, with Aineias
    - 344ff: Apollo rescues Aineias
    - 347ff: Diomedes' threat to Aphrodite
    - 352bff: Iris takes Aphrodite aside
- 355ff: Aphrodite finds Ares apart, his spear leaning in mist
- 357ff: Aphrodite asks loan of horses
- 363b: Ares supplies horses
- 364ff: Aphrodite mounts chariot, joined by Iris; leaves

S

F_1
- 367ff: Aphrodite and Iris reach Olympos; Iris unhitches horses, Aphrodite appeals to Dione
  - 371bff: Dione caresses, questions Aphrodite
    - 375ff: Aphrodite's explanation
  - 381ff: Dione's lament: story of Ares' imprisonment, Hera's wound; Aphrodite healed
    - 418ff: Athena's ironic explanation
- 426bff: Zeus' counsel on abstaining from war

and two are victims of grotesque slaughter (Pedaios and Hypsenor). Of these, four are associated with the theme of the limitations of divine favor: Skamandrios, the protégé of Artemis (49ff), and Phereklos, son of Harmonides, the craftsman beloved of Athena and builder of Paris' ill-fated ship (59ff), are left to die at the hands of Menelaos and Meriones; and the gods are equally careless of Pedaios, nursed by Theano, Athena's priestess (69ff), and Hypsenor, son of Dolopion, the revered priest of Skamandros (76–81), in whose death the themes of divine neglect and human brutality converge.

The poet now returns to Diomedes (D_1: 84ff) and to themes he had sounded at the outset. The young hero exceeds Nestor's earlier advice to his own men (4.303ff) and seems rather to adopt the reckless behavior of his father (described by Agamemnon in 4.373ff), as he ranges so far ahead of the rest that it is difficult to tell on which side he is fighting—an instance of overreaching that will figure again in Diomedes' attacks on the gods.[8] Pandaros' subsequent wounding of Diomedes (95–100) provides an immediate incitement to vengeance, but it also associates him with Menelaos as a victim of Trojan perfidy. Diomedes thus begins to

CHART 2.6 (*cont.*)

Book 5: Sequence 2 (A_2–D_2)

A_2
- 471ff: Sarpedon rebukes Hektor, urges him into battle (troops cowering like dogs around lion, 476), warns Hektor not to be caught as in meshes of net (487f) — S
- 493bff: Hektor, stung by rebuke, rouses Trojans — S
- 497ff: Greeks advance in dust like chaff (499ff) as Ares spreads darkness (506bf: *nykta . . . ekalypse*, cf. 23), rouses *thymos* of Trojans in Athena's absence (510f, cf. 29) — S

B_2
- 512ff: Apollo sends out Aineias to join Ares (518: *brotoloigos*, cf. 31, 455) and Eris in battle

C_2
- 519ff: Greek resistance: Aiantes, Odysseus, and Diomedes rouse Greeks, who resist unmoving as clouds (522–27); 528: Agamemnon exhorts men, kills Deikoön (with 540 cf. 42) — S
  - 541ff: Aineias kills Orsilochos and Krethon, descended from Alpheios, who fall like forest-bred lions (554f), lofty pines (560) — SS
  - 561ff: Menelaos joined by Antilochos vs Aineias, who retreats as they withdraw corpses of Orsilochos and Krethon
- 576ff: Menelaos and Antilochos return to battle, slay Pylaimenes and charioteer Mydon, who is thrown from chariot and embedded headfirst in sand as horses trample him

D_2
- 590ff: Hektor charges with Ares and Enyo, with Ares ranging now before, now behind (595, cf. 85f)
  - 596ff: Diomedes retreats as before torrent (597–600; cf. 87ff), urges men not to attack Ares in disguise (605f, cf. 129ff) — S
  - 608f: Hektor slays 2
  - 610ff: *Telamonian Aias slays Amphios, attempts to strip him,* retreats before Hektor
    - 627ff: Tlepolemos attacks Sarpedon, challenges him to live up to his lineage (cf. 125f), boasts of Herakles, *previous sack of Troy*
      - 647ff: Sarpedon agrees about Herakles' shabby treatment, threatens Tlepolemos
    - 655bff: Tlepolemos raises spear, both cast
      - 657bff: *Sarpedon wounds Tlepolemos, who dies*
    - 660ff: Tlepolemos' spear wounds Sarpedon, whom Zeus protects
- 663ff: Sarpedon carried from field with spear in thigh
  - 668ff: As Tlepolemos removed from field, Odysseus hesitates whether to pursue Sarpedon or attack other Lykians; Athena turns him vs Lykians, he kills 7
    - < 679ff: Sarpedon appeals to Hektor, who does not respond
- 692ff: Sarpedon set beneath oak, Pelagon removes spear, treats him (cf. 111ff; 692=663; with 694 cf. 666)
  - 699ff: Greeks yield to Hektor and Ares; Hektor kills 6 (cf. 590ff; with 605 cf. 701f)

play a more generalized role as a representative of wounded Greek pride, and Athena's gift of his father's strength (122–26) makes plain his link with the tradition he exemplifies. But her unique warning that he must distinguish between gods and men repeats the theme of human insight and establishes a limit to what Diomedes can hope to accomplish in punishing Trojan guilt: Among the gods only Aphrodite may suffer violence.[9] After a brief respite for treatment of his wound, Diomedes returns to the field (133ff), where his victims persistently represent the ironies and sorrows of defeat rather than the satisfactions of victory: two sons of a vain

CHART 2.6 (*cont.*)

Sequence 2 (E_2–F_2)

E_2

711ff: Hera rouses Athena to defend Argives against Ares
720ff: Chariot prepared by Hebe, Hera yokes horses, Athena arms
748ff: Hera whips horses through gates of heaven to Olympos, where Hera draws up horses and rebukes Zeus
764ff: Zeus' reply
767bff: Hera whips horses (768, cf. 748, 366), who descend to earth (simile of watchman, 770f) S
773ff: Hera draws in horses (775=755), unyokes and sets them to graze in cloud by Simoeis (cf. 356, 369)
778f: Hera and Athena approach troops like doves to defend Argives S
780ff: Hera, as Stentor, with a shout like fifty (784ff) rouses Greeks S
793ff: Athena joins Diomedes, reproaches him
814ff: Diomedes' excuse
825ff: Athena gives permission to attack Ares
837ff: Athena displaces Sthenelos, joins Diomedes (w. 837ff cf. 339–42)
842ff: They attack and wound Ares
859bff: Ares' cry like nine or ten thousand S
864ff: Ares rises to heaven like cloud (cf. 776) S

F_2

868ff: Ares reaches Olympos (with 868 cf. 367), sits by Zeus
870ff: Ares shows wound, complains of gods' suffering (cf. 383ff), Diomedes (883f=458f; *daimoni isos*, 884; cf. 438, 459) S
888ff: Zeus' rebuke
900ff: Apollo heals Ares' wound (simile of curdling milk, 902ff) S
907ff: Hera and Athena return to Olympos having stopped Ares' slaughter

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G

431ff: Diomedes attacks Aineias with Apollo (like *daimon*, 438) S
438ff: Apollo's warning
443bf: Diomedes withdraws
445ff: Apollo takes Aineias to Troy and temple
449ff: **Troops fight around *eidolon* of Aineias**
454ff: Apollo rouses Ares (Diomedes as *daimon*, 459), returns to Troy (460) S
461ff: Ares as Akamas encourages Trojans (ring: *otryne*, 461/470)

prophet (148bff), two sons of a mourning father (152ff), two sons of Priam (159ff). Diomedes' savagery is emphasized by the lion similes that open and close the passage 133–165 (echoing the violence of his initial charge at 84ff) and by his refusal, in his fury, to pause to strip his victims—until the section comes to an arbitrary end at 164f.[10]

A sudden wealth of unique motifs appears in the lengthy Consultation pattern and Rescue "coda" of the following narrative (encompassing 166–448).[11] Appropriately so, for the poet is contriving here one of his most complex symbolic actions. In the curious alliance between Pandaros and Aineias (E_1: 166–366), the themes of human limitation and human

insight are repeated in Aineias' and Pandaros' puzzled inability to tell whether Diomedes is god or man. The association in Book 4 between Pandaros and Paris, for whom Pandaros was then a symbolic stand-in, was implicit in the attention to his bow and the stealth by which he won it. Here we find a rather different emphasis more appropriate to the purpose of Book 5: The self-indulgent individualism of Paris is reflected in Pandaros' easy discouragement and his decision, against his father's urging, to rely on this bow rather than the conventional chariot and spear in order to spare his horses, "accustomed to eating their fill" (203).[12] Significantly in this context of indulgence and shortcuts to success, Pandaros now joins Aineias, drawn by horses born of an illicit union with the team given Tros in recompense for Zeus' abduction of Ganymede (265ff); the two form an alliance, appropriately conveyed, between a figure associated with Trojan license and the offspring of the goddess of passion. With a similarly programmatic emphasis, Diomedes is motivated to resist Pandaros and Aineias (241ff) less by personal grievance than by his compulsion to perform nobly (*gennaion*, 253),[13] by the *kleos* (273) he would gain from taking the remarkable horses of Aineias, and the *kydos* (260) he would acquire by slaying their master and his companion. With Athena's help, Diomedes succeeds in the bizarre slaying of Pandaros with a spear cast through the nose to the base of the tongue and out below the jaw;[14] and the section reaches its formal center with an emblematic depiction of Diomedes' attack on Aineias as he takes his stance over Pandaros' corpse.

The narrative continues in annular sequence. Balancing the attack on Pandaros (286ff), Diomedes now wounds Aineias (302bff); but unlike Pandaros, whose blow to Diomedes failed to ward off his own death (276ff), Aineias is rescued from serious harm by Aphrodite (311ff). In 319ff Sthenelos carries out Diomedes' instructions of 251ff for taking Aineias' horses; and in 330bff, far from heeding Sthenelos' warning not to fight the son of Aphrodite (243ff), Diomedes proceeds to attack Aphrodite herself, though the wound she suffers is a slight one, easily healed, and Aineias escapes under the protection of Apollo. The section thus focuses on a tableau of the defense of a Trojan offender associated with Paris' treachery by the son of Paris' divine protectress. It concludes with a reversal of the motif that began it: Earlier Pandaros, invoked as a representative of human license and treachery, for lack of a chariot joined Aphrodite's son in his chariot to enter battle; here Aphrodite—a rather different sort of pedestrian—flees battle in transportation borrowed from Ares, the divine embodiment of violence.[15]

The limits of Diomedes' traditional valor are clear: There is a gesture of punishing guilt, visible tokens of the encounter are captured, but the source of disorder—Aphrodite herself—suffers merely a temporary sur-

face wound. The banter of the gods (F_1) makes light of both Aphrodite's pain and Diomedes' accomplishment.[16] On the human level, at the center of the formal structure of the Book (G), Diomedes' frustration turns to frenzy as he abandons the restraint Athena has imposed on him and attacks Aineias repeatedly, despite his awareness (*gignoskon*, 433) of Apollo's defensive presence. Diomedes' motives to this point have been personal, conventional (in his rebuke of Sthenelos), and relevant to the Greek cause (in his rebuke of Aphrodite at 348–51). But the tendency to overreach, apparent in his initial charge (85–94), now overwhelms him. Apollo warns him to yield, as both sides plunge into a melee around the phantom of Aineas (449ff), and urges Ares back into the conflict lest Diomedes attack Zeus himself (457). The poet underscores the element of possession in Diomedes' behavior by comparing him to a *daimon* at the beginning and again in the concluding element of this centerpiece (cf. *epessyto daimoni isos* at 438, 459).[17] The aftermath of Paris' abduction from the battlefield in Book 3 is repeated in a more elaborate and generalized form: Despite the frailty, even absurdity, of the goddess of sensual passion in confronting the violence of heroic warfare, she nevertheless emerges as victor by eluding control, leaving her aggressor possessed by his own frustration. With further irony, Aphrodite is now abetted by Apollo, a figure who in subsequent analogous situations will serve as a reminder of the need for measure and restraint among both gods and men.

The second half of the book now repeats the essential structure of the first, adding significant variations to a similar medley of traditional elements and unique motifs, culminating in a formal parallel to Diomedes' ineffective struggle against Aphrodite in his attack on Ares. As the sequence begins anew, Diomedes, having abused the gift of perception and the limits of his nature, is condemned in a somewhat unexpected sense to repeat the past—a redundancy emphasized by the interlocking pattern of elements surrounding the centerpiece.

For the moment, in fact, he suffers temporary eclipse: For in A_2 (471–511) the narrative shifts to the Trojan side, and Sarpedon now rouses Hektor into combat as Athena had Diomedes. The poet's use of a mortal son of Zeus for this purpose, rather than a divine daughter, strengthens the impression of reversal; and his description of Ares spreading darkness as the Trojans charge (506bf) offers a contrast to the ominous brilliance of Diomedes at the outset (4ff, though the phrase "he spread darkness about" at 506f [*nykta . . . ekalypse*] verbally echoes Hephaistos' rescue of Idaios at 23, "shrouding him with darkness" [*nykti kalypsas*]).[18] Nevertheless, A_2, like A_1, ends with the arousal of Trojan *thymos* (510, cf. 29); and within the new section the introduction of Sarpedon prepares the

way for his reappearance in D_2 (628ff), where he again shares prominence with Hektor in a sequence that will recall elements of D_1, where Diomedes held the stage.

Following the reference to Athena's departure (510f), Apollo restores Aineias to the field (B_2, 512ff) to join manslaughtering Ares (*brotoloige* in 518 as in 31; cf. 455), canceling Athena's action of B_1.

The first slaying of C_2 (Agamemnon's dispatch of Deikoon) ends with the same formula found in the first death of C_1 (540; cf. 42, of Agamemnon versus Odios: "he fell thunderously and his armor clattered about him"; the formula appears in this book at these two points only, though as a full line requiring no special metrical situation it is usable virtually at random in battle narrative). But the scene of Greek advantage in C_1 is answered here not by a scene of Trojan victory but by stubborn Greek resistance surrounding the brief advance and retreat of Aineias, repelled by Menelaos and Antilochos. The section ends with an otherwise unparalleled episode (576–89) repeating from C_1 the elements of ejection from a chariot and grotesque death. Indeed, Antilochos' charge against Pylaimenes' charioteer exceeds the brutality of Pandaros' slaughter, as Mydon is catapulted from his chariot and impaled headfirst in the sand, where his horses trample him to death.[19] In C_1 the neglected protégés of gods were slaughtered in a context of brutality; here, despite an even more bizarre conclusion, the offspring of Aphrodite is bested (571f) but again eludes control.

In D_2 (590–710), Hektor's advance, along with Ares and Enyo, corresponds to that of Diomedes in D_1 (85f). The description of Ares ranging now in front of Hektor, now behind (595), recalls the recklessness of Diomedes' charge. Earlier, Diomedes was compared to a swollen river as he surged out ahead of his men; at 597–600, withdrawing among his troops, he hesitates like a man reluctant to cross a swift-flowing river.[20] Athena had earlier given him the ability to distinguish men from gods and instructed him to attack no god but Aphrodite; Diomedes now urges retreat before Ares in disguise with Hektor. Hektor's brief *androktasia* (608f), continuing his charge of 590ff, is a motivic parallel to that of Diomedes in D_1 (134ff). But instead of closing this section, it is followed by a longer description of Telamonian Aias' slaughter of Amphios and his retreat before Hektor (610ff); and the narrative continues with the much-debated and curiously intrusive return of Sarpedon to the narrative in 628ff. Individual elements in what follows are unusual,[21] and the passage, in part and as a whole, has been brought under the charge of interpolation.[22] Context will clarify its function.

General organization of D_2 is tripartite: Lines 590–626 and 663–710 are concerned primarily with the motif of Hektor's advance with Ares; together they frame 627–662, the encounter between Sarpedon and Tle-

polemos. Peculiarities in each element of the frame—the retreat of a suddenly circumspect Diomedes and the rather lengthy section devoted to Aias' resistance and retreat (600ff), the sudden disappearance of Odysseus after slaying seven Trojans (679f; cf. Book 8, D_1), and the desperate appeal of Sarpedon—function to orchestrate the prowess of Hektor: The sum of his victims now equals that of Odysseus' and Aias' combined, as well as Diomedes' in D_1. Against this heightened portrayal of Hektor's *aristeia*, the central episode acquires a special significance.[23] Tlepolemos' initial confrontation of Sarpedon (627ff) sounds the familiar challenge to live up to the strength and achievement of one's father, as at the center of D_1 (121b–32). But Tlepolemos is not simply a doublet for Diomedes in restating the Greek cause against Trojan treachery, earlier represented by Pandaros, now by another Lykian, for the parentage in question—direct in Sarpedon's case, indirect in Tlepolemos'—is divine.[24] This opposition of Zeus' son to his grandson represents the heroic theme on a grander scale than before, and motivation has a more specific relevance. Tlepolemos hopes to rival Herakles' previous attack on Troy to right a breach of honor, and Sarpedon is faced with a dilemma not unlike his father's: He is divided between a recognition of the justice of Tlepolemos' claim (regarding Herakles' cause) and the impulse to protect those dear to him.

In bringing into play the theme of fighting to protect one's family, Sarpedon introduces an important element of Trojan concern that will receive increasing emphasis in the course of the poem. His rebuke at 472–92 has opposed to Hektor's independence and egotism a note of pathos and of realism; there is a similar contrast in his appeal of 684–88, together with an anticipation of Hektor's identical concerns in Book 6. But the corruption of Hektor's domestic virtues—evident as he sweeps past Sarpedon without stopping to respond or assist, joined at the end as at the beginning of the section by Ares—also looks forward to his similar abandonment of Andromache and Astyanax in 6; it is echoed in Glaukos' accusation of 17.150f that Hektor has deserted Sarpedon's corpse and, ultimately, in Hektor's refusal to heed the pleas of Priam and Hekabe in Book 22. Sarpedon thus typifies the tenuous position of Troy and her allies under a leader dangerously prone to the reckless pursuit of personal glory. In view of his ultimate fate, temporarily deferred but in time unmitigated by either his motives or his divine parentage, Sarpedon also echoes the concluding section of D_1 (133–65), where fathers loving, prophetic, and royal cannot protect their sons from the violence of their destiny.

There is a further complexity in Sarpedon's role: For in urging Hektor into combat, he has acted in his bellicose rather than his humane guise. Moreover, there are links with Diomedes himself in the parallels between Zeus' temporary protection of his son and Athena's aid to Diomedes, between the extraction of the spear from Sarpedon's thigh by Pelagon in

D_2 and the removal of Pandaros' arrow from Diomedes' shoulder by Sthenelos in D_1. And, as in Athena's earlier warning of Diomedes' limitations (followed by his fruitless attack on Apollo with Aineias in G), so here the mixed achievement of traditional militarism, Greek and Trojan, is figured in the unique and atypical result of the encounter between Sarpedon and Tlepolemos, with the removal from the field of both the wounded victor and the dying victim.[25]

D_2 thus explores in some detail, through Sarpedon, elements of the mentality of this Trojan hero and its points of contact with the Greek warrior, typified in the balancing section by Diomedes. D_1 was followed in E_1 by an attack on Diomedes by the offspring of a goddess whose interests are antithetical to the Greeks'; Diomedes' attempt at retribution against the alliance of treachery and passion—represented by Pandaros and Aineias—soon foundered in demonic excess. D_2 is followed in E_2 by the united intervention of the two goddesses most hostile to the Trojan cause against a divine defender who epitomizes violence and broken promises (757–63; 826–34); their attack soon degenerates into a parody of the military enterprise.[26]

The episode comprises two elements: the preliminaries to the descent of Hera and Athena, followed by their arrival on earth, and Athena's assistance to Diomedes in the attack on Ares. The first (711ff) is characterized by a fantasy and humor that seriously compromise the gravity of the heroic situation. Hebe's transformation from female Ganymede (who figured in the corresponding section, E_1, at 265ff) into stable-girl—evoking perhaps Ganymede's rather different association with horses—and Athena's metamorphosis from seamstress to warrior (733ff; cf. the attention to the less handy Aphrodite's robe in E_1, 337ff) represent the inversion of mortal and virile preparations for battle into feminine and divine terms. The description of the golden chariot and the goddesses' arrival on earth, where their horses are hidden in mist (776f) to graze on ambrosia, is a fanciful variation of the account in E_1 of Pandaros' eleven fine new chariots and his pampered horses; it also recalls the brief description of Ares' horses surrounded by mist at 356. In the central element of this segment, Hera charges (757ff) that Ares' mindless (*aphrona*, 761) and reckless behavior is causing Greeks to die in unseemly disorder (*ou kata kosmon*, 759). Zeus makes clear his distaste for Ares, both here and in his rebuke of 889ff, and allows the goddesses to intervene; but his role at present is that of passive observer, as the question of Achilleus' honor is held in abeyance, while Hera's insistence on "right order" (*kosmon*, 759; *themista*, 761) simply reiterates her persistently one-sided view of the war. Like the heroes they imitate, the goddesses betray the very values they mean to defend: Athena's descent into battle, equipped with her

threatening armor and horrific aegis, dissolves in the absurd collocation of similes in 782ff, where both goddesses, strutting like timid doves, approach the men fighting like lions rending raw flesh, or wild boars, as Hera bellows like fifty.

In the continuation (793ff), Athena joins Diomedes, whom she encounters cooling Pandaros' wound. This motif, her taunting recollection of Tydeus' valor, and Diomedes' apologetic reference to Athena's instruction to fight no god but Aphrodite recall elements of D_1. But the passage quickly moves into a series of reflections of E_1: As both Pandaros and Aphrodite had done earlier, Athena mounts another's chariot; Pandaros' earlier reluctance to fight with Diomedes, lest he be a god, is reflected here in Diomedes' reluctance to fight against Ares.[27] The collaboration of Athena and Diomedes might seem to portray a union of intelligent purpose and traditional force against disorder and treachery, in contrast to the earlier alliance of Pandaros and Aineias in a chariot drawn by horses sprung from an illicit union. But contrast becomes parallel as Diomedes is urged by Athena (in an about-face of her attitude in D_1) to abandon restraint. Her motivation here is quite different from that of Hera in 757ff: Ares, so Athena tells Diomedes, has broken a promise to oppose the Trojans and assist the Greeks (832ff). This pretext is conventionally compared with Athena's rebuke of Ares in 21.413f, but the reference is otherwise unknown.[28] Whether we wish to regard it as a guileful misrepresentation of the terms of Ares' earlier withdrawal from battle (31ff, where he yields to Zeus' will in settling matters), as an ad hoc motivational invention, or as a survival of another version, the fact is that Athena is now using Diomedes as a tool in pursuing a personal vendetta, not Zeus' plan, and in defiance both of the terms of Zeus' permission to intervene in the present situation and of the due limit between human and divine (cf. Apollo's warning of 440ff). Now that Diomedes has had a time to rest and reflect—now too that the pain of his wound has returned, despite Athena's earlier first aid (122)—there is perhaps a note of defensive rebuke in his assurance that he recognizes the goddess (*gignosko*, 815, emphasized by its recurrence as a ringing element at the close of his speech to Ares [824]).[29] There is also an element of evasion. Diomedes tells of his attack on Aphrodite, but of his assault on Apollo we hear nothing—merely that he is now avoiding a confrontation with Ares. It is unclear just what he has learned from his experiences. But on Athena's injunction to fear neither Ares nor any other god, he places himself once more in the position of transgressing his human limit in an attempt to prove himself.[30] Specific motivation related to the war (amply noted in his earlier attack) is suggested at best in Athena's fabrication of Ares' "promise" to aid the Greeks.

Despite her moral rectitude, Athena indulges in a license not unlike that of moral abandon and so exposes herself to the charge of "mindlessness" (Ares of Athena in 875; cf. 761). Appropriately, the poet continues the elements of undercutting fantasy and humor that characterized the earlier section of E_2: with Athena's abrupt ejection of the "prudent" Sthenelos from Diomedes' chariot, the groaning of the "mortal" chariot wheels under the divine weight, and Athena's unnecessary and unepic magic helmet.[31] There are further departures from the epic standard in the encounter of Athena and Diomedes with Ares. The war god is discovered in the unusual and undignified act, emphasized by repetition, of stripping a mortal he has slain (842, 844).[32] Athena's fury overwhelms her and she descends to Ares' level, adding her own strength to Diomedes' in driving the spear into her brother's groin.[33]

Ares' reaction to his wound and his flight to Olympos are described in hyperbole reminiscent of Hera's earlier descent and bellowing. But his arrival on Olympos recalls that of Aphrodite in F_1 (with 868 cf. 367); his complaint of the woes gods inflict on each other when they involve themselves in mortal affairs echoes Dione's words of 382ff.[34] Once again a wounded god faces rebuke, this time from Zeus himself. And again the wound is quickly healed; Ares resumes his place of ease among the gods, rejoicing in a *kydos* (906) that depends neither on equaling the example of his father nor on the admiration of his peers.[35] As at the beginning of the book, Ares has been temporarily removed from battle by Athena's efforts, but the treachery and violence that he—like Aphrodite—inspires survive unaffected.

When the gods of the *Iliad* misbehave as humans do, they confirm but do not justify the indignity of human folly. Gods incur mere temporary inconvenience by these lapses. For the mortal hero—beyond the fantasy, the humor, and the farce—confusion of issues and inevitable suffering remain. Despite the constant reminder of the need to discriminate true from false appearances (echoed in the frequency with which verbs of recognition and perception appear in the narrative[36]), the course of the action demonstrates that the gift of mere intelligence in a context of violence—as with Helen of Book 3 in the context of passion—offers no lasting solutions, as Greeks and Trojans alike struggle on in turmoil about an illusion.

(vi) Meeting of Hektor and Andromache

But the poet has not done with Diomedes. For the moment, Book 6 opens with a general scene of fighting (1–4) in which the fluctuations of battle "this way and that" establish the pattern of alternating focus on Greeks

and Trojans in the body of the narrative itself.[1] We proceed to a series of killings by advancing Greeks (A_1, 5–72) in which the initial encounter, between Aias and Akamas (5–11), looks back to Ares' appearance as Akamas in Book 5 (462). The unusual ring for this segment evokes the polarity of light and darkness through a remarkable combination of metaphor (*phoos* in 6: "he created a light [of salvation] for his companions") and formula (*ton de skotos osse kalypsen*, 11: "darkness covered his eyes").[2] We return to Diomedes in the second killing, that of Axylos, friend to every wayfarer (12–15)—an ironic anticipation of Diomedes' more circumspect regard for the traditions of guest-friendship in his subsequent encounter with Glaukos (A_2).[3] In 20–36 the encounter between Euryalos and his four adversaries anticipates through the details of the parentage of Aisepos and Pedasos (21–26) the theme of illicit union in Glaukos' story of Bellerophontes; and at the conclusion of the ensuing account of seven Trojans slain by seven Greeks, the repetition of Pedasos as a place-name in 35 may be considered to provide a homophonic ring for this sequence.[4] The last of the series, Menelaos' capture of Adrestos (37ff), is thus isolated as a separate segment balancing 5–19. Adrestos' plea raises the question of ransom, which will be echoed by that of booty in Nestor's advice to continue the slaughter without stopping to strip victims (67–71)—a motif that recurs in different guise in Diomedes' exchange with Glaukos. In central place here, the theme of hospitality in Diomedes' slaughter of Axylos is echoed in Agamemnon's savage insistence that Adrestos be slain outright in retaliation for Paris' treachery to his host Menelaos, and again there is a contrast to the treatment Glaukos will enjoy.[5]

This somewhat unexpected sense of urgency on the part of Nestor and the other Greek "heroes" (emphasized at 35, 61, 67; cf. 63), impelling them to forsake the formalities of traditional warfare, is paralleled in the second section (B_1), where the Trojans are persuaded to take even more desperate measures to meet an equally sudden crisis: Hektor agrees to Helenos' advice that he return to Troy, while the rest endure the pressure of Necessity (*anangkaie*, 85), to urge prayers to Athena as the only hope of resisting the maddened Diomedes, whose role as a substitute Achilleus at this point in the poem is made explicit in 99. The degree of desperation is implicit in Helenos' choice of the Trojan mainstay to leave the field for this purpose. Hektor, for his part, is concerned with morale, for although he will do as Helenos advises, urging Hekabe and the other women to offer a *peplos* to Athena, he informs the troops that he is going to ask the elders and wives to promise a hekatomb to the gods (113ff).[6] In minimizing the role of the women, he may also reflect Helenos' caustic warning that the Trojans not retreat to their wives' arms (81f), which reiterates the theme of sensual abandon developed in Book 3 and looks forward to the

CHART 2.7

Book 6

1–4: Battle resumes; overview

A_1
- 5ff: Greek advance: Telamonian Aias kills Akamas (cf. 5.462 for Ares as Akamas; ring: *phoos*, 6/11, *skotos*)
- 12ff: Diomedes kills Axylos (theme of hospitality) and Kalesios
  - 20ff: Euryalos kills Dresos and Opheltios, Aisepos and Pedasos (theme of illicit union); 7 Greeks kill 7 Trojans: Polypoites kills Astyalos, Odysseus kills Pidytes etc. (ring: *Pedason*, 21/35, *Pedason*)
- 37ff: Menelaos captures Adrestos, his plea (theme of ransom) (ring: *zoon*, 38/50)
  - 52ff: Agamemnon intervenes to urge Menelaos to refuse ransom (theme of hospitality abused; ring: *kedeai*, 55/60, *akedestoi*), kills Adrestos
- 66ff: Nestor urges men not to put plunder before slaughter (theme of booty)

B_1
- 73ff: Trojan rally: Greeks on verge of forcing Trojans back to city when Helenos urges Hektor and Aineias to rally Trojans lest they flee to their wives' arms (81f); then, while rest fight under *anangkaie* (85), Hektor will go to Troy to arrange for sacrifice for Athena's defense of Troy, wives, and children (cf. 58f) against Diomedes, now exceeding absent Achilleus
- 102bff: Hektor leaps from chariot, rallies men (who resist as if aided by god from heaven; ring: *elelichthesan*, 106/109, *hos elelichthen*) and departs with great shield (thematic ring: reference to Hektor's armor at 103f and 117f; section ring: *Ilion*, 74 and 113)

A_2
- 119ff: Diomedes (good at war cry, 122; cf. 37) asks Glaukos' genealogy to avoid fighting a god (digression on Lykourgos; triple ring at 123–27 and 142f; 130f and 139f; 128f and 141f)
  - 144ff: Glaukos replies with story of Bellerophontes and Anteia (themes of hospitality and illicit love; double ring: *geneen* at 145 and 151 enclosing simile of leaves [146–49]/211, *genees*; and *Ephyre*, 152/210, *en t' Ephyrei*) — S
- 212bff: Diomedes refuses to fight with ancestral guest-friend
  - 232ff: As they swear friendship, Glaukos foolishly exchanges gold weapons for bronze (themes of hospitality and booty converge)

B_2
- 237ff: Hektor in Troy
  - *a*
    - 237ff: Hektor passes through Skaian gates, encounters Trojan wives, urges them to pray
    - 242ff: Hektor reaches palace, where Hekabe receives him with offer of wine
    - 263ff: Hektor scruples at offering libation, instructs Hekabe on sacrifice, repeating Helenos' speech (with 269ff cf. 90ff; 269=279), while he leaves to find Paris
  - *b*
    - 286bff: Hekabe fetches robe brought by Paris returning with Helen; 295: star-simile (ring: *geraias*, 287/296, *geraiai*) — S
    - 297ff: At temple of Athena, Theano receives peplos and prays for death of Diomedes
    - 311bff: Athena refuses prayer
  - *c*
    - 312ff: Meanwhile, Hektor encounters Paris with Helen, rebukes him
    - 332ff: Paris' excuse; Hektor silent
    - 343ff: Helen's self-rebuke, Paris' guilt (ring: *daer emeio, kynos*, 344/355f, *daer . . . heinek' emeio kynos*)
    - 359ff: Hektor takes leave to find wife and son

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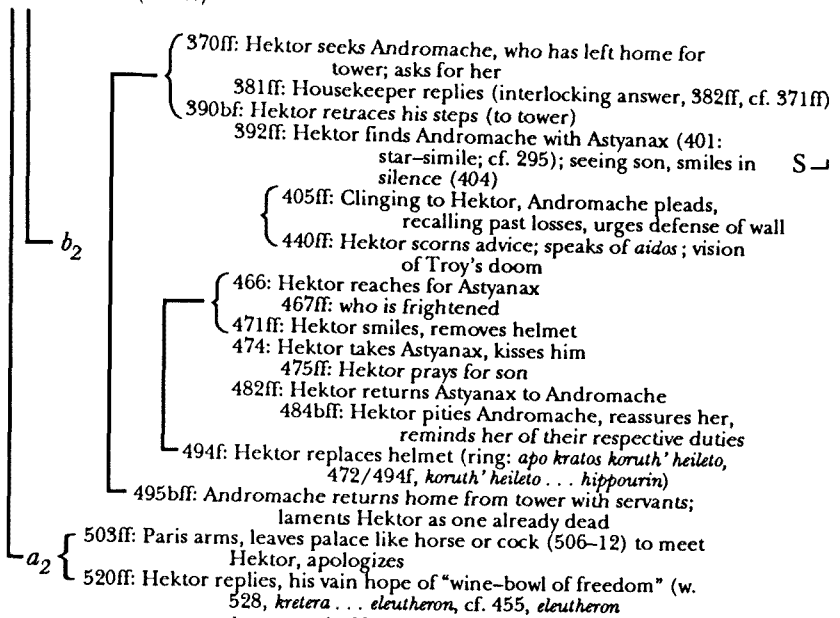
to line 503 (on next page)

CHART 2.7 (*cont.*)



scenes of domestic relationship in the final section of this book (B_2), most pointedly in the sudden reappearance of Paris in his bedchamber with Helen. Helenos' emphasis on the safety of the wives and children in Troy (95) is a grimly prophetic reflex of Agamemnon's injunction not to spare even women and unborn young in the womb (57ff) and anticipates the encounter between Hektor and Andromache at the close of the book. Unlike Odysseus in Book 2, who sheds his cloak as he departs on the run to stop the rush to the ships, Hektor leaves fully armed. The pointed reference to this armor in the unique description of the clatter of his shield against his neck and ankles (117) will be answered in B_2 by Astyanax's fright at his father's helmet (467ff).[7]

Thus, sudden crisis and concern for wives and children provide a background for the two major scenes that occupy the remainder of the narrative. The programmatic deployment of these motifs, along with that of Hektor's armor and the anticipatory themes of hospitality and sensual abandon, suggest that a similarly schematic purpose lies behind the overall structure of the book. In A_1 and B_1 we see how quickly the heroic code yields to the realities of battle: In A_1 a representative of true hospitality is slain, however unwittingly, in retaliation for another's breach of it, and the potential value of captives is jettisoned along with the need to secure trophies of victory to assure *kydos*; in B_1 the Trojans resort to seeking help beyond the sphere of male-centered militarism through the prayers

of their women. In the next two sections (A_2 and B_2), we see the process in reverse: that is, the distortions of reality when the code *is* applied, both in the military sphere and in personal relationship.

In the encounter between Diomedes and Glaukos (A_2: 119–236) there is a pause, in defiance of Nestor's earlier advice against stopping for booty, for a lengthy exchange of genealogies and gifts. Although it serves the practical function of filling the time needed for Hektor to reach Troy, the scene remains as arbitrary—without some such programmatic intent as we have suggested—as Paris' withdrawal from battle in B_2 (334ff). Analysts have noted that the sudden access of wordy piety with which Diomedes accosts Glaukos is inconsistent with Athena's contrary instruction that he disregard the distinction between gods and men (5.826ff). Unitarians reply that the gods have now retired from the field (6.1) and along with them, it seems, Diomedes' very ability to make that distinction.[8] Without Athena's interference to distract him, Diomedes' present reversion to more conventional behavior prepares for the emphasis on tradition in what follows.

A triple ring formed by 123–27 and 142f (asking if Glaukos is mortal), by 128f and 141f (emphasizing Diomedes' reluctance to fight a god), and by 130f and 139f (pointing out the brevity of Lykourgos' life), confers special emphasis on Diomedes' account of Lykourgos' mistreatment of Dionysos and his followers, which Diomedes invokes as an exemplum of the fatal impiety he would now avoid. Glaukos' response is similarly framed (*geneen*, 145 and 151, enclosing the simile of 146–49/211, *genees*), with an inner ring enclosing the story of Bellerophon (*Ephyre*, 152/210, *en Ephyrei*); it acquires solemn emphasis through the famous prologue, comparing the generations of men to leaves (146ff), with which he introduces his account of the sorrowful rise and fall of his own ancestors.[9]

Glaukos' genealogy unites the themes of illicit union and of hospitality and echoes the motif of plunder in Nestor's earlier appeal (68f, cf. 46ff). More immediately, his story of Bellerophontes and Anteia exemplifies his initial statement of the "cyclic and transitory nature of human life" in answer to Diomedes' query about his identity.[10] To this general theme the guest-friend relationship between Oineus and Bellerophontes is merely incidental. But the latter is the only element in Glaukos' speech to which Diomedes seems capable of responding, and it overrides both the element of crisis apparent in A_1 and the broader truth of Glaukos' view. In Diomedes' scruplous eagerness to honor and perpetuate this most sacred of obligations by an exchange of weapons—on the precedent he cites of the exchange between Oineus and Bellerophontes (219ff)—he fails to see the inequity of the transaction. Here, no less than in the case of Paris' affront

to Menelaos, the relationship of hospitality is effectively corrupted by the implication of greed for beautiful possessions. But although the validity of the gesture would appear to be compromised, much as the Greek position has been compromised by Agamemnon's theft of Briseis, the poet pointedly emphasizes the foolishness of Glaukos in the exchange (234ff), not his terror or Diomedes' greed.[11] In this way the poet anticipates a similar delusion on the part of Hektor in abandoning a realistic view of his prospects to the claims of the heroic code in the concluding scene of the book.[12]

B_2 (237–529) provides a more extensive study of the dichotomy between the ideal and the actual in the personal relationships of Helen and Paris and of Hektor and Andromache. On arriving at Troy, Hektor encounters his mother with Laodike and repeats Helenos' instructions on the sacrifice (a_1). In b_1 the association of Helen with the *peplos* Hekabe chooses for this purpose (289ff) is as ill-omened as the object of veneration is ill-chosen. Appropriately, the star simile used to describe the *peplos* Theano offers to Athena in praying for the death of Diomedes (295) recalls the baneful Sirius to which the magical aura of Diomedes himself has been compared (5.4ff); and it looks forward to the star simile applied to Astyanax in b_2 at 401, where the vanity of Trojan prayers is thus linked with the vanity of Trojan hopes.[13] At the formal center of the episode in Troy, the false domesticity of the scene of Helen weaving while Paris inspects his bow (c) is betrayed by the hollowness of Paris' apology to Hektor and by Helen's rebuke of herself and Paris.[14] In the absence of any genuine affection or respect in their relationship, the union of Paris and Helen is exposed as a worthless object of hopeless concern.

In contrast, the dialogue between Hektor and Andromache (b_2) illustrates—beyond the pathos of Andromache's utter dependence on Hektor—a relationship enlivened by genuine mutual affection.[15] We have just seen the official Hektor in two domestic situations: as son, with Hekabe; as brother, with Paris; we see him now as father and husband. Indeed, the sequence is mirrored and concentrated in Hektor's relationship with Andromache, for whom he is brother, mother, father, and spouse (429f). And here too delusion prevails: At the heart of the encounter, truth is rejected in favor of the code. In reply to Andromache's practical advice—worthy of a commander's wife—to reinforce the defense of the wall (433ff), Hektor reacts with a harsh rebuke of her attempt to intervene (441); he adds a sudden bleak vision of Troy's fall (447ff), repeating Agamemnon's identically expressed prophecy of 4.163ff. The outburst may be explained in several ways:[16] as evidence of compensation or guilt, as a means of providing ironic contrast between the leader who serves a just cause poorly and the leader who selflessly champions an empty cause—or

it may be viewed literally, that is, Agamemnon has seen Zeus' aegis over Troy portending its doom (4.166ff), while for the Trojans the gods are silent; Athena has rejected their prayers (311b).[17] But the result is the same: Hektor refuses to abandon his chosen course of action, even when he puts aside for a moment his persona as warrior (signaled by his removal of his helmet at 472) to reveal his affection for wife and son. In his prayer for Astyanax, delusion is equally clear: Hektor's wish that his son may someday delight his mother by offering her the bloody spoils he has taken in war (480f) is as vain as his own ambition (cf. Zeus of Hektor at 17.207f, from whom Andromache will never receive the glorious arms taken from Achilleus). And although he is more realistic in his attempt to reassure Andromache about his fate at 484bff, there can be no deviation from their respective roles, his as fighter, hers as wife.[18]

Thus, in the context of Book 6 Hektor's statement allows us a closer glimpse of his contradictory psychology than we have had before, confirming the evidence of Sarpedon's rebuke in Book 5: For despite his acceptance of Troy's fall and Andromache's servitude under the force of *anangke* (458, cf. 85), Hektor, driven by shame (*aideomai*, 442), will accept no alternative to returning to battle. And in the juxtaposition of the private man to the official Hektor, the choice—or lack of it—is the same, made on the same basis; the difference is simply a matter of tone. Once again we have a demonstration of the power of external forms and traditional gestures that dominated the offering scene of (b_1) as well as the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes, where Glaukos' awareness of the vanity of genealogical pride in the face of mortal change yields to a transaction out of touch with pragmatic reality. By persisting in actions whose futility they admit, Glaukos and Hektor in effect exchange the gold of truth for the bronze of convention. The episode in Troy closes with Andromache's lament for Hektor as for one dead. Her mistrust in Hektor's prayers parallels Athena's rejection of the supplications of the Trojan women in (b_1). The wine proffered at the beginning of the sequence (258) becomes Hektor's longed-for wine bowl of liberty at the end of it (528), as he rejoins Paris and the two descend to the field. But the libation deferred will prove in the event to be a libation denied.

In this way the power of circumstances to force abandonment of the heroic standard, illustrated in A_1 and B_1, is juxtaposed to the power of that standard to distort a realistic response to circumstances in A_2 and B_2. The interlocking structure of the narrative underscores the parallel between the mechanisms affecting both Greeks and Trojans. From this intimate view of the instability and the dangers of tradition both in practical action and in personal relationship, the poet now turns to a final panorama of its effects on both sides before proceeding to unfold Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus.

(vii) *Duel of Hektor and Aias. Removal of Dead.* The Structure of Books 1–7

Critics have contended that the major events of 7—the duel between Hektor and Aias and the Trojan dispute over the return of Helen—not only involve anachronism; they repeat to little apparent purpose events already developed at length and more effectively in Book 3. The building of the Greek wall has been stigmatized as a particularly inept interpolation, without function here and the source of textual embarrassment wherever it is mentioned subsequently.[1] We shall see, however, that 7 provides a structural continuation and completion of the initial sequence of books; as such, it contributes essentially to the poet's argument by further defining his perspective upon action past and yet to come.

The central duel between Hektor and Aias (D) is framed by two extended scenes (C_1, C_2) describing the two Trojan offers (of the duel, to return the treasure without Helen), which are together framed by parallel dialogues of gods (B_1, B_2).[2] The initial return to battle (A_1) opens with a hopeful nautical simile describing the arrival of Paris and Hektor among their troops like a fair wind to weary sailors (4–7), answered in the withdrawal from battle at the end (A_2) by the motif of Lemnian traders bringing wine to the exhausted Greeks. The initial slaying of Menestheus, son of Areithoos the "club-bearer" (8ff), looks forward to the digression on an earlier Areithoos in Nestor's speech in C_1 (at 137–50).[3] Glaukos' presence at 13ff recalls his earlier encounter with Diomedes and may be taken as an anticipation of the (again unequal) exchange of gifts between Hektor and Aias in D. It also extends the irony of Hektor's optimism here by recalling the self-delusion with which both he and Hektor were structurally associated in the previous book—an association implicit also in the use of similar death-formulae for their initial slayings at 12b (*lyse de gyia*) and 16b (*lynte de gyia*, both echoing *gyia lelyntai* [6], applied to the weary sailors of the simile).

The divine frame (B_1, B_2) allows for a clarification of the issues much as in Book 4. The first of these colloquies, between Apollo and Athena, introduces the Trojan offer of a duel by providing its inspiration; the second, between Zeus and Poseidon, provides an epilogue to the Trojan offer to return the stolen treasure and, more important, states the gods' view of the unsanctioned building of the Greek wall. In the first, Apollo's complaint about Athena's lack of pity leads to a reconciliation between these two opposing gods that exposes the irrelevance of a duel fought on traditional terms to resolve the issues of the war. For in the context of Apollo's remarks of 29–32, describing the truce as merely a temporary device with no real bearing on the fate of Troy, and following on He-

CHART 2.8

Book 7

Renewal of battle — A_1
- 1ff: Hektor and Paris arrive on field like fair wind to weary sailors (4–7) — S
- 8ff: Paris slays Menesthios
- 11ff: Hektor slays Eioneus
- 13ff: Glaukos slays Iphinoos (*lyse de gyia*, refrain at 12b, 16b)

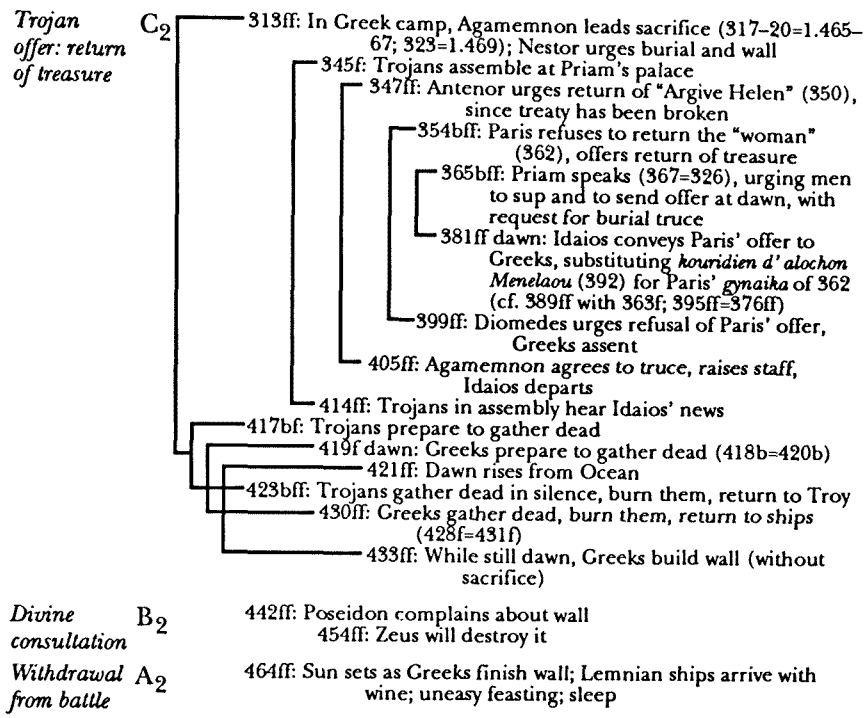
Divine consultation — B_1
- 17ff: Athena descends from Olympos to encounter Apollo
  - 23ff: Apollo complains of Athena's lack of pity, asks truce
- 33ff: Athena agrees
  - 37ff: Apollo proposes duel between Hektor and a Greek
- 43bff: Athena agrees

Trojan offer: duel — C_1
- 44ff: Helenos, perceiving gods' plan, advises Hektor
  - 54bff: Hektor gathers men as gods sit on oak as vultures; simile of Zephyr (63ff) — S
- 66bff: Hektor's proposal, men silent
- 94ff: Menelaos rebukes Greek silence, volunteers, arms
  - 104ff: Agamemnon condemns Menelaos' *aphrosyne* (110), intervenes to prevent fight with "better man" (111; cf. 105); Menelaos disarmed
    - 123ff: Nestor's rebuke recalling Peleus, youthful fight with Ereuthalion (digression on armor ringed by 137f/150)
  - 161bff: Agamemnon and 8 others volunteer, lot taken as army prays
- 182ff: Telamonian Aias wins, rejoices; men pray

Failure of traditional resources: inconclusive duel — D
- 207ff: Aias advances, like Ares (208–11) — S
  - 214ff: Argives rejoice, Trojans fearful, but Hektor stands his ground
- 219ff: Aias advances with shield like tower (digression ringed at 219/224) — S
  - 233ff: Hektor replies, catechism of exploits; casts, hits shield (simile of child or woman, 235f) — S
- 248bff: Aias casts (*deuteros aute*, 248b), hits shield — S
  - 255ff: They pull out spears, attack like lions or boars (256f); Hektor stabs Aias' shield, point bent
- 260ff: Aias stabs at Hektor, point grazes neck
  - 263ff: Hektor grabs stone, hits Aias' shield
- 268ff: Aias hurls stone (*deuteros aut'*, 268), breaks Hektor's shield, knocks him down; Apollo sets him upright
  - 273ff: Heralds intervene: Idaios assures them that Zeus loves both men, urges them to yield to night (282)
- 283ff: Aias agrees, if Hektor will yield
  - 287ff: Hektor assents, repeating Idaios (293=282); offers exchange of gifts to memorialize their strife (*eridos . . . thymoboroio*, 301; cf. 210) with friendship (*philoteti*, 302); gives Aias sword with sheath and strap
- 305ff: Aias responds with crimson belt, they part
  - 307bff: Trojans rejoice seeing Hektor safe (cf. 215)
- 311f: Greeks conduct Aias to Agamemnon

lenos' assertion that Hektor is not yet fated to die (52f), Hektor's offer of C_1 is explicitly deprived of any useful function: It merely expresses Hektor's general—and characteristically vainglorious—motivation in his quest for the undying *kleos* he would derive from the grave monument of his victim (84ff).[4] In similar fashion among the Greeks, Agamemnon's

CHART 2.8 (*cont.*)



otherwise curiously (and again characteristically) solicitous refusal to allow Menelaos to fight his own battle detaches what follows from the immediate issue. And Nestor's challenge and the troops' final prayer repeat the heroic view of war as less a mechanism of justice or of solving a problem than an opportunity for achieving *kydos* (205), individual and collective.[5] In the second divine consultation (B_2), Zeus not only accepts Poseidon's objection to the wall but specifies just what retaliation he will allow: its eventual destruction, the ultimate obliteration of a monument to the Greek effort at Troy. The interchange between Apollo and Athena deprives Hektor's gesture (and Aias') of any practical effect; that between Poseidon and Zeus undermines the value, in traditional terms, of the entire war.[6]

Thus, in the central duel (D) we find two heroes, neither of whom is a principal in the dispute over Helen (or Agamemnon's quarrel with Achilleus), enacting an empty paradigm of the heroic code, its traditional courtesies intact, ending with an idealized exchange of gifts to resolve *eris* (301) by *philotes* (302) reminiscent of the exchange between Oineus and Bellerophontes that had inspired Diomedes earlier (with 305, on Aias'

gift to Hektor, cf. 6.219, where a similar formula is used to describe the crimson belt presented to Glaukos' grandfather).[7] Hektor's appearance in this role, for which his *aidos*-speech of 6.441ff has been a preparation, joins him with Aias in the system of *time* earlier developed as it affected the Greek side. Book 1 linked Greek and Trojan through the shared motif of woman stealing; here the two are united in a structure of response that, at its best, has reached a state of impasse. Appropriately, the duel is inconclusive, settles nothing, and contains in Apollo's gesture of assistance to the sprawling Hektor (272), setting him upright like a doll, an element of artificiality. Indeed, as Kirk has shown, much of the language of the duel, particularly the intervention of Idaios and Talthybios, is more appropriate to athletic contests (i.e., those of Book 23) than to the military sphere;[8] and the episode serves as a prelude to truce, not victory, as the heroes yield to the irresistible fact of nightfall (282, repeated in 293) that accompanies, and centrally figures, the futility of their actions in the context of Zeus' purpose.[9]

In a second gesture at resolution (C_2), Paris' offer to return the treasure from Sparta together with more of his own represents an attempt—in purely external terms—to reach a compromise that is nevertheless vitiated by a refusal to rectify the actual breach of the guest-friend relationship and by evasion of the terms of the oaths of Book 3. Structurally C_2 departs from the pattern of C_1, where the Trojan offer was juxtaposed to the Greek reaction to it centering on Nestor, urging the men to live up to their tradition through his lengthy retelling of his youthful victory over the mighty Ereuthalion—a narrative introduced by a pointed reference to Peleus and an equally pointed avoidance of any reference to Peleus' son.[10] In C_2 Nestor's proposal to build the wall and the Greeks' omission of sacrifice in undertaking and completing it surround a scene of Trojan persistence in wrong, focused on Priam's ineffectual acceptance of half-measures in dealing with the issue of the return of Menelaos' "lawful, wedded wife," as Idaios terms her in conveying Priam's offer (*kouridien d' alochon*, 392, with more than diplomatic emphasis correcting Paris' *gynaika*—"woman"—of 362 and the legally neutral "Argive Helen" of Antenor in 350). Thus, in both C_1 and C_2 a proposal and its execution are joined to a scene that underscores guilt on the part of the opponent: in C_1 the implicit reminder of Achilleus, in C_2 the direct restatement of Trojan culpability.

The correspondence between the two sides is further elaborated, in the sequence that concludes with the building of the wall (417b–441), with an extraordinary interlocking parallelism of repetition or similarity in the language used to describe their actions (indicated on Chart 2.8; note especially 418b=420b, and 428f=431f). Indeed, with the conclusion of this

passage the equation between Greeks and Trojans is now complete. The Trojan wall continues to protect Helen; the Greek bulwark confines the stolen Briseis (cf. the emphasis on Achilleus' anger in Aias' speech at 229). The fortified city and the fortified camp are now immured equally in their delusions. Hektor's earlier fantasy of the great monument the Greeks would erect for the hero he will slaughter and return for ransom (85f) is grimly answered by the wretched atmosphere of burials and the building of this short-lived pile.[11]

The Greek wall is thus a climactic symbol of the mutual self-confinement, stalemate, and futility that the poet sees at the heart of the ten-year war. It also assists a series of parallels, involving similarity and contrast, between Books 1 and 7 to provide a frame for the first major structural bloc of the poem, before the action takes a new turn in Book 8 with the inauguration of Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus. Here we also find, as in the structure of individual books, an internal annular balance between 2 and 6, 3 and 5, centering on 4. And as in many of the books, a dramatic climax distinct from thematic center emerges in the sequence taken as a whole.

To begin negatively, it is worth considering the results of analysis that seeks to isolate a single point of focus in the progress of the narrative. We mentioned at the outset that a number of students, among them Drerup, Peters, Sheppard, and Whitman, have seen in Books 1–7 a structure in which, following the introductory material in 1 and 2, the sequence 3–7 describes the "First Great Day of Battle," centered on the *aristeia* of Diomedes, flanked by the interrupted duels of Paris and Menelaos and of Hektor and Aias, and followed (at the close of 7) by elements that return us after the intensity of the battle scenes to the uneasy nocturnal atmosphere at the outset of Book 2.[12] Although these analyses are based loosely on similar or antithetical motifs, none is developed in detail, and emphasis varies. They can nevertheless be used to supplement each other; and a selective combination of Peters (who includes Book 2 in his analysis) and Whitman (who begins with Book 3) produces the chart on the following page.[13]

In his comparison of 4 and 6, Whitman is doubtless right to find a contrast between Pandaros' shameless treachery and the influence of *aidos* in the encounter between Hektor and Andromache (and the lack of it in that between Paris and Helen); but his parallel between the extended *Epipolesis* and Hektor's brief rally of the Trojans at the beginning of Book 6 (102–15) is weak; and the elements of neither pair serve a comparable structural function in the development of the narrative. The connection Peters draws between Diomedes' energetic response to Agamemnon's

Book 2: Results of Zeus' deceptive intervention; meal with Agamemnon, Nestor's advice; both armies advance

3: Truce, oaths; [Trojan leaders with Helen;] duel of Paris and Menelaos interrupted

4: Pandaros breaks truce (Trojan *anaideia* ["shamelessness"] as justification for the war); *Epipolesis,* ending with Diomedes' martial enthusiasm;

Gods enter renewed battle

5: *Aristeia* of Diomedes; wounding of Aphrodite and Ares

6: Gods absent from battle; Diomedes' encounter with Glaukos; Hektor in Troy (Trojan *aidos* as source of tragedy to come)

7: Truce, oaths; duel of Hektor and Aias interrupted

.....

Supper with Agamemnon, Nestor's advice; [Trojan council about Helen;]

Both armies gather dead; construction of Greek wall; uneasy carousal, Zeus' ominous thunder

challenge (in 4) and his equally traditional eagerness to confirm the guest-friend relationship with Glaukos (6) is some improvement; more striking is the balance he sees in the identically expressed prediction of Troy's downfall by Agamemnon in 4.163ff and Hektor in 6.447ff. But although these are elements connected in the total fabric, they are not structures that can be said to constitute a frame comparable to those within individual books; at most they assist an emphasis on what, in 5, is an undeniable dramatic climax to this first group, in which the poet draws on resources not found elsewhere in the sequence to orchestrate in the most striking way possible the confrontation not so much between heroes of opposing sides as between the hero and the undying sources of conflict.

We have seen in Books 1, 3, and 4 a clear distinction between dramatic climax and structural focus (unlike 5 or 7, where structural and dramatic interest converge). The climactic quarrel of Book 1 occurs prior to the thematically central restoration of Chryses and is balanced by a conclud-

ing escalation of the quarrel to the level of Olympos. The thematic focus on the *Teichoskopia* of Book 3 precedes the dramatic encounter between Paris and Menelaos, as in 4 the programmatic juxtaposition of the wounding of Menelaos and the *Epipolesis* precede the climactic entry of the gods into renewed battle. (The interlocking structure of 6 includes no central focus, though the moment of emotional climax in the encounter of Hektor and Andromache creates an undeniable emphasis on the theme of Troy's doom.) Similarly, analysis of the entire sequence 1–7 indicates an annular structure of corresponding books, creating a thematic emphasis on 4 that precedes the climactic events in 5. As in individual books, this structure may, but need not, be defined by continuities in the dramatic situation or by scenic patterns with shared idiosyncracies. In a number of cases, the poet is content to treat the components of a pair as elements in a dialogue. When these are considered separately, general intent may remain uncertain and the function of individual details lost in isolation; placed side by side, as if one were reassembling allusive halves of a telephone conversation or an exchange of letters, the discourse of each becomes both clearer and more complex. The evidence suggests in fact that the poet attaches greatest importance to parallels that reflect his peculiarly analytical interpretation of his material; our main concern therefore lies with the way in which he has integrated into a meaningful whole the thematic emphases we have noted in discussing the books individually.[14]

Book 7 reflects Book 1 most obviously by repeating the basic themes of a quarrel over the return of a woman and of a mortal offense that requires Zeus' intervention; the parallelism in Book 1 between the thefts of Chryseis and Briseis as figures for the war itself is answered now in the debate over Helen and reinforces the links between the two sides we observed above. But formal similarities go further. Both books contain, early in the action, the typical motif of Divine descent: in Book 1 Apollo's visitation to cause the plague (43bff), in Book 7 Athena's rush from Olympos to encounter Apollo and arrange for truce (17ff). Both proceed with assemblies that provide a setting for conflict over a woman. (The episode in Book 7.54bff, strictly speaking an intermission in the fighting like that of 3.75bff, nevertheless functions as an assembly and contains at 63ff a Zephyr simile recalling that used for the breakup of the assembly of Book 2.147.) Both books continue with the motif of a journey concerned with a woman's seizure or return: in Book 1 Odysseus' journey to return Chryseis and the heralds' "journey" to take Briseis, in Book 7 Idaios' journey to convey the Trojans' refusal to return Helen.[15] Finally, both conclude with typical scenes of Divine consultation followed by Entertainment and Retirement for the night.[16]

The duel of 7, conforming to Helenos' perception of the divine will, differs in formal pattern from the quarrel that results in Book 1 from

Kalchas' interpretation of the plague; but a number of motifs inessential to the typical form of the duel (and not found in, for example, that of Book 3) nevertheless serve to repeat in 7 motifs found in the quarrel of 1. In objecting to Menelaos' offer to fight Hektor (109ff), Agamemnon repeats in line 114 the issue of fighting a better man already raised in line 105 by the poet himself. The use of *pherteros* ("stronger," 105) and *ameinon* ("better," 114) evokes the distinction between *karteros* and *pherteros* on which controversy turned between Agamemnon and Achilleus (1.178, 186, 280f). Apollo's assistance to Hektor (272) repeats the motif of divine intervention found in Athena's restraint of Achilleus in 1.194ff. The intervention of Talthybios and Eurybates to curtail the duel in 7 is phrased (279ff) in terms that recall Nestor's similar advice to Agamemnon and Achilleus in 1.259 and 274ff.[17] Agamemnon's sacrifice, as the night draws on, not unexpectedly recalls the formulae of Odysseus' propitiation of Apollo at Chrysa (1.458ff) but is also typical of Agamemnon's indiscriminate dependence on religious formalities in that it lacks specific ritual function, either as a thank-offering or as a means of assuring the success of a new undertaking; it serves mainly to honor Aias (321) and to introduce Nestor's proposal of the wall, which will incur the displeasure of Poseidon at the omission of sacrifice, just as the propitiation of one god in Book 1 only led to the alienation of another.[18] The Trojan offer of partial compensation for the theft of Helen in 7—rejected not by Menelaos, as most directly concerned, but by Diomedes (Achilleus' "stand-in" at this point in the poem), joined by Agamemnon—recalls Agamemnon's refusal of Achilleus' offer of delayed compensation for Chryseis (1.131ff). Achilleus had cast down the sceptre in swearing to withdraw from warfare (1.245f); Agamemnon now takes it up (in a ceremonially otiose gesture at 7.412) to confirm the truce for the burial of the dead.[19]

In the concluding scenes of both books, identical type-scenes are characterized by an emphatic correspondence of unique elements. The Divine Consultation of Book 1, in which Thetis reports the Greeks' mistreatment of Achilleus, is reflected in that of 7, in which Poseidon—another god associated with the sea—complains of the Greeks' omission of sacrifice in undertaking their wall. In both cases Zeus' response is positive, though his promise of the course his retribution will take is in 7 more circumstantial than in 1. In the comparable Entertainment and Retirement episodes, the divine quarrel resolved in 1 by the "Lemnian" god (593) Hephaistos' unusual intervention as a limping Ganymede is in 7 transformed into uneasy human truce and carousal with wine brought by Lemnian traders (here symmetry is achieved at the expense of inconsistency, for we hear at 9.72 of daily deliveries of wine from Thrace). Moreover, in contrast to the wine of reconciliation in Book 1, this wine—sent to Agamemnon and

Menelaos by Euneos, Jason's illegitimate son by Hypsipyle—evokes the persistent themes of illicit love, abandonment, and the wreckage of the marriage bond; and for the rest of Agamemnon's followers, with whom it is not shared but bartered, the wine comes as a costly and ineffective consolation.[20] Finally, Books 1 and 7 both serve as a prelude to interventions of Zeus in carrying out his promise to Thetis; and in Aias' speech to Hektor (7.229f) we are given our most graphic reminiscence since Book 1 of Achilleus' desolation on the shore by his ships—nor is Aias alone in thinking of Achilleus' withdrawal, as Nestor's emphatic reference to Peleus (125ff) suggests.

Formal parallel is less precise in Books 2 and 6. A more general similarity is evident in the elaboration of themes of illusion and self-deception as they affect both Greeks and Trojans. The exposure of the limitations of tradition-bound Greeks in 2 is repeated, even burlesqued, in 6 in the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes: Agamemnon's circumspection in reporting the source of his dream to the chiefs is no insurance against deception, nor does Diomedes' gingerly approach to Glaukos' potential divinity prevent him from cheating his hereditary guest-friend; and the theme of Trojan illusion represented in the Catalogue is reemphasized in the inability of Glaukos to perceive the inequity of the exchange (6.234ff). The rejection of Thersites' realism by the Greeks in favor of the hierarchy defended by Agamemnon and Odysseus (together representing the external appearance of power) is answered by the emphasis on Hektor's self-deception in 6, as he persists in defending Paris (representing the power of external appearance) and yields to the compulsions of shame in rejecting his own and Andromache's well-founded misgivings about the outcome of the war. Further links between the delusion of both sides are found in the repeated motifs of vain sacrifice and divine refusal of prayer (in 2 at 419, in 6 at 311), the theme of Troy's fate (2.12ff, 299ff, 350ff, etc.; 6.59f, 447ff=4.163ff), and the motif of Trojan departure for war (in the Catalogue of 2, in 6 at 494ff). In both books the pathos of Troy's folly is emphasized: in the anticipation of death in the Trojan Catalogue and in Hektor's brief apprehension of doom in his meeting with Andromache.

In Book 3, the attempt at a reasonable solution through the duel of Menelaos and Paris is thwarted by the intervention of Aphrodite to save her protégé. The same theme of heroic inadequacy, stated in even bolder terms, dominates Book 5: Even with Athena's aid, Diomedes fails to curb in any lasting way the renewed intervention of Aphrodite and that of Ares. In 5, Aphrodite's rescue of Aineias is introduced by a formula recalling her aid to Paris (5.312–3.374); and the element of Helen's rebuke of the rescued Paris is echoed in Athena's caustic remarks to the wounded Aphrodite (5.421ff), specifically alluding to her forcible withdrawal of Helen to meet Paris in his chamber (3.383ff). In both books previous

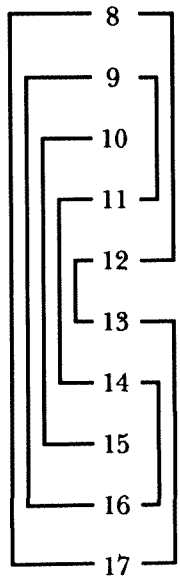
unsuccessful visits to Troy are recalled: that of Odysseus at 3.205ff, that of Herakles at 5.638ff; and the theme of insight—particularly the ability to penetrate misleading disguises—is developed in both. At the formal center of 3, Antenor's ability to distinguish appearance (*eidos*, 224) and reality in the case of Odysseus serves no useful purpose for the Trojans in general; similarly in 5, Diomedes' temporary power to distinguish between gods and men serves him ill as he attacks Aineias despite Apollo's protection and the armies continue to fight around a phantom substitute (*eidolon*) for Aineias. Helen, despite her ability to discern the divinity beneath Aphrodite's human disguise, yields in 3 at the goddess' command to the sway of sensuality as she joins Paris; in 5 Diomedes is urged by Athena (826ff) to forsake his gift of discriminating god from human, and his efforts prove equally futile, whether based on insight or not.

At the center of this structure, Book 4 provides a thematic reenactment, in the frame of a divine compromise, of Paris' original treachery through Pandaros' wounding of Menelaos and the resulting contagion of unreasoning strife on both sides. The ensuing dramatic climax in Book 5 demonstrates on a larger scale the futility of the heroic response in attempting to subdue the forces of passion and violence that provoked and continue to inspire the conflict. Taken together, the two books offer an appropriate summary of and comment on the previous years of war from the vantage of its present state of impasse. And in 7, the poet closes this introduction by reiterating from 4 the theme of divine compromise and the reminder of Achilleus' absence (229ff, cf. 4.512f); he repeats a near miss for Menelaos, followed by another solicitous outburst from Agamemnon (the danger is real in 4, only potential in 7 but given special emphasis by the poet's direct address: with 7.104 cf. 4.127/146). There is a similar recurrence of the theme of the inadequacy of tradition (with the repeated failure of the duel cf. Agamemnon's view of Nestor at 4.313–16); and in the mutual burials of 7 we have a reflection of the extraordinary picture, at the end of 4, of the enemies Diores and Peiros lying side by side in the dust as "many others were slain around them" (538). In this way the poet indicates—even more effectively than in Achilleus' despair of Book 1—that resolution is to be sought beyond the terms of a conflict that has reached a climax of effort and involvement, among both gods and mortals, in the frustrations and absurdities of Book 5. Inevitably, he now returns to the long-delayed question of Zeus' promise to restore Achilleus' honor without compromising the essential issue of the war.

III

The Structure of *Iliad* 8–17

OF THE TEN books forming the central core of the *Iliad*—from the initial activation and progressive disclosure of Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus in Book 8 to the bitter fighting over the corpse of Patroklos in Book 17—each has its own structural integrity. As in the case of 1–7, a secondary system of relationships creates an annular symmetry among Books 7–12 and 13–17, to form two groups of five each. At the same time, thematic and narrative elements also form a larger annular symmetry focusing on a central pairing of Books 12 and 13. The resulting double structural pattern may be indicated schematically:



To clarify this complex (and at first blush improbable) situation, we begin by discussing briefly the structure of the individual books in the group 8–12. In analyzing the ensuing 13–17, we shall add comment on the function of their relationship with corresponding books in the previous sequence. The formal unity of the two five-book groups we examine at the conclusion of the chapter.

CHART 3.1

Book 8

A_1 1ff: Dawn; assembly of gods

B_1
- 4ff: Zeus threatens to cast into Tartaros (13) any god who intervenes in battle; boasts of power, golden chain episode
- 30ff: Athena promises to obey, will give Greeks courage
- 38ff: Zeus' assurance of kind intentions

C_1 41ff: Zeus harnesses chariot, puts on golden armor etc., drives to Ida, where he unharnesses team and seats himself to observe battle

D_1
- 53f: Greeks eat, arm
- 55ff: Trojans arm, caught in *anangkaie*; sally forth
- 60ff: armies clash (note emphasis created by refrain at 59 and 63)
  - a_1 (66ff) Equal battle until noon, when Zeus balances scales; Greek fate sinks, lightning
  - b_1 (78ff): Greeks retreat, Nestor's horse wounded by Paris, chariot disabled
  - c_1 (90bff): Diomedes urges Odysseus to defend Nestor; he flees
  - d_1 (99ff): Diomedes takes Nestor onto his chariot drawn by Aineias' horses (Nestor no match for younger men); Nestor takes reins (112: *Gerenios hippota Nestor*)
  - e_1 (118ff): Diomedes attacks Hektor, misses, kills charioteer Eniopeus; 124ff: Hektor abandons Eniopeus, finds replacement in Archeptolemos
  - a_2 (130ff): Zeus' lightning against Diomedes' chariot (Trojans like lambs, 131) — S
  - b_2 (137ff): Nestor loses reins, disabled again, urges retreat (Zeus *pherteros*, 144)
  - c_2 (145ff): Diomedes hesitates to retreat
  - d_2 (151ff): Nestor encourages Diomedes not to fear disgrace (Diomedes a match for any man) (151: *Gerenios hippota Nestor*, cf. 112)
  - e_2
    - (158bff): Trojans pursue; Hektor's challenge
    - (167b): Diomedes remains unwilling to flee; Zeus' triple thunder
    - (172ff): Hektor exhorts his men, urges horses to help capture Nestor's golden shield and Diomedes' corselet made by Hephaistos

E_1
- 198bff: Hera exhorts Poseidon to help Greeks
- 208ff: Poseidon refuses (Zeus *pherteros*, 211)

F
- 212ff: Hektor threatens wall, ships (215f: Hektor like Ares) — S
- 217ff: Agamemnon, inspired by Hera, rouses men (with porphyry *pharos*, 221)
- 245bff: Zeus sends portent of eagle and fawn
- 251f: Greeks rally, recognizing Zeus' portent
  - 253ff: Diomedes, in forefront, slays Agelaos; rest of the leaders advance
    - 266ff: Teukros takes stand protected like child (271) by Aias' shield (ring: *sakeï Telamoniadao*, 267/272, *sakeï . . . phaeinoi*) — S
      - 273ff: Poet asks about his victims; he slays 8
        - 278ff: Agamemnon commends Teukros, offers reward
        - 292ff: Teukros replies, needs no bribe
      - 300ff: Teukros slays 2 more: aiming at Hektor hits Gorgythion (305: mother like gods; 306ff: poppy simile); as he aims again (309f=300f), Apollo intervenes, causing him to hit Archeptolemos (cf. 128; 313b–17=121b–25); Kebriones takes Hektor's horses — S
    - 320ff: Hektor, dismounting, pursues Teukros with stone, hits him; Teukros protected by Aias' shield (with 331 cf. 267 and 272) until Mekisteus and Alastor remove him to safety
  - 335ff: Zeus inspires Trojans, who pursue Greeks; Hektor like hound (338ff) among foremost — S
- 343ff: Greeks flee across ditch to ships, pray
- 348f: Hektor threatens at wall like Gorgo or Ares (349; cf. 215) — S

CHART 3.1 (*cont.*)

E_2 350ff: Hera exhorts Athena to help Greeks
357ff: Athena agrees, rebuking Zeus; they prepare to set out

D_2 397ff: Zeus sends Iris to goddesses, threatens to disable them in their chariots with lightning
409bff: Iris repeats speech to Hera (416–22=402–8), adding insult to Athena (423f)
425ff: Hera yields, horses unharnessed, goddesses recline on golden throne

C_2 438ff: Zeus returns to Olympus, Poseidon unhitches horses; Zeus resumes throne

B_2 444f: Athena and Hera sit apart in silence
446ff: Zeus boasts of power, threatens opponents
457bff: Athena and Hera assent (with 457f cf. 444f); Athena silent but Hera complains (463–68=$B_1$32–37)
469ff: Zeus curtly reveals plan, foretells death of Patroklos; taunts Hera (Tartaros, 481; cf. 13)
484b: Hera silent (ring: *oude ti min prosephoneon* . . . 445/484, *ton d' ou ti prosephe*)

A_2 485ff: Nightfall, Trojans unwilling
489ff: Hektor calls assembly, troops dismount (w. 489f cf. 2f)
493bff: With spear in hand, Hektor addresses men boastfully
542bff: Trojans approve, unhitch horses, offer vain sacrifice (548–52)
553–65: Trojans await Dawn (star-simile, 555–61) (w. horses of 564 cf. unhitching at 543f) S

(viii) *Interrupted Battle*

The frame for Book 8 is established in an unusual way: The initial divine assembly summoned by Zeus himself is not simply repeated as a type-scene at the close; instead, its component elements are isolated analytically and expanded into independent episodes that echo the initial pattern in reverse order. For the sake of clarity, I have therefore treated lines 1–40 as a sequence of separate elements on Chart 3.1. Thus, the divine gathering at dawn (A_1:1–3) is answered by a more elaborately developed assembly of Trojans at nightfall (A_2, with sunset at 485f ringed by the expectation of dawn at 565; with 2f cf. 489f); but the interchange between Zeus and Athena (B_1: 4–40) is balanced not by an element within the Trojan assembly but by the preceding encounter on Olympus between Zeus and Athena with Hera (B_2: 444–84). Zeus' boastful assertion of his cosmic supremacy thus begins and ends the main narrative: His initial claim to power (4–29, ringed emphatically at 4 and 28f) sets the stage for the subsequent revelation of his will regarding Hektor's victories and the fate of Patroklos (469ff–84a). These two sections are further united by the motif of Tartaros (13 and 481) and by a similar structure of challenge, reaction following silence, and response, in which Hera's complaint of 463–68 repeats verbatim—to the consternation of athetizing editors—Athena's comments of 32–37.[1] The components of an inner frame, describing Zeus' visit to Ida (C_1: 41–52) and his return to Olympus (C_2: 438–43), are linked by the motifs of hitching and unhitching horses (41f

and 440)[2] and by the emphasis on the appropriately regal and divine gold of the horses' manes, Zeus' clothing, and his lash at 42ff, answered by the gold of his throne in 442. This physical descent to earth signals Zeus' decision to engage in solving a dilemma that now involves both gods and humans alike. In the intervening sections, the relationship of both to the power of Zeus' immortal kingship is made clear. The inadequacy of the heroic mode—and the traditional language used to describe it—is demonstrated in D_1 (53–198a) by the human terror and confusion inspired by his lightning (75ff, 133ff, cf. 169ff). The futility of divine partisanship in conflict with Zeus' intentions is confirmed by the retreat of Athena and Hera from the threat of his thunderbolt in D_2 (397–437). And in the central battle scenes (F: 212–349), the vacuity of Agamemnon's mortal kingship is unmistakable, both on its own terms and in the context of Zeus' subsequent enunciation, at the dramatic climax of the book, of the initial element in his plan to honor Achilleus.[3]

In D_1 (66ff), as the day of equal battle reaches its midpoint, Zeus displays an attitude of nonpartisanship, symbolized by the weighing of Greek and Trojan fates. The resulting decline of Greek fortunes presents an elaborately calculated portrayal of the disorder of heroic behavior left to its own resources ("Zeus consults the facts," as Whitman puts it).[4] As the Greeks, stunned by Zeus' lightning, turn to disorganized retreat from the advancing Trojans, Nestor's trace horse is wounded by Paris (78ff). The unique description of Nestor's chariot disabled by tangled gear[5] suggests the embarrassment of tradition in dealing with the crisis at hand. Diomedes, seeing Nestor's difficulty, urges Odysseus to rush to his aid, but the critic of unruly individualism in Book 2 is now reduced to saving his own skin (90bff). If there is irony in the unwilling resistance (*oios emimne . . . ou ti hekon*) of the "Gerenian Nestor (80; cf. "Gerenian horseman Nestor" at 112), guardian of the Achaians,"[6] it is compounded by the poet's use at this juncture of Odysseus' conventional epithet "much-enduring" (97, *polytlas*).[7] Diomedes is left to rescue the noble voice of the past himself (99ff): Upbraiding Nestor for his uselessness in the present situation, he persuades him to join him in his own chariot drawn by Aineias' horses.[8] In the ensuing charge (118ff), Diomedes succeeds in killing Hektor's charioteer but is brought to a halt by another thunderbolt from Zeus (130ff), and the initial sequence (indicated as a_1–d_1 on Chart 3.1) is now repeated with variations (a_2–b_2). At 137ff the terrified Nestor loses control of yet another chariot, and in 145ff Diomedes debates whether to take the same expedient that Odysseus had adopted. Unaffected by Odysseus' example and Nestor's argument that he has sufficiently proved himself already (151ff)—and despite the lessons of Book 5—Diomedes remains possessed by the power of *aidos* and the self-perpetuating character of violence until he yields at last to the

superior force of Zeus' repeated thunderbolts (167bff), as Hektor now advances, excitedly caught up in the desire to capture tokens of his own prowess.[9]

This pairing of senior and junior is repeated in the exploits of Hera and Athena in the balancing section, D_2—for which Hera's attempts to rouse first Poseidon (E_1) then Athena (E_2) function as preparation—where there is a demonstration, as we have noted, of the effect of Zeus' power on the divine level, as in D_1 on the earthly. Nestor's warning of Zeus' superiority (144) is paradigmatic for the mortal sphere; in the following sequence (E_1 E_2 D_2) Poseidon's repetition of the same half-line, "since he is mightier by far" (211=144, *epei e poly pherteros estin*) applies to gods, though Hera and Athena too persist in their rebellion until they—quicker to learn than Diomedes—yield to the mere threat of Zeus' lightning.

In F (212–349), at the center of the narrative, formally surrounded by descriptions of the Trojan threat to the wall (at 215ff and 348ff), Agamemnon is encouraged by Hera to urge his men to resist the Trojans. But his hope quickly yields to despair as he cowers at the ship of Odysseus, the man whose defensive effort we have just seen reduced to mere words. The porphyry cloak that Agamemnon rather wields than wears (221) is a reminder of his use of this very *pharos* in his appearance before the troops at 2.43. Uniquely here it is given the hue of shrouds, of Death itself, appropriate to the present result of his earlier delusions.[10] To the extent that the mantle retains a regal significance, it is a symbol clutched at in desperation, not assumed in confidence. Now indeed for the first time, Agamemnon doubts his own kingship and the effect of his sacrifices, in characteristically externalizing terms we have heard before and will again.[11] Indeed, the question arises whether his rule does in fact possess an inherent divine sanction, for it is only "that the people should be safe from destruction" that Zeus in pity sends the encouraging portent of 245ff. And Agamemnon's status, viewed on purely human terms, is put in doubt when Teukros rebukes the king's attempt to encourage him in the only way he can, by a bribe of gifts and a woman. Teukros' assertion of his own self-motivation (292ff) is strikingly individualistic, and the Greek rally at this point exemplifies not the strength of the traditional code but the reverse, as Teukros—bowman and bastard—shoots at Trojans from the protection of Aias' shield rather than in open confrontation. The degeneration of the standard is evident in the malingering Agamemnon's approval of this tactic (281ff); and despite his initial success, Teukros' strategem proves futile when he is wounded by Hektor.[12]

The constant activity of Zeus unifies the book on the divine level; the corollary reversal of Greek fortunes allows the poet to expand at length on Hektor's stature as a warrior. At the same time, Hektor's actions develop further an aspect of his character already apparent in Books 5 and

6 and more and more striking as the action proceeds, as the capacity for self-delusion in Hektor's encounter with Andromache within the walls reasserts itself and he sacrifices the constraints of truth and practical realism to compulsions of *aidos* outside them. He grows progressively manic, repeatedly abandoning his slain charioteers in the confusion of battle (122ff=314ff), and comes to epitomize violence in his appearance at the Greek wall like Gorgo or murderous Ares, at the end of this passage as at the beginning (348f, cf. 215).[13] In his description of Nestor's golden shield and Diomedes' divinely wrought corselet (191–95), there is more than an element of hyperbole in the crucial effect Hektor attributes to their capture on the tide of battle; and he reaches a climax of delusive fantasy in his vision of Diomedes lying wounded among the foremost (536f) and in his desire to become an immortal (538f), so that he might receive not merely that *time* due to the hero but that owed the gods themselves.[14]

But the limits of the Trojans' achievement are made clear in their concluding assembly by the elaborate repetition of the motif of vain sacrifice (550ff); and in the final overview, the comparison between the constellation of campfires on the Trojan plain and the stars in a night sky emphasizes the distance between mortal desire and immortal design. The contrast is implied in the opposition of the initial motif of divine assembly (A_1) to the closing assembly of Trojans (A_2). It is reinforced in the latter by the ironic juxtaposition of Hektor's inflated hopes to Zeus' ominous prediction, in the section just preceding (473–76), of Patroklos' death.[15] And it is unmistakable in the contrast between the central tableau of Agamemnon's failure of mortal leadership and, in the ensuing climax of action on the divine level, Zeus' assertion of his own primacy.

(ix) *Embassy to Achilleus. Entreaties*

The panic that invades the Greeks at the outset of Book 9 (1–8) is contrived to establish motivation for their appeal to Achilleus: The night is no longer a background for expectation but for confusion and despair. In the narrative that follows, dramatic emphasis and thematic focus converge in a clear and economical picture of the moment at which the world of tradition makes its case to Achilleus and is rebuffed.[1]

As frequently, a simile involving the elements is used to convey the mood of the troops (4–8).[2] The description here of north winds driving against the sea recalls in particular the wind and sea similes used to represent the unstable reactions of the men in the assembly of Book 2 (144f, 394ff), and again Agamemnon summons a council to propose flight (B_1: 9–88). But the earlier pattern of council of chiefs followed by general

CHART 3.2

Book 9

A_1 — 1ff: As Trojans keep night watch, panic seizes Greeks (4–8: simile of Boreas and Zephyr; ring: *Achaious*, 1/8, *Achaion*) — S

B_1 — 9ff: Agamemnon with heralds summons assembly (ring: *Atreides*, 9/12, *autos d'*)
- 13ff: Agamemnon, weeping like spring of dark water (14ff), complains of Zeus' *ate, apate* (ring established by distress of men in 13 and 30) — S
  - 31ff: Diomedes rebukes Agamemnon's *aphradie*; points out discrepancy between Agamemnon's royal position and his lack of *alke*, which is the greatest *kratos*; with Sthenelos will fight on even if rest leave, for they have come with god (49)
  - 50f: Troops applaud
- 52ff: Nestor urges stationing guards, eating, another council
- 79bff: Troops obey, watch dispatched

C_1 — 89ff: Elders summoned to Agamemnon's hut, feast
- 92ff: Nestor urges reconciliation with Achilleus
  - 114ff: Agamemnon reiterates theme of *ate*, offers gifts, return of Briseis, but urges subordination of Achilleus
- 162ff: Nestor proposes embassy
- 174ff: Libation, departure from Agamemnon's hut (ring: 89f/178)

D — 182ff: Embassy departs, finds Achilleus singing to lyre taken in sack of Thebe as Patroklos sits by listening; they approach, led by Odysseus (192b; ring: *to de baten*, 182 and 192a)
- 193bff: Achilleus welcomes embassy, Patroklos prepares meal
  - 222ff: Odysseus' speech, recalling Peleus' advice on *philophrosyne*, self-control; lists gifts, substituting *kydos* for Agamemnon's demand for continued subordination
    - 307ff: Achilleus' speech; gifts, *time* worthless; death comes to all; Agamemnon's insult to both achievement and relationship; double fate (323: simile of mother bird) — S
      - 432ff: Phoinix speaks: story of quarrel over a mistress (Peleus like a father, 481); daughters of prayer; appeal of tradition: Meleager; appeal of *time*: Greeks will honor Achilleus like a god (603) — S, S
    - 606ff: Achilleus asserts that his *time* comes from Zeus; invites Phoinix to stay
  - 622bff: Aias rebukes Achilleus' anger, lack of pity (632), disregard of *philotes* (630)
- 643ff: Achilleus' final answer: he will not fight until Hektor threatens his own ships
- 656bff: Embassy makes libation, leaves, led by Odysseus (cf. 192b); bed readied for Phoinix, Achilleus and Patroklos retire with captive women

C_2 — 669ff: Return of embassy to Agamemnon's hut (w. 669 cf. 178)
- 672ff: Agamemnon questions results
  - 676ff: Odysseus confirms Achilleus' anger, rejection of gifts
- 693bff: Troops silent (693f=28f)

B_2 — 696ff: Diomedes complains of Achilleus' *agenoria*; Achilleus will fight if *thymos* and god stir him (702f); urges eating and sleep, the source of *menos* and *alke* (706) (696=31)
710bff: Leaders applaud (w. 710 cf. 50, 711=51; cf. 694)

A_2 — 712f: Libation, sleep (cf. 657)

assembly is reversed here, and the formalities of the previous gatherings are absent. Agamemnon, without benefit of Dressing scene and deprived of his sceptre, unceremoniously joins the heralds in summoning the men (12), whose silent distress serves to frame his appeal (*tetieotes*, 13 and 29f). Although his words echo his earlier statement (9.18–25=2.111–18, 9.26–28=2.139–41),[3] there is no deception here, conscious or unconscious: Agamemnon's despair is real, if exaggerated, and he breaks into weeping like a spring of dark water (14f), complaining of the *ate* Zeus has visited on him. The terms of his "apology" are similar to those in his previous complaints but are called into question at once and tellingly: Diomedes' rebuke of Agamemnon's folly (31ff) is a bald statement of the discrepancy between the appearance of the king's royal power and the reality of his lack of *alke*, "which is the greatest *kratos*" (39).[4] In anticipation of a similar sentiment more sweepingly enunciated by Achilleus in 16.97–100, Diomedes claims that he and Sthenelos will fight on even if all the rest flee, because *they* have come "with god" (49). That is, he does not merely assert good omens, such as those Sthenelos earlier claimed for the expedition against Thebes (4.408); instead, he opposes a code of direct and individual motivation by the gods to that of submission to the divine will at a remove, through obedience to the leader of a conventionally accepted political structure claiming divine sanction. Even more clearly than in the case of Teukros' retort to the earlier appeal of Agamemnon (Book 8. 292ff), this determination to win individual glory despite official counsels of doom represents a threat to the interests of the group and the authority of its leaders—a threat that is inherent, it seems, in a code in which tradition has not been able to resolve or effectively ease the tension between the objectives of action and of ritual. At the same time, Diomedes anticipates the issue of heroic motivation that will be articulated shortly by Achilleus.[5]

Indeed, his words appear to suggest already the parallel of Achilleus (as Leaf suggests on the reference of 63f), for Nestor manages to silence Diomedes in terms that recall his less successful intervention between Achilleus and Agamemnon in Book 1: To the strength of Diomedes (*karteros*, 53, as of Achilleus in 1.280f; cf. 178 and 186) Nestor opposes his own superior age (*geraiteros*, 60, cf. 1.259f) and Agamemnon's superlative kingliness (*basileutatos*, 69, cf. 1.279ff).[6] But Nestor's regal Agamemnon accords ill with the weeping king of 13bff, to which this passage corresponds formally. Indeed, it is Nestor who is left to deal with the situation: Combining rhetorical obeisance to Agamemnon (69) with the practicalities of eating and posting guards, he advises the men to yield to the night (in 65 and 78, at the center and at the end of his speech), echoing Idaios' advice to the contending Hektor and Aias in Book 7 (282; cf. Hektor to his men in 8.502).

In the ensuing section (C_1: 89–181), ringed by the gathering and departure of the leaders at Agamemnon's hut (89f and 178), Nestor renews his argument, this time not to mediate between Diomedes and the king but to plead for a reconciliation with Achilleus. Despite his grandiloquently hymnic exordium (96f),[7] Nestor too sets himself in opposition to Agamemnon, this time in terms of persuasion and intelligence (or will; cf. the insistent repetition in *noesei*, *noeo*, *noon* at 104, 105, and 108). But it is clear from Agamemnon's response (114ff) that he is still unable to deal in terms other than externals: The error was not his own but a result of madness sent by Zeus (*ate* again, 115); he offers gifts, the return of Briseis, wealth, marriage to one of his daughters, power—everything, in short, but the kind of apology that would effect a reordering of relationship.[8] Achilleus must still recognize Agamemnon as ruler inasmuch as he is the "kinglier" (*basileuteros*, 160) and the elder (161; here Agamemnon appears to conflate for his own use Nestor's arguments against Diomedes). The scene ends as Nestor again supplies practical advice, himself appointing the committee to visit Achilleus, and the leaders depart with a libation.

The central and climactic episode (D) begins with a description of the departure of the embassy, led by Odios and Eurybates (182ff, cf. 192, taking the subject of the dual verb from the admitted distance of 170—though the two heralds' administration of the libations preliminary to departure is detailed at 174ff). The passage has long exerted a notorious fascination on connoisseurs of the Greek dual; it is also effective in recalling the departure of the two heralds on their mission to deprive Achilleus of Briseis at 1.329 (*to d' aekonte baten para thin' halos atrygetoio*, "the two went unwilling along the shore of the unwearied sea").[9] The emphasis on unwilling participation in the earlier venture is replaced here by actual fear of Achilleus' reaction (183f); but instead of anger or even the fatalism of that previous reception, the heralds and their three companions encounter an Achilleus whose profound isolation is indicated by his retreat into the past and the consolation of heroic lays, as he accompanies his singing with a lyre won in the earlier days of the war. And although the approach of the Greeks "dearest" (198, 204) to Achilleus soon diverts him from his reverie to the present and the rituals of feasting, lavishly described,[10] the appeals made by Odysseus, Phoinix, and Aias only reinforce the gulf between what is and what should be.

The description of Odios and Eurybates leading the way along the shore at 182 (*to de baten*) is repeated, ringing the segment, as they arrive at Achilleus' hut and approach him (*to de baten protero*, 192a). At this point Odysseus (192b) takes the lead, usurping the function of the heralds as he had done in 2.183f (where he makes Eurybates his valet while he himself takes charge of restraining the flight to the ships); and in address-

ing Achilleus first (223bff), he assumes the role of spokesman to which Nestor had earlier appointed Phoinix.[11] In the following passage the duals of Achilleus' welcome in 196f (directed, with what may be taken as evasive formality, to the heralds, ignoring Odysseus)[12] give way to the ambiguously inclusive plurals of his instructions to Patroklos in 204; and after the tension of the initial encounter has spent itself in the vehemence of the ensuing interchange, the poet's own distinction between heralds and the other three dissolves in the conclusion to the scene at 656ff, as, after libation by each one, the group departs led again by Odysseus (655b).[13]

In the first of the appeals to Achilleus, the eloquent Odysseus modifies the mere listing of gifts Agamemnon has offered: He adds Peleus' parting advice to his son to avoid quarreling in favor of self-control and *philophrosyne* (a kindly or friendly disposition; 255f); and instead of repeating Agamemnon's stipulation that Achilleus must still subordinate himself to his royal power, Odysseus substitutes the appeal of *kydos*.[14] But for Achilleus self-restraint is useless if it contributes to the perpetuation of a lie; and in his considered if explosive reply, he makes it clear that for him gifts are equally valueless if (by being subject to retraction) they represent egotistical caprice or (by being prorated to need) serve as mere wages for services rendered rather than as tokens of genuine regard for a voluntary commitment to a cause. The honor conferred by a corrupt system managed by a figure who does not live up to the standards he imposes on others is meaningless in the face of death, the impartial reward of all.

Achilleus' rejection of external forms in favor of essential value is perhaps most poignantly expressed in his assertion (341ff) that even though Briseis was a captive of war his feeling for her was genuine (*ek thymou phileon*, 343). By asserting the emotional aspect of sexual partnership and insisting that a proper regard for it is characteristic of a good and prudent man (*aner agathos kai echephron*, 341), Achilleus implicitly condemns the values inherent in Agamemnon's earlier preoccupation with the social function of relationship as an indicator of status (1.106ff), in which, given parity of beauty and domestic skill, one female is interchangeable with another.[15] Indeed, Achilleus explicitly rejects such a depersonalized ethic by refusing the offer of marriage with a daughter of Agamemnon, not even if she rival Aphrodite in beauty and Athena in skill (388ff). Despite Odysseus' tactful omission of Agamemnon's claim to superior kingship, Achilleus seems—in the progress of the scene as the reader construes it—to divine Agamemnon's meaning beneath Odysseus' evasion in his sarcasm of 391f: "Let him choose someone . . . who is kinglier." Achilleus' irresolution turns to contempt for the Greek cause, and he determines to sail away on the next day (356ff, 428f). What matters is the quality of life, in which speech and thought, form and sub-

stance, appearance and reality harmonize. If this cannot be accomplished within the context of heroic values, then it must be achieved in isolation by a retreat to the lower plane of self-sufficiency offered by the past and home.

Achilleus' response has been more admired than understood, and it is worth pausing to consider its structure in some detail. Far from being the magnificently confused and repetitious harangue of a misfit caught in the trammels of a formulaic language that cannot supply him with the means of articulating his contempt and disillusion,[16] the effect of Achilleus' utterance derives precisely from its clarity and focus. That the speech should seem to be "constantly turning back on itself" is only natural in view of its ring-compositional structure.[17] Achilleus' first words set out the distinction between truth and falsehood, between being and seeming, that will form the basis of his entire speech. Although he expresses himself in the idiom of the world of the poem and of his situation within it, his words are conceptually and dramatically adequate to express his sense of isolation from that world, dominated by Agamemnon and now represented by Odysseus.

In 308–17, by way of introduction (A_1 on Chart 3.3), Achilleus opposes his own forthrightness to the duplicity of the liar: The immediate reference of 312f appears, inevitably, to be Odysseus, whom we have already seen hedging in his representation of Agamemnon's own words. But the more significant target, evident in 315ff, is Agamemnon, who has in ways yet to be described betrayed the *charis*, or gratitude, on which the relationship between himself and his supporters among the *basileis* depends.

In B_1 (of the speech) Achilleus proceeds to illustrate this charge: Though he labors night and day, risking his life for the "wives of others" (the specific implication of the general reference in 327 is clear enough), the distinction between his own heroic effort and the worthless inaction of others has been cast aside. Despite the great quantity of booty Achilleus has contributed to the common store, to be allotted in recognition of individual achievement, Agamemnon, remaining by the ships, has kept the bulk of it for himself (the connection between the sluggard of 318 and Agamemnon in 332 is emphasized by the ringing function of *menonti* and *opisthe menon*).

More specifically still, and bringing us to the crux of the present conflict, Achilleus maintains in B_2 that greed has debased the relationship between the king and his supporters. In the case of Achilleus, this relationship has actually been destroyed by Agamemnon's retraction of his gift. Agamemnon has moreover revealed that he is operating on a quite different system of value where his personal interests are concerned: a system that excludes the hero by implying that his tokens of regard have

CHART 3.3

Achilleus' Reply to Odysseus

(P=theme of Persuasion; D=theme of Deception)

A1
- 308ff: Odysseus, I must speak as I think
  - (P) 311: Lest you come trying to coax me this way and that.
    - (D) 312f: For I hate like the gates of Hell the man who says one thing and hides another in his heart.
  - 314: Therefore I will speak as I think best.
    - (P) 315ff: Nor do I think Agamemnon or the rest of the Danaans will persuade me, for there is no gratitude (*charis*) for constant battle with the enemy.

B1
- 318ff: We have an equal *moira*, whether we fight or stay back; good and bad receive equal *time*.
  - 321f: I possess little, though I constantly risk my life
    - 323f: like a mother bird to feed her young, though ailing herself
    - 325ff: fighting night and day for others' wives.
- 328ff: I took twelve cities by sea and eleven by land and gave the spoils to Agamemnon, who, remaining by the ships, took the greater part and distributed little (ring: *menonti*, 318/332, *opisthe menon*)

B2
- 334ff: He gave gifts to the best and the kings, which are safe; mine alone he took back.
  - 336bff: He has my dear *alochos*: let him enjoy her. But why should Greeks fight against Trojans? Are we not here because of Helen? Do Greeks alone love their wives? Any good and self-controlled man cherishes his wife, as I did mine, though she was a captive.
- (D, 344) (P, 345) 344ff: But he took my *geras* from me and deceived me. Let him not try to persuade me (ring: *emeu . . . heilet'*, 335f/344, *geras heileto*).

A2
- 346ff: You, Odysseus, and the other kings take counsel how to defend the ships against Hektor, despite the wall; he would not venture beyond the Skaian gates and the oak when I was fighting and nearly killed him there.
  - 356ff: But now, since I do not wish to fight Hektor, I will sail home tomorrow; and if Poseidon grant it, in three days I shall return to Phthia, where there is much wealth, along with my share here, including many women.
    - (D, 371, 375) 367bff: But Agamemnon has taken my *geras*. Go back and tell him what I say, lest he deceive another. I will not share *boule* or *ergon* with him, for he has deceived and offended me. Let him not try it again.
      - (P, 375f) 376bf: But let him be: Zeus took away his wits (*phrenas*)
    - 378ff: I hate his gifts, no matter how much he offers. Nor will he persuade me before he makes good his offense, nor would I marry his daughter; let him find her a kinglier mate.
      - (P, 386)
  - 393ff: If the gods grant me safe return, I shall marry a girl from Hellas or Phthia and enjoy Peleus' wealth (ring: *Peleus*, 394/400).
    - 401ff: The wealth of Troy is not worth my life, for death is final and life cannot be won as spoils (ring: *psyches*, 401/408, *psyche*)
    - 410ff: I have two fates: if I stay to fight, I shall not return but have imperishable *kleos*; if I return home, I shall lose *kleos* but enjoy a long life (double ring: *meter*, 410/414, *patrida gaian*; *thanatoio telosde*, 411/416, *telos thanatoio*)
  - 417ff: I would urge the rest to sail away, since Zeus is protecting Troy
- 421ff: You go back and advise the chiefs of the Achaians to devise some other way of protecting the ships and the host, since this scheme has failed (ring: *all' . . . phrazestho*, 346f/421ff, *all' hymeis . . . angelien apophasthe . . . ophr' allen phrazontai*). But let Phoinix stay and return with me tomorrow, if he will.

meaning only as a mark of favor (or, as Achilleus implies more clearly in A_2, payment for services rendered). Two points are at issue: the assumption of alienability, at the caprice of the king, of the token that signifies the proven excellence of the hero; and the distinction Achilleus sees being made between the private emotional ties of the royal family of Atreidae and those of the individual hero beyond this circle. It is therefore impossible for Achilleus to proceed further, by accepting Agamemnon's external offer, until a community of value has been restored by healing these internal solecisms—or, as Achilleus expresses it in the next section, until "Agamemnon has put right this heart-rending dishonor" (386ff).

Achilleus' final rejection in A_2, based on the general and specific charges of B_1 and B_2, is framed by his advice to the Greeks to consult their own resources (346–55 and 421–29) and his decision to leave (356–67a and 392–416, which he invites the others to join at 417–20). The rejection itself (367b–92) reiterates the themes of persuasion and deception, combined as in A_1 with reference to Agamemnon, whose witlessness forms the pivot of the section, reminding us of another poor exchange (377b, *phrenas heileto metieta Zeus*—also of Glaukos at 6.234; cf. Agamemnon on his own folly in 19.137). The deceitful Agamemnon was the target of Achilleus' hatred of duplicity at the outset; now at the end he scorns both the man and his gifts (*echthros de moi tou dora*, 378). Achilleus is not making demands of the system that cannot be met (so Adam Parry) or pushing the heroic ideal to an exaggerated extreme by setting an absurdly high value on his honor (Reeve):[18] He is merely stating more eloquently what has already been said before by Sthenelos, Teukros, and Diomedes; and he is demanding that the system be self-consistent. To ask less would be demeaning. He would prefer to withdraw to the ample resources of home. For although he has the choice of long life and obscurity there or an early death with glory before Troy, the *kleos* of the latter alternative is now questionable, and the normal ties of voluntary commitment no longer apply.[19]

Freed therefore by the finality of his reply to Agamemnon's offer, Achilleus surveys the range of possibilities: "But now, since I do not wish to fight with glorious Hektor (356). . . . In three days I might reach fertile Phthia (363). . . . I shall take home gold and ruddy bronze (365ff). . . . Of these, I shall marry the one I please (397). . . . If I fight . . . if I return home (412ff)." Indeed, he extends this new freedom to others: "You may see, if you wish and if it matters to you (359). . . . I would advise the rest to sail home (417f)." But Achilleus' own range of choice begins to narrow as the tearful Phoinix breaks his silence, repeating the appeal of tradition and urging submission to the needs of the group. In response to Achilleus' anger and his repeated rejection of persuasion, Phoinix reminds Achilleus that he, too, is a victim of a quarrel over a mistress and thus serves as an example of the man who has conquered anger, as even the gods can be

placated, as can the heroes of the past, as can Meleagros: For prayers are the daughters of Zeus, and there is no escape from the *ate* they call down from Zeus when they are denied, for they win their way into every country. The immediate point of Phoinix's tale of Meleagros is that the timely aid of a man whose actions are properly acknowledged by the conferral of gifts wins greater honor than does the achievement, however great, of the man who acts on his own.[20] Although his speech is ringed by reference to Achilleus' obligation to protect the ships from burning (435f, 601f), its two main divisions—the appeal to Achilleus' shared past with Phoinix (434–95) and the need to put away his anger, illustrated by the negative example of Meleagros (496–605)—are, as Lohmann has shown, structurally independent.[21] This bipartite structure juxtaposes, but fails to integrate, personal feeling and the requirements of the code. The punitive function of prayers in Phoinix's allegory evokes the world of Solon and Aeschylus, where unseen and intangible realities come to dominate the visible and the concrete.[22] But the value Phoinix places on tangible rewards for performance is essentially that of Agamemnon and Odysseus.

In his response Achilleus asserts his disregard for the sort of *time* that he has described in 318f as offered by the Greeks to the worthless malingerer and the hero alike: In a radical departure from the conventional association of *time* with the honor conveyed by gifts, he declares his belief that he is already honored by Zeus to the end of his days by the ships.[23] Achilleus thus not only opens the possibility of remaining before Troy;[24] he goes well beyond the normal heroic concept of fighting with the gods' sanction and support, beyond even Diomedes' notion of having come to Troy "with god" (49): By rejecting human honor in favor of divine regard, Achilleus adumbrates that reorientation of Greek society toward an emphasis on internal, rather than external, value which anthropologists find characteristic of "guilt" cultures, and which Dodds has contrasted to the "shame" culture typified by the heroic world of the *Iliad*.[25] The implications of this shift of values are as yet unclear in terms of positive motivation. For the present, Achilleus cannot translate this new apprehension into consistency either of mood or of reasoning; he asks Phoinix to remain with him for the night not because he accepts his argument but because of a relationship confirmed by the old man's protestation of his love for Achilleus "from the heart" (*ek thymou*, 486, echoing Achilleus' phrase at 343). The decision to leave—now to be a mutual one (619)—he defers until the morning. As to Phoinix's loyalty to Agamemnon, Achilleus proposes to share with him his own kingship—indicating that for him, unlike Agamemnon (160f), kingship is not an inalienable possession but an external quality that may be extended or divided at will.[26]

Finally, Aias—that Aias who will soon experience an isolation even more terrible than Achilleus'—rebukes Achilleus for disdaining the affec-

tion of his companions. Aias' ensuing arguments (people accept blood money for the murder of a brother or child, and what is one girl compared to the seven being offered?) seem to be irrelevant improvisation before he returns with heartfelt illogic to his earlier point: "We are your guests and want more than anyone to be honored and loved by you; therefore you should agree to our appeal."[27]

But Aias' clumsy reasoning gains an effect not achieved by the polished diplomacy of Odysseus (whose speech this one formally balances): In asserting that the honor in which Achilleus' companions held him was an expression of affection (*philotetos . . . hei . . . etiomen*, 630f), Aias joins Achilleus in departing from the traditional correlation of honor and gifts: He expresses in a way Phoinix had been unable to do something of that internalization of value which Achilleus asserted in his reply to Odysseus, and so evokes the most positive response yet from Achilleus: "You seem to speak according to my heart" (645, *panta ti moi kata thymon eeisao mythesasthai*, where *kata thymon* significantly varies the common *kata metron*, "according to due measure").[28] While Achilleus cannot forget Agamemnon's insult, he now in effect agrees to stay, though he puts the decision negatively: He will not fight until Hektor brings fire to his own ships.

The encounter ends with a libation, the departure of the embassy, and motifs that, like those with which the episode began, recall former times: accommodations for Phoinix (who, as a figure from Achilleus' childhood, corresponds to Achilleus' earlier retreat into songs of past heroes) and unthreatened spoils (the captive women with whom Achilleus and Patroklos retire replace the lyre captured from the city of Eëtion).

In his curiously edited summary of the interchange for Agamemnon, Odysseus (C_2, 677–92) emphasizes only Achilleus' anger, not the possibility that he may yet intervene. The general reaction, as to Agamemnon's earlier despair (29f), is silence (693, 695, cf. 39f). Diomedes (B_2, 696ff) appears to recognize something of Achilleus' mood, but he does so less on Achilleus' terms than on those he has already articulated of himself in his earlier rebuke of Agamemnon: Achilleus will fight again when his *thymos* or the god arouse him (702f, cf. 49). Meanwhile, instead of repeating his criticism of Agamemnon, a now more respectful Diomedes (with 697, echoing 96, cf. the curtness of 32f) scoffs at Achilleus' *agenoria* (699)—his macho, or arrogant manliness—and reiterates the motif of *alke* (706, cf. 39), urging the men to regain their strength by eating and sleeping. As before, he is met by enthusiastic response (with 710f cf. 50f). These two sections depart from the earlier pattern of assembly (B_1) followed by council (C_1): The formulation of Nestor's plan in C_1 is in C_2 balanced by the report of its failure, while in B_2 Diomedes completely displaces the king (whom he had rebuked in B_1) with his attack on Achilleus and his

adjournment of the meeting with words of encouragement for the morning. Despite the contrast between the wakeful panic that had seized the Achaians like a wind-tossed sea at the outset (A_1) and the concluding libation and return to sleep (briefly noted at A_2), the book ends as it began, in the obscurity of night.

In reviewing the possible motives for and the disastrous result of Odysseus' report on the mission, Ruth Scodel has recently concluded that Odysseus' silence about Achilleus' final state of irresolution is "probably based on a misunderstanding of Achilleus' attitude toward his own word."[29] But one need not invoke misunderstanding, miscalculation, or even Odysseus' refusal to admit his failure to win over Achilleus; and although Odysseus' decision has of course also the effect of ensuring the tragedy to come, it is not simply an ironic narrative strategy to forestall a premature reconciliation with Achilleus. It seems more likely that Odysseus is implicitly but quite specifically rejecting the revaluation of *time* apparent in the speeches of Aias and Achilleus. Understood in this way, Odysseus represents a further stage in the poet's dramatization of a growing conflict of values—not simply between power (as represented by Agamemnon) and genuine honor (on Achilleus' terms), but involving also the requirements and value of success (as already evident in Odysseus' behavior toward Thersites in Book 2 and toward Nestor in 8): a desideratum neither king nor hero can guarantee and requiring, for its achievement, the skillful manipulation of just that conflict between appearance and reality represented by the polarity of interest now defined between Agamemnon and Achilleus. Appropriately at this point, in the context of a *paideia* quite different from the education Achilleus has received from Phoinix, the poet turns to the Odyssean alternative: opportunism, its scope and its limitations.

(x) *Doloneia*

"There is no use standing there with your finger in your mouth," Odysseus admonishes Diomedes at 10.479f, as the two pause in their nocturnal foray into the Thracian camp, before proceeding to random and pointless slaughter of unarmed sleepers.[1] The tone—indeed the atmosphere of the entire book—is a far cry from the heroic norm, and the function of the *Doloneia* has remained a perennial object of debate.

Some readers have admired the way in which its muted, unreal atmosphere combines with elements of grim humor to provide a welcome transition from the emotional intensity of Achilleus' rejection of the Greeks in Book 9 to their spirited resumption of battle in 11.[2] Greater effort has been devoted to ejecting 10 from the canon of genuinely Homeric mate-

rial on considerations of language, archaeology, plot, and structure. On the negative side, Analysts have pointed out atypical linguistic usage peculiar to this book (words and phrases found in the *Odyssey* but otherwise unparalleled and allegedly out of place here) and certain uncharacteristic religious elements (among them gilding the horns of sacrificial cattle, mentioned in Diomedes' vow to Athena at 294). Other stumbling blocks have been the elaborate descriptions of anomalous gear, from the animal skins worn for their nocturnal expedition by the Greeks and the Trojan Dolon to the bathtubs in which Odysseus and Diomedes refresh themselves on their return. Even authenticity has aroused suspicion. Diomedes' *kataityx*, or leather helmet (258), and Odysseus' cap decorated with boar tusks (261ff) must derive from early poetic tradition, for they are supported by Bronze Age evidence; but this very insistence on such details is felt to betray a self-consciousness foreign to the poem as a whole.[3] There is general agreement, however, that although the events of Book 10 are never mentioned directly elsewhere in the *Iliad* and do not materially advance the action, the narrative is well enough adjusted to its location in the poem, being virtually unique in offering few very disturbing inconsistencies with its neighbors.[4]

For their part, Unitarian students of the overall design of the poem, including Sheppard and Whitman, have rejected the *Doloneia* as an interlude at best.[5] We shall see, on the contrary, that it is indispensable to the larger pattern of Books 8–17, no less than to the entire twenty-four-book structure, and is thus essential to the discourse of our *Iliad*. For the present, we may confine ourselves to the form of the narrative and its role in developing the thread of poetic ideas in the immediate surroundings.

Despite an impression of looseness created especially by the lengthy initial section (1–179), the overall structure begins with a familiar sequence in which a somewhat irregular assembly of Greeks is summoned (A_1) and convened (B_1, 180–298). In this case, however, the pattern is repeated briefly with the summoning (C_1, 299–301) and convening (D_1, 302–37) of a Trojan assembly. The ensuing central encounter (E) cancels the Trojan sequence, and the book ends with a return to the Greek assembly (B_2, 532–65), which is rather dissolved than dismissed (A_2, 566ff).[6] The slaughter of Dolon thus results in an assymetrical frame for the central episode, which focuses on the massacre of sleeping Thracians and the theft of Rhesos' horses (470–525). As in Book 9, thematic emphasis and dramatic climax converge; unlike it, the frame established by A_1–D_1 collapses as deluded Trojan ambition encounters Greek guile and is extinguished.

Problems arise in matters of detail. At the outset (A_1), a sequence in which a warrior is roused to take counsel with another is repeated five times. The pattern, if not its insistent repetition and variation, is similar

CHART 3.4

Book 10

A1 Greek Council summoned:
- (a) 1ff: Agamemnon wakeful (storm simile, 5–9) — S
  - 17ff: decides to seek Nestor's advice
    - 21ff: dresses in lionskin etc.
- (c) 25ff: Menelaos wakeful (cf. 10)
  - 29ff: dresses in leopard skin etc.
  - 32f: departs to find Agamemnon
    - 34f: encounters him "arming" by ship
      - 36ff: Exchange: Menelaos' query
        - 42ff: Agamemnon will find Nestor while Menelaos summons Idomeneus and Aias
      - 60ff: Menelaos wonders whether to stay with them
        - 64ff: Agamemnon says to wait there
  - 72f: they depart
- (c) 74ff: Agamemnon finds Nestor
  - 80f: Nestor roused
    - 82ff: Exchange: Nestor's query
      - 86ff: Agamemnon's concern for sentries
    - 102ff: Nestor suggests sending for Diomedes, Odysseus, T. Aias, Menelaos; rebukes Menelaos
      - 119ff: Agamemnon excuses Menelaos
    - 128ff: Nestor replies
      - 131ff: Nestor dresses in woolen cloak etc. (w. 132 cf. 22); departs
- (d) 137: Nestor finds Odysseus
  - 138f: Nestor rouses him
    - 140ff: Exchange: Odysseus' query
      - 143ff: Nestor explains
        - 148bff: Odysseus brings shield, departs with Nestor
- (e) 150bff: Nestor and Odysseus find Diomedes (154: lightning-simile; cf. 5–9) — S
  - 157ff: Nestor rouses Diomedes with a kick and rebuke
    - 162bff: Exchange: Diomedes complains
      - 168ff: Nestor sends Diomedes for Aias and Meges
        - 177bf: Diomedes dresses in lionskin (cf. 23f), takes spear (178, cf. 152bf) and departs

B1 Greek Council; mission sent
- 180ff: Leaders pass wakeful sentries (dog simile, 183–87;) — S
  - 190ff: Nestor's encouragement
- 194bff: Leaders, with Meriones and Antilochos, reach clearing among corpses
  - 203ff: Nestor's plan to send spies, promises sacrificial gifts on return
    - 219ff: Diomedes' offer to go with another
      - 227bff: six volunteer, including Odysseus
        - 233ff: Agamemnon's speech: status no criterion for choice
      - 241ff: Diomedes chooses Odysseus (cf. forms of *noein* in 247 and 225)
      - 248ff: Odysseus accepts
        - 254ff: They arm in night gear and set out (ring: 254/272f)
  - 274ff: Omen from Athena
    - 277ff: Odysseus prays for safe return
    - 283ff: Diomedes prays, promises sacrifice on return
    - 295: Athena hears
- 296ff: They pass through corpses (lion simile: 297, answering 183ff; w. 298 cf. 199f) — S

C1 Trojan Council summoned (299ff)

CHART 3.4 (*cont.*)

D1 Trojan Council; mission sent
- 302ff: Hektor offers prize for volunteer spy (313=218)
  - 314ff: Dolon agrees, asks for Achilleus' horses (327=147)
- 328bff: Hektor's oath
  - 333ff: Dolon leaves with bow and arrow, clad in wolf skin and weasel cap

E Encounter:
- a_1
  - 338ff: Odysseus perceives Dolon; suggests strategy for capture
  - 349ff: Odysseus and Diomedes let Dolon pass by (digression on mules/oxen, 351ff, cf. 84), then pursue like hounds (360ff) — SS
    - 365ff: Athena inspires Diomedes, who threatens Dolon; he casts, misses intentionally
      - 374bff: Dolon stops in fear, pleads for life, offers ransom
        - 382ff: Odysseus promises safety, asks about mission
        - 390ff: Dolon blames Hektor for deception, promise of horses
        - 400ff: Odysseus' irony on Achilleus' horses; asks about Hektor etc.
        - 412ff: Dolon's information on guards
        - 423ff: Odysseus asks about watchmen, position of troops
      - 426ff: Dolon's "catalogue" of sleepers; pleads for safety (437: Rhesos' horses whiter than snow, fast as winds) — SS
    - 446ff: Diomedes rejects offer, slays Dolon (w. 446b cf. 369b)
  - 458ff: Diomedes and Odysseus strip Dolon; Odysseus offers spoils to Athena, hangs them on a tamarisk, leaves marker; they depart (469b=298b)
- b
  - 470ff: Diomedes and Odysseus reach sleeping Thracians, Rhesos
  - 476ff: Odysseus indicates heroes, suggests strategy
    - 482bff: Athena inspires Diomedes, who slays 12 (lion simile, 485ff), as Odysseus removes them from path of horses; then a thirteenth, Rhesos, through Athena's plan — S
      - 498ff: Odysseus unties horses, whips them with bow, signals to Diomedes, hesitating whether to take chariot or slay further victims
      - 507ff: Athena warns Diomedes to return to safety lest a god rouse Trojans
      - 513ff: Diomedes mounts chariot, Odysseus whips horses with bow
    - 515ff: Apollo, seeing Athena helping Diomedes, rouses Rhesos' cousin Hippokoōn, who sees carnage and horses missing
  - 523ff: Turmoil among roused Trojans at work of Diomedes and Odysseus
- a_2
  - 526ff: Odysseus and Diomedes return for spoils taken from Dolon, escape to ships

B2 Return to Greek Council
- 532ff: Nestor hears Odysseus and Diomedes returning with horses, is alarmed
- 540ff: Odysseus and Diomedes return, dismount, are greeted by Greeks
- 543ff: Nestor admires horses, supposes them a gift of some god; Athena's love for both men (547: horses like sun) — S
- 554: Odysseus makes light of horses, recounts number slaughtered; leads horses away across ditch among rejoicing Greeks

A2 Return to ships:
- 566ff: At his hut, Diomedes tethers horses with his own
  - 570f: Odysseus puts aside spoils for Athena
    - 572–79: They wash, bathe, dine, with libation for Athena

to the scenes of awakening and assembly we have seen developed at considerable length in Book 2 and more briefly in 9.[7] The elements included here involve simple wakefulness or the finding and rousing of a warrior by another party, a decision to take action or an exchange leading to that decision, a Dressing scene and a formula of departure—a sequence most fully elaborated in the awakening of Nestor (74–136) and Diomedes (150b–79). As in Books 2 and 9, Agamemnon appears first; his insomnia parallels that of Zeus at 2.2f, and the storm simile used to describe it (5–9) generally recalls that used to depict the panic among the Greeks in 9.4–8. But the impression of hyperbole in the simile here, apparently comparing the frequency of Agamemnon's groans to Zeus' lightning in a storm,[8] seems confirmed by the bizarre description of Agamemnon tearing out his hair by the roots "to Zeus on high" (16); and although the decision to seek out Nestor and the ensuing Dressing scene involve formulas found in Book 2 (10.17=2.5; 10.21=2.42; 10.22=2.44), Agamemnon takes up not his familiar *pharos* and sceptre (2.46; cf. 8.221) but an atypical, if more practical, lion skin and sword (23f).

Instead of continuing with the activation of Agamemnon's plan as in Book 2, there is at this point a break in the narrative and a shift to an even more compressed repetition of the sequence in a description of Menelaos' anxiety. Here matters are in a state of equal disorder, as the sleepless hero rises to dress in a leopard skin before departing to find his brother, "whom the people honor like a god" (33),[9] and whom he discovers "arming" himself (34 and 37) by his ship. In the ensuing exchange (36–71), the sense of confusion and uncertainty conveyed by the anomalous treatment of these initial scenes is now verbalized, before they exit in different directions, by the characters themselves: in Menelaos' fear lest Agamemnon has decided to risk the danger of sending out a scout (37–41); in Agamemnon's admission that they both need advice, in view of Hektor's accomplishments, though he is no son of a god (50, perhaps betraying Agamemnon's bad conscience in the matter of Achilleus); and in the general illogic of his ensuing plans, culminating in the instruction to Menelaos not to baulk at calling by their correct titles the men he rouses, for this labor they perform is the sorry lot Zeus has imposed on them from birth (67–71).[10]

In the rousing of Nestor (74–136), the pattern is developed at a more leisurely pace suited to its subject and its centrality in the series of five episodes. The formula of discovery (74, cf. 34) introduces a remarkably circumstantial description of Nestor's surroundings: the soft bed, the armor laid out neatly for an arming that will be passed over. Following the conventional awakening (80), there is irony in Nestor's failure to recognize his leader in the dark and in his query whether Agamemnon is looking for a mule (84: the point here is not that mules do stray,[11] but

Nestor's incongruous supposition that the lord of men should conduct the search). Humor continues in Agamemnon's prolonged and exaggerated description of his distress (89ff; note the uniquely intensified form of *alaluktemai*, 94); in Nestor's verbalization of Agamemnon's repressed reference to their need for Achilleus (106f, cf. 50); in the courtly ellipse of Nestor's suggestion that Agamemnon summon Aias and Idomeneus (111f: "If only someone should. . . ."); and in Agamemnon's defensive insistence that Menelaos awakened first (124). Nestor's Dressing scene (131ff) begins conventionally, repeating 21ff (and again evoking 2.42ff), but ends in a description of the pile on his cloak that employs a formula found elsewhere only in the description of the fuzzy growth of Thersites' hair (134b=2.219b).

The following encounter with Odysseus is, by contrast, tersely compressed into not quite fourteen lines (137–150a): Finding and awakening are combined into one idea (137ff), and the exchange is brief, with only three lines (148ff) devoted to Odysseus' dressing and formula of departure (as in 2.183 and like the victim of his own ruse in *Odyssey* 14, he leaves his cloak behind, taking only his shield; of the rest of the costume we hear later).

With yet another shift in narrative tempo, the final wakening—that of Diomedes (150b—179)—is elaborately developed, closing the initial sequence with elements repeated from its beginning: The lightning simile describing the glitter of Diomedes' bronze spears impaled butt-end in the ground (153ff) recalls the lightning of Zeus in line 5; the lion skin with which Diomedes clothes himself (177b) echoes that of Agamemnon, repeating the half-line at 23b. In the earlier scene, we saw a breakdown of narrative tone achieved by deviations from the scenic pattern; here the initial lightning simile—inappropriate in itself, given the depth of the night—entails an actual reversal of the usual Arming pattern, where it properly occurs last, as the warrior takes up his spear after having put on all his other equipment (with 10.153f, *tele de chalkos/ lamph'*, cf. 11.44f: *tele de chalkos . . . lamph'*, of Agamemnon's arming).[12] Heroic dignity is sacrificed for realism as Nestor kicks Diomedes out of the deep sleep of youth (perhaps in delayed response to Diomedes' rebuke of his elder's failing power in 8.102ff)[13] and is met with the epithets *schetlios* (164) and *amechanos* (167), which in context convey admiration ("relentless," "irresistible") but at the same time retain an element of ambiguity ("wretched," "helpless") difficult to reconcile with the courtesy due an older warrior from a younger.

The entire section possesses a formal unity derived from balancing motifs embedded in the first and last of a series of repeated type-scenes. At the same time, a deliberate inconsistency in the treatment of this repeated pattern so exceeds the limits of meaningful variation as to suggest a con-

fusion bordering on collapse. Instead of establishing a pattern only to explode it (as in the *Epipolesis*),[14] the poet creates by omission, reversal, and exaggeration a sense of disintegration from beginning to end.

Section B_1, describing the Greek council and dispatch of the spies, begins with an evocation of the Rousing pattern: As this assemblage of Greeks dressed in animal skins proceeds to a clearing among the corpses in the dark and silent battlefield beyond the ditch (the panorama is worthy of a Caspar David Friedrich), they encounter the guards who, in a scenic reversal, are not asleep but awake and alert (188f) and are commended by Nestor, not rebuked (192, cf. 159). As the council itself begins in a setting of carnage appropriate to the deeds to follow, normal features of the Assembly pattern are few.[15] The sceptre, omitted from Agamemnon's Dressing scene, is absent here also. Indeed, it is Nestor who presides, not Agamemnon. When the king does speak, perhaps remembering Menelaos' alarm at the project of a spying expedition (37ff) and fearful that Diomedes might choose him to go along, he suddenly abnegates the claim of royal prerogative he has enunciated so insistently in Book 1 and so tenaciously even in his despair of Book 9, where he argued that Achilleus should submit to him, Agamemnon, inasmuch as he is the "kinglier" (*basileuteros*, 160). Agamemnon now admits that the better man (*ton . . . areio*, 237) and the kinglier (*basileuteros*, 239) are not necessarily one and the same; that rank is, in effect, no index to competence. Bereft of the support of Zeus and the aid of Achilleus, the discrepancy between what Agamemnon is and what he has claimed to be lies self-exposed.

Diomedes' choice of Odysseus to accompany him is puzzling, given his failure to help save Nestor on the previous day; and indeed Diomedes' excessive praise in 242ff provokes a curious response in Odysseus' "neither praise me so nor yet blame me" (249), as if Odysseus detected irony in Diomedes' speech.[16] There is, moreover, elaborate formal irony in the way in which yet another Arming (254–71)—a double one in this case—imitates the standard while departing from it. Unusually, the process is viewed as simultaneous, not sequential (cf. the duals in the arming formulas at 254 and 272 that ring the scene).[17] Further, Diomedes and Odysseus must borrow gear from others, having come away without their own; instead of the conventional climax in the genealogy of the spear the warrior takes up last (as in 19.387ff), we have a genealogy of Odysseus' heirloom helmet; and the glitter of the spear has already been anticipated by the dislocated simile at 154ff in the scene outside Diomedes' hut. The sources of the borrowed items are significant: Diomedes is supplied a sword and shield by the appropriately named Thrasymedes ("Boldplan," 255f); and the boar-tusk *kataityx* that Meriones provides for Odysseus was stolen from Ormenos by Autolykos ("Lone-wolf"), Odys-

seus' maternal grandfather, notorious in his day for theft and "equivocal oath" (*Od.* 19.395f). The daring advertised by Diomedes' weapons and the reminder of Odysseus' Autolykan side serve as a foreshadowing of their encounter with Dolon: Odysseus as the deceiver, Diomedes the slayer.[18]

Responding to a favorable omen from Athena (274ff), the two heroes pray for success. Diomedes' promise of a sacrifice on their safe return motivically echoes Nestor's offer of a reward of sacrificial sheep from each of the leaders to the successful volunteer (203ff). They depart through the corpses in terms that echo the beginning of the episode (298ff, cf. 199f), with a brief animal simile that recalls the earlier description of the wakeful guards (297, cf. 183–87) but with particular relevance here: For as the two warriors advance, they are not simply *like* lions, but in a rapid process of dehumanization will themselves *become* nocturnal predators. Diomedes' lion skin serves not merely for defense against the chill or as night gear for purposes of camouflage, nor simply as a metaphor for the character of his deeds, but to signify the identity of man and beast confirmed by repetition of the lion simile in the midst of Diomedes' massacre of the Thracians (482ff).[19]

In the summoning of the Trojan council (C_1: 299–301) and the council proper and dispatch of Dolon (D_1: 302–37), the pattern of the two previous sections is repeated, with a brevity that by contrast with the extended treatment of A_1 and B_1 underlines the difference between the elaborate, if confused, calculation of the Greeks and the simplicity of Trojan naiveté. Dolon's conjecture of a Greek assembly (especially 327, cf. 147) serves as a formal parallel between the two sections and echoes something of Menelaos' peculiar clairvoyance, in anticipating at the outset (38ff) the ultimate result of the leaders' subsequent deliberations.[20] The perception is inauspicious in the event, for Dolon the "trickster" will become Dolon the tricked: By extracting from Hektor the promise of owning Achilleus' horses, Dolon exemplifies that same Trojan susceptibility to the lure of *aglaa dora* with which Athena tempted Pandaros into shooting Menelaos in 4.97. There is multiple irony in Hektor's solemn oath, sceptre in hand, that "no other man of the Trojans shall mount these horses" (330f), for not only will the Greeks be takers of horses here, but Dolon's hopeless ambition foreshadows Hektor's in Book 17, where the rebuke of Hektor by Apollo as Mentes will echo Odysseus' words to Dolon (10.402–4=17.76–78); and of course Hektor and Dolon anticipate the Trojans' ultimate undoing by their fascination with a horse.[21]

As Dolon leaves with dressing and departure formulas recalling those found in the earlier scenes, the two patterns (A_1+B_1 and C_1+D_1) collide, so to speak, in section E (338ff), in the actual confrontation between Greek and Trojan and the qualities they represent. But formal emphasis is

placed not on the encounter with Dolon himself (338–469, which is balanced in 526–31 by the description of the return to the Greek camp with spoils taken from Dolon) but on the attack on the Thracians (470–525). Dolon's decapitation is a mere prelude to even more brutal slaughter. In Book 2 Agamemnon's wakefulness had inaugurated an Assembly pattern that led to preparations for war culminating in the two catalogues. Here, a similar chain of events brings us to Dolon's survey of Trojan positions (412ff, esp. 427ff, of which only 430f reproduces the actual order of the earlier catalogue). But this extortion of tactical information—not so much a listing of armed warriors as a menu of carnage—replaces the challenging exchange of genealogies characteristic of encounters between Greek and Trojan. Similarly, we proceed to the murder of the suppliant Dolon and a slaughter of unconscious Thracians instead of open battle or an attempt to resolve the question of Helen by heroic duel, as in the confrontations of Books 3 and 7. And as the two Greeks yield to the same desire to possess marvellous horses that had inspired Dolon, motivations converge in the same desire for *aglaa dora*; only the method of acquiring them differs, as the bravura spying expedition degenerates into surreptitious and bloodthirsty pillage.[22]

This inversion—or rather exposure—of the heroic mode continues in B_3, as Nestor is so struck by the horses stolen from Rhesus that he forgets to elicit from Diomedes and Odysseus the tactical information they have gained. And in Odysseus' opaque dismissal of Nestor's praise of the horses (556f, formally echoing his demurral of B_1, 249), the inconsequence of the expedition is evident: "A god could easily, if he wished, grant better horses than these, for they are more powerful" (or "there are mightier horses"). Indeed, we hear no more of the horses or of Dolon, or even of the promised reward of black ewes, although—as offerings appropriate to the gods of the dead—the offer takes on a grim aptness in retrospect (cf. *oin . . . melainan / thelyn* of 215f with Kirke's instructions of *Od.* 10.572, *oin thelyn te melainan*).[23] The book ends with a return to the comforts of "home"—suggested in a trivializing note of realism by the otherwise incongruous bathtubs of 576, affording Diomedes and Odysseus a means of relaxing from their treachery in the luxuries of civilization—and an offering to Athena, who has ensured the success of the inglorious foray.[24]

Thus, far from standing in isolation from its surroundings, the *Doloneia* continues the examination of the questions of leadership and of traditional motivation that have preoccupied the poet in the earlier books. The issue of Agamemnon's role—inaugurated in 1, further explored in 2 and 4 and restated in 8 and 9—is developed here in terms that both harmonize with and effectively advance its previous formulation. The larger question of heroic motivation, exposed so pointedly here, continues a

parallel series of telling episodes: For Dolon's hopeless pursuit of alluring possessions is both a summation and foreshadowing of a persistent and ultimately fatal Trojan weakness that we have seen stated briefly in the Catalogue of Book 2, more dramatically in 3, in the temptation of Pandaros in 4, and most poignantly in the meeting of Hektor and Andromache in 6. Similarly among the Greeks, Book 1 posed the question of honor due the foremost fighter and his dilemma when conventional tokens of that honor are withdrawn; 5 and 7 portrayed the limitations of the heroic response; and the relevance of appropriate reward was questioned in 8 in the case of Teukros, who anticipates Achilleus' rejection of gifts and the self-motivation of Diomedes in 9, as well as the abandonment of conventional forms of heroic warfare by Diomedes and Odysseus in 10. Thus we have in Book 10 the convergence of a familiar double progression: self-deception among the Trojans, represented by Dolon, and among the Greeks a breakdown in traditional authority and the conventions of heroism, culminating in Agamemnon's denial of the equation of rank and quality and in Diomedes' and Odysseus' abandonment of heroic means to obtain heroic rewards. The elaborate arming of Agamemnon in 11 will now have a peculiarly hollow ring; and his subsequent wounding, together with that of the other Greek leaders, will produce a more complex reaction than it might have otherwise.

By stripping them of their conventional garb, the *Doloneia* gives us our most intimate view so far of the Greeks as individuals; in their nocturnal camouflage we see them most clearly. And in the insistent narrative of prayers, omens, and dedications to Athena we see also, as in Book 2, the emptiness of religious usage in isolation from the will of Zeus. Indeed, at the center of the Rhesos episode and at the formal center of the book, as Diomedes pauses to consider the "most shameful" (*kyntaton*, 503) of the remaining possibilities for safe violence, Athena herself warns restraint (509ff) lest some other god rouse the Trojans: For there is no security in a world of competing force devoid of any principle save the opportunity of the moment, as Apollo's angry arousal of Hippokoon confirms (515ff).

There is a further, prophetic element in the pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus. We have already noted the oddity of the combination, and it is a question that persists despite their share in Agamemnon's abuse in the *Epipolesis* and their coupling in the combat of 11 (310–400), both now apparently proleptic.[25] Here, Diomedes asks for a companion for comfort and encouragement (223) and for the foresight (224) and increase in *noos* and *metis* (225f) two minds afford. He chooses Odysseus not only for his "heart and manly spirit" (244, *kradie kai thymos agenor*) and his favor with Athena (245), but also because he is the cleverest (*perioide noesai*, 247). These motives are quite different from the sentiment at 13.235ff, which Fenik pairs with this passage to demonstrate the conventionality of

the "two is better than one" theme:[26] for although in the later passage Poseidon as Thoas urges Idomeneus to join him for an increase in *arete* against *agathoi*, the emphasis here is less on such traditional heroic values than on personal attributes characteristic of the *Odyssey*-tradition at the poet's disposal. These are also qualities relevant to an aspect of Diomedes with which the poet was concerned in Books 5 and 6, namely his relation to Athena and her gift, however temporary, of the insight to distinguish man from god. Hitherto Diomedes has tended to rely on traditional force to acquire *kydos*; but the quintessential model of heroic *bie* ("strength") has this very night spurned the Greeks and their cause, out of what Diomedes in reaction—judging as he must from Odysseus' report—then described as *agenoriai* ("arrogant pride," 9.700). Having already registered disillusionment with Agamemnon's equation of rank and power (9.31f), and having just now heard the king himself deny this claim (10.237ff), this erstwhile would-be Achilleus now associates himself with—and is indeed initiated into the methods of—the only alternative available: a model whose capacity for survival points to success based less on position or strength than on clever resource (*metis*).[27]

Indeed, the *Doloneia*, with its successful incursion into the Trojan ranks by subterfuge and deception, anticipates the ultimate victory over Troy at a time when Achilleus has not simply withdrawn from the fighting but has met the end of his short but glorious life.[28] In this perspective, Diomedes' emphasis at 246f on *nostos* ("homecoming"; cf. Odysseus' prayer at 281f and Athena to Diomedes in 509) has an oddly oracular tone: "With him as my companion, we might return from burning fire." When the two return from their foray to the problematical bathtubs—evoking in this context the palatial comforts depicted in the *Odyssey* (576=*Od.* 4.48, 17.87)—there is perhaps also a foreshadowing of the ultimate practicality of Diomedes' choice. But their achievement, now and later, is based not on heroic honor but on clever exploitation; and its rewards are merely a surplus of things, not tokens of glory. Their success demands that they leave behind not only the passionate Achilleus but the steadfast Aias as well; and it rests on a trust that Odysseus eventually, according to his nature, cannot avoid betraying.[29] Before then, the Greeks must endure an incursion through their own wall.

(xi) *Agamemnon's Aristeia*

As a new dawn rises, Zeus begins to impose his plan on the course of battle. A series of Greek reverses culminating in the wounding of Machaon will evoke concern on Achilleus' part, causing him to dispatch Patroklos to gather firsthand information about the situation. These are the

initial stages in a sequence that will lead in time to the fight over Patroklos' corpse and the return of Achilleus to battle, foretold in 8. But the poet is not interested merely in gearing up his plot: He is concerned above all to portray the continuing disintegration of heroic leadership faced with defeat, no longer in the nocturnal intimacy of 9 and 10 but in the public light of day. The full complement of typical preliminaries to resumption of battle ideally include, as Schadewaldt has pointed out,[1] divine instigation, mortal decision to fight, sacrifice and meal, assembly, general arming, formation and review, attack and first engagement. But with swift economy, the poet dispenses altogether with some of these elements and compresses others: After the long night of Books 9 and 10, Dawn rises bringing light to all, gods and mortals alike; divine instigation produces not so much decision as reaction in Agamemnon's outcry (15); sacrifice and the meal that normally precedes a successful battle are omitted—indeed, the initial section is framed at 3ff and 73 by the appearance of Eris, disturber of feasts;[2] assembly and arming are concentrated in the arming of the king; formation and review are compressed into a single picture of warriors drawn in their chariots to the trench under a rain of blood; and the first engagements are the king's, where action serves less to assure *kydos* than to expose character.

The overall frame (A_1: 1–79, A_2: 618–848) has a decidedly antiquarian flavor, as if the poet were at particular pains to evoke the trappings and the values of the Achaian past to establish a contrast to the "present" action on the battlefield.[3] Thus in A_1 the unusually lavish description of Agamemnon's armor mingles attested Mycenaean elements with his effectively symbolic but archaeologically anachronistic shield emblazoned with a non-Mycenaean Gorgoneion.[4] Likewise in A_2 formulae drawn from an early phase of the poet's epic repertory are enlisted to describe Nestor's possessions (his cup, the table).[5] At the same time, there is a patent irony in the emphasis on these artifacts. Agamemnon's impressive armor and the fierce mood it betokens will not sustain for long his destructive power in the field, nor will it protect him from the well-connected but otherwise insignificant Koön, son of Antenor. The gleam of Agamemnon's spears—the conventional portent of a victorious *aristeia*—introduces here a short-lived success, and there will be no Athena to relieve the pain of his wound, as there was for Diomedes in 5.[6] Indeed, the highly untraditional and somewhat ludicrous detail of Hera and Athena thundering in partisan honor of the king (45f) is shortly undercut by Zeus' more grimly prophetic rain of blood as the Greeks drive to the ditch (53ff).[7] And telling contrast to these touches of excess is provided by the more conventional similes of Sirius and lightning in the balancing description of Hektor's armor in 56ff, especially 61–66.[8]

Similarly in A_2 Nestor's splendid possessions merely deepen the atmo-

CHART 3.5

Book 11

A_1 — *Greeks set out*

- 1ff: Dawn rises from bed to bring light to all; Zeus sends Eris to stir up Greeks from Odysseus' ship (ring: *polemoio teras*, 4/13, *polemos*)
  - 15ff: Agamemnon cries out and arms: symbolic shield with Gorgon, Terror, and Fear, snakes like rainbow (27); spears shine to heaven; Athena and Hera thunder (ring: *Atreides*, 15/46, *basilea*) — S
    - 47ff: Greeks driven in chariots to ditch; Zeus sends evil tumult, rains blood
  - 56ff: Trojans round Hektor etc.; he appears like Sirius (62); his armor shines like Zeus' lightning (65f, cf. 44f) — SS
- 67ff: Troops converge like reapers; Eris rejoices as men fight like wolves (72) while rest of gods remain apart angry with Zeus (ring: *Achaion*, 3/79, *Troessin* ; n.b. Eris at 3 and 73)

B_1

80ff: Zeus looks on from isolation

C_1 — *Greeks win*

84ff: Equal battle until noon, then Greeks gain (84–90: woodcutter simile) — S

- 91bff: Agamemnon attacks and slays Bienor and Oileus (ring: *Agamemnon*, 91/99)
- 101ff: then Isos and Antiphos in chariot (ring: *Achilleus*, 104/112)

a_1

- 113ff: Trojans flee Argives, unable to help like doe fearful of lion consuming young — S
- 122ff: Agamemnon approaches Peisandros and Hippolochos in chariot, like lion (129) — S
  - 130bff: Their plea (*meilichiois*, 137a), offering ransom
  - 137bff: Agamemnon's refusal (*ameilikton*, 137b)
- 143ff: Agamemnon slays both, hurls Hippolochos' trunk through melee like mortar — S
- 148bff: Agamemnon encourages Argives, proceeds like fire as fleeing Trojans fall (155ff) — S

b_1

- 163f: Zeus draws Hektor to safety

a_2

- 165ff: Agamemnon pursues Trojans past tomb of Ilos; 172ff: Trojans stampede like cattle before lion (ring: *Atreides d' hepeto*, 165/177, *Atreides ephepe*; w. 179f cf. 159–62) — S

b_2

- 181ff: As Agamemnon approaches city, Zeus descends from Ida with lightning in hands; sends Iris to Hektor
  - 195bff: Iris relays message (201–9=187–94)
  - 210ff: Hektor descends from chariot brandishing spears; encourages troops against Argives

C_2 — *Greeks lose*

(*Wounding of Agamemnon*)

α

- a_1 — 215ff: As Greeks face Trojans, Agamemnon advances in the lead
- b_1 — 218ff: Invocation re: Agamemnon's victims
- c_1
  - 221ff: Agamemnon encounters Iphidamas; his marriage, departure for war, now faces Agamemnon (231=219)
    - 232ff: Agamemnon slays Iphidamas (whose belt bends like lead) like lion (239) — SS
  - 241ff: Iphidamas leaves behind his bride of rich price, Agamemnon strips him (note refrain at 231: *hos hra tot' Atreideo Agamemnonos* , and 246: *de tote g' Atreides Agamemnon*)
    - 248ff: Koön stabs at Agamemnon
    - 254ff: Agamemnon retaliates, beheads Koön trying to recover Iphidamas (260=240)
    - 264ff: Agamemnon continues to fight until overcome with pain as of woman in childbirth (269–72)
  - 273ff: Agamemnon mounts chariot for ships
  - 275ff: Agamemnon addresses men: Zeus to blame
  - 280bff: Charioteer drives to ships (with 281 cf. 274)
- a_2 — 284ff: Hektor encourages men, advances driving Trojans like hunter his dogs vs wild beast (292ff, reversing 239), like Ares (295); like storm cloud (297) — SSS
- b_2 — 299f: Poet's query regarding Hektor's victims
- c_2 — 301ff: Hektor slays 9, men fall like sea under storm cloud (305f; cf. 297) — S

CHART 3.5 (*cont.*)

(*Wounding of Diomedes*)

β

- 310ff: In reaction, Odysseus rouses Diomedes; 316ff: his response
  - 320ff: each slays 1; attack like boars (324f); each slays 2 — S
- 336f: Zeus looks on, causing equal battle
  - 338ff: Diomedes kills Agastrophos
    - 343f: Hektor comes to avenge him
    - 345ff: Diomedes urges Odysseus to help withstand Hektor; casts, hits helmet, gift of Apollo
    - 354ff: Hektor withdraws, recovers
  - 361ff: Diomedes rebukes Hektor for Apollo's aid, strips Agastrophos
- 369ff: Paris, from tomb of Ilos, shoots at Diomedes; hits him, exults (Trojans like goats before lion, 383) — S
  - 384ff: Diomedes insults Paris (simile of child or woman, 389) — S
- 396bff: Odysseus protects Diomedes, who extracts arrow, is driven back to ships (399f=273f)

(*Wounding of Odysseus*)

γ

- 401ff: Odysseus left alone; monologue on flight
  - 411ff: Trojans attack like hunters around a wild boar (414ff) — S ¬
    - 420bff: Odysseus kills Deiopithes, Thoōn, etc.
    - 428ff: Sokos comes to avenge Charops, threatens, casts, wounds Odysseus
    - 439ff: Odysseus rebukes, casts, hits Sokos; vaunts, pulls out spear
  - 459f: Trojans charge
    - 461: Odysseus yields, calls for aid
    - 462ff: Menelaos hears his triple cry, urges Aias to help aid Odysseus
  - 473ff: They find Odysseus beset like wounded stag surrounded by jackals (473ff; cf. 414ff) — S ¬
- 485ff: Aias protects them with shield like tower as Menelaos leads Odysseus to chariot (cf. 273f=399f) — S

(*Wounding of Machaon and Eurypylos*)

δ

- a_1 489ff: Aias slays four, chases Trojans like swollen river (492ff) — S ¬
- b_1
  - 497bff: Hektor unaware, fighting by Skamander vs Nestor and Idomeneus
    - 504ff: where Paris shoots Machaon
    - 510ff: Idomeneus urges Nestor to rescue Machaon, the healer
    - 516bff: *Nestor sets out for ships with Machaon*
  - 521ff: Kebriones urges Hektor to rescue Trojans beset by Aias; they drive to aid through carnage
- a_2 544ff: Zeus inspires fear in Aias, who looks about like beast (546), *retreats like lion, donkey (ring: opithen de sakos theto heptaboeion* 545ff/572ff, *alla men en sakei megaloi*) — SSS
- b_2
  - 575ff: Eurypylos comes to aid, hits Apisaon
  - 581ff: *Paris shoots Eurypylos*
  - 585ff: Eurypylos retreats, urging defense of Aias
- a_3 592bff: Greeks defend Eurypylos, Aias retreats to safety of companions; battle rages like fire (w. 596 cf. 492ff) — S ¬
- b_3 596ff: *Nestor and Machaon escape to safety*

B_2 599ff: Achilleus, from isolation, sees Nestor returning with Machaon, sends Patroklos to inquire (Patroklos like Ares, 604) — S

A_2 *Greeks return*

- 618ff: Return to Nestor's hut; cobalt table etc., Hekamede's posset, cup of Nestor (Hekamede like gods, 638) — S
  - 644ff: Patroklos arrives, intends immediate departure
    - 655ff: Nestor detains him with lengthy disquisition on quarrel with Eleans (ring: 670/762a and 664ff/762bff; 747: storm simile); recalls Menoitios' parting instructions — S
  - 804bff: Patroklos leaves, encounters Eurypylos by Odysseus' ship; 814ff, asks after situation on field; 822ff: Eurypylos' response, asks Patroklos' help; 837ff: Patroklos agrees
- 842–48: At Eurypylos' hut, Patroklos extracts arrow, uses medicine learned from Achilleus

sphere of defeat in the scene they furnish, where the feast omitted in the bravura prelude of A_1 now appears, less as meal than medication. The heritage of tradition these objects represent is as useless in the present crisis as the lengthy recollection of Nestor's past heroics in the harangue with which he detains Patroklos (655ff). At the center of this section, Nestor's advice, urging a return to battle in Achilleus' armor (798ff), becomes an ironic echo of the inauspicious Arming scene of A_1 by inadvertently planting the seed of disaster for Patroklos; indeed, Patroklos will quote from it in Book 16 (36f=11.794f) in pleading for the armor.[9] The link between the scenes of departure and return is further enhanced by the appearance of cobalt in both (*kyanos*: 24, 26, 35, 39; 629) and by the references to Odysseus' ship in lines 5 (where Eris takes up her stance) and 806f (where Patroklos encounters Eurypylos). Zeus' ominous rain of blood in 53f is figuratively reversed by the healing of Eurypylos' bleeding wound in A_2; and the motif of guest-friendship in the description of the corselet given Agamemnon by Kinyras (19f) is repeated in Hekamede's reception of the wounded Nestor and Machaon (618ff, echoed at the close of this section by Patroklos' ministrations at Eurypylos' hut) and in Nestor's attempt to entertain Patroklos in the traditional way, however inopportune under the circumstances (644ff, cf. 776f; 646=778).

Between B_1 (80–83a) and B_2 (599–617) the connection is again one of contrast: the isolation of Zeus looking on with hostility to the Greek cause, as opposed to the awakened concern of Achilleus as he surveys the defeat of the leaders from the remote vantage of his ship.

C_1 (84b–214) and C_2 (215–598) continue this pattern of reversal, in formal mimicry of the unstable seesaw of the battle itself. There is no central emphasis beyond this alternation: Without the continuing support of the gods, the Greeks win for a time, then lose.[10] And as in the surrounding sections, untraditional motifs appear side by side with conventional ones in novel combination. In C_1 the character of Agamemnon's *aristeia* is first indicated by his stab into the face of the slain Bienor's companion Oileus (94ff) and his stripping of their bodies; it continues with the slaughter of Isos and Antiphos for their armor—Trojans whom Achilleus, for his part, has previously ransomed. The ransom theme is repeated in the pleas of Agamemnon's next pair of victims, and the element of cruelty recurs in his grotesque treatment of Hippolochos (145ff), not to punish an action of his own but to avenge his father's "shameful" advice to the Trojans to kill Menelaos on his previous embassy to Troy to recover Helen.[11] Despite Agamemnon's undiscriminating fury, Zeus repeatedly intervenes to protect Hektor (163f; 181ff) in a pattern interlocking with—and undercutting—Agamemnon's progress (91bff; 165ff).[12]

In C_2 a programmatic series of Greek reverses and the wounding of the

leaders is narrated in four formally discrete segments (beginning at 215ff, 310ff, 401ff, 489ff and indicated as α–δ on Chart 3.5) joined in series by refrain-composition, in catalogue fashion; but because this is a catalogue of defeat, the linking elements appear not at the beginning but at the end of each episode, with a wounded warrior's departure by chariot for the ships repeated formulaically in 273f, cf. 280ff, and 399f (=273f) and motivically at 485ff and 584f.[13] The episodes are further related in interlocking order to the source of the wound: In the first and third (α and γ on Chart 3.6), Agamemnon and Odysseus are struck by the "lesser figures" Koön and Sokos;[14] in the second and fourth (β and δ), it is the gleeful Paris—shooting from afar like a superannuated Cupid—who wounds Diomedes, then Machaon and Eurypylos. This pattern of alternation serves to embarrass the Greeks by the unworthiness of the victor (in α and γ) without losing sight of the issue of Trojan guilt, evoked by the figure of Paris (in β and δ), against whom the Greeks, left to themselves, are impotent.[15] (These two latter episodes [β and δ] are also marked by Zeus' intervention—causing equal battle in 336f and inducing fear in Aias in 544ff—as if to lend point to the Greek's discomfiture without materially affecting the immediate outcome.) Each of the four segments is characterized by initial success followed by defeat, and the overall structure of the section reflects a similar rising and descending curve in the stature of the wounded: from Agamemnon to the better fighters Diomedes and Odysseus, on to the great Aias, who gives way as the less renowned but pivotal figures of Machaon and Eurypylos are disabled.[16]

In each episode further structural elements are used to create effects appropriate to each of the victims. In the first (215ff) a scheme of interlocking motifs is used, involving (a) hero's advance, (b) poet's address to the Muses, (c) slayings. The pattern is first applied to Agamemnon, then to Hektor. Agamemnon's vigorous advance and the poet's invocation are couched in amply traditional terms;[17] but this auspicious beginning is immediately complicated by the motif of the pathos of the victim Iphidamas' unfulfilled marriage (at 221ff and 241ff) framing the actual slaughter (323ff), itself qualified by Agamemnon's initial failure to hit his mark; by the reappearance of the element of cruelty in Agamemnon's beheading of Koön; and by the comparison of the pain of his own minor wound to that of a woman in childbirth. The simile is doubly ironic in juxtaposing the idea of giving life to a scene of taking it and—on the heels of the series of lion similes depicting Agamemnon's advance at 113f, 129f, 172ff, and 239—in canceling one kind of exaggeration with another.[18] As Agamemnon departs wounded from the battle, he calls out characteristically blaming Zeus for his failure, when it fact it was his own greed that exposed him to Koön's spear as he carried off Iphidamas' armor.

But Agamemnon is not simply wounded and withdrawn (as the other Greek leaders will be): He is actually replaced by his enemy, as the pattern is repeated, now applied to Hektor (284–309) in a manner that looks forward to Hektor's prowess in the next book (cf. the storm similes describing his attack in 297 and 305 with that of 12.40). The effect of Agamemnon's eclipse is heightened both by the repetition of the pattern itself and by contrasting details in each element of it (as indicated on Chart 3.5; the method is reminiscent of Book 5). The cumulation of similes describing Hektor's advance (284ff) differs markedly from the corresponding passage (215f), where Agamemnon had none; and the comparison of Hektor to a hunter urging his dogs against a wild beast (292ff) reverses the series of lion similes earlier allotted to Agamamenon. The poet's query of 299f is followed by Hektor's great success in slaying nine, while the invocation of 218 led to grotesquery in Agamemnon's slaughter of six and, in the end, to undignified retreat.

The second Greek wounding, that of Diomedes, employs a successful joint *aristeia* of Diomedes with Odysseus (310–37)—and its reversal, as Odysseus withdraws with Diomedes to tend his wound and send him back to the ships (369–400); together, these elements frame Diomedes' slaughter of Agastrophos and his unsuccessful attack on Hektor (338–68). The pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus repeats that in the previous book, but their earlier success is limited now, and without Athena's aid they are soon forced to withdraw in a struggle whose outcome is determined by Zeus. There is also a reversal of the situation in 8, where Odysseus had refused the plea of Diomedes to assist him in protecting Nestor: Here it is Odysseus who urges Diomedes to take a stand and now, despite his bravery, Diomedes who leaves Odysseus to face the enemy, as he is carried wounded to the ships.[19] The central section, devoted to Diomedes' encounters with Agastrophos and Hektor, recalls his rash miscalculations of Book 5. For Diomedes again rushes through the foremost (*tele dia promachon*, 358) to recover his spear instead of closing with his sword, as Agamemnon had done when his first cast went wide of Iphidamas (233), thus giving Hektor time to recover from the blow to his helmet.[20] Unlike his behavior in Book 5, Diomedes sees gods where there are none in assuming that Apollo has aided Hektor "yet again" (*nyn aute*, 363f); but the aid is indirect and at some remove, for the protective helmet was a gift of Apollo. In Book 5 Diomedes was able to subdue the treacherous Pandaros but not Aineias or the gods of passion and disorder. Here he overcomes the sons of the vain prophet Merops, again representing the theme of Trojan illusion as in the Catalogue of 2 (11.329ff=2.281ff). But he checks Hektor's advance only briefly and is himself forced to withdraw, struck in the foot by the incarnation of Trojan guilt leaning at ease

against the tomb of Ilos—in Book 10 the site of Hektor's assembly of Trojans, earlier here (C_1: 166) used to indicate the extent of Trojan flight, now a measure of Greek reverses.[21]

The structure of the next wounding is similar: A warrior's decision to take a stand begins the episode, the withdrawal of the wounded warrior under protection of another ends it. The joint *aristeia* of the previous action failed because of Diomedes' carelessness in his single combat with Hektor and was brought to an end, like Agamemnon's, by a wound suffered while stripping a victim (368, cf. 246f). Odysseus' attempt at solitary resistance will fail because of his inability to find assistance in time; the bravery he summons to meet the oncoming Trojans in his monologue of 404–10 is no more effective than the violence of an Agamemnon against wounding by a wellborn nonentity. The monologue itself, the first such in the poem, differs from comparable passages in the motivation that Odysseus articulates. More conventionally, the hero takes a stand activated by a desire to gain *time*, *kydos*, and *euchos* and to avoid shame (*aidos*) and reproach (*elengchos*; as earlier in Odysseus' exhortation of Diomedes at 313ff and in Menelaos' reflections at 17.91ff and Hektor's at 22.99ff, cf. 297ff). Here, however, Odysseus for a moment ventures beyond the motives of shame and praise to the more abstract polarity of unworthy (*kakos*) and excellent (*aristos*; cf. 408f).[22] But his wound puts matters in a different light: Reflecting on the *euchos* (a source of boasting) that Sokos' death will bring him, he resorts to calling for aid. The turning point of this section is Sokos' rebuke (430: "O glib Odysseus, insatiate of guile and trouble"),[23] which, in evoking the opportunist of the *Odyssey*-tradition, provides a transition from the independent Odysseus at the outset to the pragmatic Odysseus of the final withdrawal, as his fantasy of single-handed resistance to the mass of Trojans dissolves, and the less articulate Aias stands in while Menelaos leads him to safety.

The final woundings present the advance and retreat of Aias in three segments (489ff, 544ff, 592bff) alternating with Paris' wounding of Machaon (504ff) and Eurypylos (575ff) and the escape of Nestor and Machaon to the ships (597ff).[24] The similes of the initial element, comparing Aias' pursuit of the Trojans to a swollen river (492ff), and the third, comparing the battle to fire (596), offer a juxtaposition of these contrary elements found elsewhere, with the effect here of reinforcing the contrast between charge and withdrawal. The pivot of the narrative, formed by the second segment, combines two similes (548ff, 558ff) comparing Aias to a lion, then—notoriously—to a donkey, to convey a sense of the turning point both of action and of heroic dignity, as even Aias is forced to retreat. The first and third elements of the wounding sequence, both concerning Nestor's escape with the disabled Machaon, frame a second, the

wounding of Eurypylos. Although this systematic interleaving of retreat and wounding sequences deepens the impression of defeat, it serves also to reintroduce the two Thessalians, Machaon and Eurypylos, who will significantly engage the attention of Achilleus and Patroklos in the following two sections (B_2, A_2).

The poet's move is adroit: We could hardly expect the wounding of Agamemnon, with which C_2 began, or even of Diomedes and Odysseus, to serve this purpose. A more appropriate general context is provided by the retreat of the figure established in Book 9 as the hero most sympathetic to Achilleus. But this will not be simply another test of Achilleus' regard for Aias. A different emphasis is needed for a different structural aim, requiring a figure more relevant, psychologically and symbolically, to the eventual intervention of Patroklos as Achilleus' surrogate. The poet chooses to call into play the motif of a shared knowledge of healing represented in Machaon, who is a lesser fighter but is Asklepios' son and like Achilleus has learned his medical lore from Cheiron, "most just of the Centaurs" (832, cf. 4.219). The poet then extends this motif to prophetic significance with the transformation of Patroklos' mission of inquiry into one of active assistance.[25] The final section begins with the leaders' retreat to the past at Nestor's hut and the creature comforts he can provide; it ends, by contrast, with Patroklos' treatment of Eurypylos' wound with skills that he, in his turn, has learned from Achilleus (830ff). The etymological significance of the name Eurypylos ("Wide Gate") suggests in Patroklos' healing gesture a symbolic anticipation of his role in effecting Achilleus' return to reverse the consequences of Hektor's breach of the wall;[26] ultimately it prefigures Patroklos' healing of Achilleus' boundless grief and outrage with experience of quite different gates.

(xii) *Battle at the Wall* and (xiii) *Battle by the Ships*

At the heart of the central ten books of the poem, 12 and 13 bring us close to the height of Trojan success against the Greeks. But while 12 moves swiftly toward a dramatic climax as Hektor smashes through the gate of the Greek wall, 13 has seemed to do little more than retard the sequel with certain deplorable confusions, interpolations, and imitations of earlier material.[1] Book 13 is in fact composed largely of expansions or reversals of basic elements of 12. In 12 Poseidon is angry with the Greeks, in 13 he takes up their cause; in 12 the Trojan attack succeeds, in 13 it is thwarted; in 12 the death of Asios is foretold as he laments his failure to break through the wall, in 13 he is slain; in 12 Zeus' son Sarpedon is brought into prominence, in 13 two divine progeny die. In both books

Hektor rejects or neglects a divine omen; in 12 he dismisses Poulydamas' advice (230ff), in 13 he accepts it (748ff). At the end of 12, Hektor breaks through the Greek gate, but it is not until the end of 13 that he charges through it.[2] It appears that our poet is concerned less with a realistic reconstruction of practical strategy than with the topical and schematic presentation of warfare that we have observed earlier. A clearer sense of the function of these thematic and motivic repetitions and reversals will emerge from a preliminary outline of the structure of each book.

The framing elements of Book 12—the Greek retreat to the wall, following the prophecy of its ultimate destruction by Apollo, Poseidon, and Zeus (A_1: 1–39, B_1: 40–59), and the attack on the gate by Hektor (B_2: 439–44, A_2: 445–71)—establish through temporal perspective in the one pair and dramatic narrative in the other a sense of the futility and ultimate weakness of the wall and the divisions of warfare it figures. The initial element, an elaborate display piece of paratactic rhetoric (see Chart 3.6-A_1), emphasizes the contrast between the narrative present and the future, in terms of the opposition of human effort (note especially line 28f, describing the toil invested in the construction of the wall) to the power of the divine will (in the destruction of the wall). Thus, as the action approaches the climax of A_2, the poet insists that his audience see it in a historical perspective set in a theological context. The irony is compounded by the poet's further contrast between the heroic past and his own present with the reference in line 23 to the warriors as a race of demigods (*hemitheon genos*) who have perished along with the wall (an emphasis that returns in the formulaic reference to deeds no mortal could now accomplish at 383a, repeated in 449a).[3] And because the wall cannot endure without divine sanction, it becomes clearer than ever in the narrative proper that heroic glory itself is equally dependent on divine aid. At the same time, despite their future legendary status, it is clear that the tradition that motivates and unifies the poet's demigods continues to disintegrate in crisis. The Aiantes are reduced in 269ff to a peculiarly democratic appeal to all three classes among the leaderless Greeks to do their part in defending the wall; and on the Trojan side, in an ascending curve from the hitherto insignificant Asios, through Hektor, to Zeus' own son Sarpedon, we see three expressions of the hero's limitations in the context, respectively, of their ideals, their immediate achievement, and their ultimate destiny. The central sections of the book are devoted to these latter issues, offering portraits of three states of relationship to divinity and thus to glory.

Much as in Book 2 catalogues preceded action on the battlefield, the poet again pauses—if more briefly—for an overview (C_1: 60–109), as he will again when in 15 Patroklos departs with the Myrmidonian troops to

CHART 3.6

Book 12

A1 — 1ff: While Patroklos treats Eurypylos' wound, Greeks and Trojans fight at wall, which will not hold off the Trojans nor last a long time (ring: *oude ar' emellen* etc., 3f/9, *ou ti polyn chronon* etc.)

- 10ff: So long as Hektor alive and war continues, wall safe (*ophra men Hektor zoos . . . tophra . . . teichos . . . empedon een*)
- 13ff: But when Troy taken in tenth year of war, Poseidon and Apollo to destroy wall with 9-day flood (*autar epei* . . . [17f] *de tote metioonto Poseidaon kai Apollon/ teichos amaldunai*, with ringing close at 34f: *hos ar' emellon opisthe Poseidaon kai Apollon/ thesemenai*)
- 35bff: But then there was fighting, with Greeks under Zeus' whip (37), fearful of Hektor (*tote d' amphi mache* etc. . . . [39] *Hektora dediotes*)

B1 — 40ff: Hektor drives troops against Greeks like whirlwind (40), like boar or lion beset by dogs and hunters (41–49); but Trojan horses stop at ditch with sharpened stakes (50–59) SS

C1 — 60ff: Poulydamas advises Hektor and troops to dismount

- 80bff: Hektor pleased, leaps from chariot, rest do likewise and form 5 groups
  - 88ff: Catalogue of battle formations (groups led by Hektor [88ff] and Sarpedon [101ff] ring list, with *hoi pleistoi kai aristoi*, 89/103, *hoi gar . . . aristoi*; intervening three components marked by *ton de* at 93, 94, 98)
- 105ff: They charge and the rest follow

D1 — 110ff: But Asios (introduced by anaphora at 95f) alone refuses to dismount (*all' ouch' . . . Asios*)

- 112f: But with companions heads toward ships (*alla syn autoisin pelasen neessi thoeisin,/ nepios . . . .*)
  - (113b–17: Poet's aside on imminent death)
  - 118ff: leading horses to left toward open gate (*tei hr' hippous*, 120/124, *tei hr' . . . hippous*)
- 125ff: thinking that the Greeks would be driven to the ships (*all' en neusi melaineisin peseesthai,/ nepioi*)
  - (127ff: Aside on Lapiths Polypoites and Leonteus [like Ares, 130], defending gate like oaks vs wind and rain [131–35]) SS

136: Nor did they fear the approach of great Asios (*Asion oude phebonto*)

137ff: As Asios etc. (including Iamenos and Orestes, 139) charge and Greeks give way, Lapiths defend like wild boars (146–51), cast stones like snowfall (156–59) SS

- 162ff: Asios slaps thighs, laments to Zeus *philopseudes* (simile of wasps and bees defending young, 167–71) S

175ff: Battle at other gates: poet's aside (176: "even if I were a god")

182ff: Polypoites and Leonteus slay Trojans, with Iamenos and Orestes (193, cf. 139; w. 194, cf. 158)

C2 — 195ff: As companions follow Poulydamas and Hektor vs wall, portent of eagle and snake appears

- 210ff: Poulydamas' interpretation (210=60)
- 230ff: Hektor's scornful rejection
- 251ff: Companions follow Hektor's lead vs wall (w. 251f cf. 196); Zeus sends dust storm (w. 196ff cf. 88ff)

CHART 3.6 (*cont.*)

D_2 265ff: Aiantes exhort men from wall; volley like snowstorm (278–87; cf. D_1, 156ff) S
290ff: Sarpedon like lion (293 and 299–307) charges with Glaukos; 310ff: Sarpedon's speech on valor, *euchos* a compensation for mortality; they lead charge SS
331ff: Aiantes on wall and Teukros approaching are spotted by Menestheus, who sends Thoötes to summon them (357–63=344–50)
364bff: T. urges L. Aias to resist with Lykomedes, while he goes with Teukros to aid vs Lykians advancing like stormcloud (375) S
378ff: Aias kills Epikles with stone such as men now could not lift (383); he falls like diver S
387ff: Teukros wounds Glaukos, who withdraws from wall
392ff: Sarpedon, grieved at Glaukos' retreat, kills Alkmaon, opens a way through the wall; is hit by Teukros, Zeus defends him; hit by Aias, he urges on Lykians: work of many is better (412)
415ff: Equal battle, like men disputing boundary (421–24), or widow holding scales as she ekes a meagre living for her children (433–36, cf. 167ff, esp. 170) S
B_2 439ff: Hektor cries out, leads Trojans with sharp spears against wall
A_2 445–71: As Hektor smashes through gate with stone (449: such as no mortal could now lift, cf. 383 and 23, *hemitheon genos*), Greeks flee in fear to ships (451ff: simile of shepherd, contrasting with 463: Hektor's face like sudden night) SS

CHART 3.6-A_1

Book 12, A_1:

1: Thus among the huts did the mighty son of Menoitios
2: heal the wounded Eurypylos.
But the rest fought on,
3: Argives and Trojans, in throngs. Nor would
4: the Danaan trench endure and the wall above it
...
9: . . . it was not to last for a long time.
10: So long as Hektor was alive . . .
12: so long was the great wall of the Achaians secure.
13: But when the best of the Trojans had died
14: and many of the Argives overcome, but some left,
15: and the city of Priam destroyed in the tenth year
16: and the Argives returned in their ships to their beloved homeland,
17: then Poseidon and Apollo were minded
18: to destroy the wall,
leading together the strength of rivers
19: as many as flow seaward from the peaks of Ida
[*Catalogue of rivers*]
24: The mouths of all these
did Phoibos Apollo turn
25: for nine days against the wall . . .
27: and the earthshaker himself . . .
32: destroying the wall; and he turned the rivers
33: downstream again, where formerly they sent forth their lovely flow.
34: Thus would Poseidon and Apollo later
35: contrive.
But at that time the battle-cry blazed
36: around the well-built wall . . .
...
(The Greeks were checked,)
39: fearing Hektor, the mighty counsellor of terror.

his death. The introductory device here is Poulydamas' practical advice to Hektor to have the troops dismount to form five divisions on foot, rather than attempt to cross the trench in their chariots. The structure of the catalogue emphasizes the three Trojans—in first, third, and fifth place—of particular concern in the ensuing narrative:[4]

(i)	88	Those who went with Hektor and blameless Poulydamas,
	89	These were most numerous and **best**
	91	But beside his chariot
	92	another inferior to Kebriones was left by Hektor.
(ii)	93	Of the second group (*ton d' heteron*) Paris was leader
(iii)	94	And of the third (*ton de triton*) Helenos and godlike Deiphobos,
	95	two sons of Priam; and a third was the hero Asios,
	96	Asios, son of Hyrtakos
(iv)	98f	And of the fourth (*ton de tetarton*) the leader was the brave son of Anchises, Aineias
(v)	101	But Sarpedon led the famous allies
	102	and chose moreover Glaukos and warlike Asteropaios,
	103	for these seemed far the **best**
	104	of the others with him; but he was conspicuous above all.

In D_1 (110–94), instead of following the charge, the poet returns to Asios, introduced in the central element of the catalogue with the emphasis of anaphora at 95f. Rather than proceed with the other Trojans, Asios decides to pursue *kydos* in the traditional manner, on his own. Without dismounting to join the battle formation, he leads his men against the gate, where he is stopped by the vigorous defense of Polypoites and Leonteus. The glory is not to be Asios' (174f) but Hektor's, and in his disappointment at being refused divine favor, Asios accuses Zeus of deception (164–72: "Father Zeus, so now even you I find a lover of lies"). His consternation expresses the pathos of the hero overwhelmed by the contradiction between what he has been taught to believe is his right and what,

in the divine dispensation, is possible for him. But the deceiver is not Zeus—for Zeus has not made the system, has not promised him glory—but Asios himself, whose foolishness the poet emphasizes by his asides in 113ff ("Poor fool") and 126f (where Asios' followers are included for criticism). Again, as in the case of the wall, the poet sets human folly in the perspective of the future—a more immediate future here, for Asios' death is not far off (113).

Similarly in C_2 (195–264) Hektor is characteristically impatient of any attempt to moderate, on considerations of safety for his people, the success he believes Zeus has planned for him.[5] Thus, in contrast to his acceptance of Poulydamas' caution in C_1, he now rejects Poulydamas' reading of the appearance of the eagle and snake in favor of continuing the attack on the Greek wall. This compulsion to take unwarranted risks will prove his undoing; and in proceeding on the assumption of divine favor, he reveals an ignorance of its limitation equal to that of Asios, the nobler pathos of Hektor's desire to defend his country notwithstanding (243).[6] Appropriately, the episode is framed by two portents, the eagle and snake of 200ff and the dust storm that encourages the Trojans at 252–57: The one is rejected, the other misread.[7]

In D_2, as the Aiantes defend the wall amid a volley of missiles like a snowstorm (278–87, echoing D_1, 156–59), the poet returns to Sarpedon. The antithesis between Hektor and Sarpedon implied in the catalogue is realized in the narrative sequence as Sarpedon, following immediately on Hektor's vainglorious dismissal of Poulydamas' advice, sets forth the obligations to the community that go hand in hand with aristocratic privilege, in terms based not on the assurance of divine favor but in recognition of the dangers that beset the hero (310–28). Sarpedon's eloquence has been much admired as one of the great ethical statements of the poem, justly:[8] There is no discrepancy between words and deeds here; the words are in perfect accord with the sacrifice Sarpedon is willing to make and in themselves, through the poet, achieve for him the undying *kleos* he seeks. At the same time, the poet introduces considerations that erode the validity of both the gesture and the eloquence: For Sarpedon's achievement in opening a way through the wall "for many" (397ff) benefits neither himself nor his distant people and serves rather the purpose of Zeus in aiding Hektor's brief ascendancy. Even in the case of Zeus' own son, then, glory and privilege and the heroic response that justifies them are not ends in themselves; indeed, they prove to be incidental to a purpose of which he is unaware. As in the case of Asios, moreover, Sarpedon's unaided effort is not enough: He is wounded by Aias and Teukros and, like Odysseus in the previous book, is forced to call for help, "for the work of many is better" (412).

The narrative portrays in three Trojans the psychology of valor; each case is characteristically different, each entails illusion. As in the *Catalogue* of Book 2, we have a triple iteration of the theme of Trojan self-deception, inspired here by the compulsion to impress others and an incomplete knowledge of Zeus' will. The "spirits of destruction" unrecognized by Asios (*kakas . . . keras*, 113) are perceived by Sarpedon (*keres . . . thanatoio myriai*, 326f). Asios fails of his aim, Sarpedon achieves his. But although Asios sees that he has been cheated by Zeus, Sarpedon is unaware that he serves another purpose than his own; and neither forsees his own imminent death. Both are enmeshed morally and physically in the folly of Hektor—a situation reflected formally by the inner frame (B_1, B_2), devoted to Hektor's attack, and the interlocking ($C_1D_1C_2D_2$) pattern it surrounds, in which an episode concerning Hektor precedes each of the episodes devoted to Asios and Sarpedon: As he is being used as a tool, so, drawn along in his train, are they.[9]

The book ends just as the climax draws near, leaving us with a paradoxical sense of the excitement of Trojan victory and the triumph of Zeus' plan: For the discrepancy between the divine will and human awareness and expectation could hardly be more aggravated; and it is evident that what is at stake here is not simply the effectiveness of the wall, but the meaning and value of heroism itself. To emphasize the emergence of this crucial question at an important juncture in the narrative, the poet draws on all his literary resource: Manipulation of form, variation of temporal perspective, a proliferation of asides, and an abundance of structural and decorative similes. When he continues—when, in practical terms, as we shall suggest, recitation is resumed after a break in the performance—he will reiterate, with parallels and reversals, many of the motifs of 12, as if to continue with the elements most immediately familiar, but with changes that elaborate the crisis of values at hand in terms less of realistic strategy than of thematic action.

Like Book 12, 13 begins with an interlude. In each case there is a brief view of the advance of the Trojans and a diversion recounting actions of Poseidon. Unlike its predecessor, the introduction to 13 stands outside the structure of the book, as an independent unit in two parts. The first describes Zeus' withdrawal of his attention to the battle; the second, Poseidon's decision and preparation to intervene (see the chart on p. 143). What will become a prolonged interruption in Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus thus begins with a puzzling about-face in Poseidon's attitude toward the Greeks and is described with a fantasy that has been thought "romantic" and thus post-Homeric.[1] Before we attempt to evaluate the function of the episode, it will be helpful to outline the structure it introduces.

13.1f When he brings the Trojans and Hektor to the ships, Zeus leaves both sides to endure the struggle and suffering

3 and turns his bright eyes Thraceward (*trepen osse phaeino*)

....

7 he no longer turns his bright eyes toward Troy (*trepen osse phaeino*)

8f for he does not think any god will come to aid Trojans and Danaans.

10ff Poseidon watches from Samothrace, pities Greeks being overcome by Trojans, is angered with Zeus.

17ff He leaves his mountain vantage, in four strides reaches Aigai.

21bff In his golden underwater palace there, he harnesses horses to chariot, clothes himself in gold, mounts chariot.

27ff Poseidon is brought to ships of Achaians over joyous sea as sea creatures frolic in his path.

32f In underwater cave between Tenedos and Imbros (cf. *benthesi limnes* at 32 and 21), Poseidon unyokes horses, secures them with golden fetters.

38b Poseidon goes to Greek camp.

A frame for the remaining major part of the book is established by the motif of Hektor's vehement charge with the noisy Trojans in A_1 (39–82) and its repetition in A_2 (809–37).[2] In the first section Poseidon assumes the form of Kalchas to exhort the Aiantes against Hektor, "who boasts of being son of mighty Zeus" (54); they recover their strength to resist, inspired by their recognition of Poseidon's divinity as he darts away quickly as a hawk.[3] In the corresponding final element, A_2, an answering bird omen appears to encourage the Greeks, and a single Aias (in an inconclusive episode to which we shall return) challenges Hektor, who repeats in 825f the motif of divine parentage in his wish to be Zeus' son and leads the charge of noisy Trojans (834, cf. 41).

In B_1 (83–135), following a brief catalogue of the remaining Greek leaders (91ff), Poseidon exhorts the men in a lengthy speech appealing

CHART 3.7

Book 13

1ff: Transition: having brought Hektor and Trojans to Greek ships, Zeus turns away toward Thrace; Poseidon pities Greeks, mounts chariot to come to their aid (see separate analysis of lines 1–38)

A_1

39ff: Hektor leads charge of shouting Trojans (*abromoi auiachoi*, 41), advancing like fire or storm (39) — SS

43ff: Poseidon as Kalchas exhorts Aiantes against Hektor like fire (*phlogi eikelos*, 53), "who boasts of being son of mighty Zeus" (54); strikes them with staff (59f), darts away quickly as hawk in pursuit of prey (62–65) — S — S¬

66ff: L. Aias realizes this was a god

76ff: T. Aias inspired to resist Hektor

B_1

83ff: Poseidon meanwhile arouses leaders by ships, urging on mighty phalanxes (*krateras . . . phalangas*, 90); list of leaders, 91ff

94ff: Poseidon's speech (ring: *aidos*, 95/122, *aido*) (101ff: Trojans like deer); so Poseidon urges (*gaiechos orsen Achaious*, 125: refrain echoing 83; cf. 43) — S

126ff: Two mighty phalanxes formed round Aiantes (*phalanges/ karterai*, 126f; cf. 90)

C_1 136ff: Hektor's charge with Trojans (like a rolling stone, 137–43) stopped; he exhorts men — S

D_1

156ff: Meriones' spear broken on Deiphobos' shield, he leaves for replacement

170ff: Teukros kills Imbrios, who drops like ash (178–81) — S¬

183ff: Aiming at Teukros, Hektor kills Poseidon's grandson Amphimachos

190ff: Aiming at Hektor (190, cf. 183), Aias cannot penetrate shield but repels him; Amphimachos' corpse recovered

197ff: Aiantes (like lions, 198–201) strip Imbrios, L. Aias beheads him, throws head to Hektor's feet — S

< 206ff: Poseidon angered at Amphimachos' death, sets out to rouse Greeks

210ff: Poseidon encounters Idomeneus enroute from assisting "a companion" (211) wounded in battle; as Thoas, rebukes him

221ff: Idomeneus on Zeus' will

231ff: Poseidon, evasive, encourages Idomeneus

240ff: Idomeneus rearms at shelter, returns to battle with spears flashing like Zeus' lightning (242–45) — S

246ff: Meriones, on his way to shelter for spear, met by Idomeneus (w. 247f cf. 167f)

248bff: Idomeneus' query

254ff: Meriones' explanation

259ff: Idomeneus boasts of his store of captured armor

266ff: Meriones asserts his own store, defends valor

274ff: Idomeneus accepts Meriones' claim; on cowardice, Meriones' valor; urges him to select spear (292: simile of children) — S

295bff: Meriones, like swift Ares, goes to shelter, chooses spear; he and Idomeneus return to battle like Ares and Terror (298–304) — S¬ — S

306ff: Meriones asks where to enter combat

311ff: Idomeneus advises taking stand on left flank

328bff: Meriones, like swift Ares (328=295), leads way; troops rally round Idomeneus like flame (*phlogi eikelon*, 330) and Meriones — S¬ — S¬

E { 334ff: General view; dust-storm simile; Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus; Poseidon's covert resistance; rope of discord (358ff) — S

CHART 3.7 (*cont.*)

D_2

- a_1
  - 361ff: Idomeneus slays Orthryoneus; sarcasm on promised marriage (382ff)
    - 384bff: Asios, coming to aid on foot, falls like oak, poplar, or pine (389–92; cf. D_1, 178ff) — SSS
      - 394ff: Antilochos kills Asios' charioteer (397bf=371bf), takes horses
      - 402ff: In revenge for Asios' death, Deiphobos aims at Idomeneus, *hits Hypsenor*
      - 417bff: Antilochos protects Hypsenor, who is removed to ships
  - 424ff: Idomeneus slays Alkathoös, whom Poseidon immobilizes like stele or tree (437; cf. 389ff), vaunts as descendant of Zeus — SS
- b_1
  - 455bff: Deiphobos, uncertain, summons Aineias, disaffected, to protect his brother-in-law Alkathoös
    - 468bff: Aineias attacks Idomeneus, who resists (unlike stripling, 470; like mountain boar, 471–76) and summons aid; his companions arrive — S
    - 489ff: Aineias calls his own companions (Deiphobos, Paris, Agenor); their arrival cheers him like shepherd his flocks (492ff; cf. 12.451ff) — S
  - 496ff: Aineias and Idomeneus fight over Alkathoös:
    - 502ff: Aineias misses Idomeneus
      - 506ff: Idomeneus hits Oinomaos, retreats
    - 516ff: Deiphobos misses Idomeneus, hits Askalaphos, son of Ares (520=508)
      - < 521ff: Ares, now on Olympos under Zeus' orders, unaware
- b_2
  - 526 (=496): Fight over Askalaphos:
    - 527ff: As Deiphobos strips Askalaphos' helmet, Meriones like Ares (528b=D_1 295b/328b) strikes his arm, like vulture (531) retrieves spear, retreats (533a, cf. 165) — S, S
    - 533bff: Polites rescues Deiphobos, takes him to city (535b–38=14.429ff), rest fight on (540=D_1, 169)
- a_2
  - 541ff: Aineias hits Aphareus
    - 545ff: Antilochos kills Thoön, is protected by Poseidon from Trojans
      - 560ff: Adamas vs Antilochos, protected by Poseidon, spear like burned stake (564) broken in shield (cf. D_1, 156ff), he retreats (566=596, 648) — S
    - 567ff: Meriones hits Adamas in groin; ox simile (571ff) — S
      - 576ff: Helenos hits Deipyros, breaks helmet, it falls at feet of "some Achaian" (578f, cf. 211)
        - 581ff: Menelaos attacks Helenos, is stunned by arrow which rebounds like beans or peas from winnowing fan (588ff); hits Helenos' hand, he retreats (596=566), *Agenor binds wound* — S
      - 601ff: Peisandros vs Menelaos (direct address, 603), who strikes out his eyes, they fall in dust at feet (616f, cf. D_1, 205; cf. 579); Menelaos vaunts, upbraiding Zeus, strips Peisandros
    - 643ff: Harpalion, failing to penetrate Menelaos' shield, retreats (648=596, 566), is shot in groin by Meriones (650f; cf. 568, 5.66), worm simile (654f, cf. 571ff), is removed to Troy — S
  - 660ff: Paris, in revenge, shoots, kills Euchenor; men fight like fire (673, cf. 330) — S

CHART 3.7 (*cont.*)

C_2 673ff: Hektor at gate, unaware of Trojan losses

B_2 685ff: Catalogue of Greek defenders vs Hektor like fire (*phlogi eikelon*, 688, cf. 39, 53; note ring: *epaïssonta neon*, 687/700, *nauphin amumenai*) S

701ff: L. Aias joins T. Aias in defense (simile of oxen, 703–8), while Lokrian contingent shoots arrows from behind line S

723ff: Poulydamas rebukes Hektor's excessive ambition; asserts variety of gifts, urges withdrawal, alludes to Achilleus

748ff: Hektor assents, sets out like snowy mountain (754) S

756f: Rest of troops gather round Poulydamas

758ff: Hektor searches for leaders, encounters Paris, rebukes him for loss of leaders

774ff: Paris' defense, will follow Hektor's command

789ff: Catalogue of Trojan leaders, simile of storm wind (795–800), with Hektor in the lead like manslaying Ares (802) S S

A_2 809ff: Aias challenges Hektor (818ff: Hektor should pray for horses swifter than hawks; cf. 62ff); eagle omen, Greeks encouraged S

823bff: Hektor's vainglorious rebuke of Aias (with 825ff: "If I were son of aegis-bearing Zeus . . . . " cf. Poseidon's charge at 54); leads shouting Trojans (834, *iache laos*; cf. 41; note ring, *echei*, at 834/837)

insistently to their sense of shame, despite the incompetence (*kakotes*, 108) and guilt (cf. *aitios*, 111) of Agamemnon in offending Achilleus;[4] they then reform into a defensive phalanx around the Aiantes. In the corresponding B_2 there is another catalogue, of Greek defenders (685ff) again led by the Aiantes (701ff).[5] Poulydamas' ensuing rebuke of Hektor's excessive ambition, urging instead withdrawal and consultation, contrasts with Poseidon's *aidos*-speech of B_1: In 113 Poseidon referred dismissively to the insult to Achilleus, in 746f Poulydamas alludes more ominously to the possibility of Achilleus' return to battle.[6] With a formulaic reaction found at a similar juncture in the previous book (13.748[f] =12.81f),[7] Hektor leaps from his chariot and departs to locate the other leaders, as Poulydamas' men gather round in support. Hektor surveys his losses, encounters and rebukes Paris, and they return to battle. The motif of a greater hero joined by a lesser associated with the bow repeats the situation at 701–22 describing the resistance of the Aiantes. The section is ringed by a brief catalogue of Trojan leaders corrresponding to that of the Greek defenders; the initial fire simile of 688 (recalling that of 53, cf. 39) is balanced by the storm simile of 795ff.

In C_1 (136–55) Hektor meets resistance and calls for aid—a passage that diverts attention from the situation at the gate with which the poet has been concerned since the end of Book 12, but to which he will not return until C_2 (673–84), where the narrative continues as before the lengthy interruption of 156–672 (D_1 E D_2).[8]

D_1 (156–333) is framed by Meriones' withdrawal to replace the spear broken by Deiphobos' shield (156–69) and by his more detailed encounter with Idomeneus and their return to battle (246–333).[9] The latter elements of the frame contain in Idomeneus' speech to Meriones (274ff) a set piece on traditional valor; but this is undercut, at the center of the section itself (170–245), by Hektor's slaying of Poseidon's grandson Amphimachos, the sadistic retaliation of the lesser Aias, and Poseidon's own angry reaction and rebuke of Idomeneus. Thus, at the heart of a frame expressing the abstract ideal, the gesture of sheer cruelty in the Lokrian Aias' beheading of Imbrios (202ff) and Poseidon's vengeful curse on stragglers (231ff) expose the realities of personal emotion in actual battle, on the part of both god and hero.

In the far more elaborately developed D_2 (361–672), Idomeneus reappears and Meriones now succeeds in wounding Deiphobos, as he had failed to do at the outset of D_1; and another divine scion is slain, this time Ares' son Askalaphos.[10] Here, however, the divine reaction central to D_1 is postponed (for two books) and there is no reference to the heroic ideal, only a series of killings in which slayers' taunting speeches emphasize again the vindictiveness apparent at the heart of D_1 but now dominating the framing elements as well (361–454, 541–672). Indeed, the reemergence of Meriones in D_2 follows this pattern, as he moves from an inner element (b_2, 526–40) into the closing element of the frame (a_2, at 567ff), not in connection with traditional ideals but running the gamut of the traits of the inferior warrior. In 528b Meriones is again likened to Ares, as at 295b and 328b; but to this comparison is now added that of the less dignified vulture (531), as he snatches his spear from Deiphobos' shoulder and quickly retreats (533a), a tactic formulaically repeating Meriones' withdrawal in the less blameworthy circumstances of 164f.[11] More significantly, following another incident involving a spear broken in a shield (560ff, cf. 156ff), Meriones wounds Adamas between his privates and belly (568), a zone the poet describes with some delicacy as particularly sensitive in warfare (569)—and apparently a favorite target of Meriones, to judge from a previous similar wounding at 5.66.[12] The formula for the present attack is echoed at 650, in a passage balancing 545–75 and following a reversal of the shield motif of 560ff (as Menelaos' shield proves impervious to Harpalion's spear at 646f): Meriones once more aims at the groin, this time with an arrow, and slays the fugitive Harpalion.[13] Earlier exhorted to heroism by an Idomeneus inspired by Poseidon's encouragement, Meriones responded with a vigorous defense of his valor and achievement; now he subsides, in a manner appropriate to the heir of Autolykos' helmet, to his customary level in a conflict where the aesthetics of slaughter are as corruptible as the ideals that motivate it.

Similarly, Greek satisfaction at robbing victims of their marriages (374ff, cf. 427ff) tends, by equalizing blame, to undercut the effect of Menelaos' reminder of the larger purpose of the war in his scornful rebuke of the dead Peisandros (620ff, balancing the marriage motif of 374ff).[14] But a vengeful sarcasm appears on the Trojan side as well, as Deiphobos vaunts over Hypsenor at 414ff, and now Paris slays Euchenor, the son of a seer (660ff)—a motif previously associated with Trojan victims (with 663 cf. 5.148ff, 11.328ff, and 2.830ff).

At the same time, similarities between D_1 and D_2 establish an impression of stasis, rather than simple contrast, in the narrative flow. We have mentioned the repeated comparison of Meriones to Ares at 528 and the shattering of Adamas' spear on Antilochos' shield at 565, recalling 161ff, where Meriones' spear is broken on Deiphobos' shield. The simile of 389–92 describing Asios' fall like an oak, poplar, or pine echoes the earlier simile of the falling ash used in the death of Imbrios; the resumption of fighting at 540 repeats the formula of 169; and the curiously imprecise 578, where "some Achaian" carries off Deipyros' fallen helmet rolling underfoot, recalls the poet's equally uncharacteristic vagueness about the unnamed companion whom Idomeneus has been helping from battle in 211, as well as the grotesque detail of Imbrios' severed head rolling to Hektor's feet at 205 (cf. the similar language of 617, describing the eyes of Peisandros knocked to his feet).[15] The central element of the Book (E: 334–60) provides a point of balance between its immediate surroundings, formally expressing the tension between Zeus' purpose and Poseidon's resistance through a recapitulation of their conflict, before we return to Hektor's exploits (C_2, 673ff).[16]

The overall structure of 13 thus reflects the moral and narrative impasse created by Poseidon's intervention. The introductory transition does more than simply inaugurate the new turn of events that normally follows a decision by Zeus and the Olympians: It signals an impedance to the action by Zeus' counterpoise in the cosmic order. Poseidon's about-face in his attitude toward the Greeks both reminds one where we *were*, in 12, and heralds a period of resistance to the plan to honor Achilleus. We noted in discussing Book 12 that the crisis of the heroic code was being articulated in a more emphatic and embracing way than hitherto, as the poet described the collapse of the Greek leaders and presented three Trojan heroes whose traditional expectations were directly contrary to Zeus' intentions; and at the core of the poem, at the point of greatest emergency among the Greeks, we have been reminded that these demigods are no longer and that even the physical evidence of their struggle has vanished by divine decision. Yet suddenly, in apparent defiance of all logic, the poet introduces the very divinity who had insisted on the de-

struction of the Greeks' wall now coming to their aid, as if somehow to postpone or at least prolong this *Heroendämmerung*.

Poseidon's journey of assistance is narrated in two stages—to his palace, then to the underwater cave—to define his purpose in this book: For Poseidon returns to his quarters for proper garb as if preparing for an *aristeia*,[17] thematically anticipating the subsequent return of Meriones and Idomeneus to their huts to rearm. But although their reentry into battle will be described in the conventional terms of a human *aristeia* (Idomeneus' spears flashing like lightning at 242ff, the simile of Ares and Terror at 298ff),[18] Poseidon needs no weapons and will, in fact, participate in disguise as an adviser, not as warrior. His triumphal progress over the sea to the battlefield requires no divine similes, for Poseidon is lord in his own element. Thus, instead of the flash of thunderbolts, we have sea creatures gamboling before their master and the sea parting before his chariot. There is exquisite fantasy here, with an irony at Poseidon's expense more complex and less overt than in the journeys of Hera and Athena in Books 5 and 8, given that his mission is one of earnest concern, not partisan spite; and there is even greater elaboration than in the descent of Zeus in 8, for Poseidon is not content with detached observation but is committed to active (if covert) engagement.[19]

His motives for intervening become less puzzling when we consider the values he upholds generally in the poem.[20] On the divine level, because Zeus is the elder and stronger and knows more (8.211; 13.355), Poseidon is willing, all other things being equal, to treat him with the *aidos* these qualities deserve. Thus, in Book 8, Poseidon refuses to join Hera in her intervention on behalf of the Greeks against Zeus' will and he agreeably serves as groom when Zeus returns from Ida to Olympus (8.440). Still, although the details of a previous rebellion by Hera, Athena, and Poseidon are vague (1.399f),[21] they suggest that the *aidos* on which Poseidon's respectful treatment of his brother rests has been strained before; and Poseidon's response in 15 to Iris' message from Zeus betrays the insecurity of a subordinate facing an innovation that might threaten the status quo or encroach on his prerogatives. For in the triple division of power over sky, sea, and the underworld, apportioned by lot to the three sons of Kronos by Rhea (15.185ff), the earth was given in common to all three, and Poseidon resents any hint that Zeus is attempting to extend his sway unilaterally over the human sphere. A similar punctiliousness regarding the relationship between god and man is evident in Poseidon's reaction to the Greeks' failure to offer appropriate sacrifice on building their wall: For mortal dependency on the gods' favor has been elided by the omission; and the achievement of Poseidon and Apollo in erecting the Trojan wall might be eclipsed by that of the Greeks were it allowed to survive the

fated destruction of the city. This sensitivity in the matter of sacrifice causes Poseidon to abandon support of the Greeks in 12 and is a factor in his subsequent aid to Aineias (20.293), in pity and regard for Aineas' many sacrifices in his honor. The one motive that may interrupt this external *do ut des* relationship is *aidos* for a more pressing obligation, as when Poseidon (at 8.209ff) refuses to join Hera despite her reminder of the Greeks' frequent sacrifice to him. But even when he is driven to rebellion here, Poseidon assumes a series of disguises (356) rather than act openly.

Poseidon is thus the upholder of traditional values based on regard for—and a vested interest in—established divisions of power, divine and human. His behavior, like Hera's, expresses a determination to support the forms of the old order, in which there is no interruption in the hierarchy of rank and honor: among humans, between hero and community, between ruler and subject; among the gods, between apportioned share and degrees of status; and between humans and god, in the reciprocal flow of honor and respect. In 12 this order seems in danger, and Poseidon takes appropriate action.[22] In 13, in the world of heroic values, the situation is somewhat more complex: On the one hand, Poseidon is angered specifically by Hektor's boast that he is the son of Zeus (54), that is, by his attempt to claim honors and success inappropriate to his rank; on the other, Poseidon is dismayed at the collapse of the Greek heroic effort, and in his exhortation of 94ff he appeals to the sense of *aidos* essential to the proper function of the heroic world, as of the divine.

Zeus, for his part, is acting with a purpose unknown to Poseidon, one that inevitably conflicts with precedent on both levels: It must transcend the sacrificial relationship between gods and humans because the issue must be resolved, where both sides offer equivalent sacrifice, on some other basis yet to be defined. Indeed, Zeus has already refused Greek sacrifice (2.419f), as he will deny the prior claim of Trojan sacrifice (24.68f). Moreover, he cannot brush aside Agamemnon's injustice to Achilleus as Poseidon does in 111ff; nor can he condone Paris' misdemeanor. It is becoming clear that there is in fact no established precedent for resolving the complexity of the immediate issues on the human level and their growing repercussions in the divine world. The drama is moving toward a cosmic conflict out of all proportion to a case of mortal adultery and public insult. The "retardation" of 13 and the ensuing books is not simply a delaying tactic to create suspense, or padding introduced merely to fill out the monumental scope of a definitive version of the material, but is essential to the poet's scheme of charting the implications of this exposed flaw in the relationship between humans and gods.

The initial phase of the design can be seen in the parallels between 12 and 13, where an effect of stasis similar to that within 13 is achieved by

the succession of motifs repeated or modified from 12, indicated in the chart below:

Book 12	(A_1)	a. Greeks at wall; poet on its destruction by Poseidon, Zeus, Apollo
	(B_1, C_1)	b. Hektor drives Greeks to ditch; Poulydamas advises Hektor; catalogue of re-formed troops
	(D_1)	c. Asios, refusing to dismount, stopped by Zeus' will (Zeus as lover of deception); his death by Idomeneus foretold (116f)
	(C_2)	d. Poulydamas and omen; Hektor's rebuke re: fighting for country
	(D_2)	e. Aiantes in aid; Sarpedon and Glaukos at wall, they urge reinforcements
	(B_2)	f. Hektor shouts, leads against gates, ships
(Transition)		a. Greeks at ships; in Zeus' absence, Poseidon prepares to intervene
Book 13	(A_1, B_1)	b. Poseidon exhorts Aiantes; list of discouraged leaders (91f); Poseidon exhorts Greeks, rebuking Hektor; troops re-formed
	(C_1)	c. Hektor stopped by Poseidon's intervention;
	(D_2)	Idomeneus kills Asios, now on foot
	(C_2, B_2)	d. Hektor at gates, Greek defense with Aiantes; Poulydamas rebukes Hektor re: variety of gifts; Hektor rebukes Paris; troops reassembled (with 726–35 cf. 12.231ff)
	(A_2)	e. Aias' challenge, omen encourages Greeks
	(A_2)	f. Hektor's vainglorious boast, charge at gate, shouts

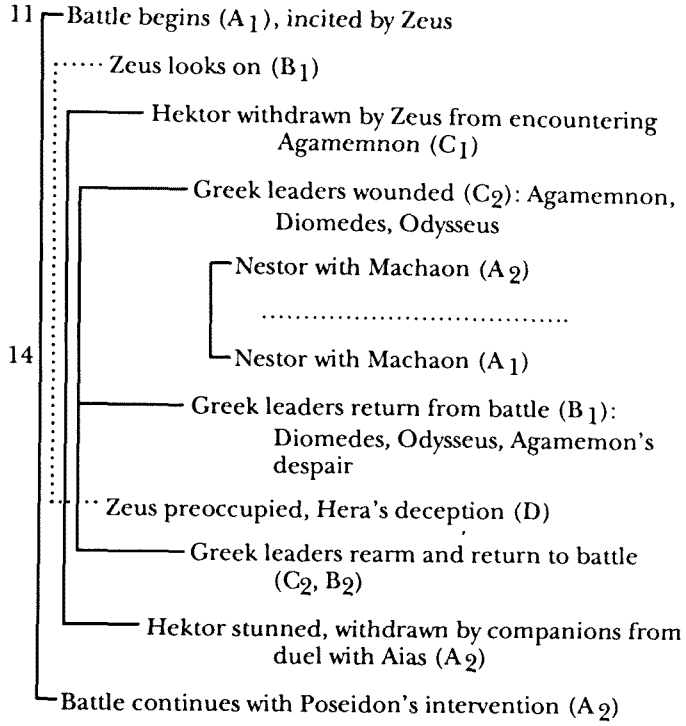
Despite their formal similarity, the two books differ in emphasis: 12 is concerned with illustrating the psychology of Trojans victorious under Zeus' temporary favor, 13 with Greeks successful under Poseidon's brief support. As in earlier books, we have a contrast between Trojan delusion and Greek cruelty, between Trojan individualism and Greek discipline. At the same time, distinctions begin to fade as both sides share in these traits, fighting on unaware of Zeus' ultimate design. In 12 the poet emphasized the futility of the heroes' status as demigods; in 13 Hektor's final reiteration of his wish to be honored as a god's son (825ff) is a telling expression of the futility of such aspirations: For like Asios, whose frustration in 12 is echoed by Hektor's in 13, he does not control his own

destiny, and even sons of gods perish untimely, as we see in the case of Amphimachos and Askalaphos. Hektor's vainglory is a fitting conclusion to an episode depicting, above all in Poseidon's intervention, the resistance of the individual will to the divine plan through ignorance of its intent and, in the figure of Meriones, the degeneration of moral purpose to wanton revenge. But this is not an end to the matter. For in this respect, as in the opposition of the sea god to the flamelike Hektor (B_1: 53 / B_2: 688), the poet is inaugurating a chain of motifs that will culminate in Achilleus' furious attack on the river god Xanthos and his abusive treatment of Hektor's corpse; and they lead to the final question of the proper source and meaning of honor, divine and human.

(xiv) *Deception of Zeus*

Book 14 opens with a return to Nestor's hut, where the din of battle rouses the old man to investigate the situation. Modern Analysts report confusion as to precisely what situation provokes Nestor's response,[1] and ancient scholiasts register shock at the inordinate length of time Nestor has spent drinking:[2] for we resume at that point—now three books away (11.618ff)—where Nestor has brought Machaon in from the field to recover from his wound. More remarkable is the way in which the poet proceeds to repeat in reverse sequence further major elements of the earlier book (see the chart opposite). The major displacement in this annular pattern occurs in the appearance of Zeus: He is no longer the initial instigator and observer of the action, as in 11; his role in 14 is delayed until and confined to his seduction by Hera, which forms the unblinking focal point around which the battle turns in comparative privacy.

Thus, the elements of 14 combine with 11 in creating a frame for the central juxtaposition of 12 and 13; more significantly, their formal arrangement reflects the unraveling of Zeus' plan through a reversal of the earlier sequence in which this plan was realized. In 11 Zeus is in active control of events while the rest of the gods sulk in their quarters; in 14 he is diverted to a rather different field of action and is soon asleep. Hektor is twice withdrawn briefly to safety in 11, thanks at 163f (C_1) to Zeus' solicitude, and again at 354ff (C_2) following Diomedes' blow to his helmet; in 14, during Zeus' diversion, Hektor is effectively removed from combat (A_2). Although these setbacks are unconventionally treated in 11,[3] as momentary aberrations in Zeus' plan, Hektor's wounding here is given full-dress treatment with a defensive effort by his comrades and removal by chariot recalling the rescues of Agamemnon, Diomedes, and Odysseus in 11, where Zeus' plan was being carried out as it is here being



resisted by Hera and Poseidon. The motif of Achilleus' concern in 11.599ff is contrasted now with repeated allusion to his continued anger and isolation (49ff, 139ff, 366ff). Earlier the Greeks were winning, then began to lose with the wounding of the leaders and the slow retreat of Aias; here they are first seen as losing, then begin to gain with the triumphant return of the Aiantes. In 11 the poet presented a relentless exposure of the human inadequacy of the Greek leadership; now, for the sake of its recovery and temporary success, Hera resorts to bribery and deceit in enlisting the enchantments of Sleep and Aphrodite, as Poseidon has used the magical power of his *skepanion* to reinvigorate the Aiantes in 13.59ff.[4]

The unraveling of Zeus' plan is accompanied also by indications of temporal regression that mark breaks in the forward narrative momentum on a scale far larger than those occasioned by the normal serial narration of simultaneous events.[5] The cries that alarm Nestor at the beginning of 14 take us back not simply to the scene of Greek resistance and the shouts of the end of the previous book (13.834–38), but to the Greek rout earlier there at lines 39ff (of which the conclusion of Book 13 is a formal

and motivic echo) and, by a process of association, to the clamor as the Greek wall was breached at the end of 12, which the passage in 13 simply continued.[6] Within the structure of 14, as we shall see, the shouts Nestor hears at the outset are balanced by the shouts at 393ff, preceding the resumption of the encounter between Aias and Hektor, left formally incomplete at the end of 13.[7] In this case the outcry is described with a series of sea and wind similes (393–401) that evoke the similar comparisons used for the collision of Greek and Trojan forces at 13.795–800, immediately prior to the first phase of the duel between Aias and Hektor. Thus, the beginning of both 13 and 14 involve parallel temporal reference backward to the breaching of the wall; the final section of 14 is closely joined to that of 13 by the elements of shouting, comparable similes, and the divided duel. The action within these corresponding frames—that is, the intervention of Poseidon and Hera—is presented as simultaneous with them. This temporal parallelism is enhanced by Hera's decision to act (14.153ff) based on Poseidon's intervention on the field and Zeus' inattention (recalling the initial motif of 13, 1–6, where Zeus turns his eyes Thraceward in the moments prior to Poseidon's intervention).[8] The two gods' actions are further associated by Poseidon's encouragement of the Greeks (repeating the motif from 13) as a frame for Hera's seduction of Zeus, and by the parallel between Poseidon's elaborate preparations in 13.7ff and the lavish attention to Hera's "arming" for her encounter.[9]

Thus, the poet is not simply guilty, in the apparent contradiction between the situation at the end of 13 and that at the beginning of 14, of an imperfect splicing of disparate material, nor of simply going on "even when he goes back,"[10] for lack of a better technique of dealing with simultaneous events: This divergence between real and apparent sequence subserves a poetic purpose, in which the rebellion of Hera and Poseidon is figured in the disruption of time itself.[11] Indeed, it is not until Book 15—where Hera is vehemently chastised (14ff) and Poseidon is persuaded to give up his variance with Zeus over their allotted roles in the hierarchy of divine power (185ff)—that the normal flow of narrative will be restored, as the poet returns to Patroklos with Euryplos (390ff), and the plan of Zeus to honor Achilleus is fully resumed. In this context, therefore, it is fitting that time should appear to run backward, in apparent defiance of natural experience and in an unparalleled extension of the poetic conventions described by Zielínsky's "law."[12]

But formal exception to this latter demand for unbroken ongoing continuity is, as we have noted, commonly made for digressions; and in fact the ring-compositional structure characteristic of the form of the digression and its integration into the narrative is evident in the general sequence of events in Books 11–15, which becomes, from this point of view, a series of digressions:

11.804ff:	Patroklos departs from Nestor's hut, encounters Eurypylos
12.459ff:	wall breached (continued at 13.39ff)
13.beginning:	Zeus turns away from viewing battle; Poseidon prepares to intervene
13.809ff:	Aias' challenge, Hektor leads charge
14.1ff:	Nestor with leaders; Poseidon's exhortation
<14.153ff:	deception of Zeus
14.363ff:	Poseidon encourages leaders, who rearm and return to battle
14.402ff:	encounter between Hektor and Aias resumed
15.1ff:	Zeus awakens, on seeing battle chastises Hera
15.384ff:	recrossing of the wall by Trojans
15.390ff:	Patroklos with Eurypylos hears din of battle, sets out for Achilleus

The sequence focuses on the (digressive) seduction, which is inset into the narrative of Poseidon's intervention and thus becomes temporally parallel to it.[13] The division of the encounter between Hektor and Aias into its constituent elements of challenge and duel similarly allows it to frame the intervening elements and to create both continuity and simultaneity here as well;[14] and the recrossing of the wall provides an overall inclusive frame for the digression as a whole, both as regards narrative flow and the diversion of Zeus' plan, before we reach the anaphoric resumption of 15.390ff.

As for the structure of 14, viewed independently,[15] the initial scenes of Greek dismay and the failure of Agamemnon's leadership (A_1: 1–26, B_1: 27–134) are balanced by the final scenes of Greek recovery and Trojan defeat (B_2: 378b–87, A_2: 388–523) brought about by the diversion of Zeus in the central episode. The shouting that rings the encounter of Greeks and Trojans at 388–401 (*alaletoi*, 393/400, *phone*, cf. *iachontes*, 421) repeats the motif of the clamor that rouses Nestor at 1ff. The motif of Hekamede's care for Machaon at 6f is balanced by Hektor's respite by the waters of Xanthos at 435ff; the sea simile of 16ff is answered by an expanded simile of sea, fire, and wind at 394ff, describing the wash of the

CHART 3.8

Book 14

A1 — *Greeks in disarray*

1ff: Nestor, drinking with Machaon, roused by clamor (*iache*, 1) to observe havoc while Hekamede prepares bath for Machaon; 9ff: Nestor arms; distressed by scene (sea simile, 16–20), seeks Agamemnon (thematic ring for 9–26: Nestor's arming, 9ff/24ff, armor of warriors) — S

B1 — *Wounded leaders return from battle*

27ff: Nestor meets wounded leaders returning:

- (29) Diomedes
- Odysseus
  - Agamemnon (ring: *Nestori de xymblento*, 27/39f, *ho de xymbleto geraios,/Nestor*, encloses digression on beached ships, 30–36); 41ff: Agamemnon rebukes Nestor, fears Hektor's success, Achilleus' anger spreading to troops
  - 52ff: Nestor deplores breach in wall
  - 64ff: Agamemnon proposes flight
  - 82ff: Odysseus rebukes Agamemnon
  - 103ff: Agamemnon gives up responsibility
- 109ff: Diomedes acknowledges youth but boasts of lineage; urges return to battle (ring: anger of leaders, 111/131f, resentment of troops; genealogical digression ringed by *houneka de geneephi neotatos eimi*, 112/126f, *to ouk an me genos ge kakon* etc.)

C1

135ff: Poseidon as old man condemns Achilleus, encourages Agamemnon, rushes off with cry like nine or ten thousand — S

D — *Diversion of Zeus' plan*

- 153ff: Observing Poseidon busy in warfare, Hera decides to lull Zeus to sleep on Ida
- 166ff: Hera enters chamber, bathes etc. (ring: *be d' imen es thalamon*, 166a/188a, *be hr' imen ek thalamoio*; veil bright as sun, 185) — S
  - 188bff: Summons Aphrodite, enlists her aid
  - 193ff: Aphrodite agrees
  - 197ff: Hera deceives Aphrodite on her mission to Okeanos
  - 211ff: Aphrodite agrees, gives *himas*
  - 222bf: Hera pleased, conceals *himas*
- 224f: Aphrodite returns to palace, Hera leaves
  - 226ff: Hera passes over to Lemnos
    - 231ff: Hera encounters Sleep, bribes his aid
      - 242ff: Sleep recalls earlier offense in aiding Hera vs Herakles
    - 263ff: Hera reassures Sleep, promises Pasithea as wife
      - 270bff: Sleep demands oath re: Pasithea
    - 277bff: Hera swears oath
  - 280ff: They leave Lemnos (ring: *Lemnon d' eisaphikane, polin theioio Thoantos*, 230/281, *to beten, Lemnou te kai Imbrou asty liponte*)
- 283ff: Arriving at Lekton, Sleep goes to tree on Ida (like bird, 290), Hera to Gargaros — S
  - 293bff: Zeus sees Hera, addresses her
    - 300ff: Hera lies re: mission to Okeanos (301–3 =200–202; 304–6=205–7)
    - 312ff: Zeus' invitation and catalogue of previous affairs (note combination of refrain-composition and listing in ascending order)
    - 329ff: Hera's feigned hesitation
  - 341ff: Zeus' reassurance
- 346ff: Hera and Zeus embrace on Gargaros, Zeus sleeps (ring: *angkas emarpte Kronou pais hen parakoitin*, 346/353, *eche d' angkas akoitin*; outer ring: *Gargaroi akroi*, 352, cf. *Gargaron akron*, 292)
- 354ff: Sleep goes to Poseidon, urges action vs Trojans while Zeus asleep, departs

CHART 3.8 (*cont.*)

C_2 363ff: Poseidon condemns Achilleus, encourages Greeks (376f, repeating exchange of armor motif), will lead the way

B_2 378bff: Wounded leaders rearm: Diomedes, Odysseus, and Agamemnon see to exchange of armor (381f), Poseidon leads the way with sword like thunderbolt S

A_2 388ff: Hektor and Trojans vs Poseidon and Greeks, with shout (simile of sea, fire, and wind, 394ff; ring: *alaletoi*, 393/400, *phone*; cf. *iache*, 1 and 421, *iachontes*) SSS

402ff: Hektor casts at Aias, misses, retreats

409ff: T. Aias throws prop-rock, stuns Hektor, who falls like tree struck by lightning S

421ff: As Greeks attack shouting, Hektor is rescued, carried to banks of Xanthos to recover

Trojans in disarray; Hektor removed from battle

440ff: Greeks renew attack, L. Aias slays Satrios

449ff: Trojan Poulydamas, in aid, kills Prothenor, vaunts; Argives vexed (452=13.520, cf. 508))

459ff: T. Aias angered, casts at Poulydamas, kills Archelochos, vaunts; Trojans distressed (475, cf. refrain at 458; cf. *thymon* at 459/475)

476ff: Trojan Akamas, defending Archelochos, hits Promachos, vaunts; Argives distressed (cf. refrain-ending at 486=458; cf. 475)

487ff: Greek Peneleos vs Akamas, who retreats, then slays Ilioneus (poppy simile, 499f), vaunts, men shiver (note similar resumption at 487 and 458) S

508–22: Invocation; 511ff: Catalogue of slayers and slain, ringed by T. Aias, 511/520ff, L. Aias (with Zeus in 522 cf. Poseidon in 510; with *protos* of T. Aias in 511, cf. *protistos* of L. Aias in 442 [*protos* of Hektor in 402])

breakers running up to the huts and beached ships of the Achaians. (This latter, with Aias' unconventional use of a prop-rock to wound Hektor at 409ff, recalls the elaborate scene-setting digression on the formation of the beached ships at 30–36).[16] Poseidon's intervention in C_1 (135ff), judged "assez banale" by Mazon,[17] not only provides motivation for Hera's strategem in D (153ff), but, as we have noted, also establishes the initial element of a structural symmetry completed in Poseidon's reappearance in C_2 (363ff).

A noteworthy and unnecessarily problematical motif not included in this symmetry is the exchange of armor, anticipated as Nestor takes his son Thrasymedes' shield on departing to witness the fighting at 9ff and reminiscent of his advice that Patroklos should borrow Achilleus' armor for an appearance before the fighters (11.796ff; cf. also Meriones' return to the Greek camp to reequip himself in 13). Here the motif is treated in linear fashion, as Poseidon urges the Greeks to exchange weapons with one another in C_2 (276f) and the leaders carry out his advice in B_2 (381f)—a familiar technique of reinforcing, by repetition or redeployment, an essential and often foreshadowing theme or motif for the sake of emphasis and narrative suspense.[18]

In D (153–362) elements of charm and humor are exploited for contrast and for their own sake to emphasize a serious point through comedy, much as in Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8. There is irony in that the victim of Aphrodite's power is Zeus himself, not the "powerless women" of Athena's taunt at 5.349. And in his reaction to Hera, Zeus, divine protector of the laws of hospitality, uses language much like that of the mortal offender Paris in his re-seduction of Helen in Book 3 (with 3.441, 442, 446 cf. 14.314, 315, 328). But though the legitimate union of Hera and Zeus has scarcely survived Zeus' encyclopaedic infidelity—indicated by his "Leporello-catalogue of past conquests" at 315ff[19]—Hera's efforts are not directed to resolving her differences with Zeus; indeed, she will rather exacerbate them in the attempt to impose her partisan will on his. Similarly, although the Greeks' cause against Paris and the Trojans is valid, their success at this point jeapordizes the promised restoration of Achilleus' honor. The episode thus represents an important restatement of the distance between the will of Zeus and the intentions and perceptions of those under his sway. Much as the problem of the justice due Achilleus gains a cosmic dimension with Thetis' plea in 1, so here Poseidon's resistance on the human stage is now paralleled in the most intimate way on the divine, raising the broader issues of due order in the cosmos and Zeus' capacity to execute his will.[20] Ironically, the device used to figure this crisis is the *hierogamia*, or Sacred Marriage, a ceremony representing in myth and ritual an effort to ensure that continuity and harmony on which the fertility of the crops is thought to depend.[21] The subversion of this rite to serve the purpose of deception, and Zeus' tactless prologue to it, suggest parodic intent. But beyond the humor and the irony, the episode serves as a parallel to and escalation of the treachery and license that have, through the behavior of Helen (as cause of the war) and that of Agamemnon (as cause of the Wrath), brought us to this pass. The flowers that spring forth to cushion the divine pair merely counterfeit a joyous participation of nature in the act of union, for they appear out of season through the machinations of no less than the goddess of seasonal order:[22] Nature itself participates in a lie.

Hera's seduction of Zeus is thus a paradigm of the complexity and strength of the forces not merely of caprice but of vengeful deception that can be organized against reason and resolve on the human level and, viewed as the ultimate stage of cosmic order, on the divine.[23] The essential character of Hera's behavior is defined by the structural focus of D, which places emphasis less on its dramatic, not to say sexual, climax at 293b–353, than on Hera's conversation with Sleep (226–83) and her reminder of a previous occasion—and its consequences—when Zeus was duped.[24] At the conclusion of Demodokos' song in the *Odyssey*, the Phaiakians joined in the gods' laughter at the exposure of the folly of divine adultery.

Here there is no aftermath of amusement: Hera will have to face the anger of an awakened Zeus and the reminder of her own more extreme punishment by suspension between heaven and earth (15.18–24); and the outcome, in human terms, of her new offense is indicated in the focus on Hektor's wounding in A_2 (at 409ff) and the peculiarly sadistic slaughters that surround it, especially the death of Ilioneus (489ff), speared through the eye. The truth, moreover, that Agamemnon again faces about his failure of leadership (especially at 104ff, where he is no longer willing, as before, to enforce his will on others) is lost as he rushes with renewed delusion to join the other chiefs in returning to combat (379–86).

(xv) *Reversal by the Ships*

The extraordinary complexity of the scenes of fighting in lines 367–591 of Book 15 have led commentators, seeing here mere confusion, to complain of the ineptitude of an interpolator.[1] Closer examination will show once again that our poet is more concerned with artistic organization than with straightforward reconstruction of military action. The essential function of the book is reflected in its bipartite structure, in which an awakened Zeus first reasserts his will among the reluctant gods (A_1: 1–270), then implements it in the battle (A_2: 281–746).[2] The brief turning point of the action is described in B (271–80), with the consternation of the Greeks at Hektor's reappearance on the field.

Although the two major sections differ in tone and locale, the first sequence concludes with Apollo's arrival to aid Hektor, and the second continues with their joint attack on the Greeks, culminating in Hektor's attack on the ships (704ff). The two sections are further linked by the somewhat strained simile at 679ff comparing Aias' defensive moves at the ships to those of a skillful rider, which answers the concluding simile of A_1, as Hektor returns to battle like a galloping horse (263ff, repeating 6.506ff, of Paris).[3] The central passage in each section is marked by a similar formula in which first Ares (113bf) and then Patroklos slaps his thighs in consternation at events on the field (397bf). In the one case Ares, on learning of his son Askalaphos' death (in Book 13), must be persuaded by Athena to put aside his anger and refrain from fighting; in the other, Patroklos speaks of persuading Achilleus, in effect, to restrain *his* anger and reenter battle.[4] The first episode reiterates the motif of the loss of a divine son found in Zeus' prediction of the death of Sarpedon in his speech to Hera (47ff); its position of balance with the Patroklos episode also anticipates the structurally linked deaths in Book 16 of Sarpedon and Patroklos himself—and through them the deaths of Hektor and, beyond the *Iliad*, Thetis' son Achilleus.

CHART 3.9

Book 15

A_1 *Trojans Driven Back; Zeus' plan enunciated*

- a_1 1ff: Zeus awakes, sees Poseidon and Greeks driving Trojans from ditch, Hektor apart
- b_1
  - 13ff: Zeus rebukes Hera, threatens whipping, recalls previous punishment
  - 34bff: Hera swears, disclaiming responsibility for Poseidon's intervention
  - 47ff: Zeus sends Hera for Iris and Apollo; reveals plan in detail
  - 78bff: Hera departs for Olympus (*noos*–simile, 80–83; double ring: *thea leukolenos Here*, 78/83, *potnia Here*; *es makron Olympon*, 79/84, *aipun Olympon* — S
- c
  - 84bff: Arriving among assembled gods, Hera accepts cup from Themis
  - 92ff: Hera on Zeus (ring: *leukolenos Here*, 94/108, *potnia Here*, as in 87/83)
  - 101ff: Gods distressed, Hera still angry
  - 103bff: Hera on death of Askalaphos, as example of Zeus' mistreatment of gods
  - 113ff: Ares slaps thighs, threatens revenge, orders Fear and Terror to harness horses
  - 121ff: Athena intervenes, disarms Ares, rebuke
  - 143ff: Hera delivers Zeus' message to Apollo and Iris (refrain–formula at 142, 150a)

(*Ares' consternation: slaps thighs*, 113)

- b_2
  - 150bff: Apollo and Iris depart, arrive at Ida, find Zeus on Gargaros
  - 157ff: Zeus sends Iris with message for Poseidon
  - 168ff: Iris departs quickly as snow and hail before north wind (w. 169a cf. 79a; w. 170ff cf. 80ff; ring: *okea Iris*, 168/172, *okea Iris*) — S
  - 173ff: Iris conveys Zeus' message to Poseidon (w. 175–83 cf. 160–67)
  - 184ff: Poseidon reacts with disdain
  - 200ff: Iris on persuasion, Erinyes
  - 205ff: Poseidon's threat re: Troy; leaves Greeks, departs for sea
  - 219ff: Zeus sends Apollo to aid Hektor
  - 236ff: Apollo departs like hawk (237a=79a, 169a; cf. 168f) — S
  - 239ff: Apollo finds Hektor, his query (w. 243 cf. 173; w. 240ff cf. 9ff)
  - 246ff: Hektor asks his divine identity, explains plight
  - 253ff: Apollo reveals himself, encourages Hektor

(*Apollo and Hektor by river*)

- a_2 263ff: Hektor sallies forth like horse breaking from stall (cf. 6.506ff) — S

B *Battle Turns*

- 271ff: Greeks amazed by Hektor's reappearance like hunters losing a deer or wild goat who are turned to flight by bearded lion — SS

The poet contrives to provoke Ares' reaction by adding to Hera's complaint, on her return to Olympos, the otherwise gratuitous reference at 110ff to Askalaphos' death; he provides a frame for Ares' response with Hera's resumption of her proper mission of summoning Iris and Apollo to Zeus at 143ff. Although the episode plays a role in the overall structure, Ares' "submission" to Zeus functions rather differently in A_1 as the second in a series of three instances of Zeus' imposition of his will on the gods. The terms on which acquiescence is gained are in each instance

CHART 3.9 (*cont.*)

A_2 *Zeus' plan carried out; Trojans attack ships*

(*Apollo and Hektor by ships*)

a_1 281ff: Thoas, marveling at Hektor's recovery from Aias' blow, advises retreat to ships while he and Aias' companions hold off Trojans

b_1
- 306f: Hektor and Apollo with Zeus' aegis (308ff, 318ff) lead attack (ring: *Hektor*, 306/327, *Hektori*); 323ff: Greeks stampeded like herd or flock — S
- 328ff: Greek deaths
- 346ff: Hektor urges rush for ships, Apollo with aegis (361) kicks over wall like child destroying a sand castle (362–65) — SS

(*Patroklos' consternation: slaps thighs*, 398)

c_1
- 367ff: Greeks retreat to ships
- 370ff: Nestor prays
- 377bff: Zeus thunders
- 379ff: Trojans take omen as favorable, charge like waves against ships (381–84) — S
- 387ff: Greeks fight from ships

d
- 390ff: Patroklos with Eurypylos, slaps thighs at sight of Greek plight (397b, cf. 113b), leaves to rouse Achilleus into war

a_2 405bff: Even battle at ships (Chart 3.9–A_2a_2): Hektor encouraged by Zeus' intervention

b_2
- 596ff: Overview, restatement of Zeus' purpose; he drives Hektor vs ships, raging like Ares or destructive fire in mountain forest (605f) — SS
- 617ff: Greeks resist like cliffs beaten by sea and winds (618–21) — S
- 623ff: Hektor glittering with fire (cf. 605f), charges like waves vs ships (cf. 381f), like lion vs cattle (630ff, cf. 323ff), kills Periphates (*noon en protoisi*, 643), who has stumbled on his shield — SS

c_2
- 653ff: Greeks at ships
- 659ff: Nestor exhorts (cf. 370ff) men to take stand
- 668ff: Athena clears mist
- 674ff: Aias' defence like galloping rider (679ff, cf. 263ff; ring: *makra bibasthen*, 676/686, *makra bibas*) as Hektor leads attack (eagle simile, 690ff) — S
- 696ff: Battle renewed at ships
- 704ff: Hektor, gripping stern of Protesilaos' ships, summons fire (ring: *Hektor de prymnes*, 704/716, *Hektor de prymnephen*)
- 727–46: Aias' retreat, exhortation (light of safety, 741), wounds twelve (732=687) — S

significant. In the first, Zeus' anger toward Hera (13ff) has been roused not simply by her resistance to his will—as in Books 1, 2, and 8—but by the graver offence of actual deception. Zeus' threat of physical violence is correspondingly elaborate. Indeed, his reminder of Hera's previous suspension on a golden chain proved so scandalous to early critics of the *Iliad* that they resorted to reading into the text an allegory of Creation, with Hera's name interpreted as an anagram of the *aer* "suspended" between heaven and earth.[5] Zeus' reminder is similar to that of Hephaistos

in 1.586ff; the physical threat parallels 1.565ff. But Zeus nevertheless implies the wish that Hera offer not mere external submission, but a unanimity of purpose similar to the conversion of mind he desires from Poseidon (49ff): "If indeed you, lady Hera of the ox eyes, would hereafter sit among the immortals thinking as I do, then Poseidon, even if he wish it quite otherwise, would quickly alter his mind (*noon*) according to my heart and yours."[6] And now for the first time Zeus proceeds to offer a detailed exposition of his intentions that will provide a basis for compromise, in which a loss for each side in the dispute will be tempered by gain: The plan to honor Achilleus will not affect the ultimate outcome of the war and will cost Zeus himself the sacrifice of his son Sarpedon.[7]

The "conversion" of Ares by Athena (121ff) repeats the threat of violence and consequent disorder among the gods at a rather lower level of persuasion. Here deception is not at issue, but rather Ares' willingness to risk all, even destruction, to avenge his son. To Athena, Ares is "raving, mad, deranged . . . your *noos* has perished, and your *aidos*" (*mainomene, phrenas ele, diephthoras . . . noos d' apolole kai aidos*, 128f). She adds with obscure foreboding that "another stronger son has been or soon will be killed" (139f) and physically disarms her brother, who is unable to articulate either reaction or conditions.

The conciliation of Poseidon (157ff) is less direct, formally and ethically, given the complexity of Zeus' political relationship to Poseidon.[8] Although Zeus instructs Iris merely to remind Poseidon of his own superior power and seniority by birth (*pherteros . . . genei proteros*, 165f=181f, cf. 197f), he has already indicated to Hera the hope that Poseidon may "turn his mind (52: *metastrepseie noon*) to follow your heart and mine."[9] In repeating Zeus' message to Poseidon, Iris echoes the sentiment, adding that the hearts of the mighty can be changed (*e ti metastrepseis? streptai men te phrenes esthlon*, 203),[10] and warns that the Erinyes always follow the elder (204). According to Hera, Poseidon's motives combine passion (*thymos*, 43) with pity (*eleesen*, 44). But on his own account Poseidon is clearly at this point preoccupied less with the death of his grandson (as in 13.206ff), or of the other Greeks, than with Zeus' threat to the balance of power among the gods; and he withdraws his support of the Greeks only on condition that Zeus not transgress this order—not only of the relationship among the Olympian gods but also of divine authority in the cosmos.

The emphasis on due order and voluntary "change of mind" in these passages is reinforced by the unusual simile of Hera's flight to Olympus, quick as as a man's *noos* darting from place to place (80ff),[11] and by the emphasis in the Reception scene of 84ff on Themis, whose function as overseer of the "feast's fair division" (95, Lattimore) Hera dares not attempt to subvert.[12]

As the three gods submit not merely to the force of Zeus, but—at least externally—to his *noos* as well, we find this same *noos* activating Hektor effortlessly, from afar, as he recovers from his wound by the river (242: *epei min egeire Dios noos aigiochoio*; cf. 603f). But the gods' recognition and provisional acceptance of Zeus' purpose for the sake of stability among them has no real counterpart on the earthly level in A_2, where human *noos* remains at variance with the divine: For although Zeus' complex purpose (*pykinon noos*) again protects Hektor at 461, Aias soon declares in his renewed appeal to the *aidos* of his companions that there is no better *noos* or *metis* than fighting (509f). This desperate quibble on Aias' part appears to serve as a representative rejection by a representative hero of any value more sophisticated than heroic force. The poet, in any case, offers a more complex view. The weakness and variability of human *noos* can be observed in the case of Periphates, "among the foremost in intelligence" (*noon en protoisi*, 643), who, for all his abilities, stumbles on his shield, vulnerable to a Hektor fighting like Ares (605f). Hektor's own perception (*oxy noese*, 649) remains on the level of the lion to which he is compared (630ff), capable only of recognizing a potential victim. And although the awareness (*noos*, 699) of the Greeks is limited to their fear that they must perish fighting, Hektor's misunderstanding of Zeus' purpose is in 486–99 so complete that he assures his men that the families and property of those who die in battle will be safe. Similarly Patroklos perceives (*enoese*, 395) only military disaster as the wall is again overrun by the Trojans; and his reaction, unlike that of Ares in the corresponding passage in A_1, will prove fatal to himself and ultimately to Achilleus: For where Ares submitted to Athena's reasoned persuasion, Patroklos acts in ignorance of Zeus' will, and his role in advancing reconciliation on the human level is merely inadvertent.

The violence and confusion surrounding the vignette of Patroklos with Eurypylos (390–405a) displays the skill with which the poet is able to orchestrate, with a combination of particular encounters and overviews, the impact of Zeus' plan. The sequence in which it appears comprises a general interlocking symmetry of action in which the Greeks are amazed by the aid Hektor receives from the gods ($a_{1,2}$: 281–305, 405b–595), Hektor leads the attack with divine support ($b_{1,2}$: 306–66, 596–652; note that each passage concludes with similar motifs of kicking or stumbling and contains similes of cattle attacked by wild beasts at 323ff and 630ff), and a repeated pattern of elements ($c_{1,2}$: 367–89, 653–746) that include a scene of fighting at the ships (367ff, 653ff), a prayer or exhortation by Nestor (370ff, 659ff), a divine response (Zeus' thunder at 377bf and the otherwise unexplained clearing of mist by Athena at 668ff), and concluding battles at the ships (387ff, 674ff).[13]

This feeling for symmetry accounts for what has seemed to be an in-

consistency in narrative logic arising from the style of 405b–595 (a_2), which is more appropriate to fighting in the clear than to continuing the previous action with the tactical demands of fighting by ships.[14] The poet is concerned primarily to repeat and further develop the thematic emphasis in 281–305 on Thoas' perception of divine intervention in the action—that is, on the psychological situation that develops among the fighters as the hostile *noos* of Zeus is felt, and that Aias' speech of 501ff unconsciously attempts to neutralize.[15] His repeated and futile appeals to *aidos* (501ff; 561) typify the limitations of the hero facing a crisis beyond his understanding. This confrontation between the divine will and a traditional human reaction is reflected formally in the subsections of the passage (see Chart 3.9-A_2 a_2), in which scenes of Hektor's activity aided by Zeus (β_{1-3}: 415ff, 484ff, 545bff) alternate with passages illustrating the *aporia* of the Greeks in attempting to meet the new situation with conventional tactics (γ_{1-3}: 419ff, 518ff, 568ff). These interlocking elements have not therefore been adjusted to the strategic requirements of fighting at the ships for the reason that they serve an emphasis more important than verisimilitude; but that the passage as a whole is meant to be seen in the context of the actual situation is indicated by its framing elements at 405bff and 592ff ($\alpha_{1,2}$), which maintain specific reference to the location of the battle.

The concluding reversal of Greek gains contains elements that also reverse in a pointed and significant way elements of Book 10, the problematical *Doloneia*. Given the unusual technique and purpose of the earlier narrative, contrasts and parallels of motif and plot are less elaborately schematic than those we have noted between 12 and 13, and 11 and 14, and those we shall observe in the remaining pairs in the sequence, 9/16 and 8/17; but they do suggest that the *Doloneia* forms an integral part of the structural entity of the poem as we have it. In 10, Greeks awakened by a desperate Agamemnon venture with Athena's aid outside the walls to reconnoître among the sleeping Trojans; in 15, aided by an awakened Zeus and with Athena chastened into acceptance of Greek defeat, the Trojans invade the Greek camp, within the wall. But in contrast to the desperate search for responsible human authority that characterizes the sequence in the Greek camp of 10, the opening section of 15 is concerned with the reassertion of divine authority. Apollo's last-minute support of the Trojans in 10.515ff is repeated, now reinforced by the sanction of Zeus himself (219ff), as he is dispatched to revive Hektor and proceeds to redress the earlier incursion by the Greeks by leveling their own fortification (316ff).

Dolon, in 10 sent out to spy on the Greek ships, hopeful of obtaining Achilleus' horses so difficult to manage, is slain lest he return to fight by

CHART 3.9-A_2a_2

Book 15, A_2 a_2:

α_1 405bff: Even battle at ships (simile of carpenter's line, 410–13; ring: *aposasthai para neon*, 407/414, *amph' alleisi . . . neesin*) S

β_1 415ff: Hektor urged on by *daimon* (418) vs Aias; neither yields

419ff: Aias hits Kaletor

422ff: Hektor sees him, calls comrades to protect corpse, casts at Aias, hits Lykophron

436ff: Aias shudders, calls to Teukros re: Apollo's arrows (441)

442ff: Teukros comes with bow, kills Kleitos driving Poulydamas' chariot alone, he falls from chariot; Poulydamas takes horses to Astynoös, retreats to mingle in formation (457)

γ_1 458ff: Teukros shoots at Hektor, is prevented by Zeus' *noos*: string breaks, arrow deflected, he drops bow

466ff: Teukros shudders (466=436), calls to Aias, blaming *daimon*

471ff: Aias urges him to abandon bow and arrows (*pepon*, 472 and 437) and take up spear

478ff: Teukros puts away bow, rearms, joins Aias (483b=442b)

β_2 484ff: Hektor exhorts Trojans (485f=424f): Zeus' power at work vs Greeks; families and property of those who die bravely will be safe

501ff: Aias' *aidos*-speech: no dance, war; no better *noos* than fighting (505f, cf. 461; note refrain, 514=500)

515f: Hektor kills Schedios

516bf: Aias kills Laodamas

γ_2 518ff: Poulydamas kills Otos, companion of Meges

Meges vs Poulydamas, whom Apollo protects (521), Kroismos hit

Dolops vs Meges, whose corselet protects him

Meges strikes off Dolops' helmet, he fights on

Menelaos to aid Meges, kills Dolops

Menelaos and Meges try to strip him

β_3 545bff: Hektor calls Melanippos to aid Dolops; need to fight at close range lest Troy fall

560ff: Aias exhorts Greeks (*aidos*, 561, cf. 502 and 5.528–32 [Agamemnon])

γ_3 568ff: Menelaos exhorts Antilochos

573ff: Antilochos hits Melanippos, he falls; Antilochos rushes forth like hound vs fawn (579–82) S

583bff: Hektor sees, advances

585ff: Antilochos flees like guilty beast (586–89), rejoins companions (591, cf. 457) S

α_2 592ff: Trojans attack ships like lions S

(Note distribution of *doupesen*-formulae in $\gamma_1 - \gamma_3$ at 421, 524, 578)

the ships (10.450f, an obtrusive touch in view of his dubious credentials); in 15 the Trojans do indeed fight by the ships, preliminary to the return of Achilleus' horses to battle. The similes of 10 describing the stealthy doings of the Greeks in terms of lions and other beasts attacking herds by night (10.183ff, 297ff, 485ff)—suited to the atmosphere of darkness pervading the book—are answered here in similar comparisons less appropriately applied to Hektor and Apollo in 323ff (like night-prowling beasts; cf. the lion of 271ff) and its counterbalance at 630ff (like lions

against cattle). There is perhaps also a link between the attention to Rhesos' and Achilleus' horses in 10 and the use in 15 of the horse similes applied to Hektor at 263ff and to Aias at 679ff.

Book 10 portrayed the moral collapse of the Greek leaders on hearing of Achilleus' rejection of their appeal; 15 describes their corollary military collapse. The earlier exploration of an alternative model of success through Odyssean cunning only hinted at the possibility of conflict with the divine *noos*; now this conflict—and its ultimate victor—becomes a matter of major thematic importance. At the same time, the motif of the Greeks' appeal to Achilleus in Book 9 is renewed here in the reaction of Patroklos and the reminder of Agamemnon's offer in 9; his insistence that Achilleus submit to greater kingship and seniority (9.160f: *basileuteros eimi . . . geneei progenesteros*) is recalled by Zeus' message to Poseidon (15.165f=181f, where the choice of language more directly evokes the terms of the conflict between king and hero in Book 1).[16] And in Iris' extra admonition to Poseidon that the hearts of the great can be turned (*streptai*) and that the Furies side with the elder (15.203f), we have allusions to Phoinix's "even the gods can be turned" (*streptoi*) of 9.497 and his subsequent reference there to the punitive function of Ate (510ff) and Erinys (454, cf. 571f). Thus 15, in evoking motifs of 9 as well as of 10, prepares for the return to the atmosphere of 9 in the ensuing Book 16 by reiterating, on the divine level, the issue of conciliation and by providing a model for resolutions—whose remoteness from the human drama at this stage will nevertheless be evident from the start.

(xvi) *Patrokleia*

With Book 16 we reach the firing of the Greek ships anticipated in Book 9; the implications of Phoinix's retelling there of the Meleager story become apparent. Without preliminaries the poet brings us directly to Patroklos' appeal to Achilleus. The initial comparison of Patroklos' tears to a spring of dark water (16.3ff) recalls the earlier tears of Agamemnon (9.14ff); but while Agamemnon in his despair went on to propose flight, Patroklos now asks to be allowed to join the Greeks in resisting Hektor. His speech pointedly repeats issues raised by the earlier embassy. The question of pity in Phoinix's plea (9.496f; cf. Odysseus at 632) is echoed by Patroklos (*nelees*, 16.33) and acknowledged by Achilleus himself in his address to his men, aware that they resent his withdrawal from battle (*nelees*, 204). The motif of Achilleus' anger (*cholos*, 9.436, 517, 523, 678) is reiterated in both these passages (16.30; as a ringing element at 203/206). And Achilleus' response to Patroklos recalls his earlier reply to the Greeks: He still bridles at being treated like a "dishonored vagabond"

(*atimeton metanasten*, 9.648; 16.59) and will not return to battle until the fighting reaches his own ships (9.650ff, cf. 16.61ff).[1]

Given these striking parallels, it seems reasonable to view the equally striking differences between Achilleus' other statements here and in the *Embassy* as no less functional, continuing the portrayal of a mind in conflict finding its way by fits and starts in uncharted ethical terrain. Thus, his insistence now that Patroklos confine himself to driving the Greeks from the ships lest by doing more he jeopardize both Achilleus' *time* and the gifts he had earlier rejected (83ff). In the absence of positive motivation for action of his own, Achilleus is, in effect, attempting to use the heroic code without involving himself in it. But in his contradictory wish that all the others might perish and that he and Patroklos might take Troy for themselves alone (97ff), Achilleus yields, as in 9, to the appeal of a self-sufficient world of his own fantasy, with Patroklos as his last remaining contact with human community.[2] In a sudden change of scene at the climactic center of this initial section (A_1: 1–256), Aias yields to Zeus' superior *noos* and the Trojan onslaught, and the ships are indeed fired (102–24a). In another shift, Achilleus slaps his thighs (124b) with a gesture of consternation quite unlike his vindictive satisfaction at the signs of retreat at 11.609ff. His response repeats that of Patroklos in 15, as well as the reaction there of Ares, the parent who in ignorance failed to protect his son from death. A similar ignorance and failure will beset an unwitting Achilleus in the balancing section of this book (A_2: 783–866) with the death of his childlike (8–11) companion.[3]

On another level, the concern in A_1 with the arming of Patroklos in Achilleus' gear, in an attempt to manipulate appearances ("so that the Trojans, thinking that I am you, might hold off from warfare," 41), is answered in A_2 first by the unmasking of Patroklos' deception by Apollo, then his wounding by Euphorbos, and his death and stripping at the hands of Hektor. The last two items of weaponry usual in Arming scenes—helmet and spear—are the last two listed in the "disguise" of A_1. But as commentators have seen, Patroklos' inability to manage Achilleus' Pelian ash spear indicates that his charade is doomed from the start, and helmet and substitute spear are the first to go in Patroklos' "dis-arming" (789bff).[4] Having attempted to deceive others, Patroklos becomes a victim of his own failure of perception (*ouk enoese*, 789) as Apollo attacks him, shrouded in mist.

The attempt to manipulate prophecy represents a third element in the moral confusion of Achilleus and Patroklos.[5] In his response to Patroklos' question (36f, repeating Nestor at 11.794f) whether he is behaving as he is because of some oracle of Zeus told him by his mother, Achilleus answers with what might seem a curious evasiveness (49ff), given his account at 9.410ff of the alternate fates Thetis has predicted for him. His

CHART 3.10

Book 16

A_1 *Arming of Patroklos*

- 1ff: Patroklos weeps before Achilleus (like dark-watered spring, 3ff), who ironically supposes bad news from home (Patroklos as foolish girl, 8–11) — S, S
  - 20ff: Patroklos describes wounded, rebukes Achilleus' anger, begs for armor
    - 48ff: Achilleus agrees; instructions (59: dishonored wayfarer, cf. 9.648)
      - 101ff: Aias gives way to Zeus' *noos* and Trojan weapons (ring: *beleesi*[*n*], 102/108)
      - < 112f: Invocation re: firing of ships
      - 114ff: Aias vs Hektor, fire at ships; Aias recognizes Zeus' work (120f; with *chazeto d' ek beleon*, 122, cf. 102/108)
    - 124bff: Achilleus slaps thighs, urges Patroklos to arm
  - 130ff: Patroklos arms, harnesses Achilleus' horses
- 155ff: Achilleus arms Myrmidonians (simile of wolves at dark-watered spring, 156–64; cf. 3ff; ring: *Achilleus* at 155/166) — S
  - 168ff: Catalogue (refrain-composition at 173, 179, 193, 196, 197)
  - 198ff: Achilleus addresses troops (inner ring: *choloi*, 203/206, *cholos*)
  - 211ff: Myrmidonians gather like wall (212ff) with Patroklos and Automedon in lead — S
  - 220bff: Achilleus fetches cup from shelter, pours libation, prays to Zeus
    - 248bff: Zeus' mixed reaction
  - 253ff: Achilleus replaces cup, stands by to observe

B_1 *Patroklos at ships*

- 257ff: (See Chart 3.10-B_1)

C_1 *Zeus' decision on Sarpedon*

- 419ff: Sarpedon exhorts Lykians, dismounts
- 427ff: Patroklos dismounts (428–30: Sarpedon and Patroklos as vultures) — S
  - 431ff: Zeus' despair about Sarpedon
  - < 439ff: Hera's admonition on mortality; burial by Death and Sleep
  - 458ff: Zeus' tears of blood anticipate Sarpedon's death
- 462ff: Sarpedon vs Patroklos: Patroklos kills Thrasymedes
- 466ff: Sarpedon misses, kills horse Pedasos, who dies screaming (*makon*, 469)

D *Sarpedon's death; fight over corpse*

- 477ff: Sarpedon casts at Patroklos, misses (cf. refrain *Sarpedon . . . men apembrote douri phaeinoi* at 466, *enth' au Sarpedon men apembrote douri phaeinoi* at 477)
  - 479bff: Patroklos hits Sarpedon, who falls like oak, poplar, or pine cut for timber (482ff); simile of bull slain by lion (487ff) — S, S
  - 491bff: Sarpedon exhorts Glaukos to protect his corpse, dies
  - 503bff: Patroklos draws out spear from Sarpedon
  - 508ff: Glaukos suffering from his own wound (cf. 12.387), grieves that he cannot aid Sarpedon
    - 512ff: Glaukos prays to Apollo, rebukes Zeus (ring: *euchomenos d' ara eipen*, 512/527, *hos ephat' euchomenos*)
    - < 527bff: Apollo hears prayer, heals Glaukos
    - 530ff: Glaukos grateful, rouses Lykians, rebukes Hektor (with 531, *ekouse megas theos euxamenoio*, cf. 512/527)
  - 548bff: Trojans, vexed by Sarpedon's death, with Hektor come to aid
    - 553bff: Patroklos rouses Greeks, Aiantes vs Trojans
  - 563ff: Both sides clash
    - < 567f: Zeus spreads darkness to increase struggle over his son
  - 569: Trojans drive back Greeks
    - 570ff: Hektor kills Epeigeus (578b–80=412b–14)
    - 581ff: In revenge, Patroklos like hawk attacks Sthenelos (cf. 478ff) — S
  - 588ff: Hektor and Trojans retreat a javelin's throw (*choresan*, 588/592, *tosson echoresan Troes*; cf. 569, *osan de proteroi Troes*)
    - < 593ff: Glaukos returns, kills Bathykles, Trojans come to see
    - 603ff: Meriones kills Laogonos
      - 608ff: Aineias misses Meriones, rebuke re: dancing
      - 619ff: Meriones' retort
      - 626bff: Patroklos admonishes Meriones on works of war
- 632ff: Patroklos leads attack, sound like woodcutters (633ff, cf. 482ff); Sarpedon's corpse covered with weapons, men swarm like flies (641–44a) — S, S

CHART 3.10 (*cont.*)

C2 *Zeus' decision on Patroklos; burial of Sarpedon*
- 644bff: Zeus' debate over Patroklos' death
- 656ff: Zeus causes Hektor to flee, Greeks strip Sarpedon
- 666ff: Zeus sends Apollo to recover Sarpedon, give him to Death and Sleep (674f=456f)
- 676bff: Apollo recovers Sarpedon, prepares his corpse (669–73, cf. 679–83)

B2 *Patroklos at Troy* 684ff: Shouting at Automedon, Patroklos pursues Trojans against Achilleus' advice; poet's query (692f); Patroklos slays nine

- a_1 698ff: Apollo repels Patroklos from walls of Troy 4 times (*daimoni isos*, 705) S
- b_1 712ff: Apollo, disguised as Asios, exhorts Hektor to return to battle, hints at Apollo's aid in slaying Patroklos
- c_1 726ff: Hektor with Kebriones charges Patroklos (note interlocking *ebe theos am ponon andron*, 726/728f, *autar Apollon duseth' homilon ion; Hektor . . . hippous*, 728/731f)
- d_1 733ff: Patroklos hits Kebriones with rock, his eyes fall to ground, Patroklos vaunts (comparison to diver, 742ff; cf. 406–9) S
- e_1 751ff: Patroklos like lion (752ff; cf. 487ff) and Hektor struggle over Kebriones like lions (756ff); others in conflict with noise like forest shaken by winds (765–70) S S
- f_1 777ff: At noon, Greeks take and strip Kebriones
- a_2 783ff: Apollo comes to repel Patroklos' 4th attack on Trojans (*daimoni isos*, 786=705)
- b_2 789bff: Apollo, unseen, strikes Patroklos, who loses helmet, shield, etc.
- c_2 806bff: Euphorbos hits Patroklos, runs
- d_2 816ff: Hektor hits Patroklos, vaunts (cf. Achilleus' instruction of A_1, 48ff); simile of lion and boar fighting over spring, 823–27 (cf. 3f, 156ff) S
- e_2 843ff: Patroklos rebukes Hektor, foretells death, dies
- f_2 858ff: Hektor replies, retrieves spear

A2 *Death (disarming) of Patroklos*

864–66: Casting at Automedon with Achilleus' team, Hektor pursues

continued indecisiveness about his relationship to the heroic world apparently also affects his view of the world of prophecy. Perhaps Achilleus is fearful that his own alternative—of fame in death or longevity in obscurity—might somehow involve Patroklos if he should aim at that fatal honor awaiting his own choice. Certainly his extraordinary invocation to Zeus in 233ff suggests a preoccupation with influencing fate, for it is to the oracular Zeus of Dodona that Achilleus prays (233f, *Zeu ana Dodonaie . . . Dodones medeon*), an emphasis reinforced by mention at 234f of the prophets (*hypophetai*) of the cult.[6] More explicitly in A_2 the dying Patroklos attempts to affect the future not by prayers but with a prophecy of his own in foretelling Hektor's death (852ff; cf. *manteueai*, 859). Hektor, characteristically skeptical of oracles, prefers to leave the question open (860ff)—and deceives himself by rejecting Patroklos' inadvertent insight.[7]

A similar formal balance may be seen in the repetition in A_2 of the combination of drinking and death motifs ringing A_1. In 156b–64, as Achilleus arms the Myrmidons, the comparison to savage wolves who belch the gore of their victims into a dark-running spring represents a

grotesque perversion of the spring to which Patroklos' tears were compared at the outset, foreshadowing the subsequent transformation of Patroklos himself into the embodiment not merely of deception but of cruel excess.[8] A_1 closes with Achilleus' offering with the cup of Thetis from which no man drinks but Achilleus and no god but Zeus receives libation (220bff). Achilleus' fetching (225) and replacing (254) the cup frames the companion motif of death in Zeus' refusal to grant Achilleus' prayer for Patroklos' safe return (249bff). This combination of motifs is echoed in A_2 to depict the bitter result of the venture, as Hektor approaches Patroklos, already wounded, and overpowers him like a lion fighting a boar over a trickling mountain spring (*pidakos amph' oliges*, 825).

In the following section (B_1: 257–418), Patroklos successfully drives the Trojans from the ships in accordance with Achilleus' instructions; in its balancing B_2 (684–782), Patroklos submits, against these instructions, to the temptations of heroism. Beyond describing the Trojan withdrawal from the ships, the earlier section functions—with appropriate retardation and resulting suspense—to remove Hektor from the immediate scene in preparation for Patroklos' encounter with Sarpedon in C_1 and D (419–644a). The attack on the Trojans comprises in its initial phase (257–305) a relatively simple alternation of charge (257ff, 284ff) and reaction (278ff, 294bff), in which Patroklos succeeds in killing Pyraichmes and quenching the fire. Elements in the closing element (294b–305) will reappear at the beginning of the balancing segment (358–418) that frames the intervening series of individual encounters (306–57). The cloud simile at 297–301 is echoed at 364–66; the motif of Trojan resistance at 303ff is repeated at 363;[9] and events here are arranged in another alternation in which Hektor's resistance gives way to Patroklos' attack, against a background of Trojan panic.[10] The comparison of the Trojans' terrified outcry to a storm (364–66) is reflected at 384–93 by a rain simile describing the noise of the Trojan horses in retreat; Patroklos first pursues the fleeing Hektor across the ditch (377ff), then returns to fight by the ships (394ff), where he brutally slays among others the ironically named Pronoos ("Forethought"), driven by Thestor ("Seer"), balancing the etymological play in the name of Pyraichmes at 287. Thus, the death of Pyraichmes ("Fire-spear," or "Fiery spirit") is associated with the completion of Patroklos' proper mission;[11] the slaughter of "Forethought" and "Seer" signals the beginning of his fatal excess. The first and last similes of B_1 reinforce the progression of the action: The initial charge of Myrmidons like wasps angered by teasing boys (259–66) alludes to the pastoral world of childhood, as in Achilleus' reproach of Patroklos' girlish tears at the outset of the book (8–11); but the equally picturesque character of the fisherman simile at 406–9 is more negatively colored by its position in the midst of Patroklos' concluding slaughters, where the earlier evocation of

CHART 3.10-B_1

Book 16, B_1: Patroklos at Ships (257–418)

α_1
- 257ff: Myrmidonians charge (like angered wasps, 259–66) — S
  - 268ff: Patroklos' exhortation
  - 276f: Myrmidonians charge
- 278ff: Trojans fear that Achilleus is reconciled (281f)
- 284ff: Patroklos casts first, hits Pyraichmes, quenches fire
  - 294bff: Trojans yield as Greeks pour forth
    - 297–301: (intrusive) simile of clouds clearing from mountains as Greeks get brief respite — S
    - 303ff: Trojans not yet in flight (with 303f, *ou gar . . . phobeonto*, cf. 294f, *toi de phobethen Troes*)

β
- 306ff: Patroklos kills Areilykos
- 311bf: Menelaos kills Thoas
- 313ff: Meges kills Amphiklos
- 317ff: Antilochos kills Atymnios
- < 319bff: Maris, protecting corpse of brother Atymnios, casts at Antilochos, is hit by Thrasymedes
- 330ff: L. Aias beheads Kleoboulos
- 335ff: Peneleus beheads Lykon
- 342ff: Meriones kills Akamas
- 345ff: Idomeneus kills Erymas (sequence ringed by *aner helen andra . . . hegemonon*, 306f/351, *houtoi ar' hegemones . . . helon andra*)
- 352ff: Wolves simile (352–56) re: Greek leaders vs Trojans (cf. 156ff) — S

α_2
- 358ff: T. Aias vs Hektor, who withstands (363, cf. Trojan resistance at 303f)
  - 364–67a: Trojans flee (cloud simile of noisy retreat [cf. 297ff]) — S
- 367bff: Hektor flees, leaving army (*hippoi ekpheron okypodes*, 367f)
  - 370f: Trojans caught in ditch
- 372f: Patroklos pursues Trojans
  - 373b: Trojans fill roads, dust cloud (with 373, *iachei te phoboi te*, cf. 366, *iachos te phobos te*)
- 377ff: Patroklos heads into melee pursuing Hektor (ring: *okees hippoi* at 380, 383; cf. 367f)
  - 384–93: Trojans flee, storm simile re: noise of retreating horses (cf. *hypo lailapi*, 384, *lailapa*, 365) — S
- 394ff: Patroklos turns back vs Trojans at ships, slays Pronoös (399), Thestor (fisherman simile, 406–9), Erylaos (412b–14=578b–580), nine others — S

419ff: Sarpedon exhorts Lykians, etc.

idle mischief and the threat of pain yields to the grim immediacy of impersonal killing.

Among elements of B_1 repeated in B_2 (684–782) are the flight/pursuit of Hektor, a struggle over a Trojan corpse (Atymnios, 317ff; Kebriones, 751ff), similes describing the sounds of conflict (with 364ff and 384ff cf. 765ff), another simile based on fishing (with 406ff compare the problematical diver of 742–48),[12] and brief catalogues of Patroklos' victims (415ff; 692ff). These parallels assist in defining B_2 as a continuation of Patroklos' excess in B_1 and D, as he is driven by the momentum of violence to dismiss Achilleus' instructions and turns from the ships to pursue the Trojans toward the city. But although the initial two sections are structurally independent, B_2 comprises with A_2 an elaborate interlocking

pattern, as if to demonstrate formally the indissoluble connection between Patroklos' error, described in the first of these, and his penalty in the second. These two concluding sections are framed by references to Automedon, the "self-controlling" driver of Achilleus' horses (684 and 864). We have already seen this difficult and enviable team represented as a goal of excessive ambition in the case of Dolon; in 684ff they carry Patroklos beyond his due limit, and at the end we see Hektor pursuing them beyond his.

The themes of fatal deception and parental loss evoked in the framing sections of the book are stated more directly at the heart of it (C_1, 419–76, C_2, 644b–683). The motivation for Sarpedon's confrontation with Patroklos is his desire—a perennial one for readers of the *Iliad*—to find out just who this man is who has caused so much destruction (423ff). Fenik notes that his words recall those of Aineias to another Lykian (Pandaros in Book 5.174ff),[13] but Aineias' attitude of shoot-first vengeance is a quite different matter from Sarpedon's curiosity here. Indeed, Sarpedon's words are our first return to the theme of Patroklos' deception since the brief Trojan reaction (278ff) to the reappearance of the Myrmidonians.[14] It is striking that among the various implications of the exchange of armor,[15] the aspect of mental confusion is singled out here, as Sarpedon is drawn into the dangerous world of deceptive appearances in which Patroklos is moving. The impulse to identify an unknown warrior is, of course, the beginning of disaster for Patroklos himself, as the poet observes at 11.604; and the parallel between the two, already implied in the link Zeus has established between their destinies (15.64–67), is drawn more closely as Sarpedon undergoes a transformation similar to Patroklos', and they attack each other shrieking like vultures (428ff). The cry becomes that of a victim appropriate for birds of prey at the conclusion of this section,[16] where Sarpedon inadvertently slays Achilleus' mortal trace Pedasos, who dies "screaming" (469, *makon*).

In the midst of this confrontation, the poet shifts to Zeus' debate with Hera over his son's fate, and thus to a higher level of awareness that reflects, and so acknowledges, the significance of human confusion and uncertainty. The theme of parental sacrifice and the motif of an anticipatory dew of blood we have already seen in Book 11 (A_1) linked structurally with the narrative of Patroklos' visit to the Greek camp (A_2). Earlier, Zeus' rain of blood was answered by the return of the wounded Greek leaders and by Patroklos' attention to Eurypylos' wound. Here Zeus' tears of blood (458ff) are preceded, rather than balanced, by the events symbolically anticipated in that latter episode—that is, by Patroklos' actions in slaying Pyraichmes at Protesilaos' ship, quenching the fire, and driving Hektor beyond the wall and ditch: in effect "healing" the breach in the wall. (It is perhaps also this association that has prompted the com-

parison of the Myrmidons to a protective house wall at 212ff). Structural balance to the foreshadowing tears of C_1 appears in the burial of Sarpedon and in Zeus' decision not to intervene in the slaying of Patroklos (C_2); and these elements together frame the centerpiece of the book, emphasizing the death of Sarpedon and Apollo's healing of Glaukos (D), who is still suffering from the wound he received from Teukros in 12.387f.

With an unusual elaboration of incident and detail, the poet confers on this central action (477–644a) a special solemnity.[17] The slaying of Sarpedon (477–507) and the accumulation of weapons over his corpse (632–44a) establish a frame; these segments are further linked by the simile of Sarpedon's fall like a tree felled by carpenters (482ff) and the comparison of the sound of Patroklos' attack in 632ff to that of woodcutters at work (633ff). The brief central motif describes Zeus' sorrowful gesture of spreading a concealing darkness over his dead son (567f); an inner frame is provided by episodes centering on the healing of Glaukos (508–66) and his return to combat (569–644a). This emphasis on a warrior's return to avenge the death of his companion anticipates the return of Achilleus to avenge the death of Patroklos—though Glaukos' attempt here must end in failure, as Hektor and the Trojans resort to flight: For it is Zeus' responsibility to ensure his own son's honor (666ff). A related element of foreshadowing is evident in Hektor's slaughter of Epeigeus (570ff), like Patroklos himself a fugitive charged with manslaughter who enjoys Achilleus' protection.[18]

The juxtaposition of these events emphasizes moreover the importance of the death of the mortal Patroklos (childlike before Achilleus, 7ff) by associating it with that of Sarpedon, child of Zeus; and the one funeral serves to anticipate another—this one containing elements of a consoling fantasy (667ff), the other disclosing a less comfortable reality at a later stage in the poem.[19] More important, Zeus' sacrifice of Sarpedon is not a result of accident or caprice (as Glaukos seems to think, 522) but of the divine compromise enunciated in Book 15 (65f) and now insisted on by Hera as Zeus begins to vacillate. But in contrast to the efforts of Achilleus, Patroklos, and Hektor to alter or evade fate, Zeus recognizes the limitation that human mortality, if it is not to change its nature, must impose on divine favor, even divine paternity. In Zeus' commitment to resolving the issue of justice in human affairs on terms consistent with due order on the human level and the divine, it becomes clear that compromise and sacrifice are inevitable, as they will prove to be for Achilleus himself. Further, much like Phoinix's role at the center of 9 as the most appealing spokesman for the claims of tradition, the debate over Sarpedon's death centers on a figure who is both representative and peculiarly sympathetic to the divine arbiter. Achilleus, despite his affection for Phoinix and his wish that he not only stay by him for the night but also share in his kingship,

was nevertheless unable to accept Phoinix's fatherly appeal and the tradition Phoinix represented; in central place here, Zeus admits, with affection and reluctance, that he cannot alter the mortality of his son—or, in effect, the code for which Sarpedon too has been so eloquent a spokesman (12.310ff); for him, following Hera's suggestion, Zeus decrees "a grave and a stele, the prize of the dead" (*geras thanonton*, 675; cf. 457). Achilleus himself will repeat the phrase, unconsciously linking his loss to Zeus', when in 23.9 he decrees for Patroklos that mourning "which is the prize of the dead"—usage striking in view of the insistent repetition of *geras* in Books 1 and 9 to refer to the living Briseis.[20]

Perhaps even more than Sarpedon, Patroklos demonstrates an impressive range of humane characteristics within the tradition. But like Sarpedon he has a negative side: In his charade as Achilleus, he exceeds his instructions and yields to the temptation of egotism inherent in the code.[21] Having chosen to represent and manipulate the power of appearances, he both encounters and causes suffering and death; his behavior in the field is characterized by a pointed cruelty, especially in the slayings of Thestor (401ff), speared in the face, and Kebriones (736ff), his face smashed in with a stone—the two deaths linked, as we noted above, by fishing and diver similes. A similar duality appears in the combination of mortal and immortal in the horses of Achilleus that take Patroklos into battle (148ff)[22] and in the motif of Zeus both granting and denying Achilleus' prayer as Patroklos sets out (249). The very contrasts of the narrative as we have outlined it maintain this positive/negative pattern and will persist even in Patroklos' death: Like the horses that have drawn him to meet his death, the mortal element is slain, but a part, as we shall see, survives.

The structure of the book—in which the relationship between the death of Sarpedon and the dramatic climax of Patroklos' slaying plays an essential role—thus reflects the terms of that view of human experience which is only adumbrated at this point but will eventually find eloquent expression in Achilleus' final lament with Priam; and the mutual acceptance of mortal suffering there is anticipated in the present central focus, with Zeus' painful compromise in the death of Sarpedon and Apollo's aid to his companion Glaukos (527bff). For in the midst of multiple sacrifice of human lives, the motif of healing appears, as in 11, with a symbolic and prophetic function no longer at the periphery but at the heart of the action. Although Apollo's assistance to Glaukos will be reversed in the attack on Patroklos (783ff), the god will again play a healing role—in a moral rather than physical sense—when in Book 24 he again raises the issue of Achilleus' lack of pity, initiating the series of events that culminate in Achilleus' discovery, in the embrace of his enemy's father, of the rudiments of compassion.

(xvii) *Menelaos' Aristeia*

Critics since antiquity have admired Book 17 for its parts: Aias' sublime prayer to die, if he must, in the clear light; the startling tears of Achilleus' horses; Euphorbos' poignant death. Few have been able to enjoy its compendious length.[1] Fenik has shown that the narrative follows a sequence of four Rebuke patterns, beginning at 1, 132, 319, and 553, with an intrusive Consultation pattern at 466ff.[2] But as elsewhere these patterns, together with material extraneous to them, have been subordinated to a structure that reflects a particular overriding formal concern—in this case an interlocking sequence depicting the bitter alternations in the struggle over Patroklos' corpse.

Thus, lines 1–124 constitute an initial unit (A_1) in which Menelaos takes his stand over the body (like a cow over her firstborn, 4ff), is then forced to retreat before Hektor (like a lion driven from a fold, 109ff), and with Aias returns to the defense of Patroklos (with Aias' advance at 124 described in terms that echo Menelaos' in 3: *be de dia promachon*, "he made his way through the front ranks"). The central element (61–82), formed by Apollo's admonition of Hektor to abandon the pursuit of Achilleus' horses and avenge Menelaos' slaughter of Euphorbos, combines elements of the first and last similes of the section in its comparison of Menelaos to a lion killing a prize cow.[3] A second section (B_1: 125–318) is devoted to Aias' successful defense of the body against Hektor and the Trojans. At the outset, Hektor, attempting to hew Patroklos' head from his shoulders, is forced to retreat from Aias with the armor he has stripped from Patroklos; at the conclusion, we have another retreat of Hektor before Aias and repetition of the stripping motif, as the Greeks remove the armor from the shoulders of the corpses of Hippothoös and Phorkys. Within the section, the two elements describing Aias' defense of Patroklos are linked by lion (133ff) and boar (281ff) similes;[4] and Glaukos' rebuke of Hektor at 140ff expresses disillusion with the heroic code, while in his response to Aias' despair at 237ff, Menelaos encourages his men by appealing to this code (248ff). Zeus' central prediction of Hektor's death (198ff) is flanked by Hektor's vainglorious arming in Achilleus' gear (189b–97, 209–12a).

Episode C (319–542) opens with Apollo's exhortation of Aineias to rouse Hektor, and closes with their retreat before the Aiantes, as Automedon strips Aretos' armor; we shall return to its structural components shortly. A_2 (543–96) establishes an interlocking structure by returning to the question of Patroklos' corpse: Zeus dispatches Athena (like a rainbow sent as a baneful portent to mortals, 547–51) to rouse Menelaos to the

CHART 3.11

Book 17

A1

- 1ff: Menelaos advances to protect Patroklos' body like a cow her firstborn (4ff) S¬
  - 9ff: Euphorbos approaches, taunts Menelaos
    - 18ff: Menelaos' comment to Zeus on Euphorbos' pride (ref. to lion and boar, 20); addressing Euphorbos, denies that he is no fighter (26f: ref. to 14.516ff? cf. 588 here) S
    - 33bff: Euphorbos threatens to behead Menelaos, casts in vain
      - 45bff: Menelaos prays to Zeus, slays Euphorbos (olive-tree simile, 53–59), begins to strip him S
        - 61ff: Trojans, fearing Menelaos as herdsmen a lion killing prize cow (61–68) would allow stripping of Euphorbos, but Apollo as Mentes arouses Hektor, rebukes his pursuit of Achilleus' horses (76ff=10.402ff) S
  - 83ff: Hektor's cry on seeing Euphorbos dead, Menelaos stripping him; he advances like Hephaistos' flame (88f) S
- 89bff: Menelaos' monologue on leaving Patroklos and armor
  - 108ff: Withdrawing like a lion driven from fold (109–13, reversing 1ff; cf. 61ff), Menelaos yields to find Aias S¬
  - 119ff: Menelaos urges Aias' aid to prevent stripping of Patroklos
  - 123ff: They return to protect Patroklos (ring: *be de theein*, 119/124, *be de dia promachon*; note section ring, 3a+1b/124)

B1

- 125ff: Hektor, having stripped Patroklos, attempts to behead him, retreats before Aias with shield like tower S
- 132ff: Aias defends Patroklos like lion over young surprised by hunters (133–37; cf. 4f) along with grieving Menelaos (ring: *Aias . . . / hestekei*, 132f, 138f, *Menelaos/ hestekei*) S¬
  - 140ff: Glaukos taunts Hektor for abandoning corpses of Sarpedon and Patroklos, threatens to leave (code of privilege meaningless)
    - 169ff: Hektor's self-defense; exhorts men (ring: *korythaiolos Hektor* at 169/188)
      - 189bff: Hektor arms in spoils
        - 198ff: Zeus comments on death of Hektor
        - 209ff: Zeus fits armor to Hektor, Ares' strength enters him
    - 212bff: Hektor exhorts men, will give half the spoils to taker of Patroklos' corpse
  - 237ff: Aias speaks despairingly to Menelaos on saving corpse, their own lives (Hektor as cloud of war, 243f; cf. *aipys olethros* in 244 and 155) S
    - 246ff: Menelaos exhorts men (appeal to code of privilege)
    - 256ff: L. Aias, Idomeneus, Meriones, etc. join them
- 262ff: Trojans attack like sea vs outpouring river (263ff) as Greeks defend Patroklos S¬
  - 268bff: Zeus scatters mist
  - 274ff: After Trojans scatter Greeks, Aias, fighting like wild boar (281ff), routs Trojans (cf. lion simile at 133ff) S¬
- 288ff: Aias kills Hippothoōs attempting to drag Patroklos away
  - 304ff: Hektor, aiming at Aias, kills Schedios
  - 312ff: Aias kills Phorkys
  - 316ff: Hektor and Trojans retreat before Aias, Greeks take bodies of Hippothoōs and Phorkys, remove armor from their shoulders (with *ap'omon*, 318, cf. *ap'omoiin*, 126)

defense, Apollo reports Podes' death to Hektor, and Hektor returns to battle accompanied by Zeus' thunder and lightning, signaling a reversal of his aid to the Greeks. The final section (B_2, 597–761) begins with Hektor's charge and ends with his pursuit of the Greeks as they withdraw with Patroklos' corpse.

In terms of narrative logic, A_2 is perhaps the most obviously disturbing element: Despite its relative brevity, it seems overlong as a device for mo-

CHART 3.11 (*cont.*)

C
- 319ff: To prevent Trojan rout, Apollo appears as Periphas to Aineias to assure him of Zeus' favor
  - 333ff: Aineias, recognizing Apollo, encourages Hektor re: Zeus' support
- 343ff: As Trojans take stand, Aineias kills Leiokritos
  - 346ff: Lykomedes kills Apisaon
  - 352ff: Asteropaios attempts to attack Greeks (note refrain–composition at 346 and 352; with *enantioi estan Achaion* of 343, cf. 355, *hestaotes peri Patrokloi*)
- 356ff: Aias organizes defense of Patroklos
- 366ff: Overview (fire simile, 366), darkness — S
- 370ff: The rest of the Greeks with Thrasymedes and Antilochos fight elsewhere in light on Nestor's orders
- 384ff: Overview (ox-hide simile, 389–94) of fight over Patroklos — S
- 401bff: Achilleus ignorant of Patroklos' death, Zeus' will (ring: *Patroklon tethneota*, 402/411, *philtatos oleth' hetairos*; w. 401bff cf. 377bff)
- 412ff: Overview: 414ff: Thoughts of "some Greek" (416f: "Let the black earth gape"), 420ff: Thoughts of "some Trojan"
  - 426ff: Achilleus' horses weep, still as tomb, despite Automedon's lashing (w. 426ff cf. 437b–39a) — S
  - 441ff: Zeus' comment
  - 457ff: Horses carry Automedon into battle, like vulture among geese (460) — S
- 466ff: Alkimedon calls to Automedon in chariot
  - 474ff: Automedon replies
- 481ff: They change places
- 483bff: Hektor urges Aineias to attack horses with him
- 491ff: They proceed, with ox-hide shields, with Aretos and Chromios
- 498bff: Automedon instructs Alkimedon
  - 507ff: Automedon warns Aiantes and Menelaos re: advance of Hektor and Aineias
- 516ff: Automedon casts, hits Aretos, who falls like bull (520–23)
  - 525ff: Hektor casts at Automedon, misses
  - 530ff: Aiantes intervene
  - 533ff: Hektor, Aineias, and Chromios retreat, abandon Aretos
- 536bff: Automedon strips Aretos, vaunts, mounts chariot, simile of lion and bull (542) — S

A_2
- 543ff: Zeus sends Athena to aid Greeks (rainbow simile, 547–51) — S
- 553ff: Athena as Phoinix rouses Menelaos
  - 560ff: Menelaos replies
  - 567ff: Athena pleased, gives him the bloodthirstiness of a mosquito (570–73)
  - 574ff: Menelaos defends Patroklos, kills Podes, drags corpse
- 582ff: Apollo as Phainops exhorts Hektor vs Menelaos (a "soft spearman," 588, cf. 26f)
- 591ff: Hektor grieved, advances (592=87)
- 593ff: Zeus' mist on Ida, thunder vs Greeks

tivating (via the death of Podes) the return of Hektor to the final struggle over Patroklos; and it is both otiose, because the Greeks do not need Zeus' intervention on their behalf at 543ff against the Trojans already in retreat, and illogical, because Zeus' lightning at the end of the section (593ff) cancels his assistance at the beginning of it.[5] But A_2 is evidently conceived as a structural unity, with the two interventions of Zeus framing the parallel actions of Athena and Apollo to rouse Menelaos and Hektor respectively. And it is clearly intended as a balance to A_1, for both involve Hektor and Menelaos as protagonists. In both sections Hektor's grief at Apollo's report of a companion slain by Menelaos motivates his return to battle (to avenge Euphorbos in A_1, Podes in A_2: cf. 83ff and 591ff and the identical formulae at 87 and 592 describing the progress of

CHART 3.11 (*cont.*)

- B_2
  - 597ff: Greek flight: Peneleos hit by Poulydamas, Leitos by Hektor
    - 605ff: Idomeneus grazes Hektor
    - 607ff: Hektor casts at Idomeneus, misses, hits Koiranos rescuing Idomeneus on foot (cf. 13.240ff)
  - 620ff: Meriones retrieves reins, urges Idomeneus to drive to ships
    - 626ff: T. Aias urges that Achilleus be told of Patroklos' death; prays for light (645ff, cf. 268bff)
    - 647bff: Zeus in pity clears mist
    - 651ff: Aias urges Menelaos to send Antilochos to Achilleus
      - 656bff: Menelaos goes like weary lion (657–65), urging Aiantes to remember Patroklos' gentleness; proceeds peering like eagle vs horse (674–79) — S — S
        - 682ff: Finding Antilochos, Menelaos directs him to inform Achilleus
        - 694ff: For a time speechless with grief, Antilochos then sets out (double ring: *mython akousas*, 694b/701, *kakos epos*; *osse dakryophi plesthen*, 695f/700, *dakry cheonta*)
      - 702ff: Menelaos sends Thrasymedes to Pylians to replace Antilochos, reports on mission
    - 715ff: T. Aias urges Menelaos, Meriones to carry body while he and L. Aias fend off Trojans
    - 722ff: Greeks lift Patroklos' corpse, Trojans rush in like dogs vs boar (725–39) against Aiantes, as corpse carried to ships (ring: *nekron apo chthonos angkazonto*, 722/735f, *nekyn pheron ek polemoio*) — S
  - 736bff: Battle like fire ravaging city (737–40, cf. 88) as Menelaos and Meriones proceed like mules carrying timber (742–46) and Aiantes defend as wooded headland withstands flood (747–52) — S — S
  - 753b–61: Trojans, led by Aineias and Hektor, pursue Greeks like hawks vs starling or daws (755–58), reversing 457ff — S

Hektor through the front ranks helmed in shining bronze, followed by a flame simile at 88f and Zeus' lightning at 595); in both, Menelaos' sense of shame is at issue, as he hestitates to retreat at 91ff and in Athena's reproach of 556ff; and both sections refer to the taunt that he is a poor fighter (26f, cf. 588).[6]

Although B_2 lacks, in the analysis presented here, the Rebuke element of B_1, the connection between them is as closely drawn as in the previous pair. Their common concern with Aias' defense of Patroklos is evident in further similarities: Zeus causes mist to obscure Aias' defense in B_1 (268bff) and allows it to lift in B_2 (649f); Aias' despair at 237ff is echoed at 626ff; bodies are withdrawn from the fighting by the Greeks in both sections (first Hippothoos and Phorkys, then Patroklos); Hektor is driven away in the one, returns to pursuit in the other. In B_1 Glaukos' threat to leave the conflict (hinting in 164 at the return of Achilleus) and Zeus' foreboding comment on Hektor's withdrawal to put on Achilleus' armor (201ff) point toward the central focus in B_2 on Menelaos' dispatch of Antilochos to Achilleus with news of Patroklos' death and the capture of the armor. There is also a remarkable duplication of similes in the two sections: The description of Aias like a lion defending its young (133ff) is balanced by Menelaos' departure for Antilochos like a weary lion (657ff); Aias' resistance like a wild boar (281ff) is echoed in the charge of Trojans

like dogs attacking a boar (725ff); and the Aiantes' opposition to the Trojans, like a headland standing against the flood (747ff), recalls the earlier description of Trojans rushing like a river against the sea (262ff).

Finally, B_2 contains elements that close the entire compositional unit: Aias' prayer to Zeus balances that of Menelaos in A_1 and A_2; the fire simile of 88f is echoed in the simile of a city ravaged by flames (737–40), and the uprooted olive of 53–59 is reflected in the timber hauled by mules in 742–46. Antilochos' ignorance in C (377ff) is corrected at 684ff, followed by his shocked silence at news of the disaster; the simile of Hektor's pursuit of the Greeks like a hawk against starlings or daws (755ff) reverses the description of Automedon's pursuit of the Trojans like a vulture among geese (460); and the motif of Idomeneus taking Meriones' chariot in 620ff recalls Alkimedon's use of Automedon's chariot in 481ff.

Although the narrative climax to the defense of Patroklos is reached in the Greek rescue of his corpse in B_2, the interlocking A_1 B_1 / A_2 B_2 pattern of the struggle creates a formal emphasis on C that is enhanced by repetition of elements found in the preceding sections (the appearance of Apollo, 71ff/322ff; the motif of mist, 286bff/366ff; stripping of arms, 125ff and 316ff/536bff; defilement of hair or manes in the dust and blood, 51f/439f; and the pursuit of Achilleus' horses, 76ff/448f). Central to A_1 is Apollo's rebuke of Hektor for vainly pursuing Achilleus' horses (76ff, cf. 10.402ff) instead of avenging the death of Euphorbos—to which the poet himself has already offered a model of response in the affecting simile at 53ff. At the center of B_1, as Hektor puts on the armor of Achilleus, Zeus reflects on the brevity of Hektor's period of glory: Hektor may arrogate to himself the externals of Achilleus' superiority but he cannot, despite his repeated wish, truly attain that status, symbolized by control of Achilleus' immortal team. This theme is reiterated in C, with Hektor's persistent attempt to capture the horses (485ff) and Zeus' memorable reflections not only on Hektor's illusory hopes but on the wretched lot of humanity itself (443ff).

Structurally, C is one of our poet's more remarkable efforts. The Greek threat of 319ff and Apollo's rebuke of Aineias (327ff) inaugurate the third of the Rebuke patterns that underly the narrative. We continue with Aineias' exhortation of Hektor (335ff) and the battle against Aias and the Greeks in 356ff, which is then interrupted by an unusual series of overviews alternating with further specific scenes at different locations (from 366 to 465) and by the intrusive Consultation pattern of 466–515, before the Rebuke pattern is concluded with the encounter between Aineias with Hektor and Aias with the other Greeks in 516–42. The description of Aias' organization of the Greek defenders (356–65) serves as the pivot between the preceding Rebuke sequence and the ensuing alternation of overviews and telling vignettes. The first overview (366–69) combines a

conventional simile comparing the battle to fire with a description of the mist obscuring the action. At 370ff there is a shift to the first of two vignettes describing the ignorance of Patroklos' death on the part of Greeks not involved in the immediate fight over the corpse. Despite its "otiose" character (Fenik), this first passage, depicting the resistance in the clear by Thrasymedes and Antilochos, adds a dimension of pathos to the narrative, prepares for the second vignette (emphasizing Achilleus' ignorance, 401bff), and looks forward to the reappearance in B_2 of Antilochus.[7] The intervening overview at 384ff (the second of the three) establishes in its comparison of the battle to men stretching an ox hide a note of equal struggle appropriate to the centrality of this segment in the series.[8] The final overview (412ff) combines with general statement of the action an equally general attribution of the motives of individual fighters expressed in their mutual exhortations (414ff, 420ff). Reference to "some Greek" or "some Trojan" occurs elsewhere, as we have seen,[9] but is uncommon and appears to represent a stylistic device alien to the normally concrete style of the poem, used sparingly for special effect. In this case, after a rapid alternation of specific and general scenes, the poet's reference to the emotions of the men at large creates an effective summary distancing.

We return to the specific in 426–65, with Automedon's unparalleled attempt to whip Achilleus' weeping horses into battle and the unique description of the team charging about in the fray without a proper charioteer, where the comparison to vultures attacking wild geese replaces the earlier image of a still and silent tomb (437f).[10] Conventional elements reappear in 466ff with the beginning of the intrusive Consultation pattern, in which a Trojan (Hektor) persuades another (Aineias) to join him in attacking a Greek (Automedon), who calls for help (from the Aiantes and Menelaos), followed by the final element of the interrupted Rebuke pattern, the culmination of the encounter between Aineias and Hektor and the Greeks. This "mixed" pattern is unified by the alternation of the three segments devoted to the actions of Automedon and Alkimedon (the second and third linked by similes involving bulls, at 520ff and 542ff), and the two intervening segments devoted to Hektor and Aineias.

Apart from the reminiscence of the ox-hide simile of 389ff in the description of the ox-hide shields at 491ff and the parallel struggles over the corpses of Patroklos and Aretos, 466–542 and 319–425 are loosely balanced; the latter simply continues and concludes the former. The two sections nevertheless provide a frame for the elegaic commemoration of Patroklos' death (426–65); the comparison of the grieving horses to a stele reflects the pathos of the preceding passage, and the answering descriptions of their stubbornness (429ff) and recklessness (457ff) anticipate the futility of Hektor's ambition to possess and control them (485ff).

And at the center of the episode we have in Zeus' own words (443ff) a telling perspective on the book as a whole.[11]

Far from merely increasing narrative tension by delaying Achilleus' reentry into battle,[12] Book 17 offers with its significant pairing of warriors a summary of the issues affecting both armies. On the one side Menelaos, the initial victim of Trojan wrongdoing, is driven by *aidos* and haunted by the fear that he has proved ineffective in his own cause;[13] he is joined by Aias, the embodiment of dogged heroism, fighting on even when Zeus' mist threatens to deprive him of *kydos*, because that is the only response he knows. On the other hand Hektor, the deluded victim of excessive ambition for heroic achievement, neglectful of the realities of battle and of personal ties, is paired both in the central section and at the conclusion with Aineias, offspring of that goddess whose seductive power has brought Troy to its current pass. But the original Trojan wrong in the theft of Helen, shared by the Greeks in the taking of Briseis, has now been compounded and escalated to a more complex level of divine involvement indicated by the possession, on one side, of the armor of the slain son of Zeus (emphasized by Glaukos' rebuke of 140ff, esp. 162),[14] and on the other the armor of Thetis' son. No longer a dispute over possession of a woman as a prize of battle, the struggle over the corpse of Patroklos again reveals, not merely in the remarkable cumulation of animal similes used here but in the acts they describe, the bestially destructive source of heroic honor.[15] The atmosphere of profound impasse in the continuing failure of the heroic solution is expressed by the disillusion of Glaukos' rebuke of Hektor and the irony (given Zeus' repeated commentary on the action) of Hektor's self-defense at 176, "The *noos* of aegis-bearing Zeus is always stronger"—unwittingly echoing the poet's own comment on Patroklos' fatal decision to turn from the defense of the ships to attack Troy (16.688). The concluding lines present a scene of unchecked fighting, with armor scattered on either side of the ditch by the wall—symbol of division and isolation—as we await, with expectations far more complex than at the end of Book 7, a solution from outside the immediate action.

With Book 17 the poet completes the design of his central ten-book sequence by recalling major elements of Book 8. Zeus' prophecy of a fight over the body of Patroklos is now realized; the helplessness of men and gods before his will, dramatized earlier by Zeus' repeated thunderbolts, has been reasserted, both in principle and in fact. The earlier description of Hektor threatening the Greek wall "with the eyes of Gorgo or of murderous Ares" (8.349) is echoed by the strength of Ares entering his body (17.210ff) as he puts on Achilleus' armor. Hektor's peculiarly intrusive desire for Nestor's golden shield and the corselet made by Hephaistos for Diomedes (unique at 8.191ff) appears in retrospect to function as a mo-

tivic anticipation of his capture of Achilleus' armor, though the imminent turn of battle—with Hephaistos' creation of a new and very special set of replacements—will cruelly disappoint Hektor's fantasy. At 8.185ff Hektor urged his mortal horses (Xanthos, Podargos, Aithon, Lampos) to repay their master's kind treatment in pursuit of that other armor; now (483bff), despite his capture of Achilleus' gear, he spends himself in a futile pursuit of the divine horses Xanthos and Balios, offspring of Podarge (named in 16.149ff, along with the mortal trace, Pedasos). Book 8, focused on a weeping Agamemnon clinging to his royal authority (220ff) in the face of defeat threatened by Hektor at the wall, exposed the hollowness of Greek leadership. 17 centers on the tears of Achilleus' horses as they lament the victim of a Hektor who persists in the vain hope of transcending the limitations of his mortality. Zeus' response in both cases is pity (8.245, *olophyrato*, 17.441, *eleese*); but the amelioration he is able to offer to either situation is slight, and the time has not yet come for resolutions.

Instead of the elaborate annular pattern of reversals we have noted in the pairing of Books 12/13 and 11/14, or the repetition of a basic stimulus/response pattern as in 10/15 and 9/16, Book 17 provides direct reflections or thematic variations of important elements of 8 in the order in which they were there presented, creating an interlocking relationship between the two:[16]

Book 8	*Book 17*
(D_1) Diomedes with the ineffectual Nestor hesitates to retreat; Hektor urges his horses to help capture armor of Nestor and Diomedes	(A_1, B_1) Menelaos, beset by Hektor, is joined by Aias; they resist retreat (B_1) Hektor dons Achilleus' captured armor
(F) Exposure of the authority of the "heroic" king with his purple cloak; Zeus' omen	(C) Exposure of the heroic prince with his stolen armor; Zeus' comment
(D_2) Zeus sends Iris to Athena and Hera, with threat of lightning (balancing lightning against Diomedes in D_1)	(A_2) Zeus sends Athena to Greeks; lightning against Greeks completes frame of section
(B_2) Zeus foretells death of Patroklos and return of Achilleus to battle	(B_2) News of Patroklos' death sent to Achilleus in hope of his return
(A_2) Hektor vainglorious with troops before battle	(B_2) Hektor, soon to die, with Aineias pursues Greeks

That the poet has the earlier book very much in mind is further suggested by other elements of parallel and contrast that appear in 17 detached from their original sequence in 8. The appearance of Nestor is confined in

8 to his retreat with Diomedes (D_1); motifs found there appear in 17 at several points in the structure. Nestor himself is mentioned in one of the vignettes of C, describing the Greeks fighting on his orders in the clear (370–83); at 416f the Greeks' wish that "the black earth might gape for all of us" if they should yield recalls Diomedes' similar desire at 8.150; and Automedon's difficulty in driving Achilleus' mourning horses in 17.426ff recalls Nestor's earlier equestrian ineptitude. The motif of the warrior joined by a replacement charioteer is exemplified in 8 by Nestor with Diomedes and by Hektor's loss of his charioteer in the same section (118ff) and again at 316ff. The motif recurs in 17.481ff, as Alkimedon takes over Achilleus' team from Automedon, while the latter leaps down to fight on foot (as Hektor had done in 8.320), and again as Meriones' charioteer is slain and replaced by Idomeneus, who has been fighting on foot but now rushes for the ships (620) in an instance of outright flight comparable only to Odysseus' behavior in 8.97f, and again following Zeus' lightning (with 8.75f cf. the problematical 17.595f).[17]

Resistance to Zeus' plan, carried out in 13 and 14 and reversed in 15–17, has now been fully canceled in fact and by a formal literary return to the elaboration of Zeus' power in 8. This pattern of relationship between the narrative past and present will continue—reflecting an inescapable tension—until the final resolution in 24 of the issue of Achilleus' honor in terms that both recall and in some sense transcend the conflict of Book 1. Meanwhile, as I have suggested, the central ten-book structure also divides itself into two parts, reflecting the concern in 8–12 with the activation of Zeus' plan, and its diversion and reassertion in 13–17. The division was very likely made, as we have already suggested and will argue in detail in Chapter V, for the sake of creating practicable blocs for recitation; here also the play of artistic ingenuity and thematic parallel find a role, indicating that each group is conceived as a self-contained annular unity. Some of these links, viewed in isolation, are merely suggestive; in the context of others more secure they seem less decorative than structurally functional.

In the first group, a narrative frame is established by Hektor's penetration of the Greek wall in Book 12 (462f, "like rushing night"), answering his earlier pursuit of the Greeks across the ditch like Gorgo (8.348f; cf. also the partial revelation of his role in Zeus' plan at 8.470–83). Both books are linked by their portrayal of Hektor's illusion that the success of the moment implies lasting divine favor, and by the corollary desperation of the Greeks when deprived of it. Hektor's dismissal of Poulydamas' interpretation of the eagle and snake portent (12.230ff) provides an ironic reversal of the Greeks' short-lived encouragement at the portent of the eagle and fawn at 8.247; and Hektor's fervent wish for divine status at 8.538ff is answered obliquely by Sarpedon's rejection of just such fan-

tasy (12.323ff). Asios' difficulty in driving his horses in 12 (D_1), due as he thinks to Zeus' deception, recalls the similar difficulties of Nestor's horsemanship against the very real threats of Zeus in 8 (D_1). And Poseidon's refusal to aid the Greeks in 8 (E_1) is balanced by the prophecy in 12 of his eventual destruction, with Apollo, of the Greek wall (A_1). In the next pair, crisis leads to desperate measures: Achilleus in Book 9 rejects the appeal of the Greek leaders and remains in ideological isolation with Patroklos; in Book 11 the leaders and Machaon are wounded and Achilleus sends Patroklos to the Greek camp in a gesture of real concern. The return of the rejected leaders to Agamemnon's shelter in 9 is echoed at the end of 11 as they begin their retreat to Nestor's hospitality. But instead of Agamemnon's tears like a spring of dark water at the outset of 9, we have in 11 Zeus' rain of blood (anticipating the dew of blood in 16); and in contrast to Diomedes' previous concluding advice on the best means of restoring fighting strength, we find at the end of 11 Patroklos' act of healing the wounded Eurypylos. At the center of this group, Book 10 presents a telling picture of Greeks abandoning the heroic code for treachery and wanton pillage.

In the sequence 13–17, the two outer books share the motif of the fight over a corpse: The struggle over Patroklos answers that for Askalaphos in Book 13 (D_2), and in both cases the figures most closely concerned—Achilleus and Ares—are unaware of the crisis. Zeus' plan, resisted in 13, is realized without impediment in Book 17. Aias' interrupted challenge to Hektor in Book 13 is at last answered, as a motif rather than an element in a typical pattern, by the series of confrontations between the two; the conventional element of challenge lacking in each of these may be regarded as established by the earlier narrative—a rather literal illustration of the "conversational" aspect we noted earlier in characterizing the reciprocal relationship between books within the groups we are proposing. In 13.240ff Idomeneus, on foot by his shelter, encounters Meriones (who has just lost his spear) and they return to battle rearmed; in 17 we have Hektor's "rearming" in Achilleus' gear, and at 612ff Idomeneus, again on foot, encounters Meriones (who has just lost his charioteer) and urges him to retreat.[18] In 13 Poseidon immobilizes Alkathoos like a stele or tree (437), in 17 the mourning horses of Achilleus stand still as a marker at a grave (434f). Both books contain oddly unspecific reference to "some" Achaian or Trojan (13.578, cf. 211; 17.414 and 420). The dust simile central to 13 (E) is recalled by the obscuring mist that covers the battle over Patroklos in 17 (268bff, cf. 371, and Aias' prayer at 645ff). Similarly the diversion of Zeus' plan by Hera's interference in Book 14, together with the revival of Greek hopes and the wounding of Hektor, is in 16 set right by the compromise between the two gods in, and the reactivation of Zeus' plan through, the return and death of Patroklos. The exchange of

armor motif found in 14 (A_1, C_2, and B_2) clearly anticipates that in 16 (A_1), along with the motif of return to battle with "improved" weapons. An encounter between Zeus and Hera is of central concern in both books, though the role of Sleep in each is as different as the nature of the encounters. In 14 Hektor is stunned by Aias' rock, in 16 Apollo's blow stuns Patroklos; both books contain grotesque deaths from blows to the head that push or knock out the eyes (14.493ff; 16.740ff). And both contain invocations at crucial points in the action: in 14 at the defeat of the Trojans, in 16 at the firing of the Greek ships (14.508=16.112).

Book 15, the center of this sequence, may be seen as a reversal of and counterbalance to Book 10, central to the previous group. Apollo's earlier arousal of Hippokoön to resist the treacheries of Diomedes and Odysseus (10.517ff) thus prefigures an awakened Zeus' reversal of the treacherous intervention of Poseidon and Hera. The nocturnal stealth and deception of the Greek invasion of the Trojan camp beyond the wall is replaced in 15 by confrontation and clarification of the issues at stake, as the Trojans invade the Greek camp within the wall.[19]

IV

The Structure of *Iliad* 18–24

BOOKS 18–24 exhibit the same structural characteristics that we have observed in the preceding groups: Each has its own formal integrity; the entire series forms a unity with balanced themes and motifs, centering in this case on 21; and in significant ways each successive book reflects elements of a more distant predecessor (among 1–7) in reverse order; that is, 18 contains echoes of 7, 19 of 6, etc. We shall examine the first and third of these functions in discussing each book and return later to the second, the interrelations within 18–24.

(xviii) *The Forging of the Armor*

Book 18 falls into two main divisions: The first (Part 1: 1–35a) briefly describes Antilochos' report of the death of Patroklos and Achilleus' immediate reaction; in Part 2 (35b–617), Thetis' grief (A_1: 35b–148a) and assistance to her son (A_2: 369–617) surround—one may say embrace—the recovery of and lament for Patroklos' body (B_1 C_1 / C_2 B_2). Into the conclusion of the framing A_2, describing Thetis' journey to Hephaistos' workshop on Olympos, the poet has inserted the elaborate digression on the design of the shield for Achilleus (478–608), with an independent structural unity of its own, as we have seen.[1] A Trojan assembly occupies the center of the book (D: 243–314a).

Dramatic climax occurs at the outset, much as the *Quarrel* of Book 1 sets the tone for what is to follow; the position and independence of Antilochos' report to Achilleus give it the character of an invocation both to the lament of Thetis and the Nereids and to the sustained song of death that constitutes the remainder of the poem.[2] The scene is tripartite: forebodings (5–14), announcement (15–21), and reaction of Achilleus and the women (22–31), ringed by Antilochos' approach (1–4) and his gesture of holding Achilleus' hands to prevent him from suicide (32–35a). The telling is as terse as the reaction is extreme.

Part 2 is more elaborate. The initial element (A_1: 35b–148a) echoes the pattern of Part 1, as Thetis' response to Achilleus' mourning is taken up by the Nereids, whose names are used with extraordinary onomatopoeic effect to suggest the reverberations of human grief in the very depths of

the sea;[3] and the section is formally closed (138–48a) by the otherwise superfluous reappearance of the nymphs, as Thetis instructs them to return to the sea, before she departs for Olympos and her visit with Hephaistos. Central here (67b–137) is Achilleus' confrontation with his mother—that is, with the duality of his own nature—and his decision to reenter battle, as the impulse to retaliate overrides both his sense of isolation from the world of the Greeks and his awareness that this choice will entail his own death.

Achilleus' first gesture of recommitment, his unarmed "epiphany" beyond the wall (B_1: 148b–231a), is not, however, spontaneous but is elaborately engineered by the intervention of Hera and Iris to prevent the Trojans from achieving the glory of capturing Patroklos' corpse. The section begins with Hektor's triple charge and the Aiantes' triple defense (148bff) and ends with Achilleus' triple cry and the triple rout of the Trojans (222ff).[4] The motif of fire, initially associated with Hektor in the simile of 154, is reiterated in the final segment as the Trojans see Achilleus' aureole at 225ff (described at 205–14); the motif of attack found in the simile of the lion and herdsman of 161f recurs in that of the city under siege at 219f. Hera's intervention at 165ff is reflected in the balancing B_2 (356–68), where Zeus' mild sarcasm (356ff) prompts an evasively flattering reply from Hera, whose self-defense for provoking Achilleus' appearance completes the frame for the central sequence.

In the midst of the mourning for Patroklos (C_1: 231b–242 / C_2: 314b–355), the poet has set a description of the Trojan assembly (D: 243–314a), ringed by the circumstantially obtrusive motif of supper at 245 and 314a. The question of eating has not yet occurred to the Greeks in their dismay. Hektor's insistence on remaining on the battlefield in vain hope of achieving *kydos* and *kratos* establishes, at the center of the book, a complex contrast between his own entirely traditional if now futile impulse to shed blood and its actual human effect, in the surrounding segments, on the Greeks and on Achilleus in particular.[5] With further irony the poet encloses Hektor's rejection of Poulydamas' sensible advice to retreat to the city within scenes that present the motivation for Achilleus' return to battle and the fabrication of the instruments of Hektor's undoing.[6] An important difference between Hektor and Achilleus is thus underlined. The only mode of action now open to Achilleus in responding to an overwhelming personal emotion involves an implicit acceptance of the forms of conventional heroism; and we see him preparing, despite his weariness with strife (107ff), to return to battle in a confusion of vengeful sorrow and a persistent desire for *kleos* (121). Hektor's adherence to the code, on the other hand, has become so exaggerated that in the pursuit of honor and glory he abandons both personal feeling and practical calculation, much as in Book 6 his sense of shame proved stronger than his fear

CHART 4.1

Book 18

(Part 1, 1–35a)
- 1ff: While battle rages like fire, Antilochos approaches Achilleus — S
  - 5ff: Achilleus anticipates his news (ring: *neusin epi*, 7/14, *neas ep'*)
- 15ff: Antilochos conveys message (w. 15 cf. 4)
  - 22bff: Achilleus' reaction; captive women grieve with Achilleus (ring: *chersi[n]*, 23, 27/30)
- 32ff: Weeping, Antilochos holds Achilleus' hands lest he attempt suicide

(Part 2, 35b–617)
- 35bff: Thetis hears Achilleus' lament
  - 37bff: Sea nymphs grieve (ring: *hosai/ hai kata benthos halos Nereides esan*, 38/49)
- 51bff: Thetis leads threnody (ring: *klyte . . . akouousai*, 52f/63, *epakouso*; 56f, Achilleus like plant or young tree in orchard) — SS
- 65ff: With nymphs, Thetis leaves cave for Troy

A_1
- 67bff: Arriving on shore, Thetis stands by Achilleus, holds his head; her query (refrain: *toi de bary stenachonti*, 70/78, *ten de bary stenachon*)
  - 78ff: Achilleus longs for revenge, death (ring: *Patroklos*, 81/93, *Patrokloio*)
  - 94ff: Thetis on Achilleus' death
  - 97ff: Achilleus accepts death; rebukes Strife (like smoke, 110); desire for *kleos*, booty — S
  - 127ff: Thetis promises new armor from Hephaistos
- 138ff: Thetis urges sea nymphs to return to sea (w. 145 cf. 66f); departs for Olympos

B_1
- 148bff: Flight of Greeks, fight over Patroklos; triple charge of Hektor, like fire (154), his cry (156, 160); triple defense of Aiantes (161ff; simile of lion vs herdsman; motivic ring: Greek inability to rescue corpse from Hektor, 148b–52 and 163f) — S, S
  - 165ff: Hera sends Iris to Achilleus, she urges defense of Patroklos
    - 181ff: Achilleus asks who sent her
    - 183ff: Iris' reply re: Hera; Zeus' ignorance
    - 187ff: Achilleus on Thetis' promise of new armor, cannot use that of Aias
    - 196ff: Iris encourages Achilleus merely to show himself; departs (w. 202 cf. 166)
    - 203ff: Achilleus' epiphany, aided by Athena with aegis; their shout (golden cloud and flame like signal from city besieged, 207–14; Achilleus' cry like attackers' trumpet, 219ff) — SS
- 222ff: Confusion of Trojans at cry and fire above Achilleus' head, his triple cry; triple rout of Trojans, death of 12

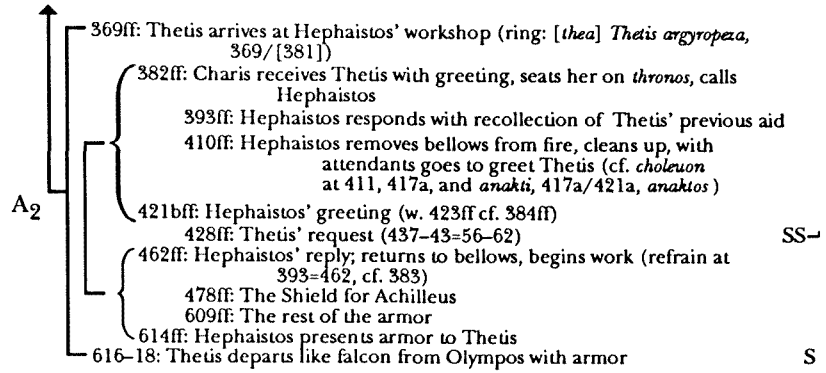
C_1
- 231bff: Patroklos' corpse rescued, carried on litter by mourning Greeks
  - 234bff: Achilleus follows weeping
  - 239ff: Greeks cease fighting as sun sets

D
- 243ff: Trojan emergency assembly before supper
  - 249ff: Poulydamas urges return to city
  - 284ff: Hektor's insistence on remaining in camp; his vain hope of success, desire for *kydos* (294) and *kratos* (308)
- 310bff: Trojans witlessly applaud Hektor and take supper (ring: *paros dorpoio medesthai*, 245/314, *dorpon epeith' heilonto*)

C_2
- 314bff: Greeks mourn Patroklos nightlong (*pannychioi*, 315; cf. sunset of 239ff)
- 316ff: Achilleus' lament, swears vengeance (simile of lion losing young, 318–23) — S
- 343ff: At Achilleus' bidding, Patroklos' corpse cleansed, anointed (ring: 314bf/354f)

B_2
- 356ff: Zeus rebukes Hera for Achilleus' epiphany
- 360ff: Hera's self-defense (seniority and position among goddesses, 364ff)

CHART 4.1 (*cont.*)



that he, his family, and Troy were doomed. The one warrior, thanks to his capacity for change, will in time surpass to a degree the values of the group; the other, unable to resist convention, will sacrifice himself to it.[7]

The forging of the armor, decribed in A_2, gains special significance in this context. The depictions of a city under siege, the dragging of a corpse, a watch from the walls, and litigation over a murder seem to allude to elements in the *Iliad* itself, but the image of a stable and harmonious political order that dominates these scenes is remote from the political realities of the poem, as we noted in Chapter I.[8] The elaborately archaizing components of the Shield,[9] with its precious inlays and its evocation of fabled Knossos, bespeak an intent much like that in the description of Nestor's furnishings and of Agamemnon's shield in Book 11, where self-consciously antiquarian flavor was used, together with verbal irony, to undercut the pretentions of spokesmen for the heroic tradition. And in offering a paradigm of conventional values, as we argued earlier, the *Shield* bears affinities less with the world of Achilleus (and the poet) than with that of Agamemnon and—we may now add—Hektor. Thus, the *Shield* becomes not so much a second dramatic climax for the book as an emblem of its themes, providing an instrument for Achilleus' vengeance, a foreshadowing of the doom of Troy, the seal on Achilleus' sacrifice, and an ominous, if indirect, reflection of his victim.

For in structural terms, the focus of the book on a deluded Hektor's feasting in the Trojan plain presents a wartime analogue to the king central to the description of the Shield. The theme of the leader's consumption of goods appears both in Hektor's comments at 290ff (on the cost of war) and in the king's feast of 558f (the cost of peace).[10] The correspondence between Hektor and Agamemnon is further apparent in the juxtaposition of Hektor and the wise Poulydamas, who is said to know the

past and the future (*prosso kai opisso*, 250)—an ability the poet thus denies to Hektor in terms that recall Achilleus' attack on Agamemnon at 1.343. Similarity appears again in the careless folly apparent in the speech of Hektor (285–309), who places greater importance on his own foredoomed *kydos* than on the resources of his people and with cynical irony invites any of his supporters concerned for the safety of their wealth to share it now in common lest it fall to the Greeks: with *katademoboresai* ("consume in public") at 301 compare Achilleus' rebuke of Agamemnon as *demoboros* (1.231, a "feaster at public expense" or "devourer of the people").[11] Thus, in the poet's terms Hektor, Patroklos' slayer, merges with and for the present displaces Agamemnon, cause of the quarrel over Briseis that has led to this pass, as Achilleus' adversary in the world of hostile acts and alien values he now confronts.

Although the narrative looks forward to action and experience yet to come, it also establishes a connection between this book (representing the beginning of a new and final stage of the action) and Book 7 (representing the end of the first stage). The parallels between the two books are based, as we have seen in previous cases, less on related elements of plot than on motif ("assistance from the sea," "a god facilitates a duel"). With one important exception they are sequential, like those between 8 and 17. Taken together they form an interlocking symmetry appropriate to the contrast between the two heroes:

Book 7	*Book 18*
(A_1) Hektor and Paris arrive on field like fair wind to sailors	(A_1) The sea goddess Thetis with the Nereids comes to comfort Achilleus
(B_1) Apollo and Athena agree on truce for duel between Hektor and a Greek	(B_1) Thetis agrees to supply Achilleus with armor for his duel with Hektor;
(C_1) Nestor regrets that he cannot fight as once he did to win the armor Ares gave to Areithoös; Aias wins lot to fight Hektor, arms (shield described: 219–24)	Achilleus regrets that he cannot fight except with Aias' great shield, which Aias is already using against Hektor (193); Achilleus must wait until Thetis brings armor from Hephaistos
	(C_1) Patroklos' corpse recovered
(D) Traditional resources fail as Aias and Hektor yield to night, exchange gifts and withdraw from duel	(D) Traditional motivation induces Hektor (anticipating duel with Achilleus) to reject Poulydamas' advice to yield to night and withdraw into city

(C_2) Bodies collected, cleansed, buried; wall built (encloses Trojan debate over return of Helen)	(C_2) Patroklos' corpse mourned, cleansed
(B_2) Zeus comments on Poseidon's hostility to Greeks, agrees with plan to destroy wall	(B_2) Zeus comments on Hera's favor for Greeks and engineering Achilleus' appearance beyond wall (B_1)
(A_2) Lemnian sailors bring wine; scene of walled city contrasting with walled camp on plain	(A_2) Sea goddess brings (from "Lemnian" god) armor depicting two cities

The building of the Greek wall had made of the Greek camp an embattled "city" comparable to Troy itself and in a sense had juxtaposed to a city of peace a city of war, like those on the new shield. Earlier, the dominant atmosphere was one of death and mourning, of futility and impasse, figured in the inconclusive results of armed combat and negotiation and in the retreat of the Greeks behind the wall to enjoy the limited consolations of their Lemnian wine. Here, out of an atmosphere of hopelessness and lamentation, there is a new beginning as Achilleus anticipates by his epiphany beyond the wall at the ditch (215ff) his return to share in the consolations—more complex and more limited—of that world of peace and war, of love and hate, of life and death represented on the shield made by the patron of Lemnos (whose unhappy fall to the island is mentioned at 394ff). For his part, Hektor too is possessed by a new sense of finality. His earlier duel with Aias in 7 had ended, on the advice of Idaios and Talthybios (273–82), with inconclusive formalities as the night drew on; now, rejecting Poulydamas' similar advice to take advantage of nightfall and withdraw to safety (254f), he insists instead on remaining outside the walls in anticipation of a new and decisive duel.

The war has taken on a new and more ominous dimension; the Trojans' repeated refusal in 7 to make good the theft of Helen has been complicated irrevocably. This shift of concern is reflected in a significant structural change. In 7 the impasse figured in the central duel (D) was repeated in the Trojan debate in C_2 (with its decision to offer "payment" for Helen by returning the treasure), enclosed by Nestor's proposal of the wall and the collection of the dead and the building of the wall. In 18 another Trojan council (D, with Hektor's emphasis on denying even treasure to the Greeks) leads to another misguided and more immediately fatal decision, which is now given central place, framed by the rescue and mourning for Patroklos' corpse. The theft of Patroklos' life does more than compound the issue of Trojan guilt: It presents with a new if as yet unanalyzed directness the waste—of lives and resources—that is inseparable from the traditional courtesies and formalities elaborated in 7 and in the idyllic centerpiece of royal feasting on the Shield. Hektor, like

Agamemnon but in contrast to Achilleus, can only articulate this waste in terms of things. Just how far genuine honor may be advanced by the violence that sustains the heroic code Achilleus and Hektor, despite their differences, will now begin to discover for themselves.

(xix) *Renunciation of Wrath*

An assembly of Greeks to restore Briseis to Achilleus constitutes the formal and dramatic focus of 19 (B_1 C B_2), uniting in a remarkable way the themes of the quarrel: of a theft/return of a woman, of leadership, delusion, the inadequacy of gifts as signs of *kleos*, and the loss of Patroklos. The theme of Achilleus' own death is joined to that of Patroklos in the frame established by Thetis' delivery of Achilleus' new weapons (A_1) and by his subsequent arming and departure for battle (A_2).[1] Each of these framing sequences is composed of three elements that create an unusual and complex annular ring forged by reiteration and expansion of motif and symbol.

The poet begins with Thetis' arrival and her entreaty that Achilleus let Patroklos' corpse be and accept the armor (1–13); in the next element (of equal length, 14–27), the poet proceeds with the reaction of the Myrmidons and Achilleus to the weapons, Achilleus' consent to arm himself, and his fear that Patroklos' body will suffer corruption by maggots; in the third, slightly shorter segment (28–39), Thetis promises to preserve the corpse and urges Achilleus to summon an assembly, offer reconciliation with Agamemnon, and prepare for battle; she then distils ambrosia through Patroklos' nostrils in a preservative gesture apparently influenced by the techniques of embalming used in mummification.[2]

The Assembly scene that follows is unusual in comprising two parts and an epilogue. In the first part Achilleus announces his intention to return to battle (40–237); in the second, introduced by a unique telescoping of time, the Greeks depart and return immediately with gifts for Achilleus (238–250a); the epilogue (282–302), following the dismissal of the assembly, describes the return of Briseis to Achilleus' shelter, where instead of joyous restoration Briseis speaks out unexpectedly in a poignant lament for Patroklos, "gentle always" (300). A brief aftermath follows (B_2, 303–39), repeating from B_1 the motif of Achilleus' refusal to eat until he has avenged Patroklos. The outer frame (A_2) is closed by three elements that correspond to the first series (A_1) in reverse order. In 340–356a ambrosia is again at issue as in 28ff, but it is now Achilleus who is sustained by the ambrosia and nectar that Zeus sends Athena to distill into his chest.[3] In 356b—391, as the Greeks assemble for battle, Achilleus arms himself in their midst according to his agreement in the second ele-

CHART 4.2

Book 19

A1

- *a* 1ff: Thetis, at dawn, brings armor to son Achilleus lying among his companions with the dead Patroklos; urges him to let Patroklos lie since slain by gods' will, and to receive the armor (8: *teknon emon*); she deposits armor before Achilleus (ring: *theou . . . dora*, 3/13, *daidala panta*)
- *b* 14ff: Myrmidonians tremble, but Achilleus' eyes shine like fire (16f) as he views armor; he fears corruption of Patroklos' body by swarms of flies — S¬
- *c* 28ff: Thetis assures him that the body will be preserved, urges assembly and retraction of wrath (29: *teknon*); distills ambrosia into corpse

B1

- 40ff: Achilleus cries out to summon assembly
  - 42ff: Troops, wounded leaders begin to arrive
- 54ff: Achilleus gives up anger to hasten encounter with Hektor
  - 76ff: Agamemnon on *Ate*, offer of gifts
- 145ff: Achilleus dismisses offer of gifts in eagerness to fight
  - { 154ff: Odysseus urges eating, gifts, oath that Briseis remains untouched
  - { 184ff: Agamemnon agrees, appoints Odysseus to send for gifts
- 198ff: Achilleus refuses food
  - 215ff: Odysseus on futility of fasting

C

- 238ff: Departure of Greeks, immediate (242) return with gifts, Briseis (ring: *Agamemnonos Atreïdao*, 241/249, *Agamemnon*)
  - 250bff: Agamemnon's oath and sacrifice re: Briseis (ring: *Talthybios*, 250/267)
  - < 268bff: Achilleus on *Ate*, quickly dismisses men (276b)
- 277ff: Assembly disperses, gifts taken to Achilleus' shelter
  - 282ff: Briseis, like Aphrodite (282, cf. 286), mourns Patroklos, captive women join in her grief (ring: *Patroklon*, 283/302) — S

B2

- 303f: Elders urge Achilleus to eat
  - 304bf: Achilleus refuses in sorrow
- 309ff: Leaders remain with him
  - 314ff: Achilleus laments loss
- 338bf: Elders mourn with him (with 338f, *hos ephato klaion, epi de stenachonto gerontes . . .* cf. 301f, *hos ephato klaious', epi de stenachonto gynaikes . . .*)

A2

- *c* 340ff: Zeus to Athena re: ambrosia for Achilleus (342: *teknon emon*); 350ff: Athena descends like hawk (cf. 18.616), distills nectar and ambrosia into Achilleus' chest (anticipating his death), returns to Olympos
- *b* 356bff: Greeks assemble in arms, numerous as snowflakes (357ff); 364bff: Achilleus' eyes shine like the glare of fire (365f), he puts on armor: Shield shines like moon, fire; helmet like star (374ff); armor lifts Achilleus like wings (386) — S S¬ SS S
- *a* 392ff: Achilleus, in helmet, shining like Hyperion *Elektor* (398), mounts chariot, chides his father's horses for abandoning dead Patroklos — S
  - 404ff: Xanthos, given voice by Hera, replies that Patroklos was killed by a god and fate, as Achilleus will be
- 419–24: Achilleus accepts his death, drives horses into battle

ment of the initial sequence to do so (23), and once again his eyes flash like fire (365, cf. 16f). Finally in 392–424 the issue, as at the beginning of the book, is the abandonment of Patroklos, for as Achilleus leaves the body to take the field against Hektor, he chides his horses for leaving their charioteer fallen in battle.

Beyond these shared motifs, there are further less obvious connections. The first two lines of the book describe the rising of Dawn from the streams of Ocean to bring light to mortals, thus interrupting the Divine journey pattern begun at the end of the preceding book, where Thetis' departure from Olympos "like a falcon" is described at 616f.[4] The close continuity of the narrative is evident, as the journey ends at 19.3, in the reference to Thetis and Hephaistos simply as "she" and "the god": "Eos rose from the streams of Ocean so that she might bring light to gods and mortals alike, but *she* (Thetis) came to the ships bearing the gifts from *the god* (Hephaistos)." The temporal coincidence of the arrival of Thetis and Eos broadens into symbolism: The convergence of Dawn, light, and the acceptance of the armor marks a new beginning for Achilleus and for the unfolding of the story as well.[5] The motif of a new day is echoed in the corresponding element of the frame at 398 (A_2, a) by the unique comparison of Achilleus, now in his armor, to the blazing sun god Hyperion—whose epithet, *elektor* (elsewhere only at 6.513, describing Paris), is also suggestive in this context of *alektor*, the rooster that heralds the new day. Thus, the motif of Dawn at the outset of the book interrupts and divides the type-narrative of Thetis' descent to Achilleus in such a way that her appearance at the ships functions structurally within Book 19, while, as we have already seen, Thetis' departure from Olympos (18.616f) balances her arrival at 369ff, the whole echoing her earlier visit to Achilleus at 35–148a. Further, the bringing of immortal gifts by Achilleus' divine mother in A_1 is answered in the corresponding A_2 by the extraordinary horses given him by his *father* (399, with a formula used elsewhere only for Antilochos' team at 23.402: *patros heoio*)—that is, deriving from Achilleus' mortal side.[6] The association with mortality is made clear when Xanthos, magically given voice by Hera, replies to Achilleus' rebuke by denying responsibility for Patroklos' death; he asserts that Achilleus will be slain by divine agency as Patroklos has been, elaborating on Thetis' comment in 19.9 that "he was killed above all by the will of the gods."[7] This new day thus becomes for Achilleus a figure for his last.

Achilleus' departure for battle contains most of the elements traditional to the type-scene it exemplifies: The team is harnessed, the driver mounts and takes the whip, the team is exhorted and sets out.[8] But the poet relegates these conventional elements to the periphery, to the beginning (392–403) and the end (424). Following Achilleus' exhortation (400–403), in the form of a rebuke of his horses, we have instead of

immediate departure Xanthos' unexpected reply, provoking Achilleus' equally unconventional retort that he knows and accepts his imminent death. The sequence of address/response/comment in this single element of the final section expands considerably on Thetis' initial address in the first sequence—indeed, echoes the form of the first sequence taken entire.

A similar expansion is evident also in the relationship between the central elements in the two sequences. The trembling reaction of Achilleus' men to the armor (14f), followed by the light that shines from his eyes like flame as anger comes over him (16f), is elaborated in the Arming scene of 356b–91 by the extraordinary succession of similes describing the glittering weapons, thick as snowflakes, brought from the ships, the glow of the grief-stricken Achilleus' eyes like a blaze of fire (36), the shield flashing like the moon or a blazing fire on a mountaintop (374–78), and the helmet shining like a star (381f).[9] The threat of swarming flies that breed in the bronze-inflicted wounds, corrupting the body (25ff), is balanced by a quite different image at 386, where the armor lifts the limbs of Achilleus within it like wings.

The transformation is worth tracing. In the elaborate repetition of the motif of ambrosia in A_2 (cf. A_1: 28–39), Zeus himself, pitying Achilleus' grief, chides Athena for neglecting "her man" in a paternal tone corresponding to Thetis' manner toward Achilleus: His "my child" (342) echoes Thetis' *teknon emon* of 8 and *teknon* of 29. The ensuing description of Athena's descent like a bird of prey (350) evokes also the final element of the Divine descent pattern with which the book began—indeed, specifically recalls 18.616 and Thetis' departure from Olympos "like a hawk." Formally, this repetition begins the frame for the central episodes of 19, as the complex annular reversal of motifs proceeds; but in the scenic parallel established between the delivery of the arms at the outset and the bringing of ambrosia here, a connection is established between the weapons and Achilleus' own fate: For in accepting the armor, Achilleus gains a means of avenging Patroklos and sharing in his death. Thus, the "embalming" of Patroklos, which acknowledges this death but suspends for a time its physical effect and the necessity of burial, becomes for Achilleus sustenance that prolongs his own life by suspending for a while the effects of hunger. At the same time it acknowledges and signifies his own death and burial, as he proceeds to don the armor that gives his body a glorious skin, lifting like wings the limbs within it temporarily preserved like a corpse—like Patroklos, whose external skin is also enhanced (*chros empedos e kai areion*, 33) by supernatural protection concealing the death within it.[10]

In the midst of this complex and unified series of framing elements developed round the idea of divine gifts (armor, ambrosia, temporary preservation), the mundane offerings of the Greeks are for Achilleus ren-

dered beside the point. Instead of awakening a spirit of genuine reconciliation and renewed sense of community, they serve only to deepen his isolation and despair, coming close to robbing him yet again of his capacity for action. Indeed, the nihilism of his speech of 315–37 is the immediate provocation of Zeus' intervention at 340ff, which not only resumes the formal outer frame but firmly advances his promise to Thetis to honor Achilleus even if, as is now clear, honor and death are for him inseparable.

In B_1 (40–237) in response to Achilleus' call to assembly, there is a gathering not only of the troops but also, given the importance of the convener and the occasion, the members of the ships' crews (42ff): Achilleus faces not merely the chiefs but the entire community of war.[11] The leaders appear in the same order in which they returned disabled from battle in Book 14: first Diomedes and Odysseus, reduced to using their spears as crutches, then Agamemnon, ostentatiously pressing with his hand (*helkos echon*) the wound inflicted, as the poet reminds us, by Koön in Book 11—an inglorious arrival, emphasizing both their failure and their blame. But again there is little attempt to offer reconciliation on new terms. The ensuing dialogue is a repetitious display of familiar arguments with which first Agamemnon and then Odysseus attempt to influence Achilleus' priorities by restating their own. Achilleus briefly retracts his anger in order to get on with the business of avenging Patroklos (54–75). Agamemnon, abjectly from his seat,[12] with no scepter, responds with a wordy *apologia* in which he attempts once again to justify his own error by a disquisition on the myth of Ate, invoking the precedent of Zeus' susceptibility to the power of Delusion.[13] From Zeus' regret on seeing the consequences for Herakles of his own failure of vigilance (125ff) Agamemnon draws a pious parallel to his distress on seeing the results of the rupture with Achilleus (134ff).[14]

In his response, Achilleus' indifference to the gifts (145–53) makes it clear that the satisfactions of *kleos* have been superseded by a deeper urgency. Odysseus interposes yet another set of priorities, headed by the need to eat to regain fighting strength, a motif already familiar from 9.705f etc.[15] He advises Achilleus to receive the gifts in the midst of the Achaians (thus to formalize the restoration of *kleos*) and suggests not only that Agamemnon make public oath that Briseis has remained untouched while at his shelter, but also that he be "more just" (*dikaioteros*, 181) in the future. Agamemnon quickly agrees and, acting through intermediaries as in the seizure of Briseis in 1 and the Embassy of 9, delegates Odysseus to choose a group to bring the gifts from the ships. Achilleus' reiterated refusal of food elicits yet another exhortation against fasting from Odysseus, who urges the authority of his understanding (*noema*,

218) derived from age and experience. The need to eat will be raised yet again, forming a motivic balance in the corresponding section B_2 (303–39).

The central episode (C: 238–302) provides a marked contrast between the studied formalities of Agamemnon's oath and boar sacrifices (252–68a) and the spontaneous and unexpected lament of the hitherto mute Briseis, suddenly (and surely ironically) "like golden Aphrodite" (282), against a background of haste on the part of the Greeks. Their urgency is emphasized by the extraordinary telescoping of narrative time in 241f—an equivalent to our "no sooner said than done"—to describe the departure and immediate return of Odysseus' committee with the gifts[16] and is echoed in Achilleus' rapid dismissal of the assembly at 276b. Agamemnon, despite his gesture of humility in refusing to come forward to address the assembly, has learned little from all that has passed and continues to deal in externals: gifts, the return of an untouched Briseis, ritual observance. Briseis, on the other hand, clearly sees that she has been bought at too high a price—for herself no less than for Achilleus;[17] she links herself with the hopeless company of women who, like Andromache, are impotent against the folly of the men who have won them. Achilleus, at the center of the section as of the book, tersely acknowledges both Agamemnon's excuse and Odysseus' plea that the troops must eat; but this is no speech of reconciliation, merely avoidance of further delaying strife (cf. *eridi* at 58 and 64). And his own repeated refusal of food suggests that Achilleus now rejects reconciliation in a far more absolute way than before: Sharing a meal with the Greeks would imply a social harmony that he does not feel and incur a wider range of mutual obligation than he is willing to meet (as is clear from the importance the desperate Lykaon later attaches, in his plea of 21.74–96, to having eaten with Achilleus).[18]

Though he cannot yet understand its dimensions, Achilleus is emerging from his solitude into a realm of value that is radically alien to that of Greek and Trojan alike, one in which the leaders cannot share, despite their efforts to console his grief by remaining with him. But his incipient ability to generalize on his own experience and to apprehend shared human woe (expressed petulantly in Book 9, almost dispassionately here) remains too limited to deter Achilleus from avenging himself against Hektor and proceeding to his own death. Significant elements of parallel and contrast with Book 6 help to define the novelty and complexity of Achilleus' new isolation. The correspondences again appear in a sequence that creates an interlocking pattern between the two books, and again the poet is content with the deployment of significant motifs rather than connections of plot:

Book 6	*Book 19*
(A_2) Diomedes and Glaukos make unequal exchange of weapons	(A_1) Thetis brings armor to Achilleus, to replace that lost by dead Patroklos
(B_2) Hektor, soiled with filth of battle, refuses wine offered by Hekabe in haste to arrange sacrifice to placate Athena	(B_1) Achilleus will put aside anger but refuses gifts and food so long as Patroklos is unavenged
(B_2) Unsuccessful attempt to placate Athena with gifts	(C) Gifts brought to placate Achilleus are meaningless
(B_2) Hektor with Paris and the stolen Helen; her apology to Hektor, who has taken responsibility for consequences of her rashness to protect relationship with Paris	(C) Achilleus with Agamemnon and the returned Briseis; her gratitude for Patroklos' attempt to protect her and arrange for marriage with Achilleus
(B_2) Hektor, armed, with Andromache and Astyanax (like star); knowledge of doom; returns to battle with Paris like galloping horse	(A_2) Achilleus, armed (helmet like star) with horses who can run like wind; acceptance of death, return to battle

In 19 annular structure exposes the irrelevance, in the context of Achilleus' new fatalism, of Greek efforts to resolve the conflict over Briseis; in Book 6 the inadequacy of the heroic response to the issue of Helen was elaborated in an interlocking structure that embraced both Greeks and Trojans. In his unequal exchange with Glaukos, Diomedes' acquisition of new armor offered ironic comment on a war caused by an affront to one guest-friend relationship as a stage for the crass if somewhat humorous exploitation, in the guise of conventional heroics, of another. Here, Achilleus' acceptance of new armor from Thetis symbolizes a far more complex exchange and marks a far deeper sense of personal responsibility and commitment. In Book 6 Hektor embraced war in the role of guarantor of the hollow relationship between Helen and Paris at the expense of the genuine tenderness in his own marriage; here Achilleus sets out for battle in the role of avenger, abandoning a relationship whose collapse is implicit in its restoration now that Patroklos, *its* guarantor (297f), is gone. The one hero, seeking to gain the *kydos* of victory at the expense of a relationship whose terms he does not articulate, will lose both; the other, having lost an equally undefined source of support because of his concern for *kleos*, will gain a new understanding both of himself and of honor. The effect of Hektor's crested helmet on Astyanax, beautiful as a star (6.401), provoked his parents to laughter as Hektor prepared to set out with a Paris prancing like a stall-fed stallion. Here the humor is altogether grimmer, as Achilleus—slayer of Andromache's father and broth-

ers, of Briseis' husband and brothers—dons his crested helmet, glittering like a star (381f), with neither family nor friend as hope and consolation. His own son is far away in Skyros (326f) and he despairs of his father's fate (334f); his friend has been slain by Hektor, and he is accompanied now by a strangely speaking horse prophesying his death. The effects of delusion, figured in dramatic form in Book 6, are in Book 19 openly acknowledged—by Agamemnon, with an application beyond his intent—as a point beyond dispute or resistance. Yet the players continue to enact roles determined by misguided choices that fulfill Zeus' plan to honor Achilleus on terms that will acquire their full significance only when the pattern is complete.

(xx) and (xxi) *Theomachy* and *Battle by the River*

Problems of tone, of disorganization, impropriety, and anticlimax in Books 20 and 21 have provoked more extremes of critical hostility and defensive ingenuity than have perhaps any other portions of the *Iliad*.[1] From the structural viewpoint, the protracted suspension of the *Theomachy*—from 20.75b to 21.385—after so portentous an introduction has caused some to regard it as an inexplicable and tasteless interpolation that degenerates into "ridiculous harlequinade."[2] Similarly, the encounter between Achilleus and Aineias in 20.156–364a has been taken as an irrelevant intrusion of local legend into the basic narrative of the Wrath, and the entirety of Book 21 held to offer little more than a diversion from the confrontation between Achilleus and Hektor initiated in Book 20.[3]

As to structural sequence, we find another situation in which events forming a symmetrical plan, in this case with Achilleus' pursuit of Hektor at its center, have been divided between two Books:

20 *Theomachy*
Achilleus vs. Aineias
Achilleus vs. Hektor

- -

21 Achilleus vs. Lykaon, Asteropaios, Xanthos
Theomachy etc.

If, however, we examine the books independently, along with their relationship to Books 5 and 4, the purpose of this arrangement will become apparent.[4]

Although the action of both 20 and 21 continues the *aristeia* of Achilleus inaugurated by his arming and departure in 19,[5] the poet interrupts this sequence at the beginning of 20 with a divine council (elsewhere sig-

CHART 4.3

Book 20

A_1 — *Hektor's death delayed*

- 1ff: Transition: Battle continues
- 4ff: Zeus instructs Themis to summon divine assembly (ring: *agorende*, 4/13, *agegerat'*)
- 13bff: Poseidon's arrival, his query re: Zeus' purpose
- 19ff: Zeus will stay aloof, rest may join either side in battle to postpone death of Hektor and defeat of Trojans
  - 32ff: Gods depart: to Greeks, Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hermes, Hephaistos; to Trojans, Ares, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Leto, and Xanthos
    - 41ff: Greeks win as Trojans are terrified by appearance of Achilleus, like Ares (46) — S
  - 47ff: Gods, Eris enter strife; Athena shouts at ditch; Ares, like storm cloud (51), shouts from citadel and river (ring: *Eris*, 48/55, *erida*) — S
- 56f: Zeus' thunder
- 57bff: Poseidon's eathquake, Aidoneus' terror (w. refrain at 66 cf. 55)
- 67ff: Gods enter conflict in opposing pairs (w. refrain at 75a cf. 66)

B — *Achilleus* vs *Aineias*

- a_1
  - 75bff: While Achilleus eager to fight Hektor, Apollo as Lykaon urges Aineias against him
    - 86ff: Aineias' reply: impossible to withstand Achilleus when aided by gods
  - 103ff: Apollo urges him on as born of superior goddess; Aineias advances into combat (ring: *menos*, 80/110)
- b_1
  - 112ff: Hera, concerned for Achilleus, consults with Poseidon and Athena
    - 132ff: Poseidon urges withdrawal
  - 144ff: Opposing groups of gods withdraw to Poseidon's refuge concealed in clouds, or to cliffs of Kallikolona with Apollo and Ares
- c
  - 156ff: Aineias vs Achilleus: as armies clash, Aineias advances against Achilleus (like lion, 164–74) — S
    - 176ff: Achilleus threatens, recalling previous encounter on Ida (cf. 91ff)
    - 199ff: Aineias on their parentage (203–43, cf. 105–9; simile of children, 244; of housewives arguing in street, 252–55); he casts, hits shield — S — S
    - 273ff: Achilleus casts, misses, draws sword
  - 285bff: Aineias picks up stone (such as no two could now lift, 286f)
- b_2
  - 288ff: Poseidon on Aineias' survival after death of Priam's generation
    - 309ff: Hera's acquiescence, destruction of Troy
  - 318ff: Poseidon blinds Achilleus with mist, returns Achilleus' spear (322ff), rescues Aineias, rebuke (ring: *achlyn*, 321/341)
- a_2
  - 342bff: Achilleus reacts to Aineias aided by god (w. 347f cf. 97ff)
  - 353ff: exhorts men to conflict (w. 360–63 cf. 75b–79)

A_2 — *Hektor's death delayed*

- 364bff: Hektor exhorts Trojans (Achilleus' hands like flame, 371, 372; heart of iron), who respond courageously — SS
- 375ff: Apollo warns Hektor, who withdraws
- 381ff: Achilleus' cry, his four victims (motif of cutting wheel-rims, 394f; simile of sacrificial bull for Poseidon, 403ff) — S
- 419ff: Hektor, angered by death of Polydoros, confronts Achilleus (like flame, 423) — S
  - 423bff: Achilleus' comment on Patroklos, challenge to Hektor
  - 430ff: Hektor's response (quarreling children, 431, cf. 244), casts, spear returned to his feet by Athena (cf. 322ff); 432–33=200–202 — S
- 441bff: Achilleus attacks, Apollo protects Hektor in mist; Achilleus' triple attack (like *daimon*, 447), threat — S
- 455–503: Achilleus' 10 victims; his attack like forest fire (490ff, cf. 371f), like *daimon* (493, cf. 447); ox-simile (495ff, cf. 403ff) and bloody axle (499, cf. 403ff and 394ff) — S — SS — S

naling an important new phase of the action, e.g., Books 4, 8, 24), which is given special gravity by the role here of Themis, rather than Iris, as convenor (4ff).[6] Zeus grants the assembled gods permission to enter battle on opposing sides, with the express aim of delaying the capture of the city by frustrating Achilleus' anger (A_1 at 20–30)—a motif answered in A_2 by Apollo's warning and rescue of Hektor from his encounter with Achilleus (375ff, 443bf). At the same time, the focus of the initial sequence as a whole (4–75a, following the introductory transition at 1–3) is not on the entry of the gods into conflict, but rather on the terrified reaction of the Trojans as Achilleus appears before them like Ares (42–46). The motif of divine antagonism (and its duplication at 67ff, as the gods are listed in opposing pairs) thus broadens the theme of Achilleus' rage by providing a parallel and the frame into which it is set. The elements of frustration and anger will be compounded in the central section (B: 75b–364a), where formal emphasis marks not so much the temporary denial of Achilleus' desire for revenge as a fated limitation on it reminiscent of the plight in Book 5 of Achilleus' earlier surrogate Diomedes, but on terms more explicit and more fundamental than in Diomedes' futile pursuit there of Aineias' *eidolon*.

That the poet wishes to evoke Diomedes' *aristeia* is clear from the outset, and it is worth pausing to consider these similarities.[7] In A_1, echoes of Book 5 may be seen (or rather, heard) in Athena's shout at the ditch beyond the wall (48f) and in Ares' appearance like a dark storm-cloud, crying at one time from the citadel, again from the riverbank (51ff): These elements recall Hera's shout as she arrives on the field with Athena in 5.784, as well as Ares' bellow of 5.859ff and his appearance there like a thundercloud (5.864ff). The sides taken by the gods (32ff, 67ff) largely reflect partisan loyalties already manifest in the poem, though the divine apparatus here is far more extensive than the simple opposition of Athena to Ares and Aphrodite in 5.[8] But the antithetical quality of conflict there is preserved in the additional oppositions here (and to be described further in the conclusion of the Theomachy in 21) of a god of the earth and sea to a god associated with a heavenly Olympos,[9] of a goddess associated with domestic virtues (or at least the struggle to preserve them) to a goddess linked with hunting and wild beasts, of a god of the forge and its fires to a river god. Less apparent is the reason for pitting a goddess persecuted for her motherhood, whose jealous pride is in her children, against a god whose precocious contretemps with Leto's son was soon set right and whose rollicking characteristics in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* are, in any case, quite absent in the *Iliad*. Unless with the ancient allegorists we wish to see here a conflict between insight (Hermes) and forgetfulness (Leto),[10] we must admit that there is no basic opposition between the two, and indeed it is around this very circumstance that the *Theomachy*

sputters out in 21. Only smiling Aphrodite receives no pro-Greek challenger—though in attempting to aid Ares she will be no luckier than in Book 5; and the destiny of her son, in contest with the son of a lesser goddess, will again figure as centerpiece.

The narrative reflects the pattern of 5 in other respects. There Diomedes fought first Aineias, who was saved by Aphrodite and Apollo, then Ares, who escaped. This pairing of motifs is reflected in 20 in Achilleus' fight first with Aineias, who is saved again, then with Hektor, also rescued. As in the case of the parallels between Diomedes' attacks on Aphrodite and Ares, Achilleus' two major confrontations in 20 share common motifs: Conventional insults are exchanged at 178ff and 424ff, and both Aineias and Hektor compare this verbal abuse to childish squabbles (431–33=200–202, cf. 244); like Aineias in 242ff, Hektor leaves the issue to the gods (435). More unconventionally, Achilleus' spear is miraculously returned to him "before his feet" in 323f, as is Hektor's in 438f (the phrase *proparoithe podon* appears in 324 and 441).[11] Diomedes had charged Apollo thrice, and then a fourth time "like a daimon" (5.437f, cf. 459); now, in similar maddened frustration, Achilleus charges Apollo *daimoni isos* in 445ff (cf. 493).[12]

There are still further verbal and motivic parallels between the two books. The description of Achilleus straining "to glut Ares with Hektor's blood" (20.78) verbally echoes Diomedes' threat to Pandaros in 5.289 (elsewhere only at 22.267); Aineias' description of Achilleus as one whom a god always defends (20.98; cf. 347f) recalls Diomedes' identical comment urging retreat from Hektor in 5.603; and the description of Poseidon proceeding through the battle and the tumult of spears in 20.319 is found elsewhere only at 5.167, of Aineias' advance to find Pandaros. Motivic links are even more elaborate. In 20 Poseidon's withdrawal of the gods to his cloud-concealed refuge (132ff) recalls Athena's earlier removal of Ares (5.29bff) to a safe obscurity where Aphrodite later finds him (355ff), his spear leaning into the mist. In 20, Achilleus and Aineias' discussion of their respective goddess-mothers recalls Sthenelos' words to Diomedes on Aineias' descent at 5.241ff, where Diomedes discloses details of the payment for Ganymedes—and of Anchises' shameful role in propagating the horses—that are discreetly omitted in Aineias' version here (20.221ff).[13] The stone that Aineias seizes to hurl at Achilleus recalls that used in his own wounding by Diomedes and is described with the same formula (20.285ff =5.302ff). The blinding of Achilleus with mist in 20.321f contrasts with the mist removed from Diomedes' eyes by Athena in 5.127f. But in 5 Diomedes, aided by Athena in his attempt to live up to his father's example, is presented as powerless to impose any lasting control on the divine patrons of violence and passion; the contest between human effort and divine power is simply abandoned,

with the rescue of Aineias and the withdrawal of the wounded gods. In 20 the question of the importance of genealogy receives central focus, elevated to the level of the competing claims of the respective ancestries of Achilleus and Aineias. This is the first of several confrontations in this and the next book that, in exploring an Achilleus now for the first time seen in action, will provide a complex perspective on his slaughter of Hektor in 22, leading to an assessment more direct and more circumstantial than in Book 5 of the nature of violence itself.[14]

There is an initial hint at Achilleus' genealogy and its significance in the unusual emphasis on the presence in the divine assembly of rivers and water-nymphs (7ff)[15] that will be echoed in Achilleus' encounter with the first of his victims in A_2, the nymph's son Iphition (382b–395a);[16] it is expressed openly by Apollo-as-Lykaon in replying to Aineias' reluctance to meet the challenge of facing Achilleus (103–9); and it is fully developed at the center of the encounter between Achilleus and Aineias (203–43), where Aineias claims that his mother is a goddess whose lineage is superior to Thetis', and that he is descended on his father's side from Zeus. The correlation of birth to power is about to be disproved, as Aineias lunges with his stone at Achilleus (288ff, esp. 290, "and the son of Peleus would have stripped his life from him closing with his sword"); but with the acquiescence of Hera, Poseidon intervenes, blinding Achilleus with mist—once again acting as the protector of due order.[17] Aineias' survival is not simply pulled off as a matter of divine caprice but is recognized as a fated principle: The destruction of Priam's generation for the crime of Paris will not affect the descendants of Aphrodite in the superior line of Aineias. Against this limitation on his prowess, Achilleus is helpless. The section ends as it began, with the motif of divine favor: In 87ff Aineias argued that he cannot face Achilleus, who is always aided by a god, and would have been slain before now by Achilleus on Ida but for Zeus' intervention; in 344ff Achilleus realizes that Aineias is indeed dear to the gods. But what had initially appeared to be a matter of divine favoritism now emerges as a function of status in the nature of things.

Although there is a lesson here that Achilleus will shortly attempt to apply in his own favor (when in 21.184ff he boasts to Asteropaios of his descent from Zeus, at some remove, through his father), he is for the moment left to his own resources. Apart from Athena's sole—and suspect—intervention to protect him from Hektor's spear (438ff), Achilleus lacks the active divine support supplied to Diomedes in Book 5 and to Hektor now: For although Hektor's initial exhortation of the Trojans (364bff) is answered by his own failure to gain his mark, Apollo's warning to Hektor in 376ff is followed in 441bff by his intervention to save him. The poet is thus able to emphasize in the interlocking structure of A_2 not merely the futility of Achilleus' human anger in the face of divine

resistance, but more to the point here its sheer monstrousness viewed on its own terms. Just as there is little of Athena's aid to Achilleus, so in the narrative of Achilleus' savagery in 381ff and 455ff, the gods are absent—though the initial slaughter of the water nymph's son Iphition (382b–95a) looks forward to the impotence of sons of water deities in the next book, and the third slaying (401–6) ironically reminds us of the earlier helpful role of Poseidon by comparing Hippodamas' dying groan to a bull sacrificed to the god. But for the present we are left with a picture of the mounting toll of human violence, as the number of Achilleus' victims is more than doubled (four in 381–418, ten in 455–503). Hektor's comparison of Achilleus' hands to flame, stated with extraordinary anaphora at the beginning of A_2 (371f), then momentarily reversed at the center of the section to describe Hektor himself (423a), is expanded in the concluding segment to figure Achilleus' advance like a forest fire.[18] The relentless momentum of his rage is figured in the repeated gruesome description of his chariot wheels churning through the bloody carnage (394f; 495–99, where the simile of crushing grain seems to repeat the suggestion of unholy feasting in the ambiguous *dateonto* in 394: "cut" or "carve and apportion for a meal"—a motif that will soon become explicit in Achilleus' vengeful threat over the dying Hektor at 22.346f, "I wish only that my spirit and fury would drive me to hack your meat away and eat it raw. . . . " [Lattimore]).

The fated limitation of Achilleus' power, implied in 20 as a corollary of Aineias' survival, is stated more directly in the action of 21. Here, the narrative begins (A_1) with Achilleus' pursuit of half the fleeing Trojans into the river Xanthos while Hera envelops the rest in mist on the plain. The poet continues with a series of encounters leading to Achilleus' battle with Xanthos, before resuming the *Theomachy* (B: 385–520a) and at last returning (A_2) to Achilleus' pursuit of the remainder of the Trojans to the city and his encounter with Agenor.[19]

The opening passage (1–16) provides an introductory overview, setting forth the major images of fire, water, and mist that will be elaborated as the narrative proceeds.[20] The three specific encounters that follow—(a) with Lykaon, 34–136a; (b) Asteropaios, 136b–204; and (c) Xanthos, 211–384—form a graduated series: from the mortal Lykaon, unarmed and suppliant, to the ambidexterous spearman Asteropaios, grandson of a river god, to an actual river god armed with an elemental weapon.[21] The first two episodes are enclosed by the capture of the twelve Trojans to be sacrificed for Patroklos (17–33) and a rapid series of seven slaughters in 205–10, separating the two human encounters from the divine third. The entire sequence is given a loose motivic frame by Hera's actions of 1–16 and her intervention again at 328ff and 377ff. The narrative of 1–384

thus forms the initial element of the overall frame, balanced by the considerably shorter encounter between Achilleus and Agenor (520b–611).

The climactic simile of 1–16, comparing the rout of the Trojans before Achilleus to locusts fleeing the blast of a fire (12–15), continues the association of Achilleus with fire inaugurated in his "epiphany" of Book 18, sustained in 19 and 20, and to be developed further as Hera enlists Hephaistos to aid Achilleus in his struggle with Xanthos.[22] In the ensuing capture of the twelve Trojans (17–33), the first simile ("like a daimon," 18, echoing 20.447 and 493) and the last line (33, "he rushed back, raging for slaughter") further emphasize Achilleus' vengeful mood; and as he plunges into the water to take his captives, he is compared to a voracious dolphin pursuing smaller fish (22–25)—an image of predation that will be repeated at the close of the encounters with Lykaon (126f) and Asteropaios (203f), where fish will or do feed on their corpses. Of these motifs, only that of uncontrolled savagery appears in the balancing passage at 205–10, where it is implicit in the slaughter of seven more victims and becomes explicit again in the midst of the encounter with Xanthos, with the reiteration of the phrase "like a daimon" (227; cf. 18). The disjunctive comparisons of Achilleus to fire and to a predatory fish appear to hint at the theme of his dual nature, the fiery and the watery, derived from this father and his goddess mother, that will be developed in subsequent phases of the action.[23]

The encounter with Lykaon comprises his appearance, plea, and death, alternating with increasingly fatalistic speeches of Achilleus (54ff, 99ff, 122ff).[24] The initial element (34–53), telling of Lykaon's previous capture, enslavement, and ransom, is enclosed by a triple ring: The phrase "fleeing from the river" appears in 35 and 52; in 49 "this man" is repeated from 35; and in 36 and 48 *ouk ethelonta* ("unwilling") begins and ends the digression.[25] The idyllic setting of Lykaon's capture in his father's orchard intensifies by contrast Achilleus' present savagery, with an effect much like the pastoral simile of oxen crushing barley applied in the previous book to the incessant career of Achilleus' bloody chariot wheels (20.495ff).[26] There we saw the effect of Achilleus' rage; here we see his desperation: As he, the son of a goddess, must die, as Patroklos has died, so must Lykaon. Rank and status mean nothing. In Lykaon Achilleus perceives only the reflection of his own death.[27]

In the encounter with Asteropaios, there is a shift in Achilleus' attitude, signalized by his ash spear, which serves as a framing element (139, 200) and recurs with pivotal importance in the intervening action.[28] As Achilleus takes up this spear, the ambidexterous Asteropaios launches both his own, one of which grazes Achilleus' forearm. Achilleus misses his cast and, while Asteropaios attempts to withdraw the miscast spear lodged in the river bank, closes with his sword. Only now, as if goaded by Aster-

CHART 4.4

Book 21

1ff: Hera envelopes half of fleeing Trojans in mist as Achilleus pursues rest into Xanthos with sword; they flee as locusts before fire (12–15) S

17ff: Achilleus, leaning spear on tamarisk (18), like *daimon* (18), like dolphin pursuing fish (22–25), pursues and takes 12 captives fearful as fawns (29), who are led bound to ships, as Achilleus continues rampage (33, cf. 18) S S S

a

34ff: Achilleus encounters Lykaon, fleeing from river (35); story of previous unwilling capture in orchard (ring: "this man," 35/49; "unwilling," 36/48); Lykaon now naked and sweating (50f), fleeing from river (ring: 52, cf. 35)

53ff: Achilleus' amazement, as if Lykaon has risen from dead

64bff: Lykaon eludes spear, grasps Achilleus' knees, makes plea (74–96) recalling previous capture, shared meal (76f)

97ff: Achilleus responds re: Patroklos' death, his own

114bff: Lykaon struck in neck, slung into river

A_1

121ff: Achilleus vaunts: Fish will feed on Lykaon, river god no help to Trojans

136bff: Xanthos angry at Achilleus with far-shadowing spear, inspires Asteropaios to avenge slain Trojans (ring: *cholosato*, 136/146, *kecholoto*)

148ff: Achilleus challenges Asteropaios

b

152ff: Asteropaios responds re: his lineage from Axios; as Achilleus takes up ashen spear (161f), he casts two spears, hitting Achilleus' shield and forearm

169ff: Achilleus casts, misses Asteropaios, draws sword, slays him striving for ashen spear

182bff: Asteropaios stripped, Achilleus vaunts re: superior line, river's ineffectuality (cf. 130ff)

200ff: Achilleus recovers spear; fish and eels feed on Asteropaios

205ff: Achilleus slays 7 more victims

211ff: Xanthos speaks, urges Achilleus to drive Trojans onto plain

222ff: Achilleus refuses to yield (like *daimon*, 227; cf. 18) S

228ff: Xanthos rebukes Apollo (groaning like bull, 237) S

233ff: Achilleus fights with river, flees with speed of eagle (252ff), river pursues like irrigation let into orchard (257–63) S S

c

272ff: Achilleus prays to Zeus (simile of swineherd carried off by river, 282f) S

284bff: Poseidon and Athena to aid, encourage him re: Hektor, *euchos* (297)

299ff: Achilleus gains strength

305ff: Xanthos invokes Simoeis, will bury Achilleus (ring: *Peleïoni*, 306/327, *Peleïona*)

328ff: Hera calls on Hephaistos

342bff: Hephaistos inflames corpses, riverbank is dried just as North wind dries a freshly watered orchard (346ff, cf. 257ff), fish and eels distressed (ring: *Hephaistos*, 342/355, *Hephaistoio*) S

356ff: Xanthos calls on Hephaistos

362ff: cauldron simile S

367bff: Xanthos calls on Hera

377ff: Hera instructs Hephaistos to yield

381bff: Hephaistos obeys

CHART 4.4 (*cont.*)

B
- 385ff: *Theomachy* resumes among other gods (w. oppositions from 20.67ff); on Olympos Zeus amused (ring: *eris*, 385/390, *eridi*)
  - 391bff: Ares confronts Athena, rebukes her, stabs at aegis (ring: *Ares . . . engchos*, 391ff/ 402, *Ares . . . engchei*)
    - 403ff: Athena sends Ares sprawling with boundary stone, vaunts
    - *a* 416f: Aphrodite assists Ares
      - 418ff: Hera urges Athena vs Aphrodite
      - 423bff: Athena sends Aphrodite and Ares sprawling, vaunts (cf. 424, *cheiri pacheiei*, with 403; *lyto gounata*, 425, w. 406)
      - 434b: Hera pleased (cf. *leukolenos Here* in 434, 418)
  - *b* 435ff: Poseidon challenges Apollo (as *anoon*, 441)
    - 461ff: Apollo demurs (note *saophrona*, 462) (simile of leaves, 464f) S
    - 470ff: Artemis rebukes Apollo for giving Poseidon *euchos* (473)
    - 478b: Apollo refuses comment
    - 479ff: Hera (*phertere*, 488) strikes her with her own bow, arrows scattered
    - 493ff: Artemis flees like pigeon from hawk (493ff), leaving bow behind (ring: *dakryessa*, 493/496 S
      - 497ff: Hermes refuses to fight Leto, who gathers bow and arrows scattered in dust (cf. 496) and returns to Artemis
  - 505ff: Artemis flees to Zeus (506, *dakryoessa*, cf. 493, 496)
    - 507bff: Zeus questions her
    - 511ff: Artemis complains of white-armed Hera (w. 512, cf. 418, 434)
- 515ff: Apollo goes to Troy, other gods withdraw to Zeus on Olympus (w. 518 cf. 385)

A_2
- 520bff: Achilleus fights on (simile of burning city, 522–25; cf. 12ff; ring, *autar Achilleus*, 520/525, *hos Achilleus*) S
  - 526ff: Priam opens gates to fleeing Trojans
    - 538bff: Apollo sends out Agenor, stands by with spear leaning on oak (w. 549b cf. 18), concealed in mist (w. 549b cf. 6f; ring: *loigon alalkoi*, 539/548, *keras alalkoi*)
      - 550f: Agenor perceives Achilleus, takes stand
        - 552ff: Agenor's monologue (555: motif of beheading, cf. 117; motif of bathing off sweat in river, 560f, cf. 51)
        - 573ff: simile of leopard re: Agenor's resistance, reinforcing his mood S
        - 581ff: Agenor's challenge to Achilleus
      - 590ff: Agenor casts, misses Achilleus
    - 595ff: As Achilleus casts, Apollo conceals Agenor in mist (w. 597, *eeri pollei*, cf. 549)
  - 599ff: Achilleus is led by Apollo as Agenor back to river (ring: *doloi*, 599/604)
  - 606–11: Trojans flee into city

opaios' presumption in attempting to wield the Pelian ash spear, does Achilleus reply, vaunting over his victim in elaborate formal balance to Asteropaios' initial boast of his descent from the river Axios. Having seen the superiority of Aineias' birth on his mother's side demonstrated in his rescue by Poseidon, Achilleus now plays his own ace:[29] He dismisses all waters as inferior to Zeus, whom he now claims as a forebear through his father, represented by the spear he now reclaims; and he leaves Asteropaios' corpse, lapped by the dark water, to the eels—thus repeating the river motif with which the episode began as the angry Xanthos, crowded by the dead, roused Asteropaios against their slayer (136bff).[30]

But the boast is no sooner made than subjected to trial: The element of water, now functionally associated with Achilleus' weaker heritage, turns on him, testing his paternal connection and structurally answering his earlier claim (130ff) that the river god will be no help to the Trojans. The simile describing Xanthos' pursuit of Achilleus like irrigation let into a plantation (*kepous*, 258) recalls Lykaon's capture in his father's orchard (*aloe*, 77) and is echoed in the concluding sequence of this passage by the simile of the North Wind drying a freshly watered orchard (*aloe*, 346). And the earlier simile describing the flight of the Trojans from Achilleus like locusts escaping a fire (12–15) is reflected in Hephaistos' flame of 342ff, scorching the plants beside the river and the creatures in it. The description of the suffering fish and eels in 353ff recalls their earlier mention at 22ff, 122ff, and 203f. Predators feeding on the fat of the slain at 127 and 204, now again as in 24 they are victims, boiled in the river like a plump hog whose fat is melted in a bubbling cauldron (362ff). And Achilleus is now the pursued, no longer the pursuer: The initial sequence (211–71) reaches its climax as the river surges around Achilleus against the shield made by Hephaistos, and Achilleus is forced to flee (233ff), bitterly comparing himself to a swineherd carried off by a winter torrent. Symbolism implicit here[31] becomes dramatic reality in the concluding sequence (305–84), as Hephaistos himself is sent to subdue Xanthos. At the center of the passage (272–304) Achilleus, fearful of losing the boast of slaying Hektor, is, like Lykaon, forced to supplicate for help. But there is no response from his paternal ancestor: Poseidon and Athena intervene not to ensure victory over the river—for the poet, cutting through Achilleus' vainglory, reminds us at 264 that gods are stronger than mortals—but merely to reserve Achilleus for a different death (as in the case of Hektor at the end of Book 20); and at this point the conflict is transferred to the level of the cosmic opposition of fire and water, in which Achilleus plays little role. The contest between Xanthos and Hephaistos thus concludes A_1 with a group of elements balancing Achilleus' encounter with Lykaon and provides a transition to the *Theomachy*, which it anticipates by providing the initial combat. But again, instead of affirming the victory of Achilleus' fiery or immortal nature and heritage, the terms of conflict, when brought to the divine level, are quickly translated into rather different terms, as we shall observe shortly.

For the moment, we may consider the way in which the final sequence (A_2: 520b–611) continues and balances this extended opening section, as Achilleus pursues the half of the Trojan force that had escaped from the river thanks to Hera's mist at 6f. Here the framing elements for the section itself are presented in annular order around the central encounter with Agenor, a human representing a return to the level of mortal conflict with which the book began. The first element, ringed by the phrases *autar*

Achilleus (520b) and *hos Achilleus* (525), is marked by a notably forced simile of a burning city (522–25); but apart from the difficulties observed by commentators, the imagery of fire is effectively reiterated from 12–15, and we have as well an ominous foreshadowing of the result for Troy of Achilleus' imminent victory.[32] Achilleus' pursuit of the Trojans is reversed in the corresponding passage at 599–605 (ringed by *doloi* at 599 and 604), where he is lured away from the city back toward the river by Apollo disguised as Agenor. The description of Priam descending to open the gates for the weary fugitives (526–538a) echoes the earlier Trojan flight of A_1 and is balanced here by further description of their refuge in the city at 606–11. In Apollo's curious intervention to inspire Agenor to resist Achilleus (538b–49, ringed by *loigon alalkoi*, 539/548, *keras alalkoi*), the god leans against an oak, concealed in mist (548f: *este . . . phegoi keklimenos*; *kekalupto d' ar' eeri pollei*). The language recalls the description of Achilleus leaning his spear against the tamarisks in 18 (*keklimenon myrikeisin*) and the deep mist with which Hera confounds the Trojans in 6f (*eera . . . batheian*). The motif recurs here in the corresponding 595–98, where Apollo conceals Agenor in mist (597: *eeri pollei*). In Agenor's monologue of 553–70, two elements reflect the initial encounter of A_1: Reference in 555 to beheading recalls Achilleus' treatment of Lykaon (117), and the fantasy of bathing off sweat in the river at 560f evokes the grim reality of Lykaon's attempts to escape from the river and his abandonment, weary and perspiring, of his armor (51ff). The structure of the passage as a whole (550–94) centers on the simile of 573–59, describing Agenor's resistance like a wounded leopard, which signals the turning point in Agenor's mood, his decision to withstand Achilleus; and it evokes the earlier imagery of the hunt in the description of Achilleus' captives, timorous as fawns (29).

As in 20, there are throughout 21 reflections of Book 5:[33] Achilleus' consternation at the return of Lykaon (54ff) recalls that of the son of another Lykaon in 5 (206ff) at the failure of his bow; Pandaros' contempt for this bow at 5.216 (*anemolia*) is echoed in Artemis' rebuke of Apollo's weapon as "windy nothing" (*anemolion*, 21.474). Earlier, Diomedes had charged across the plain like a swollen river, only to retreat like a man before a rushing torrent; here, Achilleus actually does battle with a river and is forced to yield when it begins to overwhelm him. In the continuation of the *Theomachy* at the heart of 21, Ares' challenge to Athena (394ff) refers specifically to her earlier joint attack with Diomedes, and Athena's use of a stone to fell Ares recalls Diomedes' previous stoning of Aineias. Aphrodite's assistance here to Ares repays his earlier loan of his chariot to convey her, wounded, back to Olympos. Zeus' solicitous questions of Artemis here recall Dione's earlier greeting to Aphrodite (21.509f=5.373f). Finally, Apollo's appearance in the form of Agenor to

delude Achilleus (599ff) recalls the *eidolon* of Aineias with which Apollo misled Diomedes in 5; and the motif of concealment in mist at 6f, 548f, and 597 parallels 5.376 and 776 (of Hera's horses, of Ares).

Clearly the poet is continuing from 20 the comparison between Achilleus' actions and those of Diomedes; more explicitly now, he is using these parallels to expose the futility of Achilleus' overreaching in terms that recall Diomedes' failure. But there are important differences. Diomedes' attacks on Aphrodite and Ares exposed the ultimate impotence of the heroic effort to subdue their power and its effects. Here, although the struggle is gradually elevated to the more abstract level of the cosmic opposition of fire to water, Achilleus seeks to vindicate no principle but his own anger and to achieve the *euchos* of successful revenge for the slaying of Patroklos. Achilleus is guaranteed that goal (and only that goal) by Athena and Poseidon (284bff), but the ensuing section brings its meaning and justification into serious question, as Ares challenges Athena and the gods resume their conflict. In Book 5 Diomedes' attacks on the gods produced little beyond minor irritation and petty squabbling; in 20 symbolic significance and narrative tension are quickly dissipated as purely personal conflict—neither meant to serve Achilleus' cause (indeed, Hera has just reminded Hephaistos that it is unseemly for gods to fight for mortals, 379f) nor inspired by any infraction of the truce between Hera and Poseidon (20.188)—degenerates into gratuitous and unseemly brawling among gods unchecked by Zeus' influence.[34]

The scene is generally taken as comic relief; indeed, it is introduced by Zeus' knowing chuckle (389f). The smile is equally the poet's, the gratification of the regisseur at the success of a carefully planned *coup de theâtre*.[35] It is nevertheless clear that an essential purpose is being served, for instead of simply reflecting ordinary human or heroic values and motives, projected as often onto the divine level,[36] the resumed *Theomachy* parallels—in quite specific and particular ways—the fighting of Achilleus. Mutual accusations of childishness (Athena to Ares, 410; Poseidon and Artemis to Apollo, 441 and 474) reflect Achilleus' rebuke of Lykaon (99), continuing usage in Book 20, where forms of or derived from *nepios* and its diminutive *nepution* are used more frequently than in any other book of the poem.[37] The gods, moreover, are motivated to conflict by the same need for retaliation (Ares, 394ff), for *euchos* (Artemis' rebuke of Apollo, 473, cf. 476), and for proving superior physical power (Athena boasting over Ares at 410ff, Hera's *phertere* of 488) that motivates Achilleus. More specifically, in urging that it would not be fitting to refrain from fighting once the others have begun (436f), Poseidon reminds Apollo of the time Priam's forebear Laomedon cheated them of pay for their year of servitude, thus drawing a direct parallel to Achilleus' grudge against the

Trojans, stated in terms (440) that recall Odysseus' rebuke of Achilleus' refusal to eat at 19.219: "I was born earlier and know more." But to the charge of having a mindless heart (*anoon kradien*, 441), Apollo—echoing Hera—answers that it would be imprudent (*ouk . . . saophrona*, 462) for them to fight over mortals. And at the formal and moral center of this sequence, Hermes rejects conflict with Leto, dismissing any antagonism with the ironic statement—alluding to Hera's treatment of Artemis—that "it is a hard thing to come to blows with the bedmates of cloud-gathering Zeus" (498f) and freely granting her the right to boast (*euchesthai*, 501), if she choose, that she won by superior power: These distinctions matter little and are not worth a struggle. Seen against this mythic paradigm, Achilleus' preoccupation with *euchos*—like the squabbles between the gods—becomes grotesque, even irrelevant.

Thus, the heart of the book is concerned not so much with restating Achilleus' limitations as an agent of violence, as in Book 20 (and, with regard to Diomedes, in its counterpart, Book 5): It emphasizes the even more pointed question of the relevance of bloodshed in resolving an ethical dilemma, as in Book 4. There, the essential issues of the war were presented in the frame of a compromise between Zeus and Hera and the acquiescence of the other gods. The impropriety of Helen's theft was clearly restated through Pandaros' desire for *kydos* and his act of treachery, while on the Greek side the heroic reaction was presented in the context of submission to a leadership guilty of an offense parallel to the Trojans'. In contrast to the divine compromise at the outset of 4, we have at the beginning of 21 a scene of human intransigence in which Achilleus, no less concerned with the achievement of *kydos* than Lykaon's son Pandaros, is impelled to break a sanction no less binding than a truce—that of a shared meal—in slaying another Lykaon. Agamemnon's series of challenges and rebukes to the Greek chiefs in 4, intended to inspire them into combat, centered on a figure suggesting the feebleness of their very tradition to meet the problem at hand. In 21 the challenges to conflict among the gods end in a collapse that suggests the hollowness of military solutions by questioning the values that support them. The scene of gods' entry into battle in 4, with Apollo encouraging the fleeing Trojans in Achilleus' absence by reminding them that the Argives' skin is not stone or iron to endure the skin-cutting bronze (510f), is echoed in 21, as the Trojans flee while Apollo encourages Agenor to meet Achilleus, whose skin, as Agenor supposes (568), is vulnerable to the sharp bronze. The participation of the gods in the resumption of conflict in 4 served to orchestrate the importance of the battle over Helen; in 21 the issues of the war have now become obscured by the death of Patroklos. The orderly structure created by the divine frame of 4 is turned inside

out in 21 to allow the divine conflict to expose the confusion of Achilleus' rage:

Book 4 conflict among gods resolved (A_1)
Pandaros seeks *kydos* (B)
Agamemnon musters Greeks, rebukes Nestor (C)
gods enter battle on either side (A_2)

Book 21 Achilleus pursues Trojans in revenge (A_1)
gods oppose and aid Achilleus (A_1)
gods' conflict broken off (B)
Achilleus pursues Agenor, Priam admits fleeing Trojans (A_2)

Much as the dispute among the gods has little to do with principle and is provoked instead by mutual animosity, Achilleus rejoins his fellow Greeks not to serve the issues of the war but to advance personal revenge for the theft of a relationship the nature of which the poet has left almost pointedly nebulous, beyond the utility and nostalgia of habitual companionship it appears to have provided—and the depth of emotion Achilleus feels on losing it.[38] While the gods can retire, as in 5, to the consolations of Olympos, Achilleus is left pursuing a phantom, the objects of his wrath obscured in mist and confusion at the end as at the beginning. In 4, Nestor, all words, was seen as an ineffective relic of a past he cannot escape; in Book 21, Achilleus, all deeds, is seen trapped by the futility of the violence he personifies, a toy of the god whose role in the poem represents above all the principle of maintaining a proper distinction between the divine sphere and the human.

(xxii) *Slaying of Hektor*

In the transitional opening lines of Book 22 (1–24), the exchange between Apollo and Achilleus reiterates from the previous book the theme of the warrior's deception and at the same time foreshadows Athena's deception of Hektor in the narrative to come. The decisive encounter between Achilleus and Hektor is framed by the Trojan watch from the walls in A_1 (25–131a) and its grim continuation in A_2 (405b–515).[1] The confrontation itself is similarly divided between two sections. B_1 (131b–207), describing the sorry collapse of Hektor's resolve as he turns to flee Achilleus, is, as we shall see, framed by similes emphasizing the swiftness of the pursuit; but it centers on Zeus' decision not to intervene on Hektor's behalf,[2] allowing Athena to do what she will (*hopei . . . noos epleto*, 185), thus emphasizing the futility of Hektor's attempt to escape. In the corresponding B_2 (248–354), Hektor curtails his flight (lines 250ff refer specifically to the earlier chase, especially *tris* at 251; cf. 165f) and confronts

Achilleus with a plea that the victor agree to relinquish the corpse of his victim. Achilleus' rejection of this plea (260–72) and of Hektor's second appeal (337ff) establishes a pattern of plea/rejection that rings the section, providing a frame for Hektor's realization (296–305) that he has been misled by Athena, abandoned by the other gods, and has no resource but his own. The focus of both B_1 and B_2 is thus on the hopelessness of Hektor's situation, whether he flee or fight.

Interlocking with this divided sequence are C_1 (208–47) and C_2 (355–405a): In the first, Zeus' gesture of weighing the dooms (*kere*) of the two heroes confirms Hektor's approaching defeat,[3] and Athena in the form of Deiphobos persuades Hektor to take a stand. The answering C_2 describes the resulting death and dishonoring of Hektor, centered on the ignominious jeers and jabs of the Greek mob (*tis eipesken*, 372) at his stripped corpse.[4] There is in the overall structure no central turning point or focus, but simply two divine decisions, two episodes depicting their results. At the same time, a concurrent sequence of theme and motif rises to an emotional climax in Andromache's reaction to the death of Hektor. To trace the way in which the poet prepares for this climax, we need to return to the beginning.

To set the stage, there is at the outset a brief scenic overview of the Trojan flight within the wall and the Greek besiegers facing Hektor alone at the gates (1–6). In the ensuing exchange (7–24), Apollo taunts Achilleus' failure to perceive the distinction between god and mortal and charges him with a lack of compassion in his relentless pursuit of the Trojans (11: "Is the suffering of the Trojans of no concern to you?"). The latter accusation reiterates the issue of pity already raised among the Greeks, especially by Patroklos (16.33ff), but applied to Achilleus first by an enemy in Tros' plea of 20.463ff and again in 21 by Lykaon; it becomes an insistent element surrounding the fate of Hektor in this and the two final books. For the moment, Apollo's words go unheeded: Achilleus hastens toward the city like a victorious racehorse (22f)—balancing the animal simile at the outset comparing the retreating Trojans to timorous fawns (1), itself an echo of the comparison used to describe the fighting of the twelve Trojans captured for sacrifice to Patroklos at 21.29, and perhaps reversing the previous departures from Troy of Paris and Hektor like prancing stallions at 6.506ff and 15.263ff. Achilleus' motives remain divided between his remorseful desire to avenge Patroklos and the desire for *kydos* (18). This persistence in traditional thinking, despite the fatalism of his speech to Lykaon, for example, establishes Achilleus less as contrast than as counterpart to Hektor's dependence on convention in what follows.

The opening section of the narrative proper (A_1) provides a more elaborate development of Hektor's motivations, not simply in isolation be-

CHART 4.5

Book 22

Thematic Statement: Deception of the Warriors

- 1ff: Trojans have fled within the walls like fawns (cf. 21.29) to quench thirst — S
  - 3bf: Greeks approach
  - 5f: Hektor alone before gates
  - 7ff: Apollo rebukes Achilleus for relentlessness and failure of recognition
- 14ff: Achilleus retorts, approaches city like victorious racehorse (22ff) (ring: *podas okys Achilleus*, 14/24, *laipsera podas . . . enoma*) — S

A_1 *Trojan pleas*

- *a* 25ff: Priam sees Achilleus approaching like Dog Star (26–32), entreats Hektor piteously (*eleeina*, 37), laments fates of wives, children, himself (42f: motif of mutilation by dogs; 49ff, ransom), asks pity (*eleeson*, 59) on his old age and fate (ring, 42f/66–75) — S
- *b* 79ff: Hekabe's lament (dogs, 89, cf. 66f and 42f) asks pity (*eleeson*, 82); note refrain at 78 and 91: *oud' Hektori thymon epeithe*)
- *c* 92ff: Hektor waits like snake (93ff); thoughts on shame (99ff): no longer a matter of youth courting a maiden (126ff, reflection of dialogue with Andromache in 6), no hope of pity from Achilleus (*eleesei*, 123) — S

B_1 *Hektor flees Achilleus*

131bff: Achilleus pursues Hektor to double springs;

- a_1 Achilleus like Enyalios, 132; armor like fire or rising sun, 134f; simile of falcon after dove, 139–43, enclosed by motif of swiftness in 139, 143f — SS¬ SS
- b_1 145ff: Achilleus pursues Hektor away from walls to double springs; 149–52: similes of fire and ice — SS
- c_1 157ff: Motif of swiftness in 159 and 166, enclosing simile of horse race at funeral games, 162–65; triple pursuit around city, 165f — S¬
  - 166bff: Zeus on question of Hektor's safety
  - 177ff: Athena on his mortality
  - 182ff: Zeus sends Athena into battle

188ff: Achilleus pursues Hektor:

- a_2 189–93: Simile of dog chasing fawn (cf. 1ff), enclosed by *okys Achilleus*, 188/193, *podokea Peleïona*) — S
- b_2 194–98: Achilleus forces Hektor away from walls lest Trojans hurl down weapons
- c_2 199–201: Simile of runners in a dream (cf. 162ff) — S¬
- b_2 202ff: Poet's query on Apollo's aid to Hektor (motif of swiftness, 204); Achilleus signals Greeks not to hurl weapons at Hektor

C_1 *Decision on Hektor's death: his deception*

- 208ff: As Hektor and Achilleus reach springs for fourth time, Zeus balances scales, Hektor's fate sinks, Apollo leaves him
- 214ff: Athena encourages Achilleus to rest
- 226ff: Athena as Deiphobos deceives Hektor into resisting Achilleus
- 232ff: Hektor agrees
- 238ff: Athena's reply on entreaties of parents to prevent approaching Achilleus

fore the gates as Achilleus approaches, but against a complex background of fearful parents and fellow citizens and, in successive sections (B_1–C_2), of the gods' deliberations and deceptive intervention. In A_1, oblivious to the piteous entreaties of Priam and Hekabe (*eleeina*, 37, and *eleeson*, 59; *eleeson*, 82), Hektor addresses his *thymos* (98, 122) considering the alternatives he faces: He could return to the city but cannot bring himself to

CHART 4.5 (*cont.*)

B_2
Hektor meets Achilleus; aware of his deception

248ff: Hektor (with helmet, cf. 132) will no longer run (*tris*, 251, cf. 165); proposes agreement on return of corpse
- 260ff: Achilleus refuses: as between men and lions, wolves and lambs (262ff), no friendship or oaths possible until one of them glut Ares
  - 273ff: Achilleus casts, misses; Athena returns spear
    - 278ff: Hektor vaunts, casts vainly; "Deiphobos" no longer at hand to supply another spear
      - 296ff: Hektor realizes Athena's deception, loss of help from Zeus and Apollo; he resolves to die with *kleos*
    - 306ff: Hektor charges with sword like eagle vs lamb or hare (308ff, cf. 139ff); ring: *phasganon oxy* at 306/311 — SS
  - 312ff: Achilleus attacks, glittering in his armor like evening star (317ff, cf. 26–31, 134f), eyeing Hektor in his own armor; stabs him, vaunts (335f: Hektor carrion for dogs and birds) — S
- 337ff: Hektor pleads for return of corpse for ransom (cf. 258f)
- 344ff: Achilleus refuses ransom (354: Hektor as carrion for dogs and birds)

C_2
Death of Hektor

355ff: Hektor's warning on Apollo's curse; foretells Achilleus' death, dies (363=16.857)
- 364ff: Achilleus' response on his own death; replaces sword and strips arms
  - 369bff: Greeks come to see corpse, jeer
  - 376ff: Having stripped body (376, cf. 368f), Achilleus on death of Hektor and Patroklos
- 395ff: Hektor's corpse dragged away in dust after arms loaded into chariot

A_2
Trojan reaction

405bff: As Hektor's head is dragged in dust, Hekabe tears hair, **discards veil, wails**; Priam groans piteously (*eleeina*, 408); people lament as if city were burning (410f)

a
- 412ff: People prevent Priam from rushing from city as he addresses each, insists on supplicating Achilleus' pity on his old age (*eleesei*, 419, cf. 59ff); *politai* mourn (429, cf. *laoi*, 412)

b
- 430ff: Hekabe leads women's lament
- 437bff: Hektor's wife, unaware (w. 439, *ektothi mimne pylaon*, cf. 35, *proparoithe pylaon*), weaving red *diplax* (440f), urges servants to put Hektor's bath-water over fire (443), being unaware (*oud' enoesen*, 445) of Hektor's defeat; hearing cries from tower (447) she summons attendants, suspecting disaster; running like maenad (*mainadi ise*, 460), she reaches tower (462) — S
  and perceives (*noesen*, 463) corpse being dragged
- 466ff: faints, **casting off wedding crown**

c
- 477ff: laments her fate, that of Hektor (house of Hades, 482; cf. 52 and 389)
  - 484bff: fate of piteous (*eleesanton*, 494) son (note *cheren*, 484/499; *Astyanax*, 500/506)
  - 508ff: Hektor (509: to be food for writhing worms [cf. snake of 93ff] and dogs [cf. 42, 66f, 89, 335, 339, and 353]) in his nakedness (510, cf. 124)
- 510b–15: Yet will offer woven garments (510f, cf. 440f) in fire of Hektor's empty pyre (512, cf. 443 and burning city of 410f)

face the shame of being reproached by Poulydamas for rejecting sound advice or by any lesser man for having "ruined his people" (107, cf. 104). There remain the possibilities of risking the encounter with Achilleus (108ff), of returning Helen with the treasure and making a division of the wealth of Troy itself (as in the description of the City at War on the shield of Achilleus; 22.120bf= 18.511bf),[5] and of appealing to Achilleus' pity (*eleesei*, 123). The latter two courses he dismisses as hopeless dreams irrelevant to the present and decides, instead, to challenge Achilleus and risk the decision of the gods.

Hektor's tendency to reject both practical possibility and the claim of pity in favor of the compulsions of *aidos* we have seen repeatedly since his conversation with Andromache in Book 6, a scene subtly suggested here by the motif of a whispered interchange between a maiden and a youth in 126ff (where special emphasis is created by the anaphora of the phrase *parthenos eitheos te* in 127b and 128a).[6] The denial of personal emotion, of the pleas of his parents (emphasized by the refrain "nor did he/she persuade Hektor's *thymos*," at 78/91), and of the possibility of reconciliation with his enemy will be reflected in Athena's "deception" of Hektor in C_1. For although Achilleus' victory is rendered inevitable by the divine decision of B_1, the words of Athena-as-Deiphobos at 229ff and 239ff will not so much alter Hektor's own decision as recall him to one already made. Her pretense of having disregarded the pleas of Priam and Hekabe not to venture to his aid parallels and emphasizes Hektor's own denial of his parents' appeal; her deception merely curtails his flight. Athena is less concerned to impose delusion—or rather, the capacity for self-delusion—on Hektor, in order to divert him to a new and untypical course of action, than to elicit confirmation of the power this delusion already exercises on him, both in his choices here and in his behavior elsewhere in the poem.[7] The importance of this rejection of alternatives is made clear in the next section (B_2), where formal emphasis is placed not on the event of his death, but on his realization that he has been deceived by Athena (297ff) and abandoned by Zeus and finally by Apollo. Yet even now, his one consideration is to attempt some great deed, lest he die deprived of *kleos* (*akleios*, 304).

The similes used to describe the encounter of Hektor and Achilleus are of particular significance in conveying the poet's view of his two protagonists. The mixed treatment Hektor has received in earlier books continues in his initial comparison to a snake (93ff), reversing the first simile applied in the narrative to an individual Trojan, that of 3.33, where Paris retreats before Menelaos like a man avoiding a snake. The war began as a result of Paris' misjudgment and will soon end thanks to Hektor's; appropriately here, Hektor *is* the snake, refusing safety in his hole, coiling back on himself, full of venom. The result of this decision, for himself and

his people, is destruction, figured in Andromache's answering vision (509) of writhing worms consuming the flesh of Hektor's torn and naked corpse.[8]

In a similar but more ambivalent way, similes based on light and fire continue to play a structural role in portraying Achilleus' actions and their results. In A_1 Achilleus approaches Hektor like the Dog Star (26ff), the bringer of fever to wretched mortals, whose bright flash in the night sky is repeated in the ominous image of a burning city in A_2 at 410f, ironically in the fire for Hektor's bath at 443f, and again, as a pathetic echo, in the memorial pyre for Hektor envisioned by a despairing Andromache at 512.[9] The comparison of Achilleus' armor to fire or the rising sun in B_1 (134f), as he renews his pursuit of Hektor, is continued by the comparison of the vapor rising from the hot spring to smoke from a fire (150f), and in B_2 (317f), as Hektor is slain by Achilleus' spear glittering like the Evening Star.[10] In the complex framing elements of B_1, the pursuit of Hektor is compared to horses rounding a turn post (*terma*) at funeral games (162ff), converting the familiar introductory simile of 22ff, describing Achilleus' rush across the plain with the speed of a victorious racehorse, into one of foreboding by anticipating Hektor's death and the dragging of his corpse by horses in A_2 at 405ff and 463ff. There will be a final transformation of these images in the funeral games for Patroklos, where at a racing contest we shall observe a changed Achilleus also. For the moment, the balancing simile within the section (199ff)[11]—in which Achilleus' chase is compared to a dream in which the pursuer cannot take his victim nor the victim escape—introduces a hallucinatory element that looks forward to the deception that will dominate Hektor at the center of the book as it did Achilleus at the outset; here, both are caught in a nightmarish vacuum that aptly conveys their present state of moral impotence.

Further animal imagery clusters round the actual slaughter. Hektor's last charge, like an eagle attacking a sheep or hare (308ff), reverses Achilleus' earlier pursuit of Hektor like a falcon plunging after a dove (139–43), ringed by the motif of swiftness at 139 and 144 and the balancing simile of a dog chasing a fawn (189–93), where swiftness again serves as a ringing motif (188/193). In 260ff, reacting to Hektor's proposal that the victor guarantee return of the victim's corpse, Achilleus claims that between them oaths of friendship are no more possible than between men and lions or wolves and sheep. The answering exchange at 337ff, in which Achilleus again refuses Hektor's dying plea that his body be returned, not abandoned on the shore for dogs to consume, is surrounded by Achilleus' vindictive assertion that Hektor will be left as carrion for dogs and birds (335f, 354).

United thus to his foe by motif and simile, and like him driven to reject

pity by a need for *kleos* beyond what his peers have already conferred, Achilleus confronts yet another mirror image when he faces a Hektor clad in the armor stripped from Patroklos (pointedly recalled at 322f).[12] Much as Hektor has rejected for a last time all practical alternatives to a fatal confrontation with the conventional phrase, "But why does my heart within me consider such things?" (122), Achilleus refuses in the same words (385) to define what useful effect the death of Hektor might have on the war and turns rather to his concern with Patroklos' death, to the abuse of Hektor's corpse, and the satisfaction of winning great *kydos* (393, cf. 18).

In slaying Hektor, Achilleus does in a sense put an end to his old self: not simply by sealing his own fate but in opening, however inadvertently, the way for a new beginning based not on similarities with Hektor but on an important internal difference. To be sure, the one hero has rejected all chance of domestic stability and continuity in his desire for *kydos* and yet remains driven by it even in the knowledge that it will result in his death; the other, clinging to vain hope, rejecting the realities of his situation, risks and loses all for the sake of appearance. Neither allows pity to temper his actions: Achilleus in refusing to honor Hektor's corpse, Hektor in his failure to respond to his parents' pleas and Andromache's claim—until it is too late, when instead of appealing to Achilleus' pity in urging the return of his corpse to his family, he vainly tests Achilleus' greed for gold (340f). But the one hero has acted, above all, out of overwhelming regard for the memory of another human being;[13] the other, on consideration of the needs of his ego. At an earlier point, a battle to the death between the two would have blurred this tenuous distinction: When in 20.419ff Hektor, angered by the death of Polydoros, confronts Achilleus, he does so out of an impulse to retaliate like that of Achilleus. Apollo's intervention there can now be seen to have served a purpose beyond providing a lesson in Achilleus' human limitation or simply increasing narrative tension: Hektor would have died, at that juncture, on an uncharacteristic impulse—one that might have presented a nobler gesture[14] but would have misrepresented his character (and his role in the poem). In the present context, the poet seems to follow the god in making it clear that for Achilleus the psychology of choice under pressure admits of change, as emotion subsides and he comes to realize that the death of Hektor is no more satisfying than the return of Briseis. For Hektor, on the other hand, there could be no such prospects: His denial of alternatives, here as in Book 6, is by its very nature self-defeating.

Hektor's role in Book 22 as a figure for military delusion balances the portrayal in Book 3 of the mechanism and effects of self-deception in Trojan domestic life. Structurally the series of parallel motifs in the two

books forms an interlocking pattern; but as in the case of Books 4 / 21, the framing elements of one book appear at the heart of the other:[15]

Book 3	*Book 22*
Introduction: troops advance	Introduction: Achilleus advances, Hektor awaits
A_1: Paris challenges Menelaos, then	*Teichoskopia* (A_1a,b): pleas of parents
B_1: Hektor rebukes Paris for retreat; duel with Menelaos agreed on to decide return of Helen	A_1c: Hektor fears rebuke of Poulydamas, rejects possibility of offering to return Helen, awaits Achilleus like snake
(C_1, D_1: preparations for duel, sacrifices readied)	(C_1: flight to springs)
Teichoskopia (E)	
D_2: sacrifice, Zeus refuses prayers	C_1: Zeus' scales, Hektor's fate sinks
C_2: duel, intervention of Aphrodite to extricate Paris	C_1–C_2: duel, intervention of Athena to ensure Hektor's stand vs. Achilleus
B_2: Helen forced to meet Paris in bedchamber	*Teichoskopia* (A_2): Andromache runs from bedchamber to view dead Hektor

The earlier *Teichoskopia* (Book 3, E), in which Helen and Priam surveyed the Greek heroes, was central to the structure, as Helen was the object of the war/duel itself. Here, the function of the motif as a narrative focus is reversed and expanded to become a frame for Hektor's unsuccessful defense of Helen; in its two component scenes Priam, now with Hekabe, watching from the wall not in curiosity and admiration but in foreboding and despair, first pleads for Hektor to retreat from the duel with Achilleus (A_1), then looks on with horror as a slain Hektor is dragged in dust (A_2). Priam's inability to locate Polydoros and Lykaon on the field (46ff) recalls Helen's futile search for Kastor and Polydeukes (3.236ff), for like Helen's brothers these sons of Priam are no longer alive, their slaughter by Achilleus obscured in the carnage of the two previous books. Similarly, Helen's earlier symbolic weaving is echoed in Andromache's (A_2). Both are preparing blood-red folding robes: One, as cause of the conflict, is interworking figures of the war itself; the other, as victim, is elaborating intricate flowers ironically emblematic of the charms of love and courtship now rendered obsolete by the latest turn in battle.[16] The one shroud is a monument to the conflict Helen has caused, the other a memorial to the relationship Andromache has lost. Helen, summoned to the wall by Iris in disguise, arrays herself in shining linen and sheds a soft tear, creating the very picture of wifely tenderness and modest regret as she leaves the marriage chamber of her present mate—while longing for her previous husband and family (3.139ff). Andromache, her thoughts of offering Hektor

a hot bath interrupted by cries of grief, rushes pell-mell from her chamber to the wall like a maenad (460) and at the spectacle of the dragging of Hektor faints, tearing off the diadem and veil that proclaim her married state.[17]

At the center of the earlier watch from the wall, the distinction between appearance and reality was emphasized by Antenor's recollection of the deceptive externals of Odysseus' look and manner on his previous mission to Troy. At the heart of the present divided *Teichoskopia*, the distinction is no longer a diverting topic of small talk; the earlier duel between Paris and Menelaos for the return of Helen has now become a central struggle between Hektor and Achilleus not merely over the fate of Helen but over the death of Patroklos and the very survival of Troy itself. While Aphrodite earlier intervened to postpone a solution, Athena, playing once more on the Trojans' susceptibility to deceptive appearances, now merely confirms decisions already made on both the human level and the divine. Hektor's delusive compulsion to avoid shame is presented without qualification as the mechanism of his own destruction and that of the whole fabric of his society. While in Book 3 Helen remained subject to Aphrodite's power despite her ability to penetrate the goddess' disguise, Hektor is now incapable of even that perception except by default.

The effects of their weakness are portrayed at the end of 22 in a passage (A_2) that is memorable not only for the human sympathy evident in each detail chosen to record the drama, but also for the extraordinary poetic economy and density with which it frames the book.[18] There are no similes here, only concrete realities or visions of realities to come.

Lines 405b–11 survey the reactions first of Hektor's mother on seeing her son's corpse dragged in the dust, then of Priam and the people of Troy. The poet presents at greater length the lamentations of Priam (a) and Hekabe (b) in the order in which their supplications appeared in A_1, followed now by the reaction of Hektor's wife (c). Priam's earlier appeal for pity from Hektor (*eleeson*, 59) is echoed in his impulse to seek Achilleus' pity for his old age (*eleeisei*, 419) and in the emphasis on the number of Priam's sons Achilleus has slain (423, cf. 44f). The theme of ransom in 49f is not verbalized in the subsequent lament, though the motif of Priam's supplication looks forward to his journey to ransom Hektor in Book 24. Hekabe's initial plea for Hektor's pity (82ff) was couched in terms of their relationship as mother and son, as she exposed her breasts and appealed to him as her own "dear branch" (*philon thalos*, 87); in A_2 she mourns him not simply as a source of pride to herself but as the bulwark of all the Trojans, who honor him as a god—inadvertently recalling an ambition he had himself voiced in an earlier access of vainglory (8.538ff; cf. 13.825ff).

The final element (A_2c), beginning with the ironic domestic scene at 437bff and concluding with Andromache's public lament (477–514), presents the most poignant victim of Hektor's earlier misjudgment (A_1c). Instead of the alternate routes to safety reviewed by Hektor as he took his stand outside the gates (a motif reflected at 439), Andromache will have no choices; only suffering remains. Her arrival at the wall unifies this section by repeating the motifs of Hektor's dragging, the discarding of a veil, and lamentation found in 405–11; but her speech of 477ff—in which her mourning for Hektor surrounds a vision (in the event optimistic) of the future awaiting their son—restates themes and images that unify the episode, the section, and the book.[19] We have mentioned the motif of fire, which first appears in A_2 in the analogy of a burning city (410f) and is answered in the fire for Hektor's bathwater (443) and in the fire of the memorial pyre of 512, in which Andromache will burn as *kleos* for Hektor (514) the lovely garments woven by the hands of women (510f), echoing her own weaving of 441 and thus forming a double ring for (c). In the first part of her divided lamentation for Hektor (447–84a), Andromache reiterates the motif of the journey to Hades (482) found in 52 and 389; in the balancing element (508–14), the snake of 92ff is recalled in the image of writhing worms feeding on what dogs have left of the naked corpse (509f, cf. 124), evoking a persistent motif of the dishonored dead found in A_1 in the pleas of Priam (42, of Achilleus; 74ff, of himself) and Hekabe (89, of Hektor) and in B_2 in the interchange between Hektor and Achilleus at 335f, 339f, and 353f. The poet will now extend the motif to a thematic importance that transcends the abuse of a hero's corpse to offer a new perspective on the meaning of death and thus of life itself.

(xxiii) *Funeral Games for Patroklos*

Book 23 treats the funeral for Patroklos in three phases: The first is devoted to the preparations (1–162), the second to the funeral itself (163–257a), the last to the games, the conventional aftermath of the ceremony proper (257b–897).[1] In Book 24.1–22 the games are disbanded, the men return to the ships, and Achilleus withdraws into sleepless mourning. At dawn he begins his remorseless dragging of Hektor's corpse around the pyre, before a new turn of events is inaugurated with the gods' concern for Hektor's body (23ff) and their debate on the question of ransom (from 31). As in previous cases in which a narrative sequence is allowed to overlap from one book into another (Books 2, 6, 11, 18), explanation is to be sought in the structure of the one book and in the function of the separated element(s) within the next. In the case of 23, central emphasis

CHART 4.6

Book 23

a_1 1ff: While Trojans mourn, Greeks return to ships (3: *hoi men ar' eskidnanto heen epi nea hekastos*)

b_1 4ff: Achilleus urges Myrmidonians to mourn Patroklos
13ff: Grieving procession thrice around body
17ff: Achilleus leads lament, speaks to Patroklos, promises to feed corpse of Hektor to dogs and sacrifice 12 Trojans
24ff: Achilleus lays out Hektor's body in dust beside Patroklos' bier

c_1 26bff: Myrmidonians disarm, share funeral feast
35ff: Brought by kings to Agamemnon's hut, Achilleus refuses to wash, asks Agamemnon to have timber for pyre gathered at Dawn (49f: *eothen d' otrunon, anax andron Agamemnon/ hylen t' axemenai*); leaders feast and retire
59ff: Achilleus sleeps near Myrmidonians
65ff: Patroklos' *eidolon* on burial with Achilleus; vanishes like smoke S
93ff: Achilleus wakes, communicates surprise at survival of soul and image; Myrmidonians grieve
109ff: Agamemnon directs woodgathering at dawn (109ff: *phane rhododaktylos Eos . . . atar kreion Agamemnon/ oureas t'otryne kai aneras axemen hylen*, cf. 49f)
127ff: Myrmidonians arm, form funeral cortège to tomb (ring: *aspeton hylen*, 127/139, *neeon hylen*)

A_1 *Preparations for burning*

d_1 140ff: Achilleus offers to Patroklos lock of hair dedicated to River Spercheios

a_2 154ff: Achilleus urges Agamemnon to disperse men, they withdraw (162: *autika laon men skedasen kata neas eisas*)

b_2 163ff: Pyre built, sacrifice of 12 Trojans; Achilleus' farewell (179f=19f), promise to feed Hektor's corpse to dogs

c_2 184bff: Hektor's corpse protected and preserved by Aphrodite and Apollo
192ff: Patroklos' pyre will not burn; Achilleus' prayer to winds (193=140)
198bff: Iris visits winds
214ff: Winds inflame pyre, it burns nightlong, Achilleus mourns like a father his dead son (222f); at dawn winds withdraw, Achilleus sleeps S
233ff: Achilleus awakens, directs Agamemnon and rest to quench fire, gather bones that he will preserve until his death

B *Funeral*

d_2 250ff: Men gather bones, build tomb, turn to leave (250=237)

257bff: Achilleus directs assembly for games, prizes set forth, will not compete

(1) 262ff: Chariot race, won by Diomedes; Eumelos, last, shares (as *aristos*, 536) second place with Antilochos, who yields to persuasion; Nestor given a prize of esteem (see Chart 4.7)

(2) 653ff: Boxing, Epeios wins (Euryalos thrown like fish jumping from wind-rippled water, 692ff) S

(3) 700ff: Wrestling (Odysseus' lock like rafters of lofty home, 712ff); Achilleus intervenes to prevent injury, prizes shared S

(4) 740ff: Footrace; Odysseus wins with Athena's aid; Antilochos last, gets extra prize for tactful speech (Odysseus close as weaver's thread, 760–63) S

(5) 798ff: Close combat: Aias and Diomedes prevented from mutual injury, split prize, extra sword for Diomedes

(6) 826ff: Pig-iron throw: prize to Polypoites (cast as far as ox-herd's stick, 845f) S

(7) 850ff: Archery: Teukros prevented by Apollo, prize to Idomeneus' companion Meriones

(8) 884–97: Spear-throwing: no contest; despite Agamemnon's superiority (*aristos*, 891), Meriones gets first prize, Agamemnon second

A_2 *Aftermath of burning*

on the climactic burning of the pyre would be natural enough, except that no winds blow and the pyre will not light (192ff) until the difficulty is resolved by Iris, while the rest of the gods, with perfect unconcern for Achilleus' plight, are enjoying the Aithiopians' festival. Responding on her own initiative to Achilleus' prayer (198bff),[2] Iris interrupts Boreas and Zephyr—engaged in a dinner party of their own—to draw them away for the briefest of house calls, so to speak, in the leisure hours of busy professionals. Sad indignity for the consummation of Achilleus' last and highest duty in honoring his dead companion.[3]

This oddity of emphasis gains point when we consider the function of the surrounding sections A_1 and A_2. The first of these is framed externally by the motif of dispersal of the men to the ships at 3 and 162, with an internal ring at 49f and 109ff, on arrangements for bringing in firewood for the pyre at dawn, together enclosing the appearance of the shade of Patroklos to the exhausted and now sleeping Achilleus. The ostensible purpose of this visit is to persuade Achilleus to proceed with the funeral rites so that Patroklos' shade may pass through the gates of Hades. Patroklos urges further that his ashes be preserved for burial along with those of Achilleus, who will himself soon die. Achilleus registers some surprise that Patroklos should need to make these requests when he is already seeing to all such matters. Achilleus' consternation is even greater when he tries to embrace Patroklos and finds that he has no substance: "Alas, so one [or 'something,' reading the variant *ti* for *tis*] *does* exist in the house of Hades—a soul and an image (*psyche kai eidolon*, 104), but altogether lacking *phrenes*."[4]

At this point difficulties crowd in. What does *phrenes* mean in this context?[5] Does *e hra* in 103 introduce a question or an exclamation?[6] Does *atar* in 104 indicate a positive or negative utterance?[7] Indeed, the character of the dream itself has been variously described as a reflection of Achilleus' longing[8] or guilt,[9] or as evidence merely for the belief that the dead are no longer aware of events in the world they have left behind.[10] Its function has been described even more divergently: The dream is a dramatic device to emphasize the importance of Patroklos' funeral[11] or serves a didactic purpose to establish or confirm a particular view of the afterlife[12] or is the means of inspiring in Achilleus so profound a sense of sorrow and futility that he is moved to rejoin the society of his fellow warriors in the funeral games with a new resignation, seeking to create order where he has been the personification of disarray.[13]

As to the last, there is no evidence that Achilleus suffers a painful disenchantment of some cherished expectation about the afterlife. He has expressed no such hope, whether in defiance (18.115–21) or in grief (18.334ff). There is sorrow, of course, in his inability to hold Patroklos with him and in the mournful reaction of the Greeks (108), who as before

simply follow Achilleus' lead (cf. 18.314bff, 19.338bf). But his reaction seems to express wonderment also, as at a revelation or a confirmation of a possibility hitherto uncertain. Whether 103f is a simple denial of physical substance to the dead or, more positively, an affirmation of the survival of individual awareness,[14] it is clear in either case that even in death there is a continuity of personality, separated from the physical body of the material world. Thus, the seed at least of a larger eschatalogical perspective has been planted in Achilleus, from which his comrades seem to be excluded.[15] There is nothing here of the comforting fantasy of transportation after death to the Isles of the Blessed or the Elysian plain, as in the *Aithiopis* and the *Odyssey* ;[16] nor, on the other hand, is there an explicit threat of postmortem punishment for transgression. But his vision does serve, in a very specific way, to indicate to Achilleus that the surface appearance of living beings can no longer be regarded as their sole index of reality; and it forces questions of human conduct and value out of the negative realm of Achilleus' longed-for death into his experience of life. Not at first: In his sacrifice of a lock of hair to Spercheios (144–51), he is still attempting to share in Patroklos' death.[17] In his slaughter of animals and Trojan captives, there is no hint that they serve either as propitiation or as furnishing for Patroklos' afterlife. Nor does his understanding of Hektor's deed show any alteration, for in his promise to continue abusing Hektor's corpse (181ff) Achilleus is still the violent and, in view of Patroklos' simpler requirement, excessive avenger.[18] Indeed, he will remain so privately until the next book, despite his concession to Agamemnon (157) that there has been enough of public lamentation. In his conduct of the funeral games (A_2), however, Achilleus does betray a change.

Where they are accepted as integral to the poem, the games are generally viewed as a demonstration of Achilleus' reconciliation with and reabsorption into the system from which he has been alienated by Agamemnon's seizure of Briseis.[19] It is worth asking whether there is evidence—verbalized, dramatized, or implicit in the narrative form—that Achilleus does in fact now accept Agamemnon's world and its values; or if not, whether his behavior is based on some other standard that can be related to the dream-vision of Patroklos and to the discourse of the poem as we have been tracing it.

Formally the games consist of eight contests, one of which, the chariot race (262–652), occupies nearly half the entire book and is only slightly shorter than the briefest of the single books in the poem (19, with 424 lines).[20] Most of the seven shorter segments share with it a basic pattern in which the prizes for each contest are listed (consistent throughout), Achilleus stands to challenge the men (the formula *ste d' orthos kai mython en Argeioisin eeipen*, found at 271, 657, 706, 752, 801, and 830, is lacking in the two last events), the contestants rise (beginning with *orto*

or *ornuto* at 287, 664, 708, 754, 811, 836, 859; at 886 *anestan*), and the prizes are awarded or taken, with or without a speech of presentation (lacking in the boxing, close-combat, weight-throw, and archery contests). The most elaborate and the least elaborate contests frame the entire sequence and share the element of awarding prizes to nonparticipants (to Nestor in the one, to Agamemnon and Meriones in the other).

As a formal appendage to and continuation of the previous narrative of Book 23, the games are clearly meant to balance the *Catalogue* of Book 2, where they have been anticipated by the scene of Achilleus' men diverting themselves with discus and spear throwing and archery (2.774ff; of these, discus throwing appears in the funeral games only in the simile at 431f [cf. 523] in the first contest; the others constitute the last two events). In Book 2, following Agamemnon's nocturnal vision of the false *eidolon* of Nestor and his ensuing compound acts of deception (according, as he claims, to *themis*), the poet presented a picture of the heroic world ready to plunge into the disorder of war in the service of an illusion.[21] Here, preceded by Achilleus' mourning (according to his concept of *themis*, 44) and by his nighttime vision of a 'true' *eidolon* urging not warfare but the completion of a rite to put a wandering soul to rest, we have a final overview of the Greek leadership in a setting of athleticism—in Greek life as elsewhere the peacetime analogue to military combat. Agamemnon, earlier active in preparing for bloodshed, is now reduced to the status of non-contestant; Achilleus, for long isolated in an attempt to prove his worth by inaction, now takes a presiding if noncompetitive role in a peaceful celebration, controlling unsettling elements of strife with moderation and tact, before encountering the enemy in a context very different from the struggle over Helen. The polarity between the two heroes, reflected in their position at the beginning and the end of the *Catalogue* of Book 2, is repeated here in reverse, with Achilleus taking the lead and Agamemnon appearing briefly at the conclusion. Achilleus' activity, although constant throughout, is no longer motivated by the need to prove himself in the eyes of his fellows. His own horses being divine, he refuses explicitly to participate for prizes that publicly and visibly establish worth on ordinary terms and proposes instead to give away spoils that he has previously taken for this very end (279ff). This is his first step in an important reversal of the values of heroic culture.

A second step is found in the narrative of the chariot race (see Chart 4.7). The frame for this elaborate structure is composed of elements (a_1, a_2) containing speeches of Nestor enclosed by actions of Achilleus. There is superb irony in the balance between Nestor's lengthy instructions on racing (306ff) for the benefit of Antilochos—who will prove ready to cope in his own way—and his confession that even in his heyday at the Epeian games he won every event but the chariot race (634ff). As in the

CHART 4.7

Structure of the Chariot Race

257bff: Achilleus assembles troops for funeral games, sets out prizes

a_1
- 262ff: Achilleus displays prizes for chariot race, will not compete to prove his own superiority but will remain with sorrowing horses
  - 287bff: contestants: Eumelos, Diomedes with Aineias' horses, Menelaos with mare Aithe and Podargos, Antilochos (301: *Antilochos de tetartos eutrichas hoplisath' hippous*)
  - 304bff: Nestor's advice to Antilochos (turn post at ancient tomb or marker, 327ff)
  - 351ff: Meriones 5th contestant (351: *Meriones d' ara pemptos eutrichas hoplisath' hippous*)
- 352ff: Lots taken, Achilleus sends Phoinix to turn post

b_1
- 362ff: start, return from turn post, Eumelos followed by Diomedes (dust rises like cloud or whirlwind, 365f) S
- 382ff: Apollo vs Diomedes, who loses whip
- 388ff: Athena wrecks Eumelos' chariot
- 398ff: Diomedes passes Menelaos and Antilochos

c_1
- 402ff: Antilochos to horses re: Diomedes' *kydos* from Athena, need to surpass Menelaos' mare, threat (402: *hippoisin ekekleto* . . . . 417f, *hos ephath', hoi de anaktos* etc. 417f)
  - 420ff: Menelaos warns Antilochos, attempting to pass where road has washed away
  - 429bff: Antilochos disregards him (431ff: discus simile) S
  - 433bff: Menelaos, slowing, curses Antilochos' foolishness
- 442ff: Menelaos to horses re: Antilochos' team (442: *hippoisin ekekleto* . . . . 446: *hos ephath', hoi de anaktos*, etc.)

d
- 448ff: Quarrel between Idomeneus and Aias (448f: *Argeioi d' en agoni kathemenoi eisoroonto/ hippous*)
  - 456ff: Idomeneus discerns Diomedes
  - 473ff: Aias' rebuke
  - 482ff: Idomeneus retorts, proposes wager
- 490ff: Achilleus intervenes (495f: *all' hymeis en agoni kathemenoi eisoraasthe/ hippous*)

b_2
- 499bff: Diomedes wins, Sthenelos takes prizes
- 514ff: Antilochos arrives, followed by Menelaos (523: discus metaphor, cf. 431)
- 528ff: Meriones arrives, then Eumelos
- 534ff: Achilleus awards Eumelos prize as *aristos* (536)
- 538ff: Achilleus agrees to Diomedes' prize
- 540ff: Antilochos insists on mare
- 555bff: Achilleus agrees, will give Eumelos Asteropaios' corselet

c_2
- 566ff: Menelaos with staff (568) rebukes Antilochos, proposes oath
- 586ff: Antilochos apologizes for transgression (589)
- 597bff: Menelaos placated, gift of mare to Antilochos (simile of dew on corn, 598ff) S

a_2
- 614ff: Achilleus gives Meriones 4th-prize gold, Nestor the 5th-place jar
- 624bff: Nestor's speech on victories at Epeian funeral games, failure to win chariot race
- 651bff: Achilleus returns to troops assembled

account of his difficulties with horses in Book 8, we have again a Nestor of many words but few deeds, whose contribution to the present remains in doubt, as it was in his validation of Agamemnon's dream in Book 2.[22] Achilleus, by contrast, is sparing if eloquent in words and economical but effective in deeds. His award of an honorary fifth-place prize to Nestor (618f), as non-contestant, is valedictory: This is the last we see of him.[23]

The race itself outlines a paradigm of a new and very different system of values. At first (b_1, 362ff) the atmosphere is ostensibly conventional. As in battle scenes, gods intervene on behalf of Eumelos and Diomedes, and the simile describing the dust stirred by the horses' hooves (365f) recalls the dust raised by the advancing armies at the conclusion of the *Catalogue* (3.13f). Apollo's intervention seems gratuitous, given the excellence of Eumelos' team (bred by Apollo himself, as we were told in the final element of the *Catalogue* [2.763–67]), and it has the negative effect of rousing Athena to the aid of her protégé. But the motif of Athena's fondness for Diomedes and his use of the horses captured from Aineias (291f) recall Book 5, where we also saw Apollo's rescue of Aineias and the god's hostility to Diomedes' excess. Perhaps from continuing resentment, Apollo intervenes again here. Characteristically he does so with a gesture, not a fight, and is unsuccessful in the face of Athena's resistance.[24] Something of Apollo's view of Diomedes is echoed by Achilleus in the answering segment (b_2, 499ff),[25] where the atmosphere is very different indeed: In a striking departure from tradition, Achilleus is scarcely interested in Diomedes' win and far more concerned with awarding a prize to Eumelos because he is "the best man" (*[h]oristos*, 536) despite his last-place finish. In conventional heroic usage, failure of performance is viewed as a sign of genuine inferiority. Is Achilleus making an unprecedented claim of the priority of characteristic ability—and in some sense of inner worth, independent of external performance—or merely indulging in "a polite distortion of the truth in order to comfort the hero for his bad luck,"[26] rather as Nestor had advised the contending parties in Book 1 to give up their competing claims, without any attempt to discriminate the terms of the dispute? For the moment, Achilleus accedes to Antilochos' contentious demand for the second-prize mare (553f, perhaps echoing Antilochos' preoccupation with Menelaos' borrowed mare Aithe of b_1 at 408ff) and agreeably substitutes for Eumelos the corselet he had stripped from Asteropaios, a reminder of the fury of a quite different Achilleus in Book 21.[27]

The sequence c_1 (402ff) and c_2 (566ff) offers a parallel among the other Greeks to Achilleus' unconventional behavior. The poet anticipates the basis for this conciliatory mood at 305, where Nestor gives wise advice to an Antilochos "that himself lacked not wit" (Leaf), or *noos*. But in c_1 Antilochos' demonstration of his *noos* (cf. 415f: "these things I shall myself contrive and understand [*noeso*], to pass in the narrow place, nor will it escape me") involves mere perception and cunning; he survives not through his own resource but at the expense of Menelaos' reasonable decency in yielding the way (at 434).[28] In c_2 Antilochos acknowledges his rash and opportunistic sportsmanship with an apology for the transgressions (*hyperbasiai*, 589) caused by the youthful instability of his *noos*

(590: "You know how transgressions rise in a young man: His *noos* is more rapid [*kraipnoteros*], but his judgment [*metis*] light [*lepte*]"). His language pointedly echoes Diomedes' request for Odysseus' help in the *Doloneia* (10.224–26): "If two go together, one perceives (*enoesen*) before the other where advantage lies; but if alone, even if he is perceptive (*noesei*), his *noos* is slower and his *metis* weak (*lepte*)." But Menelaos, wielding the speaker's staff as an instrument of exposing truth rather than of enforcing deception, as Agamemnon had done in Book 2, forgoes arbitration of the relative merits of their conflicting claims; instead, he accepts the apology, refining on Antilochos' terminology with an uncharacteristic quibble to claim rather that Antilochos' youth (*neoie*) has overcome his intelligence (*noos*, 604), and gives Antilochos the mare that is properly his own. It is apparent that for Menelaos, *noos* is not mere perception or cleverness but embraces an element of judgment along with the intelligence; and judgment, rather than opportunism, is implicit in his generosity to Antilochos.[29]

The contrast between the paradigmatic resolution here and Menelaos' conflict with the transgressions of another rash youth preoccupied with *kydos* needs no comment. Equally, the scene represents a significant reversal of the situation in Book 1 between Achilleus and Menelaos' brother: While that conflict led eventually to apologies based on an externalizing concept of *ate*, here the terms of responsibility are both internalized and intellectualized.[30] There is, finally, an implicit comparison, in the juxtaposition of segments devoted to the two young men, between the way in which an excessive Antilochos is here reconciled with his older adversary and Book 10, where the excesses of Diomedes were curtailed by the constraints of mere utility argued by Odysseus. The resolution here in an atmosphere of *philotes* looks forward to an even more important reconciliation—that of 24—not backward to the opportunism of 10.

The heart of the narrative (d) provides a formal pivot for the interlocking elements surrounding it and establishes a model for this resolution and those to come. In view of Nestor's lengthy instructions to Antilochos and his circumstantial description of Achilleus' marker (*terma*) as either a tombstone (*sema*) of a man long dead or the turning-post (*nyssa*) of earlier men (331–33), one might expect an episode at this point to occupy a position of formal or thematic importance in the race. Indeed, Achilleus has dispatched Phoenix to the marker as an umpire (359ff) to ensure fair play. But Antilochos delays his passing maneuver until the home stretch (cf. 373);[31] of the turn we hear no more until the incidental reference in 462. The structural center of the narrative is preempted (perhaps actually displacing the episode at the turn we have been led to expect) by a sudden shift of scene to a quarrel between Idomeneus and Aias on terms similar to Menelaos' view of the corruption of Antilochos' *noos*. Here the question revolves around perception versus preconception, played out be-

tween two representative heroes, again of contrasting ages. Idomeneus excitedly attempts to base an impression of the winning chariot on uncertain appearances,[32] while Aias retorts that Idomeneus is not the youngest man present, his eyes are not the best, and there are in any case others present better qualified than he (*ameinones*, 479); he insists that the horses that set out first must be returning first. Idomeneus retorts with insulting abuse of Aias' "stubborn mind" (*noos apenes*, 484; cf. Aias' insistence at 15.509f that there is no better *noos* or *metis* than fighting). The two begin to make a wager, like spectators everywhere caught up in the atmosphere of competition, when Achilleus intervenes, rebuking the impropriety of their brawling; he admonishes them not to indulge in behavior they would reject in others and to wait for the solid evidence of victory. This insistence on fact, rather than speculative conjecture or the authority or prowess of the speaker, marks a striking departure from the deceptions of Book 2 (and the violent ejection of Thersites) and proposes truth rather than illusion, understanding rather than conventional expectation, as the proper basis for action—on the battlefield, we may infer, as on the playing field. Achilleus' words are not freighted with the solemnity of a Great Commandment, nor do they have the lapidary rigor of a Solon or a Pittacus; but they imply a rational moderation alien to the heroic system, which at its best in Nestor's plea for compromise in Book 1 depends on accepting contradiction.[33] As a scene in the world of ordinary activity balanced against the appearance of Patroklos' *eidolon*, this incident is a turning point not merely in the narrative of the horse race but in the development of values in the poem; and it serves as a living sign and marker for the death not only of Patroklos but of the heroic past as well.

Achilleus' management of the remaining contests shows at points of symmetry within them a break with an exact correlation between achievement and reward similar to that in the first event. In the brief boxing and weight-throw (contests 2 and 6), the procedures are traditional, related by the presence of Epeios (as winner in the one and pointedly embarrassed loser in the other [cf. 840]) and by pastoral similes involving leaping fish and the tossing of a herdsman's stick. But in 3 and 5, the contests are discontinued to prevent injury to Aias, and the prizes are shared (with Diomedes, in the close combat of 5, receiving the sword which, at least on the stated terms, he does not deserve—perhaps echoing his encounter with Glaukos). Contest 4 occupies a position of centrality in the symmetry thus established among its surroundings; and here, as in the first event, Achilleus' fury of Book 21 is evoked by the first prize offered (746f): the silver krater used by Euenos to ransom Lykaon from Patroklos, whose role in the story (omitted in Book 21) adds to the negative side of Patroklos already indicated in the revelation of his childhood manslaughter (in A_1 at 86ff).[34] Athena again intervenes to ensure the victory of a favorite, here of Odysseus against the lesser Aias, who like-

wise reappears from contest 1 and gets an undignified comeuppance by slipping in dung.[35] Once more Achilleus is concerned less with the first-prize winner than with granting an award to the last-place contestant: to Antilochos for his disarming acknowledgment of defeat. In the archery contest (7), Apollo intervenes as in 1—this time not in an effort to ensure victory to a favorite, but to assert the importance of the gods' good will in human endeavor: Thus, Meriones gains the prize for his pious vow.[36]

Contest 8 comes as something of a structural afterthought, and the pattern of the previous games collapses: The event is not specified at the outset, Achilleus offers no challenge, distributes prizes without competition, and his final speech is concluded with a brief ring for the award but not for the games as a whole. Despite Agamemnon's alleged superiority (*aristos*, 891), Achilleus again grants Meriones a first prize, once more imposing a dichotomy between performance and reward—and echoing a preference of Apollo. In the first contest, Antilochos was forced to share second prize with Eumelos, the "best" but last; in a reversal here the "best man," without proving himself, is asked to content himself with that knowledge rather than the external sign of status, and to summmon the generosity to allow these tokens to pass to another. This is no mere repetition of the galling circumstance that Agamemnon had forced on Achilleus in Book 1: Achilleus is offering to Agamemnon the course of restraint that he has demonstrated in his own decision not to participate in the games. But in so doing, he indicates a world of value in which Agamemnon and all he has represented simply cannot compete. As in the last-place prize for Nestor at the end of the chariot-race, so at the end of the games in the lesser award to Agamemnon we have a valediction, and this is the last we see of him as well.[37]

Taken together, the appearance of Patroklos and the conduct of the funeral games are not simply the cause and effect of Achilleus' resigned retreat into the world of convention: They demonstrate rather the basis and the application, however rudimentary, of a very different view. The anthropological distinction at issue here, couched in terms of a contrast between "guilt" and "shame" cultures, is perhaps overprecise given the human talent for evading classification at any period.[38] But it seems reasonable to maintain that the poet—whether with the prophetic vision of a pioneer or the reflective hindsight of the historicist—has dramatized as a single event the point at which the shared assumptions of the group are drawn into confrontation with an independent world of transcendent value, in which inner being rather than external seeming emerges as the more lasting gauge of character. In the area of human psychology the avoidance of shame, as a dominant and negative motive for determining action, yields to the equally negative avoidance of guilt in the realm of the

spirit, which entails divine retribution in this world or the next. The unseen forces that invade the material world as punitive agencies—represented by the Erinyes—are in archaic poetry and philosophy eventually rationalized in more abstract form as the operations of physical and moral laws. In the *Iliad* as we have it, the idea of punishment for transgression has already appeared in, for example, the special pleading of the Greek embassy to gain Achilleus' support. One might therefore expect to find, within the immediate context, some indication of a purely moral imperative between man and god, between Achilleus and Zeus, viewed in either a positive or negative way, that might be related to this new relationship rather than to the old, based primarily on the sacrificial contract emphasized by Poseidon at 7.446ff and by Apollo in the course of the games themselves. The evidence may lie in the structural question we raised at the outset.

The disbanding of the games, Achilleus' solitary mourning, and his disconsolate dragging of Hektor around the pyre would offer appropriate formal closure with elements echoing the interlocking structure of 1–257a, balancing the initial motifs of dispersal of Greeks ($a_{1,2}$), Myrmidonians mourning for Patroklos and Achilleus' threat against Hektor ($b_{1,2}$), preparation of the pyre (c), and completion of rites at the tomb ($d_{1,2}$). In this sequence, the games would be the centerpiece. But Achilleus' resumption of mourning is delayed until Book 24, where it serves a structural function independent of 23, as we shall see. The resulting central emphasis in 23 falls not on the games, which now serve as a balance to Achilleus' dream-vision, but on the protection of Hektor's corpse and the firing of the pyre (B), under circumstances that remain to be explained.

In 163–84a, following the completion of the pyre, Achilleus repeats his farewell to Patroklos at 19f, carries out his promise to sacrifice the twelve Trojan youths, and again threatens to feed Hektor's corpse to dogs. So far we have not the slightest indication that Achilleus' ability to resolve the conflict between pity and vengeance extends beyond the closed Greek community of interest; and it is only by the interference of Aphrodite and Apollo that Hektor's body is protected from harm. "Nor did the pyre of the dead Patroklos catch fire" (192). The implication is that some divine constraint is involved here too; and at 193 Achilleus, again remembering a ritual omission (cf. 140f), tries to remedy the problem by praying to Boreas and Zephyr. But the winds, like the Olympians, are at dinner, and it is only through Iris' interruption of one festivity enroute to another that the difficulty is resolved. That is, the completion of Patroklos' burial rites is contrary to or at least inessential to the larger divine order and is made possible only by hurried concession from minor deities. Once again divine preoccupation is associated with successful perpetration of an other-

wise intolerable human affront, as in Book 1, where Aithiopian sacrifices first appeared (compare also Zeus' inattention at the beginning of 13 and again in 14). The device is abandoned by the beginning of Book 24, where the gods have returned to Olympos; but its function here to suggest anomaly is clear. Clear also is the anticipatory implication of the simile of 222f, comparing Achilleus' grief to that of a father bereft of his newly married son.[39] But Hektor and his father are forgotten as Achilleus falls asleep as the night wanes—until he is visited by an officious Agamemnon with entourage, intruding on the most exquisite (and problematical) description of dawn in the poem (226f) and reawakened, like someone ill or crossed in love, to the reality of Patroklos' fate and his own. Although the book ends with a hopeful sign, confirming Achilleus' ability to deal in a new way in familiar surroundings, the structural focus of 23 emphasizes indirectly the greater question of Achilleus' capacity, yet to be tested, to move beyond ideological and emotional parochialism toward a more embracing view. We wait to see whether Achilleus' new understanding of Patroklos' death will lead to a new understanding of Hektor's death and his own. The poet opens the final book with precisely this issue, first on the human stage, then on the divine.

(xxiv) *Ransom of Hektor*
The Structure of Books 18–24

The retrospective opening lines of Book 23 stood in isolation from what followed, related to it by thematic emphasis rather than by formal connection. In contrast, the beginning of 24 reiterates the issue of Achilleus' inability to put his hatred for Hektor to rest as he has his anger with Agamemnon, and provides also the initial element of the structural frame of the new book (1–21), in which this picture of Achilleus' solitary grief for Patroklos will be balanced by the common mourning and burial of Hektor in A_2 (697b–804).[1] The two sections are further connected by the feasting of Greeks at the beginning (2) and of the Trojans at the end (802); by the protection of Hektor's remains, first by the deflection of the sun's rays by Apollo with his golden aegis (20f),[2] then by the golden *larnax* of 795; and by the paradox of Apollo's role, initially as Hektor's advocate, ultimately—in the inadvertent truth of Hekabe's comparison of Hektor to someone slain by the gentle darts of Apollo (758f)—as his killer. For it was Apollo who abandoned Hektor to die according to Zeus' plan; and the poet does not allow us to forget that, conceivably, but for Apollo's anger over Agamemnon's disdain for Chryses' appeal and his retaliatory arrows of plague, matters might now be very different.[3]

Within this frame, Zeus' resolution of the gods' debate over the disposition of Hektor's corpse by proposing that Achilleus himself should release it (B_1, 22–142) is completed in B_2 (349–697a) by the actual return of the body to Priam. The controversy in B_1 turns on the conflict between pity and status. In the tradition of the heroic world, as we have seen, the tangible and thus "real" signs of *kydos* and *time* are for the athlete the prizes of victory, for the warrior the spoils stripped from a victim or the ransom for his exchange. Achilleus, unable to rest after disbanding the games, unable to satisfy his reflex to dishonor Hektor's corpse by dragging it repeatedly around Patroklos' tomb or casting it face-down in the dust (14–18), does more than transgress convention: The vehemence of his emotions have led him—as Apollo charges, reiterating his earlier complaint—to destroy pity (24.44; cf. 22.11f).[4] Speaking before the Olympian assembly, Apollo is reflecting, more immediately, the consternation at the beginning of the section of other gods, who in pity (*eleaireskon*, 23) have gone so far as to urge Hermes to steal the corpse.[5] Hera, on the other hand, speaking out of the abiding hatred for Troy she shares with Athena and Poseidon,[6] and consistent with her position as defender of the appearances associated with rank and its privileges, fears that giving up the body will diminish Achilleus' *time* and compromise his status as the son of a goddess whom she now, for the first time, claims to have raised as her own daughter.[7] Her interest in preserving the cosmic social hierarchy is emphasized by her rebuke of Apollo for, in effect, betraying his class: With exquisite triviality she reminds him that he was, after all, a member of the wedding party at Thetis' marriage (62f, an occasion recalled to far different effect by Achilleus in B_2, 537). Hera is thus cast as Achilleus' advocate, in constrast to her role at the outset as his opponent.

In his divided response (64–76, 102–19), Zeus accepts the distinction between the *time* appropriate to men and to demigods; but he makes it clear that for him the claims of pity and honor are not mutually exclusive. The solution lies not in the trickery of a divine theft: Hermes will assist in a different way. Hektor will be honored in recognition of his faithful sacrifices to the gods, and to Achilleus also Zeus will attach *kydos* (110). The source of this *kydos* is to be rather more complex than the usual distinction gained by a killing or the acceptance of ransom. The body will not simply be stolen. Achilleus will be put in the position of being informed of Zeus' displeasure and offered, in terms of studied courtesy, an opportunity for allaying it: "Tell him that the gods are angry, and I most of all. . . . in the hope that he might show reverence for me and release Hektor" (113f, 116); moreover, Priam himself will come to ransom the body, bringing gifts to soften Achilleus' anger (118). But the emphasis is

CHART 4.8

Book 24

A_1 *Burial of Patroklos*

1ff: Games disbanded, men return to ships for dinner and sleep
3bff: Achilleus mourns Patroklos alone (ring: *klaie . . . memnemenos,* 4/9, *mimneskomenos . . . eiben*)
12bff: At dawn, Achilleus drags Hektor around pyre, Apollo in pity (*eleairon,* 19) protects corpse with golden aegis

B_1 *Gods debate ransom of Hektor*

22ff: While other gods in pity (*eleaireskon,* 23) urge Hermes to steal Hektor's body, Hera, Poseidon, and Athena nurse grudge vs Troy
31ff: In divine assembly on 12th day after Hektor's death, Apollo urges respect for dead, rebukes Achilleus for destroying pity (*eleon men apolesen,* 44; Achilleus like lion, 41ff) S
55ff: Hera distinguishes mortals from demigods; Achilleus deserves honor due son of goddess whom she nourished
64ff: Zeus insists gods love both; sends Iris for Thetis
77ff: Iris leaves Olympos and plunges into dark sea like weighted fishhook (80ff) S
83bff: Iris finds Thetis mourning for her son
87f: Iris summons Thetis to Zeus
89ff: Thetis agrees
93ff: Putting on black veil (w. *melanteron* of 94, cf. *meilani pontoi,* 79), Thetis follows Iris to Olympos
98f: They find Zeus and happy gods
100: Thetis sits beside Zeus
101f: Hera offers cup of wine, comforts Thetis
103ff: Zeus rejects theft of corpse, sends Thetis to Achilleus to arrange for ransom (107, 9–day quarrel; cf. *eleaireskon,* 23; *otruneskon,* 24)
120bff: Thetis with Achilleus (126ff, cf. 1.360ff): gods angry, Hektor to be ransomed (134–36=113–15)
138ff: Achilleus acquiesces

C *Priam sets out to ransom Hektor*

143ff: Zeus sends Iris to Priam re: ransom, Hermes' aid
159bff: Iris encounters Priam grieving, conveys message (175–87=146–58; 173bf=2.26bf and 63bf; 185–87=156–58; 159=77)
189ff: Priam orders sons to prepare chariot, in storeroom asks Hekabe's advice
200bff: Hekabe's protest and lament (207f: *ou s' eleesei/ oude ti s' aidesetai*; motif of dogs; she would devour Achilleus' liver
217ff: Priam will go, chooses ransom (metaphor of bird of ill-omen, 219; 222=2.81)
237bff: Priam rebukes Trojans (ring: *aithouses apeergen,* 238/247, *isan exo*)
248bff: Rebuking 9 sons, Priam laments Hektor (like a god, 258f) S
265bff: Wagon prepared
281ff: As Priam and Idaios yoke wagon, Hekabe urges libation (prayer for bird of good omen, 292ff, cf. 219)
299ff: Priam agrees (w. *eleesei,* 301, cf. 207f); libation, prayer; omen (simile of rich man's door, 317ff) S
322ff: Priam and Idaios mount, depart; family follows lamenting to plain
329ff: Zeus sends Hermes to Priam
339bff: Hermes departs and arrives on earth as youth

CHART 4.8 (*cont.*)

B_2
Priam with Achilleus; ransom of Hektor

- 349ff: As darkness falls, Priam and Idaios encounter Hermes by river past tomb of Ilos; their interchange; Hermes accompanies Priam to Achilleus' shelter, then departs (see Chart 4.9)
  - 469bff: Priam descends, leaving Idaios with wagon; enters hut, grasps Achilleus' knees and kisses his hands (cf. 506); simile of *ate*, 480ff; urges godlike Achilleus to remember his own father, more fortunate than he (forming ring at 486 and 490/504); they weep — S
    - 513ff: In pity (*oikteiron*, 516) for Priam, Achilleus urges him to sit, speaks of two urns of Zeus, their respective fates (ring: admonition on futility of grieving, 522ff/549ff)
      - 552ff: Priam refuses, urges return of Hektor, acceptance of ransom
        - 559ff: Achilleus will return Hektor on his own (ring: *Diothen*, 561/570, *Dios*)
          - 572ff: Achilleus leaves hut like lion (572, cf. 41ff), with Automedon and Alkimedon unloads ransom; body prepared, lifted onto cart — S
            - Comment to Patroklos, promising share of ransom
            - Achilleus returns to hut (*es klisien palin eie*, 596, cf. 572, *alto thyraze*); resumes seat
        - 598bff: Achilleus announces exchange, urges Priam to eat, recalling Niobe
          - 621ff: They eat together (symbolic for Achilleus, who has already eaten, 475f)
      - 628ff: After meal, the two wonder at each other, then Priam asks for place to sleep, for since Hektor's death he has neither slept nor eaten (w. request for bed at 635f cf. refusal of chair at 553)
    - 643ff: Achilleus orders bed for Priam, explains need to sleep in porch, asks how long a truce needed for funeral
  - 659ff: Priam on funeral: 9 days for mourning, to resume fighting on 12th day
    - 668ff: Achilleus' pledge, they sleep (Achilleus now with Briseis)
- 677ff: Hermes arrives to waken Priam, who rouses Idaios; at river (694, cf. 468f) Hermes returns to Olympos, Dawn appears, and Priam and Idaios return to city

A_2
Priam returns with Hektor; Burial

- 697bff: At dawn, Kassandra (like Aphrodite) sees Priam returning with Hektor, laments, rouses people (ring: *andron . . . te gynaikon*, 698/707f, *aner/ oude gyne*) — S
  - 710ff: Andromache, Hekabe, others meet corpse as Priam supervises carrying it into palace
    - 723ff: Andromache's lament (note refrain at end of 723, 747, 761; 746b=722b, cf. 760)
    - 747ff: Hekabe's lament (Hektor like someone Apollo has slain, 758f) — S
    - 761ff: Helen's lament (ring: *philtate*, 762/775, *philos*)
  - 777ff: Priam on funeral; preparations, Hektor carried out to pyre, burned
- 788–804: At dawn of 10th day, pyre extinguished; bones gathered and laid in golden casket, buried; people feast

CHART 4.9

Book 24, lines 349–468:

349ff: At nightfall, Priam and Idaios stop by river past tomb of Ilos so mules and horses may drink
352ff: Idaios sees Hermes, urges this is a matter for resourceful mind (*phradeos nooi*, 354), asks whether they should flee or beg for pity (*eleesei*, 357), grasping his knees (*gounon hapsamenoi*, 357)
358bff: Priam's mind unsettled (*syn . . . noos chyto*, 358) (ring: *stesan*, 350/359f, *estan . . . ste*)

360bff: Hermes approaches and asks their destination, assuring them of safety (ring: *pater*, 362/371, *patri*; 360: Hermes *eriounios*)
372ff: Priam takes Hermes as omen from god (clever in mind, *pepnusai te nooi*, 377; ring: *tekos*, 373/377, *tokeon*)
378ff: Hermes asks where Priam is taking treasure, mentions death of Hektor
386ff: Priam asks Hermes' identity
389f: Hermes reproaches Priam's testing, claims to be Polyktor's son
405ff: Priam asks if Hektor is still by ships or has been thrown to dogs (ring: *Achilleos*, 406/409, *Achilleus*)
410ff: Hermes reassures Priam that in 12 days since Hektor's death, corpse has remained safe in gods' care (w. 413 cf. 31)
424bff: Priam offers cup in exchange for escort (ring: *athanatois*, 426/430, *theoisin*; w. Hektor's gifts to gods in 425, cf. 68ff)
432ff: Hermes again accuses Priam of testing him; will escort him and keep him safe until he reach Argos by ship or foot (cf. 370, and *peira[i] emeio, geraie* at 433, 390)

[Note refrain *ton d' aute proseeipe diaktoros Argeiphontes* at 378, 389, 410, 432; and at 372, 386, 405, *ton d' emeibet' epeita geron Priamos theoeides*, yielding to *gethesen d' ho geron, kai ameibeto mythoi* at 424.]

440ff: Hermes enters chariot, lashes mules and horses, breathing strength into them (Hermes *eriounios*, 440 and 457; cf. 360)
443ff: Hermes puts sentries to sleep as they near encampment, opens gates for Priam with gifts (*oixe pylas . . . aglaa dora*, 446f)
448ff: They reach Achilleus' shelter with great gate that only Achilleus can open alone
457ff: Hermes opens gate for Priam with gifts (*oixe . . . klyta dora*, 457f; cf. 446f)
459ff: Hermes steps down from chariot, identifies himself truly, instructs Priam to appeal to Achilleus, grasping his knees (*labe gounata*, 465, cf. 357), then departs (ring: *pater*, 461/466, *patros*)

placed less on a simple quid pro quo exchange than on a voluntary conformity to the divine will, in circumstances that will provide compensation and at the same time allow to Achilleus himself the decision to release the object of his obsessive anger.[8]

Given the much-abbreviated version of Zeus' speech that Achilleus receives from Thetis (134–37)—who with motherly urgency emphasizes only the element of divine anger and reduces the question of ransom to a curt injunction—it is all the more remarkable that Achilleus secures this *kydos* on terms that not only justify Zeus' gamble but reflect his own view of human life. For in B_2 there is no mere mercenary transaction under divine fiat: In the human encounter between Achilleus and Priam, the

barriers created by hatred and position fade, as both men gain a new understanding of the common dimensions of their shared mortality, in terms of mutual respect and compassion; and Apollo's charge is refuted as Achilleus reveals his capacity for pity (*oikteiron*, 516) in the embrace of his enemy.[9]

The structure of these two episodes is remarkable for the precision with which the central focus is emphasized in each. In B_1 Iris' plunge into the sea is compared to a death-dealing lead-weighted fishhook (80ff), as if she meant to draw Thetis out of her element like some fisherman's prey (a threatening prelude to a conciliatory arrangement with Zeus that will find a parallel at the center of B_2 in Achilleus' sudden departure from his quarters "like a lion" at 572). In the balancing element of ascent (93–97), the motif of darkness found at 79 (*meilas*, unique in form and function here to describe the sea) recurs in 94 to describe Thetis' veil (*kyaneon* and *melanteron*, equally unique for her), emphasizing her mood of mourning and shame. In an interlocking pattern, Iris' "discovery" of Thetis mourning with her sister Nereids (*heure*, 83) is answered by their contrasting discovery of the happy gods surrounding Zeus (*heuron*, 98f).[10]

In B_2 the whole of Priam's journey to visit Thetis' son is allusively and elaborately presented as another kind of descent into darkness (cf. *nykta melainan* of 366), a *katabasis*, or Journey to the Underworld. Nagler, expanding on Whitman's suggestions,[11] notes in this connection Priam's passage through the "ambrosial night" (363; the significance of the epithet is emphasized by the ensuing phrase, "when other mortals [*brotoi*] are sleeping"), under the guidance of Hermes; his function as *psychopompos*, or conductor of souls of the dead to Hades, is not only suggested by Zeus' instructions of 153 (cf. 182f), cited by Nagler, but repeatedly emphasized by the use of Hermes' epithets *diaktoros Argeiphontes* ("Guide, Argos-Slayer") in the refrains at 378, 389, 410, 432 (cf. 339, 445), rather than the alternative *erioumenos* (conventionally "gentle," but perhaps "swift-running"),[12] which is limited to the beginning and the end of the passage (360; 440 and 457), specifically when Hermes approaches and then joins Priam. The elements of night and Hermes, together with the proximity of a tomb (that of Ilos, 349, omitted in the *anabasis* of 692ff) and the crossing of the river (351f, balanced by 692), constitute the "four 'mythic' boundary markers of Hades," and the house of Hades is suggested by the "preternaturally heavy door" to Achilleus' shelter. Indeed, the poet has provided striking anticipations of the journey as a *katabasis* in the ambiguities of 244ff, where Priam insists that before he sees his city taken and laid waste he would journey to the House of Hades, and 328, where the Trojans lament his departure as if he were going deathward (*thanatonde*).[13]

The cautious persistence with which Priam tests Hermes in disguise at the outset of their encounter elicits reactions that further hint at Hermes' role as psychopomp. Despite his initial loss of heart (or rather, purpose: *syn . . . noos chyto*, 358), Priam's questions of the god demonstrate just that shrewdness "Idaios" warns is needed for the occasion (354, *phradeos noou*). In response to Hermes' feigned amazement that Priam would venture into the dark among enemies ("What would be your *noos* if one of them should see you. . . ," 366f), Priam appears to test Hermes by indirection to determine if this is the guide Iris had led him to expect, complimenting him on his beauty and intelligence (*pepnusai te nooi*, 377) and insisting that he must be an omen from the gods.[14] To Hermes' evasive reply, asking Priam's destination and emphasizing the stature of Hektor's slayer (378–85), Priam answers more directly by inquiring his identity (385–88). But Hermes merely reproaches Priam for testing him and turns rather to describing Hektor's exploits, before claiming at last to be the son of the Myrmidon Polyktor. Again unconvinced, Priam inquires guardedly (406ff) after the present fate of Hektor, " . . . if you *are* a comrade of Peleus' son Achilleus." Finally, while rejoicing at the news that the corpse is still safe (410–23), Priam refuses to give up his attempt to expose his interlocutor: His comment that it is a good thing to give the gods their due provides a sententious response to the gods' intervention to protect Hektor (and refers structurally to Zeus' description at 68ff of Hektor's faithful offerings)—but it also introduces his provocative gesture of offering a cup to Hermes for safe passage (429–31). To this, Hermes again expostulates at Priam's testing and with extravagant but still evasive emphasis declares that he will serve Priam as guide (*pompos*, 438) "even until I come to famous Argos by ship or on foot [for which the commentators weakly suggest that we have, by way of character drawing, merely a natural Myrmidon reference to returning home to Thessalian Argos]; nor would anyone do battle with Priam, scorning his guide (*pompon*, 437)." Only after Hermes has magically opened the heavy gate to Achilleus' shelter—doing what no ordinary mortal save Achilleus can manange alone[15]—and has descended from Priam's chariot does he identify himself truly and instruct Priam to embrace Achilleus' knees, echoing Idaios' suggestion at the beginning of this section (357) that Priam might in similar fashion appeal to Hermes.

One purpose of this evocation of the *nekyia* motif would appear to be, as Nagler observes, the enhancement, or *auxesis*, of Priam (and indirectly of Achilleus)[16]—that is, his elevation to heroic status on the order of Herakles, who similarly brings back from the dead Admetus' wife, Alkestis, as Orpheus does his bride Eurydike.[17] The corresponding link that Nagler sees, with some discomfort, between Achilleus and the Death-god recalls Achilleus' own assertion in *Odyssey* 11.491 that he would rather

be servant to a poor farmer than lord of the dead. And yet Achilleus' entire compound has now acquired a distinctly regal character markedly diferent from previous descriptions in Books 1 and 9. Leaf (*ad* 448) misses the point when he complains that the author of these lines is more familiar with a palace than with a camp; and it seems equally unlikely that the elaborate setting is called into play simply for the increase of dignity or parity between the two kings, or to accommodate the various dramatic maneuvers to follow, involving the preparation of the body out of Priam's view, and the like.[18] Instead, the poet may intend the atmosphere of royalty precisely to evoke a parallel with the House of Hades, conceived not simply as the Underworld in general but as the specific seat of his realm. Even when familiarity with architectural terms seems insecure—in line 644 Achilleus orders Priam's bed to be placed in the *aithousa*, or porch; in 673 Priam and Idaios appear to sleep in the *prodomos*, or entrance vestibule—the plan imagined is the tripartite megaron complex of a Bronze Age palace, whether Trojan or Mycenaean, with an axial arrangement of *domos*, *prodomos*, and *aithousa* facing a courtyard at the south: the prototype, in fact, of the archaic and classical temple.[19] Further, Achilleus' seat (*thronos* in 515, a richly decorated *klismos* at 597) is located against an inner wall as in Mycenaean throne rooms.[20] But the infernal figure that Achilleus suggests is perhaps not so much Hades himself (though Achilleus does retire with a doubly stolen 'bride', Briseis, at 676), as it is Minos, who in *Odyssey* 11.568ff is seated among the pleaders in the wide-gated dwelling of Hades delivering judgment on matters of *themis* (*themisteuonta*, 569): So Achilleus describes himself as being sought constantly for advice by the Achaians, "which is *themis*" (652). This picture seems exaggerated, possibly ironic, given Achilleus' recent period of estrangement from the Greeks.[21] But it may explain the otherwise puzzling simile in 480ff, where Achilleus wonders at Priam as at someone who, overtaken by *ate*, has killed a man and now wanders to the *deme* of others, to the house of a rich man: For the linking of a "murderous" Priam with manslaying Achilleus to suggest their respective shares of responsibility for the violence of the war is an otherwise forced and overemphatic parallel, not immediately relevant to their roles here.[22] In the context of a symbolic *katabasis* into the labyrinth, however, it is appropriate for an exiled Priam to plead his case before a Minos/Achilleus in the house of the "rich" Death god—for which 317ff may be taken as an anticipation, with its description of the wingspan of the eagle sent to encourage Priam as "wide as the doorway to the lofty storeroom of a rich man" (immediately preceding the lament for Priam as for one going to death, 328).

Further, the implied role of Achilleus as deliverer of *themis* is consistent with and completes the picture of his conduct of the funeral games

among his peers, now extended to an enemy in a setting that recalls the source of Achilleus' new perspective on the nature of life and death. As such, it provides appropriate resonance for the magisterial nature of Achilleus' myth of the two urns of Zeus; and it is a fitting element in the reconciliation between the two kings, as they transcend the limitations of partisanship to recognize—with a momentary empathetic steadiness shared by none of their fellow mortals and among the gods only by Zeus himself—the indissoluble link between the passing glory of violence and its more enduring legacy of pain and hope denied. Indeed, the reconciliation goes beyond acceptance of their shared misfortune, as they fall into a moment of mutual wonderment (628ff).[23]

But we are still in the real world of mortals whose emotional and spiritual wounds have only begun, too late, to heal; and the tension of this circumstance forms an undercurrent to the scene throughout (e.g., 568ff, 584ff). The embrace of the two kings is not phantasmal, but temporary, physical, and limited. Achilleus does not control the dead and Priam will return to Troy with a corpse, not a living, saving son. Still, the increase in stature that both gain by their encounter will not be lost as Priam returns to Troy: For his dignity in directing the funeral for Hektor will echo the authority and tact of Achilleus in seeing to the exchange of the body. Indeed, the central focus of B_2 (572–98a) is not on its emotional and dramatic climax in the embrace of Priam and Achilleus, but on this very preparation and handing over of the corpse, ringed by Achilleus' departure like a lion (572)—recalling the same comparison used in 41ff by Apollo to describe Achilleus' cruelty and thus provoking a moment of alarm at just what Achilleus might do now—and his return and resumption of his seat: *alto thyraze*, 572/597, *hezeto . . . enthen aneste*. The episode at the heart of B_1, describing Iris' descent into the dark sea to a mother already mourning the death of her son "far from his fatherland" (86; cf. 541), is now balanced in a surprising and deeply moving way by Achilleus' ritual gesture of inaugurating Hektor's funeral, as he assumes the role of the grieving mother by supervising the washing of the body and with his own hands places it onto the wagon that will carry it to burial.[24] The complexity of his gesture is indicated by his last terse farewell to Patroklos, promising a ritual share of the gifts. As for Priam, beyond the mournful approach to the city in 696, we do not hear him weep again; his place in the final trio of lamentation (A_2) is filled by Helen, where we have only a brief parenthetical tribute to the king's gentleness (770). This new security and calm constrasts with the irascible and impetuous Priam of the center of the book (C), where he submits first with disquiet (194ff), then with anger (239ff), and only finally with confidence (308ff) to the instructions conveyed by Iris.

Thus, in a father's journey to recover his dead son, we have a centerpiece corresponding to the central focus of Book 1 (D), the journey to return a daughter to her father. Although both sections culminate in the motifs of sacrifice (or, here, libation), the father's prayer, and a divine response, the narrative emphasis in Book 1 lies on the actual return of Chryseis, in 24 on Priam's preparations for the journey.[25] Although the episode in Book 1 may be regarded as a paradigm of human submission to the divine will, the restoration of Chryseis was a purely external act, carried out by Agamemnon's agents, inspired by the soothsayer Kalchas, and surrounded by the immediate repercussions of a new offense on Agamemnon's part, bringing further disaster on the Greeks. In 24, on the other hand, the hitherto passive Priam summons the will to act as his own agent, prompted by a direct experience of Iris' divinity (168ff) rather than by human intermediary—indeed, in 221f he observes to Hekabe that if the message had come from diviners or priests he might have rejected it as spurious: language that recalls Nestor's acceptance of Agamemnon's false dream in 2.81 and, more closely, Agamemnon's contempt for both Chryses and Kalchas in Book 1. Despite the parallel, the courage and sincerity of Priam's response is emphasized in 24, in 1 the emptiness of Agamemnon's. Most tellingly, at the heart of Priam's preparations to depart (248b–65a) we have in his angry outcry against his surviving sons a complex statement, at last, of his awareness of the cost to Troy of indulging the superficial, self-absorbed whims of its young bucks—the fluent talkers, dancers, bedroom athletes—as with his royal staff[26] he drives away the craven disaster-mongers and laments the one greatest among his losses, inadvertently pronouncing a final word on Hektor's manic desire for honor equal to the gods' (255–59):

> Alas for my hopeless destiny, for I fathered the noblest sons
> In spacious Troy, but of these I say not one is left—
> Godlike Mestor, Troilos, who fought on chariot,
> And Hektor, who was always like a god among men and did not seem
> To be a child of mortal man, but of a god. . . .

The general pattern of balancing elements in 1 and 24 has been noted and discussed by others, from Sheppard and Peters through Whitman, Reinhardt, and Beck.[27] As in the basic organizing principle of ring-composition itself, the point of departure to which we now at last return takes on an entirely new meaning in the context of the intervening world of conflict (see the chart on the next page). In 24 the debate on Olympos is resolved by means of an inclusive compromise rather than the threat of brute force in 1 (B_2, 565ff, cf. 577ff), and by a very different Zeus, concerned to preserve both respect and affectionate regard (of Thetis at

Book 1

- A_1 Death from Apollo's 9–day plague; burials
  - B_1 Dramatic climax: Quarrel between Achilleus and Agamemnon, seizure of Briseis
    - [C_1 Thetis with Achilleus]
    - D Journey to return Chryseis to her father, his prayer to stop plague, Apollo's response
      - C_2 Thetis with Achilleus
      - A_2 After 12–day wait, Thetis rises from sea to consult with Zeus on Achilleus' honor
        - B_2 Quarrel on Olympos over Achilleus' honor; Zeus imposes his will on Hera, issue deferred, wine served, Apollo and Muses entertain

          Book 24
        - B_1 9–day debate on Olympos over dishonoring of Hektor's body; Apollo bitter at 12–day interval since Hektor's death, raises issue of pity (Hera recalls his role as entertainer with lyre at Thetis' wedding); Zeus on Achilleus' *kydos* through ransom of Hektor
      - B_1 Thetis summoned from sea to consult with Zeus; visits Achilleus re: ransom (with 24.127ff, cf. 1.360ff)
    - C Priam prepares for journey to Achilleus to recover Hektor; libation and prayer, Zeus' omen
  - B_2 Dramatic climax: encounter between Achilleus and Priam; Achilleus has already received Thetis' message of gods' will; return of Hektor
- A_2 Burial of Hektor after 9 days' mourning

111: *aidos*, *philotes*). Although Apollo's role as diverting entertainer at the close of 1 is echoed in Hera's reminder of his presence with his lyre at Thetis' wedding, his function in 24 represents a contrast otherwise, with his present insistence on a decision after the gods' undue delay—an urgency in demanding action after nine days of quarreling that recalls Achilleus' decisiveness after the nine-days' plague in 1. Hera's earlier irritation with Thetis is converted into solicitude here, consonant with her advocacy of the privileges of rank (her own in particular in Book 1, that of her foster-daughter and her offspring in 24). In 1 the journey to Chrysa was framed by the exchanges between Thetis and her son (C_1) and between Thetis and Zeus (C_2), thus surrounding the central issue of submission to the gods' will with the question of an angry Achilleus' honor. In 24 the issue of piety (C) is surrounded by the question of a grieving Achilleus' honor and pity, dramatized by Thetis' consultation with Zeus and her mission to Achilleus (B_1), and his reminder of that visit in B_2

(561f). But in neither 1 nor 24 do structural focus and dramatic climax coincide: Instead, the climax of 1 occurs prior to the structural focus, as we have seen, and that of 24 after it, adding to annular formal balance between the two books an overall annular dramatic symmetry. The earlier climactic quarrel over Briseis is balanced by Achilleus' encounter with Priam in 24, where the motifs of Achilleus' anger (568ff) and Agamemnon's greed (654f, 686ff) are noted as still-potent sources of difficulty; both are here relegated to the background of the interchange, while in 1 they lay at the heart of it. In 1, forced by superior political power to give up an object of affection, Achilleus was reduced to withdrawal and inaction by his inability to accept the discrepancy between Agamemnon's royal power and his lack of genuine authority. Now Achilleus retains even in the foreknowledge of his own death an ability to act and is finally able to reject both convention and passionate excess as he gently dissuades Priam from unchecked grieving. His earlier protection of the aged seer Kalchas from Agamemnon's wrath is echoed now by his deeper recognition (*noeo*, 560) that Priam is protected by divine will from his own anger. In a gesture of reconciliation, Priam is now given where Agamemnon had taken, by an Achilleus who no longer demands from his society visible tokens of his worth but is able to perceive and finally to accept in pity and admiration the transience of all gifts bestowed by Zeus on mortals, whether the share of honor be greater or less (525ff).

The kingship of Agamemnon, dependent in 1 on external control of people and things, is superseded by the moral stature of a suppliant and doomed Priam who willingly forsakes the trappings of royalty—who, indeed, is fated to lose them utterly—and evokes in Zeus not the false concern of the gods in Agamemnon's deceitful dream (2.27, 64) but a genuine care and pity (cf. the identical formula of concern in 24.174: *kedetai ed' eleairei*), and whose genuinely regal qualities the poet insists on until the last, long after Agamemnon's disappearance from the action, in the admiring irony of Priam's final epithet, "Zeus-nourished" (803).[28] In Book 1 Agamemnon and Achilleus separate in an atmosphere of antagonism that merely emphasizes their human qualities; in 24 Priam and Achilleus part in an atmosphere of mutual respect that has revealed something of divinity in each, dramatized in scenic patterns of Supplication, Feasting, and Retirement for the night that recall not the earlier confrontation between mortals but the scenes on Olympos concluding Book 1. There Zeus curtailed dispute with an assertion of superior strength, forcing his wife to resume her *thronos* in symbolic acceptance of her subordinate place in the hierarchy of divine power; here the issue of the *thronos* revolves on Achilleus' impulse to receive Priam with the courtesy due a suppliant and an elder. Consistent with the warning of Achilleus to Priam not to provoke him by rushing the matter of the ransom (560), the issue is resolved

without the coercion that appears in 1.561–67; and the element of mutual respect gains depth and reality from the complexities that surround and pervade the scene. Finally, as we noted at the outset, we find a balance to the burials resulting from the nine-days' plague sent by Apollo of the Silver Bow (1.37, 451) in the funeral, after nine days' mourning, of Hektor, "like one whom Apollo of the Silver Bow with his gentle arrows has attacked and slain" (758f, cf. 56).[29]

Of the structural elements of 24, only A_1 plays no role in this pattern of reversal. Beyond its function to unify 24, however, it also links 24 with 18, as the initial element in a series of parallels that, as in the previous groups, relate Books 18–24 in an annular pattern surrounding Book 21. Thus, Achilleus' grief over Patroklos' death stands as a dominant motif at the outset of 24 as it does at the beginning of 18:

Book 18 (recovery of Patroklos)	*Book 24* (ransom of Hektor)
1ff Achilleus, told of Patroklos' death, grieves, throwing himself on the ground	A_1 Achilleus grieves for Patroklos' death, lying on ground
A_1 Thetis, mourning in cave, leaves sea with Nereids to visit Achilleus, who accepts his own death, promise of armor	B_1 Thetis, grieving in cave (83, cf. 18.65) with Nereids, summoned to leave sea (w. 95 cf. 18.65f) for Olympos and visit with Achilleus; promise of ransom
B_1 Hera sends Iris to inspire Achilleus' epiphany without armor (balanced by Zeus' rebuke of Hera in B_2, and her defense of her position among gods)	B_1 Debate between Zeus and Hera (preoccupied with honor due gods) resolved
	C Journey of Priam
C_1, C_2 Recovery of Patroklos, mourning; Achilleus supervises washing and preparation for burial, grieves like lion losing young (318–23)[30]	B_2 Achilleus, leaving Priam like lion (572), supervises washing of Hektor's corpse, lifts it onto Priam's wagon
D Hektor refuses to return to city for the night	B_2 Return of Hektor to Troy by night
A_2 Hephaistos makes shield for Achilleus (completed by night, delivered at dawn), with dramatic climax containing image of labyrinthine dance	A_2 Priam, with Hektor's corpse, returns from *katabasis*, greeted by populace at dawn

Beyond these motivic parallels, it seems clear that the Nereids' lament for Achilleus as for one dead in 18 (A_1) is reflected in the depiction of

Achilleus in 24 (B_2) as a dweller in Hades. Similarly, Hektor's fatal decision to remain before the city at the center of 18 (D) issues in Priam's decision, at the center of 24, to journey from the city to the ships to reclaim Hektor's corpse. Hektor's earlier emphasis on the cost of the war to Troy's store of treasure in 18 (288–92) is in 24 (C) confirmed not by a material reckoning but by the added cost to his people of his own death, emphasized by the care and sacrifice with which Priam selects from his storeroom the ransom for Hektor (229ff). Hektor's gnomic remark that Ares is nonpartisan and slays the slayer (18.309) finds a commentary in Priam's lament that Ares has slain the best of his sons—now including Hektor himself (24.260). In 18 (A_2) the elaborately hospitable reception of an infrequent caller introduced Thetis' request for new armor for her son; a mutual acknowledgement of the effects of that armor are in 24 introduced by Achilleus' hospitable reception of an unexampled suppliant concerned for *his* son. In 18 (A_2) Hera is represented as rejecting a child for his lameness; in 24 (B_1) she has adopted a child whose joyous nuptials, as she describes them, contrast with the bitterness of the union in Thetis' description at 18.432ff.[31] In 18.70f Thetis cradles the head of the issue of this marriage, symbolizing his death; the gesture is repeated in 24 as Andromache leads the lament for her spouse (with *erche gooio*, 24.722, cf. *exerche gooio* at 18.51).

Finally, we have suggested that Hektor, at the center of 18, is associated with the king (=Agamemnon) at the center of the *Shield* and thus merges with him as the object of Achilleus' hostility; the one has robbed Achilleus of his lover, the other of his friend. In 24 Priam centrally evokes both figures while manifesting a depth of human concern lacking in either; with the courage of great loss, and matching Achilleus in his grief rather than in static enmity, he joins him in a *katabasis* that recalls the labyrinthine symbolism of death and rebirth in the climactic scene of dancing on the Shield. Here, however, human life is renewed less by the suggestion of physical reincarnation than by a transformation of values; the kingship of an Agamemnon or Hektor is redefined by the moral authority of Achilleus and Priam.

In Book 19 (A_1) Achilleus attempts somehow to keep Patroklos with him, or to share in his death by embracing the dead body as he mourns it; he accepts the armor from Thetis on the promise that the corpse will be preserved from decay, and Thetis protects it with ambrosia. In 23 (A_1) the grieving Achilleus falls at last into a sleep interrupted when Patroklos joins him, testifying to the survival after death of a *psyche* and *eidolon*; Achilleus' attempt to keep Patroklos in his embrace fails; and in B Hektor's corpse is now protected by Aphrodite and Apollo from further harm. In 19 (B_1) Achilleus summons an assembly in which the Greeks attempt to placate him with apology, gifts, and the return of Briseis, who

laments the loss of Patroklos. In 23 (A_2) Achilleus summons another assembly, this time for games in honor of Patroklos, where it is Achilleus who provides the gifts and prizes. Achilleus' obstinate refusal to eat in 19 ($B_{1,2}$), despite the urging of Agamemnon, Odysseus, and the "elders," is answered by his funeral feast with the Myrmidonians in 23.29ff (*dainu*; apparently a "family" ceremony rather than a ritual including the entire community of war)[32]; and the earlier element of Achilleus' resistance is echoed immediately thereafter in his rejection of the "kings'" insistence that he wash away the gore of battle and in his description of the meal with the kings as a "hateful feast" (*dais* again, 48). In 19 (A_2), as Achilleus mounts his chariot for war, rebuking his horses for abandoning Patroklos, the sorrowing Xanthos miraculously prophesies his death. In 23 (A_2) Achilleus will not race in the contest but will stay with the horses still mourning their lost master. In central place in 19, the poet dramatized the irrelevance of material compensation for Achilleus' loss; at the heart of 23, he emphasizes the inadequacy of Achilleus' unaided efforts to give Patroklos his due. Here Achilleus' still vengeful farewell to Patroklos contrasts with Briseis' hopeless tribute to the gentle Patroklos in 19 (C). Thus, the central focus of 19 on a complex of themes that summarize past values is balanced by a scene that poses the need for new, framed by a redefinition of the terms of physical life in Patroklos' appearance to Achilleus, and of social life in Achilleus' conduct of the games.

Books 20 and 22 contain decisions of the gods that result in divine intervention, in the one case to delay Hektor's death (20, $A_{1,2}$), in the other to ensure it (22, B_1 and C). The action of 20 is introduced on the stage of cosmic bombast, that of 22 is viewed by an audience of impotent humans. In 20, Hektor would have sacrificed himself to an impulse to retaliate in anger; in 22 he is slain in a deluded quest for *kleos*. In 20 (B) Achilleus is powerless against Aineias aided by the god Poseidon, in Book 22 (B_2) he is victorious against Hektor, deceived by Athena, and abandoned by Apollo. In the one case, a hero is impotent against the offspring of the goddess of passion; in the other, a hero rejected by the divine hierarchy is victimized by the power of illusion and false hope, as his mortal parents look on in helpless grief. But beyond ironic contrast there is a similarity of point: In 20 Achilleus' limitations were exposed by Apollo's intervention to save Hektor; in 22 the dying Hektor warns Achilleus of Apollo's curse.

The position of Book 21 in the final group of Books corresponds to that of Book 4 among the first. In 4 we saw that the heroic response to the issue of Trojan guilt, restated by Pandaros' compulsive desire for *kydos* and *aglaa dora*, was simply to rush to acquire a competitive increase in *kydos* through proportionately greater killing and pillage. In 21 Achil-

leus' attempt to compensate his own immeasurable loss by boundless retaliation illustrates the profound irrationality of violence, as the collapse of the *Theomachy* demonstrates its irrelevance to the issues now at stake. These complementary emphases, far from endorsing the tradition as the poet represents it, dramatize the need for a new foundation for action on the part of both the individual and the community; and it is this alternate way—forged of insight and *philotes*—that the final two books of the poem are designed to set forth and celebrate.

V

Structure and the Homeric Question

(1) Some Implications for the Nature of Our *Iliad*

The design of the *Iliad* outlined here, and its implications for interpretation, differs in a number of respects, as we have seen, from established ways of reading the poem.[1] The conscious planning essential to a self-reflexive pattern of such consistency seems foreign to the familiar image of the "monumental poet," extemporizing for transcription a work that transcends the songs of his forebears by virtue of an artistic instinct as elusive as it is praiseworthy.[2] Within this pattern, the complex representation of what we have come to think of as "heroic culture" is equally at odds with the notion—still very much at the heart of oral theory—of epic as the univocal expression of the total social organism.[3] Nor does our poet's view of the heroic world lend support to the still prevalent understanding of early Greek literature (predicated on a Hegelian succession of cultural and psychological "events") in which an epic synthesis is followed by a period of lyric reaction to the Homeric manner and ideology.[4] Our poet's perspective on his characters and their deeds suggests that he is not simply a formalized conduit of racial memory but is in fact no less distanced from their world of values than the archaic poets we have become accustomed to regarding as his successors.[5] Indeed, his juxtaposition of the heroic age to his own "present" goes beyond the satirical point of Archilochus' use of mock-heroic diction, the ironic nostalgia of Sappho's epithalamion for Hektor and Andromache, or the ornate lyric epyllia of Stesichorus; and it rejects altogether the fantasy of fulfillment enjoyed by the *Aithiopis*, where the slain Achilleus is transported, reanimated, from his funeral pyre to the paradise of the White Isle.[6] Instead, in what we shall see constitutes a generic transformation, our poet has recreated that world of long-extinct heroes as a diagnosis of human illusion, timely in a sense that will emerge as we explore the implications of this achievement for the essential and perennially debated aspects of the Homeric Question: the origin, purpose, date, and ideological position of our *Iliad* in the tradition it represents.

(2) The Question of Book Division and Closure

As to the document itself, we have seen in each of its twenty-four books a remarkable structural integrity and an equally striking internal coherence in the groups comprising them. Before we turn to the practical function of these several structures, we need first to review the ways in which individual books begin and end. It is generally assumed, as we noted earlier, that these divisions were imposed by Alexandrian editors on a continuous narrative (a form represented by many post-Alexandrian copies of the poem) in a manner that with some exceptions demonstrates a general sensitivity to its dramatic logic. But this view fails to account for the in any case earlier and persistent habit of referring to individual episodes by title; nor does it explain why, if dividing and numbering books were Hellenistic innovations, the current Herodianic and decimal-alphabetical systems were avoided in favor of an antiquated method of enumeration based on the old Ionic alphabet.[7] Still, its proponents have usefully observed that the prefatory character of the narrative transitions exposed by many of these divisions betrays—either by a prospective reorientation or by a retrospective résumé—the origin of separate books, each with its appropriate proemium, in the circumstances of rhapsodic performance.[8] A brief survey of the evidence will define the possibilities. Previous discussion has sought to distinguish "natural" from "artificial" beginnings. A more specific classification of these transitions will provide a clearer picture of the range of variables.

It is apparent, first of all, that breaks seldom interrupt continuous action, dividing it between two books. More often a new book begins with a change of scene, a shift from a general view to a close-up (and the reverse), or the transfer of attention from one character to another—rarely a discontinuity in time. Beyond marking these shifts, the new beginnings generally provide both formal and verbal closure for the previous narrative and, even more consistently, an introduction to the ensuing action. There are four major types of transition:

(1) In cases where temporal continuity is maintained despite a change of scene, the most common pattern involves a *hos* ("thus") statement that summarizes the previous action—usually inessential to clarity in the narrative sequence—and a "but" statement introducing the next (van Groningen's "cheville retrospective et prospective"),[9] in the form *hos men . . . de* or . . . *autar* (indicated below as R-*hos*). This would not be remarkable—indeed there are structural parallels to this general pattern within books, indicating the transition to a new section or element in the narra-

tive—but for the fact that, with the exception of the division at 19/20, the preceding book in each instance has ended with its own conclusion of the previous action. Such endings generally take the form of a retrospective conclusion (Rc) that broadens the perspective in summary fashion and suspends the preceding action in its own time, enclosing it in the narrative pattern. In 17 the final panorama is itself introduced by a *hos*-statement, as in the concluding line of the poem; and in other cases a similar effect is achieved by a "thus he spoke" statement (*hos ephat'* or the like) ringing a speech prior to the final, usually brief, action.[10] (In the following examples, E and I indicate that the ensuing summary is essential or inessential to narrative continuity; the translations are Lattimore's.)

8/9: transition from Trojan to Greek encampment: Rc/R-*hos*, I

> A thousand fires were burning there in the plain, and beside each
> one sat fifty men in the flare of the blazing firelight.
> And standing each beside his chariot, champing white barley
> And oats, the horses waited for the dawn to mount to her high place.
> (8.562–65)

> So (*hos hoi men*) the Trojans held their night watches. Meanwhile (*autar*) immortal
> Panic, companion of cold Terror, gripped the Achaians
> as all their best were stricken with grief that passes endurance.
> (9.1–3)

15/16: transition from Greek retreat to Patroklos with Achilleus: Rc/R-*hos*, I

> He spoke (*ê*), and came forward with his sharp spear, raging for battle.
> And whenever some Trojan crashed against the hollow ships
> with burning fire, who sought to wake the favour of Hektor,
> Aias would wait for him and then stab with the long pike
> and so from close up wounded twelve in front of the vessels.
> (15.742–46)

> So (*hos hoi men*) they fought on both sides for the sake of the strong-benched vessel.
> Meanwhile (*de*) Patroklos came to the shepherd of the people, Achilleus,
> and stood by him and wept warm tears, like a spring dark-running. . . .
> (16.1–3)

17/18: transition from recovery of Patroklos' corpse to Antilochus' mission to Achilleus: R-*hos*/R-*hos*, I (I have modified Lattimore's terseness to convey the run-on effect of the particles at the conclusion of 17):

Thus (*hos ara*) before Aineias and Hektor the young Achaian warriors
went, screaming terror, all the delight of battle forgotten,
and (*de*) many fine pieces of armour littered the ground on both sides
of the ditch as the Danaans fled, and (*de*) there was no check in the fighting.
(17.758–61)

So (*hos hoi men*) these fought on in the likeness of blazing fire. Meanwhile (*de*),
Antilochus came, a swift-footed messenger, to Achilleus,
and found him sitting in front of the steep-horned ships. . . .
(18.1–3)

19/20: transition from Achilleus' departure for battle to Divine Council: brief ring/R-*hos*, I

He spoke (*ê*), and shouting held on in the foremost his single-foot horses.
(19.424)

So (*hos hoi men*) these now, the Achaians, beside the curved ships were arming
around you, son of Peleus, insatiate of battle,
while (*de*) on the other side at the break of the plain the Trojans
armed.
(20.1–4)

22/23: transition from Trojan mourning to Achilleus with Myrmidons: *hos*-ring/R-*hos*, I

But she, when she breathed again and the life was gathered back into her,
lifted her voice among the women of Troy in mourning. . . .
So she spoke (*hos ephato*), in tears; and the women joined in her mourning.
(22.475f, 515)

So (*hos hoi men*) they were mourning through the city. Meanwhile (*autar*), the
Achaians, after they had made their way back to their ships and the Hellespont,
scattered. . . .
(23.1–3)

In the case of 18, a retrospective beginning is consistent with (but does not in itself prove) the argument presented earlier that 17 ends a major bloc of narrative (Books 13–17). 20.1–4 provides a useful transition from Achilleus' departure for battle at 19.424, a description as terse as the speech that precedes it (where a more conventional *hos*-statement or Rc would weaken the dramatic moment); but the rhetorical character of these opening lines can hardly be considered essential, however effective they may be in refocusing the narrative. The *hos . . . stenachonto* of 23.1 merely repeats and generalizes the *hos . . . stenachonto* that closes 22 at 515, ringing 476, as in 6.312 "Thus they prayed to the daughter of great

Zeus" (*hos hai men* . . .) echoes the preeding ring "So she spoke praying . . . " (311, *hos ephat' euchomene* . . .).[11]

Less frequent are beginnings that provide a scene-setting or retrospective overview, without the *hos*-statement:

3/4: transition from battle to Olympos: *hos*-ring/prospective, E

> Now among them spoke forth the lord of men Agamemnon:
> "Listen to me, o Trojans, Dardanians and companions:
> clearly the victory is with warlike Menelaos. . . ."
> So spoke (*hos ephat'*) Atreus' son, and the other Achaians applauded him
> (3.455ff, 461)

> Now (*de*) the gods at the side of Zeus were sitting in council
> over the golden floor, and among them the goddess Hebe
> poured them nectar as wine, while they in the golden drinking-cups
> drank to each other, gazing down on the city of the Trojans.
> (4.1–4)

5/6: transition from Olympos to earth: Rc/Rc, E

> Meanwhile, the two went back again to the house of great Zeus,
> Hera of Argos, with Athene who stands by her people,
> After they stopped the murderous work of manslaughtering Ares.
> (5.907ff)

> So (*de*) the grim encounter of Achaians and Trojans was left
> to itself, and the battle veered greatly now one way, now in another,
> over the plain as they guided their bronze spears at each other
> in the space between the waters of Xanthos and Simoeis.
> First Telamonian Aias. . . .
> (6.1–5)

12/13: transition from fight at wall to Zeus' distraction and Poseidon's intervention: Rc/Rc, I

> Immediately some swarmed over the wall, while others swept in
> through the wrought gateways, and the Danaans scattered in terror
> among their hollow ships, and clamour incessant rose up.
> (12.469ff)

> When (*d' epei*) Zeus had driven against the ships the Trojans and Hektor,
> he left them beside these to endure the hard work and sorrow
> of fighting without respite, and himself turned his eyes shining
> far away. . . .
> (13.1–4)

14/15: transition from Trojan retreat to Zeus on Ida: Rc/Rc, I

> But Aias the fast-footed son of Oileus caught and killed most,
> since there was none like him in the speed of his feet to go after
> men who ran, once Zeus had driven the terror upon them.
>
> (14.520ff)

> But (*autar epei*) after they had crossed back over the ditch and the sharp stakes
> in flight, and many had gone down under the hands of the Danaans,
> they checked about once more and stood their ground by the chariots
> green for fear and terrified.
>
> (15.1–4)

In the latter two pairs, the previous book has ended with a retrospect of its own, and the new summary is inessential, though 15 reinforces the picture of Trojan rout with further details that lend point to Zeus' reaction on waking. In 5 the simply stated completion of action with the return of Hera and Athena to Olympos forces in 6 a retrospective reorientation to action on the battlefield; and in the transition from the Greek response to Paris' disappearance, ending 3, to the reaction of the gods to the doings in Troy (4.3f), there is an elaborate bit of scene setting that serves a structural purpose within the new book and enhances continuity without being essential to it.

Thus, among nine divisions that preserve temporal continuity despite a shift of scene, each new book contains a retrospective introduction to the ensuing action. Of the preceding book in each pair, only 3, 19, and 22 lack summarizing conclusions; here the purpose is served by statements ringing a preceding speech, followed by a response or concluding action. Perhaps most significantly, the new introductions are with one exception (6) inessential to narrative clarity.

(2) We can group under a second head transitions where temporal continuity is preserved in a shift from a general scene to a "close-up." Here we find a similar preference for a retrospective introduction to the new book:

4/5: transition from general devastation to Athena with Diomedes: Rc/prospective, I

> There no more could a man who was in that work make light of it,
> one who still unhit and still unstabbed by the sharp bronze
> spun in the midst of that fighting, with Pallas Athene's hold on
> his hand guiding him, driving back the volleying spears thrown.
> For on that day many men of the Achaians and Trojans
> lay sprawled in the dust face downward beside one another.
>
> (4.539–44)

There (*enth' au*) to Tydeus' son Diomedes Pallas Athene
granted strength and daring, that he might be conspicuous
among all the Argives and win the glory of valour.

(5.1–3)

9/10: transition from general retirement to Agamemnon's sleeplessness: Rc/Rc, I

So he spoke (*hos ephath'*), and all the kings gave him their approval,
acclaiming the word of Diomedes, breaker of horses.
Then they poured a libation, and each man went to his shelter,
where they went to their beds and took the blessing of slumber.

(9.710–13)

Now (*men*) beside their ships the other great men of the Achaians
slept night long, with the soft bondage of slumber upon them;
but (*autar*) the son of Atreus, Agamemnon, shepherd of the people,
was held by no sweet sleep as he pondered deeply within him.

(10.1–4)

13/14: transition from general battle to Nestor's alarm: Rc/Rc, E

So he spoke (*hos ara phonesas*) and led the way, and the rest of them
followed him
with unearthly clamour, and all the people shouted behind him.
But the Argives on the other side cried out, and would not
forget their warcraft, but stood the attack of the bravest Trojans,
and the clamour from both was driven high to Zeus' shining aether.

(13.833–37)

Now Nestor failed not to hear their outcry, though he was drinking
his wine, but spoke in winged words to the son of Asklepios:
"Take thought how these things shall be done, brilliant Machaon.
Beside the ships the cry of the strong young men grows greater."

(14.1–4)

21/22: transition from Trojan flight to Apollo with Achilleus: Rc/R-*hos*, I

All this time the rest of the Trojans fled in a body
gladly into the town, and the city was filled with their swarming.
They dared no longer outside the wall and outside the city
to wait for each other and find out which one had got away
and who had died in the battle, so hastily were they streaming
into the city, each man as his knees and feet could rescue him.

(21.606–11)

So (*hos hoi men*) the Trojans, who had run like fawns, dried
the sweat off from their bodies and drank and slaked their thirst, leaning
along the magnificent battlements. Meanwhile the Achaians
sloping their shields across their shoulders came close to the rampart.
But his deadly fate held Hektor shackled. . . .

(22.1–5)

At 14.1 the retrospective *Nestora d'ouk elathen* is brief but essential to continuity; in Book 5, despite—or perhaps because of—the memorable retrospective ending of 4, there is no transition: The narrative is simply continued ("And then . . .") with a brief prospective statement of the theme of Diomedes' *aristeia*.[12]

In a single instance of the reverse situation, a shift from the close-up of Patroklos healing Eurypylos to general battle (11/12), a *hos*-statement in 12 summarizes the particulars at the end of 11 but is inessential to continuity:

11/12: —/R-*hos*, I

and Patroklos laid him there and with a knife cut the sharp tearing
arrow out of his thigh, and washed the black blood running from it
with warm water, and, pounding it up in his hands, laid on
a bitter root to make pain disappear, one which stayed
all kinds of pain. And the wound dried, and the flow of blood stopped.

(11.843–47)[13]

So (*hos hoi men*) within the shelter the warlike son of Menoitios
tended stricken Eurypylos, and meanwhile (*de*) the Argives
and Trojans fought on in massed battle, nor was the Danaans'
ditch going to hold them back. . . .

(12.1–4)

Of these five cases, all contain scene-setting or retrospective introductions—only two of which (4, 14) are needed—preceded in four cases by retrospective endings; only 11 lacks a formal close, but the text is sufficient to render the ensuing retrospective inessential to continuity.

(3) A third category, restricted to two examples, presents temporal discontinuity as well as change of scene (7/8, 10/11). In both cases the transition—from night to dawn, from the field to Olympos—is conditioned by circumstances, and the pattern reserved for special effect.[14] Book 7 prepares for the break in time with a description of retirement—a motif omitted at the end of the nocturnal interlude of Book 10, where it would simply repeat the conclusion of Book 9.

So far one may infer, on the basis of fourteen of a possible twenty-one cases (setting aside the exceptional 7/8 and 10/11), that there is a definite

preference for divisions that make endings and beginnings emphatically clear. The implication is that, at the least, we are dealing neither with a *carmen perpetuum* mechanically parceled into segments by an alien hand nor, given the close retrospective connection of each new part to its predecessor, with a collection of bardic *Einzellieder* of the sort imagined by earlier Analysts.[15] The situation may be further clarified by a glance at a final category, where divisions bisect a continuous narrative of action by the same individual or group:

(4) Here, a tendency to introductions is as strong, if less easily explained, as in previous cases:

1/2: transition from Zeus' retirement to his sleeplessness: Rc/Rc, I

> Zeus the Olympian and lord of the lightning went to
> his own bed, where always he lay when sweet sleep came on him.
> Going up to the bed he slept and Hera of the gold throne beside him.
> (609–11)

> Now (*de*) the rest of the gods, and men who were lords of chariots,
> slept night long, but the ease of sleep came not upon Zeus
> who was pondering in his heart how he might bring honour
> to Achilleus, and destroy many beside the ships of the Achaians.
> (2.1–4)

2/3: transition from Trojan Catalogue to encounter of armies: —/Rc, I

> Sarpedon with unfaulted Glaukos was lord of the Lykians
> from Lykia far away, and the whirling waters of Xanthos.
> (2.876f)

> Now when (*autar epei*) the men of both sides were set in order by their leaders,
> the Trojans came on with clamour and shouting, like wildfowl,
> as when the clamour of cranes goes high to the heavens. . . .
> (3.1ff)

6/7: transition from Hektor's rebuke of Paris to their return to battle: —/*hos*-ring, E

> "Let us go now; some day hereafter we will make all right
> with the immortal gods in the sky, if Zeus ever grant it,
> setting up to them in our houses the wine-bowl of liberty
> after we have driven out of Troy the strong-greaved Achaians."
> (6.526–29)

> So speaking (*hos eipon*) Hektor the glorious swept on through the gates,

and with him went Alexandros his brother, both of them minded
in their hearts to do battle and take their part in the fighting.

(7.1ff)

16/17: transition from Hektor's pursuit of Achilleus' horses to Menelaos' defense of Patroklos: *hos*-ring/Rc, E (cf. 13/14)

So speaking (*hos ara phonesas*) . . . he went on, aiming a cast at Automedon,
the godlike henchman for the swift-footed son of Aiakos,
with the spear as he was carried away by those swift and immortal
horses the gods had given as shining gifts to Peleus.

(16.862–67)

As Patroklos went down before the Trojans in the hard fighting
he was not unseen (*oud' elath'*) by Atreus' son, warlike Menelaos,
who stalked through the ranks of the champions, helmed in the bright
bronze,
and bestrode the body, as over a first-born calf the mother
cow stands lowing, she who has known no children before this.

(17.1–5)

18/19: Thetis' delivery of Achilleus' new armor: —/Dawn, I

And she like a hawk came sweeping down from the snows of Olympos
and carried with her the shining armour, the gift of Hephaistos.

(18.615f)

Now (*men*) Dawn the yellow-robed arose from the river of Ocean
to carry her light to men and to immortals. And she [Thetis] (*de*)
came to the ships and carried with her the gifts of Hephaistos.
She found her beloved son lying in the arms of Patroklos
crying shrill. . . .

(19.1–5)

20/21: Achilleus' pursuit of Trojans: Rc/Rc, E

. . . Before great-hearted Achilleus the single-foot horses
trampled alike dead men and shields, and the axle under
the chariot was all splashed with blood and the rails which encircled
the chariot, struck by flying drops from the feet of the horses,
from the running rims of the wheels. The son of Peleus was straining
to win glory, his invincible hands spattered with bloody filth.

(20.498–503)

But when they came to the crossing place of the fair-running river
of whirling Xanthos, a stream whose father was Zeus the immortal,
there he [Achilleus] split them and chased some back over the flat land

toward the city, where the Achaians themselves had stampeded in terror
on the day before, when Hektor was still in his fury.

(21.1–5)

23/24: Funeral Games concluded: *hos*-ring/Rc, E

So he spoke (*hos ephat'*), nor did Agamemnon lord of men disobey him.
The hero gave the bronze spear to Meriones, and thereafter
handed his prize, surpassingly lovely, to the herald Talthybios.

(23.895ff)

And (*de*) the games broke up, and (*de*) the people scattered to go away,
each man
to his fast-running ship, and the rest of them took thought of their dinner
and of sweet sleep and its enjoyment; only Achilleus
wept still as he remembered his beloved companion, nor did sleep
who subdues all come over him. . . .

(24.1–5)

Of these seven transitions, all include introductions preceded in three cases by summary endings (1/2, 16/17, 20/21). In 2 and 21 the need for a brief overview seems to be determined by the conclusive elements that end the preceding books: Zeus' solitary wakefulness amid the general slumber at the outset of 2 contrasts with his retirement with Hera in 1 (the pattern is repeated in the 9/10 transition). The general statement of Achilleus' desire for *kydos* at the end of 20 is followed in 21 by a retrospective overview of his pursuit of the Trojans, though the subject of the verbs in lines 1 and 3 must be understood from the preceding context. At 16/17 the transition from Hektor's pursuit of Automedon with the horses of Achilleus in 16 to Menelaos' defense of Patroklos (17, "Nor did it escape Menelaos' notice") is, like the beginning of 14, no more emphatic than the introduction of a new element within a section of a book (cf. the similar usage within 17 at 626, elsewhere at 20.112); it is nevertheless essential to continuity. The brief interposition of Dawn at the beginning of 19, dividing Thetis' descent from Olympos and her arrival at Achilleus' hut (where the subject of the verbs in lines 3f must again be understood from the previous book) is paralleled within books at 24.695, ending Priam's visit to Achilleus; but although Thetis' departure from Olympos balances her earlier arrival there, a ringing element (Thetis' return to earth, completing the descent) appears to be dislocated from its expected function in the narrative pattern, as in 3 and 7. Again, the *hos*-ring at the end of 23 ends the contest but not the games; a formal conclusion is left for 24. We shall return to the question of these junctures shortly.

Of the twenty-three transitions we have considered, twenty-two—including Dawn at 8, 11, and 19—involve introductory elements, 7 being

the exception; fourteen of these follow distinct closural structures (Rc or R-*hos*). Of the nine books that conclude without a retrospective overview, 3, [11,] 16, 18, 19, 22, and 23 contain at least minimal ringing elements; only the exceptional 2 and 6 have none. The "nor did it escape the notice" formula that begins 14 and 17 is similar to rapid passage from one section to another within individual books; here more elaborate formal preference yields to dramatic pacing.

In attempting to define the poet's individuality against the background of epic tradition, scholars have for lack of comparative material assumed that regularity of a given feature in the poem itself represents conventional practice and that anomaly betrays the personality of "Homer," as in variation of type-scenes or in extensively developed similes.[16] On this argument we might conclude that book-divisions with retrospective résumés at the end of one and the beginning of the next, regardless of the narrative juncture involved, reflect traditional practice and might be called "primary divisions." As a corollary, divisions that interrupt a continuous narrative, for example, with omission of either résumé, would represent the work of Homer. But the primary divisions emphasize the integrity of narrative units and also clarify just where we are in a fixed sequence and thus seem to be related to circumstances in which these units are being recited rather than extemporized. Clearly the bulk of the divisions suggests not a bardic situation in which the poet adjusts his performance to the mood of his audience (as in the case of Demodokos at *Od.* 8.492ff), but a rhapsodic one in which the orderly and effective reproduction of an established version or text is of prime importance. If the soloist responsible for fixing the tradition on which our text depends created these divisions as breaks for rest and refreshment, we should expect these pauses to recur at reasonably regular intervals between books of comparable length. This is not, of course, the case, given the range of 424 to 909 lines for individuals books. Of the longest—Books 2 (877 lines), 5 (909), 11 (848), 13 (837), 16 (867), and 23 (897)—only 5 and 13 end with a retrospective closure. Alternatively, we might suppose that the preference for retrospective beginnings following on concluding résumés is a reflection of conditions in which rhapsodes (or the composer, with rhapsodic recitation in mind) wished to emphasize the unbroken continuity of each new book with the last, as would appear to be demanded by the so-called Panathenaic Rule, which required each succeeding performer to take up, on cue, where the last had left off.[17] Given the dramatic unity of most individual books, it would seem to be a gratuitous assault on consistency of mood and audience response for such cues to be given except at our book-divisions. But if emphatic divisions were meant to serve a rule, one would not expect the exceptions that remain. If these

exceptional books (two of which—2 and 23—are also among the longest) do not reflect the personality of the "monumental poet" or the conventions of rhapsodic performance, we need some explanation of their origin and function.

A closer look at the more unusual breaks reveals not so much a disregard for performing circumstances as a sophisticated manipulation of them and returns us to some of the characteristics we have noted in previous chapters. In the case of 6/7 (—/*hos*-ring, E), the verb of saying and Hektor and Paris' departure for the battlefield are delayed, emphasizing—through the defamiliarizing device of withholding an expected ringing element—the isolation of Hektor's vain hope of the "wine-bowl of freedom." This latter motif thus balances Hektor's previous refusal of wine and also strengthens the parallel with Achilleus' similar refusal of food in the corresponding Book 19. More immediately, the simile at 7.4–7 describing Hektor's arrival on the field like a fair wind to weary sailors provides a structural anticipation of the Lemnian traders, whose appearance at the end of 7 introduces an exception to the Greeks' normal wine supply and also adds to the parallels between 7 and 1 by alluding to Hephaistos' earlier role as sommelier. Thus, a complex poetic purpose is served by a combination of calculated anticipation and retrospection in the context of a carefully planned total narrative.[18]

At 18/19 (=/Dawn, I) a type-scene is interrupted, with the subject of the verb again understood from the earlier book. And again there is a ringing function both within the narrative of Book 18 and in the overall scheme,with a motivic connection between the gift from the Lemnian god and that of the Lemnian traders in the corresponding book (7), together with the structural link to Hephaistos's appearance in Book 1 we have just noted. Further, the intrusion of Dawn into the continuation of the type-scene in 19 plays a symbolic role, in a complex of fire and light imagery, as ironic harbinger not so much of Achilleus' resumption of ordinary life as of his commitment to death; it is motivically balanced, as we have argued, by the subsequent simile of Hyperion *Elektor* (19.389).

A like relationship to the overall structure is evident in two remaining cases. In 23/24 (*hos*-ring/Rc, E) delayed closure again serves a motivic function within the new book, linking the burial of Patroklos with that of Hektor. The resulting open-ended parataxis of 23 leaves Agamemnon's award from Achilleus exposed, unassimilated into the pattern: a formal irrelevancy like the king himself in Achilleus' new-found world of value.[19] Similar anti-closural effect can be observed at the end of the corresponding Book 2. At 2/3 (—/Rc, I) the Trojan advance of 3.1ff properly belongs to 2, as a ring to the *Catalogues*, to judge from the reference in 3.2–7 to the cranes of 2.460. But purely formal considerations are complicated by thematic ones: The structure of 2 displays an interlocking sequence of

assemblies and catalogues framed by the theme of deception enunciated at the outset by Agamemnon's "Test"; that of 3 has been provided with an introduction that orients the hearer to the topical emphasis on Trojan indiscipline that will be explored in the following narrative. Here, an analytical view of the ensuing narrative seems to have prompted a departure from conventional practice.

The interruption of type-scenes and postponement of a ringing or retrospective element for the sake of emphasizing a theme or motif—either by isolating it at the end of one book or by including it in the next—suggest the creative adjustment of material at hand in an imaginative response to the formal possibilities of stable, consecutive entities. It seems reasonable to refer these adjustments to a stage in the rhapsodic period rather than prior to it. That they are not subsequent intrusions (that is, Alexandrian) seems clear from their particular relationship to the overall structural patterns of the poem, which a mechanical editorial division of convenience is likely to have obscured in attempting consistency with the more ordinary junctures.

Our book divisions thus reveal a double method, dependent in either case on the concept of the poem as a fixed entirety. A more common practice emphasizes continuity between discrete segments of narrative; an alternative and clearly secondary technique emphasizes theme and motif, at the risk of creating a momentary impression of discontinuity within a predetermined scheme. The function and interaction of these quite different procedures will become clearer as we consider the purpose of the book-groups we have described.

(3) The Practical Function of the Book-Groups

We have mentioned the schemata of Drerup, Sheppard, and Myres, whose arrangement of books into "rhapsodies" or "movements" is based on considerations of both chronological and aesthetic balance.[20] Wade-Gery, assuming that our text represents essentially Homer's own, has suggested a modification of Sheppard's scheme (Books 1–9, 10–18.353, 18.354–24) that would accommodate the psychology of an audience, during performance over three days, in focusing on Achilleus: "At the end of each day's performance we have reached (and fully explored) a vital stage of his experiences."[21] More recent opinion, assuming that our text reflects at least Homer's intentions, has favored a division into groups of four books each (including Book 10), to be recited in two installments over each of three days. Davison's proposal of this scheme was based on numerical considerations of scale,[22] and to these Thornton has added parallels observable in the narrative content of each of the resulting four-

book "cantos."[23] Kirk accepts this plan with some misgiving:[24] The grouping of 1–4 leads to the first engagement in battle; in 5–8 we encounter diversions and delays; 9–12 narrate the futile attempts by the Greeks to placate Achilleus and Hektor's invasion of the Achaian camp; 13–16 culminate in the death of Patroklos; 17 ("which should not really be strongly separated from 16 by the accident of sixfold divisions, although 17 is in a sense a self-contained episode") and 18–20 focus on Achilleus and his return to battle; but in 21–24 "The division between 20 and 21 is again an artificial one, although the interruption of the *Theomachy* [parts of which fall in each Book] is not in itself serious, since the episode is somewhat incoherent in any case." But he issues a Wagnerite warning that "it is worth remembering that, if any very formal divisions *were* to be strongly marked and clearly felt, that would hardly help the unity of the epic as a whole."[25] Kirk notes as questionable the breaks between separate books (6/7 he finds "slightly artificial" and 18/19 "not a particularly strong one") but finds 12/13 "a major and organic division," though "without obvious functional reason." He would prefer, like his predecessors, three "movements" comprising the Wrath and its early consequences and delays before the battle begins to go against the Achaians; severe central fighting to the death of Patroklos; and Achilleus' reentry into battle.

When we examine the endings and beginnings of each of these four-book divisions, we find that they fall well within the patterns of what we have called "primary divisions":

4/5: Rc/brief prospective transition
8/9: Rc/R-*hos*
12/13: Rc/Rc
16/17: *hos*-ring/Rc
20/21: Rc/Rc

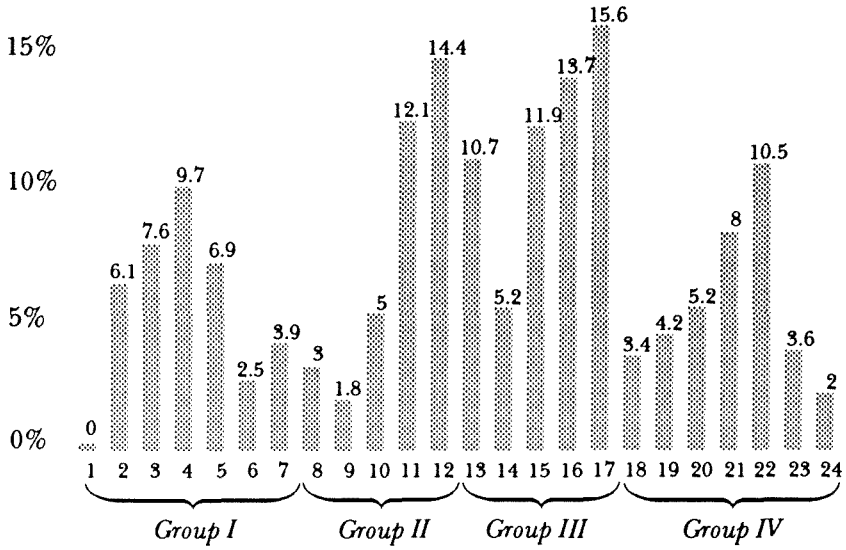
If, on the other hand, we consider the junctures at the major divisions we have suggested, we find for 7/8 (Rc/Dawn) a discontinuity of time and scene—from the panoramic overview of nightfall and the scene of nervous carousal on the field to Dawn on Olympos and Zeus' assembly of the gods to grant license to enter the fray. Such transitions from night to day are exceptional, as we have seen, occurring elsewhere only at 11, where the usage itself is unusual, and 19, where it is obtrusive: a "natural" break seldom utilized, as if to avoid the impression of a relentless temporal sequence, and then in unorthodox, symbolic fashion. We have also noted that although the detail of the Lemnian wine-traders adds significant elements of irony to the end of 7, it introduces an inconsistency while at the same time providing an important structural reference both

within the book and beyond it. The divisions between 12 and 13 (Rc/Rc) and 17/18 (R-*hos* /R-*hos*), on the other hand, are unexceptionable in form. In the first instance the separation diverts the narrative thread—as nowhere else in the poem—at its most climactic point, the attack on the wall; and in the second the doubly strong division introduces a structurally independent prologue. And in both cases the breaks are followed by passages arguably influenced by the non-Homeric *Aithiopis*—suggestion at least that we are dealing with exceptional procedures.[26]

In this particular arrangement, the "wrath" of Achilleus and its consequences are thus treated not simply as a doublet of the war over Helen, consistent with the dual structural emphasis we noted at the outset of Book 1: Attention shifts to an elaborate analysis of the larger issues of the war and the ideologies that have caused and prolonged it. This scheme is no less alert to audience psychology (and of course coincides with the four-book groups at the break between 12 and 13). At the end of 7, we are left with a sense of the futility of heroic efforts to resolve the issues of the war, and the activation of Zeus' plan in 8 comes as a new and hopeful beginning. The climax and diversion at 12/13 (comparable to Odysseus' tantalizingly premature ending of his tale for the Phaiakians at *Od.* 11.328–32) sets a hardy pattern for sensational plot-development in subsequent literary genres; but it also distinguishes a period of Trojan success, according to the plan of Zeus, from a period of interference with it on the part of Poseidon and Hera. And the division at 17/18 sets apart from what has gone before the long-awaited return of Achilleus to battle, of which his epiphany at the wall in 18 is the first stage. At the same time, it links Achilleus' fate with that of Troy and Hektor in a way that sets the tone for the remainder of the poem. In the specific thematic emphases made possible by this arrangement, we have seen that Book 4, central to the first group, restates the original Trojan wrong through Pandaros' treachery, within a considered analysis of the weaknesses and susceptibilities of either side. Zeus' active intervention in Books 8–12 makes clear the distance between the heroic code and the divine will, but in the centerpiece provided by the *Doloneia* we see Greeks abandoning the code not in recognition of its inadequacy but in sheer opportunism—the Odyssean alternative—which is no more acceptable to our poet than the heroic response. In the sequences 13–17 and 18–24, Books 15 (reasserting the power of Zeus' *noos* among gods and men) and 21 (exposing the folly of violence at either level) continue the poet's analysis of his characters' compulsion to avenge wrongs in terms irrelevant to provocation or solution.

The distribution of similes in the four groups of 7:5:5:7 books also offers a noteworthy reflection of our poet's habit of using comparisons to

reinforce structural relationship and narrative climax. In the figure below, the percentage of lines in each book occupied by similes forms the ordinate, the sequence of books the abscissa.[27]



In 8–12 and 13–17 the concentration rises at the climactic end of each group, as often in individual books, with the breach of the Greek wall and the Greek retreat with Patroklos' corpse—the prelude to Achilleus' return to battle. In 1–7, on the other hand, thematic emphasis is strengthened by the clustering of similes to describe Pandaros' treachery and the renewal of battle in 4; but this centrality is understandably displaced by a book in 18–24, with the climactic death of Hektor in 22.

Proponents of the four-book groups have suggested as the occasion and the site of their initial performance the Pan-Ionian Festival on Mt. Mykale ca. 800 B.C.[28] or that on Delos. But such evidence as we have—from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 160ff—for the choral imitation of the polyglot chattering (*bombaliastys*) of all men, past and present, at the Delian festival hardly favors Homeric recitation on the scale of our poem.[29] Others maintain that our *Iliad* is rather to be associated with Athens of the later sixth century.[30] The upper terminus for a fixed literary version is based on archaeological considerations: the introduction of the alphabet into Greece in the eighth century (at a point still disputed) and the relative absence in the poem of reference to material artifacts datable after the early seventh.[31] The lower limit is based on the view that our *Iliad* is descended from the version of the poem that was secured by Pisistratus or his sons for use as a standard for recitation in the Panathenaic

Festival.[32] Testimonia vary, reflecting alternative traditions about precisely when and just how this was accomplished; but our text does in fact betray evidence both of dictation, as we have noted, and, at points, of Athenian rather than the Ionian orthography that prevails elsewhere in the poem.[33]

Lord, on the basis of his familiarity with Yugoslav oral practice, has disassociated our text from the Homeric "original," maintaining that its length is too great for a "performing edition" by a single poet and must be instead a "collector's edition."[34] But one may question the relevance of the model of performance in a South-Slavic Moslem coffee-house to antiquity, where the better-provisioned stamina of audiences at the Greater Dionysia is testimony to the habit of attending performances lasting many hours over several days.[35] Nor is it necessary to assume that evidence for sixth-century recitations by a team of rhapsodes represents a novelty: The Chiote *Homeridae*, claiming descent from Homer, appear to represent a traditional guild of artists trained to recite the poem in an extended form. Davison, as we have noted, has shown the feasibility of performance in four-book groups by a team of four rhapsodes, in two installments over three days; his conclusions are based on a recitation rate of eleven lines per minute:[36]

Day	*Group*	*Lines*	*Time required*	
1	1 (1–4)	2,493	3h. 47m.	
	2 (5–8)	2,481	3h. 46m.	7h. 33m.
2	3 (9–12)	2,606	3h. 57m.	
	4 (13–16)	2,972	4h. 31m.	8h. 28m.
3	5 (17–20)	2,304	3h. 30m.	
	6 (21–24)	2,827	4h. 18m.	7h. 48m.

The scheme suggested here, on the other hand, would require less neatly balanced blocs of time but is no less feasible under similar circumstances:

1	1 (1–7)	4,413	6h. 41m.	
2	2 (8–12)	3,176	4h. 48m.	
	3 (13–17)	3,733	5h. 39m.	(10h. 27m.)
3	4 (18–24)	4,371	6h. 37m.	

The shorter first- and third-day performances would give ample allowance for preliminary and closing ceremonies (*prooemia*, awarding of prizes). If breaks like those proposed for the second day seemed appropriate for the first and third, they would presumably come between Books 3 and 4 and Books 21 and 22. And if the combination of Groups 2 and 3 (comprising Books 8–17) should be regarded as a practical impossibility, the recitation could be extended by a day to separate them. (Performance

of the *Oresteia*, with some 3,842 lines, plus a satyr-play the length of *Cyclops* [709 lines], would at a total of 4,551 lines together with stage business require considerably more time than days 1 or 3 in this scheme.)

Although these estimates suggest the feasibility of complete performance, they do little to prove that our *Iliad* is identical with "Homer's." The testimonia regarding this legacy range from Aelian's pleasant story (*Vita Homeri* 9.15) that Homer presented his daughter with a manuscript of the *Cypria* as a dowry on her marriage to Stasinus, to Cicero's much-contested report of Homeric *libros confusos* put in order by Pisistratus.[37] And theories extend from Wade-Gery's picture of a literate Homer engaged in a lifelong labor of revising and perfecting his work, to the notion that at most cue lines or summaries of individual books were passed down from the poet to his guild of rhapsodes.[38] It has been supposed that traces of Homeric influence on Greek lyric might shed light by showing what was known when. But much of what has been taken to reflect the *Iliad* in poetry of the seventh century need not do so directly or specifically and consists largely of refractions of epic diction in general or of maxims common to a broader poetic tradition.[39] On the question of intertextual reference in Archilochus 191, for example, Fowler maintains that "the borrowing works in a loose way. Archilochus uses epic language to suggest the idea 'epic hero dying.' He does not mean 'as in *Iliad* 5.696'; nor does he then complicate things further by adducing two more passages; still less does he do so on the basis of a single word or phrase."[40] In the case of Tyrtaeus 10.21ff and Mimnermus 2, Fowler admits the likely influence of *Iliad* 22.71–76, on the basis of shared specific details of the wretchedness of old age, and 6.146ff, on the generations of men, where the "central thought may be a commonplace, but in this case one suspects that it is Homer who has made the thought famous, and thenceforward a commonplace."[41] But it is not until sixth-century lyric that knowledge of specific passages in our Homer is required for a proper understanding of the point of an imitation. The earliest of these are the references to Achilleus' supplication of Thetis (*Iliad* 1) in Alcaeus fr. 44 and to the *Catalogue of Ships* (2.484–93) at Ibycus PMG 282(a) 23ff.[42] And with arguable allusion to the descent of Hera and Athena (*Iliad* 5) in Sappho 1,[43] we move into the period of alleged texts of Homer.[44]

Of testimony in the pre-Socratics, a commentary on Alcman preserves an allegorizing interpretation of Achilleus' parentage, but no specific Homeric reference is at issue.[45] We are on somewhat firmer ground with the report that Theagenes of Rhegium employed moral and physical allegory during the period ca. 525 B.C. in defending the *Theomachy* against its philosophical critics.[46] By the end of the century, we have specific verses being cited by Heraclitus for praise and blame (B 105 Diels–Kranz, referring to *Il.* 18.251 and 6.488; cf. B 120, B 42); in Xenophanes we also have

evidence for the popular (and philosophically unpalatable) notion that rhapsodic contests can provide a source of enlightenment (B 10: "Since all at first have learned from Homer").[47] But here too definite references to the *Iliad* postdate the period likely for an Athenian text.

Similarly in Greek vase-painting, general motifs appear early but without specific allusion. A graffito on a well-known geometric cup from Rhodes found on Ischia in a late eighth-century context charmingly proclaims itself "Nestor's cup," indicating some knowledge of the object described at 11.632–35; but neither the language nor the meter is Homeric, and the humor of the verse derives largely from its allusion to the formulae of early criminal law.[48] On pottery decorated by Sophilos and the slightly younger Nearchos, working in Athens ca. 575–550 B.C., we find representations of the funeral games for Patroklos and of Achilleus restraining his remarkable horses, though there are discrepancies of detail with our text.[49] It is not, in fact, until the period ca. 520 that specific scenes from the *Iliad* begin to appear in quantity at Athens, supplanting an earlier preference—to judge by the admittedly insecure measure of frequency of preservation—for scenes from the Cycle.[50]

As early as 600 B.C., during his war with Argos, the tyrant Kleisthenes is said to have expelled Homeric rhapsodes from Sicyon in reaction to the favorable and prominent role of Argives in their songs (Herodotus 5.67.1). Whether or not a fixed and unified text is implied by the rhapsodes' failure to adjust their poetry to please their patron is debatable: An *Iliad* without Argives is difficult to imagine, and we hear of no attempt to alter the poems, merely that they were prohibited.[51] Cinaethus of Chios, to whom we shall return, is said to have been the first to recite Homer at Syracuse ca. 504–500 B.C., but again we are in a period subsequent to that claimed for the Athenian text. There is, in effect, little indication of the form of the *Iliad* during the interval between the later eighth century and the mid-sixth, with no compelling external evidence that our poem existed as a fixed entity during this period.[52] We have just suggested, however, that our *Iliad* bears the marks of readjustment in a process of organizing a complete edition suitable for regulated performance over several days. At issue is how and in what form this material was preserved until the poem was shaped as we have it, at a point still to be established.

If our poem were simply the product of formal manipulation, at the stage of the *Endredaktion*, of a body of poetry hitherto transmitted orally, we should expect it to reflect oral usage elsewhere with an unexceptionable consistency, for it is an essential dictum of oral theory that "there is only unity of the whole, for the part is variable, undefined, and, in fact, nonexistent."[53] But recent studies of the formulae, meter, and vocabulary of the poem have with increasing insistence called attention to the occurrence throughout of distinctly inventive and indeed literary fea-

tures that oral theory can accommodate only by invoking a phase of "decadence" characteristic of the transition from an oral stage to a literary one.[54] It may be—as has been urged for some time—that too hard a line has been drawn between literacy and orality;[55] and it is worth pausing at this point to examine just how the poem as we have discussed it fits or diverges from the general pattern traced by traditional oral theory.

(4) Orality versus Literacy in the *Iliad*

It will be helpful to begin by considering a recent summary of the characteristics of a primary oral culture, drawn up without exclusive reference to but meant to apply to the *Iliad*. Although a procedure of this sort necessarily involves confronting an ancient text with a body of descriptive conclusions based on field work in modern and largely alien folkways, it will nevertheless illustrate some of the difficulties of this approach to Homeric poetry. In *Orality and Literacy*, Fr. Ong proposes the following as distinctive features of oral thought and expression:[56]

(1) They are *additive rather than subordinative*—that is, paratactic rather than hypotactic.[57] We recognized this aspect of Homeric verse at the outset; our subsequent discussion indicates that although the basic accretive principle may be rooted in the oral style, its use in the narrative sequence of the *Iliad* is governed by methods of organization that produce recursive structures of a complexity foreign to extemporized poetry.[58] There seems little reason to doubt that parataxis in language and refrain-composition in form are characteristic of traditional epic. It is equally likely that annular and interlocking patterns are an outgrowth of the need in an oral, non-subordinating style for creating emphasis and parallel; they may also have been exploited as mnemonic devices in oral narrative for the sake of preserving a tale well told. But their use in our *Iliad* to create complex effects of framing and juxtaposition indicates a concern less with preserving the inherited conventions of storytelling than with creating a stable object of distanced and repeatable appraisal, in which form itself plays an essential role in the poet's discourse. In accounting for such patterns in the *Iliad*, there is no need to follow Peabody's attempt to restrict their origin and function to the feedback cycles of communication theory.[59] For although there is a significant—and perhaps ultimately quantifiable—component of involuntary response in all creative activity, complex verbal and thematic ring-composition is not confined to the Homeric style; and a more relevant model for Homeric artistry can be found in the conscious literary parataxis of archaic and classical lyric and in fifth-century drama and historiography, where writings also intended for public presentation demonstrate a similar concern

with the circumstances of performance and the creative possibilities of a fixed text.[60]

(2) They are *aggregative rather than analytic*—a feature Ong defines in terms of traditional noun-epithet combinations, i.e., formulaic expressions.[61] But recent studies have challenged the assumption that the regularity once claimed for Homeric formulae can be maintained or adequately redefined in terms of systematic flexibility: Our *Iliad* is not limited to uniform repetition of epithets, for example, but demonstrates a willingness to vary formulae without metrical constraint in order to serve an expressive function in specific narrative contexts.[62] Our poet's technique is in fact mixed: Formulaic phrases drawn from the tradition are retained as they serve his purpose but may be modified or replaced when an adjustment of detail or tone is desired.

Such variation might be accommodated within the framework of oral theory if the alternatives called into play could be shown to function in the same way as does more traditional usage. But as Pope and Richardson argue, the vocabulary of these alterations shows that the poet is not simply recombining elements of familiar diction but uses new compounds, coinages, and a variety of words from ordinary speech to create special effects; indeed, some 35 percent of Homer's vocabulary consists of *hapax legomena* (the figures for unique words in Shakespeare—40 to 45 percent—offer a suggestive comparison).[63] This tendency is not unlike the state of transition "from formulae to words" found in the development of Greek lyric, in which, as Fowler suggests,[64] there is a movement from traditional diction toward a more pointed and flexible style that consciously exploits verbal play to accommodate a changing apprehension of poetry and of experience. But a more instructive indication of our poet's technique may be found in the battle scenes of Books 13 and 15, where stock death-formulae are used, alongside variations suited to individual cases, to articulate subsidiary formal units in a larger, complex, preconceived structural design.[65] Thus, the question of orality versus literacy hinges perhaps less on the relative frequency and traditionality of the formulaic language of our poet than on the use he makes of it.[66]

(3) They are *redundant or "copious"*—that is, although written discourse allows the eye to recover the thread of thought by "backlooping" over the text, oral discourse must resort to pleonasm to retain its focus on the matter at hand; redundancy and repetition ensure effectiveness and serve expediency in an oral situation, as in modern oratory.[67] Ong offers no examples from Homer, but we have noted ways in which there is an accommodation to the needs of the hearer, as in the overviews at book ends and beginnings; and we have pointed out in the speeches a certain rhetorical *copia* inherent in ring-compositional structure. But neither of these demonstrates that we are dealing with an extemporized epic; and we

have shown that breaks in expected sequence—as in Zeus' rebuke of Hera's intervention at 18.356ff—suggest not so much an improviser's loss of control as his engagement with a scheme in which, again, the narrative moment is subordinated to a larger pattern.[68] Some of these patterns may, with repetition, have emerged as a familiar source of enjoyment to an audience; others demand considerable "backlooping" for due appreciation of a text that invites understanding in terms of a narrative sequence inseparable from the structural entities that shape it.

(4) They are *conservative or traditionalist, dependent on the memorization and repetition of conceptualized knowledge*; where change occurs it appears "in an essentially formulaic and thematic noetic economy" in which "formulas and themes are reshuffled rather than supplanted with new materials." With textualization, on the other hand, the mind is free to turn to "new speculations."[69] This is in fact a mixed category that assumes an unduly rigid distinction between epic and philosophical development, quite apart from the question of orality. The principle that "in oral tradition, there will be as many minor variants of a myth as there are repetitions of it" should not be confused with our poet's use of apparently conflicting versions of myths to serve different functions in different contexts. On the other hand, the development of our *Iliad* has clearly allowed "new speculations" about the material itself, as our analysis of the *Shield* and the *Catalogue* has shown; and we have noted many narrative details (such as Hektor's desire for the armor of Nestor and Diomedes at 8.191–97, balanced at last by his stripping of Achilleus' armor from Patroklos in Book 17) that are inessential and indeed inexplicable in the immediate narrative situation but nevertheless represent a concern to enhance in the smallest detail the artistic unity of a structural whole. More important, the achievement of our poet—as we have emphasized throughout—lies not in merely recreating the heroic world but in questioning its essential values and the traditional relationship between gods and men. Specifically relevant to the latter is the development of formulae that transfer the home of the gods to a non-terrestrial Olympos in order to serve a more abstract concept of divinity.[70] Equally telling is the contrast between those formulae that represent Zeus' active influence on events by a physical gesture (his thunderbolt, a nod) and those in which he achieves his purpose effortlessly, as in 15.242 where Hektor is revived by Zeus' *noos* alone (*epei min egeire Dios noos aigiochoio*).[71] Here again the question seems to be less one of orality versus textuality in our *Iliad* than the character and degree of their interrelationship.

(5) They are *close to the human lifeworld, or rather, the presentation of knowledge as story*, as in the detailing of "navigation procedures" in the embarcation for Chrysa in 1.141–44 (cf. 309ff), where "the abstract description is embedded in a narrative presenting specific commands for

human action or accounts of specific acts."[72] Ong also cites the *Catalogue of Ships*, where the information is presented "in a total context of human action" in terms "describing personal relations." It seems reasonable to distinguish here between the special case of historical information in the *Catalogue* and the numerous procedures treated as type-scenes (whether embarcation, furling a mast, making sacrifice, or simply putting on armor in the most practical order), whatever their original form and function in pre-Homeric tradition. In discussing the *Catalogue*, we pointed out that a careful patterning of thematic anecdote—in a highly selective "context of human action"—provides not so much the medium in which the data is preserved as a commentary on the text itself; here again, formal stability is indispensable for such meticulously calculated effects. As for the preservation of technology through narrative instead of "any abstract manual-style description," it seems likely that when the poet emphasizes the details of a conventional procedure, he is defining his art by evoking the tradition in which he works rather than simply reproducing it—much less intentionally transmitting complex crafts, despite the pretensions of later rhapsodes (to judge from Plato's portrait of Ion [536E–542]) to derive from Homer all knowledge of all things. More significant evidence of the poet's attitude toward technology can be seen in his exclusion of magic spells in Patroklos' treatment of Eurypylos' wound at the end of Book 11: For although Patroklos has learned his medical skill from Achilleus, pupil of Cheiron, he applies it without the slightest hint of appeal to nonphysical healing powers.[73] And when the poet endeavors to describe a technology for which there is no precedent—as in Apollo's swift healing of Ares' divine wound at 5.900–904—he turns not to fantasy but to a form of analogical reasoning (implied in the homely—perhaps under the circumstances even comical—simile describing the use of fig juice to curdle milk in making cheese) that is not far removed from the pre-Socratics' method of identifying substrate processes to explain the behavior of matter.[74] Ong's emphasis on oral transmission of knowledge even in a "chirographic" culture is in many respects legitimate for cultural tradition in all times and places. But it is worth noting—as a caution against an oversimplified application of a valid general principle—that leaders of technological innovation in archaic Greece, from the sixth-century architect Theodorus of Samos onward, did not wait for the "interiorization" of print but quickly turned to prose as a natural mode of recording their achievements.[75]

(6) They are *agonistically toned, with extremes of vituperation and praise, and excesses of physical violence.*[76] Ong cites for the former the *Iliad* in general, presumably referring to the conventional braggadocio confrontations between warriors, and for the latter Books 8 and 10 (without raising the issue of the authenticity of the *Doloneia* and the view in

some quarters that it is an addition datable to a textual stage of the poem). It is worth noting, however, that vituperative exchanges are often accompanied by warnings or admission that verbal indulgence of this sort is childish (Nestor to the contending Agamemnon and Achilleus in Book 1, Aineas to Achilleus in 20; cf. Odysseus' admonition against excesssive blame or praise at 10.249); and in the narration of violence, the poet systematically imposes a counter-refrain of pity for needless loss.[77] Even the excesses of 10 are qualified by Athena's warning to Diomedes lest he rouse the anger of "some god." It is in any case unclear that this criterion is crucial to a distinction between oral and literary poetry (which has its own share of bizarre violence, as in Lucan's *Pharsalia* and the pen-productions of Seneca *tragicus*). If orality implies approval of violence for its own sake, the *Iliad* must be excluded. More likely, we are again dealing with features that are to an extent reflected in but do not define the nature of our poem.

(7) They are *empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced in order to achieve a close, empathetic, communal identification with the known.*[78] Ong elaborates: "Writing separates the knower from the known and thus sets up conditions for "objectivity," in the sense of personal disengagement or distancing"; and he maintains that the objectivity that Homer and other "oral performers" do have is enforced by formulaic expressions, to which the audience responds with its communal "soul" rather than an individual or "subjective" reaction. In this connection Ong cites Havelock, whose view runs as follows: Unlike the Romantics, who

> aspired but . . . did not inform[,] The Homeric poet controlled the culture in which he lived for the simple reason that his poetry became and remained the only authorised version of important utterance. He did not need to argue about this. . . . While he may not always have recognised the cultural meaning of what he was preserving, he was very vividly aware of the techniques that he wielded to make it stick. His role as the encyclopedist was shared by all members of his craft. . . . To control the collective memory of society he had to establish control over the personal memories of individual human beings. . . . What then were the psychological resources available to him to render this spell effective? . . . a relationship between the poet and the individual memory of any member of the community could be established only by audible and visual presence . . . built up and maintained during the course of oral recitation.[79]

But neither the role nor the person of the rhapsode was sacrosanct: We have noted that in the sixth century rhapsodic performances were regulated or banned, and in 404 B.C. Nikeratos fell victim to the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.39, Lys. 18.6f, Diod. 14.5.5). Nor was the Homeric tradition itself immune to attack by Hesiod (whose invocation to the *Theogony* has

been taken as a polemic against the Homeric relation to the Muses), the rivalry of the Cyclic poets, the implicit criticism of lyric poets, and the explosive antagonism of pre-Socratics.[80] The thinking of Havelock and others in this regard reflects the classical picture of Homer as the educator of all Hellas, as reported for example in *Republic* 606E. But this view is a product of several factors apparently related or subsequent to the textualization of the poem: the pretensions of professional rhapsodes, the growth of allegorical criticism in response to the hostility of philosophers, and the role of the poems in the educational and religious life of individual Greek cities. Most tellingly it takes no account of the apparently dominant popularity of the jingoistic and sensational poems of the Cycle prior to the institutionalization of the text at Athens and elsewhere in the sixth century.[81] The psychology of this audience preference is unlikely to have been radically different from that described in Plato's *Ion* (535C–E), where the element of subjective response is regarded as essential, however one defines the Homeric formula: For if the rhapsode failed to inspire immediate and meaningful emotions in his hearers, he got no prize.

(8) They are *homeostatic, that is, kept in equilibrium by sloughing off memories with no present relevance*; for example, words have few semantic discrepancies but require "direct semantic ratification."[82] Ong concedes that an art language such as that preserved in epic will retain some words in "archaic forms and senses" but sees this as another form of the "current use of epic poets." In historical terms, the inheritance of tradition (as in genealogies) will be abandoned when it is no longer needed, and replaced by new or revised data in a process of "structural amnesia" that allows oral tradition to reflect the values of the present rather than "idle curiosity about the past." Morris anticipates objections to this criterion as it applies to Homer by pointing out that the creation of "epic distance"—in which archaizing and fantastic elements are introduced to set the Heroic Age apart from the world of the poet and his audience—is common to oral traditions elsewhere.[83] But such "distancing" elements as Morris adduces—bronze weapons, the boar's tusk helmet among them—constitute only a small part of the evidence in the poem of half a millenium of material culture that would have been lost to poetic memory without a notably incomplete process of homeostasis. Moreover, the admixture of antiquarianism and innovation found in the *Iliad* is accompanied, as we have argued, by a distinctly critical view of the heroic world it represents in such detail. A telling example of our poet's sophistication of method in this regard can be seen in Book 10, where Odysseus is given a self-consciously and unmistakably "primitive" disguise (the tusk helmet) for an expedition that will be conducted on the "post-heroic" principle of deception. And the poet's evenhanded treatment of both sides and his avoidance, when speaking in his own voice, of formulae unfavorable

to the Trojans are less than conducive to the "triumphalism" that in Ong's view, under this heading, characterizes a primary oral tradition.[84]

(9) They are *situational rather than abstract, using operational rather than conceptual ways of thinking.*[85] Here again it is essential to distinguish usage derived from poetic tradition and the particular way in which it is combined with other elements in the poem. At issue in this category is the concept of mind represented in the *Iliad.* Ong's further discussion makes this clear in conceding that the oral mentality is not less intelligent than the literate but operates in a different way, capable of "amazingly complex and intelligent and beautiful organizations of thought and experience"; on the other hand "they cannot elaborate concatenations of causes in the kind of analytic linear sequences which can only be set up with the help of texts. The lengthy sequences they produce, such as genealogies, are not analytic but aggregative."[86] But see Chapter I on the *Catalogues* and the *Shield.* Again, despite the emphasis on genealogy at many points in the poem, the poet's mistrust of claims based on family connection—whether implicitly (as in the case of Agamemnon's staff) or explicitly (Glaukos in 6, Achilleus in 21)—suggests just that break with genealogical thinking which characterizes the archaic temper in general and the panhellenic aspect of Homeric epic in particular.[87]

It seems clear that our *Iliad* diverges in too many ways and degrees from these nine criteria to qualify as a product of a "pure" oral culture so conceived. It is also clear that analysis of the *Iliad* conducted on such terms produces an oral epic only by limiting the evidence, much as the purely (and selectively) lexical approach of Snell has supplied us with a poet who has no concept of mental activity or even of the body as such.[88] We noted earlier the similar difficulties of assuming a paratactic worldview on the basis of style alone.[89] Ong's observation that oral thinking can be "quite sophisticated and in its own way reflective" does not in itself allow us to locate Homer more closely to a Navaho (as Ong implies) than to a Goethe using similar narrative techniques.[90] At issue is the structure of that reflection, as it can be traced in the relationship of form and content in a given expression. We have seen that the characters (and thus the poet) are aware that actions (and thus the narrative itself) cannot be properly read with exclusive reference to external appearances but demand attention to a substrate of meaning and of purpose. Indeed, the *Iliad* is built on a clear and systematic distinction between appearance and reality, between seeming and being, that tends to be associated with conceptual rather than purely mythical thinking. But the degree to which conceptual thinking should be confined to literacy remains open to question, given the circularity of an argument in which the object of debate—

in this case, Homeric poetry—is used without qualification as primary evidence to determine the outcome.[91] A more relevant issue is, again, whether the oral theory can be extended, without losing internal consistency, to accommodate a poem that is organized on such complex analytical principles of formal and narrative purpose. For the conscious use of verbal repetition to establish structural connections between one part of the poem and another was expressly excluded from Parry's considerations, and his theory, from the start.[92]

—Or perhaps we should concede that what we have is a work that like much else in the culture of archaic Greece bears the marks of a certain ambivalence in adapting literary form to organize and represent experience. Perhaps the possibilities of definition need to be expanded: Is our *Iliad* better described as "pseudo-oral" or "semi-oral" ("semiliterate" is at the least misleading)?[93] The poet's relationship to the Muse, as source of memory, would presumably head the list of formal oral characteristics; but the dependence on the daughter of Mnemosyne advertised at the beginning of the poem and of the catalogues within it, as in the description of Thamyris' punishment for his impious challenge to the Muses, need not pertain only to a preliterate invoking aid in marshaling the elements of his craft. It was appropriate to a Hesiod, inscribing an invocation for recitation, as it would have been to a rhapsode aware of an agonothete with deposited text at hand, as to a pen-poet anxious to preserve his conception in the act of organizing it in writing. Indeed, the Homeric depiction of the poet is mixed,[94] ranging from Thamyris, who is represented as an itinerant rhapsode inflated with success, to the antiquarian picture of the palace bard Phemios in the *Odyssey*, who with an extravagance of his own contradicts the model of oral tradition by claiming, on the one hand, to be self-taught, and on the other, to enjoy direct communication from the gods. (Regarding Demodokos' "recent" song of Ares and Aphrodite, the bard's credentials are equally obscured by Odysseus' speculation [*Od.* 8.487–91] that Apollo or a Muse must have taught him the song.[95]) It seems not unlikely that in the Muses of Homer there may be as much an element of convention—not to say ruse—as in later poetry; and their role in the *Iliad* proves little about its orality or literacy.[96]

The style itself, as we have observed, consists largely of a formulaic diction that occasionally preserves archaicism at the cost of sense, just as material artifacts are described in terms the poet does not always seem to understand. At the same time, formulaic variations independent of metrical constraint suggest an interest in heightening particular narrative effects while maintaining the general character of the traditional style. In attempting a viable description of Homeric language, Lynn-George has not only questioned the validity of Parry's sampling technique but has

attacked the logical basis of the oral theory itself. In the development of Parry's thinking, he argues, "orality" was the result of a failure to see in Homer the necessary "directness" between thought and language required by Matthew Arnold's four criteria for epic—or, in terminology derived from de Saussure, the priority and transcendance of the signified over the linguistic signifier.[97] For Parry the crucial issue was whether the Homeric style is written or oral, but he proceeded to sever style (i.e., the formula) from content (the essential idea it expressed)—claiming, for example, that *polytlas dios Odysseus* means simply "Odysseus"—thus deriving a poem that lacks evidence of "the working of a mind seeking to express its unique kind of thought."[98] The result is a poetic construct dominated by the compulsions of metre and the requirements of speed, in which signification and versification are incompatible.[99] Lynn-George reasserts the bond between thought and expression in Homer by pointing to the concept of language as stated and assumed in the poem itself, and by examining of the situational function of speech in the *Embassy* of Book 9.[100] Bakker, in a more systematic examination of the contribution and the difficulties of Parry's views, points out that Parry's definition of the formula does not in fact apply to all the cases for which it was designed.[101] In the case of *ton d' aute proseeipe* ("then he said to him"), for example, the metrical requirement for formularity is met, but Parry's "essential idea" cannot be distinguished from its expression.

Bakker proposes, as a solution to the problem, a "functional view" in which formulae would be considered not in isolation from ordinary language but—as with any linguistic sign or expression—on a scale ranging from "prototypical" (that is, characterized by "redundant semantics," such as *polytlas dios Odysseus* ="Odysseus") to "less prototypical" (involving a metrical or semantic difficulty, among the latter those "illogical formulae" in which the linguistic reference is clearly out of place in the immediate context).[102]

Questions nevertheless remain, suggesting that the scale is rather a circle than a line. Although a tradition of formulaic language may not constitute the whole, it remains an indispensable technical and symbolic element in the poet's fictive world; and it is thus essential to a poetic and dramatic purpose that is both emphasized and objectified by his very departures from this tradition. But even Bakker's "prototypical formulae" often suggest the preservation of conventional language at the expense of sense. Nagy sees in the use of *polytlas dios Odysseus*, for example, a thematic reference to the hero's role in the *Odyssey*; but this does not resolve its inappropriateness at 8.97 (where Odysseus refuses to assist the beleaguered Nestor) or 23.778 (on his victory in the footrace through Athena's intervention).[103] Similarly, the use of *Gerenios hippota Nestor*

at points in Book 8 where Nestor's horsemanship is twice embarrassed might conceivably refer to his more impressive record in a *Nestoris*, conjectured on the basis of 4.318ff and 7.123ff (where at 125 *hippota* is varied with *hippelata* for Peleus); and that *hippota* means what it says is clear from Agamemnon's compliment at 4.313–16 and at 322 in Nestor's reply. But its use in 8 cannot be said to assist a clear and accurate description of the immediate situation. There are four possibilities: (1) the phrase should be regarded as metrical filler, merely denoting "Nestor"; (2) or it is a connotative or thematic indication that Nestor, *sub specie aeternitatis*, belongs to the category "Gerenian horsemen," to distinguish him from others who carry the epithet *hippota*; or (3) it is an honorific reference to his past career as a fine and knowledgeable Gerenian horseman which, owing to his great age, he can no longer sustain, being reduced to excellence of words, not deeds, and thus deserving of our understanding and continued admiration;[104] or (4) given his demonstrated ineffectiveness even in the arena of words—where he is unable to effect a firm connection between these words and the deeds he would influence by them or even to provide convincing precedent to validate his claim to influence—there is an even more emphatic discontinuity between signifier and signified, between the phrase and the object to which it is applied. The first possibility merely cancels the question without answering it; the second opens the way to three and four, which are both admissible, pertinent, and indeed inseparable within the linguistic and ideological field of our *Iliad*. In this context the traditional epithet does not simply provide a name or connote the class to which Nestor belongs but functions as a metaphor susceptible of affirmative and thus also of ironic application.[105]

A further example of irony in the application of epithets to Nestor appears in the same passage in Book 8, where only the "guardian of the Achaians" (unheroically "unwilling") is left to resist the Trojan charge, thanks to a tangled and dying trace-horse (80f: *Nestor oios emimne Gerenios, ouros Achaion, ou ti hekon, all' hippos eteireto*). The epithet reappears at 11.840, where Patroklos is reporting to Eurypylos Nestor's message for Achilleus—the beginning of Patroklos' undoing, and Achilleus'—and again in structurally related elements in 15: at 370, where Zeus thunders in answer to Nestor's prayer, with the unfortunate effect of further encouraging the Trojan onslaught (and producing the reaction of Patroklos, still with Eurypylos, described in 390ff); and at 659, where in answer to Nestor's exhortation of the men, Athena clears the mist to reveal the attack on the Greek ships. In effect, the epithet "guardian of the Achaians" is used for Nestor only and precisely at inauspicious moments that are related thematically and structurally over a considerable body of narrative.

Context offers a guide to an appropriate interpretive emphasis, just as context affects the choice of formula and its wording. We have already seen, for example, that the coming of Dawn is treated in terms that cannot be said to represent a single essential idea; instead, she comes in various ways and is choosy about her beneficiaries.[106] At Book 2.48f, Dawn brings light to Zeus and the other immortals, but Agamemnon and his men are excluded in a manner consistent with the poet's deployment of the themes of illusion and deception throughout the book. At 8.1, as Zeus begins to assert his plan to honor Achilleus, Dawn comes to the whole earth—as she does at the conclusion of the plan in 24.695. At 11.1f, as an overture to the programmatic wounding of the Greek heroes unaided by their divine partisans, Dawn rises from the side of her noble Tithonos to bring light to gods and mortals. And we have noted at length the complex of ideas associated with her coming at the beginning of Book 19.

It is worth considering, finally, an episode that can be taken to illustrate epithet making in progress. When Hektor, observing Paris' cowardly retreat from Menelaos at 3.30–37, is provoked into calling him *Dyspari*, the coinage is not meant simply as metrical filler in a string of abuse (39: *Dyspari, eidos ariste, gynaimanes eperopeuta* ["Baneful Paris, best in looks, woman-crazy enticer"]):[107] He is giving the specific and concrete reasons why, in the next line, he wishes that Paris had never been born or had died unmarried. The line becomes formulaic by conventional definition when Hektor repeats it at 13.769. But here too, though the context is rather different (Paris has in fact been leading his men with energy at some distance from the center of Trojan losses), the denotation of each word and phrase is not subsumed under the definition "Paris" but serves rather to express a specific anger and resentment that is a part of Hektor's complex view of his brother (compare the more tactful "you are a strong man, but of your own accord you hang back, unwilling" of 6.522f). At the same time, in view of the very different situation in which this Rebuke pattern is repeated, the statement suggests that Hektor is now looking for a scapegoat for his own sense of guilt at the turn of events.

This recreative, inventive, and ironic use of traditional language supports the impression created by the adjustments we observed in the book-divisions that our text, in expression and form, is to be located at some remove from its roots in oral tradition. The question of generic identification is perhaps more complex than a decision between "pseudo-orality" and "semi-orality": In the case of ironic epithets, as in withheld closure, the effect is a certain distancing not simply from the Heroic Age, but from the medium itself; and the aim is not merely the textual reproduction of a traditional genre but an important modification of it that offers a provocation to respond with a similar distancing, with something of the sensitivity to thematic development demanded by archaic lyric in its later

phase.[108] A clearer sense of what is at issue historically will emerge as we return to the questions of the context and character of our "arrangement and amalgamation"[109] and the stages that preceded it.

(5) The Date and Context of Our *Iliad*

Having argued and admired the unity of a masterpiece, we must now turn to the ungrateful task of dismembering it. In reaction to the Analyst proclivity for such operations, a number of critics have sought to resolve inconsistencies of narrative, usage, and style by suggesting that our *Iliad* is a product of growth and change, over time, in the mind and under the hand of a single, authoritative, innovating Homer; they view the infelicities that remain as traces of an apparently unfinished revision rather than the product of subsequent generations of otiose and often tasteless intervention by meddlers.[110] In the view argued here, our poem represents an extraordinarily thoughtful and creative reconstitution of a long-established but in some respects still fluid heritage. The structural integrity we have seen throughout should give pause to overconfident and facile identification of imitative repetitions, "borrowings," and even inconsistencies as evidence for multiple authorship. At the same time, it is unlikely that the poem as we have it is the work of a unique, eighth-century "Homer": The evidence suggests that the date for this achievement is rather later than early in time, as in the tradition it embodies.

We have seen that testimony from lyric poetry and vase-painting offers no very clear reflections of our poem until the later sixth century. Advocates of an eighth-century date for the organization and transcription of our *Iliad* have, on the other hand, offered no convincing resolution of the difficulties inherent in such a venture during this period—among them the technological and economic unfeasibility of so vast a project, the more erratic application of writing for other uses, the apparently quite different concept of the book otherwise in archaic Greece (as an *aide-mémoire*, rather than a complete and permanent record), and above all the unlikelihood that a guild of oral poets would so easily and so totally accept the textualization of a heritage over which they might risk losing control.[111] It is nevertheless clear that during the period ca. 700–680 B.C. there is a general, if not complete, halt in the "homeostatic" adjustment of the poetic tradition to contemporary material culture. This need not imply that the poem reached its final form at this stage, simply that a bard of unusual skill and imagination (no less than Homer himself, or a collectivity of Homers) gave a special stamp to the tradition that was preserved by a coterie of protégés eager to perpetuate the material setting of this special way of telling the tale. A renewed familiarity with Bronze Age artifacts

during the eighth century may well have contributed to the conservatism of this tradition.[112] But an antiquarian consistency in speech, setting, and costume does not guarantee historical authenticity or a monolithic poetic point of view.

More recent argument has in fact shifted to the ideology of the poem and its relation to eighth-century political tensions and the notion that transcription was motivated by the desire of the poet's benefactor(s) to advance their political agenda by the most public means available. This has involved, among other things, attempting an equation between two sets of variables. On the one hand, any determination of ideology will be a function of evidently differing interpretations of the text; on the other, the relevance of bias so revealed must be sought in a period about which we have relatively little information; nor is it agreed whether the poet's view should be taken as a deliberate political statement or as a less conscious representation of a conflict requiring critical hindsight for its identification and diagnosis.[113] On the interpretation of the *Iliad* presented here, the leadership of Agamemnon—preeminent among the Greek kings, with an unquestioned right to dispose of his own lands, wealth, and people as he may choose—can hardly be said to be ratified. Elements of the genre of princely instruction are noticeable at various points in the poem, but may be taken rather as a means of ideological characterization than as an expression of ideological commitment on the part of the poet.[114] Nor does there seem to be strong support for shared decision-making on either side in the conflict, whose choices are either inadequate or irrelevant to the major issues of the poem. The mutual understanding achieved between Achilleus and Priam transcends the divisions of the political systems that have produced them, whether corrupt monarchy or a corruptible conciliar government.[115] Far from vindicating external rank, the authority of these two bereaved is a function of insight, compassion, and the capacity for courage not on the battlefield but in the moral sphere.

In the absence of compelling evidence for complete textualization at this early period, it seems more reasonable to avoid a greater credulity by retaining the possibility of a sixth-century date, especially if the setting were the reorganized Panathenaea, and a stipulation of sequential recitation the incentive for a text that exhibits the complex magnitude and unity of ours. It is under such conditions—rather than at the eighth-century Panionian or Delian festivals—that a fixed sequence of books would be most feasible, and under such conditions that one can most easily imagine a populace gathering with respectful attention for an improving cultural event "in order that they might become the best possible citizens," as Hipparchus is made to say of his motive in bringing the text to Athens ([Ps.-] Plato, *Hipparchus* 228c).[116]

The grand scale of the achievement would harmonize with other elements of the Pisistratids' cultural and religious programs: the reorganization also of the Festival of Dionysus, an ambitious series of temples and civic buildings, and a general encouragement of the arts and poetry.[117] In fact, throughout the Greek world of the sixth century there is a pervasive association between tyranny and monumentalism: Pisistratus' contemporary Polycrates of Samos inaugurated a rebuilding of the temple of Hera that was to be the largest temple yet undertaken (179′ × 364′); other such projects in Asia Minor and Sicily were not far behind where tyranny flourished.[118] The reconstruction of the Olympiaeum at Athens begun by Hipparchus would have made it (at 134 1/2′ × 353 1/2′) the largest of mainland temples, comparable to those in Ephesus, Samos, Selinus, and Acragas. Polycrates had commissioned the engineer Eupalinus to tunnel an aqueduct through the mountain to the west of his harbor city, and it may be that Eupalinus also created Pisistratus' underground aqueduct at Athens.[119]

Polycrates was also, according to Athenaeus (1.3A), a collector of books as of poets, among them Ibycus and Anacreon; similarly Pisistratus and his sons are associated with a collection of the oracles of Musaeus, and Anacreon was brought to Athens after Polycrates' death.[120] It is unclear whether Pisistratus' purification of the Delian sanctuary of Apollo had, as Murray suggests, the effect of canceling the festival there in a move to promote the Panathenaea; but there seems to have been some coolness between Pisistratus and the Delphic priesthood—thanks perhaps to Pisistratus' funding of a new temple on Delos—which Pisistratus' political enemies the exiled Alcmaeonids abetted by their contributions to the rebuilding of the Delphic temple of Apollo after its destruction by fire in 548.[121] And an effort to consolidate the rival authority of Athens as an international religious center is evident in the refurbished festivals, the collection of oracles, the establishment of the cult of Apollo Pythius, and the location of an altar of the twelve gods in the Agora as the hub of all roads to Athens; it can be seen in the Pisistratean rebuilding of the panhellenic Telesterion at Eleusis.[122]

There has been some speculation on the political implications of adopting Homeric poetry for performance at the Panathenaea. In view of Pisistratus' claim to international attention, the *Iliad* would have a special cachet as a panhellenic epic; and as a product of Ionian tradition, it would strengthen the bond between the Greek East and its mother city that Pisistratus appears to have emphasized in other ways.[123] Such evidence as there is for sixth-century interpolation does not unduly compromise this aspect of the poem. It appears likely, for example, that the Athenian entry in the *Catalogue* (or at least the couplet at 2.557f) reflects some prompt-

ing by the Pisistratids, as antiquity claimed; and other touches, such as the presentation of the *peplos* to Athena at 6.302f and mention of the Panathenaea itself (at 2.550f), seem to reflect a desire to accommodate the occasion and the audience for which our *Iliad* was intended.[124] But it is questionable that this audience was meant to apply to their relationship to the tyrant those passages urging obedience to royal authority.[125] Whatever the eventual excesses of his sons, Pisistratus' own demeanor, once his position was stabilized, seems to have been calculated to demonstrate that he was a man of the people: thus, his decision to live not in a palace on the Acropolis but in less grand dwelling on the Agora.[126] Incidental pandering or propagandizing is less immediately apparent in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey;*[127] and because the evidence of reshaping we discussed earlier implies a body of preexistent material, it seems unlikely that the Athenian text was, as has been argued, a transcription of a special recitation by an oral poet dependent solely on oral technique and willing indiscriminately to adjust his flattery to his immediate audience—in this case his commissioner and patron.[128] Given the poet's preoccupation with the folly of genealogical pretension and the use and abuse of power and its proper source, the implications are likely to have been more subtle: perhaps cautionary, perhaps in fact an invitation to a moral authority to which everyman could aspire.

Some external indication of the character of this "reshaping" can be derived from the titles for individual books of the *Iliad*. By tradition these are designated in two ways: by descriptive title and by number using, as we have seen, the twenty-four letters of the old Ionic alphabet.[129] The one method emphasizes the content or dramatic climax of individual episodes and is relevant to their selective recitation on relatively informal occasions; the other depends on a concept of sequential order and its reproduction as a stable entity. Indeed, a scholium to Pindar, *Nem.* 2.1, describes two methods of performing the poem: as independent episodes and, at festivals, in some more complete form. It has been suggested that the numbers are early, perhaps "original."[130] But this seems unlikely, unless one is prepared to accept the *Doloneia* as an integral part of a twenty-four-book *Urilias*. Sophilos' caption for "The [Funeral] Games of Patroklos" provides our earliest documentation of a title,[131] but it is unclear whether reference is to a generally familiar traditional episode or to our Book 23. Herodotus (2.116) ascribes 6.289–92 to *The Aristeia of Diomedes*, either by inadvertence or (it has been suggested) because he was familiar with recitations or an edition in which Book 5 and at least the earlier portion of 6 were combined.[132] The reference at Thucydides 1.9 to the *skeptrou paradosis* can hardly be taken (as it has been repeatedly) as a title for Book 2, for it refers not to an episode but simply—as it says—to the genealogy of Agamemnon's sceptre at 101ff; similarly, Socrates' refer-

ence to "the horse race for Patroklos" at *Ion* 537A clearly alludes to the episode, not to the games as a whole or the book itself. On the other hand, the reference to *Litai* (*Entreaties*) at *Cratylus* 428C uses a title for Book 9 that reappears with some regularity in post-Alexandrian writers, among them Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rhet.* 8.11 and 9.14; Strabo 17; Athenaeus 18B; and at *Poetics* 1459a23 Aristotle refers to the *Catalogue of Ships*, repeating usage found at Thucydides 1.10.4.

In any case, both Sophilos' proud caption and the references of Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle appear to represent an early and popular form of nomenclature that persists throughout antiquity in a *koine* (otherwise *peze*) tradition that is amply attested in the manuscripts and in Eustathius' twelfth-century Homeric commentaries. Of the titles so preserved for all twenty-four books, some half are attested elsewhere; there is variation and no way of determining their antiquity, individually or as a group.[133] It seems likely, however, that these generally reflect rhapsodic usage rather than a convention established by booksellers (whose scribes often omit them entirely) or scholars (who seem to prefer numbers).[134] But it is worth noting also that they differ among themselves. In our Books 1–7, for example, there is a concentration of titles that list the contents of the individual books analytically:

1. *Plague and Wrath*
2. *Dream and Catalogue*
3. *Oaths and Duel of Alexander and Menelaos*
4. *Breaking of Oaths and Epipolesis*
5. *Aristeia of Diomedes*
6. *Encounter of Hektor and Andromache*
7. *Duel of Hektor and Aias*

Only 6, emphasizing the emotional climax of the narrative, neglects the elements prior to it (one might have expected *Truce. Offering to Athena*, or the like); in 5 and 7 title and contents coincide. Following this group, titles are shorter and refer to independent episodes, naming the whole from the part (*Entreaties, Deception of Zeus, Theomachy, Battle by the River*); in some cases they are inclusive (*Patrokleia*) or appear to represent alternatives (*Nyktergesia* for *Doloneia*). The more compendious titles may reflect a stage of development when individual portions existed in isolation (as is likely for the *Catalogue*) and suggest something akin to an editorial combination of more than one such independent element in a single book; the terser, inclusive titles (like Sophilos') suggest traditional usage preserved at the expense of precision, but might in some cases represent the creation of titles for material with no prior formal independence. The presence of the two types creates an impression of some inconsistency that would have been resolved, if not superseded, by an alterna-

tive system of numerical ordering introduced at the point when our twenty-four-book *Iliad* was produced with a feeling for symmetry no less apparent in each component than in the 7:5:5:7 groups of books we have discussed. The restriction of analytical titles to 1–7 and the parallelism in the titles of the structurally related *Teichomachia* (12) and *Mache epi tais nausin* (13) might also reflect this process of arrangement. Cicero's controversial reference to *Homeri libros confusos* brought into order during the period of Pisistratus may do some injustice to the state of the tradition prior to this period and certainly raises questions about the nature and scope of the activity and personalities involved, but it does not appear to exaggerate the stabilizing effect of the achievement itself.[135]

All this does not, of course, prove a sixth-century date for our book-divisions. It is, however, consistent with the evidence of textual rearrangement that we have noted in them. And although Athenian references in the *Iliad* may not indicate a pervasively local ideological purpose, one of these does provide a telling link between the "reshaping" of our poem and the period of Athenian patronage. As we have shown, the presentation of the *peplos* to Athena at 6.302f is integral to the structure of Hektor's visit to Troy and of the book itself; we may therefore assume that Book 6 as a whole reflects the formal intentions of the poet who added the scene. Similarly, the unusual transition between Books 6 and 7 (and thus both books) must represent the same personality, given the structural function in each of the elements that have been divided in such unorthodox fashion. In Book 19, which corresponds in our overall scheme to 6, we again find the motif of offerings (in this case to an Achilleus who is not so much implacable as disinterested) and an unusual transition between books (in this case 18 and 19, with the extraordinary pattern of imagery inaugurated in the latter by this division). The combination is reflected again in 23, which corresponds to 19 within the final group of books: in the grim offerings of Achilleus to Patroklos (as thereafter to the Greeks in the form of prizes from his own store of booty) and in the unusual transition between the Funeral Games and the ensuing Book 24. One can pursue the argument in terms of filiation of plot and formal structure (the offerings of 6 as a response to Diomedes' excesses in 5; the structural relation between 7 and 1, etc.) to embrace virtually the entire poem. But this should be enough to establish the probability that our text represents a thoroughgoing reworking of the *Iliad* for the special performing circumstances provided by the sixth-century Panathenaea. And it also indicates that these unusual book-divisions—which are associated with thematic parallels to the Trojan offering to Athena and assume a fixed sequence of the pairs of books involved in each case—represent opportunities realized in "our" *Iliad*-in-progress rather than the accidents of casual division of a transmitted text.

Further examples of our poet's use of elements that unify the 7:5:5:7-book groups will also give a clearer idea of his methods. These include expansions (both prospective and retrospective), rearrangement and recontextualization[136] of older material, and the development of new material in the style and on the model of old.

Among prospective expansions are Hektor's sudden ambition to capture the golden armor of Diomedes and Nestor at 8.191–97 and his remarks at 18.288–92 on the expense of the war: In both cases, the function of these elements is apparent less in the immediate context than in the thematic connections they establish, respectively, between Books 8 and 17, and 18 and 24.[137] Retrospective elaborations include the sudden appearance of the Lemnian traders with their wine at the end of 7, Briseis' lament of 19, Andromache's weaving in 22, and the position of the funeral games in 23, all of which balance earlier elements in 1, 6, 3, and 2.

The *Catalogue*, *Theomachy*, and *Doloneia* provide unmistakable examples of rearrangement and recontextualization. The *Catalogue of Ships* may well have been among the earliest elements of the tradition to be committed to writing—perhaps quite independently of the primary concerns of the main narrative, if indeed its initial reference to the Boeotians was intended to please a local audience with a tradition of catalogue-poetry.[138] But it has clearly been reworked for insertion in Book 2, with the pattern of thematic augment we observed earlier, the adjustment of geographical sequence to isolate Agamemnon and Achilleus toward either end to reflect the dramatic polarity established in Book 1, and the transfer of the Myrmidonian catalogue to its present position in Book 16.[139] And it is likely that a Trojan catalogue was recast or assembled as a companion piece and—with its triple emphasis on the theme of delusion—balance to the *Test* (which itself may well have been improvised precisely to introduce the thematic emphasis on deception and illusion elaborated in our *Catalogues*). The references to the deaths of Ennomos and Nastes "in the river" (2.860f=874f) presuppose Achilleus' battle of 21, which forms a transition to the conclusion of the *Theomachy*; their absence in 21 may be less a result of imperfect adjustment than of thematic emphasis, as we suggested earlier. In 2 Ennomos and Nastes typify Trojan illusion; in 21 Lykaon and Asteropaios—the only Trojans specifically mentioned here—are used to orchestrate a quite different assessment of genealogy and position.[140]

In its original form, the *Theomachy* may have been a reflex of Near Eastern traditions in which the gods behave like wanton children subject to the wrath of their parents.[141] At a point prior to our reshaping, it may have provided a structural balance to a traditional *Aristeia of Diomedes*, given the striking echoes of 5 in both 20 and 21, as we have observed.[142] But in its present divided form—the first part combined with what has

been regarded as an independent, written *Aeneis*,[143] and the second with the *Battle by the River*—the original element of sportive comic relief has been used to more serious purpose in providing the background and culmination of a carefully adjusted and orchestrated exposure of an even greater human folly. The handling of the structural elements in 20 and 21 make it clear that the two books represent distinct but related entities. The encounter between Aineias and Achilleus in 20 provides a paradigmatic centerpiece that defines the limits of heroic violence in terms similar to Book 5; appropriately, this centerpiece is surrounded by two scenes of interrupted climax: the sudden suspension of the gods' entry into battle and Achilleus' thwarted attack on Hektor. In 21, scenes of frustrated violence again flank a paradigmatic center, in which the gods' slapstick and short-lived resumption of fighting suddenly defuses Achilleus' attempt to impose meaning on violence in his battle with the river and exposes the meaninglessness of his brutality at the close of the narrative. At the same time, both books contribute to a calculated escalation of Achilleus' fury leading to his encounter with Hektor in 22, where again frustration looms with Hektor's flight, until Zeus and Athena ensure the defeat not of weakness but of self-deception.

It seems reasonable to regard the *Doloneia* as an independent narrative celebrating the ruthless exploitation of hapless Trojans by clever Greeks—a tone more in character with the Cycle than our *Iliad*. For inclusion here it has been revised by adding reference to the Greek wall and, as Fenik has argued, by excluding elements concerning Rhesus' role in the war in order to avoid compromising the importance of Hektor.[144] In its new context the episode is effective in terms of mood and pacing and develops in a significant and essential way the crisis of values at this point in the narrative; without it the twenty-four book structure collapses, the chariot race of 23 becomes inscrutable, and the discourse of the poem is seriously impaired.

Although 10 and 21 derive from older material, the other two central books of the four groups—that is, 4 and 15—appear to have been largely developed for our *Iliad*. Book 4 juxtaposes Greeks and Trojans in the same terms of guilt and illusion that we have seen in the elaborately revised *Catalogues* and is therefore to be associated with the same stage of "arrangement"; and the complex formal relationship we have seen between 4 and 21 would relate 4 to the division of the *Theomachy*. But although the Pandaros episode appears to be (like the *Diapeira* of 2) an improvisation for our poem,[145] the *Epipolesis* may be a traditional element, perhaps used earlier to introduce the *Catalogue* but now relocated and revised to introduce the *Aristeia of Diomedes*.[146] Book 15 follows logically on the *Dios Apate* of 14 and motivates Patroklos' impulse to seek Achilleus' aid but is not otherwise concerned primarily with advanc-

ing the action: The stylized battle scenes and the programmatic depiction of Zeus' imposition of his will on both gods and men develops the concept of *noos*, human and divine, in terms consistent with and peculiar to the thematic readjustment that characterizes our poem.

The much-debated issue of the Greek wall likewise bears on the question of structure, for it appears at two important junctures in the book-groups we have proposed: at the end of 7, where it establishes a parallel between the Greek camp and the walled city of the Trojans, and at the climactic end of 12, where Hektor breaks through the doors of the wall "with dark face like sudden night" (12.463). It is essential to the narrative of the departure from the camp at 10.194–200; it plays an essential role in the interlocking structure comprising 12 and 13; and it reappears importantly in Achilleus' epiphany at the wall in 18.215ff. Here again our poet seems to have sacrificed military logic for an innovation, for formal and symbolic purposes, that first appears in the final text, where it plays an integral role in his twenty-four-book structure. The wall is most crucial to Books 7 and 12. In 7 the duel between Hektor and Aias has long been seen as a doublet of the encounter between Menelaos and Paris in 4 and thus a late addition; it is likely that the greater part of the book is new to our *Iliad*.[147] Similarly, Book 12 is shaped to end with Hektor's climactic attack. If 12 is (largely) new, then its retrogressive structural mirror-image in 13 must be also.[148]

Without attempting detailed precision, we may indicate schematically (see Table 1) the areas of our poet's most extensive activity suggested by these structural and thematic considerations. It should be understood that the process of revision affects the entire poem and that "new" material undoubtedly includes many older elements of language and narrative, just as older material is now used to reflect newer concerns.[149]

We saw earlier that the present arrangement of books tends to divert primary emphasis from the Wrath toward a broader perspective on the conflict. Our poet's activity is in fact most noticeable at points of expansion that depart from or complicate the grouping of books into a day-by-day account of the effect of the Wrath on the course of battle. This is apparent in the extra days allotted to the burial of the dead and the building of the wall in 7; in the inclusion of two days of fighting in Books 8–12, in which the *Battle at the Wall* (followed in 13 by the *Battle at the Ships*) displaces the *Embassy* from the position of centrality that commentators have long thought natural to the course of the action of a Wrath-poem but have been unable to justify within the structure of the work as we have it;[150] and in the complications introduced by the reorganization of material in Books 18–24. In this process, our poet has heavily exploited the narrative and formal possibilities of battle scenes of unusual length and complexity. But although there may have been some resulting gain in

TABLE 1
Areas of Our Poet's Most Extensive Activity

(Days of battle)	*Book*	*Largely new material*	*Older material revised*	*Older material reassembled*
	1		*Plague. Wrath*	
1. Dawn	2	*Test* (displacing *Epipolesis*); Trojan Catalogue	*Dream. Catalogue of Ships*	
	3			*Duel between Alexander and Menelaos; Teichoskopia*
	4	Pandaros episode	*Epipolesis*	
	5	Sarpedon episode (590–710)	*Aristeia of Diomedes*	
	6	Offering to Athena		Glaukos and Diomedes (from *Aristeia*); scenes in Troy
(extra days, 421f)	7	Duel, gathering of dead, building of wall		
2. Dawn	8		*Interrupted Battle*	
	9		*Embassy to Achilleus*	
	10		[*Doloneia*]	
3. Dawn	11		*Aristeia of Agamemnon*	
	12	*Battle at the Wall*		
	13	*Battle at the Ships*		
	14			*Dios Apate*; conclusion of *Aristeia of Agamemnon* (11)
	15	*Reversal at the Ships*		
	16		*Patrokleia*	
	17		*Aristeia of Menelaos*	
	18		*Shield of Achilleus*	[Nereids' lament]; recovery of Patroklos
4. Dawn	19		*Renunciation of Wrath*	
	20/21	*Battle by the River*		*Theomachy, Aineis*
	22		*Slaying of Hektor*	
(extra day, 23.109; new day, 23.226)	23	Achilleus with Patroklos	*Funeral Games*	
(Dawn)	24		*Ransom of Hektor*	

popular appeal, the fighting is narrated less in terms of the tactics of winners and losers than of the conflict of will, of personal history, and the role of illusion and folly—heroic and divine alike—in the commitments of the protagonists on both sides. Only the *Battle by the River* and the encounter with Patroklos' shade in 23 seem to add substantially new material about Achilleus himself.[151] At the same time, earlier elements associated with the Wrath—the *Catalogue*, *Embassy*, *Shield*, *Funeral Games*—indicate a restatement of the quarrel in terms of the more general opposition of being and seeming that we have seen reflected throughout our poem.

This analytical, rethematizing method can be traced most elaborately in the poet's treatment of the *Theomachy*. Although the concern here, as elsewhere in the poem, with the claims of genealogy and privilege may be a reaction to the tradition, an equally important influence on the sequence we have may be found in the cosmological and physical speculations of pre-Socratics on the nature of divinity and the constitution of the universe. Because of the difficulty of precise dating, it is uncertain to what extent our poem might be viewed as an answer to critics of the Homeric tradition.[152] But although the alignments of the gods against one another can in most cases be rationalized within the mythic framework of the poem itself, the contrived form of these oppositions closely parallels the allegorical thinking attested in Pherecydes of Syros (fl. 544) and in somewhat later speculation on the function of opposites in the physical world.[153] The teachings of Theagenes (perhaps also of Pythagoras) on the meaning of the Homeric text and the elaborate physical and moral allegories of the fifth century and later may represent not so much fanciful invention as an intellectual response parallel to the patterns of analysis that produced the *Iliad* we know.[154] In this context an independent *aristeia*—perhaps originally composed to flatter a noble family of the Troad claiming descent from Aineias—acquires a symbolic function in Book 20, providing an ideological balance to Aineias' encounter in 5 with Diomedes, Achilleus' earlier surrogate; and with the addition of Hephaistos' offspring Erichthonius to Aineias' genealogy,[155] it is related to the world surrounding our poem, where it may not so much offer mere (and on the face of it illogical) flattery of Athenian patronage as contribute to the complexity of the cautionary political note we have suggested.

Similar paradigmatic emphasis is created elsewhere in the poem by a certain technical devices that we may also associate with our poet. We have already identified as his the denial or postponment of closure as a means of distancing used to call attention to an element of special significance. Other such devices—hitherto thought to be traditional to the epic technique—may be his as well, for they occur in contexts that we have argued reflect the specific activity of our poet and show him confronting

not the Muse but his characters, the tradition, and his audience. The poet's direct address to his characters adds a certain immediacy of tone; but this overt intrusion of his own voice and persona also interrupts the illusion of narrative objectivity, in connection with Menelaos (4.127/146, where the direct address has a specific ringing function; 7.104; 13.603; 23.600), Patroklos (16.20, 584, 692f, 744, 754, 787, 812, 843)—the loser and the lost—and Apollo (15.365), spokesman for measure in dealing with these bereavements.[156] The poet uses the opposite technique of indefinite reference to gain a similar effect. At 13.211 (a reference to an unnamed companion of Idomeneus) and 578 (where "some Achaian" retrieves the rolling helmet of Deipyros), the poet's avoidance of the specific breaks the illusion of both narrative immediacy and a Muse-inspired omniscience no less effectively than in, for example, his direct statement of inadequacy in 12.176.

Although generalization seems a natural means of conveying a general reaction (as at 2.188, 4.81, and 17.414, 420), the poet's vague reference to Protesilaos' slayer as a "Dardanian man" (2.701) departs from the concrete tone that informs the *Catalogue* and the poem generally and has remained puzzling to commentators. But the obtrusive note of historical irony in the (alleged) obscurity of the killer of the first Greek to leap to the shores of Troy is related to a similar, magisterial irony evident in our poet's asides—whether by way of judgment (12.113, 127 on the foolishness of Asios and his companions; cf. 6.234ff, of Glaukos, and 16.46f, of Patroklos) or anticipation (cf. 12.1–39, on the fate of the Greek wall). These comments interrupt climactic developments in the action to confront the hearer with the poet's own ethical or temporal perspective on the narrative. The latter is based on a distinction between past and present that goes beyond Nestor's contrast between generations (at 1.271f) to affirm both the superiority and fatality of the race of "demigods" (cf. the disparaging formula *hoioi nyn brotoi eisin*—not found in the *Odyssey*—at 5.304, of Diomedes' strength; 12.383, of Aias; 449, of Hektor; and 20.287, of Aineas). It is worth noting the concentration of these distancing devices in Book 12, which we have argued to be largely the work of our poet, and in which the climax of the action is set firmly in the context not of historical achievement but of human folly.

Some further indication of our poet's view of the broader tradition may be seen in his handling of elements from the Cycle. The reaction of the Nereids to Achilleus' mourning at the beginning of 18 has been taken by Kakridis as a borrowing from the funeral lament for Achilleus, whose death was described in the *Aithiopis* .[157] If this is the case, it seems likely that inclusion of the lament—beyond its function within the book to anticipate Achilleus' death through this grieving for Patroklos—would in effect assert the primacy of the Homeric tradition by preempting a por-

tion of the Cycle. (A similar if more negative gesture may be discerned in the way in which the *Iliad* excludes escapist notions of the afterlife acceptable to the *Odyssey*-tradition and richly indulged in the Cycle, in cult, and in archaic vase-painting.)[158]

From this evidence of technical daring and poetic ambition one may infer a crisis of genre in a world of competing rhapsodes, contending claims to authenticity, and a field of handsome international patronage informed by a generation of lyric poets of an unparalleled technical sophistication and by a growing critical reaction to the epic tradition. In such a context, intellectual demands on the rhapsode far exceeded those known to his predecessors, with political risks far more imponderable: a world in which a Phemios, Demodokos, and the reckless Thamyris could find no place. A rhapsode given the opportunity of collaborating in an enterprise such as that offered by the Pisistratids faced an extraordinary range of choices and made extraordinary decisions.

A candidate for this role has long been seen in Cinaethus of Chios (whom Skafte Jensen suggests collaborated in the enterprise with the Athenian scribe Onomacritus).[159] The notion has been met with smiles, but it has at least the advantage of providing a positive model for discussion where we otherwise have none.[160] The association of Onomacritus with the Pisistratids is indicated by Herodotus' account (at 7.6) of his banishment from Athens to Sigeum on the Scamander for falsifying the text while editing the oracles of Musaeus (he is also accused by a scholiast of interpolating *Od.* 11.604). Hippias followed him into exile four years after the assassination of Hipparchus in 514, and the two are said to have connived in instigating Xerxes' invasion of Greece.[161] Cinaethus, only conjecturally associated with Athens, is more clearly located in Sicily, where, as we have mentioned, he is said to have been the first to recite Homer at Syracuse, in the Olympiad 504–501. It may not be coincidence that a fragment of an imposing dedicatory inscription from Gela bears the otherwise unusual name [*K*]*inaithos* in sixth-century lettering.[162] Architectural sculpture at Foce del Sele and elsewhere testifies that the Trojan cycle was at least generally known in Magna Graecia prior to this time, and it seems unlikely that Cinaethus' recitation was a "first" in the scholiast's sense but is rather to be associated with the institution of rhapsodic contests at Syracuse.[163] Of his Homeric activities in general, the *c* scholium to Pindar, *Nemean* 2.1, is worth quoting (Drachmann p.29, lines 9–18):

> They say that the Homeridae were originally members of Homer's family who sang his poetry by right of succession (*ek diadoches*); afterwards Homeridae no longer traced their lineage to Homer. Cinaethus and his circle (*hoi peri Kinaithon*) became well-known and are said to have attributed many of their own

> poems to Homer. Cinaethus was by birth a Chiot; among the poems assigned to Homer he wrote the *Hymn to Apollo* and attributed it (*anatetheiken*) to him. This Cinaethus was the first to recite the work of Homer at Syracuse in the 69th Olympiad, as Hippostratus says.

This information has prompted considerable speculation on Cinaethus' relation to the Delian Hymn;[164] his relation to the *Homeridae* is more relevant to our purpose. West and Burkert interpret the passage to mean that Cinaethus was not a Homerid but a rhapsode whose success as a performer and interpolator embroiled him with the genuine *Homeridae*, whose criticism is reflected in the note.[165] Wade-Gery regards him as an authentic Homerid, a notion derived from an alternate Pindar scholium (*e*, p.31, 16–19): "Homeridae were earlier sons of Homer, later Cinaethus' circle were rhapsodes. These remembered the scattered poetry of Homer and performed it; but they did much damage to it (*elumenanto*)."[166] This would seem to indicate that Cinaethus was regarded in some sense as a successor, at least during the latter part of the sixth century—though in just what sense is unclear. Skafte Jensen argues that because Cinaethus attributed the Delian hymn to Homer he must have been an oral poet, unconscious of the literary notion of correct attribution.[167] More probably, given the textual elements in our *Iliad*, he would have thought of himself as a creative preserver, on the model of Onomacritus (apparently) or Pythagoras.[168] The transcription of the *Iliad* would have been a record not of an oral performance in the traditional sense but rather of a reading, as in later institutionalized scriptoria. The use of an Athenian scribe for this purpose would explain the mishearings in our text and the Atticisms in it and in the eccentric manuscripts that indicate Athens as the subsequent point of diffusion of the complete text.[169] That some considerable portion of the poem existed in the form of individual episodes—smaller in scope, fewer in number than our twenty-four books—is suggested by the general linguistic stability of our text. The existence of a prized collection of some sort might explain the tradition that Hipparchus traveled to Chios for the new text (or transcription) rather than having it brought to Athens.[170]

If Cinaethus was a Homerid (though not of Homer's family), his motives for collaborating in fixing a complete text would doubtless have been professional as well as personal: The institutionalization of the new version would enhance the prestige of the guild itself and also, by the process of exclusion and preemption we have suggested, assert the authority of the Homeric tradition over the popularity of the cyclic poets.[171] If he was not a Homerid, then by accepting the commission Cynaethus perhaps stood to gain more, though the scholia reflect disapproval in some quarters with his handling of the tradition. The target of criticism

might well have been just that rethematizing process of amalgamation and expansion we have described. Perhaps West's characterization of Cinaethus as a "renegade" fits,[172] and we should think of him as the leader (with a collection of texts at his disposal) of a group of Homeridae dissatisfied with a senescent profession and ready to move abroad, with the Greek cities of coastal Asia Minor under the threat of Persian domination—an anticipation of sorts of the flight to Venice, two millennia later, of Byzantine scholars preserving their Homer from the approach of the Turks. That Cinaethus was called to Sicily suggests that his offense was not mere irresponsibility or incompetence, for as we have seen, tyrants vied with one another for the same stellar talents; and it is in the nature of professionalism that Cinaethus, having been courted perhaps by Polycrates,[173] won by Hipparchus, would soon yield to the seductions of Syracuse and—as in certain university institutions—disappear from view.

(6) Our *Iliad* and Homer's

There remains the perennial difficulty of recovering the Homeric in Homer: of isolating not so much a nucleus of material as the essential stamp left by an eighth-century singer on his inheritance. It has been argued that the price of Achilleus' withdrawal from battle—the death of Patroklos—is a Homeric addition to the story of the Wrath, and that the parallel development of the tragedy of Troy is his creation also.[174] This impartiality toward opposing sides suggests the emergence of a remarkable creative sensibility from the limitations of tribal memory clinging to a glorified past to valorize the present: a sensibility so much a part of our *Iliad* that it could reasonably be attributed to the essential "Homeric" stage of the poem. It is not axiomatic, however, that a poem presenting the Greeks' antagonists with such empathy would have met with panhellenic endorsement and popularity even (or perhaps especially) if their world were modeled on that of eighth-century Ionians.[175] And it is worth asking how far an analysis of international conduct in terms of illusion—not simply the *ate* inflicted by Zeus on Agamemnon,[176] but a characteristic inherent in a given political structure (in the case of the Greeks) and an aspect of unchecked individualism (in the case of the Trojans)—can be attributed to the eighth-century mind, however alerted to a sense of history it may have been by epic itself and by the discovery of the material world of its "heroes."[177]

Inevitably, we return to the *Shield* in an attempt to distinguish between our two Homers, the founder and the expositor. If we consider the *ekphrasis* strictly as an example of refrain-composition and take the two

cities as a unit (given the lack of a refrain to divide them), and if we omit the repetition of Ocean as a framing device without internal function, we have a structure at odds with the more elaborate scheme we traced in Chapter I:[178]

The earlier *Shield*

- a_1 Earth, heaven, sea, stars
  - b_1 The two cities
    - c_1 Spring ploughing
      - d Summer harvest, king's feast
    - c_2 Autumn wine making
  - b_2 Herd and lions
- a_1 Scene of dancing

Our *Shield*

- A_1 Earth, heaven, sea, stars
  - B_1 The City at peace
    - C_1 The City at war
      - D_1 Spring ploughing
        - E Harvest, feast
      - D_2 Autumn wine making
    - C_2 Herd and lions
  - B_2 Scene of dancing
- A_2 River of Ocean

We find in our hypothetical "earlier *Shield*" a formal correspondence between earth, heaven, etc., and the labyrinthine dance; the two cities at peace and at war are balanced by the scene of herding and its losses; these now flank the central group of seasonal scenes of spring ploughing, summer harvest, and autumn wine-making. These parallels are organized on a positive conceptual principle: The central trio of scenes emphasizes continuity between man and nature, the ruler and the ruled. In the outer elements, the balance between the order of the cosmos and the order of the art of dance is mediated by the symbolism of the labyrinth of creation and rebirth. The cities at peace and at war, in this juxtaposition, are absorbed into the natural order of things, of waxing and waning, of gain and loss, the continuum of past and present. In the formal combination of the cities, there is an implication of sympathy for the besieged and the value of peaceful joys at risk in the war; the besiegers, though contrasted with the paradigm of due process in the city at peace, are accepted as part of the picture and thus as a subject but not the final goal of the poet. The dominant impulse here is one of reconciliation under the aegis of the benevolent king, in a sequence that progresses from planting to harvest without interruption by summer military campaigns. The relevance of this scheme to a "Homeric" *Iliad* is clear: It informs the poet's sympathy for the Trojans and it suggests the basis for a genuine healing of differences between Achilleus and Agamemnon within a unified structure expressing a unitary world of value. "Our" *Shield*, on the other hand, focuses on a point not of harmony but of contention. The two cities, despite their formal link, are not subsumed into a single category: Separate balancing elements (C_2, B_2) strengthen the contrast between them and the dominant figure of privileged consumption that governs their fate. Our *Iliad* is more impressed by the power of unreason and the cruelties and

indignities of war and its motives; the reconciliation it offers takes place outside, not within, the system—which it rejects.[179]

In similar fashion certain characters of our *Iliad* are likely to have been more critically drawn than were their originals. Patroklos and the personalities who dominate the scenes in Troy—Priam, Helen, Andromache—are necessary as they are to the basic parallelism within the Homeric *Iliad* and were perhaps not greatly altered by our poet.[180] Most likely his, however, is the elaboration of the more extreme elements of excess in Achilleus—as displayed in Books 20 and 21 in particular—and the refinements upon the terms of his rejection of the Greeks in 1 and 9 and of his reinvolvement with them in 23. The parallel between the self-delusive Hektor and the humbled but uncomprehending Agamemnon may also be taken as a reflection of our poet's rethematizing impulse. In the case of Agamemnon, the original articulation of a conflict between the extraordinary individual and the flawed king had become, in so many terms, a political irrelevancy during the archaic period;[181] but it is a conflict that might well have acquired the status of a moral paradigm during an era in which the brevity of power and position was demonstrated in case after case. The elements of "guilt culture" that we have noted in Books 9 and 23 provide an essential indication of the poet's view of the past, but this perspective seems unlikely for an early stage in the organization of an otherwise conservative tradition and may well represent a retrospective framework that emerged only in its latest phase. And although it may be, as antiquity believed (Herod. 2.53), that Homer in some sense gave the Greeks their gods, it seems equally likely that our poet's particular gift was Zeus: a god not merely of force and wayward impulse but the Zeus of compassion, of respect for and commitment to the evolution of values human and divine in terms that parallel Achilleus' own revaluation of *time* by *philotes*.

Barring new evidence, the relationship between Homer and his forebears remains in many important respects uncertain and unknowable, except perhaps through hermeneutic methods that will change with our understanding of the poem and of ourselves. It is nevertheless clear that he rightly represented to his successors a new standard for the tradition he inherited and passed on. It should be equally clear that the poet of our *Iliad* is responsible not simply for an inestimable achievement in the preservation of a fund of traditional poetry, mixed in technique and function: He in fact accomplished the generic transformation we mentioned at the outset, establishing a precedent and shape for the unified literary epic of the classical tradition that has haunted all subsequent efforts at renewal with a just apprehension of obsolescence.[182]

His work is marked, like its most noteworthy progeny, by traces of revision. For during the period of progressive reduction to writing, inter-

pretation had become not simply an immediate, passive response to the familiar codes of oral epic but an active creative agent in the exploitation of latent potentialities in a developing text. To the temporal aspect of oral epic was gradually joined that of literary space and thus of literary form, with extension and further fixation of meaning through the recoding devices we have seen in our poet's rearrangements, expansions, and recontextualizations of earlier material.[183] Distanced from its inherited medium, the reference of the poem had moved—by anonymous steps appropriate to maintaining the authority of the tradition—from praise to analysis, from the tribal to the international, from the customary to the moral and to a vision, through the tragedy and failure of Achilleus and Priam, of ultimate gain. Our *Iliad* thus represents not the end of an oral tradition or the beginning of a literary one but stands, with its residue of inconcinnities, at the arbitrary end of a process of textualization marked by its adoption under regulation as a civic institution. The burden of interpretation then passed from poet—across a blinding hiatus—to exegete; and the text itself survives as not so much a patchwork or palimpsest as a commentary on purpose and accident, with corresponding hazards, frustrations, and rewards: where "everything is negligible, yet everything counts."[184]

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15 August 1991

A Note on Documentation and Usage

ABBREVIATED references to ancient authors are adopted from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2] (Oxford 1970). Titles of important works frequently cited are generally given in full as they first appear but are subsequently shortened to a significant word, phrase, or acronym, cited in the Bibliography in parentheses after the title; these should be self-explanatory and prove less challenging to the short-term memory than impersonal citation by date alone. In some cases cross-references have been retained where it seemed helpful to remind the reader of previous discussion where a given opinion figured. Versions or paraphrases of the Greek text of the *Iliad* are generally my own, with the exception of Chapter 5.2, where I have quoted extensively from the translation of Richmond Lattimore, with the kind permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Names of literary characters have been transliterated from the Greek, those of historical figures Latinized. For the sake of brevity in citing page numbers, "f" following a number indicates that page and the following ("1f"=1–2), "ff" the two following ("1ff"=1–3); for longer passages inclusive numbers are given (1–4). The same practice is generally followed in citing line numbers, with exceptions where "ff" is used to to indicate "and the lines following" in the interests of space or to avoid undue repetition. On the charts, "S(S)" indicates a simile(s); a half bracket indicates that the simile is structurally related to another simile earlier (⌋) or later (⌉) in the text.

Abbreviations

THE FOLLOWING abbreviations are used in the Notes and in the Bibliography. They conform where possible to the sometimes wayward usage prescribed in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1986) 384–94.

AC	*Antiquité classique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
ArchHom	*Archeologica Homerica*
AuA	*Antike und Abendland*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (University of London)
CB	*Classical Bulletin*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
ClAn	*Classical Antiquity* (succeeding *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*)
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CW	*Classical World* (formerly *Classical Weekly*)
D.-K.	(Diels/Kranz) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
G&R	*Greece & Rome*
GrazBeitr	*Grazer Beiträge*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
QUCC	*Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RBPhil	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

REG	*Revue des études grecques*
REHom	*Revue des études homériques*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
RivFil	*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
RPhil	*Revue de philologie*
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
SymbOslo	*Symbolae Osloenses*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
VerhNedAkadWet	*Verhandelingen van de Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

SB (*Sitzungsbericht*) appears before the location of the learned society in question, as in *SBBerlin*.

Notes

Chapter One
Form and Interpretation in Homer

1. For Euripides' addition of the more ominous motif of Perseus and Medusa to Achilleus' (original) shield at *Electra* 455–69, see P. R. Hardie, "Imago Mundi: Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles," *JHS* 105 (1985) 11–31, esp. 14f, and O. Taplin, "The Shield of Achilles Within the Iliad," *G&R* 27 (1980) 1–24, esp. 2; cf. M. W. Edwards, "Neoanalysis and Beyond," *ClAn* 9 (1990) 311–325, esp. 316–21. It is unclear whether the poet of the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* was prompted by similar considerations or a mere desire for sensational effects: See the discussion by H. A. Gärtner, "Beobachtungen zum Schild des Achilleus," in *Studien zum antiken Epos*, ed. H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 72 [Meisenheim/Glan 1976]) 46–65, esp. 56ff.

2. G. E. Lessing, *Laocoön*, tr. E. A. McCormick (Baltimore 1984), Chapters 16–19, esp. 97.

3. Footnote *a* to Lessing's Chapter 18 (above, n.2; with 216 cf. 96): "Mit wenig Gemälden machte Homer sein Schild zu einem Inbegriffe von allem, was in der Welt vorgehet." For a qualification of Lessing's view of the all-embracing "Inbegriff" of the *Shield*, see K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961) 401–11 (="Der Schild des Achilleus," in *Freundschaftsgabe für Ernst Robert Curtius* [Bern 1956] 67–78). The bibliography of subsequent interpretation of the *Shield* as microcosm is considerable: See K. Fittschen, *Der Schild des Achilleus* (=*ArchHom* II.N.1 [Göttingen 1973]) 4f, 25ff; of particular value are W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*[4] (Stuttgart 1965) 352–74; W. Marg, *Homer über die Dichtung*[2] (Münster 1971); and Gärtner (above, n.1); cf. also G. A. Duethorn, *Achilles' Shield and the Structure of the Iliad* (=*Amherst College Honors Theses* 9 [Amherst 1951]), and R. Friedrich, *Stilwandel im homerischen Epos* (Heidelberg 1975) 50f, 107f. For a survey of pained reaction to Lessing's misunderstanding of Aeneas' shield, see P. R. Hardie, *Vergil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1989) 336–72.

4. See the translator's introduction to n.2 above, esp. ix–xxi, and the survey in H. C. Buch, *Ut Pictura Poesis* (Munich 1972); cf. A. Stewart, "Narrative, Genre, and Realism," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu 1987) 29–42, esp. 40 n.9, with further references. For modern discussion of the *Shield* prior to Lessing cf. Fittschen (above, n.3) 3f. See also G. Kurman, "Ecphrasis in Epic Poetry," *Comparative Literature* 26 (1974) 1–13, and A. S. Becker, "The Shield of Achilles and the Poetics of Homeric Description," *AJP* 111 (1990) 139–53.

5. *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (Halle 1795), Chapter XLIX n.49; see the translation by A. Grafton et al., *Prolegomena to Homer* (Princeton 1985) 209 (n.49 to Chapter XLIX). The text at issue is found at *Od.* 4.17f: *meta de sphin emelpeto theios aoidos phormizon* ("among them sang the godlike bard with his lyre"), describing the feast welcoming Telemachos to Nestor's palace. For a defense of its

inclusion at *Iliad* 18.604f (rejected by Leaf and Allen and tacitly omitted from Lattimore's translation), see M. Forderer, "Der Sänger in der homerischen Schildbeschreibung," in *Synusia: Festgabe für Wolfgang Schadewaldt* (Pfullingen 1965) 23–28, and R. Ritoók in *Acta Antiqua* 19 (1971) 201–7; the strong case against inclusion is argued by M. J. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Heidelberg 1980) 160–65; cf. H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem* IV (Berlin 1975) 509, and M.H.A.L.H. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* (Leiden 1963-64) Part 2, 528. The bard is accepted and identified with the poet of the *Iliad* by Schadewaldt, *VHWW*[4] 367; cf. Andersen (n.7 below) 16, and n.39 below.

6. For reaction to the view of "primitive oral poetics" that "the poet and his audience lingered lovingly over every act of slaughter" in the poem (M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*[2] [London 1977] 118), see Taplin (above, n.1) 3 and 12ff. On the authenticity of the *Shield*, see van der Valk, *RTSI* Pt. 2, 35f, and Apthorp (above, n.5) 187f n.119; cf. R. Sealey, "From Phemius to Ion," *REG* 70 (1957) 312–51, esp. 335. For an Analyst view, cf. H. van Thiel, *Ilias und Iliaden* (Basel 1982) 465–72.

7. On the relationship of *Shield* and poem, see especially R. S. Shannon, *The Arms of Achilles and Homeric Compositional Technique* (=*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 36 [Leiden 1975]) 26–30; Ø. Andersen, "Some Thoughts on the Shield of Achilles," *SymbOslo* 51 (1976) 5–18; Taplin, "The Shield of Achilles," and Gärtner (both above, n.1). For recent comment on the scene of arbitration for murder (497–508) and Achilleus' state of mind at this juncture, see G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer* (Baltimore 1990) 254f.

8. *Laocoön*, Ch. 17 (p. 86).

9. Ibid., Ch. 17 (85ff). There is no evidence that Lessing thinks of Homer as an "oral poet" in the present sense of the phrase.

10. Ch.18 (95; cf. 89f).

11. Ch. 18 (97).

12. Herder responded to this problem in the first of his *Kritische Wälder* (1769), devoted to a response to *Laokoon*, by arguing that both time (sequence) and space (coexistence) are combined by the force of poetic "energy" to achieve a formal whole (J. G. Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, II [Berlin 1878] 133–43); cf. K. May, *Lessings und Herders kunsttheoretische Gedanken in ihrem Zusammenhang* (=*Germanische Studien* 25 [Berlin 1923]), esp. 53ff; R. Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism* I (Cambridge 1981) 186; B. Hellwig, *Raum und Zeit im homerischen Epos* (=*Spudasmata* 2 [Hildesheim 1964]) 1–4. For the revival of this theoretical distinction in modern criticism, see J. Frank, "Spatial Form in Modern Literature," first published in *Sewanee Review* 53 (1945) 221–49, 433–56, 643–53, and the essays in *Spatial Form in Narrative*, ed. J. R. Smitten and A. Daghistany (Ithaca 1981); cf. M. Krieger, "The Ekphrastic Principle and the Still Movement of Poetry; or *Laokoön* Revisited," in his *The Play and Place of Criticism* (Baltimore 1967) 105–28; and, more generally, D. P. Fowler, "Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis," *JRS* 81 (1991) 25–35. For discussion, in terms borrowed from modern linguistic theory, of the "syntagmatic" and "paradigmatic" analysis of narrative—the one emphasizing the temporal, causal, and teleogical relationship of the elements in a sequence, and the other

their conceptual and logical (thus nontemporal, noncausal, and substitutional) function—see the concise exposition by J. Peradotto, "*Odyssey* 8.564–571: Verisimilitude, Narrative Analysis, and Bricolage," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 15 (1973) 803–32, esp. 813–20; among others, R. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, tr. S. Heath (New York 1977) 79–124, and A. Gelley, *Narrative Crossings* (Baltimore 1987) 46ff; cf. J. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics* (Ithaca 1975) 13f, 36ff. P. Ricoeur, "On Narrative Time," in *On Narrative*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago 1980–81) 165–86, esp. 174ff, emphasizes that every narrative combines temporal, or "episodic," and nonchronological "configurational" dimensions; cf. H. White, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore 1987) 50ff. For comment on the drawbacks of analysis that emphasizes one of these elements to the exclusion of the other, see Peradotto, "Oedipus and Erichthonius," *Arethusa* 10 (1977) 85–101 (=*Man in the Middle Voice* [Princeton 1990] 32–58). For a theoretical combination of the two, in terms of paradigmatic/ syntagmatic and temporal/ spatial distinctions, see W. Holtz, "Spatial Form in Modern Literature: A Reconsideration," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1977) 271–83, esp. 276ff, and, in the same volume, Frank's "Spatial Form: An Answer to Critics" (231–52, esp. 235f [=Smitten and Daghistany, above, 207f]). Cf. also T. K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind* (=*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 85 [Leiden 1985] 2; A. Stewart, "Stesichoros and the François Vase," in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison 1983) 53–74; and R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York 1985) 37ff.

13. See Becker (above, n.4: esp. 143–48) for a useful distinction between the two in the context of an examination of the aesthetics of the *Shield* as *ekphrasis*. Cf. the comments of F. Létoublon, "Le Miroir et la boucle," *Poétique* 53 (1983) 19–36, esp. 21.

14. C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1958) 206, dependent on Schadewaldt (above, n.3); Taplin (n.1) 15; J. L. Myres, *Who Were the Greeks?* (Berkeley 1930) 522; cf. M. W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the* Iliad (Baltimore 1987) 278–85, esp. 284 with 280, for whom the Shield is an "ever-present symbol" of Achilleus' mortality. On excesses of the archaeological approach, see Fittschen (above, n.3:3f), who argues (17) that although the elements in the composition of the *Shield* derive from the orientalizing style and the sense of color and material may owe something to the Bronze Age, the description remains pure poetry; cf. Gärtner (above, n.1), esp. 53 n.18, and van Thiel, *IuI* 466f.

15. Cf. 11.32–37: "Then he [Agamemnon] took up the protecting well-worked shield of war,/ splendid, *round which* there were ten circles of bronze,/ and on it were twenty knobs of tin/ brightly-shining, and *in the midst* (*en de mesoisin*) was one of dark cobalt./ And *encircled on it* was a grim-looking Gorgo/ with fearful stare, and Fear, and Terror." The difficulties of reconstruction, amply noted by Leaf ad loc., derive largely from the assumption that Gorgo should occupy the center, as in the shields of archaic vase-painters (so Myres, below); but the poet has explicitly placed the cobalt boss in the center of the shield, as of the description. The problems of reconstructing Achilleus' shield are discussed by Gärtner 47ff and Taplin 5 (both above, n.1); the unity achieved by framing the account with mention of Ocean at the beginning and the end entails some cost of clarity in lines 483–89: For Fittschen's interpretation of 483 as a summary of the

entire shield, and of 484–89 as a description of the first (or inner) circle, see Taplin (above, n.1) 19 n.13; cf. the reaction of van Thiel, *IuI* 472, to the reappearance of Ocean at 607f. The Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (*Scutum* 140–320) is more straightforward altogether: After a list of the materials involved, we begin *en mesoi* (144ff), with Fear and Strife, and proceed through their outward manifestations by separate stages indicated by *en de* ("and on it"), to an arrangement of the cities at war (237b, *hyper auteon*) and peace (270, *para d'*), to the final embracing Ocean (314ff). For reconstruction see J. H. Myres, "Hesiod's 'Shield of Herakles': its Structure and Workmanship," *JHS* 61 (1941) 17–38, esp. 20ff; further discussion and bibliography in P. Toohey, "An [Hesiodic] *danse macabre: The Shield of Heracles*," *ICS* 13 (1988) 19–35; see also S. H. Lonsdale, *Creatures of Speech* (=*Beitr. z. Altertumskunde 5* [Stuttgart 1990]) 106 ff.

16. Gärtner (*Studien 55*, 63ff) rightly emphasizes the importance of verbal rather than pictorial composition here and also maintains that the former presents Hephaistos' point of view; my subsequent argument supports a similar identification for different reasons and with divergent conclusions. From the narratological point of view, Hephaistos becomes an "embedded focalizer." For a brief introduction to this terminology, with further bibliography, see I. de Jong, "Silent Characters in the *Iliad*," in J. M. Bremer et al., eds., *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry* (Amsterdam 1987) 105–21.

17. B. A. von Groningen, *Paratactische compositie in de oudste grieksche literatuur* (=*MedNedAkadWet*, Afd. Lett. 83.2 [Amsterdam 1937]); cf. H. Fränkel, "Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriechischen Literatur," in *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*[3] (Munich 1968) 40–96; J. A. Notopoulos, "Parataxis in Homer: A New Approach to Homeric Literary Criticism," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 1–23; and J. B. Hainsworth, "The Criticism of an Oral Homer," *JHS* 90 (1970) 90–98 (also in J. Wright, ed., *Essays on the* Iliad: *Selected Modern Criticism* [Bloomington 1978] 28–40). G. S. Kirk, who prefers the term "cumulative style," distinguishes two primary types, "supplementary" and "transitional," with largely stylistic rather than structural application (*Homer and the Oral Tradition* [Cambridge 1976] 78ff, 153ff, 167ff). For a somewhat diffuse survey of paratactic techniques in modern writing, see D. Hayman, *Re-Forming the Narrative* (Ithaca 1987) 147–211.

18. For discussion of Zielínsky's "law" describing this practice see, in general, Hellwig (above, n.12) and T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (=*Zetemata* 26 [Munich 1971]) 91ff; also R. M. Frazer, "Hesiod's Titanomachy as an Illustration of Zielínsky's Law," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 5f, and S. Richardson, *The Homeric Narrator* (Nashville 1990) 89–98. The original formulation appears in T. Zielínsky, *Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos* (=*Philologus*, Suppl. 8 [1901]) 407–49. There are numerous exceptions, especially in the *Odyssey*, which suggest that the phenomenon, in Homeric poetry at least, is determined less by cultural and psychological factors than by stylistic convention, from which the poet departs as he chooses.

19. H. Fränkel, "Die Zeitauffassung in der frühgriechischen Literatur," in his *Wege und Formen*, 1–22; H. and A. Thornton, *Time and Style* (London 1962), esp. 90ff; cf. B. E. Perry, "The Early Greek Capacity for Viewing Things Separately," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 403–27. For negative views of the linguistic theories of

Benjamin Whorf on which the Thorntons base their work, see among others G. Steiner, *After Babel* (New York 1975) 93ff, and H. Gardner, *The Mind's New Science*[2] (New York 1985) 344, 357f; for a spirited response to Fränkel, see R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* (=*Phoenix*, Suppl. 21 [Toronto 1987]) 53–58; cf. the concise summary of discussion by M. J. Apthorp, "The Obstacles to Telemachus's Return," *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 1–22, esp. 1–3.

20. Cf. Notopoulos, "Continuity and Interconnection," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 81–101, with comment on the effect of prose as a literary medium on subsequent developments in Greek oratory. I leave aside the equation between orderly sequence and "truth," argued by M. Finkelberg ("Homer's View of the Epic Narrative: Some Formulaic Evidence," *CP* 82 [1987] 135–38), as a confusion of what his characters say with what the poet thinks, and an oversimplification of his "aesthetic" that will shortly become apparent.

21. B. A. van Groningen, "Eléments inorganiques dans la composition de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée," *REHom* 5 (1935) 3–24. For discussion of this aspect of Homeric style in digressions and speeches, see J. H. Gaisser, "A Structural Analysis of the Digressions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," *HSCP* 73 (1969) 1–43, and D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970), based on W. A. A. van Otterlo, "Eine merkwürdige Kompositionsform der älteren griechischen Literatur," *Mnemosyne* SER. 3 12 (1944) 192–207, *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition* (=*MedNedAkadWet*, Afd. Lett., N.R. 7 [Amsterdam 1944]) 131–76, and *De ringcompositie als opbouwprincipe in de epische gedichten van Homerus* (=*VerhNedAkadWett*, Afd. Lett., N.R. 51.D1 [Amsterdam 1948]) 1ff; cf. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden 1974) 94ff.; C. J. Larrain, *Struktur der Reden in der Odysee 1–8* (=*Spudasmata* 41 [Hildesheim 1987]); and, for a somewhat general survey, W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Baltimore 1984) 1–33. For detailed additions to Lohmann's study of the speeches, see G. Danek, *Studien zur Dolonie* (=*WS* Beih. 12 [Vienna 1988]) 177–203. Lohmann (183–212) develops a distinction between ring-composition as a primitive mnemonic device and its artistic use in our *Iliad*, though it seems unlikely that the transition from the former to the results that we find in the latter can be attributed to one and the same poet, oral or literate. Ring-composition is not of course confined to the epic style: For discussion of its use in archaic lyric, see Fowler (above, n.19) 61–84; and F. St. Newman, "The Relevance of the Myth in Pindar's Eleventh *Pythian*," *Hellanika* 31 (1979) 44–64; in Herodotus: I. Beck, *Die Ringkomposition bei Herodot* (=*Spudasmata* 25 [Hildesheim 1971]); in Thucydides: R. Katičič, "Die Ringkomposition im ersten Buche des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes," *WS* 70 (1957) 179–96; in the *Cyropaedeia*: J. Tatum, *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction* (Princeton 1985) 80, 90, 216; for its use in the novel as such, see D. Konstan and P. Mitsis, "Chion of Heraclea: A Philosophical Novel in Letters," *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 257–79, esp. 263f; T. Craven, *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith* (=*Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series* 70 [Chico, California, 1983], esp. 66ff; and, for Longus: B. D. MacQueen, *Myth, Rhetoric and Fiction* (Lincoln 1990) 31–97, esp. 49ff; for Latin poetry, see *CW* 81.5 (1988), largely devoted to papers on Catullus' use of ring-compositional structure; in mediaeval literature: P. Damon, "The Middle of Things: Narrative Pat-

terns in the *Iliad*, *Roland*, and *Beowulf*," in *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. J. D. Niles (Cambridge 1980) 107–16, and B. Fenik, *Homer and the Nibelungenlied* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1986), esp. 97–110. For comment on repetition as a closural device in paratactic English poetry, see B. Herrnstein Smith, *Poetic Closure* (Chicago 1968) 98–109; and for a survey of the problem and its challenge to classical scholarship, see D. P. Fowler, "First Thoughts on Closure," *Materiali e discussioni* no. 22 (1989) 75–122. Examples of rudimentary ring-composition in modern oral epic are adduced by A. B. Lord, "The Merging of Two Worlds," in J. M. Foley, ed., *The Oral Tradition in Literature* (Columbia [Mo.] 1986) 19–64, esp. 35ff. For an attempt to relate ring-compositional strategies to a psychology of oral performance based on the feedback cycles of early cybernetic models, see B. Peabody, *The Winged Word* (Albany 1975) 232f, who distinguishes the function of ring-composition as an element of "song" at the semantic level from its "thematic" use (at the phonemic level) as a means of recovery from lapses in continuity caused by inopportune association of phonetic clusters (on his discussion of the latter, see below, Book 18 n.1). Similarly, S. Nimis, *Narrative Semiotics in the Epic Tradition* (Bloomington 1987) 60, regards ring-composition as a "propulsive form of revision" in Homer, while in later poetry (e.g., that of Pindar and Horace) it is merely a rhetorical device (57). Nimis seems here to indulge in just the separation of form and content he condemns in "essentialist" interpretation (6).

22. van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen* 137ff, *De ringcompositie* (both above, n.21) 39ff. The formal devices that concern us here are unaffected by the precise degree of temporal analepsis involved (see the discussion by G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse* , tr. J. E. Lewin [Ithaca 1980] 48–63). For an alternative method of analysis, with some loss of descriptive force, see W. J. Slater, "Lyric Narrative: Structure and Principle," *ClAn* 2 (1983) 117–32.

23. van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen*, loc. cit., and *De ringcompositie* 56ff; cf. Gaisser (above n.21) 4.

24. Slater (above, n.22: 118ff) argues that an interior ring is established by mention of Parnassos at 394 and 431f, framing the "central" story of Odysseus' naming, and he labels 449 to the end (resuming mention of the scar at 393) as "terminal exploits"; he regards 465f as a reversion, after this complex form, to the "defining characteristics of the normal lyric flashback" (120). But the naming of Odysseus is a digression within the digression, and the boar hunt the heart of it, not an addendum. For suggestive comment on the juxtaposition of these two events, see Peradotto, *MMV* 145f. On the frequent use of two distinct but related points of interest (a formal center and a dramatic climax) within individual books, see below, Section 8.

25. Gaisser at several points (e.g., 8) uses "complex" of multiple rings, but a distinction between multiple and combined forms is useful.

26. As here, where Eurykleia pours water into the bronze *lebes* at 386ff, spills it at 470, and grasps Odysseus' leg at 392, and drops it at 469. Gaisser designates these situations "thematic ringing"; but see n.97 below on the question of "theme" vs. "motif." Citing *Il.* 11.734–61, Gaisser also distinguishes "developing ring-composition" to indicate that the end of the digression describes a situa-

tion different from that with which it began but nevertheless repeats certain motifs found at the outset.

27. van Otterlo, "Eine merkwürdige Kompositionsform" (above, n.21) 192–207, and *Untersuchungen* 162ff. W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien*[2] (Leipzig 1943) 98 n.3, employs the equivalent "kehreimartig" to describe repetitions in Book 8 (122–25 and 314–17) in widely separated and structurally unrelated passages, as well as in cases (8.300f and 309f) that parallel van Otterlo's usage.

28. Discussed by S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley 1938) 121ff. The choice of annular rather than interlocking form here allows Antikleia a tactful exposure of the crescendo of self-interest in the order of Odysseus' asking; both mother and son in effect begin with the issue nearest at hand and end with that affecting them most closely.

29. For a general discussion of interlocking narrative progression, cf. M. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley 1974) 134 and n.11; Schadewaldt, *Iliasst.* 76–79. Lohmann, *KR* 283f, concludes that annular structure is used in speeches of a reflective, paradigmatic character; that interlocking sequence is characteristic of analytic, rational speeches; and that undifferentiated series is found in utterance where emotional color is desired. For a parallel in archaic art to the first two forms of organization, cf. the François vase (discussed by Stewart, above, n.12), where on the the vertical axis of the obverse the painter Kleitias has arranged friezes depicting events in the life of Achilleus (the funeral games for Patroklos, the attack on Troilos) in interlocking fashion with episodes concerning his father Peleus (the Calydonian boar hunt, his marriage to Thetis); on the reverse, friezes representing themes of marriage (the Lapith wedding feast, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis) are framed in annular fashion by scenes of return and courtship abandoned (Theseus' return from Crete) or begun (the award of Aphrodite to Hephaistos for returning to Olympos to release Hera from his magic chair). The painter's reference to Stesichorus in the major frieze (argued by Stewart) would suggest the influence of a literary model for this complex thematic, nonchronological arrangement.

30. Criticism has remained divided on this point: cf., arguing for structural design, Myres, *WWG* 517–25; Gärtner (*Studien*, whose more general analysis differs from that presented here but arrives at a similar central emphasis); van Groningen (above, n.17) 115f; and van Thiel, *IuI* 465–72, whose mathematical symmetry of eight groups of $^{7}{}_{888}{}^{777}{}_{8}$ lines in seven divisions entails considerable excision of elements that serve a demonstrable formal purpose in the work of what he regards as a redactor; it also removes two of the three apparent references to our *Iliad* (only the watch from the wall at 514f survives the omission of 520–40, which carries with it the fight by the river at 533 and the dragging of a corpse at 537). Against strict design: Andersen (above, n.7), who maintains (9) that the *ekphrasis* involves "general correspondence and balance, no strict schematicism"; Thalmann (above, n.21) 192 n.32.

31. For objection to the second meadow at 587ff, based on a misunderstanding of its ring-compositional function, see Leaf (quoting Heyne's characterization of the verses as "nudi et ieiuni") ad loc., and Taplin (above, n.1) 9; cf. van Thiel, *IuI* 471 *ad* 582–89.

32. J. T. Kakridis, "Imagined Ekphrases," in *Homer Revisited* (Lund 1971) 108–24, esp. 123 (=*WS* 76 [1965] 7–26, esp. 25) maintains, on the basis of material drawn from Greek folklore rather than formal analysis, that in descriptions of works of art the main scene (here, the bard surrounded by dancing youths and maidens) comes at the end. But see Gärtner (above, n.1) 53 n.18.

33. F. Solmsen, "*Iliad* XVIII 535–540," *Hermes* 93 (1965) 1–6, in rejecting 535–39 as an intrusive "stain" on the beauty and serenity of the shield, argues that *en d'* at the beginning of 535, without a verb of making, is an anomalous beginning for a new entry in the description and thus betrays its origin in the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (156–59). The point is elaborated by M. Lynn-George, "The Relationship of *Iliad* Σ 535–540 and *Scutum* 156–160 Re-examined," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 396–405, esp. 401. But in our analysis the verb of making, etc., appears only at the beginning of the major divisions (with the single exception of this one, at 509), not within subsections (with the exception of 587 in the balancing C_2) where, at most, variants of *en d' ara toisin* appear (at 494, 556, and 569, noted by Solmsen himself). On Solmsen's unconvincing argument (p.5) that *homileun* in 539 refers to the three gods rather than to a general scene of the combat between opposing sides (cf. 534), see Lynn-George 402. Cf. also Gärtner, *Studien* 59f n.31.

34. On the labyrinthine formation of the *choros*, as dance and dancing-floor, see W. Leaf, ed., *The Iliad*[2] (London 1900–1902) II App. I 609f (21–22); cf., with further bibliography, A. Yoshida, "La Structure de l'illustration du bouclier d'Achille," in *RBPhil* 64 (1964) 5–15, esp. 9f, emphasizing the Mycenaean-Minoan character of the scenes in general, and R. J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Amsterdam 1979) 138f. See also P. R. Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth* (Ithaca 1990) 18 and n.2.

35. On Solmsen's contention (above, n.33: 5f) that this comparison betrays a self-consciousness alien to the poet, see Lynn-George (above, n.33: 403f), who points out a parallel to the aesthetic "distance" of 539 in 548; cf. Becker (as cited in n.13 above); one may add the emphasis on material in 517 etc.

36. Kirk, *HOT* 12, separates the two feasts despite Leaf's circumspect argument (ad loc.) for combining them; van Thiel, *IuI* 471 deletes both the beef and the barley. In Kirk's favor, it is worth noting that the formula in question (*leuk' alphita polla palunon*, 18.560, with variants) occurs elsewhere in the *Iliad* only at 11.640, as Hekamede prepares Nestor's restorative posset; in the *Odyssey* it is used only in connection with sacrifice (to the dead, at 10.520 and 11.28, and of Eumaeus' sacrifice at 14.77 and 429; for the oddity of the latter, see A. Petropoulou, "The Sacrifice of Eumaeus Reconsidered," *GRBS* 28 [1987] 135–49, esp. 141). And the term *dais*, used for the royal feast at 558, seems to indicate an exclusive meal of kings (*basileis*), distinguished from public feasting much as the *boule* of *basileis* differs from the *agora* of all the people. Cf. L. Collins, *Studies in Characterization in the* Iliad (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 189 [Frankfurt/Main 1986]) 71ff, citing Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London 1924; repr. Norman [Okla.] 1963), s.v. δαίς. J. M. Redfield, "The Proem of the 'Iliad,'" *CP* 74 (1979) 95–110, esp. 104, describes the δαίς as "the institution wherein society pre-eminently becomes peaceful." But his citations refer in the case of 1.57–83 to the banquet of the gods, and in 9.68–78 precisely to a meal for the leaders, which

Nestor advises Agamemnon to provide, *dainu daita gerousin* (69f: "You are kingliest. *Divide a feast among the elders*: it is fitting for you, and not unseemly"); in a third instance, from Sarpedon's memorable recital of the privileges of the godlike kings who fight for their country (12.310–21), their banquet is described but the term itself does not appear. (For Redfield's more attractive comment on, and preference for, Zenodotus' reading of *daita* for *pasi* in 1.5, see Book 1, n.3.) A similar class distinction appears at 7.467–75, where Euenos' gift of wine to Agamemnon and Menelaos is bartered to the common soldiery. Gärtner (*Studien* 63f) views the centerpiece of the description as an alternative to war, focusing on a "Bauernkönig" of Homer's time, in contrast to the heroic kings of epic tradition. The two kings are nevertheless linked in the poem by the sceptre (557), which recalls the staff Achilleus has repudiated in the assembly of Book 1 (233–46) and the elaborate attention given to Agamemnon's staff in Book 2 (100–109; on the issue of the identity of the two, see below, Book 1 n.13 and Book 2 n.7). And it is open to question, as we shall see, whether the king in the *Shield* represents the alternative, in any case no longer open to Achilleus, of a safe obscurity at home in Phthia or a short but glorious life on the field of battle (9.410–16). We return in Chapter V to the ideological function of kingship in the poem.

37. Undercutting the idyll there may also be reference, at Daidalos' expense (and Hephaistos'), to the tradition that Daidalos was exiled from Athens to Crete for slaying his nephew Talos in jealousy for the invention of the potter's wheel among other things (Diodorus 4.76).

38. Cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 411: "Wenn es auch übertrieben wäre zu behaupten, in Hephaistos habe der Dichter sich selbst dargestellt wie der Odysseedichter im Sänger Demodokos oder wie Phidias auf der Innenseite des Schildes in der Hand der Parthenos . . . so ist doch nicht zu leugnen, dass das gedichtete Kunstwerk auf das Dichten selbst zurückweist, eingegeben und beschwingt durch die geheime Sympathie des Dichters mit dem wunderwirkenden Gott." Cf. Marg (above, n.3) 89ff. It is worth noting that the epithet *periklytos* ("well-renowned") appears only in formulae used for Hephaistos (*Il.* 1.607; 18.383, 393, 462, 587, 590; *Od.* 8.300, 349, 357) and for bards (*Od.* 1.325; 8.83, 367, 521), the one exception being Antiphos, a son of Priam (*Il.* 11.104). For the aspect of court jester common to the roles of Hephaistos and the bard, see Marg 41.

39. A. Smyth, *The Composition of the Iliad* (London 1914) 116 (quondam librarian to the House of Commons, Smyth is perhaps worth remembering for his pre-Duckworthian attempt to develop a numerological analysis of the poem that would offer proof positive of extraneous lines). See Leaf ad loc. and van Thiel, *IuI* 472 on *Iliad* 18.604[a], for further discussion of the problem of fitting the bard into the scene; it is nevertheless characteristic of our poet to introduce elements for the sake of formal balance or thematic development that are difficult to justify on the basis of ordinary narrative logic (as in 587f; see above, n.31; we shall observe other examples passim). And it would be uncharacteristic of Greek dancing at any period to go unaccompanied: See L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (Middleton 1965), esp. 11–17; cf. the dancers who mime Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite at *Od.* 8.262ff.

40. E.g., Phemios (esp. *Od.* 22.344–53), Demodokos (8.104ff), Agamemnon's bard (3. 267–72). For specific problems in the general picture, see J. Svenbro, *La*

parole et le marbre (Lund 1976) 1–45, with comment by S. Scully, "The Bard as the Custodian," *QUCC* 37 (1981) 79ff; and P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polytropos* (Ithaca 1987) 195–208, 228–35.

41. For the transition from bard to rhapsode, see Sealey, above, n.6, and A. Ford, "The Classical Definitions of *PAΨΩΔIA*," *CP* 83 (1988) 300–307.

42. The irony is exploited most thoroughly by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13. In Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica* (7.193ff), Odysseus uses the promise of the shield and Hermione, Menelaos' daughter, to lure Achilleus' son Neoptolemos to Troy; the presentation was described in the *Ilias parva* (Proclus in Allen, *Homeri Opera V* [OCT 1912; 1946], 106). Janko (in Kirk, ed., *The Iliad: A Commentary*, IV, 327) notes that the story of the contest between Aias and Odysseus for Achilleus' armor must be older than the Homeric version, in which Achilleus has two sets of armor at the end of the poem (as a result of his innovation of having Patroklos wear his original armor into combat in 16); on the latter point see also Edwards ("Neoanalysis"). For the subsequent quest for the "historical" shield, see Hardie ("Imago Mundi," n.1) 25. On the issue of the relation between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or their traditions, I concur with Pucci's view (above, n.40; cf. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer* 53f, and A. J. Haft, " 'The City-Sacker Odysseus,' " *AJP* 120 [1990] 37–56) that the two can usefully be read intertextually; but the necessity of distinguishing texts from traditions (no less than the question of relative dates and authorship) cannot be met without the kind of reexamination we shall be undertaking here of the *Iliad* on its own terms.

43. Further discussion of the *Catalogue* in M. W. Edwards, "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 81–103; in greater detail, Kirk, ed., *The Iliad: A Commentary* I: 162–263; summary comment in H. Trüb, *Kataloge in der griechischen Dichtung* (diss. Zürich 1952) 18ff. On the adjustment of the *Catalogue* to the *Iliad*, see D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959) 118–77; R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's* Iliad (Oxford 1970), esp.154–71; and, with more recent bibliography, H. W. Singor, "Nine Against Troy," *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 44 (1991) 17–62, esp. 59f.

44. Kirk, *Commentary* I *ad* 479 suggests "girth."

45. C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* (=*Hypomnemata* 49 [Göttingen 1977]) 27ff, esp. 33; cf. P. G. Katzung, *Die Diapeira in der Iliashandlung* (Frankfurt a.M. 1960) 72f.

46. One would expect a less exceptionable invocation than this one. For efforts to resolve the apparent illogic introduced by the appearance of *multitude* at 488, cf., among others, P. Von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (Basel 1952) 51ff; the comments of the scholiasts (Erbse, *SGH* I 286ff); Kirk , ed., *Commentary* I 167f; and I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers* (Amsterdam 1987) 48. The difficulty could be met without excision by abandoning the usual distinction between *hegemones* and *plethys* ("leaders" and "common folk") as at 11.304f, cf. 2.278, and assigning to *plethys* here the meaning "greater number" (as at 22.458, where no social distinction need be implied), which would thus refer to the leaders in 487: cf. Lattimore: "I could not tell over the multitude of them nor name them," and P. Pucci in *Proceedings of the Comparative Literature Symposium* XI (Lubbock 1980) 185 n.18.

47. Edwards (above, n.43) 92, citing C. R. Beye, "Homeric Battle Narrative

and Catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345–73, esp. 346ff, and B. Powell, "Word Patterns in the Catalogue of Ships (*B* 494–709 [*sic*])," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 255–64. Kirk, *Commentary* I 170f, provides a tabulation of variants.

48. See Leaf ad loc., citing F. Lauer. Cf. Page, *HHI* 125ff; M. L. West, "Greek Poetry," *CQ* N.S. 23 (1973) 191f; R. Hope Simpson, "Mycenaean Greece and Homeric Reflections," in C. A. Rubino and C. W. Shelmerdine, eds., *Approaches to Homer* (Austin 1983) 122–39. Kirk, in his *Commentary* I 185, accepts the notion that Boiotia heads the list because Aulis was the traditional assembly point for the expedition.

49. Nagler (*ST* 136 n.9) finds the Myrmidonian catalogue of 16.168–210 equally "acephalic" and sees the entire passage as a "pyramidal" structure centering on the "false climax" of Achilleus' exhortation at 198–209, balanced by the *Catalogue* proper (168–97) and the formation of the troops (211–220a); but see below, n.58. For the suggestion that the *Catalogue of Ships* is organized according to the itineraries of the sacred envoys to Delphi, cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I 185f, whose geographical considerations offer no satisfactory rationale for the interruption of the mainland listing by Crete and the eastern islands at 645ff. Although J. Latacz, *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias* (Munich 1971) 51, accepts adjustment of the *Catalogue* to our *Iliad*, his contention that it represents a Greek "Aufmarschplan" seems unlikely: cf. R. Leimbach in *Gnomon* 52 (1980) 418–25, esp. 420.

50. G. Bolling, *AJP* 37 (1916) 29, observes that in 546–57 "Aias is made but a tail to the Athenian kite," but the appendage is useful, however ineptly attached. For recent discussion of the textual authority for 2.558, cf. Apthorpe (above, n.5) 165–78; Kirk, *Commentary* I 207f.

51. Enjambement of *Agamemnon / Atreides* occurs elsewhere only at 9.368–69 and 16.58–59, where Achilleus waxes indignant over his mistreatment; in each case the emphasis carries bitter irony. For controversy over such "emphasis" in enjambed noun-adjective phrases, see Tsagarakis, *Form and Content in Homer*, (=*Hermes* Einzelschrift 46 [Wiesbaden 1982]), to whose bibliography should be added L. E. Rossi, "Estensione e valore del *colon* nell' esametro omerico," *Studi Urbinati* 39 (1965) 239–73, and C. Higbie, *Measure and Music: Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the* Iliad (Oxford 1990). On the rhetorical effect of cumulative runover in general, see Kirk, *HOT* 146ff and *Commentary* I 34ff.

52. Cf. Nestor himself to Agamemnon at 9.96ff: ". . . with you I shall end, with you begin," and Leaf ad loc. on the liturgical character of the address; see also below, n.7 to Book 9.

53. For the distinction between "theme" and "motif," see n.97 below.

54. See F. Weck, *Die homerischen Personnamen auf -ευς* (Progr. Saargemünd 1880) 33; H. v. Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen* (Göttingen 1982) s.v.; W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (=*Hermes* Einzelschrift 14 [Wiesbaden 1960]) 107. J. Crossett, "The Art of Homer's Catalogue of Ships," *CJ* 64 (1968–69) 241–45, esp. 243, suggests that Nireus not only evokes Achilleus but also provides comic relief, created by the undercutting line 657; the effect is certainly one of irony. Among the surviving leaders given thematic augment, Nireus alone fails to reappear in the narrative. This need not imply that he is an unadjusted element in the *Catalogue*: His ad hoc function here would serve little purpose in

subsequent action as a doublet of Achilleus in regard to beauty. Not surprisingly Nireus is clothed in the garb of historical reality by Diodorus and Dictys: cf. Keyssner in *RE* 17.1 (1936) 708 s.v. "Nireus (1)." For Hope Simpson and Lazenby (above, n.43: 124), the very isolation of Nireus and his contingent suggests historicity.

55. Cf. Edwards (above, n.43: 93ff) in response to R. H. Drews, "Argos and Argives," *CP* 64 (1979) 111–35, esp. 117f. On the variety of effects created by the use of *au*, see P. Shorey, "The Pathos and Humor of *αὖ*," *CP* 23 (1928) 285ff.

56. Cf. Drews, "Argos," 118, and the similar emphasis created through the reinforcement of *entha* (used in a refrain series at 4.473, 517, and 539) by *au* at the beginning of 5.1.

57. The suggestion of Kirk, *Commentary* I *ad* 681 that the implied verb is more likely *ege* ("led") than "sing" or "tell" does not meet the problem.

58. *Contra*, Drews 117ff; Kirk, *Commentary* I 234, also distinguishes the last five entries, on stylistic rather than purely geographical considerations. It is worth noting here that in the catalogue of Myrmidonians in Book 16 there are affinities with the *Catalogue* of Book 2, as well as elements appropriate to the more immediate situation:

16.168f: Myrmidonian ships, led by Achilleus (*Achilleus*, 168/172, *autos . . . enasse*)
173ff: (*tes men ies stichos*) Menesthios leader, son of Spercheios by Polydore
179ff: (*tes d' heteres*) Eudoros leader, son of Hermes by Polymele
193ff: (*tes de trites*) Peisandros leader
196: (*tes de tetartes*) Phoinix leader
197: (*pemptes d'*) Alkimedon leader
198–210: Achilleus' address.

The numbering of ships and the thematic allusions in the first two entries to illicit union evoke the renewal of battle in Book 2; the listing by *stichos* is relevant to the beginning of a new phase of conflict that will soon be transformed into Achilleus' private war (answering in an ironic moral sense his vainglorious prayer to Zeus, Athena, and Apollo [a trinity nevertheless worth keeping in mind] at 16.97–100 that he and Patroklos take Troy alone)—a turn anticipated in 71ff, where Achilleus' comment that with better treatment from Agamemnon he would have filled the waterways with the corpses of fleeing Trojans prefigures his battle with the river Xanthos in Book 21. At the same time, Achilleus' mention of Spercheios reiterates the river motif here; the seducers in both anecdotes are gods, suggesting the theme of divine parentage applicable to Achilleus; and the second genealogy is embellished by the detail of Eudoros' adoption by Phylas, evoking Patroklos' status in the household of Peleus. Of the five leaders, only Alkimedon plays a significant role in the subsequent action, as Latacz (*KKK* 61f) points out, suggesting plausibly that the five were originally listed as the leaders of the fifty Myrmidonian ships before this element of the *Catalogue* of Book 2 was transposed and adjusted to 16 (for the latter process, see Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 16. 168–97 and following).

59. Kirk, *Commentary* I *ad* 694, acknowledges ring-composition in 688/694 but does not comment (*ad* 724f) on this function in the parallels he draws between

721/734 and 688, although he admires the "overlap with the Akhilleus passage" as a mark of "the monumental composer, Homer himself."

60. G. P. Goold, "The Nature of Homeric Composition," *ICS* 2 (1977) 1–34, esp. 16f, without noting their thematic function, regards the references to the death of Protesilaos (699–710), the absence of Philoktetes (719–28), and the defection of Achilleus (685–94) as evidence for additions by Homer to a preexistent text (his own). Of Page's list of passages regarded as interpolations by scholars ancient and modern (*HHI* 149f: 528–30, 553–55, 558, 579f, 612–14, 641f, 673–75; and 547–51, 658–67, 594–600, 513–15, 831f, 871–73), virtually all play an essential role in the structural and thematic patterns we have outlined, including 558, generally associated with the text said to have been provided for use at the Panathenaea during the period of Pisistratus (to these van Thiel [*IuI* 158–72, 675] adds, as the work of a sixth-century "Redaktor," 621, 625–30, 632, 653–80, 708f, 729–37, 741, 748–59, leaving in our thematic pattern only II.1, IV.4, VI.1–4, and VII.1). The entire reshaping of the *Catalogue* as we have it may not unreasonably be given a similar date; cf. M. Finkelberg, "Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*," *CQ* N.S. 38 (1988) 31–41, who places the descriptions of Argos and Corinth, along with that of Athens, in the sixth century. The implications here and elsewhere for the date of our *Iliad* we discuss below, Chapter V.

61. F. Jacoby, "Homerisches II: Die Einschaltung des Schiffskatalogs in die Ilias," *SBBerl* (1932) 572–617 (=*Kl. philolog. Schr.* I [Berlin 1961] 54–106, esp. 66f.), followed by Page, *HHI* 133ff, finds in the relationship between these similes and the related ones at the outset of Book 3 evidence for tampering with the text of the "Poet of B" by the "Katalogist" and a subsequent interpolator; but see Wade-Gery, *PI* 49–53. On 781–84 cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I ad loc.; R. Hope Simpson, "The Homeric Catalogue of Ships and its dramatic context in the Iliad," *SMEA* 6 (1968) 39–44.

62. Gaisser's "developing ring-composition" (above, n.26).

63. R. P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes* (Ithaca 1989) 229f. At *Od.* 8.223–28 Eurytos is himself associated with an impious challenge to a god, in this case Apollo, who demonstrated his superior archery by slaying him; Odysseus himself refuses to vie with such masters of old as Herakles or his foe.

64. See Collins, *StChar* 72f, 93, citing 1.163 and 9.331–34. We return below to the ironic parallel between this scene and the focus of Book 18 as a whole on Hektor's deluded feasting and the cost of war; cf. Book 1, n.24, for the argument that the original quarrel between Achilleus and Agamemnon took place at a banquet; further comment on the *hybris* attaching to improper division of the feast in G. Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca 1990) 269–75. A specific verbal association linking Agamemnon and the king (available to the poet's hearers, if not to Achilleus himself) may be seen in the phrase *gethosynos ker* ("rejoicing at heart") at 18.557, which is used only of Agamemnon elsewhere in the *Iliad*, where it is repeated with some irony in Book 4 at 272 and 326, as we shall see.

65. For the poet's identification (only partial, one should wish to add) with Achilleus, see Martin, *LH* 222ff. Becker ("The Shield of Achilles," 147) argues that the poet's use of *thauma* to describe the Shield at 549 corresponds to Hephaistos' own prediction of 466f that the beholder would gaze at it in wonder

(*thaumassetai, hos ken idetai*) and thus "reinforces the appropriateness and believability of the bard's judgment." By this point in the poem, and given the succession of distancing elements that precede and accompany this passage (see above, n.35), it seems equally likely that we are "authorized" to see irony in the use of *thauma*, no less than in the ensuing royal centerpiece. Moreover, the phrase *aglaa dora* ("shining gifts") at 19.18 to describe the Shield, as Achilleus admiringly holds it in his hands, is ambiguous: see Book 2, n.5 below, for its frequent ironic and even contemptuous use to describe gifts whose glittering allure is a promise of disaster. The issue of "reading" the *Shield* is not irrelevant to antiquity. O. Brendel, "The Shield of Achilles," in *The Visible Idea* (Washington, D.C. 1980) 67–82 (= "Der Schild des Achilles," *Die Antike* 12 [1936] 272–88) points out that in two Pompeiian wall-paintings (his figs. 9 and 13), Thetis is aided by winged figures representing Homeric interpretation as she views Hephaistos' handiwork. The shields here depict the constellation Draco, symbol of the hero's posthumous translation to the heavens. In another painting (fig. 12), Thetis is unaided by critical assistance and sees merely her own reflection. For other interpretations and further discussion, see Hardie, above, n.1, 18ff.

66. For an interpretation of the scene as a comic study of misadventures in etiquette, see I. M. Hohendahl-Zoetelief, *Manners in the Homeric Epic* (=*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 63 [Leiden 1980]) 122ff.

67. W. Burkert, "Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite," *RhM* N.F. 103 (1960) 130–44, esp. 142ff, argues that Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite assumes the action of the *Iliad* as a background to its more sophisticated emphasis on solutions based on skillful contrivance; but there is no reason to think that our poet was unaware of this element of the *Odyssey*-tradition (any more than his Athenian audience, at least, was unaware of Hephaistos' brief and spectacularly misdirected career as rapist—of Athena herself, the very patroness of the crafts—on which see Chapter V, n.124). But although Hephaistos is depicted here as striving somewhat ineptly for the conventional norms of hospitality, his capacity to beguile through his *daidala* remains potent: cf. the discussion by M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, tr. J. Lloyd (Atlantic Heights 1978) 75, 270ff, 300.

68. For the metaphor of fighting as a dance, cf. Hektor at 7.241, Aias at 15.508, and Aineias' taunt of Meriones as a "dancer" for dodging his spear-cast at 16.617. On the labyrinthine figures of the dancers on the Shield, see Leaf (above, n.34); for the labyrinth as symbol of death and rebirth, see K. Kerényi, *Labyrinth-Studien*[2] (Zürich 1950) esp. 37f, and Yoshida, "La Structure," and Clark, *Catabasis*; we return in Chapter IV to the relation between this dance and the *katabasis* of Book 24. For a suggestion that the dance of the *Shield* anticipates the encounter between Hektor and Achilleus in Book 22, see R. J. Rabel, "The Shield of Achilleus and the Death of Hector," *Eranos* 87 (1989) 81–90.

69. The issue of actual revision of an earlier version of the *Shield* (suggested, e.g., by the difficulties noted above, nn.15, 31, and 36, and argued in detail by van Thiel, *IuI* 464–73; see above, n.30) we discuss in Chapter V, Section 6.

70. H. Clarke, *Homer's Readers* (Newark 1981) provides a topical survey; G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (New York 1949) 261ff, esp. 272ff, amusingly sketches reaction during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (in greater de-

tail: N. Hepp, *Homère en France au XVIIe siècle* [Paris 1968]). Cf. K. Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius. Eighteenth-century notions of the early Greek epic (1688–1798)* (Cambridge 1979), and, in general, G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe* (Berlin 1912).

71. Athenaeus 8.347c. On some of the difficulties of interpreting Aeschylus' statement, see J. Gould, "Homeric Epic and the Tragic Moment," in *Aspects of the Epic*, ed. T. Winnifrith et al. (London 1983) 32–45, esp. 43ff.

72. Partisanship begins early, with the "ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry" to which Plato refers at *Resp.* 607B, and which allegorical criticism in antiquity was intended to resolve: see F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d' Homère* (Paris 1956), J. Pépin, *Mythe et allegorie* (Paris 1976), R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley 1986), J. Whitman, *Allegory* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987), and D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford 1991) 5–56; it descends to the Alexandrian preoccupation with good and bad manners in epic and to claims that the genuine Homer would not have tolerated the loud noises, descriptions of eating, and excessive weeping that his interpolators have introduced: See J. T. Kakridis, *Gnomon* 28 (1956) 401–11, and *Homer Revisited* (Lund 1971) 16, justifiably indignant (cf. van der Valk, *RTSI* Pt.2 370–476, esp. 389: "I cannot refrain from quoting Johnson's saying: 'Corneille is to Shakespeare as a clipped hedge is to a forest.' Aristarchus' Homer is a clipped hedge"). More generally, N. J. Richardson, "Literary Criticism in the Exegetical Scholia to the *Iliad*," *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 265–87, esp. 272ff, and M. Schmidt, *Die Erklärung zum Weltbild Homers* (=*Zetemata* 62 [Munich 1976]) 57f. Josephus' denigration of Homeric poetry (*Contra Apionem* 1.12) is an expression of racial polemic (though E. Drerup, *Homerische Poetik* I [Würzburg 1921] 164 n.4, emphasizes the philological point at issue). For the influence of biblical scholarship on early Analysts, see the translators' introduction to Wolf (above, n.5), esp. 18–26. More recent trends demonstrate an impulse to provide a scientific basis for literary study: Such borrowed metaphors as "nucleus" and "stratum" are popular catchwords among nineteenth-century dissectors of the poem; in the twentieth century, communication and information theories have been applied to Homeric language, and psychoanalysis and anthropology have been brought to bear, with varying results: See A. Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse* (Oxford 1971) xxiiif, xxvif; W. T. MacCary, *Childlike Achilles* (New York 1982); J. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the* Iliad (Chicago 1975). For general discussion, see A. Heubeck, *Die homerische Frage* (Darmstadt 1974) and "Homeric Studies Today," in B. Fenik, ed., *Tradition and Invention, Cincinnati Classical Studies* N.S. II (Leiden 1978) 1–15; A. Lesky, *Die Homerforschung in der Gegenwart* (Vienna 1952). E. R. Dodds, "Homer, i–ii," in M. Platnauer, ed., *50 Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 9, overstates the argument that the modern revival of Unitarianism is a product of anti-intellectual reaction to the 1914–18 debacle, for major work of its leading spokesmen antedates this period by as much as a generation and comes not from France and England but from Germany itself. Carl Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung*, for example, published in 1910, is the culmination of views expressed previously over a period of twenty years. It is nevertheless true that feeling ran high, as in T. W. Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924) 6f.

73. For detailed discussion of the development and impact of the oral theory, see A. Parry, ed., *MHV*, esp. lx–xii, and A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1960); more recently, J. M. Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition* (Bloomington 1988), hagiological in tone. A survey of scholarship is provided by M. W. Edwards in "Homer and Oral Tradition," *Oral Tradition* 1/2 (1986) 171–230.

74. For precursors of the modern oral theory, see A. Parry, *MHV* 8f; in addition to earlier work cited there, cf. C. Rothe, *Die Ilias als Dichtung* (Paderborn 1910) 22ff; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] (Leipzig 1921–23) 610ff; J. Svenbro, *PM* 11; and the useful survey by F. X. Strasser, *Zu den Iterata der frühgriechischen Epik* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 156 [Königstein/ Ts. 1984]) 1–5.

75. For this view of epithets, see F. M. Combellack, "Milman Parry and Homeric Artistry," *CompLit* 11 (1959) 193–208 (cf. M. Parry in *MHV* 304ff); on character, J. A. Notopoulos, "The Generic and Oral Composition in Homer," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 28–36; on structure, G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 261ff (cf. *HOT* 73); Notopoulos, "Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 54ff; and Lord, *SoT* 154ff, esp. 156: "It is not in the psychology of the oral poet to concern himself with stability of form, since stability of meaning and story already exist for him." Cf. Nimis (*Narrative Semiotics* 1–95), who accepts this principle but attempts to account for Homeric narrative in terms of a principle of "forward propulsion," the practical application of which we question in Book 11 n.10. A persistent oralist reluctance to acknowledge "high art" in Homeric poetry is exemplified by W. C. Scott's review of recent work on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in "Homer: Text, Context, and Tradition," *AJP* 110 (1986) 339–56.

76. R. Scholes and R. Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York 1966) 12; cf. 17–56; see also Bernstein (*The Philosophy of the Novel* [Minneapolis 1984]) 44–76.

77. For a balanced survey of earlier revisionist views, see B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (=*Hermes*, Einzelschrift 30 [Wiesbaden 1974]) 133–42, esp. 138ff. Among subsequent publications cf. A. Amory Parry, *Blameless Aegisthus* (=*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 26 [Leiden 1973]); A. Parry, "Language and Characterization in Homer," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 1–22; N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon* (Berkeley 1975), esp. 11–80; J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1980) 50ff, and "Homeric Words and Speakers," *JHS* 106 (1986) 36–57; S. Lowenstam, *The Death of Patroklos* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 133 [Königstein/ Ts. 1981]) esp. 1–30; O. Tsagarakis, *Form and Content*, esp. 32ff; L. Collins, *StChar* 13–20; cf. C. Gill, "The Character–Personality Distinction," in C. Pelling, ed., *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford 1990) 1–31. From a different point of view, P. Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer* (New Haven 1982), esp. 164ff. Further reactions are discussed in Chapter V, Sections 3–4.

78. For the demand for a criticism based on oral *poiesis*, cf. A. B. Lord, "Homer as Oral Poet," *HSCP* 72 (1967) 1–46. Notopoulos' view ("Studies," 45ff) represent a moderation of his earlier position (as set forth in "Parataxis in Homer"). The oralist attack on "subjective" literary approaches to Homer is sharply met by A. Amory Parry, "Homer as Artist," *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971) 1–15. For

more recent response, see in particular the essays in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP*; Pucci, *Odysseus Polytropos*; M. Lynn-George, *Epos: Word, Narrative and the Iliad* (London 1988), esp. 55–81; and Peradotto, *MMV*.

79. Among valuable attempts to define the special creative personality of the poet, see in particular J. A. Russo, "Homer Against His Tradition," *Arion* 7 (1968) 275–95; W. M. Sale, "Achilles and Heroic Values," *Arion* 2 (1963) 86–100; "Homeric Olympus and Its Formulae," *AJP* 105 (1984) 1–28; and "The Formularity of the Place Phrases of the Iliad," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 21–50.

80. F. M. Combellack's remarks in "Contemporary Homeric Scholarship: Sound or Fury?" *CW* 49 (1955) 53, are still relevant. H. T. Wade-Gery, in *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) esp. 9ff, is among those who avoid both agnosticism and a dictation-theory by thrusting a pen directly into Homer's hand, and Goold, "Homeric Composition," offers a detailed reconstruction of his methods of textual revision. Cf. A. Parry, "Have We Homer's *Iliad?*" *YClS* 20 (1966) 177–216; and the strictures of G. S. Kirk, "Homer's *Iliad* and Ours," in *HOT* 129ff. For further attempts to define the circumstances of early epic composition and performance, cf. J. Svenbro, *PM*, and M. Skafte Jensen, *The Homeric Question* (Copenhagen 1980).

81. On the question of early book-production, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London 1963) 215ff; L. H. Jeffery, "Writing," ibid. 545–59, esp. 555f; A. Heubeck, *Schrift* (=*ArchHom* III.x [Göttingen 1979]) 152–69; and M. L. West, ed., *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 48f. Cf. the comments of B. Gentili, *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece*, tr. A. T. Cole (Baltimore 1988) 17ff.

82. Cf. J. Peradotto, "Originality and Intentionality," in G. Bowersock et al., eds., *Arktouros* 3–11, esp. 10, quoting P. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory* (Fort Worth 1976) 76, on the difficulty of abandoning the element of intentionality in poetic discourse "without reducing texts to natural objects" (cf. P. de Man—on the "hopeless confusion that surrounds the notion of intentionality in Wimsatt"—in "Spacecritics," *Partisan Review* 31 [1964] 640–50 esp. 643f: "Much was gained by separating the temporal and spatial organization of literary language, as it crystallizes in rhythm and imagery, from the experience of time and space. But even more was lost by ignoring the highly problematic and intentional nature of these entities. Since they are made of invented space and invented time, they cannot possibly be described as if they were natural objects—i.e., objects whose spatial and temporal nature are given and not posited, let alone invented"). For a view of the relationship of form and content in Pindar comparable to that presented here, see G. Most, *The Measures of Praise* (=*Hypomnemata* 38 [Göttingen 1985]), esp. 48, citing T. W. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie* (Frankfurt a.M. 1973) 15, 432ff (7 and 404ff of *Aesthetic Theory*, tr. C. Lenhardt [London 1984]) for the concept of "interpretable form"; and Most, "The Structure and Function of Odysseus' *Apologoi*," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 15–30, esp. 20ff; cf. also R. B. Rutherford, "At Home and Abroad," *PCPS* N.S. 31 (1985) 133–50, esp. 134. Arguing from the perspective of reader response theory, J. B. White, *When Words Lose Their Meaning* (Chicago 1984) 24–58, esp. 39ff, similarly emphasizes the use of significant patterns in the *Iliad*, although he is primarily interested in meaningful

juxtaposition of scenes (cf. below, n.112), which constitutes only one aspect of the narrative patterns we shall be investigating here; White also accepts the oralist assumption that Homeric language is inadequate to support the discourse of the poem. Similarly, A. T. Edwards, *Achilles in the Odyssey* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 171 [Königstein/Ts. 1985]) 2–5. We shall maintain that this discourse is in fact achieved by an essential interplay of the choice of language and manipulation of form.

83. Cf. Rothe, *IaD*, and Drerup, *HP* I 111 and 438ff.

84. E. Drerup, *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias* (Paderborn 1913) 421–29; and *HP* I 422f, 434ff. Cf. H. Draheim, *Die Ilias als Kunstwerk* (Münster 1914) 72ff; and the detailed analysis of H. Peters, *Zur Einheit der Ilias* (Göttingen 1922), with which we shall be concerned in the following chapters. For more recent efforts to arrange the *Iliad* into practicable blocs for performance, see below, Chapter V, Section 3.

85. J. T. Sheppard, *The Pattern of the Iliad* (London 1922) 34ff.

86. Sheppard, *Pattern* 208f; cf. C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford 1930) 15ff. For Sheppard's predecessors in this regard, see G. Beck, *Die Stellung des 24. Buches der Ilias* (diss.Tübingen 1964) 53.

87. See Myres (*Who Were the Greeks?*) 517ff and "The Last Book of the *Iliad*," *JHS* 52 (1932) 264–96; cf. "The Chronological Plan of the *Iliad*: A Correction," *JHS* 33 (1933) 115–17; "The Structure of the *Iliad* Illustrated by the Speeches," *JHS* 74 (1954) 122–41; "The Pattern of the *Odyssey*," *JHS* 72 (1952) 1–19.

88. For a parallel to the Pre-Raphaelite atmosphere of Sheppard's 'panels' (e.g., *Pattern* 13), cf. Proust's concept of the book as a series of panels to be read like a work of art (R. Macksey in M. Proust, *On Reading Ruskin*, ed. J. Autret et al. [New Haven 1987] xxix). On early comparisons of Homer with Greek art, cf. Drerup, *HP* I 439f and *FBdI* 41f. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer and Geometric Art," *Athena* 61 (1957) 65–93, offers some reservations on and refinements of such parallels, but it is difficult, as we shall see, to accept his comparison between Homeric digressions and filling ornament in Geometric painting, as well as his assertion that the basic character of both the oral and the visual arts of this period precludes any organic relationship of the parts to the whole in our poem. In "The Pattern of the *Odyssey*" (above, n.87), Myres adopts the architectural metaphor of "pedimental" (i.e., triangular) structure; the third dimension emerges in Nagler's "pyramidal" form (above, n.49), and the musical analogy returns in F. Bader, "L'Art de la fugue dans l'*Odyssée*," *REG* 89 (1976) 18–39. Among the various patterns detected in the narrative—circular, annular, interlocking, spiral, and otherwise—the maeander-pattern proposed by A. Stählin, "Der geometrische Stil in der Ilias," *Philologus* 78 (1923) 280ff, esp. 287, is perhaps unique.

89. Whitman, *HHT* 87ff and 249; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (New York 1964) 223ff, 258ff. See also S. Bertman, "The *Telemachy* and Structural Symmetry," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 15–27, and "Structural Symmetry at the End of the *Odyssey*," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 115–23; W. F. Hansen, *The Conference Sequence* (Berkeley 1972); W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (=*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 28 [Leiden 1974]), esp. 166–89, who includes comparison with orientalizing and proto-Attic styles in vase-painting (cf., however, Lonsdale,

Creatures of Speech 15f); and J. D. Niles, "Patterning in the Wanderings of Odysseus," *Ramus* 7 (1978) 46–60 (cf. the comments of Most [1989] above, n.82, with futher bibliography).

90. Whitman, *HHT* 282f; Myres, "Last Book" 282f.

91. Cf. Kirk, *SH* 263, and B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (=*Hermes* Einzelschrift 21 [Wiesbaden 1968]) 44ff. On the problem of "scale," see Gaisser, "A Structural Analysis," esp.2. Any structural analysis must of course confront the question of comparable narrative elements (see, for example, Peradotto in "*Odyssey* 8.564–571," 833 n.51]); for what will "count" in our analysis, as we move beyond the self-contained sections with which we are concerned in this chapter to problems of sequence and relationship in the larger narrative, see below, Section 8.

92. Cf. Fenik, *Studies* 138f, and, among others, W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau der Ilias* (Frankfurt am Main 1975).

93. Nagler, *ST*; on the non-exclusive relation of his analysis to that of Whitman, see 174, n.19, and 201f. Among critics of Nagler's hypothesis, see W. Ingalls, "Another Dimension of the Homeric Formula," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 115; Nimis (above, n.21) 4ff; and P. Roth, *Singuläre Iterata der Ilias* (*Φ–Ω*) (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 194 [Frankfurt am Main 1989]) 9. Cf. J. Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge 1987) 90f.

94. Nagler, *ST* 131ff; cf. Lord, *SoT* 186ff. For an attempt to expand Nagler's pattern, see D. G. Miller, *Improvisation, Typology, Culture and the 'New Orthodoxy'* (Washington, D.C. 1982) 41ff. Further discussion in J. M. Foley, *Traditional Oral Epic* (Berkeley 1990) 12–15, 361ff.

95. A similar criticism applies to B. B. Powell, *Composition by Theme in the Odyssey* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 81 [Meisenheim/Glan 1977]), despite a more complex pattern and a greater luxury of substitutions. A somewhat similar analysis in terms of a repeated Supplication sequence has been advanced by A. Thornton, *Homer's Iliad* (=*Hypomnemata* 81 [Göttingen 1984]) 113–42, esp. 141f; although Thornton integrates this pattern into her overall six-canto division of the poem along with a variety of subsidiary elements, the result remains largely a general one, as she acknowledges (46f n.6), with difficulties noted by V. Pedrick, *CW* 80 (1988) 403.

96. W. Nicolai, *Kleine und grosse Darstellungseinheiten in der Ilias* (Heidelberg 1973), esp. 90ff; for his awareness of the relevance of de Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* to the study of literary structure, see 11f.

97. A. T. Edwards (above, n.82) 4, with bibliography. "Theme" and "motif" tend to be used interchangeably in much discussion (e.g., Nagler, *ST* 64; Lord, *SoT* 68ff; C. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* [Leiden 1971] 1ff; D. M. Gunn, "Thematic Composition and Homeric Authorship," *HSCP* 75 [1971] 1–31; M. W. Edwards, "Type-Scenes and Homeric Hospitality," *TAPA* 105 [1975] 51ff; cf. Foley, *TOE* 240–47, 333ff). Although the distinction is not always a simple one, I shall attempt to be consistent in using "theme" for an element related to the major issues of the *Iliad* (among these the Quarrel, the Theft/Return of a Woman, and the Fate of Troy) and "motif" for those subsidiary elements ("arming motif," "sacrifice motif," "approach of darkness motif") that serve to orchestrate the larger themes. See the discussion of these

terms by A. P. D. Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides* (New Haven 1970) 11f, and the distinctions drawn by R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York 1981) 95f; cf. C. Segre, *Structures and Time* (Chicago 1979) 16f, and the survey of usage in W. Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca 1986) 112–18, 126–29.

98. The basic works are W. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (=*Problemata* 7 [Berlin 1933]) and Fenik, *TBS*. Tsagarakis, *Form and Content* emphasizes the way in which the "typical" elements are in each case adjusted to the immediate poetic context; cf. Ø. Andersen, *Die Diomedesgestalt in der Ilias* (=*SymbOslo*, Suppl. 25 [1978]) 47: "Die Typik interessiert in diesem Zusammenhang in erster Linie nur, insofern sich das Besondere und Bedeutungsvolle davon abhebt." Cf. Fränkel's review of Arend, reprinted in *Wege und Formen* 313–15. For further studies, see M. W. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality in *Iliad* 1," *HSCP* 84 (1980) 1–28, esp. 3f, n.6, to which may be added C. Voigt, *Überlegung und Entscheidung* (Berlin 1933, rpt. in *Beitr.z. kl.Phil.* 48 [Meisenheim/Glan 1972]) 118ff; V. Pedrick, "Supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 112 (1982) 125–40; J. F. Morris, "'Dream Scenes' in Homer," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 39–54; F. Létoublon, "Défi et combat dans l'*Iliade*," *REG* 95 (1983) 27–48; and C. Niens, *Struktur und Dynamik in den Kampfszenen der Ilias* (Heidelberg 1986).

99. Kirk, *Commentary* I 311 *ad* 313–17, without explanation, begins the new scene with 313. He finds the measuring of the dueling ground unnecessary and evidence that the poet is "anxious to introduce some concrete detail at this point." But see below on line 344.

100. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 180, and, for a recent survey, I.J.F. de Jong, *NF* 116, and "The Voice of Anonymity: Tis-Speeches in the *Iliad*," *Eranos* 85 (1987) 69–84, who notes the way the speeches here are used to represent the degree to which "the masses can differ in mood and aspirations from their leaders." Here the contrast is so marked that the voice of the troops forms an antagonistic dialogue with the actions of the heroes that displaces the expected mutual abuse of the two warriors when they advance to confrontation. (The absence is noted by Létoublon [above, n.98, esp. 40ff], who emphasizes that the duel differs in purpose from the conventional model, in which the protagonists are typically concerned to demonstrate which is "best.") And as with the crowd reaction to Chryses' appeal in Book 1 and Agamemnon's deception in Book 2, common sense is powerless before the whims of gods and kings.

101. W. Bergold, *Der Zweikampf des Paris und Menelaos* (Bonn 1977) 115 n.1, offers a serial rather than annular analysis of the ensuing elements. Despite the reluctance of editors to place a structural break in the middle of a line, we shall see that breaks major and minor are quite common at various positions within the line; cf. Edwards (above, n.98) 5 n.11.

102. J. I. Armstrong, "The Arming Motif in the *Iliad*," *AJP* 79 (1958) 337–54, esp. 341ff, ignored in Lord's discussion (*SoT* 89ff), which unconvincingly attempts to relate the "ornamentation" of the theme of arming to ritual "dedication to the task of saving the hero's people, even of sacrifice" (91); but ornamentation in Homer bears little relation to the element of "dedication" involved: "It is not the survival of an ancient ritual which dictates the degree of elaboration of an oral

theme but the dramatic sense which determines the need for ritual. Homer creates ritual by amplification whenever the moment is significant" (N. Austin, "The Function of Digressions in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 7 [1966] 295–312, esp. 308). For further comment on Arming scenes, cf. Shannon, *Arms of Achilles*; Krischer, *Formale Konventionen*; Russo, "Homer against His Tradition," 282–86; and H. Patzer, *Dichterische Kunst und poetisches Handwerk im homerischen Epos* (*SBFrankfort*, Bd. 10 [1971]) 26ff. Kirk, *Commentary* I 313, provides a tabulation of the elements in the four major Arming scenes in the poem. Further discussion in Danek, *SD* 203–29, who also notes (209) that the first arming scenegoes to Paris, as the original instigator of conflict.

103. The full formula is confined to less than dignified contexts: At 7.355, as Paris refuses Trojan urging to return Helen, and 13.766, as Hektor rebukes him on the battlefield, Paris' guilt is again at issue; in three remaining instances, Paris inflicts minor wounds (on Diomedes in 11.369, on Machaon in 11.505) and kills a horse (Nestor's at 8.82).

104. Unfortunately, there is little comparative material for the treatment here: Most armings are single, as at 7.206bff, where Aias arms alone because Hektor has already been in the field for some time; the double arming of Diomedes and Aias at 23.813 is a special circumstance, without description; on the exceptional instance in Book 10.245–71, where the arming of Odysseus and Diomedes is described simultaneously, cf. Shannon, *Arms of Achilles* 21f. For Zielínsky (*Die Behandlung* 421) the brevity of Menelaos' arming here is an indication of the poet's way of handling concurrent events; for Kirk (*Commentary* I *ad* 339) it serves to avoid redundancy and imbalance.

105. For the significance of the spear flash, see Krischer, *FK* 36; with 3.337 cf. 11.42, 15.481, 16.138.

106. We return in Chapter III to the similar relationship between the "helming" of Patroklos in 16 and his subsequent "dis-helming" by a blow from Apollo.

107. See n.5 to Book 3 below. Thornton (*Homer's Iliad* 101) sees in the borrowed corselet a foreshadowing of Achilleus' loan of armor to Patroklos and ("if only in the mind of the poet") of Lykaon's death in Book 21.

108. On the character of Menelaos' prayers, see Hohendahl-Zoetelief, *Manners*, 149ff.

109. The parallels to this passage cited by Fenik, *TBS* 139, involve dead men being dragged away by the head or hair.

110. Cf. Peradotto, "Originality and Intentionality," 12, citing Merleau-Ponty and Wittgenstein on the use of new arrangements of available signifiers in achieving a new sense; at greater length in "*Odyssey* 8.564–571," 827–32. See also below, n.112.

111. We describe these relationships as they occur and in our discussion of Books 7, 17, and 24 below. Sixteen of the twenty-four (1, 3, 7–10, 13–16, 18–21, 23–24) have an annular structure (interrupted by circumstances in 10); interlocking structures are used in 2, 5, 6, 12, 17, and 22; and a central parataxis appears in 4 and 11. The function of the thematic central scenes is similar, and doubtless related, to the poet's technique of interrupting the narrative at moments of crisis with significant digressions that relate the immediate drama to another parallel, and therefore generalizing, pattern: See Austin ("The Function of Digressions").

112. For the "spatial" aspect of closed structures and the "temporality" of linear forms, see Frank, "Spatial Form," and the essays in Smitten and Daghistany, eds., *Spatial Form in Narrative*. In applying this distinction to Homeric mythic paradigms from an oralist position, Ø. Andersen, "Myth, Paradigm and 'Spatial Form,'" in Bremer et al, eds., *HBOP* 3 (cf. 10ff), denies spatial form its function of using an "artful reshuffling of elements . . . to evoke a particular 'reader's response.'" But cf. I.J.F. de Jong, in the same volume ("Silent Characters in the *Iliad*," esp. 109), who demonstrates the way in which "the primary narrator-focalizer, through the use of different denominations, directs our perception" of, among other episodes, the encounter between Hektor and Andromache in Book 6. White, *WWLM* 43f, emphasizing the specific relationship at issue here, concludes that in juxtaposing the *Teichoskopia* to the duel of 3 "Homer leads the reader to share a point of view . . . from which the activity and emotions of this war can make no sense at all. . . . The art of this poem is thus an art of composition in the literal sense. . . . The meaning of the poem, which is different from the meaning of its parts or their sum, is found in the experience of its movement in sequence and in time. What starts out as one thing turns into another, and the life of the poem is in that movement." Cf. the formal "counterpoint" in Faulkner's *Light in August*, described by J. W. Linn and H. N. Taylor, *A Foreword to Fiction* (New York 1935) 157, as a "design which, like the structure of music, represents nothing but is a sort of meaning in itself."

113. See E. Auerbach, *Mimesis*, tr. W. Trask (Princeton 1953) 3–23. Cf. the criticism from various points of view of, among others, C. Segal, "Classics and Comparative Literature," in *Materiali e discussioni* no. 13 (1984) 9–21, esp. 11–14 (differently in *Interpreting Greek Tragedy* [Ithaca 1986] 79); Lynn-George, *Epos*, 2–27; Pucci, *OP* 89; M. W. Edwards, "*Topos* and Transformation in Homer," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 49f with 60 n.3; and de Jong, *NF* 22ff, 123. It should be evident that I persist in using "structure" in the sense pronounced "inadmissible" by V. Descombes, *Modern French Philosophy* (Cambridge 1980) 80, in which "meaning, in the object analysed, is taken to be dependent on the arrangement of its parts," and which he traces to "the romantic notion of the 'living whole.'" For comment on irony and self-reflexivity in Greek literature, see Létoublon ("Le Miroir et la boucle," emphasizing the play of these techniques in the *Odyssey* at the expense of the *Iliad*); on their relationship in Romantic and modern literary theory, see A. A. Kuzniar, "Reassessing Romantic Reflexivity—The Case of Novalis," *The Germanic Review* 63 (1988) 77–86. Ambiguities in the Romantic concept of form, and their repercussions in modern criticism, are explored in M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* New York (1953) 201–13; and S. Weber, "Criticism Underway: Walter Benjamin's *Romantic Concept of Criticism*," in *Romantic Revolutions*, ed. K. R. Johnston et al. (Bloomington 1990) 302–19. The characterization of Homeric poetry developed here differs from that of theoreticians whose attribution of a unitary, monolithic ideology to epic as a genre provides a convenient means of distinguishing it from the novel, e.g., G. Lukács, *Theory of the Novel*, tr. A. Bostock (Cambridge [Mass.] 1971), esp. 56–69; and M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, tr. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Austin 1981) 3–40; on the latter see W. G. Thalmann, "Thesites: Comedy, Scapegoat," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 20f and n.52, who finds in Thersites'

"parody" of official language in Book 2 an "expression of another viewpoint, if only indirectly and temporarily." (The idiocyncracies of Bakhtin's concept of the novel are deftly analyzed by T. Todorov, *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogical Principle*, tr. W. Godzich [Minneapolis 1984] 80–93; the limitations of his notions of epic are suggested by Peradotto, *MMV* 53.) In what follows it will emerge that "another viewpoint" is presented continuously by the poet's formal strategies. For a Marxist defense of Lukács' (and Auerbach's) view of epic, see J. M. Bernstein, (above, n.76), 44–76, rather longer on critical rhetoric than philological acumen (e.g., 78f). In this connection, and in general, it is worth keeping in mind Ruth Finnegan's observation (*Oral Poetry* [Cambridge 1977] 206) that "to assume any one interpretation—whether 'Marxist,' 'folklorist,' or other—in advance of detailed enquiry is likely to be misleading."

114. See the discussions of Drerup, *FBdI* 45 and *HP* I 422ff; Nicolai, *KgD* 138ff; S. West, ed., *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (=*Papyrologica Coloniensia* III [Cologne 1967]) 18–25; and A. Heubeck et al., eds., *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey I (Oxford 1988) 33–48.

115. Some of the possibilities are reviewed by J. Van Sickle, "The Book-Roll and Some Conventions of the Poetic Book," *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 5–42, esp. 11 with n.5. See also G. P. Goold, "Homer and the Alphabet," *TAPA* 96 (1960) 272–91, esp. 288f, and "The Nature of Homeric Composition" (above, n.60), esp. 26–32, who reverses the argument by supposing a greater flexibility in the size of papyrus rolls); and Kirk, *SH* 306 (though we shall have occasion to question his assurance that division did not affect the content of each book).

116. E.g., Whitman, *HHT* 282; Goold, "Homer and the Alphabet," 291; Notopoulos, "Studies," 12.

117. Without the kind of documentation available to the historian of expectations of and reaction to a Bach fugue, for example (cf. A. Mann, *The Study of Fugue* [New York 1987] 8, 69f or, closer to home, Arnold Schoenberg's record of contemporary perception of experiments in musical form in *Style and Idea*[2] [London 1975] 120f), our knowledge of the theoretical preoccupations of early Greek poets remains largely inferential. For some discussion of the importance of tectonics in early poetry, see Gentili, *Poetry and Its Public* 50ff.

118. Further discussion in n.14 to Book 13 and n.2 to Book 17.

119. I am thinking of the brief catalogue of Greek defenders at 13.695ff, for example, where Medon is said to live at Phylake, home of the dead Protesilaos (according to 2.695ff), in exile for the murder of his stepmother's brother (a motif repeated at 15.332–36, where Medon is slain by Aineias), in contrast to the *Catalogue* of Book 2 (727), where he leads the absent Philoktetes' contingent from Methone. Such exiles are closely associated with the household of Achilleus (for Phoinix see 9.447–82; for Patroklos, 23.84–88), and Medon's revised history in 13 and 15 may be a thematic duplication prompted by the imminence of Patroklos' death and Achilleus' reentry into battle (alluded to by Poulydamas at 13.746f, foretold directly by Zeus at 15.64–68). Such slips may have greater creative dignity but are no more proof of orality than inconsistencies in a Victorian three-decker or work composed in haste on a personal computer.

120. Cf., for example, Whitman's discussion of the imagery of fire "and other elements" in *HHT* 128–53.

121. The translation of the text in F. Schlegel, *Charakteristiken und Kritiken* I (=*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* II, ed. H. Eichner [Munich 1967]) 131, is that of K. Wheeler, *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: The Romantic Ironists and Goethe* (Cambridge 1984) 63. (For the antecedents of Schlegel's vegetable model, see Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* 201–13; for Goethe's own assessment of his technique in *Wilhelm Meister*, see below, Chapter V, n.90; cf. the rather different idiom of J. Holloway, *Narrative and Structure: Exploratory Essays* [Cambridge 1979] 117: "Doubtless the critic's primary act of recognition and salutation for these modes and potentialities of consciousness, in their glowing detail and immediacy, is a more central critical achievement than meticulously to trace out, in abstract or symbolizing terms, the patterns and structures which accompany, resume and diagrammatize those powers and energies. But that is something the analytical critic, if his work has its measure of interest and worth, will view with equanimity.") We shall, of course, be dwelling on matters of detail more than would perhaps suit Schelegel's taste; it is worth recalling Nicolai's reminder (*KgD* 12) that "die Schönheit steckt—wie der Teufel— weitgehend im Detail." In this risky way we may see at least the formal truth of Bakhtin's description of epic as a genre in which "the structure of the whole is repeated in each part, and each part is complete and circular like the whole" (*Dialogic Imagination* 31).

Chapter Two
The Structure of *Iliad* 1–7

Book 1

1. For the distinction between "theme" and "motif," see Chapter I, n.97.

2. Thalmann, *Conventions* 27, briefly notes the parallelism in the episodes of 308–532. Lord, *SoT* 190, in pointing out the similarity of pattern between the quarrels over Chryses and Briseis, observes that "we are reminded that the Trojan War is also a tale of bride-stealing and rescue." Cf. K. J. Reckford, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 5–20, esp. 10. Kullmann, *QdI* 366, 368, sees the Wrath as a symbolic representation of the entire war; cf., in greater detail, R. J. Rabel, "Chryses and the Opening of the *Iliad*," *AJP* 109 (1988) 473–81.

3. van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie* 66, notes that 1–7 is ringed by *menis*, 1/6f, *erisante*; J. A. Russo, "A Closer Look at Homeric Formulae," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 235–47, esp. 241f and 246, pointing out the unusual and apparently contrived emphasis on *menis* created by the metrical abnormality of its position and the equally unusual conditions in which *erisante* appears, describes the passage as a "carefully wrought prologue." On these considerations, and in view of the structural analysis presented here, I retain the traditional paragraphy against M. W. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality in *Iliad* 1," 5 and n.11, who would extend the invocation through line 12a (cf. Nicolai, *KgD* 91, who considers 1–7 a "general prooimion" and 8–12a a secondary or "special prooimion," and Krischer, *FK* 137, who observes that although the introduction of the story of Chryses is independent of the invocation, the smoothness of the transition makes clear-cut separation difficult: "da jede Trennungslinie nur in gewisser Hinsicht

Gütigkeit hat"). Similarly in subsequent paragraphy presented here, I differ somewhat from Edwards' divisions, which are based not on ring-compositional analysis but, more broadly, on the complex succession and combination of scenic patterns. These can be useful, as we have seen, but may lead to difficulty if applied mechanically. I also depart from the purely temporal divisions of Peters, *Einheit* 6ff, and Nicolai 90ff: Considerations of time may play a role in structure (e.g., the arrival of Dawn) but do not govern it. On the retrograde character of the invocation itself, see Genette, *Narrative Discourse* 36f. Further general comment in J. Griffin and M. Hammond, "Critical Appreciations VI," *G&R* 29 (1982) 126–42. For a narratological analysis of events through line 495, see J. L. Latacz, "Zeus' Reise zu den Aithiopen," in G. Kurz et al., eds., *Gnomosyne. Festschrift Marg* (Munich 1981) 53–80; see below, n.29 to Book 24, for his discussion of the function and significance of the twelve-day delay in the action caused by Zeus' visit to the Ethiopian feast. As for the birds' feast in line 5, Redfield, "The Proem of the *Iliad*," *CP* 74 (1979) 103ff, accepts Zenodotus' reading *daita* for *pasi*, which allows scope for emphasis on the bold and grotesque irony with which the poet would thus anticipate the effects of Achilleus' wrath on the normalizing rituals of society (or of privilege: See Chapter I, n.36); as in the case of the poet on the *Shield of Achilleus* and elsewhere, one faces a choice between what may be an acute interpretative emendation and the less explicit vulgate.

4. Cf. Krischer, *FK* 136ff.

5. Cf. van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie* 67.

6. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality," 9ff. For swiftness associated with night's onset, cf. 12.463, *nykti thoei atalantos*. Apollo thus figures in the first simile of the poem as he will in the last (24.758f).

7. Edwards, "Convention," 5ff. Cf. Thornton, *HI* 113ff.

8. Edwards, "Convention," 7: "The response of the *supplicandus* is preceded by the reaction of the other Greeks (22–23), enabling the poet to condemn Agamemnon's conduct even more by means of the 'all the others . . . but not . . . ' motif." The importance of the men's reaction is emphasized by Achilleus in his report to Thetis in 376–79 (=22–25).

9. On typical elements here, cf. Edwards, "Convention," 8f.

10. Edwards, "Convention," 11–16. For further discussion of unique aspects of Athena's intervention at 194b–222, see P. Pucci, "Epifanie testuali nell' *Iliade*," *SIFC* SER. 3 3 (1985) 170–83. For recent general comment, see N. Austin, *Meaning and Being in Myth* (University Park [Pa.] 1990) 139ff.

11. For detailed analysis of ring-composition in the speeches of 149–87, see Lohmann, *KR* 45ff, 131ff, who emphasizes the way in which the prize theme (his usage) and the treatment of Chryses are deployed. For the relation of *geras* ("prize of honor") and *time* ("honor"), see E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1969) I 53–55. Collins, *StChar* 69–103, presents a useful discussion of many of the ethical issues involved in the Quarrel but her conclusions (96ff), based largely on her interpretation of Achilleus' conduct of the Funeral Games of 24, are open to question, as we shall suggest below.

12. Cf. 324f. The emptiness of the threat and the implicit hollowness of Agamemnon's claim are, of course, exposed by Agamemnon's subsequent dispatch of

the heralds to do his work. On attempts by Kirk and Goold to trace in this "inconsistency" two versions of the story, cf. Edwards, "Convention," 16 n.40; see further n.18 below.

13. F. M. Combellack, "Speeches and Scepters in Homer," *CJ* 43 (1947–48) 209–17, esp. 210ff, follows Ameis/Henze in supposing that at 234 Achilleus motions for the sceptre, which he has not previously held. It is no clear just whose sceptre is involved (a herald's? Agamemnon's?), but an act of political repudiation is clear, beyond mere frustration or the proverbial note of finality Edwards suggests ("Convention," 15, n.35); cf. Nestor's reference to the "sceptre-bearing king" (279) in his ensuing admonition. See also Whitman, *HHT* 160f, and R. Mondi, "*ΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ*: An Argument for Divine Kingship in Early Greece," *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 203–16, esp. 211, who reads the gesture as an affirmation of power parallel to Zeus' hurling the thunderbolt. Kirk, *Commentary* I 128 *ad* 2.109, offers a tabulation of the various functions of the staff. Although Agamemnon is, strictly speaking, merely *primus inter pares*, the situation is complicated by his tendency (here and elsewhere when it suits him) to exercise his military leadership in the terms of royal prerogative, at the expense of the other kings.

14. For an analysis of Nestor's language, see C. Segal, "Nestor and the Honor of Achilles," *SMEA* 13 (1971) 90–105. J. B. White, *WWLM* 24–58, esp. 35ff, emphasizes the importance of "persuasion" in Nestor's advice, characterizing it as "an attempt to organize language and life in a new way." But Nestor's language is unexceptional, and the value of compromise is recognized elsewhere in the poem with no implication of novelty: See W. Donlan, "The Structure of Authority in the Iliad," *Arethusa* 12 (1979) 51–70. Nestor's failure to convince seems not so much to define cultural boundaries, as White suggests (37), as to demonstrate his inability to resolve the issue through conventional comparatives and superlatives. For M. Schofield, "*Euboulia* in the *Iliad*," *CQ* N.S. 36 (1986) 6–31, esp. 27ff (with further references), Nestor's language is less important than his purpose, which is to deflect a crisis; and his failure is due to the impotence, under the circumstances, of tact. Further controversy over the question of "morality" at issue here may be found in three papers gathered in *CP* 82 (1987) 311–22, by M. Gagarin, H. Lloyd-Jones, and A. W. H. Adkins. Although the issue is one of basic importance, I prefer to allow the poem, rather than the terms of this long-standing debate, to set the agenda for the discussion that follows. For the structure of Nestor's speech, see Lohmann, *KR* 244 n.18, and Thalmann, *Conventions* 29f.

15. On the relation between *kleos* and action in heroic society, cf. A. A. Long, "Morals and Values in Homer," *JHS* 90 (1970) 121–39. Further bibliography in C. Segal, "*Kleos* and Its Ironies in the *Odyssey*," *AC* 52 (1983) 22–47.

16. Edwards, "Convention," 17.

17. It is customary among oralists to deny to Homeric language the capacity for dealing in such abstractions; but Achilleus' use of *noesai* in 343 is telling (cf. 131f and Hephaistos' admonition to his mother on the proper use of the mind at 577). See K. von Fritz, "*NOOΣ* and *NOEIN* in the Homeric Poems," *CP* 38 (1943) 79–93 (esp. 84 and n.49 for 1.343 and 577), and "*NOYΣ*, *NOEIN*, and their Derivatives in Pre-Socratic Philosophy," *CP* 40 (1945) 223–42. Cf. R. B.

Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*[2] (Cambridge 1954) 82f; J. R. Warden, "The Mind of Zeus," *JHI* 32 (1971) 3–14; S. M. Darcus, "How a Person Relates to *νόος* in Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek Lyric Poets," *Glotta* 58 (1980) 33–44; further discussion in H. Erbse, "Nachlese zur homerischen Psychologie," *Hermes* 118 (1990) 1–17, esp. 5ff.; for etymological speculation, see D. Frame, *The Myth of Return in Early Greek Epic* (New Haven 1978) 1–5. We argue in what follows that the denial of *noos* to Achilleus that Frame sees in the *Odyssey* (116ff) falls short of the complex concerns of the *Iliad*. J. H. Lesher, "Perceiving and Knowing in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*," *Phronesis* 26 (1981) 2–24, rightly emphasizes the importance of the play of truth and deception in the *Odyssey* but greatly underestimates their importance inthe *Iliad* (cf. also Pucci, *OP* 242f). For a brief treatment of the issue as it affects Achilleus and Hektor, see M. Mueller, "Knowledge and Delusion in the *Iliad*," *Mosaic* 3 (1970) 86–103 (rpt. in Wright, ed., *Essays* 105–23).

18. A. Teffeteller, "*ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΥΡΑΣ*," *CQ* N.S. 40 (1990) 16–20, places the intensive use of *autos* at 1.185 in Agamemnon's threat to seize Briseis "himself" in the context of its use at 137, 356, and 507 (cf. 2.240 and 19.89) to refer more generally to his personal authority and free choice in the matter; contradiction nevertheless remains between the terms of Agamemnon's threat (*autos ion klisiende*) and his subsequent reliance on intermediaries.

19. For an expansion of E. A. Havelock's postulation of an "echo-effect" in the verbal and thematic similarities between the seaside prayers of Achilleus and Chryses, cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I 88 *ad* 343–57, and Havelock's further comment, "The Linguistic Task of the Presocratics," in K. Robb, ed., *Language and Thought* 7–82, esp. 8f (LaSalle 1983; cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I 84).

20. Discussed by Arend, *TS* 79ff, and Edwards, "Convention," 19f; the quadruple anaphora of *ek* at the beginning of lines 436–39 conveys extraordinary emphasis as the poet moves from the formulae of the first two lines (found also in the comparably rich description at *Od.* 15.495bff) to Apollo's hekatomb, then finally to the climactic spondees describing the appearance of Chryseis herself. Cf. the analysis in J. A. Russo, "The Structural Formula in Homeric Verse," *YClSt* 20 (1966) 210–40, esp. 228ff.

21. For the variety of comment on the manipulation of time at this point, see Edwards, "Convention," 24 and n.59.

22. On the question whether the story of the gods' insurrection is an ad hoc invention or a reference to an independent tradition, cf. B. K. Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971) 16–26, esp. 18f; M. Lang, "Reverberation and Mythology in the *Iliad*," in *Approaches to Homer*, ed. C. A. Rubino and C. W. Shelmerdine (Austin 1983) 140–64, esp. 147ff. For Thetis' brevity here, compare her equally concise version of Zeus' speech at 24.133–37; for her omission of specific reference to the gods' revolt, and for other difficulties in the exchange between Achilleus and Thetis, see I. J. F. de Jong, "*Iliad* I.366–92: A Mirror Story," *Arethusa* 18 (1985) 5–22, esp. 10f.

23. The general correspondence of the Quarrel on Olympos to that between Achilleus and Agamemnon has long been noted: e.g. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 257ff; Rothe, *IaD* 166; Peters, *Einheit* 8f; E. T. Owen, *The Story of the Iliad* (Toronto 1946) 15, compares 254ff with 573ff.

24. R. Renehan in K. Rigsby, ed., *Studies in Honor of Sterling Dow* (=*GRBM* 10 [Durham 1984]) 255–58, esp. 258, argues that the *thronos* is virtually a *topos* for inactivity, among gods and mortals; he does not refer to this passage, where the more important aspect of power seems undeniable, or to its more problematic use in 24 (see below, n.20 to Book 24).

25. Cf. Owen, *SI* 16: "Whatever may be thought of the divisions elsewhere, Book I marks itself off by its structure, as well as by its subject matter, as the first chapter of the story." Cf. Sheppard, *PI* 22f. A. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* (London 1911) 207, in an amusing mock-dissection of Book 1, characterizes the role of Apollo with inadvertent aptness: "Apollo, who opens the book as the Angel of Death, closes it playing to the feasters." If the theme of a disastrous quarrel erupting at a banquet was familiar to Homeric audiences and in fact provided the traditional background for the initial conflict between Achilleus and Agamemnon, as G. Nagy argues (*The Best of the Achaians* [Baltimore 1979] 22–25, 64f), then its relocation to the divine level and its transformation into a quarrel resolved would impart a deeper irony to the narrative, as it would to the description of the feasting king in the *Shield* (above, n.36 to Chapter 1). Cf. also S. Schein, *The Mortal Hero* (Berkeley 1984) 56.

26. For M. Nagler, "Toward a Semantic of Ancient Conflict," *CW* 82 (1988) 81–90, esp. 88 (discussing 9.63f), Homer "comes close to challenging the heroic value system itself. For in modern terminology *kleos* constitutes an extreme case of a 'zero sum' system in which all value . . . that is added on one side must be taken from another."

27. Segal, "Nestor and the Honor of Achilles," 105, following Whitman, *HHT* 225ff, notes the resemblances, adding to Whitman's comparison of 1.349f (describing Achilleus' apartness) and 11.80f (of Zeus') the similarity of 1.349f and 498f. S. Nimis, *NS* 75, relates to this parallel Thetis' reminder at 396ff of her previous assistance to Zeus, rightly emphasizing that the *time* of Zeus is as much at issue in the poem as that of Achilleus.

Book 2

1. On Assembly scenes see Arend, *TS* 116–21, and H. Bannert, "Versammlungsszenen bei Homer," in J. Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 15–30; cf. Lord, *SoT* 146f. For unusual elements here, cf. M. W. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality," esp. 11f, and on the motif of "waking," Nagler *ST* 113ff. For discussion of Book 2 up to the *Catalogues*, see Katzung, *Diapeira*, who defends the integrity of the narrative against Analyst critics of its narrative inconsistencies; for the Test proper, cf. Bergold, *Zweikampf* 11–18; J. F. McGlew, "Royal Power and the Achaean Assembly at *Iliad* 2.84–394," *ClAn* 8 (1989) 283–95; and R. Knox and J. Russo, "Agamemnon's Test: *Iliad* 2.73–75," (ibid.) 351–58. For discussion of 1–483 in general, see A. J. Haft, "'The City-Sacker Odysseus' in *Iliad* 2 and 10," *AJP* 120 (1990) 37–56.

2. Whitman, *HHT* 161, 261ff. On such symbolic scenes, see the discussion of Book 4, below. For a survey of opinion on the Thersites episode, see W. G. Thalmann, "Thersites: Comedy, Scapegoat, and Heroic Ideology in the *Iliad*," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 1–28; cf. McGlew, "Royal Power," 291f.

3. Discussed below; cf. Peters, *Einheit* 19ff, esp. 24.

4. Discussed by J. F. Morris, "Dream Scenes." See also J. T. Kakridis, *HomRev* 76–88, who in answer to Analyst objection finds support for the double repetition of Dream's message in modern Greek folklore.

5. Nagler, *ST* 116, describes the assumption of Nestor's form as a "double hypostasis," without commenting on its function here.

6. For Arming and Dressing patterns, cf. Arend, *TS* 92–98, and Armstrong, *AM* 344; cf. Chapter I n.102. Note that 2.42=10.21; 2.44=10.22 and 132.

7. On the staff see Combellack, *CJ* 43 (1947–48) 209–17, esp. 211; on its use here, Katzung, *Diapeira* 53; Whitman, *HHT* 160 and 341, n.29 ("the sceptre of deceit"); Griffin, *HLD* 9ff; Thalmann, "Thersites," 10ff.

8. Morris, "Dream Scenes," 34 and 54, treats the element of Dawn as a part of the Dream pattern. Action following a nocturnal dream-sequence will tend to proceed at dawn, together with a change of scene (*Od.* 5.1ff, 15.56; *Il.* 24.695) or perspective (*Il.* 23.109), or after an interval (*Od.* 20.90b). But even at *Od.* 6.8ff, where the elements of Dawn and Arousal follow immediately on Athena's departure from the sleeping Odysseus (in the previous book), these elements are used to inaugurate new action rather than to enclose old; and it is to such ensuing actions generally, rather than the Dream, that the motif of Dawn is to be related structurally. Also noteworthy here is the partiality of Dawn, who brings her illumination not to gods and men alike (11.2, 19.2) nor to the whole earth (8.1, 24.695; cf. 23.226ff), but to Zeus and the gods alone (49), while mortals labor on in darkness. Homeric expressions for dawn are thus not simply a result of the poet's stylistic "concreteness" (so P. Vivante, "Rose-Fingered Dawn," *Ramus* 8 [1979] 125–36) but may also provide an ethical perspective on the action. Further below, Chapter V, Section 5.

9. Cf. on *themis* Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 5ff and 166ff, n.23; Benveniste, *Vocabulaire* II 103ff. Long ("Morals and Values," 135) weakens the term by treating it as expressive merely of a "standard of appropriateness." Kirk, *SH* 216 notes the "incongruity" of *he themis estin* (73) in arguing for multiple authorship. Bergold (*Zweikampf* 12f, n.4), on the basis of an elaborate "semasiologische Stemma," argues that Agamemnon's usage is apologetic and means "man muss, weil es notwendig ist und zum Vorteil werden würde." Knox and Russo ("Agamemnon's Test") suggest that *themis* refers to the religious duty to dismiss cowards from the ranks before engaging in Holy War. As for the terms of the Test, Katzung (*Diapeira* 50f) proposes that *eretyein* in 75 applies to Agamemnon himself: The leaders are not to restrain the men in their flight (the traditional interpretation) but rather Agamemnon, in proposing to abandon the war; cf. Owen, *SI* 21. Bergold (*Zweikampf* 13f) ingeniously argues that Agamemnon is ordering the leaders to restrain the army's (hoped-for) *objection* to his plan. Although there is an apparent discrepancy, in the conventional interpretation, between Agamemnon's words and the leaders' subsequent failure to act on them (192f), this is a risk our poet must take to motivate Hera's dispatch of Athena, and it plays a role in Odysseus' subsequent elaboration of Agamemnon's position (190–97). For a more self-conscious irony in Apollo's use of *themis* to describe mortal *hybris* in the *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* (541), see A. M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi* (=*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 93 [Leiden 1986]) 107f.

10. S. E. Bassett, "Dismissing the Assembly in Homer," *CJ* 26 (1930–31)

458ff, arguing that such descriptions are merely transitions in the narrative, not an "extract from the minutes," seems to have missed the dramatic point the poet gains by the manner of adjournment in each case. Katzung (*Diapeira* 52) notes the way in which Nestor echoes Agamemnon's words here (83=72). On the question of Nestor's attitude toward Agamemnon's dream, see Thalmann, "Thersites," 8f.

11. On the similes at 87ff and 144ff, and 209f and 354ff, see Moulton, *SHP* 38ff; I should prefer, however, to regard them as two related pairs of structurally ringing elements rather than as examples of a "dispersed sequence" (Moulton 33). Cf. Katzung, *Diapeira* 56, esp. n.164; Kirk, ed., *Commentary* I 138 *ad* 208–10, and Thalmann, "Thersites" 14.

12. It seems reasonable to maintain this distinction between the two garments despite W. B. Stanford on *Od.* 13.67, who asserts that the terms are interchangeable: Cf. the Waces in Wace and Stubbings, eds., *CH* 499: "It is too much to imagine that *φάρος* and *χλαῖνα* are synonymous, for a woman never wears a *χλαῖνα*." It is in a *pharos* that Achilleus has Hektor's corpse enfolded at 24.588 (cf. the white *pharos* used to cover Patroklos' shroud at 18.353, which Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 8.220f unaccountably takes as a "coverlet"). H. L. Levy interprets Odysseus' gesture as aristocratic extravagance (*TAPA* 94 [1963] 145–56) in "the great tradition of *sans souci*" (148). But in the parallel he cites (*Od.* 14.501), as here, the motif is associated in similar language with dashing off to meet a crisis: The cloak is tossed aside as an encumbrance to speed, not in *beau geste.*

13. Cf. Lohmann, *KR* 140 n.70, and Katzung, *Diapeira* 61ff. Arguing that the Test serves Agamemnon as a means of distributing shame among both the men and their leaders so as to inspire a universal renewal of fighting spirit, McGlew, "Royal Power," is forced to disregard the distinction between Odysseus' two approaches.

14. McGlew (292f), without comment on Hera's motive for sending in Athena, argues that the intervention is a confirmation of the divine support that underlies Agamemnon's power.

15. For a full comparison of the two speeches, see Lohmann, *KR* 174–78; cf. Katzung 64ff.

16. Above, n.2; cf. Thalmann, "Thersites" 14–19.

17. Cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I 138f *ad* 212; Thalmann, esp. 15: "The social attitude that makes appearance an index of quality is simultaneously suggested by overt description and undercut by the context." Although Thalmann argues that the ejection of Thersites provides a comic "healing function for his society" (17), he maintains that "for the Achaean army, ideology has indeed been validated. But the text makes clear what that ideology is—a mystification that serves to disguise the lack of good reasons for continuing to fight" (19).

18. H. Thesleff, "Man and locus amoenus in early Greek poetry," in G. Kurtz et al., eds., *Gnomosyne* 31–45, esp. 36, suggests that the charming landscape surrounding the sacrifice (305ff) constitutes a *locus amoenus* in which "the references to nature here, the pleasant and the less pleasant ones, function as indications of the exceptional holiness of the place, and thus of the importance of the omens: there is really no other motivation for them. Is it mere coincidence that

there is a serpent also in this paradise?" Is the paradise threatened by the presence of the serpent? Would this serve to undercut Odysseus' optimism?

19. On the structure of Odysseus' speech, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 53–55; for that of Nestor, 55–58 and Kirk, *Commentary* I 150 *ad* 336–68; for the relation between the two, see Haft, "The 'City-Sacker,'" 43 n.22; Gaisser, "Digressions," 38, cf. 8, analyzes the narrative of the portent at Aulis (290–323) as a complex ring.

20. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 1–27. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 14, emphasizes Agamemnon's admission of responsibility for the quarrel; but although Agamemnon acknowledges that he began the dispute (378), the blame in his view remains Zeus' (376).

21. Cf. above, n.10.

22. Nicolai, *KgD* 92, oversimplifies by arguing for the centrality of the confrontation of Thersites and Odysseus, flanked by the two speeches of Odysseus and, as an outer ring, the two speeches of Agamemnon (100bff and 360ff).

23. On the scenic patterns involved, see Edwards, "Convention and Individuality," 20ff.

24. It is perhaps less important to determine whether the poet imagines an aegis apiece for Zeus and Athena (cf. Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 15.18–31 and 308–11, with Kirk I *ad* 2.446) than to note that Athena's visible symbol of power is in any case derived from Zeus'.

25. The duplication of elements of Assembly and Advance to battle in 441bff has provoked considerable vehemence on the part of Analysts at the clumsiness with which the *Catalogue* has been introduced into the narrative (above, Chapter I, n.61). Hope Simpson and Wade-Gery have attempted to show that a reasonable succession, rather than duplication, of events is being described; but neither takes account of what appears, in my view, to be the poet's desire to supply a formal ring to preceding events before inaugurating the *Catalogue* proper. Cf. Katzung (50, 70f), who similarly sees ringing of the Test by the "intimes Frühstück" of 402–40 and the council of leaders in 53–86, calling attention to the repetition of 50ff in 442ff, the similarity of 97ff to 445ff, and the role of Rumor in 93 and of Athena in 446ff. From the "digression" of the Test we return to the original point of departure, the motif of Agamemnon's deception, reiterated by the poet's comment on the refusal of his prayer (419ff), as on his credulity in 36–40.

26. On the Trojan Catalogue in general, see Page, *HHI* 137ff; Kullmann *QdI* 179ff; Kirk, *Commentary* I 248–63.

27. Noted by Peters, *Einheit* 23; cf. M. M. Willcock, *A Commentary on Homer's* Iliad, *Books I–VI* (London 1970) 85, and *A Companion to the Iliad* (Chicago 1976) 35; Kirk, *Commentary* I 250.

28. On the troubled relations between Hektor and the companions Glaukos and Sarpedon, cf. C. Moulton, "The Speech of Glaukos in *Iliad* 17," *Hermes* 109 (1981) 1–8. A similar opposition occurs in the catalogue of the five Trojan battle formations at the Greek trench in Book 12, where Hektor leads the first and Sarpedon, along with Glaukos, the last (cf. also Book 12, n.4); the two are linked by the ringing motif *hoi pleistoi kai aristoi* at 12.89 and *hoi gar . . . aristoi* at 103, while the intervening three entries are joined by the refrain *ton de* at 93, 94, and 98.

29. As in the case of the Greek Nireus (above, Ch. I, n.54), the absence of Ennomos and Nastes in the subsequent narrative need not indicate that they are inherited elements unadjusted to the poem (cf. Kullmann, *QdI* 174f): Their thematic function here is in fact repeated, in different terms, in the *Battle by the River*, where Achilleus will confront not only the illusions of Lykaon and Asteropaios, but his own as well. Although the trust in beautiful appearances that characterizes Nastes here is typical of the Trojans in general (and by association their allies), it is not a major consideration in Book 21; but it does relate him to Nireus, as does the anaphora with which he is presented (870f; cf. 671ff), and suggests that Nastes too may be an ad hoc invention by our poet.

Book 3

1. On unity, Wilamowitz, *IuH* 284: "Wahrlich es ist eine grobe Verkennung, das *Γ* in Stücke zu reissen"; cf. P. Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade* (Paris 1948) 157; on anachronisms, Leaf I 87 and Rothe, *IaD* 86; more recently, on the issue of the duplication of the duel theme, G. S. Kirk, "The Formal Duels in Books 3 and 7 of the *Iliad*," in *Tradition and Invention*, ed. B. Fenik (=*Cincinnati Classical Studies*, N.S. 2 [Leiden 1978]) 18–40; on the *Teichoskopia*, see n.9 below. Bergold, *Zweikampf*, provides detailed commentary on Book 3 and lines 1–222 of Book 4.

2. See above, Chapter I, n.61.

3. Cf. the repetition of this contrast in 4.420–38; see also Griffin, *HLD* 4, and T. K. Hubbard, "Antithetical Simile Pairs in Homer," *GrazBeitr* 10 (1981) 59–67, esp. 60.

4. Peters, *Einheit* 26ff, prefers a chiastic analysis, with the oaths and the duel at the center. Although Nicolai, *KgD* 95, gives the duel primary emphasis at the center of his scheme, he is aware of the tension between it and the scenes involving Helen: "Zentrum, d.h. Handlungsziel des Kapitels ist zwar der Zweikampf zwischen Paris und Menelaos, Höhepunkte aber sind die Helena-Szenen." Cf. the distinction between thematic focus and dramatic climax we suggested in Chapter I, Section 8. On the Homeric use of *eidos* to imply "appearance" rather than "reality," see B. M. W. Knox, "The Human Figure in Homer," in D. Buitron-Oliver, *New Perspectives in Early Greek* Art (=*Studies in the History of Art* 32 [Washington, D.C., 1991]) 93–96, esp. 94f.

5. The effect is gained at the expense of tactical good sense (on Paris' peculiar equipment, cf. Kirk, ed., *Commentary* I 267f *ad* 17–20) but also allows the poet to develop with significant detail Paris' subsequent rearming for the duel with Menelaos at 328ff. On "inconsistency" here, see Kakridis, *HomRev* 13.

6. On the "triptych" structure of Hektor's rebuke of 39–57, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 109 n.28; Bergold, *Zweikampf* 37 prefers an annular analysis.

7. On the symbolism here, cf. Whitman, *HHT* 117, and Hampe, *Gleichnisse* 25f. Although the concept of the gods spinning and weaving human destiny is Homeric (*Il.* 24.525; *Od.* 3.208 etc.), the apportionment of specific functions in the process to the Three Fates is post- or at least non-Homeric (cf. the discussions in Onians, *OET* 349ff, 416–19; B. C. Dietrich, "The Spinning of Fate in Homer," *Phoenix* 16 (1962) 86–101, esp. 98ff, and *Death, Fate, and the Gods* (London

1967) 294ff. It is noteworthy in this connection that in the *Cypria* (fr.6 Kinkel=Allen VII) Helen is made the daughter of Nemesis. But for the metaphor of humans weaving, sewing, or stitching disaster in one form or another, cf. 6.187 (weaving a clever trick) and 18.367 (stitching evils). A.L.T. Bergren, "Helen's Web: Time and Tableau in the *Iliad*," *Helios* 7 (1979–80) 19–34, and L. L. Clader, *Helen: The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition* (=*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 42 [Leiden 1976]) 6–11, emphasize the motif of weaving as an image for the poetic process itself: Thus, Helen becomes the "poet" of the *Teichoskopia*. Further references in Collins, *StChar* 43 n.11; cf. the objections raised by G. Kennedy, "Helen's Web Unravelled," *Arethusa* 19 (1986) 5–14, who draws a distinction between Helen's "text" and that of the bard in terms of *lisible* and *scriptible*, without fully exploring the related question of the degree to which either product is therefore to be regarded as "closed" or "open."

8. K. J. Reckford, "Helen in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 9. Nor are the summoning of Helen and the ensuing *Teichoskopia* intended merely to fill the temporal vacuum between Priam's summoning and his arrival on the field, according to Zielínsky's law (cf. Rothe, *IaD* 187): Instead, the technical convention subserves a more complex purpose.

9. Cf. Wilamowitz, *IuH* 283; Kirk, "The Formal Duels," 26. For a brief survey of objection to the *Teichoskopia*, see Bergren, "Helen's Web"; cf. O. Tsagarakis, "The Teichoskopia Cannot Belong in the Beginning of the Trojan War," *QUCC* 41 (1982) 61–72. For comment on the function of the sequence and its use of *topoi* found elsewhere in the poem, see M. W. Edwards, "*Topos* and Transformation," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 56f.

10. Cf. Lohmann, *KR* 87ff; Bergold, *Zweikampf* 85; and Gaisser, "Digressions," 39, on the refrain-structure of Antenor's speech. I. Esperman, *Antenor, Theano, Antenoriden* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 120 [Meisenheim 1980]) 108–18, finds the language heavily Odyssean rather than Iliadic; her contention that the speech is devoid of function here is unconvincing. M. Detienne/ J.-P. Vernant, *Les Ruses de l'intelligence* (Paris 1974) 29ff (followed by J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* [Princeton 1983] 33, 76, 164) interpret Odysseus' manner as a disguise adopted to disarm his hearers.

11. For the structure of the duel, see Chapter I, Section 7.

12. On such rebuke patterns, see Fenik, *TBS* 26, 155, 168.

13. Schein, *MH* 22, emphasizes the pun in Hektor's use of *mignymi* ("mix, have intercourse") in 54f and compares 445. MacCary, *CA* 138, sees no pun but finds the usage "shocking" nevertheless. For discussion of sexual metaphors in Homeric warfare, see E. T. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 101–5.

14. Fenik, *TBS* 205.

15. Kirk, *Commentary* I 322f *ad* 396ff chooses to emphasize the "incompleteness" of Aphrodite's disguise as a reflection of the poet's awareness of her role as a projection of human emotions.

16. Among the works cited in Book 1, n.17, see especially von Fritz, "*NOYΣ* and *NOEIN*," 89; note here the repetition of *eidos* at 45, 55, 124, 224. For a different emphasis, see the comments of D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* 54f, who

appears to see in Helen's behavior in Book 3 a conflict of emotions (love/hate) rather than a more complex struggle between mind and heart.

17. Cf. Griffin, *HLD* 1 and n.4.

18. Moulton, *SHP* 89, notes the balance between the similes of 449 and 23ff.

Book 4

1. Cf. Owen, *SI* 39; Whitman, *HHT* 232. Analysts, on the other hand, have seen in the divine council less an effective device for setting in motion the significant action to follow than proof of the ineptitude of an interpolator: Von der Mühll, *KH* 77ff.

2. In order to serve this emphasis, the poet has adjusted the earlier description of Pandaros' bow as a gift of Apollo (2.827); cf. Willcock, "Some Aspects," *BICS* 17 (1970) 1–10, esp. 3f (=Wright, ed., *Essays* 62ff).

3. Griffin, *HLD*, Chapter I, discusses a variety of "symbolic scenes," excluding this one. For allegory in Homer and the allegorical interpretations devised to answer the pre-Socratic charges of impiety and irresponsibility in the *Iliad*, see Buffière, Feeney, Lamberton, Whitman, and Pépin (above, n.72 to Chapter I); cf. Svenbro, *PM* 108–38.

4. In this respect the purely lexical approach to Homeric poetry employed by B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, tr. T. Rosenmeyer (Oxford 1953), and by A. W. H. Adkins in numerous studies in the wake of *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960) tends—quite apart from the question of structure—to miss much of what the poetry is able to communicate. For trenchant criticism of Snell's "lexical bias," see S. Halliwell, "Traditional Conceptions of Character," in Pelling, ed., *Characterization and Individuality* (Oxford 1990) 32–59, esp. 36–42, and de Jong, *NF* 22, who rejects Snell's "evolutionary fallacy" as a confusion of narrative presentation with a way of thinking. Cf. W. Scott, *OrNa* 28ff and Knox, "The Human Figure"; see also Book 3, n.15, and Chapter V, n.4.

5. Cf. 11.124; 24.534; perhaps also in this sense of Peleus' horses at 16.381, 867, and 18.84; and of Achilleus' new shield at 19.18; cf. *aglaa tekna* of the doomed Nastes at 2.871 and above, 316n.65.

6. Peters, *Einheit* 31, suggests that the appearance of Athena as Laodokos to tempt Pandaros in 4.87 is intended to recall Iris' disguise as Laodike in summoning Helen to the wall at 3.124.

7. Cf., of Patroklos, 16.787 etc.; a list in Kirk, *Commentary* I 343 *ad* 127. A. Parry, "Language and Characterization in Homer," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 9–22, esp. 15, in weighing the competing claims of the traditional view against the oralist claim that metrical convenience alone accounts for such apostrophes, argues that in Homeric artistry rhetorical effect and traditional usage converge. E. Block, "The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil," *TAPA* 112 (1982) 7–22, emphasizes (14) the use of apostrophe in oral poetry to intensify the audience's "immediate participation in the emotional fabric of the poem." Cf. S. Richardson, *The Homeric Narrator* (Nashville 1990) 136f, 170–74, and the somewhat different emphases in de Jong, *NF* 45, 60, and N. Yamagata, "The Apostrophe in Homer as Part of the Oral Technique," *BICS* 36 (1989) 91–103, esp. 102f.

8. See the discussion by D. H. Porter, "Violent Juxtaposition in the Similes of the *Iliad*," *CJ* 68 (1972) 11–21.

9. C. R. Beye, *Ancient Greek Literature and Society* (Garden City 1975) 43f, stops short of evocation of Helen: "We are made to move farther, from the shouting movement at Troy to the quiet of a woman's chamber, anywhere in the Eastern world . . . then to the living desire which the beautiful object engenders, and finally we are reminded of the universal and ideal function, its inner virtue—an ornament for the horse and a thing of glory to its rider." Moulton, *SHP* 93, n.14, offers a rather different suggestion: The association of Menelaos with women and children in the similes at 130ff and 141ff serves to indicate that he "will not be an effectual fighter of front-rank importance as the battle unfolds." Cf. also de Jong, *NF* 125. Further discussion of Homeric similes with more than one point of comparison in R. J. Rabel, "Agamemnon's *Aristeia: Iliad* 11.101–21," *Syllecta Classica* 2 (1990) 1–7.

10. For the structure of Agamemnon's speech of 155–82, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 43ff. Peters, *Einheit* 29, without considering elements of ring-composition, sees in these events simply a general interlocking series:

Conversation between Hera and Zeus, Athena's dispatch
  Athena persuades Pandaros
    Menelaos wounded
Conversation between Agamemnon and Menelaos
  Talthybios fetches Machaon
    Menelaos healed.

11. On the form of the *Epipolesis*, see also van Otterlo, *De ringkompositie* 19–207 and *Untersuchungen* 161ff; cf. Kirk, *Commentary* I 353f, and H. Bannert, *Formen des Wiederholens bei Homer* (=*WS* Beihft. 13 [Vienna 1988]) 125–28.

12. Bannert, *Formen* 128, notes that following the exchange with Nestor Agamemnon's addressees are no longer characterized as "eager" (*speudontes*) but as "slackers" (*methientes*).

13. J. T. Sheppard, "The Heroic *Sophrosyne* and the Form of Homer's Poetry," *JHS* 40 (1920) 47–57, esp. 52: "The interviews with Nestor and Odysseus have taken toll of his [Agamemnon's] nerves. . . . When an old Staff Major has reminded the inspecting General that the latter is too young to remember the Mutiny, the General will look for a subaltern whom he can impress by talk about South Africa." Indeed, as noted by Andersen (*Die Diomedesgestalt in der Ilias* [=*SymOslo*, Suppl. 25, Oslo 1978] 34), and V. Pedrick, "The Paradeigmatic Nature of Nestor's Speech in *Iliad* 11," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 55–68, esp. 61ff, Agamemnon's reminiscence is actually irrelevant to his initial point about Tydeus' steadfastness. On the question of negative characterization here, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 44 n.72; on the complex ring enclosing Agamemnon's reminiscences of Tydeus, cf. Gaisser, "Digressions," 9 and 38, and van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie* 57.

14. Andersen (*Diomedesgestalt* 40) argues, *contra*, that Agamemnon is "weniger korrigiert als ergänzt, denn Sthenelos spricht vom Krieg, während Agamemnon von Tydeus redete."

15. H. Erbse, "Betrachtungen über das 5. Buch der Ilias," *RM* N.F. 104 (1961) 156–89, esp. 158, suggests that Diomedes considers Agamemnon's challenge a tactical device; but the essential point is that Diomedes is willing to fight for Agamemnon's *kydos* (415) whatever he may say, as Achilleus is not. G. Zanker, "Loyalty in the *Iliad*," *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 6 (1990) 211–27, esp. 215f, takes Agamemnon's characterization of Diomedes as "better in council" than his father (400) as sarcasm, but nevertheless finds in Diomedes' reaction a demonstration of undeviating loyalty.

16. E.g. Owen, *SI* 44ff; Peters, *Einheit* 29.

17. Nicolai, *KgD* 29, and Reinhardt, *IuD* 126, among others, treat 422–544 as a unit independent of the preceding elements, or as a part of Book 5. Cf., however, Moulton, *SHP* 42ff and 52ff, on the integrity of Book 4 as we have it and the conclusive character of 539ff.

18. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 42ff.

19. Here I follow Peters, *Einheit* 30 (cf. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 48). For traditional elements in the fighting, see Fenik, *TBS* 10, and for a slightly different analysis of 457ff, Kirk, *Commentary* I 385ff (whose chart on 386 betrays his text by causing the unfortunate Diores to die twice—and casts an unflattering light on his contention that the *Iliad* must be an oral composition because its inconsistences would have been removed in the circumstances of a literate culture). Latacz, *KKK* 82–90, presents a scheme in which the catalogue of individual encounters is broken by partial or general overviews; in the analysis presented here, the individual encounters introduced at 457, 473, and 517 move in each case from the particular to the general.

20. Cf. below, Book 13, n.15.

21. Kirk, *Commentary* I 397 *ad* 536–68 is sensitive and apt, preceded by G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer der* Ilias (diss. Frankfurt 1954) 32.

Book 5

1. Among recent studies of the Diomedes-figure, H. Erbse, "Betrachtungen über das 5. Buch der Ilias," *RhM* N.F. 104 (1961), 156–89; Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt*, esp. 47–94. Earlier: Drerup, *FBdI*, and F. Lillge, *Komposition und poetische Technik der Διομήδους Ἀρίστεια* (Bremen 1911). We shall return to the roles of Diomedes and Achilleus in discussing the *Theomachy* and its relationship to Book 5.

2. Fenik, *TBS*, esp. 9–77, has set forth in detail the typical patterns in the fighting of Book 5, noting in the process many of the unparalleled elements. For the latter see also Andersen (*Diomedesgestalt* 47, quoted in Chapter I, n.98); Niens, *Struktur* 19–39, 200–12; and Kirk in Rubino and Shelmerdine, eds., *Approaches to Homer* 28.

3. Sirius reappears similarly in 11.62f (of Hektor; cf. the flames around Achilleus' head at 18.205; see also Fenik, *TBS* 10f and Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 49). For a survey of such motifs see Krischer, *FK* 36ff; for light as a sign of *charis*, Nagler, *ST* 188 n.11. Kirk, ed., *Commentary* II *ad* 5f, denies any ominous implication here, as at 22.26–31.

4. Previous structural analyses differ considerably: Among them, Nicolai, *KgD* 96, would include 4.422–544 in the "Aristeia of Diomedes" (cf. Reinhardt,

IuD 126), suggesting an overall tripartite division with a centerpiece comprising 5.454–710. Peters, *Einheit* 32ff, proposes an interlocking arrangement with no centerpiece. S. Benardete, "The *Aristeia* of Diomedes and the Plot of the *Iliad*," *ΑΓΩΝ* 2 (1968) 10–38, esp. 28, sees a symmetrical plan extending from 4.457 to 6.236, with 5.311–430 as a central focus. Moulton, *SHP* 58–64, following Erbse, "Betrachtungen" (n.1 above), adheres to a tripartite division (with 545–710 as center), which he considers to be supported by the disposition of the similes. My own tripartite structure (conforming to Drerup's suggestion [*FBdI*, n.1: 215ff] that the third section begins at 471) is based rather on comparison of motivic and verbal parallels and reversals in 1–430 and 471–909. Whitman (*HHT* 265ff) similarly proposes that Diomedes' encounter with Apollo occupies central place; but his analysis of surrounding elements is selective, and a basically interlocking structure is forced into an annular pattern. Miller, *Improvisation* 49ff, attempts to refine and expand Whitman's scheme. Cf. also Thornton, *HI* 81f.

5. Andersen (*Diomedesgestalt* 49) considers the rescue of Idaios a "Vorspiel" for the subsequent encounter with Aineias; cf. 89 n.9 on the choice of Hephaistos as the intervenient.

6. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 11, with Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 148f. The death of sons of priests and soothsayers is particularly associated with Trojans: Of the examples Fenik cites (to which should be added 2.830ff), only 13.660ff applies to a Greek. For irony in the choice of "redende Namen" in the present passage, see H. Mühlestein, *Homerische Namenstudien* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 183 [1987]) 28–37 (=*SMEA* 9 [1969] 67–76).

7. Diomedes is perhaps further linked to the figures who represent this theme above all—Achilleus and Patroklos—by the phrase *pasin orinthe thymos* ("the spirit was aroused in all," 29), which, as Andersen points out (49), is used elsewhere only at 16.280, as the Trojans watch Patroklos' advance to battle, and 18.223, as they view Achilleus' epiphany at the wall.

8. For general comment, Fenik, *TBS* 19f; on anticipation here, Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 50. For implications for the nature of Homeric warfare, see Latacz, *KKK* 56f.

9. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 22 and, on the question of conventionality in Athena's gesture of parting the clouds that hinder Diomedes' perception, Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 52, and Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 127–30.

10. Further comment on the relationship between the similes at 133ff and 161ff in Lonsdale, *Creatures* 50–54.

11. On the typical structure of these patterns, cf. Fenik, *TBS* 24ff. Here as before, however, the poet's ring-compositional procedures take precedence over traditional patterns, producing the discrete divisions indicated here as E_1, F_1, and G.

12. On the structure of Pandaros' speech, Lohmann, *KR* 40.

13. For the meaning, cf. Leaf I ad loc.

14. Such woundings are considered to be characteristic of "lesser" fighters; but cf. note 33 below and Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 38–83, 66f, and 291ff.

15. Cf. Fenik's discussion (*TBS* 36ff), where Aphrodite's intervention to save Aineias is explained simply as a device for preventing what tradition forbade (39).

16. For the structure of Dione's speech, cf. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 92

n.44, against Lohmann, *KR* 53 n.93; on its paradigmatic character, Andersen 62ff.

17. On the identification of Ares as the god in question in the phrase *daimoni isos*, cf. Lowenstam, *DP* 76; Pucci, *OP* 132, offers the more neutral suggestion that "the formula seems to indicate a hero in the moment of his *aristeia*"; cf. de Jong, *NF* 158, 239f, and (with N. van der Ben) "Daimon in Ilias en Odyssee," *Lampas* 17 (1984) 301–16, on the distinction in usage between *daimon* and *theos*.

18. Fenik, *TBS* 53 argues that the darkness here is simply part of a Rebuke pattern similar to 12.252ff, 16.567, 17.268ff, 366ff, and 649f, in which case it would be difficult to argue for intentional reversal of the light of A_1. But in Books 16 and 17, the darkness results from Zeus' purpose to complicate the struggle over the bodies of Sarpedon and Patroklos (in the latter case provoking Aias' great cry of 17.645ff; for darkness elsewhere associated with Aias' fighting, cf. 7.282); in 12 the dust signals Zeus' aid to Hektor. In the majority of Rebuke patterns indexed in Fenik, *TBS*, the element of darkness is in fact absent. Where it does appear, it is related less to the sequence itself than to the larger structure, as here. Similarly, the reference to Athena in 510 (which Fenik, 55 n.44, leaves "unexplained") is inessential to its surroundings and can only be accounted for with reference to the corresponding section, A_1.

19. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 61f.

20. Cf. Whitman, *HHT* 168; Moulton, *SHP* 61f.

21. Fenik 66ff.

22. Cf. Leaf I 146 and 74 (on 653); Von der Mühll, *KH* 100f.

23. For a study of the numerology of slayings in the *Iliad*, and speculation—without regard for formulaic language—on implications for the prehistory of the poem, see Singor, "Nine Against Troy," *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 44 (1991) 17–62. On the peculiarities of Sarpedon's desperate appeal and Odysseus' sudden disappearance, cf. Fenik, *TBS* 69 and 71. My division of the elements in 663–710, as indicated on Chart 2.6, is based on these considerations: The combination in 663–67 of the motif of withdrawing a companion from battle and a statement involving *noese*, is repeated in 668–78. Lines 679ff again repeat the *noese*-statement (680), and a ring is established by the charge of *korythaialos Hektor* (680/89) against the Greeks (681f/690f). In 692–98, the removal of the spear from Sarpedon's thigh balances the intrusively emphasized failure to do so in 663–67 (which Fenik, 55, accepts as "realistic"); and the charge of Hektor with Ares, followed by slayings (699–710), contrasts with Odysseus' charge with Athena's aid in 668–78.

24. Fenik, *TBS* 66, notes the peculiarity of Tlepolemos asking Sarpedon why he is hanging back, which not only reverses the situation at 471 but is also more appropriate among allies, not opponents; the closest parallel is Agamemnon's challenge to Diomedes and Sthenelos in Book 4, where a similar emphasis on the folly of the previous generation appears (with *aphradieisin* of 649, cf. *atasthalieisin* at 4.409). But the paradigmatic function served by a confrontation based on the challenge of the past, which Tlepolemos' rebuke serves to introduce, appears to override other considerations.

25. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 67.

26. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 71ff, for structural parallels between the two passages.

27. On Athena's speech, see Lohmann, *KR* 14f and 80; for comparison with the *Epipolesis* at 4.370ff, see Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 78.

28. Cf. Leaf ad loc.; Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 81f. Willcock, "Ad Hoc Invention in the *Iliad*," *HSCP* 81 (1977) 41–53, esp. 51, seems content to take the passage simply as an expansion of *alloprosallon* in 831.

29. For *gigknosko* elsewhere, see 330f (of Aphrodite) and 433 (of Apollo). The usage in these cases depends on 128 (in Athena's grant of the power to discriminate man from god).

30. I emphasize the element of excess in Diomedes' behavior, despite the reassurances to the contrary of Whitman, *HHT* 165ff; J. T. Sheppard, "The Modesty of Diomedes," *JHS* 40 (1920) 47–57; Owen, *SI*, passim, et al.; for although he does yield to Apollo and does escape the fate of Patroklos and, ultimately, of Achilleus, the potential for overreaching is there, as the poet continues to emphasize: Cf. (quite apart from his behavior in Book 10, to which we return) 8.167ff, where Diomedes refuses to yield until Zeus has twice hurled lightning to stop his charge. Diomedes is ultimately "safe" not by virtue of his *sophrosyne* but because his conventional motivation is not complicated, in this poem, by any overriding emotional commitment.

31. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 82, suggests that the *Tarnkappe* is used to conceal Athena from Ares, perhaps confirmed by 884, where only Diomedes is mentioned by Ares as the culprit responsible for his wound—though Ares is well aware of Athena's role as instigator. The description of the effect of Athena's weight as she enters the chariot (837–39) appears to be related, as a structural motif of divine otherness, to the description of the ichor that flows in Aphrodite's veins at 339–42. For the association of weight and divinity (and its potential for humor), see Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* 72f and n.52.

32. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 77, Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 82.

33. Such "painful" or "ugly" woundings are paralleled in Book 5—in addition to the slaying of Pandaros—by the killing of Deikoön by Agamemnon (533ff), with whom they are particularly associated (see Fenik, *TBS* 57 and 82; and below, n.11 to Book 11). On the location of the wound, cf. Devereux, "Achilles' 'Suicide' in the *Iliad*," *Helios* 6 (1978) 6.

34. For a full comparison of the two scenes, Fenik, *TBS* 41–45.

35. *Schein*, *MH* 52, offers a rather different emphasis.

36. In addition to the use of *gignosko* (above, n.29), cf. [*e*]*noese* at 95, 312, 590, 665, 669, 680, 711; *noesai* at 475.

Book 6

1. On paragraphic division, cf. Nicolai, *KgD* 16–22 and 31–37, from whose subdivision of the book I diverge only slightly, especially in the case of 370–495a (below, n.15). For overall form, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 36–40, who proposes a tripartite structure in which the first element (1–118) makes no distinction between Greek successes of 1–72 and the Trojan rally of 73–118; cf. Nicolai, *KgD* 88 and, for variant suggestions for the division between Books 6 and 7, 97 n.18, G. Broccia, "Homerica. La chiusa di *Z* secondo la 'critica' e secondo l'esegesi," *RivFil* 92 (1964) 385–96. Broccia's *Struttura e spirito del libro VI dell' Iliade* (Sapri 1963) offers a detailed commentary and survey of opinion on 1–236 without, however,

shedding light on structure as we have been pursuing it. The insertion of the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes at 119ff has been discussed primarily as an example of the "fill-in" technique described by Zielínsky's "law": Cf. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien*[2] (Leipzig 1943) 77; Peters *Einheit* 37, n.1; and Krischer, *FK* 108f, who sees the entire sequence as an example of "branching" narrative. D. Lohmann, *Die Andromache-Szenen der Ilias* (=*Spudasmata* 42 [Hildesheim 1988]) 48–59, prefers to classify the episode as one of several "intermezzi" in an analysis that also draws on Book 7.1–16 to create a structure with Hektor's encounter in Troy (242–502) as the centerpiece. We return in Chapter V, Section 3 to the question of the delayed closure that results from retaining the book-division as we have it.

2. Broccia, *Struttura* (above, n.1), notes the correspondence as evidence of "la tessitura 'circolare' del discorso" and as a variation on traditional formulae to create a tragic antithesis between life and death (21); for the light/life equivalence in archaic poetry, see 20f, n.15; cf. D. Bremer, *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Bonn 1976). Broccia further sees here anticipation of the elegiac tone of Glaukos' speech in A_2.

3. Cf. Drerup, *HP* I 250f, cited by Broccia, *Struttura* 98.

4. On the ascending order of the number of victims to line 37, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 36. A parallel to this central catalogue of slaughter separated as a unit from its surroundings appears at 16.306–57. Nicolai, *KgD* 32 distinguishes the exploits of Euryalos (20–28) as a paragraph separate from the ensuing catalogue (29–36), in which the slayings are closely joined by enjambement in all but two lines.

5. For speculation on irony in the etymology of Adrestos' name, cf. Broccia, *Struttura* 36. The difficulties of distinguishing the initial elements in 37–72 are discussed in detail by Nicolai, *KgD* 33ff, who isolates Menelaos' encounter with Adrestos from Agamemnon's rebuke at 53a; I have preferred a break after 51, because 52–54 constitute a semantic unit; cf. a similar transition in 17.70ff, where a parallel "*a* would have happened but for *b*" serves both to clarify a preceding simile and to introduce an ensuing speech. On the controversial *aisima pareipon* (62, "speaking fitting things") describing Agamemnon's brutal rejection of Adrestos' plea, see Fenik, *Homer and the Niebelungenlied* (Cambridge [Mass] 1986) 22–27, who concludes that the phrase is a formular mistake. But alternatives are available: *aisima* can be taken adverbially to mean "duly" as in *Od.* 22.46 (where *tauta* is resumed with *hosa . . . polla . . . atasthala*, as Jenny Clay points out to me): "Duly dissuading him"; or one might resort to the Pindaric "deceive" for *pareipon*: "concealing justice." Further discussion by Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 15.598–99, and S. Goldhill, "Supplication and Authorial Comment in the Iliad: Iliad *Z* 61–2," *Hermes* 118 (1990) 373–76, who argues for "swaying him with fateful words."

6. Cf. Willcock, "Invention," 45. Redfield, *NCI* 121, attributes Hektor's misrepresentation of his mission to embarrassment at being seen "going among the women in time of war." J. T. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949) 62f, argues that Hektor is vague lest his public announcement of his purpose be overheard by the Greeks and counteractive measures be taken. Willcock 51 also notes as an unconvincing development from the situation Helenos' characterization of

Diomedes on the rampage as even more fearsome than Achilleus (96–10). But see Broccia, *Struttura* 55 and 60ff; Helenos is, in effect, describing retrospectively the Diomedes of Book 5, just as we will soon meet again the Paris of 3.

7. S. E. Bassett, "On *Z* 119–236," *CP* 18 (1923) 178ff, notes the oddity of Hektor's armed departure with shield and spears (cf. 104f), observing that of the latter, only one is mentioned in 319f. Even this seems to disappear in the encounter with his wife and child, where the emphasis, both structurally and dramatically, is on the helmet (472, 494). But Hektor must be fully armed for the sake of this particular effect as well as to represent as completely as possible the figure of the warrior in his visit to Troy.

8. Bassett (above, n.7) points out that Athena's instruction at 5.827 is not a general license but refers to the single specific occasion (indicated by *to ge*: "in this case, at least"). Cf. J. H. Gaisser, "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 165–76, esp. 166f. W. Donlan, "The Unequal Exchange between Glaucus and Diomedes," *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 1–15, esp. 12ff, interprets Diomedes' manner with Glaukos as ironic throughout, and the episode as a display of the victory of *metis* anticipating the ultimate taking of Troy. But Diomedes is not fully introduced to the methods and profitability of clever opportunism until Book 10 (cf. below, n.27 to Book 10); at this point he still conforms largely to the standards of convention rather than of Odyssean wiles, though the scene does of course establish a potentiality that Odysseus can later exploit.

9. For structural analyses of these two speeches, see Lohmann, *KR* 12ff and 89ff; cf. Gaisser, "Digressions," 13ff. For a recent discussion of the way in which the poet has adapted the Bellerophontes story to his purpose here, see de Jong, *NF* 162–68.

10. Gaisser (above n.8) 168; cf. M. Griffith, "Man and the Leaves: A Study of Mimnermus fr.2," *CSCA* 8 (1975) 74–88, esp. 76f. For discussion of other implications found in the passage, particularly the "anti-democratic" undertone of Glaukos' speech, see Broccia, *Struttura* 87ff; cf. the somewhat different impression of Redfield, *NCI* 102ff. More recently, W. M. Calder III, "Gold for Bronze: *Iliad* 6.232–36," in Rigsby, ed., *Studies Dow* 31–35, who suggests that the unequal exchange may represent a survival of the custom of potlatch, in which the recipient of the greater gift acknowledges the superiority of its giver, and which the poet's comment of 234 indicates that he misunderstands: "a Mycenaean raisin preserved in Geometric dough" (234). *Contra*, Donlan (above, n.8), esp. 2 and n.6, who argues that "gift-giving as a means of social integration and social control played a more prominent role in the Iron Age than earlier." (More recently, J. T. Hooker, "Gifts in Homer," *BICS* 36 [1989] 79–90, argues that the giving of gifts in the *Iliad* is a literary convention rather than a reflection of any historical institution.) For W. Burkert, the orientalizing character of both the story of Bellerophon and of the folded tablet (*pinax ptuktos*, 6.169), or "deltion," on which Proitos' fatal message is inscribed point to a date in the first half of the seventh century ("Oriental Myth and Literature in the Iliad," in R. Hägg, ed., *GREC*, 51–56, cf. 82f).

11. J. D. Craig, "*ΧΡΥΣΕΑ ΧΑΛΚΕΙΩΝ*," *CR* N.S. 17 (1967) 243ff, suggests that Glaukos is only too glad to part with the gold armor for the sake of his

life. An element of Odyssean shrewdness in Glaukos' behavior is seen by P. Walcott, "*ΧΡΥΣΕΑ ΧΑΛΚΕΙΩΝ*," *CR* N.S. 19 (1969) 12f, especially with reference to H. Levy, "Odyssean Suitors," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 147f (who renders 234 as "Zeus must have taken Glaukos' brains away," apparently in order to get the desired tone of the "crass materialism of the . . . little tradition [represented by the poet] in the face of the Great"); cf. Donlan, "Exchange" 12–15. D. A. Traill, "Gold Armor for Bronze," *CP* 84 (1989) 301–5, connects the passage with others in which Diomedes and others are thwarted by divine intervention but nevertheless receive a token of their prowess as compensatory *time*.

12. Donlan, "Exchange," 14f regards the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes as a symbolic despoilation and observes (12n.35) that this scene, that between Hektor and Andromache, and the duel between Aias and Hektor all "portend the eventual Achaean victory."

13. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 24ff.

14. On the episode in general, and Paris' "wrath" (326) in particular, see Kakridis, *HomRes* 43ff; Willcock, "Invention," 51, with further bibliography; Bergold, *Zweikampf* 177f and n.2, who defends taking the *cholos* as that harbored by the Trojans against Paris (cf. Leaf I ad loc.); and Collins, *StChar* 27–39.

15. On the speeches of 407–65, see Lohmann, *KR* 96–101 (cf. *Andromache-Szenen*, above, n.1). In his analysis of 370–502, Lohmann offers a scheme in which Hektor's amusement of 404 and 471 plays a structural role in framing the central interchange between Hektor and Andromache, with 484–502 considered as a concluding unit ("Sendung der Andromache ins Haus"); Nicolai's scheme (*KgD* 21f) isolates two confrontations with Andromache (390b–465, 482–95a), with Hektor and his son (466–74) and Hektor's prayer (475–81) in central place. Neither analysis allows to the motif of Hektor's removal and replacement of his helmet its natural function as a ring for both his prayer and his final words to Andromache (at 472f and 494f). In the scheme presented here, the frame for the episode is established by Hektor's search for Andromache at the tower (370–91) and her departure for home and lamentation (495b–502); this contrast reflects the unsatisfactory character of the encounter itself and avoids the sense of completion that Hektor's departure from the tower would produce—indeed leaves him suspended in his illusions, where we rejoin him at 514f. Within this frame, 466–495a (beginning with "So speaking Hektor reached for his son") balances 392–404 (ending with "he smiled in silence seeing the child"), to which it serves as a natural continuation after the intrusive but thematically central emotional exchange between Hektor and Andromache at 405–65. On the complex ringing of Andromache's speech, see Gaisser, "Digressions," 9 and 38. For a sensitive application of anthropology to evaluate Andromache's plight, see Redfield, *NCI* 122f; for the way in which the narrative has been colored to achieve an effect of pathos, see de Jong (above, Chap. I, n.112).

16. Apart, that is, from attempting to establish the priority of the one passage over the other, as Wilamowitz, *IuH* 312f; we return below to the structural relationship between the two.

17. Cf. Benardete (Book 5, n.4) 19f.

18. For discussion of Hektor's speeches, see de Jong, "The Voice of Anonymity," esp. 76ff, and Martin, *LH* 130–39, esp. 134: "The character thus shaped is

that of a hero . . . whose style is so rigidified by public opinion that he moves only along a series of inexpressive, ultimately exhausting tracks." For the interplay of *aidos* and *kleos* here and in the similar reflections of 22.99–130, see J. T. Hooker, "Homeric Society: A Shame Culture?" *G&R* SER. 2 34 (1987) 122f.

Book 7

1. For the view that 7 is a disruption of the "monumental plan" of the poem, see Kirk, ed., *Commentary* II 230f; on the relationship between the two duels, cf. Kirk, "The Formal Duels," and Bergold, *Zweikampf* 183–93. For Unitarian views of the building of the wall, Schadewaldt, *IS* 124f and n.2, and J. A. Davison, "Thucydides, Homer, and the 'Achaean Wall,'" *GRBS* 6 (1965) 5–28; among Analysts, Page *HHI* 315–24, Kirk, *SH* 218f (cf. *Commentary* II 276ff). Leaf I 230, to the notion that a desire to compress the whole siege into the space of a few weeks might justify the building of the wall at this point in the narrative, responds, "But if poetical propriety is to be made the standard, we should look for some more obvious motive for the selection of this point for the first building." See also R. Scodel, "The Achaean Wall and the Myth of Destruction," *HSCP* 86 (1982) 53–60, and de Jong, *NF* 88f.

2. Peters, *Einheit* 40ff, and Nicolai, *KgD* 97, divide the book into two main parts: the duel of Aias and Hektor (1–312) and the recovery of the dead (313–482). Whitman's scheme (*HHT* 268) disregards book-division and considers the events of 7 as part of an annular pattern in which 6 and 7 form with 3 and 4 a frame for 5. In Peters' analysis of 207–312 (41f), 273ff occupies the midpoint, as in Chart 2.8, similarly flanked by parallel sequences of challenge and response; we differ in our analysis of the final episode (from 313).

3. Or is borrowed from it, with resulting chronological difficulties; see Leaf I *ad* 149 and Von der Mühll, *KH* 129, with Kirk, *Commentary* II 232f; cf. M. M. Willcock, "Mythological Paradeigmata in the *Iliad*," CQ N.S. 14–15 (1964–65) 146.

4. Bergold, *Zweikampf* 187f, discusses the connection between Hektor's offer and the interrupted duel of 3. Von der Mühll, *KH* 131, sees in the present encounter mere structural balance to the earlier one. Benardete "The *Aristeia* of Diomedes," well develops the function of this duel as an indication of the change in the nature of the war from a conflict over Helen into a struggle over the fate of Troy, but in terms that give insufficient weight to the importance of Zeus' plan in this new phase.

5. Cf. Bergold, *Zweikampf* 188f, on the idealizing character of Nestor's speech; for its notable quadruple ring structure, see Gaisser, "Digressions," 8.

6. Kirk (*Commentary* II 288) regards the interchange between Zeus and Poseidon as an anticlimactic interruption in the narrative, added at a period subsequent to the monumental composition. I suggest below (Chapter V, Section 5) that the latter is true of the entire book.

7. For comparison of the interchange between Aias and Hektor and that between Diomedes and Glaukos, see de Jong, "The Voice of Anonymity," 78; on the role of *philotes* in both, see P. Karavites, "*Philotes*, Homer and the Near East," *Athenaeum* 64 (1986) 474–81, esp. 478f. Cf. W. Donlan, "The Unequal Exchange," 10–13, who notes the unequal exchange of the lesser (and merely defen-

sive) *zoster* of Aias for the more impressive sword Hektor relinquishes. There may be more than the general anticipation of Hektor's fate that Donlan sees here (cf. n.12 to Book 6): The function of the *zoster* as a protection to "belly and groin" may be related to Hektor's subsequent fear of death as an emasculation tantamount to rape (see Book 22, n.6).

8. On parallels with the mock duel between Diomedes and Aias in the funeral games of 23.810ff, see Kirk, "The Formal Duels," 38, and *Commentary* II 256f. It is noteworthy that, in keeping with the "limited" character of the duel, there are no preliminary oaths, no full Arming scenes: Aias receives two lines (206f; the digression on his shield at 219–24 is detached entirely from the arming proper), Hektor none.

9. Martin, *LH* 1, sees the repetition as a demonstration of the sociolinguistic value of formulas, in which "Idaios has an exact analogue in the religious or legal official who instructs the groom to say 'I thee wed,'" without comment on Hektor's repetition of the phrase at 8.502.

10. For the structure of Nestor's speech, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 27ff.

11. J. D. Bolter, *Achilles' Return to Battle* (diss. UNC Chapel Hill 1977) 237, notes the parallel between the "two cities," with the qualification that "the Greek camp is an imperfect city . . . but it does contain the trappings of civilization that the Greeks can manage to carry across the sea in ships."

12. Drerup, *FBdI* 421 and *HP* I 422ff, esp. 434ff; Sheppard, *PI* 82f; Peters, *Einheit* 44–47; Whitman, *HHT* 266ff.

13. I have omitted Peters' detailed comparisons between the preliminaries to the duels in 3 and 7; apart from the elements of typical patterns they share (Advance to battle, Challenge, Truce, Arming), their individual idiosyncracies are not related as parallels but refer instead to their immediate context. An example of typical patterns with structurally related departures from the norm may be found in the Feasting before Retirement scenes concluding Books 1 and 7, discussed below.

14. Subsidiary elements—motifs, imagery, similes, even verbal parallels—may, as we indicated in Chapter I.8, be admitted as they play a reinforcing role in otherwise comparable structures.

15. The latter two being technically Messenger scenes; cf. Arend, *TS* 55.

16. For discussion of these patterns, cf. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality," 22ff with references.

17. Nestor at 1.259:

> Be persuaded; you are both younger than I. . . .

and at 1. 274ff:

> Be persuaded, even you—for it is better to be persuaded;
> Nor, brave (*agathos*) as you are, do you take the girl,
> but let her be, as first the sons of the Achaians gave her as a prize;
> Nor do *you*, sons of Peleus, wish to strive with the king
> in conflict, since no equal share of honor (*time*)
> does the scepter-bearing king possess, to whom Zeus has also given *kydos*.

Idaios at 7.279ff:

No longer, dear children, fight and do battle;
for cloud-gathering Zeus loves you both;
you are both spearmen, this we all know.
But night approaches: It is good to be persuaded even by the night.

Aias at 7.286:

Let him [Hektor] begin: I shall be persuaded as he advises.

18. 7.317–20=1.465–67; 7.323=1.469. Arend, *TS* 65f and n.2, rejects the influence of 2.403 but is impressed by the absence of a description of the sacrifice itself, as is D. M. Gunn, "Thematic Composition," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 28f. The unusual failure to expand on "he sacrificed an ox . . . to mighty Zeus" (314) may further result from the poet's wish not to confuse the issue of the subsequent absence of sacrifice on completion of the Greek wall.

19. Leaf I *ad* 411 (taking Idaios as the subject of *aneschethe*) notes that the only other use of the sceptre with oath taking occurs in 10.328 (Dolon addressing Hektor). Combellack, "Speeches and Scepters," 12f, notes that the passages in 1 and 7 share a failure to mention the staff before it is actually used in the swearing. His attempt to distinguish between public and private oaths on the basis of its mandatory use in the one and optional use in the other might mitigate against any particular relationship between the two passages, but Achilleus' oath in 1 could hardly be more personally directed.

20. As to the actual instruments of barter, Von der Mühll, *KH* 142, considers the absence of gold to be "archaizing." By excluding the men from sharing in his bounty, Agamemnon may be viewed as engaging in an unconscious parody of both the symposium and the meal before battle (see below, Book 11, nn.1–2); and once again we have a hint of the distinction between the royal *dais* and the meager feasting of the people, as in the *Shield* (above, Chapter I, n.36).

Chapter Three
The Structure of *Iliad* 8–17

Book 8

1. E.g., Leaf I *ad* 28; cf. Von der Mühll, *KH* 146. For "Orphic" elements in B_1, see R. Böhme, *Peisistratos und sein homerischer Dichter* (Bern/Munich 1983) 27–40.

2. W. Scott, *OrNa* 19, notes the balance between the two descriptions.

3. Although we agree on certain aspects of the frame for the narrative, Myres, "Last Book" 275, proposes an annular analysis of 1–488 centering on 198–244: "Hera and Poseidon angry: Agamemnon prays at Hera's suggestion." Schadewaldt, *IS* 96–102, treats 53–197 and 253–349 as parallel, each beginning with a general scene (53–77; 253–65) followed respectively by the episode of Nestor with Diomedes (80–197) and the brief "*aristeia* of Teukros" (266–334), and ending with Hektor's advance (172–97; 335–49). The passage at 217–52 (like Myres) he considers the centerpiece of the action, with Zeus' initial warning against divine interference and his renewed threat against Hera and Athena serving as an overall frame. Nicolai, *KgD* 98f, offers a tripartite division: 60–197; 198–334;

335–49. My own analysis conforms essentially to that of Whitman, *HHT* 277. H. Diller, "Hera und Athena im achten Buch der Ilias," *Hermes* 93 (1965) 137–47, argues for the interpolation of 350–437 without accounting for its structural relationship to earlier parts of the book. On attempts to establish priority between the goddess' descent in 8 and in 5 (8.384–88=5.733–37; 8.389–96=5.744–54, etc.) cf. Fenik, *TBS* 228.

4. Whitman, *HHT* 275. For more detailed treatment, see B. C. Dietrich, "The Judgement of Zeus," *RhM* N.F. 107 (1964) 97–125, who agrees (99 n.7) with W. C. Greene, *Moira: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1948) 16, that the *kerostasia* is a dramatic device, but one whose effectiveness is derived from its association both with judgment and with ruin (125). Cf. Dietrich, *DFG* 294ff. The motif recurs at 22.208ff, where Zeus' action is one of similar dispassion at 8.69ff; there is an apparent contrast to the golden chain of line 19, a reminder of the brute force with which Zeus will shortly threaten Hera again under similar provocation; and it appears metaphorically in 16.658 and 19.223f, from the point of view of Hektor and Odysseus, simply to indicate Zeus' will in the tide of battle. In the latter case, it is associated with Odysseus' description of Zeus as *tamies polemoio* ("dispenser of battle"), a metaphor elaborated in Aeschylus' description of war as "money-changer of corpses" (*chrysamoibos d'Ares somaton*) at *Agamemnon* 438; cf. *Persae* 348f.

5. Fenik, *TBS* 233, 220f.

6. Nestor's most common epithets, *Gerenios hippota*, are confined in this book to the structurally parallel 112 (d_1) and 151 (d_2), where in each case Nestor's horsemanship falters. We return to the question of ironic usage in Chapter V, Section 4.

7. Fenik, *TBS* 221, points out that such a "call to resist" as Diomedes' here never goes unheeded elsewhere; cf. Leaf I *ad* 97 for ancient embarrassment in the matter. A more commendable response to an appeal of this sort is made by Menelaos to Odysseus' difficulties at 11.465–71: "Son of Telamon, seed of Zeus, Aias, lord of the people, the war cry of patient Odysseus is ringing about me with a sound as if he had been cut off by himself, and the Trojans were handling him violently in the strong encounter. Therefore let us go to him through the battle. It is better to defend him against them. I fear that, caught alone, he may be hurt by the Trojans brave as he is, and so a great loss may befall the Trojans" (Lattimore). Cf. Fenik, "Stylization and Variety: Four Monologues in the *Iliad*," 88, on Menelaos' retreat before Hektor fighting *ek theophin* at 17.90ff: "Heroism and expediency seldom recommend the identical course." For attempts to exculpate Odysseus' behavior, see Shewan, *Lay of Dolon* 166f, and Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 114ff, whose argument that Odysseus flees in recognition of Zeus' will is not altogether convincing; Kirk, ed., *Commentary* II *ad* 97f, appears to favor an interpretation of *esakouein* that would indicate that Odysseus did not "properly hear" Diomedes' appeal. But why include Odysseus at all at this point in Book 8, if not to contrast his self-interest with Diomedes' earnestness? On the conditions in which *polytlas dios Odysseus* appears in the *Odyssey*, see Austin, *Archery* 28ff; in the *Iliad*, *polytlas* is used conventionally enough at 9.676, 10.248, and 23.729; but at 23.778, after Athena has given Odysseus victory in the footrace by causing

Locrian Aias to slip in dung, the epithet seems to acquire an irony parallel to that here. Further discussion, again, in Chapter V.

8. This reminder of Diomedes' opposition to the symbolic pairing of Aineias and Pandaros in Book 5 (8.105ff=5.221ff), the inconclusive character of the episode as a whole, and its extraordinary number of unique features suggest symbolic intent here too, with a similar union of significant figures (in this case associated with tradition and its continuity) now transported by the very team that drew the Trojan pair in Book 5. On the question of influence from the tradition of the *Aithiopis*, see Kakridis, *HomRes* 94.

9. On the repeated thunderbolts of Zeus, cf. Fenik, *TBS* 222.

10. Cf. W. Theiler, "Ilias und Odysee in der Verflechtung ihres Entstehens," *MusHelv* 19 (1962) 1–27, esp. 12 (= his *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur* [Berlin 1970] 191–22, esp. 104), finds Agamemnon's gesture "fast komisch." Griffin, *HLD* 29f, treats it as a purely naturalistic one without further significance, although it has a supernatural result in Zeus' answering portent. Fenik, *TBS* 98, notes the oddity of the cloak, describing it simply as a means of getting attention, like Eris' mystifying "portent of war" in 11.4, where 5–9 repeat 8.222–26. Similarly Schadewaldt, *IS* 32 and n.1. As for the association of the color porphyry with death, cf. *porphyreos Thanatos* at 5.83, 16.334, 20.477; with burial, 24.796; and with the symbolically fatal weaving of Helen and Andromache, 3.126 and 22.441. Cf. also Priam's ominously colored bedclothes in Achilleus' shelter at 24.644f.

11. For Agamemnon's use of *ate* in 237, cf. Dodds, *GI* 2–22, and W. F. Wyatt, JR., "Homeric *ʼATH*," *AJP* 103 (1982) 247–76.

12. See Krischer, *FK* 87ff, on the "denaturized" character of the *aristeiai* in Book 8 generally.

13. These structurally functional similes enclose another, contrasting pair involving childhood at 271 (of Teukros) and 305 (of his victim Gorgythion's mother, where pathos is reinforced by the poppy simile of 306ff).

14. *Contra* Redfield, *NCI* 138, who finds this a "balanced and rational speech." Redfield does, however, admit of a new note in Hektor's behavior, apparent in his challenge to Diomedes in 161–66: "He gives himself over to the situation, and he changes," becoming in time like "an object swept along by a river" (to which Hektor is compared in 13.136–46). It is worth noting, moreover, as Griffin (*HLD* 13 and n.3) points out following Σb on 8.494, that Hektor speaks while holding "not the symbol of civil order but the spear, the symbol of bare military force" (cf. Arend, *TS* 119). On structural similarity to other speeches involving false hope, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 20 n.23. F. M. Combellack, "The Wish Without Desire," *AJP* 102 (1981) 115–19, attempts to solve the problem by arguing that Hektor does not mean what he says; but cf. G. Nagy, "On the Range of an Idiom in Homeric Dialogue," in Rigsby, ed., *Studies Dow* 233–38 (= Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* [Ithaca 1990], 294–301), reasserting his view in *BA* 142–50. Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 497–541, suggests that Hektor's "rambling and repetitious" manner may be due to "rhapsodic elaboration or insufficient revision." Although Nestor's shield and Diomedes' breastplate made by Hephaistos are unknown elsewhere in the poem, Fenik's contention that their introduction is

"most inept" (*TBS* 232) is too strong; for their structural function, see the discussion of Book 17, below.

15. The Alexandrian athetesis of 557f has been variously defended and rejected, as an inept borrowing from 16.299f. For discussion see H. Schwabl, "Die troischen Wachtfeuer," in *Festschrift Karl Vretska* (Heidelberg 1970) 195ff, and the difficulties noted by Kirk, *Commentary* II 340ff. Controversy over the appropriateness of the simile to its context has turned around the question of whether the mood of the shepherd of 559, who rejoices in the spectacle of the starry sky, should be referred to the hopeful Trojans and Hektor, as the beginning of Book 9 suggests with its distinction between the Trojans ("So the Trojans kept watch," 1a) and the panicked Greeks (1bff; so H. Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* [Göttingen 1921] 34; Tsagarakis, *Form and Content* 145f; cf. Moulton, *SHP* 34 and 104; de Jong, *NF* 131–34), or to the Greeks. Those who argue for the latter, attempt to resolve this inconcinnity with the Greeks' mood of desperation by invoking the supposed inability of formulaic language to describe things in more than one way (so A. Parry, "The Language of Achilles," *TAPA* 87 [1956] 1f), or the poet's "characteristic" disregard of the context in which the simile is developed (M. D. Reeve, "The Language of Achilles," *CQ* N.S. 23 [1973] 193ff). Rather than restrict the simile to either side, it seems on the whole more reasonable to invoke again D. H. Porter's principle of "violent juxtaposition" (*CJ* 68 [1975] 11–21): The simile ironically contrasts an ideal continuity between man and nature to a situation in which man is in conflict both with his fellows and with the divine purpose, which may be said to reassert itself with the ensuing panic (note that in 9.2, *phyza* ["flight"], like *deimos* at 15.119f, is spoken of as the companion of *Phobos*, who at 13.299f is mentioned as the son of Ares and elsewhere—e.g., in the inscription from Temple G at Selinus [W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[4] (Hildesheim 1960) 1122]—identified with Ares himself). The sudden panic is of course a necessary dramatic device for introducing the action that follows in Book 9 but is not inconsistent with the quiet that precedes it: As an actual phenomenon of warfare, panic is by no means unusual especially at night, when it seizes even large armies "in hostile territory or in proximity to the enemy" (E. Wheeler, "The History of a Greek Proverb," *GRBS* 29 [1988] 153–84, esp. 172ff, summarizing Thuc. 7.80.3 etc.).

Book 9

1. There is unusual agreement on the general structure of 9 but, except for Peter's analysis (*Einheit* 82–86) and the detailed study of the speeches in D. Motzkus, *Untersuchungen zum 9. Buch der Ilias* (diss. Hamburg 1964) 10–36, and Lohmann, *KR* 213–88, little precision in matters of detail: cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 228f; Whitman, *HHT* 279ff; Nicolai, *KgD* 99; Martin, *LH* 206f. For a recent analysis based on Axel Obrik's thirteen "epic laws" of folk poetry see D. B. and J. N. Kazazis, "*Iliad* 9, The Duals and Homeric Compositional Technique," *Epistêmonikê Epêteris tês Philosophikês Scholês tou Aristoteleiou Panepistêmiou*, Per. B′, Teuch. Tm. Phil. 1 (Thessalonika 1991) 11–45.

2. Cf. W. Scott, *OrNa* 62–66.

3. Cf. Peters, *Einheit* 81; Reinhardt, *IuD* 46f, 79ff; Lohmann, *KR* 216.

4. Bergold, *Zweikampf* 12f, esp. n.4, argues that in 32f Diomedes appeals to

themis to justify his resistance to Agamemnon's folly, not to justify opposing him in the assembly as the text indicates ("Son of Atreus, with you in your folly will I first contend, which is *themis*, lord, in the assembly [*Atreïde, soi prota machesomai aphradeonti, he themis estin, anax, agorei*]; with *agorei* at 33 cf. 11 and 13); so also, apparently, Lohmann 219, who, rather than leave *agorei* dangling in syntactical isolation, simply omits to render it: "Atride, zuerst will ich deiner Torheit widersprechen, wie es Sitte ist." It is not unprecedented for Agamemnon to encounter spirited opposition in the assembly and out of it. But the "semasiological stemma" Bergold constructs to justify the meaning of *themis* as "man muss, weil es notwendig ist und zum Vorteil werden würde," which he applies here and to 2.73, is questionable in itself, as we have seen in discussing its earlier appearance (above, Book 2, n.9), and he omits the important association of *themis* and *agore* apparent here and in 11.807, 16.387, and 20.4 (*cf. Od.* 2.68f). On the ordinary distinction between *alke* and *kratos*, see Benveniste, *Vocabulaire* II 71–83.

5. Cf. the comments of Thornton, *HI* 120f, and, for speculation on the prehistory of the tension between ruler and warrior, Collins, *StChar* 89 n.63.

6. For parallels with the confrontation between Agamemnon and Achilleus in 1, see Lohmann, *KR* 218–25, and for reflections of the *Epipolesis* of 4, cf. 220.

7. See Leaf I *ad* 97; H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1933) 17f; and Thalmann, *Conventions* 140ff; cf. A. S. F. Gow, ed., *Theocritus* (Cambridge 1950) II 327 *ad* 17.1f. Note that *kydiste* ("most honored") in 96 (cf. 163), regularly used of Zeus (*kydiste* of Athena at 4.515), is among men confined to Agamemnon and applied most frequently by Nestor: elsewhere at 2.434, urging that Agamemnon marshall the army without further delay, and at 10.103, by way of reassuring Agamemnon that Hektor's success is not unlimited. Among the relatively few exceptions are Teukros' rebuke of 8.293 and Achilleus' sarcastic *kydiste, philokteanotate panton* of 1.122, as well as the formality of 19.146 and 199, perhaps reflecting Achilleus' anxiety lest his refusal of the gifts delay his return to battle. The word is used more frequently in this book, in the midst of Agamemnon's sorry collapse, than in any other: in balancing segments of C_1 at 96 and 163, and in the report of Odysseus (677) and Diomedes' reaction (697). Cf. the less reassuring irony of Odysseus' *orchame laon* ("leader of the people") at 14.102.

8. Cf. Lohmann, *KR* 225f, esp. n.22 on Agamemnon's failure to heed Nestor's advice.

9. C. Segal, "The Embassy and the Duals of *Iliad* 9.182–89," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 101–14 (following suggestions of F. Boll published in 1917 and 1919; cf. also Lohmann, *KR* 227–31 and Kazazis and Kazazis, "*Iliad* 9," esp. 36ff.), convincingly argues the case for conscious evocation, in the midst of this gesture of reconciliation, of the mission to seize Briseis in 1; and he sensibly demonstrates the way in which the dual is used to distinguish between the two heralds—whose status is both official and sacrosanct—and the other representatives, and thus to heighten, in the drama of the confrontation, the conflict in Achilleus between personal emotion and the requirements of formal etiquette. M. W. Edwards, "Convention and Individuality" 16f, extends (independently) the parallels Segal has noted between 1 and 9 by pointing out that in each case a Messenger scene is transformed into

the Reception of a guest, serving in the one case to underscore "the restraint and politeness of Achilles, much as in Book 9 it sharpens the role of the envoys as both mouthpieces of Agamemnon and friends of Achilles.'" Without wishing to add unduly to the luxurious bounty of discussion on the duals (much less, by pronouncing the final word, to curtail it), I should note that A. Köhnken, "Die Rolle des Phoinix und die Duale in *I* der Ilias," *Glotta* 53 (1971), argues in reply to Segal that for the sake of narrative clarity the duals, whenever used, must refer consistently to the same pair: The lower social standing of Phoinix, he maintains with Reinhardt (*IuD* 223), excludes him from being mentioned on the same basis as Odysseus and Aias; thus, the duals of 182 and 192 must refer to the latter two, and in 192b Odysseus is simply being distinguished from his companion (35 and n.27; cf. the ingenious further development of this view by W. F. Wyatt, JR. "The Embassy and the Duals in *Iliad* 9," *AJP* 106 [1985] 399–408). But this assumption of aristocratic bias is inconsistent with the way the poet has used crowd reactions to present a "normal" response to the folly of the leaders in Books 1, 2, and 3. Martin, *LH* 236f, more reasonably argues that in view of Phoinix's intimate association with Achilleus, he would naturally be excluded from the reference to the other two less frequent visitors, and the poet simply adopts Achilleus' point of view throughout. Still, what would be acceptable for 196f is untenably proleptic at 182f, where Achilleus has not yet figured. If, moreover, the duals must always refer to the same pair in the passage taken as a whole, then they should be used consistently once they have been called into service (at 182). This is not the case in *stan* of 193 (cf. *heuron*, 186); and Nagy, *BA* 49–58, esp. 55, points out that where Phoinix is explicitly separated from Odysseus and Aias (at 421f and 656f), plurals, not duals, are used to refer to them. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Achilleus would at 197f include Odysseus among his "dear . . . dearest friends" in view of his subsequent response to Odysseus' speech and the lack of any cordial association between the two elsewhere in the *Iliad* (as opposed to their open antagonism in the *Odyssey*: cf. Nagy, *BA* 45; even in the calmer circumstances of Book 23, Achilleus is somewhat dismissive at 735ff and does not dignify Odysseus' dubious victory at 778f with the expected phrase of presentation in awarding his prize). The difficulty is perhaps best resolved not by supposing that the duals refer to two *groups* (A. Thornton, "Once Again the Duals in Book 9 of the *Iliad*," *Glotta* 56 [1978] 1–4, defended, despite Köhnken's amusing *reductio* ["Die Rolle des Phoinix," 5], by R. Gordesiani, "Zur Interpretation der Duale im 9. Buch der Ilias," *Philologus* 124 [1980] 163–74), but by returning to the heralds. It is they, not Aias and Odysseus, who would with their staffs of office have led the procession ceremonially along the shore praying to the god of the sea: Cf. the bronze relief from Olympia, *ca.* 620 B.C., conveniently illustrated in van Thiel, *IuI* pl. 2a and p.308f, where a herald with *kerykeion* and knapsack precedes two warriors, the one immediately behind him identifiable as Odysseus, the other probably Menelaos, and the mission the earlier visit to negotiate Helen's return, not the present embassy to Achilleus; note also the prominence of Talthybios in another scene representing the previous embassy to Troy (van Thiel, pl. 1) in a Corinthian krater of ca. 560, and of Odios, with Nestor, Aias, and probably Phoinix and Odysseus, in a fragmentary Caeretan hydria of 520–10 (van Thiel, pl. 2b), perhaps influenced by our *Iliad* . It is the heralds, not Aias (and

Phoinix), who are displaced at 192 by Odysseus; they whom Achilleus greets with ritual propriety at 196ff; and it is they (again in the dual) who are invoked as witnesses, along with Aias, by Odysseus in reporting to Agamemnon (689, if genuine). It is worth noting also that the two are distinguished not only by the dual but by etymologically significant names: Odios, who replaces Talthybios of 1.320, suggests (with a change of breathing to Hodios) "Man of the road," and Eurybates "Far-Journeying" (cf. Lynn-George, *Epos* 85).

10. Cf. Arend, *TS* 35f, who suggests that the unusual attention given to the meal (21 lines) is intended as anticipatory compensation for Achilleus' rejection of the appeal. Or perhaps it is a means of relieving the tension of the situation for Achilleus—and of increasing it for the hearer: cf. Austin, "Digressions," 310.

11. Cf. Köhnken, "Die Rolle des Phoinix," 30f. Nagy, *BA* 49–58, in arguing that the duals refer to Phoinix and Aias, neglects to consider the ring function of 182/192a and Odysseus' reference to the heralds in the dual at 689; but although he may not, on this basis, succeed in establishing that Odysseus is an addition to the embassy, he does reduce the likelihood that Phoinix is the interloper (55), as Page, *HHI* 301ff, among others, has argued.

12. Cf. Segal ("The Embassy and the Duels," 108): "The duals of 197–98, I suggest, are Homer's way of handling this tension at the decisive point where Achilles has actually to address the envoys."

13. Segal ("Embassy," 111f) notes the correspondence of 192 and 657 as ringing elements and suggests a similar relation between 185/652 (referring to the ships and huts of the Myrmidonians) and 174ff/657 (concerning libations). Of these latter, 185 and 652 do not, in a strict sense, function structurally; and the libations of 174ff (anticipated in 171f) and 657 serve rather as refrain-compositional endings to independent sections.

14. Cf. Lohmann, *KR* 232–36, who inclines to accept condemnation of Peleus' advice as an interpolation more appropriate to Phoinix's speech (a notion that Willcock, "Invention," 46f, finds irresistible). However, as a balance to the enumeration of the gifts Agamemnon offers (which in their excess serve as a reminder of Agamemnon's superior control of things on which his concept of kingship is based in Book 1), the evocation of advice from an elder (similarly reminiscent of Nestor's insistence on the authority of his own age there) reproduces the main elements of an argument Achilleus has already rejected, and prepares for the latter's renewed scorn here. Further, the appeal of *philophrosyne* and self-control in 256f appears to be answered in Achilleus' characterization of the *aner agathos kai echephron* in 341 (see next note).

15. For other reflections here of the Quarrel of Book 1, see Martin, *LH* 173f and Lynn-George, *Epos* 108. Of line 9.341, Martin notes (183) that with the unusual collocation of *aner* and *agathos* "Achilleus breaks through to the abstract language of philosophical ethics." Equally striking is the inclusion of *echephron* ("restrained, purposeful"), used only here in the *Iliad* but among the epithets in Athena's litany of praise for Odysseus at *Od.* 13.332, used of Penelope at 13.406, 16.130 and 458, 17.390, 24.198 and 294, and as a significant name at 3.413 and 443. The Odyssean usage is ethically somewhat neutral; that in the *Iliad*, qualified by *agathos*, is more positive, consistent with the arguably richer moral vocabulary here.

16. The view of A. Parry, "The Language of Achilles," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 1–7, esp. 5. For a quite different and more effective account of Achilleus' state of mind at this point in the poem, see W. M. Sale, "Achilles and Heroic Values," *Arion* 2 (1963) 86–100.

17. Parry, "Language," 5. My own analysis of the speech differs from that of Lohmann (*KR* 236–45; cf. Motzkus [*Untersuchungen*] 10–36) in the point of division between the first two major sections (my A_1 and B_1), and in taking the passage from 346 to the end as a unit (my A_2). Thalmann, *Conventions* 22f, describes the structure of the speech as an example of "spiral" form. Among earlier views, cf. Owen, *SI* 97: "His words are pulled hither and thither as his mouldering fury blazes up at the thought of his wrongs. . . . He seems to be speaking not as the poet dictates but straight from his own heart with all the disorder of impromptu speech, darting from thought to thought as this or that rises spontaneously in his mind." In contending that neither Achilleus nor the poet is able to express disillusion with "society and the external world" (6) because of the "social function" of epic verse, Adam Parry ("Language") has inspired virtually a separate branch of Homeric studies; in reply, see among others D. B. Claus, "*Aidôs* in the Language of Achilles," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 13–28; also M. D. Reeve, "The Language of Achilles"; in support of Parry, Schein, *MH* 105–10 (reprinting portions of "On Achilles' Speech to Odysseus, *Iliad* 9.308–429," *Eranos* 8 [1980] 125–31); but cf. S. Scully, "The Language of Achilles," *TAPA* 114 (1984) 11–27, esp. 25f, with further bibliography; J. Griffin, "Homeric Words and Speakers," *JHS* 106 (1986) 36–57, esp. 50ff; and more recent studies from the perspectives of semiotics (S. Nimis, "The Language of Achilles," *CW* 79 [1986] 217–25), of deconstruction (Lynn-George, *Epos* 81–152), and of speech-act theory (Martin, *LH* 146–230).

18. Parry, "Language," 6; Reeve, "Language of Achilles," 195. A. L. Motto and J. R. Clark, "Isê Dais: The Honor of Achilles," *Arethusa* 2 (1969) 109–25, esp. 118, attribute Achilleus' intransigence to the oath he has taken to refrain from fighting.

19. Cf. Claus "Aidôs," 23f: "Achilles recognizes that despite the reversal of situations and the value now placed upon his participation in battle his worth continues to be regarded by Agamemnon and the others as something that can be calculated and obtained by an adequate enumeration of gifts, when he knows himself that his efforts and willingness to die can only be a gesture offered freely, out of *charis*, ultimately unanswerable except by other gestures. Simply put, he must be paid, but he cannot be bought."

20. For discussion of Phoinix's speech and the *exemplum* of Meleagros, cf. Willcock, "Mythological Paradeigmata," esp. 147ff; J. A. Rosner, "The Speech of Phoenix," *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 314–27; on its form, in addition to Lohmann, *KR* 245–71, and Gaisser, "Digressions," 15–19, cf. Krischer, *FK* 137f, and Slater, "Lyric Narrative," *ClAn* 2 (1983) 122f, 125f; also Motzkus (*Untersuchungen*) 37–46; H. Bannert, "Phoinix' Jugend und der Zorn des Meleagros," *WS* N.F. 15 (1981) 69–94; Andersen, "Myth, Paradigm," 4ff; and J. B. White, *WWLM* 49f.

21. Above, n.20.

22. Page (as cited in n.11 above) and G. Müller, "Der homerische Ate-Begriff

und Solons Musenelegie," *Navicula Chiloniensis* (Leiden 1956) 1–15; cf. Motzkus, *Untersuchungen* 42–46.

23. For this reading of Achilleus' words at 607–10, cf. Sale, ("Achilles and Heroic Values,") 99 n.3. This assertion that a warrior's *time* may come from Zeus is unique: See J.-C. Riedinger, "Remarques sur la *TIMH* chez Homère," *REG* 89 (1976) 244–64, esp. 255 n.2, 257.

24. On the three stages of Achilleus' decision, reflected in his reaction to the three appeals, see Motzkus, *Untersuchungen* 9–83; cf. also S. E. Bassett, "The *'Αμαρτία* of Achilles," *TAPA* 65 (1934) 65, and Whitman, *HHT* 191, who points out that Phoinix achieves a result quite the opposite of that he intends: Achilleus, following the example of Meleager, decides to reenter battle when the issue of gifts has been superseded altogether.

25. Dodds, *GI* 28–63. Lynn-George, *Epos* 130, emphasizes the element of discourse in shame culture, "in which the subject, like everything else, is a construct of speech." Can one say that in contrast the world of guilt culture is one of silence—or a deliberate obscurity—and its constructs derived from thought? For a recent qualification of Dodds' characterization of the heroic society of the *Iliad* as a "shame-culture," see J. T. Hooker, "Homeric Society," 121–25; cf. the reaction of G. Zanker, "Loyalty in the *Iliad*," *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 6 (1990) 211–27.

26. Cf. A. G. Geddes, "Who's Who in Homeric Society," *CQ* N.S. 34 (1984) 17–36), esp. 28ff.

27. Bannert ("Phoinix' Jugend," 94) sees in Aias' reference to the gifts and to blood money a repetition of these elements in the speeches of Odysseus and Phoinix.

28. For analysis of the "interiorization" of language that characterizes Achilleus' speeches here and elsewhere, see Martin, *LH* 191-96. Cf. Agamemnon's rather differently expressed assumption (of Odysseus) at 4.360f: "You think as I do" (*ta gar phroneeis ha t' ego per*). For recent discussion of the meaning of *philotes*, implying not merely an external cooperative relationship but an element of personal feeling as well, see J. T. Hooker, "Homeric *φίλος*," *Glotta* 65 (1987) 44–65. Zanker ("Loyalty in the *Iliad*," 212), assuming that the language of the poem represents a consistent world of heroic value, less convincingly maintains that Aias's use of *etiomen* shows that the "co-operation that arises out of *φιλότης* is proximately motivated by competition"—that is, the regard Achilleus enjoys is no more than a prize of *time*, like any other object of competition. For Schein, *MH* 97ff, 112f, Achilleus "differs from his fellow Greeks" in being "portrayed as tender, compassionate, and loving towards others—qualities which throughout the poem are characteristically Trojan" (97). But even in the context of Greek militarism, Achilleus' capacity for *philotes* is hardly unique: Aias reveals it here, Nestor often; cf. Briseis of Patroklos at 19.300 as "gentle always" (*meilichon aiei*). Schein, *MH* 98, rightly sees *philotes* as a major theme of the poem; but the issue will become not so much a matter of restoring it within as of extending it beyond the community of interest, as we shall see in discussing Books 23 and 24.

29. R. Scodel, "The Word of Achilles," *CP* 84 (1989) 91–99, esp. 95ff.

Book 10

1. The rendering of *oude ti se chre hestamenai meleon syn teuchesin* is that of the inimitable Henry ("The Place of the Doloneia in Epic Poetry," *CR* 19 [1905] 195; see n.2, below); it tactfully conveys something of Odysseus' brusque double entendre and suggests the deep continuity of noncommissioned humor.

2. E.g., Owen, *SI* 108, Sheppard, *PI* 82–89; cf. F. Eichhorn, *Die Dolonie* (Garmisch /Partenkirchen 1973), and A. Thornton, *HI* 164–69. For an appreciation of the nocturnal element, F. Klingner, "Über die Dolonie," *Hermes* 75 (1940) 337–68, esp. 360ff. B. Fenik, *"Iliad X" and the "Rhesus": The Myth* (=*Coll. Latomus* 73 [Brussells 1964]) 40 and n.2, insists, on the other hand, that if the poet had wanted to make a connection between the mood of 11 and the success of Odysseus and Diomedes in Book 10, he would have made this clear. Cf., on the question of the tone of the book (burlesque or welcome relief?), the lively exchange between R. M. Henry and A. Lang, *CR* 19 (1905) 192–97 (cited in n.1), and "The Doloneia," 432ff; and 20 (1906) 97–99 ("The Doloneia Once More")—to which Shewan (n.3 below: 199–204) adds his own postscript. On the question of the "Odyssean" sprit of the narrative, see A. Haft, "The 'City-Sacker Odysseus,'" esp. 50ff. R. J. Rabel, "The Theme of Need in *Iliad* 9–11," *Phoenix* 45 (1991) 283–95, develops in some detail the relationship of 10 to 9 and 11, concluding that "Book 10 glorifies the beneficent social effects of the joint aristeia of two comrades" (295). In view of the subsequent discussion here, I should regard this as only part of the story.

3. Cf. Mazon, *Introduction* 183 (on the question of antiquarianism in the poem, see further below, Chapter V, Section 5). The classic statement of the case against Book 10 is that of F. Ranke, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, I: *Die Doloneia* (Leipzig 1881), and for it, A. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* (London 1911). For more recent views of the linguistic situation, see G. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*[2] (Cambridge 1972) 91f, and van Thiel, *IuI* 330–40. For comment on implications of the role of Athena here, M. W. M. Pope, "Athena's Development in Homeric Epic," *AJP* 81 (1960) 113–35. Danek, *SD*, argues that the *Doloneia* is to be excluded from the Homeric *Iliad* not on the basis of language or style, but because the speeches and the Dressing and Arming scenes depart from the norms of ring-compositional structure and scenic patterns and their function found elsewhere in the poem.

4. Cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 248; Von der Mühll, *KH* 183f; Fenik, "*Iliad X*," 63; Thornton, *HI* 164.

5. Sheppard, *PI* 83; Whitman, *HHT* 283f.

6. For previous views of the structure, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 91–94; Reinhardt, *IuD* 243; Nicolai, *KgD* 99f. Hellwig, *Raum und Zeit im homerischen Epos* (= *Spudasmata* 2 [Hildesheim 1964]) 131–37, concludes that the complex variation in the handling of parallel narrative here is exceptional; and Lohmann, *KR* 134, n.67, makes the observation (confirmed by Danek, *SD* 177–203, on the basis of a fuller examination) that the speeches differ in technique from those elsewhere but admits that their unusual brevity and dramatic purpose may be responsible, as Klingner (above, n.2) has maintained: The illogic within and lack of connection between the speeches at the outset is intended to portray a sense of panic and

confusion among the endangered Greeks, in contrast to the clearer deliberations of the confident Trojans. Cf. Fenik, "*Iliad X*," 143. For another view of the peculiar series of antitheses and parallels that characterize the narrative from the standpoint of structural anthropology, see L. Gernet, "Dolon the Wolf," in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece* (Baltimore 1981) 125–39.

7. Briefly noted by Klingner, "Über die Dolonie" (356 and n.1), with reference to Arend's discussion (*TS* 96ff). The observations of Patzer, *Dichterische Kunst und poetisches Handwerk im homerischen Epos* (= *SBFrankfurt*, Bd. 10: 1971 [Wiesbaden 1972]) 48f, and Danek (*SD* 203–29) on the succession of rousings and armings are, for the most part, accurate and acute but lead them, in my view, to the wrong conclusions: For our poet's treatment of these patterns represents not so much ignorance or incompetence as an extreme case of regular variation of type-scenes, and their effect is gained precisely by their measurable distance from a recognizable norm. Cf. Goold, "The Nature of Homeric Composition," *ICS* 2 (1977) 28.

8. Cf. Shewan (above, n.3) 184. Leaf and Bayfield ad loc., admitting difficulty, take the comparison to be "between the frequency of the groans and the quick succession of the snowflakes or rain." Lattimore evades the problem by omitting the groans of 9; cf. W. Scott, *OrNa* 68 and 155 n.44; further discussion in Thornton, *HI* 84f.

9. Only here of Agamemnon—perhaps ironically, given his state of distraction, as in the insistent use of *kydiste* in Book 9 (cf. n.7 to Book 9), and with even more ironic effect, as a motif of irremediable folly, in juxtaposition with Hektor's repeated desire to achieve just this status (cf. Book 8, n.14).

10. Under the circumstances, the lines are a virtual parody of the king's duty of unceasing concern expressed at 2.24f=61f, 5.490, for which see Collins, *StChar* 79f.

11. As Leaf I *ad* 84 assures us.

12. On the flash of weapons in Arming scenes generally, cf. Krischer, *FK* 36ff. Nagler, *ST* 118 n.10, maintains that the glitter of 154 is "implicitly embedded" in 178.

13. On Telemachos' similar awakening of Nestor's son Peisistratos at *Od.* 15.45, Stanford ad loc. remarks that the poet "visits the kicks of the fathers upon the children." For controversy, cf. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* 116f; further discussion in Theiler, "Ilias und Odyssee," 4 (=94).

14. See the discussion in the section on Book 4, above.

15. Klingner ("Über die Dolonie," 346 n.1), comparing 10.199 and 8.491, sees here a parallel to the Trojan gathering at the close of Book 8.

16. Cf. Klingner, "Über die Dolonie," 363–66 and Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 128ff, on the similarity of Diomedes' words to *Od.* 1.65ff; in Odysseus' reply, Nagy, *BA* 34f, sees literary self-consciousness; for Clay, *Wrath* 76, Odysseus is being demure.

17. Cf. Shannon, *The Arms of Achilles and Homeric Compositional Technique* (=*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 36 [Leiden 1975]), 21, who notes the peculiarity of the simultaneous arming here and suggests the appropriateness of atypical armor for an anomalous mission.

18. Arend, *TS* 96, citing the Odyssean passage, notes the appropriateness of

Odysseus' helmet for the forthcoming exploit; cf. Austin, "Digressions," 311; further discussion in Clay, *Wrath* 74, from whom (80) I have borrowed the translation of *kleptosunei th' horkoi te* (*Od.* 19.396; cf. Stanford ad loc.). Clay (77) suggests that the boar's-tusk helmet is a disguise, dissembling Odysseus' guile with an apearance of "destructive rage and might." But the disguise is a complex one: Viewed against the *Odyssey*-tradition, the helmet recalls the boar hunt with Autolykos on which Odysseus acquired the scar Eurykleia recognizes as she bathes her disguised master; but although the scar is a normally concealed but nevertheless permanent mark of Odysseus' identity and character in the *Odyssey*, the borrowed helmet is an ironically revealing but temporary indication of an Odysseus found here mainly in the *Doloneia* (cf. Leaf on 11.430, though Sokos can hardly intend praise: cf. Wilamowitz, *IuH* 190ff and Nagy, *BA* 240). So also with Meriones' bow and arrows at 260, later associated with the theft of Rhesos' horses (500): characteristic weapons for the hero of the *Odyssey*, atypical for him here (see below on the helmet and Meriones' fighting character). In either case the hint is lost on the hapless Dolon. Further comment on the scar in Pucci, *OP* 88f; on Autolykos, in G. Dimock, *The Unity of the* Odyssey (Amherst 1989) 256f, who argues that his perjury relates to cattle rustling, which would be relevant here.

19. Diomedes' lion skin thus functions like Odysseus' borrowed helmet, creating a temporary connection between inner state and external appearance. On the symbolic appropriateness of the various pelts worn by the Greeks and Dolon, cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 247; Clay, *Wrath* 76f; and Danek, *SD* 220. Krischer's judgment (*FK* 60) that the simile of 485ff is inexpressive seems mistaken; see also A. Schnapp-Gourbeillion, *Lions, Heros, Masques* (Paris 1981) 104–31; King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero* (Berkeley 1987) 19–29, 38f.

20. Cf. Klingner ("Über die Dolonie") 342ff; van Thiel, *IuI* 333.

21. Cf. further Haft ("The 'City-Sacker Odysseus'") 54.

22. A distinction may be drawn between the sheer mischief of Odysseus' and Diomedes' acquisitions and the fantastic ambition of Dolon; for although Rhesos' horses represent for the Greeks merely available choice plunder, for the Trojans the capture of Achilleus' team would confirm a status somewhat in doubt, especially for the unfavored Dolon, single son among five sisters (316f). Regarding the transformation of the mission, D. M. Gaunt, "The Change of Plans in the *Doloneia*," *G&R* SER. 2 18 (1971) 191–98, suggests that the poet, on the principle of parataxis, has simply switched from one version of the tale to a more exciting one. Thornton (*HI* 86 and n.48) exaggerates Nestor's relatively mild "(to see if) he might perhaps take (*heloi*) some straggler of the enemy" (206) to "with the purpose of killing some enemies" in arguing that the expedition was originally intended to combine slaughter with spying. But it seems clear from Diomedes' reference, in his prayer to Athena, to his father's *mermera erga* in killing the fifty-one Thebans (10.289; passed over in silence by Athena in her challenge to Diomedes at 5.800ff but earlier dwelt on with irrelevant relish by Agamemnon, who refers to the victims' *aeikea potmon* at 4.396) that he, at least, contemplates something comparable from the start. But Tydeus was attacked from ambush, and Diomedes' violence is unprovoked. As in Book 5, Diomedes overreaches in attempting to live up to his father's example at any cost, on whatever terms.

23. Shewan's note (*The Lay of Dolon* 185f) on the supposed resistance of the black ewe to the toxic *Crispum hypericum* is in the grand tradition of Henry on cornel-berries (R. Henry, *Aeneidea* II [Edinburgh 1873] 505f).

24. For Nicolai, *KgD* 100, the bath serves as a " 'Wiederherstellung des Normalzustandes' "; cf. Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* 181. The archaeological evidence is listed in D. Gray, "Linear B and Archaeology," *BICS* 6 (1959) 56 n.32. On Athena's role, Reinhardt, *IuD* 250, repines, "Aber man wünschte doch, dass Athena ihren Lieblingen gegen etwas anderes beistände als gegen Schlafende und Jämmerlinge."

25. For a concise survey of the joint ventures of Odysseus and Diomedes in the post-Homeric tradition, see Fenik, "*Iliad* X"; cf. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 132f.

26. Fenik, *TBS* 129; cf. the rendering of Leaf-Bayfield *ad* 237: "E'en sorriest warriors may show prowess when united." For discussion of the nuance of Diomedes' use of *kerdos* at 10.225, see H. Roisman, "*Kerdion* in the *Iliad*," *TAPA* 120 (1990) 25f.

27. Or *noos*, as Frame would have it (*MR* 155f, cf. 166–24). On the opposition of *bie* and *metis* represented by the contrasting figures of Odysseus and Achilleus, see further Nagy, *BA* 45ff; Clay, *Wrath* 96–112; and J. R. Dunkle, "Nestor, Odysseus, and the *Mêtis-Biê* Antithesis," *CW* 81 (1987) 1–17, esp. 9ff. The moral tone of this initiation into cleverness we noted at the outset. This is not to say that Odysseus is engaged in the actual corruption of Diomedes, who has already exhibited an Odyssean adaptability to the immediate situation, whether in conformity (as in his rebuke of Sthenelos at 4.412f), in plain-spoken resistance (as in his rebuke of Agamemnon at 9.37f), or the opportunism of his dealings with Glaukos in 6 (cf. Book 6, n.8). The distance between Achilleus and Diomedes may be anticipated by Achilleus' bedmate (9.663ff), the Lesbian Diomede, while Patroklos sleeps with Iphis ("vigorous," "rapid," perhaps something of both).

28. For argument that the Homeric audience was intended to see the connection between the two incursions, see Haft, "The 'City Sacker.' "

29. For the tradition, apparently derived from the *Ilias parva*, of Odysseus' attempt to murder Diomedes and take full credit for their exploits in stealing the Palladium from Troy, cf. *Σ ad* Plat. *Resp.* VI 493D and O. Jahn, "Der Raub des Palladion," *Philologus* 1 (1846) 46–60. The extent to which the poet relies on his hearer to make this connection remains, of course, a matter of conjecture.

Book 11

1. Schadewaldt, *IS* 29f, following F. Albrecht, *Kampf und Kampfschilderung bei Homer* (Schulpforta 1886) 5ff.

2. Cf. Nimis, *NS* 64.

3. The structure of Book 11 has received considerable attention; Wilamowitz, *IuH* 182, regarded it (excluding the *Nestoris*) as "ein Prachtstück künstlerisch geschlossener Komposition." Cf. Peters, *Einheit* 95ff; Nicolai, *KgD* 100f; Reinhardt, *IuD* 250. Despite Myres' earlier ejection of 11–13 ("Last Book" 283f), his reconsideration in "Structure" (133) offers a plan based on what he sees as a symmetrical arrangement of the speeches; Whitman, *HHT*, on the other hand, views 11 not as a unit but as part of a larger scheme encompassing "The Great

Day of Battle" (cf. his foldout chart); Schadewaldt, *IS*, esp. 29–73, offers detailed commentary on his own divisions of the narrative. Hainsworth ("Criticism" 90–98, esp. 95=*Essays* 35f) proposes a "paratactic" scheme in which *aristeiai* and counter-*aristeiai* are strung together with "weak or naive" motivation and logical sequence. Cf. also Fenik, "Stylization," 74, and (for 67–595) *HN* 5–21, in part following Wilamowitz's analysis (*IuH* 185ff).

4. Cf. Schadewaldt, *IS* 34ff; Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 185, 189f; Webster, *MH* 212f. For the antiquity of Agamemnon's waist-length corselet at 11.234–37, see Gray, "Linear B and Archaeology," 49. On symbolism in the shield, H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, tr. M. Hadas and J. Willis (New York 1975), 38f.

5. For discussion of Nestor's cup and the other furnishings, see Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings, eds., *CH* 536f; Webster, *MH* 112; S. Laser, *Hausrat* (*ArchHom* 2.P 58f [Göttingen 1968] 64f).

6. On the arming itself, cf. Fenik, *TBS* 78f; Armstrong, "Arming Motif," 344; Krischer, *FK* 37 and 28; cf. Patzer, *DK* 29ff.

7. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 79; Schadewaldt, *IS* 34 and n.42, citing parallels to Zeus' thunder, finds nothing exceptional in the motif other than its apparent contradiction to Zeus' gesture. But Hera and Athena normally bellow, at most (22.48; 5.78 and 859). On the dew of blood, cf. Fenik 80.

8. Fenik, *TBS* 80; cf. Krischer 37.

9. For the structure of Nestor's speech, see Schadewaldt, *IS* 83ff; Gaisser, "Digressions," 4f and 9–13; Lohmann, *KR* 70–75 and 263–71; and Slater, "Lyric Narrative," 122, who insists that ring-compositional analysis cannot account for "the longest and most muddled story in the *Iliad* . . . meant to illustrate the deliberate bumbling of Nestor . . . the earliest example of stream-of-consciousness composition in European literature." For speculation on its significance, Frame, *MR* 86–95.

10. Although other analyses of the book (e.g., Nicolai, *KgD* 101) extend Agamemnon's *aristeia* from 67 to 309, closer examination of the narrative patterns makes clear that a division is called for (as indicated on Chart 3.5) to separate the *aristeia* proper (84–214) from Agamemnon's wounding (215ff). The result formally distinguishes the period of Greek victory (C_1) with a contrasting one of individual defeats (C_2), where the latter portion of Agamemnon's exploits (α) conforms to the pattern of success followed by wounding and withdrawal characteristic of the ensuing episodes indicated by β–γ. For parallels to the motif of noon as a time for a shift in fortune (84–91a), see Nimis, *NS* 42–62; his attempt to demonstrate the function of the oral comparison as a textual generator is less convincing. He argues that the woodcutter simile of 86ff determines the shape of the Greek woundings in general and in detail through the formulation *ophra* . . . *tophra* ("so long . . . as") to indicate turning points in the action (as at 187ff of Hektor, 266ff of Agamemnon, 357ff of Diomedes, and 477ff of Odysseus), the motif of felling trees (of Agamemnon at 155ff, of Aias at 492ff), and that of hunger (175f of Agamemnon, 481 of Odysseus, and 551, 562 of Aias). But although there is an obvious structural link between these elements, the wood cutter simile is not the generator but is itself a development of the mixed signals at the outset (Zeus' rain vs the thunder of Athena and Hera), the simile of reapers at

67ff, and the meal omitted before battle (as Nimis recognizes: 57) and subserves, rather than determines, the overall pattern of alternation. More traditional comment on the similes of Agamemnon's *aristeia* in Lonsdale, *Creatures* 56–60.

11. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 82ff. For an outspoken assessment of Agamemnon's fighting character, see Bassett, "The '*Αμαρτία* of Achilles," esp. 54–58; also Fenik, *TBS* 15, citing W.-H. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias* (Göttingen 1956) 77: To the general rule that brutal slaughter is characteristic of heroes of the second rank, Agamemnon is the major exception—and so, in his vengeful fury, will be Achilleus. V. Pedrick, "Supplication" 125ff, esp. 139, points out that "the two warriors most bent on vengeance are also the two most often faced by suppliants." In the case of Agamemnon, the pattern fixes his character and establishes a point of contrast with Achilleus, for whom the pattern is uncharacteristic and will dissolve, leading to reconciliation with Priam. Cf. also Strasburger, *Kleinen Kämpfer* 69–72; Thornton, *HI* 77–80; and Fenik, *HN* 7ff, who emphasizes that the parentage of his victims (sons of Priam, Antimachos, and Antenor) underscores the lack of discrimination in Agamemnon's butchery. For the lion simile at 113–19 and its implications elsewhere in the poem, see Rabel, "Agamemnon's *Aristeia*."

12. Cf. Fenik's similar analysis (*TBS* 86).

13. Nicolai, *KgD* 101, has noted the "catalogue-character" of this section; Reinhardt, *IuD* 254, the refrain-like nature of the rescues.

14. Strasburger, *Kleinen Kämpfer* 61, maintains that the two function simply to remove Agamemnon and Odysseus from the battlefield; but Bolter (*Achilles' Return* 131) well notes that the two are linked both by their insignificance and by their desire to avenge a brother.

15. D. A. Traill, "Unfair to Hector?" *CP* 85 (1990) 299–303, takes the quite different view that the "philhellene" poet uses light woundings, inflicted by unimportant cowards, in order to preserve the *time* of the individual Greek leaders; this seems to misconstrue the purpose of this book and to evade the moral complexity of the poem as a whole.

16. Reinhardt, *IuD* 235, notes the irony of escalation in the importance of the fighters forced to retreat, from Agamemnon to Aias.

17. Cf. Fenik 87.

18. Moulton, *SHP* 89f, sees ironic juxtaposition with 113 and recalls Agamemnon's advice to Menelaos at 6.55ff to spare not even the unborn young in the womb. Nimis, *NS* 47f, reduces the simile and its organization to phonic play, with *odynai dynon* (268) generating *odinousan* of 269 and *odinas* of 271, before its repetition in 262. The insistent ringing here, with these words in this context, suggests rather that the poet is using sound to compound the irony of the simile and of Agamemnon's situation; Nimis' further suggestion that the generative source for this passage is *hados* of 88 seems forced, semantically and phonically.

19. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 134, emphasizes the verbal parallel between the beginning of the *aristeia* of Diomedes and Odysseus (310f) and 8.130f, where Odysseus has just abandoned Diomedes and Nestor, and compares 11.313–15 to 8.93–96. Fenik (*TBS* 91) rejects the idea of an "uncomplimentary comparison of Odysseus' behavior there with Diomedes' here" as having "little point in the present scene." I suggest that it does have importance, as a preparation for the ambig-

uous treatment of Odysseus in the next section, which is devoted to his own wounding.

20. Cf. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 138. Fenik (*TBS* 94f), puzzled by the poet's failure to avail himself of the means by which Hektor is able to recover in similar scenes in Books 5 and 20 (e.g., divine intervention, help from comrades), attributes the "cumbersome explanation" here to "carelessness, the causes of which we are not able to trace." The description of Hektor's collapse at 355f precedes Diomedes' unexpected action and his accusation of help from Apollo in the same way as in 5.309f Aineias sinks to the ground, stunned by Diomedes' rock, is then rescued, and Diomedes attacks and rebukes Aphrodite. The poet appears to reject divine or other intervention in 11 in order to portray Diomedes' disarray in terms appropriate to the rather different emphasis here. That Diomedes is falling apart is sensed by Fenik himself in "Stylization" 75: "There is a degrading frenzy in Diomedes' encounter with the sons of Priam, an embarrassing discrepancy between claim and accomplishment." As for Diomedes' lip on this as on other occasions, there is an element of truth in Agamemnon's charge that Diomedes is better at talk than action (4.400). Cf. Fenik, *HN* 16: "Diomedes is the loser here in every respect. He is disabled by a despised opponent and throws away his dignity in frustrated invective."

21. On similarities with the encounter with Pandaros in 5, cf. Andersen, *Diomedesgestalt* 137f; Fenik, *TBS* 95, suggests that Paris' posture may be derived from a painting; a glance at the Thera frescoes suggests that this is unlikely for Bronze Age iconography, and complex settings are rare in vase painting until late sixth-century Black Figure. More important, the evocation of the "ancient leader" Ilos, founder of Troy, may serve in this context as a reminder of the treacherous dealings of Ilos' son Laomedon with Apollo and Poseidon and thus emphasize the guilt of the present wrongdoer by associating him with a past one. For brief comment on the Neo-Analyst view of Diomedes' wounding as a reflex of Achilleus' in the Cycle, see Fenik, *HN* 15.

22. Fenik, "Stylization," 68ff, esp. 71f, rather differently sees the speech as a "spare and unembellished" expression of the heroic code: "the genuine Odysseus" (71f). A consideration of some importance in the characterization here may well be that of all the major figures in the poem, Odysseus is least often associated with his background: His full title with patronymic (*diogenes Laertiade, polymechan' Odysseus*, 2.173 etc.) occurs some seven times (twice with dubious application, at 8.93 and 9.624: cf. Pucci, *OP* 33f, esp. n.4), and he twice speaks of himself as Telemachos' father (2.260 and 4.354) in terms that suggest that he takes at least occasional pride in this role (in contrast to the more conventional reverse pressure on the son). But we hear little of Ithaka, nothing of Penelope: Odysseus is presented as essentially his own man.

23. On *polyaine* as "teller of many tales," see Leaf I *ad* 9.673 (cf. 10.544) and Nagy, *BA* 240; applied also to Odysseus by the Sirens (out of professional respect?) at *Od.* 12.184. For reaction to Odysseus' characterization here as *dolon at' ede ponoio*, see Pucci, *OP* 60f and 145ff, who with some justice finds a "seigneurial amusement and superior irony" (147) in the way in which Odysseus is reduced by the simile of 473ff to the status of a wounded deer and removed from action.

24. Cf. Fenik 105ff.

25. J. A. Arieti, "Achilles' Inquiry about Machaon," *CW* 70 (1983) 125–30, esp. 127, usefully points out Machaon's role in the continuation of the war: He has healed Menelaos in Book 4 and, beyond the focus of our poem, will cure Philoktetes of his wound.

26. For chthonic associations of the name elsewhere, see K. Tümpel in *RE* 6 (1907) 1351, s.v. "Eurypylos (13)." Further on the implications of Hektor's attack on the wall in note 9 to Book 12 below. For a reconstruction of sacrificial implications in Patroklos' attention to Eurypylos, see Lowenstam, *DP*, esp. 31ff, 144ff.

Book 12

1. For a survey of opinion on 13, see C. Michel, *Erläuterungen zum N der Ilias* (Heidelberg 1971) 11–23; cf. Leaf II ixff and 1f; Mazon, *Introduction* 190–94; Fenik, *HN* 35–43. For discussion of the structure of 12, Peters, *Einheit* 97f; Mazon 187–90; Reinhardt, *IuD* 270; Nicolai, *KgD* 101f (using Reinhardt's four-stage analysis of the attack on the wall, with section divisions approximating those of Peters 98); Moulton, *SHP* 64–67, who sees a "dynamic symmetry" in the narrative, enhanced by the disposition of the similes; and Fenik, *TBS* 184 n.7, with *HN* 28–34, esp. 184 n.7, on objections to structural doublets based on the conviction that the Greek wall is non-Homeric. See also F. J. Winter, *Die Kampfszenen in den Gesängen MNO der Ilias* (diss. Frankfurt/Main 1956).

2. A similar list of parallels appears in Peters, *Einheit* 102 n.1; see also Winter, *MNO* 56–61.

3. See Reinhardt, *IuD* 267ff on the general importance of the prologue and the significance of the much-debated *hemitheoi* of line 23 (cf. Leaf I ad loc.; Nagy, *BA* 159f); he rightly rejects the view of Wilamowitz (*IuH* 210) that because the poet contrived the wall he had to provide for its disappearance against the objection that there were no remains to be seen (so also Aristotle, quoted by Demetrios of Skepsis in Strabo 598 and ΣbT on 12.3). On the "Hesiodic" list of rivers at 20ff, see Von der Mühll, *KH* 104f, and Nagy, *BA* 160. Further discussion in R. Scodel, "The Achaean Wall and the Myth of Destruction," *HSCP* 86 (1982) 33–53, who argues that the gods' obliteration of the wall represents an adaptation—for the purpose of creating a "solemn air of finality"—of the tradition found elsewhere (*Ehoeae* fr. 204 M.-W.; *Cypria* fr. 1 Allen) that the Trojan war, like the biblical deluge and its parallels in Greek mythology, was a device of the gods for the destruction of the demigods or, more generally, humanity itself. Cf. Nagler, "*Eris* in the Iliad," 88f.

4. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 153. Objection to the catalogue on the grounds that it "is forgotten immediately and never influences the action in any way" (e.g., Leaf I 398) is effectively met by Wilamowitz, *IuH* 211f; cf. Owen, *SI* 132 on the "what would seem quite unnecessary care" with which the poet disposes in 13 of the remainder of Asios' companions—indeed, characteristic of the pattern of reversal in 13, in the reverse order of their appearance in 12 (cf. Fenik, *HN* 36). On Asteropaios see Fenik, *HN* 184 n.4, who does not, however, address the question why an unnamed reject (92) is balanced, in the numerical symmetry, by Asteropaios, who reappears in Book 17 (217, 352) but does not emerge into dramatic signifi-

cance until his confrontation with Achilleus in 21.140ff. The retrospective effect of his appearance here is to weight the catalogue against Hektor, whose polarity with Sarpedon and Glaukos is established by their position in the catalogue of 12, as in Book 2 (see above, Book 2, n.28). On Poulydamas' speeches at 60ff and 211ff, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 178–82. For a quite different emphasis, Lowenstam, *DP* 106–18.

5. Cf. n.14 to Book 8; Schadewaldt, *IS* 106f.

6. Owen, *SI* 121ff sees the folly of Asios as a foreshadowing "parable" for the folly of Hektor (122: "the truth about Asios is the truth about Hektor"); the snowstorm similes of 156ff and 278ff, used to describe both pairs of the warriors who halt their advances, serve as a connecting link between the two episodes; cf. Moulton, *SHP* 64–67. In terms of the analysis presented here, the first simile appears at the end of the one section (D_1), and the second at the beginning of the other (D_2). As for the other similes in the book, none are so strictly used to join parallel sections in structural balance but do serve to link successive phases of the action.

7. Regarding the eagle and the snake, de Jong (*NF* 214f) argues that it would be illogical for Zeus to send a negative omen at this point, and that it is in fact nowhere stated that he does so. But although the portent may indeed be ambiguous, the episode is nevertheless effective in characterizing the two Trojans through their contrasting reactions.

8. Cf. Fenik, "Stylization" 73. A. Parry, "Language of Achilles," 3f, finds in the speech a harmonious correspondence between Sarpedon's words describing the hero's honors (310–21) and his deeds (322–28); Claus, "Language," 21ff, emphasizes the inconcinnity between these two sections as an indication of the gratuitous nature of the hero's confrontation of death; for a similar exploration of contradictions implicit in Sarpedon's view, cf. Redfield, *NCI* 99ff. Owen, *SI* 124 takes the second part of the statement (322–28) as "the true commentary on Hektor's speech . . . the spirit and outlook that actuates him." Perhaps just the reverse is true: Much as Asios' mistaken trust in Zeus' favor serves as a parallel to a similar delusion on the part of Hektor, the depiction of Hektor's reckless egotism, fatal both to himself and to his people, points toward the conflict between community interest and heroic ambition evident in Sarpedon's speech. (For the juxtaposition of Sarpedon and Hektor as an anticipation of their roles as victim and avenger in the encounter with Patroklos, see Sheppard, *PI* 121).

9. Fenik, *HN* 31, notes the alternation of these episodes; cf. also Winter, *MNO* 54, on the connection between Hektor and Sarpedon here and in Book 5. In examining the association in the poem between gates and death, Lowenstam, *DP* 36f, 43, 68 emphasizes the use of *eurypylos* as a "particularized epithet" for the House of Hades at 23.74, its appearance as a personal name in Patroklos' foreshadowing encounter with Eurypylos, and (in altered form) in Patroklos' own death shortly after slaying Pylartes ("Gate-keeper" or "-closer," also an epithet for Hades at 8.367 and 13.415). It is worth adding that all three Trojan protagonists in 12 are associated with gates in such a way as to prefigure their deaths: Asios, in his vain charge, Hektor and Sarpedon in their successful ones. It is, of course, Sarpdeon who—with ominious ambiguity—opens "a path for many" (399), just as he will precede Hektor in death; the two are linked by the terms with

which Zeus debates their respective fates (with 16.435–38 cf. 22.174ff; 16.441ff=22.179ff).

Book 13

1. Leaf-Bayfield, II 301. For Fenik, *TBS* 115ff, and Von der Mühll, *KH* 212, the narrative is unexceptionable. The way in which one extraordinary Greek responded to this passage can perhaps be seen in a kylix by the Amasis Painter (see D. von Bothmer et al., *The Amasis Painter* [Malibu 1985] 217–20): Poseidon's intervention on the battlefield is depicted on the obverse, his underwater stable on the reverse. In the latter, a figure in one of the metopes of a Doric portico enclosing the scene has come alive and descends into the "real world" below, where an invading Scythian archer darts across the back of a horse and a young groom appears to be climbing up into another metope: Instead of merely illustrating the text, the painter intermingles several levels of mimesis. The artwork takes on—or is recognized to have—a life of its own within the artwork, much as in the *Shield of Achilleus*, blurring the distinction between representation and reality. Cf. J. R. Mertens, "The Amasis Painter: Artist and Tradition," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu 1987) 168–83, esp. 177f: ". . . the Amasis Painter demonstrates to us that what we see is only a small part of what there is to be known . . . [and] gives form to things that we would otherwise not be aware of through our five senses."

2. Quite differently Nicolai, *KgD* 102ff, who includes in his scheme for Book 13 lines 1–152 of Book 14; Peters, *Einheit* 99ff, bases his analysis on the three sectors of the fighting (cf. also Nicolai 103).

3. On the issue of whether actual metamorphosis is involved here (as Fenik 116), cf. Michel, *Erläuterungen* 36, and Pucci, *OP* 121f. The simile of the hawk will be echoed in A_2 by Aias' vaunt that Hektor will soon pray for horses swifter than hawks to carry him back to Troy (818ff).

4. For a full discussion of the speech, see Michel, *Erläuterungen* 38–47; cf. Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 95–124; Reinhardt, *IuD* 282; and Fenik, *TBS* 121.

5. Fenik, *TBS* 153 finds this catalogue untypical in that it does not occur at the beginning of a battle or mark a turn in one already under way; he concludes that its appearance here is the result of "some disruptive process . . . which disfigured the passage considerably." The prevailing factor here is a desire for symmetry within the section (cf. the answering catalogue at 789ff and Fenik 155) and for a balance with the roster of discouraged leaders in B_1 (91ff). On the actual listings, see Michel, *Erläuterungen* 110ff and 131f; cf. also Winter, *MNO* 105f.

6. For comparison between the two speeches, see Fenik, *TBS* 121 and 154, and Lohmann, *KR* 179–81. Cf. Owen, *SI* 133, for the connection between the situation here and the omen of 12.195ff.

7. On the difficulty of 13.749 noted by Leaf ad loc., cf. Michel, *Erläuterungen* 127 n.48.

8. For a somewhat different analysis of 39–145, cf. Michel, 117f.

9. Fenik considers 240–329 "one of the longest sections of untypical narative in the poem" (129) and suggests comparison with the interchanges between the Aiantes at 68ff. Cf. Michel 77f and Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 246–97.

10. See Fenik's comparison of the two passages, *TBS* 126f; cf. Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 521–25.

11. On the possibility of cross-reference in the formulaic parallel, Fenik, *TBS* 140.

12. Fenik, *TBS* 144. If Devereux, "Achilles' 'Suicide,'" *Helios* 6 (1978) 6, is right, the wounding of Ares by Diomedes and Athena at 5.855ff should be added to Fenik's list of "groin woundings."

13. On the similar action patterns in 560–75 and 643ff, see Fenik 143f; on the way in which Meriones continues to reappear in D_2 as a "leitmotif," cf. 148. For parallels between 502–39 and 540–75, see Fenik, *HN* 38, and on their similarity with the pattern of 169–205, see 136–44. For the sake of clarifying the overall structure, to which these patterns are essential but subsidiary, I prefer to maintain the divisions indicated here; cf. below, n.2 to Book 17. Michel's attempt (*Erläuterungen* 108ff, on the basis of 16.342ff) to defend Meriones from the negative characterization of Friedrich, *Verwundung* 52ff, is unconvincing. On Meriones' exploits as archer, cf. 23.850ff, and, for further discussion of the traditions surrounding him, Clay, *Wrath* 84–88. The general area of his woundings is indicated by the etymology of his name (from *meros*, "thigh"; cf. Lowenstam, *DP* 131f).

14. For the structure of Menelaos' speech, see Michel, *Erläuterungen* 111f. Idomeneus' earlier knowledge of Orthryoneus' contract for marriage with Cassandra (see Fenik, *HN* 185f, n.2), balanced here, is another instance of the poet's manner of disregarding strict realism when it suits his structural purpose.

15. For Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 459–61, the anonymity of Idomeneus' comrade suggests improvisation; with Michel (*Erläuterungen* 93) Janko compares the appearance of Aineas behind the lines (463) with 219 (Idomeneus' aid to his companion behind the lines) and notes that 469=297. For a more schematic treatment of parallels between the elements comprised by our D_1 and D_2 see Winter, *MNO* 97. Note also the distribution of death formulae, which combine variety with structurally significant repetition. In the two slayings of D_1 we find the following:

181 (Teukros kills Imbrios), *hos pesen, amphi de hoi brache teuchea poikila*
187b (Hektor kills Amphimachos), *doupesen de peson*

The same usage appears in the first and last slayings of D_2 a_1 (with a gruesome variation following 442a (cf. Fenik, *TBS* 133f), while in the second and third, the death of Asios, who is so reluctant to dismount in Book 12, is described in terms related to his team and chariot:

1. 373a (Idomeneus kills Orthryoneus), *doupesen de peson*
2. 392 (Idomeneus kills Asios), *hos ho prosth' hippon kai diphrou keito tanustheis*
3. 399b (Antilochos kills his charioteer), *ekpese diphrou*
4. 412b (Deiphobos kills Hypsenor), *hypo gounat' eluse*
5. 442a (Idomemeus kills Alkathoos), *doupesen de peson*

Within D_2 the same formula is used for both slayings in b_1:

508b (Idomeneus kills Oinomaos), *ho d'en konieisi peson hele gaian agostoi*
520b (Deiphobos kills Askalaphos), *ho d'en koniesi peson hele gaian agostoi,*

while in a_2, a similar formula is used in the third and sixth slayings:

1. 544b (Aineias kills Aphareus), *amphi de hoi thanatos chyto thymoraïstes*
2. 548bf (Antilochos kills Thoon), *ho d' hyptios en konieisi/ kappesen*
3. 575b (Meriones kills Adamas), *ton de skotos osse kalypse*
4. 617f (Menelaos kills Peisandros), *peson en konieisin/ idnothe de peson*
5. 655a (Meriones kills Harpalion), *keito tatheis*
6. 672b (Paris kills Euchenor), *stygeros d' ara min skotos heilen.*

16. On this much-debated passage, see Michel, *Erläuterungen* 51–62 and Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 345–60.

17. For general discussion, as well as on elements of *aristeia* and triumph here, cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 279f; Michel, *Erläuterungen* 29–32; see also J. T. Kakridis, "Poseidons Wunderfahrt" in *Antidosis. Festchrift für Walter Kraus* (Vienna 1972) 188f (on which cf. Griffin, *HLD* 40), and A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna 1947) 92ff.

18. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 130; Michel, *Erläuterungen* 50f.

19. On the question of verbal parallels with the earlier descent, and the elements of scenic types involved, Michel, *Erläuterungen* 31f.

20. Cf. Michel's thoughtful discussion, ibid., 24–66.

21. See note 22 to Book 1.

22. Viewed in this context, Poseidon's "worry about his own glory" is perhaps less "odd" than Scodel suggests ("The Achaean Wall," 34) in searching for a satisfactory explanation for the motivation of the divine agreement to destroy the wall. Any more "active sign" of divine anger would moreover disarrange the developing complexity of cross-purposes among the gods at this stage of the poem.

Book 14

1. Leaf II 54: "The scene at the beginning of the book undoubtedly suits the beginning and not the end of *N*. That Nestor and the other chiefs should be brought from their huts by the shouting is perfectly natural when the wall has just been carried, but not when the battle has long been surging backwards and forewards within the wall." Cf. Von der Mühll, *KH* 219. For a defense of the integration of 14 into the surrounding narrative, see Schadewaldt, *IS* 119–26, and for discussion of the temporal reference in question, cf. Lorimer, *HaM* 79f; Krischer, *FK* 114ff; C. Whitman and R. Scodel, "Sequence and Simultaneity in *Iliad N*, *Ξ*, and *O*," *HSCP* 85 (1981) 1–15; and Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 1–152.

2. Cf. the *A* Scholia to 14.1 (Erbse, *SGH* III 559), cited in Whitman/Scodel (above, n.1) 2, n.6.

3. Fenik, *TBS* 56, 86, 94.

4. *Contra* Michel, *Erläuterungen* 35f, on the reduced role of magic in the *Iliad* (cf. Leaf *ad loc.*).

5. See Whitman/Scodel, "Sequence and Simultaneity," for full discussion of

the problem of reference noted above, n.1, with summary of previous views and analysis of the manipulation, according to Zielínsky's law, of "real" and "apparent" time in Homeric narrative. This unusual treatment they attribute to a need for retarding the Trojan advance with a period of Greek success. Cf. Krischer's theory of a "branching" narrative procedure (above, n.1).

6. Whitman/Scodel ("Sequence and Simultaneity," 5, 8f) assume a looser process of "evocation." Leaf II 53 observes: "So violent a regression to an earlier point of the story is impossible without explanation. . . . The regression is one which would require a difficult readjustment of the imagination even for a careful reader fully instructed; that a hearer should understand it without a word of explanation is beyond all reason." But a hearer or reader conditioned to appreciate such handling of "formal time," determined by the poet's elaborate ring-compositional practice and aided here by ample supplementary cues, is likely to have apprehended the process at work even after initial confusion. Cf. Lorimer, *HaM* 480.

7. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 156ff.

8. Whitman/Scodel, "Sequence and Simultaneity," 5, argue that Poseidon's cry of 14.147–51 is to be taken as "identical" to the outcry at 12.471, cf. 13.41.

9. On Hera's "arming" see W.-H. Erbse, "Zeus and Here auf dem Idagebirge," *AuA* 16 (1970) 93–112; Reinhardt, *IuD* 291; and Patzer, *DK* 31. M. W. Edwards, *Homer* 249, seems to conceive of the *himas* Hera borrows from Aphrodite as an actual girdle; but see C. Bonner, "*ΚΕΣΤΟΣ ΙΜΑΣ* and the Saltire of Aphrodite," *AJP* 70 (1949) 1–6, and F. E. Brenk, "Aphrodite's Girdle," *CB* 54 (1977) 17–20; cf. Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 214–17.

10. M. Mueller, *The Iliad* (London 1984) 168; cf. Owen, *SI* 135.

11. This is not the first time, of course, that the goddess of the due order of seasonal progression (cf. W. Pötscher, "Hera und Heros," *RhM* N.F. 104 [1961] 306–9) has been associated with the manipulation of time: Cf. her strategy of postponing Herakles' birth and advancing Eurystheus' (19.114–19). Further discussion in D. S. Sinos, *Achilles, Patroklos and the Meaning of Philos* (=*Innsbr. Beitr.* 29 [1980]) 4.

12. Whitman/Scodel ("Sequence and Simultaneity") compare the treatment of Asios in 12 and 13 to that of the *Theomachy* in 20–21.

13. In a somewhat briefer scheme, Whitman/Scodel ("Sequence and Simultaneity," 10f) suggest a formal parallelism organized by the repeated motif of shouting. On the centrality of the deception of Zeus in the overall narrative of Books 13–15, cf. Erbse (above, n.9) 99; this is moreover the only one of the elements in the series surrounding it that is complete in itself; those preceding it, as Krischer notes (*FK* 115) are broken off, while those following are resumptive. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme* (Opladen 1970) 65–93, on the basis of the extraordinary concentration of deviations from normal verbal usage in 153–351, concludes that the *Deception* is literary in style, rather than oral; Strasser, *Iterata* 148 n.8, notes a relatively low frequency of formulaic repetition in the passage, as opposed to its surroundings. At the same time, the simple insertion of an independent text into a body of transcribed oral narrative is unlikely, for the distribution of the surrounding material in Books 11–16 makes sense only in the context of a whole

that includes it. We return to the implications of this question in Chapter V, Section 5.

14. Cf. Whitman/Scodel, "Sequence and Simultaneity," 6f; Krischer, *FK* 115.

15. For variant analyses, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 102ff, who treats 14–15.404 as a structural unit, and Nicolai, *KgD* 104, who divides 14 into two "chapters" (153–351; 352–522); Mazon, *Introduction* 194ff, suggests a tripartite division (1–152; 153–351; 352–511); cf. Myres, "The Structure of the *Iliad*," *JHS* 74 (1954), 134, and L. Golden, "*Διὸς ἀπάτη* and the Unity of *Iliad* 14," *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 42 (1989) 1–11. In his introduction to 14, Janko suggests a scheme closer to that presented here; for useful analysis of the elements included here in B_1, see his comments in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 42–132.

16. For Leaf II 63, the idea of the waters rushing up to the ships to take part in the fight is "not in the best epic style"; he sees parallels to this use of the pathetic fallacy at 13.29, 14.346ff, 21.387. But these passages do not, in general, depart from the symbolic rather than descriptive Homeric technique of indicating landscape noted by T. M. Andersson, *Early Epic Scenery* (Ithaca 1976) 37; cf. S. Richardson, *HN* 50–61. A more telling exception may be noted in the nonformulaic precision (and the difficulties) of 23.418–21. Janko (in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 392–401) finds in the present passage the "magical participation of Poseidon's element, the sea, which surges up towards the ships . . . but may be more impressive than effective, like the god himself."

17. *Introduction* 195. R. M. Frazer, *Hermes* 113 (1985) 1–8, well develops the intervention of Poseidon in 14 as a response to the crisis in Greek leadership much as we have been tracing it.

18. Cf. the effect of the reduplication of the theme of abduction of women in 1, of the arming motif in 10, and that of the mutilation of the corpse in the books to come (on the latter cf. C. Segal, *Mutilation*).

19. On ascending order and refrain-composition in the structure of the catalogue, cf. Gaisser, "Digressions" 39; on its profound tactlessness, see Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 313–28.

20. For discussion of the previous rebellion of Hera and Poseidon, see M. Lang, "Reverberation," 147ff; Michel, *Erläuterungen* 24ff; and Whitman/Scodel, "Sequence and Simultaneity," 12ff.

21. Cf. Griffin, *HLD* 14; C. H. Whitman, "Hera's Anvils," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 37–42, esp. 38f, and *The Heroic Paradox* (Ithaca 1982) 82ff. On the Hierogamia in civic cult, cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* I (Oxford 1896) 184ff, and A. Klinz, *Hieros Gamos* (Halle 1933); in literature, A. Motte, *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique* (=*Mém.Ac.Roy.Belg.* 61.5 [Brussells 1971]) esp. 216–32; in art, I. S. Mark, "The Gods of the East Frieze," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 289–342, esp. 303–12. See also R. Luca, "Il lessico d'amore nei poemi Omerici," *SIFC* N.S. 53 (1981) 170–98, esp. 185–91. For H. Thesleff, "Man and Locus Amoenus," 31–45, esp. 33, the episode is "free of religious connotations" and serves merely as a prelude to a "spicy story" explaining why Zeus fell asleep.

22. Cf. above, n.11; A. L. T. Bergren, "Helen's Web," esp. 27–31, draws a comparison between the inversion of roles in the Hierogamia here and the disruption of temporal verisimilitude in the narrative itself.

23. For further development of this point of view, see Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 153–353.

24. The irony of the emphasis is enhanced by the parodistic tone of Hera's entreaty of Sleep, with the invocation, sanction, and petition characteristic of a formal prayer noted by Lohmann, *KR* 84n., combined with the crasser note of bribery (a golden throne and footstool, with Pasithea thrown in for good measure); cf. also Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 233–41.

Book 15

1. Cf. Leaf II 85f; Von der Mühll, *KH* 230ff. Mazon, *Introduction* 200f, who limits essential excision to lines 379–89, nevertheless observes, "On a l'impression que le poète est un peu submergé par la matière de son récit." H. van Thiel, "Konkurrierende Varianten in der Ilias," *MusHelv* 34 (1977) 81–98, esp. 81–84, and *IuI* 14ff, argues that 463–93 represent what he terms a "concurrent variation" of 8.266–334.

2. For a different view, see Nicolai, *KgD* 105f; cf. Peters, *Einheit* 105f; Myres, "Speeches"; and Janko's introduction to 15 in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV. Moulton, *SHP* 67–71, offers an analysis of the "dynamic symmetry" of Book 15 that includes the disposition of its similes. In my analysis functionally related similes appear at similar points in A_2, b_1 and b_2 (323ff and 630ff), and within b_2 (605f, cf. 623f); cf. the suggested relationship of 263ff and 679ff, and the correspondences noted below, n.11.

3. Cf. the comments of Moulton (*SHP* 69 and 94f) and C. R. Beye, "Repeated Similes in the Homeric Poems," in Rigsby, ed., *Studies Dow* 10ff, on the respective contexts of the simile at 263ff. J. B. Hainsworth, *Homer* (=*New Surveys in the Classics* 3 [Oxford 1969]) 30, deems as inappropriate its application here to "that worthy old warhorse, Hector." The repetition nevertheless links the two brothers: the one breaking away from a failed relationship, the other from a failure in his heroic pretensions, together ruinous to their city. Further discussion in Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 263–68.

4. The phrase *peplegeto mero* is first used of Asios in his disappointment at 12.162; Patroklos' gesture (397) will be echoed by Achilleus at 16.125 (*mero plexamenos*) on seeing the rout of the Greeks, immediately preceding his ill-fated dispatch of Patroklos into battle. Lowenstam, *DP* 31–67 and 159–72, sees in the motif a foreshadowing of death, though of course Ares survives Athena's attack in 22.

5. Cf. Buffière, *MH* 115ff, and Whitman, "Hera's Anvils."

6. Whitman/Scodel ("Sequence and Simultaneity," 12), arguing that an actual conspiracy between Hera and Poseidon is implicit in the action of Book 13, see irony in Zeus' tone, as well as in Hera's oath of 36–46; for further discussion see Lohmann, *KR* 149f, n.84.

7. The discrepancies in Zeus' prophecy with subsequent events (Achilleus does not quite "rouse" his companion into battle as predicted in 64b, nor do the Trojans launch an attack on Achilleus' ships as in 63f) have provoked the ire of Analyst critics (e.g., Leaf, *Commentary ad* 44–77) but may equally be taken to provide a significant indication of the poet's view of Zeus' role: He may intervene to influence specific actions and can determine an outcome; but in his dealings

with the vagaries of human will, resource, and error, the specific means to a desired end are no more predetermined than they are among the gods themselves. (See also Janko's comments in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 56–77.)

8. Zeus' message to Poseidon and his ensuing dispatch of Apollo to aid Hektor has figured in the discussion of "real" vs. "apparent" time in Homeric narrative (cf. Krischer, *FK* 91ff, esp. 94f and 103f; above, Book 14, n.5). The temporal parallel between the two sequences is enhanced by an interlocking structure embracing both. Although the gods' time (as the poet has reminded us in his description of Hera's flight at 80ff) is not mortal time, it is no less subject to artistic manipulation. As to the importance attached to Zeus' comment that Poseidon is already leaving the field (222ff), Zeus may wait for Poseidon to withdraw before sending Apollo simply out of diplomacy (*pace* Krischer, *FK* 95): This is not the moment for open collision between gods on the battlefield.

9. In Zeus' use of *pherteros*, Reinhardt, *IuD* 285, recognizes an allusion to the terms of Agamemnon's assertion of superiority to Achilleus in 1.186, commenting merely, "Die Götter reden wie die Könige." We return below to the function of the allusion.

10. She is also of course echoing Poseidon's words of 13.115 ("the hearts of great men can be healed"); cf. Phoinix to Achilleus at 9.497, discussed below.

11. Wilamowitz, *IuH* 244, saw here a reflection of the experience of the itinerant rhapsode; others merely emphasize the "lateness" of the simile: Cf. Von der Mühll, *KH* 228 n.5. But considering the emphasis throughout the book on *noos*, human and divine, the simile can hardly be regarded as intrusive. Structurally the motif of swift departure is balanced in A_1b_2 by the corresponding similes at 170 and 237f. For variants of 80ff, see Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 80–83.

12. See further Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 87–88.

13. Whatever solution one chooses to the real or imagined textual problem at issue in 645 (cf. Leaf I 119f ad loc. and Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 645–52), the motif of stumbling is as unique as Apollo's treatment of the Greek wall at 361ff. On the oddity of Athena's gesture of clearing the mist, see Leaf II *ad* 668; cf. Fenik, *TBS* 53f, and Janko in Kirk, *Commentary* IV *ad* 668–73. For other views of the sequence from 15.263–405a, see Janko in Kirk, *Commentary* IV *ad* 262–404.

14. Cf. the introductory remarks of Leaf/Bayfield II to Book 15. For ring-structures at 529b/ 534 and 546/552, see van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie* 46 and 41; for a quite different typological analysis, cf. Latacz, *KKK* 206ff.

15. The reappearance in this context of Astynoos in 455 (elsewhere only at 5.144) among Aias' opponents would appear to play on the etymological significance of the name ("mind of the city," "concern for the city"). The association of *noos* and *metis* has, of course, figured in the very different sentiments of Poseidon at 7.447 and Diomedes at 10.224–26 and will recur at 23.590.

16. Cf. n.9 above.

Book 16

1. Cf. Whitman's brief comparison between 9 and 16 (*HHT* 279f); also Moulton, *SHP* 104; Owen, *SI* 149f. Whitman's schematic outline of the structure of 16 correctly emphasizes the centrality of the death of Sarpedon; cf. Myres,

"Speeches," 135f. M. E. Clark and W. D. E. Coulson, "Memnon and Sarpedon," *MusHelv* 35 (1978) 65ff, provide a concentric analysis of 419–683 (adapted by Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV 370f), from which the analysis here differs less in emphasis than in detail. Other views: Peters, *Einheit* 106f; Nicolai, *KgD* 106f; Fenik, *TBS* 190–218; and Kirk, *HOT* 155–82. For recent theories of the influence of the *Aithiopis* on the composition of 16, see Janko's introduction to 16 in Kirk, *Commentary* IV and the earlier reservations of G. Nagy, "On the Death of Sarpedon," in Rubino and Shelmerdine, eds., *Approaches to Homer* 189–217, esp. 194f; cf. the general defense of the Neo-analytical approach by W. Kullmann, "Oral Poetry Theory," *GRBS* 25 (1984) 307–23. On the tears of Agamemnon and Patroklos, D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York 1990) 84, observes that "Achilleus' wrath . . . reduces his dearest friend to the emotional predicament of his most hated enemy."

2. Nagler, *ST* 136n.9 aptly quotes Myres, "Last Book," 285, on Achilleus' "attempt to have it both ways." On the structure of Achilleus' speech, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 60–65; on the ultimate irony of his wish, Whitman, *HHT* 199. For a characteristic statement of the older Analyst view that the inconsistencies of Achilleus' attitudes here and in 11.609f with 9 demonstrate that the *Embassy* is a late and imperfectly assimilated addition to the poem, see Page, *HHI* 297–340, esp. 309ff; cf. Leaf's introduction to 16. For a Unitarian defense, see E. Watson Williams, "The Offer to Achilles," *CQ* 51 (1957) 103–8; further comment in R. Scodel, "The Word of Achilles." Martin, *LH* 142f, sees Achilleus' refusal to mention the embassy as an example of the rhetoric of silence, in which one outdoes one's opponent by forgetting him.

3. Cf. Lowenstam, cited in note 4 to Book 15.

4. Fenik, *TBS* 191, seems overcautious in rejecting Reinhardt's interpretation of Patroklos' loss of his weapons as a "disarming" (*IuD* 319): cf. the arguments of Patzer, *DK* 35ff, and Shannon, *Arms* 25, that the description of Patroklos' arming—or rather, "helming" (*koryssseto*, 130)—is formulaically adjusted to emphasize the connection between the two events. Krischer, *FK* 36, notes the ominous failure of the spear to emit the conventional gleam foreshadowing success at this juncture in the type-scene. For other discussion see Arend, *TS* 92ff; Armstrong, "Arming Motif" 346f; J. R. Wilson, "The Wedding Gifts of Peleus," *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 385–89; and Nagler, *ST* 137. For the poet's attempt to accommodate both Apollo's disarming and Hektor's stripping of the corpse, see Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 777–867.

5. Whitman, *HHT* 281f has noted the use of prophecy as a framing element at the beginning and the end of the book.

6. Cf. Leaf II ad loc.; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I, 38ff; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan (Cambridge [Mass.] 1985) 114; for different emphases, Sinos, *Achilles, Patroklos* . . . 31ff, and Janko in Kirk, *Commentary* IV *ad* 233, who argues that when Achilleus stands in the courtyard (231, *herkeï*) of his enclosure he is praying to Zeus Herkeios, that aspect of the god which symbolizes "home and one's deepest roots." I am inclined to see here evidence for the special relationship with Zeus which Achilleus has claimed in Book 9.608f (with regard to the divine, rather than human, source of

his honor) and will press literally in 21.184ff. (in regard to his descent, through his father, from Zeus), and which will be confirmed in a very distinctive sense by the terms of Zeus' message in 24.110–19.

7. Patroklos' clairvoyance at 844–53 recalls Achilleus' earlier caution lest Apollo intervene (91–94) and is only partial, because Zeus has no direct share in his defeat, as he supposes at 844ff. For further development of the play of appearance vs. reality in the final interchange between Hektor and Patroklos, see Lohmann, *KR* 115–17, followed by Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 830–63.

8. For W. Scott (*OrNa* 54 n.40), on the other hand, the inconcinnity between the still eager Myrmidonians and the already-statiated wolves simply proves the independence of simile and narrative. Nimis, *NS* 23–42, sees the wolves' meal as a negative articulation of the conventional preparatory feast that is omitted before the Myrmidonians enter battle: "The *matrix* of the simile is 'they do not eat a proper meal'; the *model* of the simile, the way the text articulates the matrix, is 'they eat a savage meal.' "

9. See the account of difficulties in this passage in Fenik, *TBS* 193ff, who would sacrifice 358–62 but finds the series of encounters from 306 to 357 consistent, despite unique details, with the typical interruption of an *aristeia* (195); cf. Hainsworth's challenge regarding the "unit" at 306–50 (*CR* N.S. 26 [1976] 167). Van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie* 68, has noted the ring at 306f/351, as indicated on Chart 3.10-B_1; within it, two groups of four Greek slaughters each flank a sole Trojan defending a brother's corpse (319b—29)—a motif that looks forward to the Greek defense of Patroklos' corpse in the next book. But even in a passage centering on the slaughter of two Lykians associated with their father's nurture of the baneful Chimaira (328f, cf. 6.178ff), the quality of revenge is not overlooked in the concluding repetition of the grim wolf simile of 156–64, now applied (352–56) to the Greek leaders as a summary "epilogue" to the passage. Nimis, *NS* 87–93, finds in 278–418 further evidence for the way in which similes serve as a "propelling" element in oral narrative.

10. Thalmann, *CFT* 17f, offers an annular scheme for 364–93, adapted by Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV ad loc.

11. Cf. Niens, *Struktur* 71.

12. Krischer, *FK* 75, notes the parallel, pointing out that both victims have fallen from their chariots. Cf. M. Baltes, "Zur Eigenart und Funktion von Gleichnissen im 16. Buch der Ilias," *AuA* 29 (1983) 36–48, esp. 41n.29. Janko *ad* 747–48 argues that the *tethea* sought by the diver of the simile are not oysters but the less palatable sea squirt, on which see also C. Raymo, *The Virgin and the Mousetrap* (New York 1991) 41–48. Like other chordates, the sea squirt begins life with eyes, ears, and a brain—which it loses (not unlike many of its human relatives at a rather later stage in similar circumstances) when it ceases to swim freely and attaches itself to a host surface.

13. *TBS* 200f, contesting Reinhardt's conception of the "consequence-laden Chance" that dominates Homeric characters at such junctures as this.

14. Leaf II 128 points out that we are told only that the Trojans fear that Achilleus has cast away his wrath and chosen reconciliation (*philotes*, 282) with the Greeks.

15. Others are discussed by Shannon, *Arms* 25–30; Sinos, *Achilles, Patroklos*, and Lowenstam, *DP*, emphasize the aspect of Patroklos' death as ritual substitution (cf. above, Book 11, n.26).

16. On the division of the duel between Patroklos and Sarpedon at 476/477 see Fenik, *TBS* 203f.

17. Fenik, *TBS* 204; cf. 216 on the similar effect at the conclusion of the book. For recent discussion of the death of Sarpedon, cf. Nagy and Janko (both above, n.1). van Thiel, "Konkurrierende Varianten," 84–87, points out narrative inconsistencies in the deaths of Sarpedon and Patroklos that suggest multiple authorship.

18. For Patroklos, see n.21 below; cf. Chapter I n.119 on the similar figure of Medon. Fenik (*TBS* 206f) unconvincingly rejects Strasburger's interpretation (*Kleinen Kämpfer* 30) of Epeigeus as a doublet of Patroklos and Phoinix, and his death as an anticipation of Patroklos'. There are many elusive elements here, but in a work so carefully composed the function of Epeigeus would not seem to be one of them. See further Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 570–74.

19. On the unusal correspondences between the deaths of Sarpedon and Patroklos, cf. Baltes (above, n.12: 46f), who argues that Patroklos' death represents an escalation of Sarpedon's. It is perhaps the reverse: The latter establishes by anticipation a divine paradigm for human response to the former.

20. Cf. 1.161, 507; 9.111, 344, 367.

21. See Fenik's apt evaluation, *TBS* 211ff; for comparison of the two figures, cf. V. Leinieks, "A Structural Pattern in the *Iliad*," *CJ* 69 (1973) 102–7, esp. 104f. For negative aspects of Patroklos' past not yet revealed, see below, Book 23, n.34.

22. Armstrong, "Arming Motif," 347f; Leinieks (above, n.21: 103); and Wilson (above, n.4: 386) note the significance of the presence in the team of the mortal Pedasos.

Book 17

1. Ps.-Longinus (9.9f) ranks 17.645ff with Genesis 1.3 (cf. D. A. Russell, ed., *'Longinus' on the Sublime* [Oxford 1964] ad loc.); cf. Mazon, *Introduction* 207f. Leaf registers discomfiture in II 179f and even more emphatically in *Companion to the Iliad* (London 1892) 286; Von der Mühll, *KH* 254ff, finds tasteless sentimentality even in those passages others have valued (cf. below, n.11). For more positive comment, M. M. Willcock, "The Final Scenes of *Iliad* XVII," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 185–94.

2. Fenik, *TBS* 159ff, 205f; our divisions of the major sections of the book differ primarily in my isolation of 543–96 as a separate section (A_2), which has the effect of formally detaching the element of rebuke from the action of 597ff. For discussion of the structural function of the similes in 17, see Moulton, *SHP* 73ff. Other analyses: Mazon, *Introduction* 207; Whitman, *HHT* 278, who finds the book lacking in "extreme elegance of design"; Myres, "Speeches," 136f; Peters, *Einheit* 109f, who sees 16.306–17.761 as the center of a larger structure embracing Books 16–18; Nicolai, *KgD*, proposes a four-part division (1–139; 140–425; 426–542; 543–761). Thornton, *HI* 86–92, distinguishes five sections, each employing a "call for help" sequence; but the third and fourth of these (288–425, 426–542) do not in fact conform to the pattern as she describes it (87, cf. 89), and

the fifth is extended into the next book (17.543–18.328), where it remains defective (lacking her element "f").

3. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 74f: "The cow in the simile at XVII.4 reappears as the victim at 61; the lion of the latter simile recurs at 109, in a comparison which reverses the effect of the image at 61. In turn, the lion as protector initiates segment (2) at 133, and re-establishes the motif of guardianship with which segment (1) began." The composition of this central section is admittedly unusual, opening with an extended simile (61ff), the application of which is not clear until 68f, then proceeding to emphasize that Menelaos is prevented from stripping Euphorbos by Apollo's appeal to Hektor (ringed by mention of Euphorbos at 70/81).

4. Moulton, *SHP* 74, notes the symmetry of these comparisons.

5. On the difficulties here, cf. Fenik, *TBS* 183 n.3. Whitman, *HHT* 277, prefers a psychological explanation: "In XVII Zeus' mind reflects Achilles' partly abated anger, and begins to waver." On the possibility of reflections in A_2 of Book 8, see below.

6. Fenik, *TBS* 162f, notes that the dying Hyperenor (14.516ff) did not, in fact, make the charge imputed to him at 17.26f. On Menelaos' monologue at 91ff, cf. Fenik, "Stylization and Variety," 85–89, and S. Scully, "The Language of Achilles," esp. 14f. Willcock (above, n.1: 190) sees here Homer's "light touch" in dealing with Menelaos.

7. Fenik, *TBS* 179, denies a structural function here, and although he suggests that the appearance of Antilochos may be related to his subsequent appearance (in B_2), that of Thrasymedes is at best a carryover from 16.321. Although pertinent etymological significance is of course inevitable in the names of many of the fighters, "Bold-counsel," under these particular circumstances, is no random mate for Antilochos ("Counter-ambush," "Resister of the fighting-band"). For comment on the "not-yet" motif at 377bff and 401fb, see Thornton, *HI* 70.

8. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 73.

9. E.g., 2.271, 13.578, and the examples in Book 4 discussed in Chapter I (see esp. n.100 there).

10. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 180f.

11. Mazon, *Introduction* 270: "La composition de R est ingénieuse. Elle s'ordonne autour d'un tableau central, une 'stèle', que le poète commente par la bouche de Zeus. . . . " On the question of "taste" raised by Von der Mühll and other Analysts in judging this and Zeus' previous utterance at 198ff, cf. Griffin, *HLD* 127 and 136f.

12. So Owen, *SI* 164ff.

13. For comment on Menelaos' peculiar self-consciousness, see Hohendahl-Zoetelief, *Manners* 143ff, who quotes with approval (161 n.22) the observation of C. Barck, "Menelaos bei Homer," *WS* 84 [1971] 5–28, esp. 12, that "the figure of Menelaos is positioned on the borderline between influencing the events and withdrawal."

14. Cf. Moulton, "The Speech of Glaukos in Iliad 17," esp. 4, pointing out the irony of Glaukos' ignorance in 160ff of the actual fate of Sarpedon's corpse.

15. On the clustering of similes toward the end of 17, cf. Moulton, *SHP* 67, and Willcock (above, n.1) 192.

16. Whitman, on the other hand (*HHT* 276f), maintains that 17 partly reflects and partly inverts elements of 8.

17. Cf. Fenik, *TBS* 187, who also notes that Zeus' direct intervention against the Greeks at 593ff is paralleled elsewhere only at 8.130ff. Willcock (above, n.1: 188f) emphasizes that Meriones does not flee with Idomeneus. Indeed, he is required for his balancing appearance with Menelaos in 742ff. The parallel between Idomeneus' retreat and Nestor's is strengthened, however, by the element of dropped reins in both passages (with 17.619ff cf. 8.137f).

18. The difficulties in the passage noted by Leaf and others appear in fact to derive precisely from the correspondence of 17.612 to 13.297ff, where Idomeneus and Meriones left the Greek camp on foot.

19. Although annular structures dominate here (Books 8–10, 13–16), it is worth noting the variations that occur within the basic scheme, as well as the exceptions to it. The relationship between 9 and 10 is reflected in their contrasting use of an identical form to frame a thematic and dramatic center: The structure and the values it portrays are intact in 9; but in 10, as the heroic standard collapses into anonymous nocturnal slaughter, the annular structure itself disintegrates. In 11, the absence of a controlling thematic focus in the central parataxis of gains and losses reflects the impasse of Greek heroism bereft of external support; the ordinary function of a paradigmatic center is absorbed by the thematic escalation of Patroklos' healing intervention at the conclusion of the narrative. At the major point of division between these groups of books, transitional passages appear at the outset of both 12 and 13, and both end with climactic descriptions of Hektor at the Greek wall. That in 12 realizes what was merely a formal and thematic potentiality in the central section of 8 (F), its earlier balance in this sequence. The interlocking structure at the center of 12 gives way in 13, however, to an annular focus on Poseidon's intervention to reverse Hektor's earlier successes. Interlocking form appears in 17, at the end of the second group as in the first. But where 12 lacks a structural focus, 17 presents as its central emphasis, in the midst of the struggle, Zeus' comment on its futility. And Zeus' presence here replaces that of Poseidon in 13, the corresponding book of this group, as his plan to restore Achilleus' honor nears its fulfillment.

Chapter Four
The Structure of *Iliad* 18–24

Book 18

1. Above, Chapter I, Section 3. For previous analyses of the book as a whole, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 108; Nicolai, *KgD* 108ff. On the basis of somewhat forced comparisons, Whitman, *HHT* 270f, regards Book 18 as part of an interlocking symmetry with 19. M. W. Edwards, "Some Stylistic Notes on *Iliad* XVIII," usefully points out unorthodox elements of vocabulary, formula, and versification, especially in 1–35a (Part I). Peabody, *WW* 231–36, considers much of 18 to be a demonstration of the awkward measures that an oral poet is forced to adopt in correcting a blunder in recitation, beginning at 114 when Achilleus announces that he is returning (*nyn d' eimi*) to battle; but the evidence of design presented here makes this diagnosis unnecessary and unlikely. Cf. the criticisms of Nagler, "How Does an Oral Poem Mean?" *Arion* N.S. 3 (1976) 374–76 (who maintains

that *nyn d'* is not a temporal adverb here but means simply "as things are, however," as in 101), and of E. A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* [Princeton 1982] 150–65, esp. 160ff. For the structure of the speeches of 79–126, see Lohmann, *KR* 141–45.

2. Note also that Books 1 and 18 both end with scenes on Olympos that escalate the initial human issues to the divine stage. Parallels between these scenes, however different in setting (Zeus' palace, Hephaistos' workshop), evoke the sense of a new beginning for this last group of books as for the first; shared motifs include that of Thetis receiving return for a past favor to aid her son, reference to the ejection of Hephaistos from Olympos and a picture of his lame bustling, the theme of hospitality, a quarrel between Zeus and Hera, and the subjugation of a woman against her will (with Thetis' *ouk ethelousa* of 18.434 cf. *aekous'* at 1.348, of Briseis).

3. On the repetition of the breast beating of the women in Achilleus' camp by the Nereids (30f=50f), cf. Owen, *SI* 157f. Edwards (above, n.1: 265) unnecessarily defers to formulaic economy in denying that the one is a reflex of the other. For a defense of 39–49, see van der Valk, *RTSI* 1.2, 437ff, who finds in the naming of the sea nymphs a dignifying effect similar to that of a list of mourners in the report of a modern funeral (438); cf. Apthorp, *Manuscript Evidence* 74 and 80, with nn.107 and 137. The Nereids' lament figures in Neo-Analyst discussion of post-Homeric sources for our version of the *Iliad*, where it is maintained that because their reaction is more appropriate to the death of Achilleus than to that of Patroklos, the source must have been the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos or its prototype in the Cyclic tradition: See Kakridis, *HomRes* 65–75, and below, Chapter V, n.158. Whitman, *HHT* 270, observes that Achilleus' response to the news of Patroklos' death "falls into the general pattern of a funeral, which is made more pointed by the great speech, 'Let me die at once.'" The association between Patroklos' death and Achilleus' is, as Whitman notes, made explicit by Hephaistos and Thetis (18.440f and 464f; cf. 95f). For parallels in cult to the lament for Achilleus/Patroklos, see Nagy, *BA* 113ff. See further M. W. Edwards, "The Conventions of a Homeric Funeral," in J. H. Betts et al., eds., *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster* (Bristol 1986–88) I.86f, and J. Foley, *ImArt* 156–74.

4. Krischer, *FK* 111, accepts the conventional athetesis of the latter passage without considering its ringing function; for Owen, *SI* 186 (cf. 180f), on the other hand, the episode both concludes the preceding elements and serves as a transition to those ensuing.

5. The contrast between feasting Trojans and grieving Achaians is sharpened by their juxtaposition in 314 at the end of one "paragraph" and the beginning of another: Cf. Edwards (above, n.1) 276f.

6. For discussion of the emphasis on intellectual failure in Hektor's choice, see Nagy, *BA* 147, and for Hektor's relationship with Poulydamas, Schofield, "*Euboulia*," esp. 18–22. Hektor's reference to Troy's economic losses from the war (288–92), though not articulated as a motive for his decision and judged irrelevant by Leaf, nevertheless plays a structural role, as we shall see in discussing Book 24.

7. Schofield ("*Euboulia*," 21f) rightly questions the alternatives of explaining the behavior of Hektor and Achilleus in terms of psychological flaws or the effects of the heroic code. Both pressures are nevertheless at work in the characterization

of both men, if not with equal force; it is therefore misleading (with Griffin, *HLD* 43) to regard the two as equally "trapped by the logic of their heroism." For a recent comparison of the two heroes that emphasizes Hektor's urban identity, see S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca 1990) 114–27.

8. For parallels between the *Shield* and the action of the *Iliad* itself, see, among others, Taplin and Andersen, cited above, nn.1 and 7 to Chapter I.

9. Cf. Fittschen, *Der Schild des Achilleus*; van Thiel, *IuI* 466f and pl.6.

10. On the character of the king's *dais* on the *Shield*, see Chapter I, n.36. The book and the *Shield* share a similar general structure: Like the *Shield*, the book has a cosmic frame, with mourning in the depth of the sea at the beginning of the main narrative and the fabrication of the *Shield* in a heavenly Olympos at the end of it; and in addition to a shared central focus, both build toward scenes emphasizing artistry: In the book, the *Shield* itself; in the *Shield*, the scene of poetry and dance. For the relation between Hephaistos and this scene, see above, Chapter I, Section 4.

11. Leaf II ad loc. takes the remark as an implicit rebuke of Poulydamas. Redfield emphasizes the realism of Hektor's decision to remain in the field in view of the difficulty of supporting the army much longer (*NCI* 128, 153). But despite Hektor's words at 288–92, there seems to be no hint, as Priam surveys his storeroom for Hektor's ransom (24.228–37, 191f), of a dangerously depleted treasure. Even more striking than the association of Agamemnon and Hektor with improper division of the feast will, of course, be the perversion of the motif of the *dais* into that of cannibalism, which becomes attached to Achilleus himself in the language of 20.394, discussed below, and in his threat of 22.346ff. In this as in other respects, the king on the Shield will prove to be not only an image of his two foes but a monitory emblem of Achilleus himself.

Book 19

1. For previous analyses of 19, cf. Mazon, *Introduction*, and Nicolai, *KgD* 110, with whom I differ in the treatment of the assembly of 40–339.

2. Onians, *OET* 293; Nagler, *ST* 156, cf. 177.

3. Peters, *Einheit* 49f n.1, notes the structural function of the parallel.

4. Cf. Arend, *TS* 28f.

5. For Nagler, *ST* 142ff, Thetis and Eos are "symbolically identified"; it is worth emphasizing in this connection the frequently noted absence of a departure formula for Thetis after 39; cf. Kakridis, *HomRes* 84, for whom this lack is merely evidence for conflation of material. The narrative break here is further discussed below (Chapter V, Section 3) in connection with the question of book-division.

6. Cf. J. R. Wilson, *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 385–89, esp. 386; for further speculations, Nagy, "Patroklos, Concepts of Afterlife, and the Indic Triple Fire," *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 192, n.84.

7. For cult elements in the motif of the speaking horse whose voice is cut short by the Erinyes, see B. C. Dietrich, "Xanthus' Prediction," *Acta Classica* 7 (1964) 9–24.

8. Arend, *TS* 90.

9. For discussion of the fire similes, see Moulton, *SHP* 108; cf. Whitman, *HHT* 138f. On Achilleus' arming, Armstrong, "Arming Motif," 350–53; Shan-

non, *Arms* 71ff; Krischer, *FK* 47; Patzer, *DK* 38ff. For a Neo-Analyst view, P. J. Kakridis, "Achilleus' Rüstung," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 288–97.

10. For earlier elements of ritual mourning anticipating Achilleus' death in Book 18, cf. Nagy, *BA*; M. W. Edwards, "Conventions"; and Foley, *ImArt* (cited in Book 18 n.3).

11. On the assembly, cf. Arend, *TS* 117ff, who does not exclude Leaf's curious notion (*ad* 43) that presence of a "comissariat department" indicates the poet's interest in food, to which he also attributes Odysseus' concern with eating later in the book. Von der Mühll, *KH* 284, sees in the inclusion of supernumeraries a reference to a post-heroic expedition.

12. Cf. Arend, loc. cit., for controversy on this detail, and Leaf's note *ad* 76f; Zenodotus' "correction" of 77 is rightly rejected by Von der Mühll 285. Thornton, *HI* 128 and n.8 (with further bibliography) reads Agamemnon's posture as that of a suppliant. For further discussion see R. J. Rabel, "Agamemnon's *Aristeia*," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 103–17, who argues that Agamemnon is rebuking Achilleus' interruption of his speech in Book 1.292. Cf. Erbse, "Nachlese," esp. 10ff.

13. On the form of Agamemnon's speech, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 75–80, and Slater, "Lyric Narrative," 124, who emphasizes the "unparalleled rudeness" of his one direct address to Achilleus (139–44): "The poet is therefore not flattering him [Agamemnon] by making him compare himself to Zeus"; more generally, Dodds, *GI* 2ff; Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 22ff; Adkins, "Values, Goals, and Emotions in the *Iliad*," *CP* 77 (1982) 292–326, esp. 324f; Wyatt, "Homeric ᾽ATH"; and O. Taplin, "Agamemnon's Role in the *Iliad*," in C. Pelling, ed., *Characterization and Individuality* 60–82, esp. 75f. Further on unintentional irony in Agamemnon's mythic paradigm in Andersen, "Myth, Paradigm, and 'Spatial Form,'" 6f, quoting Austin, *Archery* 125; for a different view, see Rabel, above, n.12.

14. O. M. Davidson, "Indo-European Dimensions of Herakles in *Iliad* 19.95–133," *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 197–202, esp. 200, argues that in referring to Herakles Agamemnon unwittingly activates a damaging parallel between his mistreatment of Achilleus and that of Herakles by the inferior Eurystheus.

15. Von der Mühll 286 describes Odysseus' opening "Not so, good though you are, godlike Achilleus" as "fast wie eine Parodie" of Agamemnon's words in 1.131. For the structure of Odysseus' speech, Lohmann, *KR* 66ff.

16. So Leaf, who compares *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 46. The formal effect is gained by limiting description to the departure and return, without an intervening episode to indicate passage of time; the resulting emphasis is thus on the result of the action, the arrival of the gifts.

17. The links between the two bereavements, and the distance separating them, are subtly indicated by points of similarity and difference in the laments of Briseis (287–300) and Achilleus (315–37) and the way in which both sections close with a variation of the same refrain: at 301f, *hos ephato klaious', epi de stenachonto gynaikes*; at 338f, *hos ephato klaion, epi de stenachonto gerontes.* See Lohmann's analysis, *A-S* 13–23, and (independently) Foley, *ImArt* 169ff.

18. Cf. Griffin, *HLD* 15ff; Thornton, *HI* 136f, convincingly argues that it is just this acknowledgment of reunion with the Greeks on Achilleus' part that Odysseus has in mind. For further discussion of the shared meal as a sign of unity within the Männerbund, see O. Murray, "The symposion as social organisation,"

in Hägg, ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century* B.C. 195–99; cf. Nimis, *NS* 23–42, and Foley, *ImArt* 174–89. Although Achilleus is now sustained by the food of the gods, it seems clear that at least in this poem he does not transcend the human condition, merely to a degree the Achaian.

Books 20–21

1. For a survey, see G. Scheibner, *Der Aufbau des 20. und 21. Buches der Ilias* (Borna/Leipzig 1939) 3–41; cf. Owen, *SI* 199–203; A.W.H. Adkins, "Art, Beliefs, and Values in the Later Books of the *Iliad*," *CP* 70 (1975) 239–54, esp. 246ff; Reinhardt, *IuD* 423–56; and L. Lenz, *Der homerischen Aphroditehymnus und die Aristie des Aineias in der Ilias* (Bonn 1975).

2. Leaf's phrase, II 315; cf. G. S. Kirk, "The *Iliad*: The Style of Books 5 and 6," in *Aspects of the Epic*, ed. T. Winnifrith et al. (London 1983) 31: "a tasteless expansion by followers." Adkins, on the other hand, sees here the hand of the "monumental composer" (above, n.1: 254), and Scheibner (*Aufbau* 116) the consummation of Homer's "baumeisterliche Kunst." Cf. van der Valk's defense, *RTSI* II 412ff. Whitman/Scodel, "Sequence," 6 n.11, invoke the divided *Theomachy* as a parallel to the handling of time in Books 11–14; but the technique described by Zielínsky's law does not apply here, for the *Theomachy* is not simply left in abeyance but is explicitly abandoned at 20.144ff, before its subsequent resumption in Book 21. J. M. Bremer, "The So-Called '*Götterapparat*' in *Iliad* XX–XXII," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP*, 31–46, isolates literary technique from meaningful discourse in these three books.

3. Cf. Owen, *SI* 199ff. For discussion of the *Aineis*, cf. P. M. Smith, "Aeneiadai as Patrons of *Iliad* XX and the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *HSCP* 85 (1981) 17–58, who rejects the notion that the Aineias episode represents interpolation intended to serve local political interest: The absence of any mention of either Anchises or Ascanius suggests that Aineias' function is literary, not historical, serving as a preparation for the fight with Hektor by presenting a paradigm of "the road not taken" (47–50). But the poet is more immediately concerned with Aineias' divine background than his earthly connections, as we shall see; on the other hand, origin need not determine literary function.

4. For previous discussion of structural issues, cf. Scheibner (above, n.1) and Bolter, *Achilles' Return to Battle* (diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Whitman, *HHT* 272f, and Nicolai, *KgD* 111ff, see the two books as a unit; cf. Scheibner 115ff; so too (in part) Peters, *Einheit* 52–59. On the structure of the *Aineis*, cf. Lenz (above, n.1: 159–62), from whom I differ less in emphasis than in detail.

5. For an analysis of Books 19–23 in these terms, cf. Bolter (above, n.4).

6. Arend, *TS* 119, Scheibner, *Aufbau* 65; cf. Bolter, *Achilles' Return* 114.

7. Cf. the brief discussion of Owen, *SI* 208 n.1. For parallels between Apollo's rebuke of Hektor (20.75bff) and the consultation pattern of Aineias' interchange with Pandaros in 5.166ff, see Fenik, *TBS* 50f.

8. For general discussion, see Scheibner, *Aufbau* 69ff, 102–6. King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero* (Berkeley 1987) 240 n.36, sees in Athena's stance of 20.49f (one foot on the Greek trench, the other on the shore, in contrast to that of Ares at 5.52f, with one foot on the citadel of Troy, the other beside the Simoeis)

a scene "invested with the symbolism of earth and water, culture and nature, i.e., the totality of human experience."

9. Burkert, *GrRel* 406 n.55, maintains that Apollo does not emerge as a sun god until the fifth century. But the association may have earlier roots, perhaps here.

10. Cf. Buffière, *Mythes* 103ff, and Svenbro, *PM* 108–31. We shall return in Chapter V to the question of the *Theomachy* as a representation of cosmic conflict. For a different view of Hermes, cf. L. Kahn, *Hermes passe* (Paris 1978) 165ff: an aspect we encounter in the confrontation itself and in Hermes' conduct of Priam to Achilleus' hut in Book 24.

11. On the Aristarchan rejection of 322ff as inconsistent with 279f, see Scheibner, *Aufbau* 81 n.2. It is unclear just what has happened to the pierced shield when Aineias stoops to pick up the stone of 285f (cf. Leaf *ad* 422–24), but he seems to be unprotected at 290, and Aineias need not be holding the shield when Poseidon draws the spear from it at 323. Nevertheless, because the parallelism between the two encounters is clear enough without them, I am inclined to view 322–24 as an exaggerated emphasis perhaps meant to be relished undissected. For difficulties in the construction of the shield itself, cf. Leaf *ad* 269–72; Scheibner, *Aufbau* 80 n.1. For general discussion of the episode, see Shannon, *Arms* 78ff.

12. Leaf rejects 447 because it is poorly supported in the manuscripts and the fourth charge leads to a speech, not to divine intervention as at 5.438. Scheibner, *Aufbau* 89 n.2 sees the phrase *daimoni isos* as an important link with 21.227. Within 20 the simile is repeated at 493. (On the identification of the *daimon* in question as Ares, see Book 5, n.17.)

13. Assuming these are the same horses: Cf. H. Erbse, "Über die sogenannte Aineis im 20. Buch der Ilias," *RhM* N.F. 119 (1967) 1–25, esp. 25 n.49.

14. Owen, *SI* 204f sees in the implied juxtaposition of the two figures a contrast between Diomedes' *sophrosyne* and Achilleus' overreaching. Adkins (above, n.1) elaborates the importance of genealogy as an element in the progressive disclosure of Achilleus' limitations in 20 and 21, but with conclusions different from those drawn here; cf. Smith (above, n.3) 47.

15. Cf. Leaf *ad* 7, and Scheibner, *Aufbau* 65f, quoting Σ T on the absence of Okeanos, whose position in the structure of the cosmos is not to be disturbed.

16. Who thus serves as a link to the confrontation with Asteropaios and Xanthos in 21; cf. Scheibner, *Aufbau* 65.

17. For this aspect of Poseidon's role in the poem, see the discussion above of Book 13; cf. Lenz (above, n.1) 186–91.

18. Moulton, *SHP* 109, compares the similes without noting their structural connection and observes the parallel between 20.490 and 11.155f, describing Agamemnon's murderous advance.

19. With Leaf, Nicolai, *KgD* 112f divides 21 at 382, considering the *Theomachy* of 383–520 as a separate "chapter" and joins 21.520–611 to 22.1–3a (see below, Book 22 n.1).

20. On the complex significance of mist in the narrative, see Bolter, *Achilles' Return* 74ff, and for the opposition of fire and water, Nagler, *ST* 105ff.

21. On the ascending order, cf. Scheibner, *Aufbau* 95, and Adkins (above, n.1)

247; on the conflict between Xanthos and Hephaistos as an escalating transition to the *Theomachy*, cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 448.

22. For discussion see Whitman, *HHT* 139ff; Moulton, *SHP* 106ff; and Shannon (above, n.11).

23. For general comment on this section, cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 30ff, who sees a linking repetition of the motif of mingled water and blood at 21.119 and 202. But 119 describes blood flowing onto the ground, and at 202 the water is merely "dark" (*melan*, cf. 2.825 etc., and *melanydros*, 9.14 and 21.257 etc., though *melan* is also applicable to blood: for 4.149 etc.), not specifically "reddened" as at 21 (*erythaineto*). See also the comments of R. J. Rabel, "Agamemnon's *Aristeia*," 7.

24. For analysis of the speech of 74–113, cf. Lohmann, *KR* 105–8.

25. In commenting on this passage, Slater, "Lyric Narrative: Structure and Principle," 118, notes only the repetition of the phrase "fleeing from the river" and considers the frame a single ring.

26. Cf. Nagler, *ST* 147 n.21.

27. Cf. Lohmann, *KR* 106: "Auch hier gewinnt das Bild des Achill nach dem Tod des Freundes eine Tiefe durch die unmittelbare Konfrontation mit einem 'Spiegelbild.'" In this context Achilleus' reference to Lykaon as his "friend" (*philos*, 106) gains its full irony. (Hooker, "Homeric φίλος" 49f emphasizes [with Leaf] the element of sympathy in the usage; cf. the negative existentialism Schein imputes to Achilleus at this point, *MH* 98f.)

28. Cf. Shannon, *Arms* 75ff. On the peculiarities of the episode, see Fenik, *TBS* 146 and, on its links with the encounter between Sarpedon and Tlepolemos in 5, 67 n.56.

29. So Adkins (above, n.1) 247. The prideful impulse is in contradiction to the fatalism of his rejection of Lykaon's plea, where Achilleus' maternal genealogy figured, and marks a deviation into atypical vainglory. Further discussion below.

30. See Shannon, *Arms* 79, on the "bracketing" effect here; and, on Asteropaios' association with the exchange of armor theme, 76.

31. Cf. Shannon, *Arms* 69f; Nagler, *ST* 147ff.

32. Cf. Leaf *ad* 522; Moulton, *SHP* 111.

33. Cf. Owen, *SI* 204 n.1.

34. Nicolai, *KgD* 113f sees in the series of encounters beginning in 385 a sequence in which the sex of the combatants forms the pattern

Athena vs. Ares (F / M)
Athena vs. Aphrodite (F / F)
Apollo vs. Poseidon (M / M)
Hera vs. Artemis (F / F)
Hermes vs. Leto (M / F).

This is an attractive analysis, but the first two pairs are not strictly independent encounters and rather form an episode (391–434); the latter three are not combats at all and likewise form a sequence (435–515) with 497–504 at its center. The first episode (a) may be regarded as a scene of mere violence, to which is juxtaposed another (b) demonstrating the folly of violence. Line 434, which is poorly attested

(cf. Leaf ad loc.), nevertheless serves as a suitable ring for the element beginning at 418, repeating the phrase *leukolenos Here*.

35. Adkins (above, n.1: 247ff) rightly insists, however, on the essential seriousness of the episode; cf. Reinhardt, *IuD* 448.

36. See, in general, A. W. H. Adkins, "Homeric Gods and the Values of Homeric Society," *JHS* 92 (1972) 1–19.

37. By Achilleus and Aineias: 20.198, 200, 211, 244; Achilleus of Hektor 431; the poet, of Achilleus: 264; of Achilleus' victims, 411, 466; Poseidon, of Aineias, 296.

38. See below, n.13 to Book 22.

Book 22

1. Nicolai, *KgD* 114, argues that 21.520–611 belongs to the narrative of 22 because of the "intolerable" break in the narrative produced by the traditional division. Although he recognizes the importance of Hektor's appearance at 22.5, he notes that (independent) thematic introductions do not always stand at the beginning of books. Granted; but it is probably more to the point to emphasize that they often do, as we shall see in discussing the problem of book-division in Chapter V. Others (Finsler, Drerup, Myres; cf. Nicolai 114n.7) combine 21.520b–22.20 to form a prologue to the ensuing action; Whitman, *HHT* 273, and Moulton, *SHP* 76, divide at 22.24/25, as here. Otherwise my divisions parallel Nicolai's, with the exception of 306–69a, which Nicolai treats as a separate unit. Whitman (273ff) places central emphasis on Zeus' weighing of the fates, Moulton (79ff) on the divine interchange at 167–87. The interlocking arrangement I indicate seems to represent the material more faithfully.

2. The terms of the decision are, of course, reminiscent of 16.431–61, where Zeus debates the fate of Sarpedon.

3. Cf. Book 8, n.4. For a withering response to attempts to athetize the *kerastasis*, see Reinhardt, *IuD* 457–61.

4. For speculation on the spear jabs as messages to the dead, see G. Devereux, "Achilles' 'Suicide' in the *Iliad*," esp. App., 14f; they seem to be ruled out as overt functional elements, as Devereux admits, by 371–74; here, as elsewhere, a rationalizing treatment of traditional elements may be at work.

5. Cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 39f, on the variation of language in 22.254.

6. On Hektor's susceptibility to delusion, cf. Whitman, *HHT* 208ff; Redfield, *NCI* 143–59; for reflections in 126ff of the scene in Book 6, cf. Owen, *SI* 221ff; Segal, *Mutilation* 35; Moulton, *SHP* 82, cf. 109. Note that the verb *oarizein* ("chatter," 127, 128) is also used at 6.516 to describe Hektor's exchange with Andromache. In psychological terms, Hektor's fear of being slain "naked, like a woman" (124f) might suggest an immature ephebe's flight from rape (*gymnos* in a purely military context generally means "unarmed," but it is consistent with Hektor's view of himself that to be unarmed is to be naked; cf. further Janko's perceptive comment in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 13.290–91); in literary terms, there is obvious irony in the result for his city of his very decision to take a stand (cf. Nagler on the "violation" of the citadel, cited below, n.17).

7. W. M. Sale, "Homeric Athena and Her Association with Odysseus," in

ΙΛΙΑΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ· ΜΥΘΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ (Ithaka 1986) 111–27, esp. 122f, maintains that Athena functions here, as elswhere, as a goddess of self-realization. The effect is not always positive.

8. For the relation of the latter image to the general motif of mistreatment of the dead, cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 45. On the former, identifying Hektor with the snake, see Bremer, "Four Similes," in *Liverpool Latin Seminar* 5 (1985) 367–72, esp. 369f.

9. Moulton, *SHP* 77 notes the structural correspondence between 26 and 411. On the function of the star simile at 26–31 to express the premonitions of Priam, as secondary focalizer, see de Jong, *NF* 126 (cf. Bremer, above, n.8: 369f). de Jong's treatment of the answering simile at 317ff as a means of emphasizing Achilleus' "supreme heroism" is less convincing (see n.10 below).

10. Thus, Hektor's encounter with Achilleus is presented as his last day, expressed in similes attached to the figure who determines this fate. Cf. Moulton's development (*SHP* 77, 81, 85f) of the correspondences between 26 and 317 observed by Wilamowitz, *IuH* 93. Schadewaldt, *WHWW* 308f, emphasizes the function of the springs, associated with peaceful everyday life, to heighten the bitter reality of the tragedy now being enacted. It is worth noting also the way in which the contrast of hot and cold, of fire and ice, figured in the springs reinforces the element of imminent decision between life and death.

11. For further discussion and a defense of 199ff against athetesis, cf. Moulton, *SHP* 83f and A. H. M. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature* (Utrecht 1978) 49–52.

12. For a psychotherapeutic view, cf. Devereux (above, n.4) esp. 8f. For the similar confrontation with Lykaon, see above, Books 20–21, n.27. On the way in which animal similes reinforce the identity of Achilleus and Hektor, and for the motivic background of the cannibalism in Achilleus' threat of 346, see Lonsdale, *Creatures* 90–102.

13. The continuing debate on whether or not there is any overt indication of a sexual bond between Achilleus and Patroklos (for, W. M. Clarke, "Achilles and Patroklos in Love," *Hermes* 106 [1978] 381–95; against, D. S. Barrett, "The Friendship of Achilleus and Patroclus," *CB* 57 [1981] 87–93; neither, MacCary, *Childlike Achilles*, esp. 64: "For Achilles Patroclus is only a 'self-object' or 'partial object'") is somewhat beside the point: Given the poet's reticence in the matter, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that what is important for the narrative is the complexity and substance of Achilleus' emotion of *philotes* (give or take an element of *eros*) compared to the relationships—determined largely by status or sexual utility—that surround him. It may be, in fact, that another tradition concerning the relationship (perhaps known to Pindar; see Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind* [=*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 85, Leiden 1985] 121 n.59) represented Achilleus as Patroklos' elder rather than his junior; in reversing this picture (11.786f), the *Iliad* would thus in effect avoid dramatizing the relationship as an older lover's loss of a younger beloved in terms familiar in the aristocratic institution of Greek pederasty during the archaic period and later. The question then becomes why our poet (at whatever date we choose for him) has made this decision. See also the discussion by Halperin, *One Hundred Years* 75–87. R. Finlay, "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus," *CW* 73 (1980) 267–73, overstates the role of Patroklos as

a father figure for Achilleus: Cf. below, n.24 to Book 24. S. G. Miller, "Eros and the Arms of Achilles," *AJA* 90 (1986) 159–70, provides a full survey of artistic representations of the relationship.

14. Cf. Redfield, *NCI* 155.

15. For previous comparisons between the two books, cf. Myres, "Last Book," 208f, who contrasts the duel in Book 3 between Menelaos and Paris as the "right way to end the war" with that of 22 between Achilleus and Hektor as the "wrong way" and compares the motif of *teichoskopia* in both and the parallel summoning of Helen and Andromache from their weaving; Whitman, *HHT* 274, emphasizes the parallel between the duels and the balance between Hektor's first appearance in 3 and his death in 22. For a brief *syngkrisis* of the roles of Helen and Andromache in the two weaving scenes, see Lohmann, *A-S* 59–62.

16. Cf. C. P. Segal, "Andromache's *Anagnorisis*," esp. 40f; on the associative field of the phrase *throna poikila*, see L. Lawler, "On Certain Homeric Epithets," *PQ* 27 (1948) 80–88; G. M. Bolling, "*Ποικίλος* and *Θρόνα*," *AJP* 79 (1958) 277f; and M. C. J. Putnam, "*Throna* and Sappho 1, 1" *CJ* 56 (1960) 79ff. On the color porphyry, cf. R. F. Goheen, "Aspects of Dramatic Symbolism," *AJP* 76 (1955) 115–26.

17. Nagler, *ST* 47–60, argues that the act of discarding the *kredemnon* (22.470) prefigures the violation of the citadel (*kredemna*) of Troy itself; cf. Segal (above, n.16) 15. Griffin, *HLD* 2 n.5, disagrees. The gesture recalls Hekabe's at 406f and carries with it also something of the violent rejection of a role that has caused her so much grief; cf. Cassandra's rejection of Apollo's laurels, the symbol at once of her prophetic office and her bitter servitude, in Aesch. *Ag.* 126ff. Anger in Andromache's gesture would perhaps correspond to an element of resentment against Patroklos that plays a role in Achilleus' attack on Hektor-as-Patroklos for having jeapordized—and forsaken—the best period in their lives.

18. For an analysis of the conclusion of 22, especially of its expressive variation of formulaic usage, cf. Segal (above, n.16: 35f), who notes the extraordinary way in which the expected regularity of the refrain of sorrow following the speeches of Priam (at 429: "So he spoke grieving, and the people groaned with him") and of Andromache (at 515: "So she spoke grieving and the women groaned with her") is interrupted after Hekabe's outcry (437: "So she spoke grieving. But Hektor's wife. . . . ") in order to introduce the telling digression on Andromache's household tasks (440–46). Similarly, the introduction of Hekabe's speech (430, "And among the Trojan women, Hekabe took up the loud lament") contrasts with that of Andromache: "Sobbing in sudden bursts she spoke among the Trojan women" (476).

19. On the question of the poet's knowledge of Astyanax's future, cf. P. Smith, "Aeneiadai as Patrons," 53n.60; Von der Mühll, *KH* 347; Beck, *Stellung* 157–68. On the structure of Andromache's speech, see Lohmann, *KR* 99ff, *A-S* 64–68; cf. Foley, *ImArt* 170f.

Book 23

1. Cf. Nestor on the games for Amaryngkeus, 23.630ff; cf., on those for Oidipous, 23.679ff; note also 22.163f; in general, L. Malten, "Leichenspiel und Totenkult," *RM* 38–39 (1923/24) 300–400; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley

1983) 53f; and M. W. Edwards, "The Conventions of a Homeric Funeral" (cf. *Homer* 304–16). For previous analyses of the book, cf. Nicolai, *KgD* 115f (who sees in 1–34 a thematic prelude, and the remainder as two separate "chapters" divided, as here, at 257a/b); similarly Myres, "Last Book" 288f; Mazon, *Introduction* 221; Whitman, *HHT* 262f; and C. W. Macleod, ed., *Homer: Iliad, Book XXIV* (Cambridge 1982) 28ff. Peters, *Einheit* 63–67 prefers a purely temporal division (1–107, 108–225, 226–897).

2. Cf. Arend, *TS* 58.

3. For a review and rejection of earlier attempts to explain the episode, cf. Kakridis, *HomRes* 75–95, who argues (80ff) that the scene is a "pale imitation" of the *Aithiopis* or its source, where the winds refuse to ignite Achilleus' pyre because he has slain their brother, Memnon. Whatever the merits of the Neoanalytical approach, it nevertheless fails to explain why the episode should have been adapted for the *Iliad*, ineptly at that. Lowenstam, *DP* 152ff, who interprets Patroklos' corpse as an offering to the gods, argues that Achilleus' sacrifice is simply eclipsed by the hekatombs of the Ethiopians: Because his gesture is inadequate, the winds refuse to blow.

4. For a defense of line 104, cf. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream* 79 n.106.

5. Leaf's discomfort with the line (ad loc.) produces a marvel of confusion; cf. the review of alternatives in A. Schnaufer, *Frühgriechisches Totenglaube* (=*Spudasmata* 20 [Hildesheim 1970]) 73–79, and Kessels, *Studies* 78 n.105.

6. Kessels, *Studies* 80 n.111.

7. Schnaufer (above, n.5) 77f with n.240.

8. Wilamowitz, *IuH* 110f, answered effectively by Kessels, *Studies* (54f).

9. Devereux, "Achilles' 'Suicide,'" pp. 3–15, esp. 11ff.

10. Kessels, *Studies* 56.

11. E. Rohde, *Psyche*[8], tr. W. B. Hillis (New York 1925) 14.

12. Cf. Dodds, *GI* 136f, following, with reservations, T. Zielínsky, "La Guerre à l'outre-tombe," esp. 1032; cf. W. F. Otto, *Die Manen* (Berlin 1923) 96.

13. Among others, Segal, *Mutilation* 51ff.

14. Cf. Dodds (above, n.12). Schnaufer's rendering (above, n.5: 78) of line 103f: "Nein doch! Wahrhaftig, so existiert denn, auch im Haus des Hades, / die ψυχή, ein blosses Abbild, dabei wohnt ihr noch (nach unserer herrschenden Auffassung) überhaupt kein Verstand inne" is paraphrased by G. Nagy, "Patroklos, Concepts of Afterlife," esp. 189 n.17 (retained at *GMP* 89 n.25): "So there really *is* a *psûkhê*, even outside of Hades, a mere image—and yet it is conscious (has *phrênes*)!"

15. This is clear from the dramatic character of Achilleus' reaction and his immediate disclosure to the Greeks (on which Leaf *ad* 103 seems to me unsound and Kessels, *Studies* 57, unconvincing), as well as from the contrast between this episode and the rarity of *Totengeist* usage elsewhere in the poem: Cf. the survey in J. Warden, "*ΨYXH* in Homeric Death-Descriptions," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 95–103, who suggests that among the exceptions, 16.856f, which personalizes the separation of Patroklos' *psyche*, is related to the reappearance of his *psyche* in Book 23 and is repeated in describing the death of Hektor (22.361f) for "stylistic or structural" reasons (96; cf. M. Edwards, *ClAnt* 9 [1990] 323, who notes of the couplet that the poet has "avoided it for all other deaths in the poem, for the sake

of the special allusion"). In effect, the death of Hektor is not simply linked motivically with that of Patroklos (cf. *also* Segal, *Mutilation* 43), but is placed on an equal basis with Patroklos' death in this particular context of belief. Further discussion of usage and bibliography in S. M. Darcus, "A Person's Relation to ψυχή in Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek Lyric Poets," *Glotta* 57 (1979) 30–39.

16. Cf. Proclus' summary of the *Aithiopis* in Allen, ed., *Homeri Opera* V (*Oxford Classical Texts* 1912; 1946) 106; *Od.* 4.561–69; Hes. *Erg.* 156–73. For discussion of the effect of the striking differences between the *Iliad* and the concepts of afterlife in the *Odyssey* and the Cycle, see A. T. Edwards, "Achilles in the Underworld," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 215–28. The absence of the latter views in the *Iliad* need not be taken as evidence for the poet's ignorance of them, but rather—as with other selective aspects of the poem—a matter of focus and emphasis within the tradition of this particular story and our poet's way of telling it.

17. Cf. Onians, *OET* 107; Burkert, *GrRel* 120f; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "A Trauma in Flux: Death in the 8th Century and After," in Hägg, ed., *GREC* 33–48, esp. 41: The gesture seems to combine the ideas both of confirming a break in continuity and of joining the dead.

18. Burkert, *Homo Necans* 53.

19. E.g., Whitman, *HHT* 215, 263f; Segal (above, n.13); J. R. Dunkle, "Some Notes on the Funeral Games: Iliad 23," *Prometheus* 7 (1981) 11–18. A. L. Motto and J. R. Clark, "Isê Dais," argue that in his behavior here, no less than in his earlier savagery, Achilleus never abandons the system but in fact "discovers his significance precisely *within* his society and its codes" (109). Donlan ("Structure of Authority" 63) describes Achilleus as "the embodiment of collegial cooperation." Dunkle, "Nestor, Odysseus," accepts the view that contests 5–7 are spurious, because they lack the emphasis on the opposition of strength and craft he finds in the other events (including 8, where he sees Achilleus closing ranks with Agamemnon on the side of *bie* against Odysseus [16f]); the games demonstrate the superiority of *metis* to *bie*, implying that "the world of the *Iliad*, with its hero's raw courage and destructive *bie* that ultimately fall short of their goal, will give way to a different world in which a more pragmatic hero will achieve success primarily through *metis*." Collins, *StChar* 99–103, sees Achilleus' conduct of the games as an appropriation of royal functions that paradoxically validates Agamemnon's role.

20. For analysis of the games in general, emphasizing repetition rather than ring-composition, see Bannert, *Formen* 129–51, with further bibliography (omitting Peters, *Einheit* 64ff). Whitman, *HHT* 263f, sees in the games only a "linear" structure.

21. For comparison between Books 2 and 23, Myres, "Last Book" 288f, and Whitman, *HHT* 262f.

22. On the complex ring framing Nestor's speech, cf. Gaisser, "Digressions" 13; on the structure in general, Lohmann, *KR* 15–18. Slater, "Lyric Narrative," 121, is less helpful; on the "incomprehensible crux of 639–40," Leaf and Bayfield's comment ad loc. is worth remembering: "If it had been Nestor's desire to conceal the cause of his defeat, he could hardly have expressed himself more unintelligibly than he has in this couplet." Whatever the precise cause of Nestor's defeat (expressed in the troublesome *plethei prosthe balonte*), it seems clear

enough that he regards it as a result of some unfair strategy or advantage on the part of the Moliones, who were impelled by excessive ambition for first prize. Nestor's realization, in mid-career, that this is an inopportune reminder of Antilochos' behavior in the present contest, may account for his obscurity (for an earlier instance of Nestorian incoherence, see n.9 to Book 11). The poet compounds the difficulties by using the term *ainos* (652, a story with a point) to refer to Nestor's account, which must be taken as poetic irony whether we regard the story as misfired self-praise, an unwitting reference to Nestor's persistent equestrian difficulties, or a simple statement of the obsolescence of old age.

23. On the consolatory aspect of Achilleus' gift to Nestor, see Hohendahl-Zoetelief, *Manners* 115ff.

24. The motifs of stolen horses and of Apollo's antagonism to Diomedes are of course also reminiscent of Book 10, where Apollo rouses the Thracians on seeing the carnage of Diomedes and Odysseus. He will not intervene against them here, in the wrestling and close combat; but Achilleus and the Greeks will, in each case to prevent injury to Aias, the figure of a type of heroism so notably abandoned by Diomedes and Odysseus in Book 10.

25. On the paradoxical association between Achilleus and Apollo elsewhere in the poem, cf. Nagy, *BA* 142f.

26. Dunkle, "Nestor, Odysseus," 6. Motto and Clark, "Isê Dais," 119f, see in the awarding of prizes a "fair portioning" that reenacts a "heavenly communion." But the funeral *agon* is not a banquet, at whatever level, but as in warfare an effort to demonstrate *arete* by performance: Cf. Macleod (above, n.1) 30. Redfield, *NCI* 262n.78, argues that in addition to this "disjunctive" aspect the funeral games have a "conjunctive" function to unify winners and losers, participants and spectators, the living and the dead; but his interpretation of the games (209f) is based solely on Achilleus' extraordinary behavior in 23, not on less exceptional instances elsewhere. (Nestor seems not to have won a prize for losing the Epeian chariot race, nor are the prizes juggled even here in the more conventionally handled boxing and weight-throwing contests; and although Achilleus invites "two of the best" [659; cf. Epeios of himself at 669] to join the boxing, the usage is that of simple challenge, and the "best" wins.) King (*Achilles* 37 and 249f nn.121f), goes further, seeing in the games a "comic correction of the dispute that began the *mênis* and wrenched Achilles from his heroic society," as the first step in Achilleus' reconciliation; she maintains that the criteria of human worth on which this process is based "have nothing to do with social position or the victory of one society's warrior over another's" but represent (in the case of Book 24) "a victory *of* and *for* humanity." For discussion of the usage of *aristos* in the poem (largely excluding the games), see A. T. Edwards, "*Aristos Achaion*: Heroic Death and Dramatic Structure in the *Iliad*," *QUCC* N.S. 17 (1984) 61–80; for Achilleus' unusual use of *agathos* in Book 9, see above, Book 9, n.15.

27. For the tradition that Antilochos is already beginning to assume his role in the Cycle as a replacement for Patroklos in Achilleus' affections, cf. Philostratus *Imagines* 2.7.1: "That Achilleus loved Antilochos you must have discovered in Homer, seeing Antilochos to be the youngest man in the Greek host and considering the half-talent of gold that was given after the contest." On this view and for a survey of Neo-Analyst discussion of Antilochos' role in general, see Willcock,

"The Funeral Games of Patroclus," *BICS* 20 (1973) 1–11, and "Antilochus in the 'Iliad,'" *Mélanges Eduard Delebecque* (Aix-en-Provence 1983) 479–85.

28. For the debatable notion that a deliberate affectation of madness is a part of Antilochos' strategy of outwitting Menelaos, see Detienne/Vernant, *CunIn* 22, who relate the passage to Odysseus' pretense of inarticulateness recalled at 3.205–24. Cf. further R. Nicolai, "La *MHTIΣ* di Antiloco," *RFIC* 115 (1987) 107–13.

29. Menelaos' use of the term seems to imply not simply an ability to recognize and interpret, but a state of mind—in Antilochos' case temporarily impaired—that enables one to act with an appropriateness not confined to merely seizing the advantage (cf. the survey of usage in von Fritz: Book 1, n.17). Hohendahl-Zoetelief, *Manners* 50ff, finds in Menelaos' reactions to Antilochos three stages of increasingly sharpened insult: At 440f Menelaos sees in Antilochos' maneuver at the turn-post a "a categorical absence of reason" (*ou s' etymon ge phamen pepnusthai Achaioi*); his phrase *prosthen pepnumene* at 570 modifies this to a "loss of reason"; *ou d' aesiphron . . . paros* (603f) transforms Antilochos' fault into a youthful "momentary lapse." Antilochos thus becomes "an inferior to be patronized, a recipient of generosity." But these insistent references to Antilochos' previous exercise of intelligence have little point as general observations. Menelaos may, on the other hand, have in mind Antilochos' previous lifesaving assistance to him at 5.565ff (as seems to be the case at 607ff: "For you have suffered much and toiled much . . . for me"), which perhaps inspired the confidence reflected in Menelaos' choice of Antilochos to carry the news of Patroklos' death to Achilleus at 15.568ff; thus, Menelaos' reactions in 23 would represent a progressive attempt to deal with (by rationalizing) what he must regard as a sudden, mindless, and uncalled-for betrayal of a gratitude he had expressed as early as 3.99f.

30. For parallels between Book 1 and the contention here, cf. Mcleod (above, n.1) 30f and Dunkle (above, n.19). For a different emphasis on the role of *noos* in Antilochos' behavior, see Nagy, "*Sêma* and *Noêsis*," *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 35–55, esp. 40ff, and *Pindar's Homer* 208–11. For the ethical as well as intellectual element of *noos*, see J. R. Warden, "The Mind of Zeus," *JHI* 32 (1971) 3–14, esp. 6. The implicit revaluation of terms that takes place here is similar to that of *time* in Book 9. Menelaos' usage seems to mark a step away from Patroklos' description of Achilleus' *noos* as *apenes* ("harsh, stubborn": 16.33; cf. Paris of Hektor's *atarbetos noos* at 3.63) toward the equation of *noos* and good character found in Theognis (and ultimately in Plato's Socrates).

31. As H. Roisman, "Nestor's Advice and Antilochus' Tactics," *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 114–20, is at pains to remind us—with some justice, for the idea that Antilochos passes Menelaos at the turn-post is not confined to the object of her attack (M. Gagarin, "Antilochus' Strategy: The Chariot Race in *Iliad* 23" *CP* 78 [1983] 35–39) but reappears also in the revised version of Nagy's *Arethusa* paper (above, n.30=*GMP* 202–23, esp. 217).

32. Cf. the repeated emphasis on verbs of sense-perception and conjecture in 450–70: *ephrasath'* (450); *egno, phrassato* (453); *augazomai* (458); *dokeousi* (459); *indalletai* (460); [*idon* (462); *ideein* (463); *moi osse . . . paptaineton eisoroonti* (463f);] *oio* (467); *idesthe* (469); *diagignosko, dokeei de moi* (470).

33. Achilleus' handling of the dispute here differs markedly from Nestor's emphasis on persuasion in Book 1, where the merits of the case on either side are simply to be set aside in favor of submission to a common goal; cf. the terms of Diomedes' suppression of Sthenelos' justified retort to Agamemnon in 4.411ff. Bannert, *Formen* 145, merely notes that the episode superimposes a contest of words on a contest of action. Collins (above, n.19) recognizes here a microcosm of the conflict of values that dominates the poem. Previous efforts to demonstrate elements of rationalism in the *Iliad* are valuable (e.g., Schofield in *CQ* N.S. 36 [1986] 6–31; cf. Chapter V, n.91) but—in attempting to avoid primitivist interpretations on the one hand, and by assuming on the other that the *Iliad* is intellectually less advanced than the *Odyssey*—have tended to overlook some of the distinctions our poet is capable of making, above all his concern less with success-oriented perception than with values, good and bad, that cannot be confined to the immediate agonistic situation.

34. Moulton, *SHP* 115f, sees the motif of Patroklos' asylum with Peleus as a foreshadowing of Priam's supplication of Achilleus in 24. It is also significant that we begin to get a fuller picture of Patroklos' mixed past as Achilleus' remorse subsides for a while.

35. Besides Athena's favoritism for Odysseus, cf. Detienne/Vernant, *CunIn* 228ff, for her association in cult with the footrace.

36. The first contest is further reflected here in the reappearance of Meriones and his affiliation with Idomeneus, as well as in the motif of prayer to the gods; with 863f and 872ff cf. Antilochos' charge that Eumelos failed to pray to the gods (546f). Achilleus' provision in advance for the loser (857f, much criticized; cf. Leaf *ad* 850) also recalls his earlier concern with Eumelos' loss.

37. Quite differently Thornton, *HI* 137, and Bannert, *Formen* 144, who finds in the reappearance of Talthybios to carry off the prize Agamemnon hands on to Meriones (897) a reference to (and reversal of) the herald's role in Book 1 in taking away Achilleus' prize, and thus a further indication of Achilleus' reconciliation. Whitman, *HHT* 157, more convincingly sees here an implicit allusion to Achilleus' earlier judgment (1.165ff and 9.323–33) that Agamemnon's honors come unearned. Cf. the apt comments of Taplin, "Agamemnon's Role in the *Iliad*," 77f. W. Donlan, "The Unequal Exchange," 6, notes that because the context is transformed into an occasion for gifts, Agamemnon departs from the narrative under obligation to Achilleus. But there is nothing here of the consolatory aspect of Nestor's earlier gift (above, n.23); and the poet's use of "persuasion" at 895 to describe Agamemnon's acceptance of Achilleus' decision is perhaps not so much an illustration of "group harmony" (see Donlan, above, n.19) as an ironic reference to Nestor's quite different notions of reconciliation in Book 1 (see above, n.33 and Book 1, n.14).

38. For criticism of the classic applications of these ideas to the *Iliad* by Dodds and Adkins, see Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 24–27; A. A. Long, "Morals and Values in Homer," *JHS* 90 (1970) 121–39; cf. the discussions by C. J. Rowe, "The Nature of Homeric Morality," in Rubino and Shelmerdine, eds., *Approaches to Homer* 248–75, and by Lynn-George, Hooker, and Zanker, cited above, Book 9, n.25.

39. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 106; King, *Achilles* 42.

Book 24

1. For previous analyses of 24, viewed independently, cf. Peters, *Einheit* 10–14, who again prefers a purely temporal division; Nicolai, *KgD* 116f, who considers 469b—676 the center of the narrative; Whitman, *HHT* 259f. For discussion of the athetized passage 6–9, see Beck, *Stellung* 171ff, who gives it up with reluctance; and Nagler, *ST* 168 n.1, and Macleod, ed., *Iliad, Book XXIV* 85, who consider it effective. For speculation on a connection between Book 24 and the *Aithiopis*, see E. C. Kopff, "The Structure of the Amazonia (Aithiopis)," in Hägg, ed., *GREC* 57–62.

2. Again the problem of the aegis (cf. Book 2, n.24): Normally a symbol of Zeus' power, occasionally extended to Athena (who misuses it by transferring it to Achilleus at 18.203f), once before an explicit loan to Apollo at 15.229, it elevates Apollo to a position of unusual honor and proximity to Zeus.

3. The roles of Apollo and Achilleus—pointedly related in the funeral games, where Achilleus' behavior displays a restraint the god could respect—tend to be played against each other here, culminating in Achilleus' consolation of Priam with the story of Niobe's grief for her children, slain by Apollo and Artemis (599–620): As Niobe put aside her grief to eat after nine days of mourning, so should Priam exert measure in his own sorrow (cf., among others, Lohmann, *KR* 13f; Gaisser, "Digressions" 9; Nagler, *ST* 190ff). Even so, Achilleus will here participate in the washing and clothing of Hektor's corpse, as Apollo has in 16.679f done with his own hands for Sarpedon (for the ritual implication of Achilleus' gesture, see below, n.24); and there is a tension, rather than a simple opposition, between their respective roles in 1 and 24 (see below, n.5), and in their general display of positive and negative characteristics.

4. Cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 58. For discussion of the function of the concept of pity in Book 24 see W. Burkert, *Zum altgriechischen Mitleidsbegriff* (diss. Erlangen 1955), esp. 99–107; cf. H. Sayffert in *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 391ff.

5. Nagler (*ST* 171ff) argues that Achilleus himself is the unconscious convener of the divine assembly. The transition from A_1 to B_1 is gradual, with no emphatic break at 22ff, and the usual Assembly pattern used to introduce divine councils is lacking here; but all this appears intended less to present a novel type of convenership than simply to imply that the gods are already assembled, and that action in heaven and on earth begins—appropriate to the importance of the issue—simultaneously. There is, moreover, an obvious reversal of the roles of Achilleus and Apollo in Book 1, both involving the question of moral leadership: There, Achilleus calls an assembly to deal with Apollo's destructive nine-day plague; here, Apollo addresses the Olympian assembly after nine days of debate over Achilleus' destructive rage (taking *ek toio* in 31 to refer to the day of Hektor's death: Cf. Leaf II and Macleod, *Homer, Iliad*, ad loc.).

6. For Poseidon's enmity, cf. 21.441ff; as to that of Hera and Athena, see the review of controversy surrounding the reference to the judgment of Paris (28ff) by M. Davies, "The Judgment of Paris and *Iliad* XXIV," *JHS* 101 (1981) 56–62, who rightly points out that Reinhardt's otherwise successful defense in *Das Parisurteil* (Frankfurt 1938, reprinted in his *Tradition und Geist* [Göttingen

1960] 16–36) nevertheless fails to explain the function of the allusion at this point in the poem. Davis suggests that what can now be seen as the irrationally enduring jealousy of Hera and Athena—along with the hostility of Poseidon to the Trojan cause—serves as a foil to the dignity and generosity soon demonstrated on the mortal level, of which the gods are incapable. It is worth suggesting, on the other hand, that in the wounded *arete* of the anti-Trojan trio we have (as in the *Theomachy* of 21) an escalation to the divine level of the very problem posed on the human; and that Apollo (in forcing the question of pity on both levels) and Zeus (in effecting a compromise between the claims of Achilleus' *kydos* and Hektor's *time* in terms that will respect Thetis' *aidos* and *philotes*) establish a paradigm also for the resolution of the claims of Athena and Hera against Paris, and of Poseidon against Laomedon. Thus, the irony lies in the futility of this model, either in effecting reconciliation among the gods or in alleviating human suffering in our *Iliad*; the Cycle seems to have found other solutions.

7. On the ad hoc character of the detail, see Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," 23.

8. Macleod, *Homer, Iliad*, 27 and n.2, citing Zeus' more usual conferral of *kydos* in battle (8.216, 15.611f, etc.), concludes that Achilleus "acquires a new form of honour from Zeus," based on restraint and benefit of a fellow human, "not by persuading or almost coercing, but by obeying the supreme god." Cf. Taplin, "The Shield of Achilles," 21 n.39. Adkins, "Values, Goals, and Emotions," 315ff (reelaborating his position in "Art, Beliefs, and Values," 251ff, and elsewhere) insists that the values of 24 are no different from those elsewhere in the poem. For this line of argument the ransom is of crucial importance, and Adkins is forced to neglect the unusual way in which *kydos* is used here; he offers a selective (and apparently misprinted) translation of 128–37, overemphasizes Achilleus' materialistic interest in the ransom at 139f, and misrepresents (317f) the testing irony of the interchange between Hermes and Priam especially at 425ff, where Achilleus' behavior is not being described but anticipated with exaggeration, for effect.

9. In the Homeric poems, the extension of pity beyond the interest group is observable among gods but rare among mortals, this episode being the major exception (cf. M. Scott, "Pity and Pathos in Homer," *Acta Classica* 22 [1979] 1–14, esp. 11f), just as this is the sole case of successful supplication between individual mortals in the action of the *Iliad* (cf. V. Pedrick, "Supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 112 [1982] 125–40, esp. 139ff). Létoublon (in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 128) finds in the structure of repeated speeches emanating from Zeus an "accord symphonique" in which "on est transporté soudain dans le 'meilleur des mondes,' et la volonté des hommes est en accord parfait avec les desseins de la providence." But Thetis' revision of Zeus' wish of 116 (*ai ken pos*) to the more peremptory tone at 137 (*all' age de lyson*), which Létoublon finds merely paradoxical (130f and n.15), perhaps indicates Thetis' fear that Achilleus may resist Zeus' milder approach; indeed, during Priam's visit to Achilleus, it seems at several points clear that the reconciliation between the choleric protagonists may miscarry. That it does not gives the book a substance that mechanical submission to higher authority would nullify.

10. Macleod, *Homer, Iliad, ad* 24.98: "98–99 are deliberately worded like 83–84, to contrast the happy gods and the mourning Thetis." Detienne/Vernant,

CunIn, argue (158) that Thetis would not be in mourning before the death of her son, and that the darkness of the veil simply refers to her status as goddess of the conventionally "dark" sea; without contesting the latter, one need only point out that Thetis has been in mourning—symbolic and proleptic—since Book 18 (above, Book 18 n.3).

11. Nagler, *ST* 184f; cf. R. J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Amsterdam 1979) 136 n.45, citing F. Robert, *Homère* (Paris 1950) 200–204; Whitman, *HHT* 217f; W. Nethercut, "The Epic Journey of Achilles," *Ramus* 5 (1976) 1–17, esp.5f, who adds the effect of *taphon*, describing Priam's consternation at 360 ("dumbfounded," but also reminiscent of *taphos*, "burial" or "funeral"); Segal, *Mutilation* 66; Beck, *Stellung* 221f n.4; Frame, *MR* 153ff.

12. Cf. Macleod *ad* 360. The location of Achilleus in the realm of the dead is of course consistent with the association of Achilleus' death with Patroklos' in Book 18.

13. The latter noted by Whitman, *HHT* 217.

14. Frame (above, n.11) views the episode as a demonstration of the linguistic connection between *noos* (cf. 354, 358, 367, 377) and *nostos* ("return"), and the implied need to possess the one to achieve the other. Whatever the etymological reflex at work here, the practical function of Hermes' encounter with Priam is not simply to assure safe conveyance into Achilleus' encampment (and return from it unscathed) but to prepare the mind and heart of the old man by reassuring him about Hektor's condition (414ff), by stressing—even if ironically—the stature of his adversary (384, 435ff), and, most important, by confirming Priam's feeling for the bond between parent and child (cf. the ring enclosing Hermes' initial greeting at 362/371; and 377, 387, 397ff), even among one's enemies, on which his appeal will be based (466f).

15. Cf. Hades' epithet *pylartes* ("gate-keeper" or "-closer") at 8.367 and 13.415.

16. Nagler, *ST* 185.

17. On Herakles' confrontation of Hades allusively recalled by Diomedes at 5.395ff, cf. W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 86; further references in Lowenstam, *DP* 43 n.29.

18. So Macleod, *Homer, Iliad*, *ad* 24.448–56 etc.

19. Cf. M. O. Knox, "Huts and Farm Buildings in Homer," *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971) 27–31, esp. 13; also A.J.B. Wace in Wace and Stubbings, eds., *CH* 487ff. Lorimer, *HaM* 416, on the basis of a similar inconsistency at *Od.* 4.297 and 302, accepts the poet's confusion of *aithousa* and *prodomos*; S. Hiller, "Die Aithusa bei Homer," *WS* 83 (1970) 14–27, offers a somewhat tortuous reconciliation of the two terms.

20. Or so I take 596–98 ("So spoke godlike Achilleus and returned again to the hut and sat on the richly decorated *klismos* from which he had risen, on the wall opposite (the entry)," accepting with Leaf the confusion (if not equivalence) of *klismos* (597) and *thronos* (515, 522, 553) along with that of *prodomos* and *aithousa*, and despite the appealing argument of R. M. Frazer, "The κλισμός of Achilles, *Iliad* 25.596–98," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 295–301, that the *klismos* and *thronos* must be kept separate (as at *Od.* 1.130ff and 145); that *toichou tou heterou* at 597f simply indicates that Achilleus "sat down on the side opposite

from where he had risen;" and that Achilleus offers his own *thronos* to Priam at 515 in careful adherence to traditional Homeric hospitality. But cf. G. W. Houston, "*ΘΡΟΝΟΣ, ΔΙΦΡΟΣ*, and Odysseus' Change from Beggar to Avenger," *CP* 70 (1975) 212–14, esp. n.22, who argues that at 11.623 Nestor's seat is called a *klismos*, at 645 a *thronos* (under the more ceremonious circumstances of welcoming Patroklos); the emphasis and the confusion parallel that in 24. M. W. Edwards, "Type-Scenes and Homeric Hospitality,"*TAPA* 106 (1975) 69ff, suggests that *enthen aneste* ("whence he had risen") is an unreconciled relic of an unexpressed element of Achilleus' earlier gesture of relinquishing the *thronos* for a *klismos* in honor of Priam's arrival. Despite the issue Achilleus has made of the *thronos*, we are not told when, where, or if Priam sits: 571 is unspecific. Moreover, the emphasis in 597 on the rich decoration of the *klismos* (*en klismoi polydaidaloi*, cf. *Od.* 1.130f, *thronon . . . kalon daidaleon*, and 132, *klismon . . . poikilon*) does not suggest the austerity of an inferior seat. Part of the difficulty here may be attributable to the poet's reluctance to allow Priam to occupy Achilleus' place in the mythical setting of a *katabasis*; and it is equally clear that the poet is avoiding, for the sake of scenic detail, the perfectly clear language available for the occasion in Homeric diction found at *Od.* 18.157, *aps d' autis kat' ar' hezet' epi thronou enthen aneste* ("he resumed his seat on the *thronos* whence he had risen"). See below for the emphasis on the *thronos* as a reflex of Hera's forced resumption of her *thronos* in Book 1. Priam is presumably seated for the ensuing meal, in which Achilleus first establishes community outside his own "interest group" (see above, n.5), not with his fellow-Achaians but with Priam. For the ritual implications of Priam's initial refusal to sit, see Foley, *ImArt* 182ff. His sensitive development of the importance of the meal at 24.625ff need not require that Achilleus come to it fasting (see 180 n.91 and 185 n.182; cf. n.32 below): In a narrative with the complexity of our poet's, we cannot expect every pattern to be pursued with relentless fidelity.

21. On the description of Achilleus' tone as *epikertomeon*, cf. Macleod, *Homer, Iliad, ad* 649; for difficulties, compounded by the notion that Achilleus has reached a perfect reconciliation with Agamemnon, see J. T. Hooker, "A Residual Problem in *Iliad* 24," CQ N.S. 36 (1986) 32–37.

22. Beck, *Stellung* 224–30, vigorously defends the interpretation of the simile (not in conflict with its relation to the mythic *katabasis*) as a means of evoking Menoitios' plea that Patroklos be given refuge in Peleus' house (23.85–90), thus providing a basis for Achilleus' sympathetic response to Priam. There is, as Beck notes, a further evocation here of the similar situation of Phoinix at 9.478ff.

23. Cf. Macleod, *Homer, Iliad, ad* 483 and 629. None of this need be taken as proof of the notion that the heroic figure of Achilleus is based on his preexistent role as a god of the underworld, for which see G. F. Pinney, "Achilles Lord of Scythia," in Moon, ed., *AGAI* 144 n.64.

24. See Macleod, *Homer, Iliad, ad* 587f, citing 21.123f and 22.352ff; cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 65, 45; and Foley, *ImArt* 84f. For Achilleus' actual consciousness of a maternal role toward Patroklos, cf. 16.7ff. Because the gods have protected and cleansed Hektor's body (as Hermes tells Priam at 418–21), the washing is hardly necessary to prevent Priam from seeing it "in its present state" (as

Adkins, "Values" 318, maintains): The significance of the gesture is primarily ritual, and its importance psychological and symbolic. On the bathing motif here and earlier, cf. Nagler, *ST* 179f and 193; Achilleus "releases" Hektor—and thus Patroklos and himself—to death, figured in the balancing scene of Thetis mourning in her cave in the depths of the sea. Rather differently, R. Finlay, "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus," *CW* 73 (1980) 267–73, maintains that Achilleus views Patroklos as a father figure, but that in burying Patroklos he is forced to reverse the role (a process already briefly attempted at 16.7ff) and is thus able to respond with compassion to Priam, whom he associates with Peleus—an argument that, among other things, involves but need not require the assumption that Achilleus has returned to "human community in the name of the values represented and handed on by its fathers" (273).

25. The importance of this journey is evident in the poet's elaboration of the departure: a relatively simple scenic type, applied now for the first time to a mortal, has been extended with such detail and addition of untypical material (the selection of the ransom, rebuke of surviving sons, lament for Hektor) as to occupy virtually an entire section; cf. Arend, *TS* 88f, and Krischer, *FK* 143f.

26. Michel, *Erläuterungen* 35 n.22, argues for the equivalence of the *skepanion* here and the more usual *skeptron*, adducing the scholia and Eustathius; so also Mondi, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 209, on linguistic considerations. Cf. above, Book 1, n.13.

27. For a survey of parallels observed both before and after the work of Sheppard and Peters, cf. Beck, *Stellung* 53–65; see also Létoublon ("Le Messager Fidèle," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 137–42) for comparison of the language in the encounters of Chryses and Agamemnon and of Priam and Achilleus; cf. also Lynn-George, *Epos* 230–50.

28. Cf. *theoeides* ("godlike"), applied elsewhere to Menelaos and others, never to Agamemnon, and in 24 to Priam at balancing passages at 552 and 634. For a different view, see Foley, *ImArt* 144.

29. Latacz ("Zeus' Reise zu den Aithiopen," 77ff) emphasizes a connection between Zeus' twelve-day absence from Olympos in Book 1 and the equivalent period that will elapse before the resumption of battle at the conclusion of 24, citing Willcock (*Commentary*, 1.425): "The interval of twelve days . . . also has the strange effect of isolating the action of the *Iliad* from the continuity of the Trojan War, especially as there is a similar interval of twelve days at the end of the *Iliad* . . . ." Latacz sees the delay in Book 1 as a reflex of that in 24, and evidence for a sense of unity that bespeaks a late phase of oral composition. One might equally argue that the choice of the "magisch-fixierende Wirkung der zwei ‚Zwölf-Tage-Barrier'" to frame the poem is an allusion to its twenty-four compositional units.

30. Cf. Moulton, *SHP* 114.

31. A bitterness of which Thetis has made Achilleus well aware, to judge from 18.85.

32. See Foley, *ImArt* 180 and n.91, who seems to omit this meal. I would agree that this and the ensuing meal (at 24.475ff) do not "interfere with the overall and immanent meaning of the Feast with Priam."

Chapter Five
Structure and the Homeric Question

1. I hesitate to list, as an example of prevailing opinion, J. B. Hainsworth, *The Idea of Epic* (Berkeley 1991) 11–42. Among earlier readings, Whitman's (*HHT*) is most sympathetic, though its deconstructive effect is a result less of his formal analysis, as H. Bloom (*Homer's The Odyssey* [New Haven 1986] x) seems to imply, than of his exploration of character and drama. And I find myself in agreement with Nicolai's more recent arguments (below, nn.77, 113) that the critical element in the poem is intentional and indeed programmatic.

2. On evidence of dictation, based on apparent mishearings, see G. P. Goold, "Homer and the Alphabet," esp. 281f. Alternate scenarios are possible: See ibid., 282 n.20; for controversy over a literate Homer, see above, Chapter I, n.80.

3. This view, descended from Josephus via Hédelin (*Conjectures académiques*, 1664/1715) and Vico (*La scienza nuova*, 1730), and elaborated in Romantic theories of originality and racial temper, has in various forms remained a matter of dogma for philologists no less than theoreticians, e.g., A. Parry, "Language of Achilles," and E. A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1963), esp. 87–96 (cf. Chapter I, n.113, and H. Lloyd-Jones, "Remarks on the Homeric Question," in Lloyd-Jones et al., eds., *History and Imagination* [London 1981] 15–29 [=Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy* (Oxford 1990) 3–20]; Finnegan, *OP*, esp. 30–41); it is given a structuralist turn in Svenbro, *PM*, and appears to survive in the current preoccupation with "Panhellenism" in early Greek poetry. For an articulate restatement, from an oralist point of view, of the problems that arise in locating "Homer" within his tradition, see S. Nimis, "The Language of Achilles." We return below to more recent arguments that place the poem in a variety of ideological contexts, among them I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer," *ClAn* 5 (1986) 81–138, esp. 121ff, who maintains that the Homeric vision of the heroic world was given textual form in an effort to "legitimize a desired structure of social dominance in the eighth-century world" (125).

4. For vigorous criticism of the views of archaic Greek literary history advanced by H. Fränkel and Bruno Snell, see R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* (=*Phoenix*, Suppl. 21 [Toronto 1987]) 1–13, 53–63; cf. C. J. Rowe, " 'Archaic' Thought in Hesiod," *JHS* 103 (1983) 124–35; and G. Nagy, *PH*, passim. On the Hegelian model of Snell's views, see MacCary, *CA* 1–15 (cf. P. Pucci, "Epifanie testuali" 181), who reasonably prefers for Fränkel a "Heideggerian context" (14); cf., on the Hegelian assimilation of language and culture, H. White, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore 1987) 189f, and, on Snell's view of the Homeric concept of the human body, Knox, "The Human Figure in Homer."

5. On the notion of "distancing" to describe Homer's relationship to his material, cf. W. Kullmann's qualified adaptation of Brecht's "Verfremdungseffekt" in *QdI* 384 and n.2; see also A. Lebeck, "The Central Myth of Plato's *Phaedrus*," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 267–90, esp. 280 and n.40. W. W. Holdheim, *The Hermeneutic Mode* (Ithaca 1984) 173–81, finds in Whitman's use of the distinction between discursive and presentational symbolism (*HHT* 106f) a parallel to the concept of poetic "estrangement" formulated by Victor Shklovsky; he suggests that the theo-

retical difficulties inherent in the latter can be resolved for the Homeric formula by assuming (with Whitman) that the transformation of language required for this estrangement has already taken place "within the collectivity, so that the singer need not redo the job" (180). Holdheim's comment that "it still takes a singer like Homer to structure his formulaic building blocks in such a way that their potential poetry is released from the bonds of mere technical functionality" merely leaves the issue in theoretical suspension with limited critical and descriptive force. We shall be concerned here with two aspects—linguistic and formal—of functional distancing in the *Iliad*. The one comprises the poet's relationship to his inherited medium of epic language and to the world of his characters; the other affects the audience's relationship, through its generic expectations, to the poem in performance. For the rather different role of "epic distance" as coloration in recent oral theory, see Section 5 below.

6. Epic reflections in Archilochus are discussed by Fowler (above, n.4) 16–33, 40ff; as an unrepentant sceptic, I omit the otherwise relevant Cologne Epode, with its evocation of the *Deception of Zeus*; for Sappho 44 and Stesichorus, see Fowler 47 and 35ff; cf. A. Stewart, "Stesichorus and the François Vase," in W. G. Moon, ed., *AGAI* 53–74, with Haslam's reservations in "Kleitias, Stesichoros and the Jar of Dionysus"; for speculation on the competitive reaction of the Homeric tradition to the Stesichorean, W. Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu 1987) 43–62. For Proclus' summary of the *Aithiopis*, see T. W. Allen, ed., *Homeri Opera* V 105f; cf. the discussions of J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977) 39–53, esp. 42 (which nevertheless overstates a principle of propriety evident in the *Iliad*); F. Solmsen, "Pindar on the Islands of the Blessed," *AJP* 103 (1982) 19–24; G. F. Pinney, "Achilles Lord of Scythia," in Moon (above) 127–46, esp. 133ff; and A. T. Edwards, "Achilles in the Underworld," 215–27.

7. For the book titles, see Section 5 below. In the pseudo-Plutarchan *Life of Homer* (2.4) Aristarchus' circle is credited with the book division; but although Aristarchus held that the *Odyssey* ended at 23.296, he continued to treat the rest of the text with his usual method of indicating spurious lines. Kirk, *Commentary* I 41, nevertheless repeats the common view that the "division . . . is mainly a matter of editorial convenience." Cf. his more cautious statement in *SH* 305f; similarly Cauer, *Grundfragen* 579–84. For the book numbers and on Wilamowitz's view that Zenodotus, rather than Aristarchus, was responsible for the divisions (*Homerische Untersuchungen* [Berlin 1884] 369, *IuH* 32), see Goold (above, n.2: 388f, and "The Nature of Homeric Composition," esp. 26–30); and S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri* 11–28, esp. 18ff; cf. Heubeck et al., eds., *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey I [Oxford 1988] 33–48), who agree that the divisions are pre-Aristarchan; a negative vote is cast by K. Alpers, *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 116f. A "relatively ancient" Orphic fragment (356 Kern, variously attributed to Orpheus, Musaeus, or the Pythia: M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* [Oxford 1983] 232f) describes the hexameter as "straight, in six parts, of four and twenty measures [*metra*, or *morae*]." Although it is perhaps tempting to see here a model for the twenty-four books of our hexameter *Iliad*, the parallel would imply nothing

for dating the division either early or late; the early first-century B.C. arrangement of the Rhapsodic Theogony into 24 "rhapsodies" appears to have been influenced by the Homeric divisions (so West 250f, 262) rather than number symbolism.

8. Earlier critics view the prefaces as evidence of rhapsodic interpolation: Cf. Wilamowitz, *IuH* 94 n.1, 157, 281; Drerup, *HP* I 434f; and, more recently, the detailed if inconclusive discussion of G. Broccia, *La forma poetica dell' Iliade* (Messina 1967).

9. *Paratactische Compositie in de oudste Grieksche Literatuur* (Amsterdam 1937) 43. For Apollonius' imitation of these "recapitulatory summaries" in book-divisions of *Argonautica*, see M. Campbell, "Apollonian and Homeric Book Division," *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 36 (1983) 154–56 (cf. D. P. Fowler, "First Thoughts on Closure," *Materiali e discussioni* no.22 [1989] 104 n.111): testimony not so much to an Alexandrian date for the divisions as to a sense that this is traditional epic usage.

10. Double-*hos* statements are rare within books. For 6.311f, see below on 22/23. At 15.365/367, the first *hos* appears in a direct address to Apollo, the second applies to the Greeks besieged at the ships. At 17.424 the *hos*-statement follows *three* previous *hos*-statements (at 414 [*hode*], 420, 423) describing the fight over Patroklos' corpse. Clearly such usage is reserved to describe situations of unusual finality quite different from those covered by the single transitional *hos*-résumé, as in *hos hoi men marnanto demas pyros aithomenoio* at 11.596 and 13. 673.

11. In Janko's view (in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV *ad* 15.592–746 and 262–40), 15.355–404 corresponds to 15.653–16.125 (the appropriate point for the book-division); but in neither case is the transition to the ensuing narrative so strongly marked as the passage from 15 to 16 as we have it.

12. Drerup, *HP* I 424, notes a link between the *entha ken ouketi* of 4.539 and *enth' au* at 5.1. For Latacz, *KKK* 88 n.28, "hier hat ein Einzelner in offenbar immer wieder neuen Anläufen ein alte Geschichte immer reicher, klarer, überzeugender, kurzum: besser zu erzählen versucht."

13. Broccia (above, n.8: 66) finds in the concluding phrase *pausato d' haima* a formal *explicit*; but because the point of view is not shifted to a more generalized perspective, as in the parallels he cites (5.907ff, 17.761), I prefer to take it as a symbolic rather than narrative (or merely medical) closure, as discussed below, n.18.

14. Cf. Goold (above, n.7 [1977]: 27), whose argument for a "thematic" and original tendency to night/dawn divisions in the *Iliad* is skewed by his inclusion of Books 1, 8, and 9, which are not followed by dawn, and 19 and 24, where dawn is treated in an exceptional and artificial way. (On the variation in formulae for dawn, see Book 2 n.8 and the discussion below.) Goold does note usefully (28) that there is no break in the action when dawn rises within a book. In the *Odyssey* a retrospective *hos*-introduction occurs twice only, at the beginnings of Books 6 and 7; otherwise, the rhythm of travel and respite from it prevails, within and between books; we find a sequence of night and dawn at half the breaks, and continuous narrative (without summaries) is divided seven times. Cf. the comments of J. Van Sickle, "Dawn and dusk as motifs of opening or closure, in heroic

and bucolic epos (Homer, Apollonius, Theocritus, Virgil)," *Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio* (Milan 1984) I 125–47, esp. 126–31, and A. P. Radin, "Sunrise, Sunset: ἦμος in Homeric Epic," *AJP* 109 (1988) 293–307, esp. 294 and n.4.

15. Cf. Broccia, *La forma poetica* 42.

16. E.g. J. A. Russo, "Homer Against His Tradition," *Arion* 7 (1968) 275–95, esp. 286f; cf. J. Peradotto, "Originality and Intentionality," in Bowersock et al., eds., *Arktouros* 3–11, esp. 8ff. The argument is not free of difficulties in terms of conventional chronology, as in the contrast between the elaborate simile of Hera's flight, quick as the thoughts of a traveler, at 15.80ff and the simpler comparisons at *Od.* 7.36 (*hos ei pteron ee noema*) and *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 186 (*hos te noema*).

17. On the Panathenaic Rule and its implementation, see J. A. Davison, "Peisistratus and Homer," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 1–21, esp. 7ff, with further thoughts and reservations in "Notes on the Panathenaea," *JHS* 78 (1958) 23–42, and "Addenda to 'Notes on the Panathenaea,'" 82 (1962) 141f (=*From Archilochus to Pindar* [London 1968] 28–69); Mazon, *Introduction* 253; Broccia, *La forma poetica* 12ff; Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 8. The question whether these divisions reflect a collaborative effort of rhapsodes or the work of a single composer Broccia (66) regards as unanswerable.

18. On occasion even more conventional divisions suggest manipulation for particular effect. The staunching of Eurypylos' wound at 11/12 (—/R-*hos*, I) is simply stated and effectively answers the rain of blood at 53f. It is followed at the beginning of 12 by a *hos . . . de* statement that introduces the digression on the fate of the wall, which is itself answered motivically by Hektor smashing the gate at 445ff. Here, omission of one résumé isolates the gesture of healing (and emphasizes its connection with the earlier rain of blood), and the inclusion of the other serves to link the theme of healing with the wall—a sequence that creates a symbolic anticipation of Patroklos' impending role in the Greek recovery. In 21/22 (Rc/R-*hos*, I), on the other hand, both résumés appear, with the effect of slowing the action, perhaps to give weight to the ensuing thematic statement of heroic deception, where again a programmatic episode orients the hearer to a perspective appropriate to the narrative to come. For a somewhat similar use of closure withheld to evoke interpretive response in Achilles Tatius, see S. Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel* (Princeton 1989) 124; perhaps the most effective and enduringly problematic example remains the end of *Aeneid* 12. A similar manipulation of formal expectation is evident in the François vase (discussed and illustrated in Stewart, above, n.6; see also Chapter I, n.29), where the major frieze provides an apparent model of reading the decoration in a continuous band around the shoulder; but the viewer finds that this does not so obviously apply to the discontinuous friezes above and below it on either side and must make his own connections between the themes they present. For discussion in psychological terms of the way in which perception is alerted by the contrast between order and disorder, see E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order*[2] (Ithaca 1984), esp. 6.

19. Cf. the similar ring-compositional breakdown (also in connection with Agamemnon) in the *Epipolesis* of Book 4.

20. Above, Chapter I.6.

21. Wade-Gery, *PI* 15f; he does not, however, consider 10 genuine (70 n.43).

22. Davison, "Thucydides, Homer and the 'Achaean Wall,'" *GRBS* 6 (1965) 5–28, esp. 23ff, includes the *Doloneia*, maintaining that if 10 is an "afterthought," "it must, in my judgement, have superseded something of about the same length and of not altogether dissimilar content" (27).

23. Thornton, *HI* 46–63.

24. *Commentary* I 44ff.

25. Ibid., I 46.

26. Kakridis, *HomRes* 65–75; see, however, Dihle, *H-P* 20ff, and below, n.158. A similar technique of diversion is found in the sudden suspension of the *Theomachy* of Book 20, which, as we shall argue below, can be attributed to the same stage of narrative reorganization.

27. See A. Bonnafé, "Quelques remarques à propos des comparaisons homériques de l'*Iliade*," *RevPhil* 57 (1983) 79–97; Figure 1 is adapted from p.82.

28. Kirk, *SH* 276f; Wade-Gery, *PI* 18; cf. G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford 1934) 191f, and the comments of Gentili, *PaP* 51.

29. Cf. Davison, "The Homeric Question," in Stubbings and Wace, eds., *CH* 264 n.58. For recent discussion of the poetic issues involved in the songs of the bard at *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 169–76, see A. M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi* (=*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 93 [Leiden 1981]) 62–65, Burkert (above, n.6) 53ff, and J. Strauss Clay, *The Politics of Olympus* (Princeton 1989) 47–53, who excludes rhapsodic contests from the Delian festival. Burkert, "The Making of Homer," and Janko (below, n.31: 109–14; further discussion listed by Burkert, "Homer," 60 n.61) maintain in fact that the hymn was not composed for Delos but for Polycrates' Delian-Pythian festival of 522.

30. A review of the issue, with bibliography, may be found in M. Skafte Jensen, *The Homeric Question* (Copenhagen 1980) 128–71.

31. Kirk, *Commentary* I 7–10 provides a summary of the evidence, maintaining an eighth-century terminus; cf. R. Sealey, "From Phemios to Ion," 312–51, esp. 330ff, and S. West in Heubeck et al., eds., *Commentary* I 33f. For recent controversial surveys of the epigraphical testimony, see R. Bellamy, "Bellerophon's Tablet," *CJ* 84 (1989) 289–307, esp. 295ff, and the more compendious B. B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge 1991; cf. J. T. Hooker's reaction in *TLS*, 14 June 1991: 29). For a methodological objection to R. Janko's omission of lexical considerations in his linguistic argument that places the *Iliad* between 750–735 B.C. (*Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* [Cambridge 1982], esp. 200; cf. "The *Iliad* and Its Editors," *ClAn* 9 [1990] 324–34, esp. 328ff), see Danek, *SD* 41–47. It is worth noting here that one at least of Janko's criteria for "lateness"—the tendency to replace *Διός* with *Ζηνός* as the genitive of *Ζεύς*—is most apparent in books that we argue below are largely post-Homeric (13–16, with a particular clustering in the arguably "literary" 14), while the preservation of the genitive in *-οιο* partly contradicts and partly confirms this pattern; on the other hand, the percentage of neglect of *digamma* as a metrical consideration is lowest in 22 and (again) 14—books that betray considerable traces of revision. The single model of linguistic change may not, in effect, be adequate to account for the evidence in different parts of the poem and of individual books. Argument on the archaeological side has turned on the intro-

duction of hoplite tactics (fighting in formation with a round shield, identified in the *Iliad* alongside the use of a larger body-shield for single combat) and the mention of Gorgon heads as a shield device (11.36), in 5.741 as one of the elements represented on Athena's aegis, and in the simile at 8.349 describing Hektor with "eyes of Gorgo or of Ares." For discussion of the shields, see A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (Berkeley 1980) 99ff; and for the continuing debate on Homeric battles, H. van Wees, "Kings in Combat," *CQ* N.S. 38 (1988) 1–24, and Singor, "Nine Against Troy." As to the Gorgons, it is quite a jump from the impish heads that are claimed to represent eighth-century Gorgoneia to the fanged, snake-haired visages with protruding tongue, found as apotropaic devices on archaic temples and in representations of Athena's aegis in sixth-century sculpture and vase-painting (to which the description of the monstrous Gorgon head at 5.741 seems to refer; cf. *Od.* 11.634); at an intermediate stage, on an amphora by the Nessos Painter (ca. 650 B.C.: Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black Figure* [Berkeley 1951] 14f), the pumpkin heads of Medusa and her sister Gorgons appear to represent an attempt to depict beings for which the painter knows no iconographic scheme. An eighth-century date seems neither certain nor comfortable for Gorgons as assimilated (ab)norms, much less as shield devices. The poem's relative exclusion of *Realien* from the period after ca. 680 need not, however, indicate that the text was fixed by this time, but rather, that an antiquarian attitude had come at some point to dominate the tradition. Although such antiquarianism can be an unconcious manifestation of a continuing tradition (as Boardman, "Symbol and Story in Geometric Art," reminds us in Moon, ed., *AGAI* 15–36, esp. 31, 31), there are nevertheless indications of artificial suppressions (e.g., of riding horseback: See Snodgrass 69f and 98f; for comment on the exceptions in Book 10, see Haft, "The 'City-Sacker Odysseus,'" 54f and n.53) that indicate the presence in the poem of an intentional historicism.

32. See Davison (above, n.17) and, in response, Skafte Jensen (*HQ*, cited above, n.30). Among "late" features are the reference at 2.549 to a seated statue of Athena in her temple at Athens and the presentation of a *peplos* to Athena at 6.302f. Both are more suitable to a sixth-century context; the one could be regarded as an interpolation, the other is integral to the narrative thread. Cf. Sealey (above, n.31: 347) and Lorimer, *HaM* 447ff. Morris (above, n.3: 92) dismisses Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 167–71 without discussion.

33. Cf. Kirk, *SH* 193, *Commentary* I 6; Goold (above, n.2); Dihle, *H-P* 96; Sealey (above, n.31) 346f. Some of these Atticisms could be removed, others are metrically necessary. Although they do not prove that the text was created in Athens (we return to this issue below), their presence in eccentric manuscripts does suggest Athens as the point of diffusion of a version regarded as authoritative: See Mazon, *Introduction* 276ff; S. West in Heubeck et al., eds., *Commentary* I 39f. J. Chadwick, "The Descent of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 110 (1990) 174–77, esp. 175, further argues that the orthography required for the original text of the poem places it ca. 500 B.C., generally confirming a Hipparchan date.

34. Cf. Goold (above, n.7 [1977]) 34.

35. See J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985) 139f and 269 n.53.

36. Davison (above, n.22) 23ff. My figures presented here, based on Allen's text, differ from Davison's in his groups 2, 3, and 5 by a total of ten lines, which

is insignificant for the present purpose. Although Burkert ("The Making of Homer," 49f) accepts the tradition that our text is derived from that adopted for use at the Panathenaea, he flatly denies that there would be time for a recitation of the entire *Iliad* during a four-day festival. But J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975) 34 (cited by Burkert, ibid.) and 199, maintains that the Panathenaea "usually included Hekatombaion 23–30"; and Burkert's estimate of thirty to forty hours for the time required for such a recitation seems excessive. It remains uncertain, however, just how the two Homeric poems were accommodated into the schedule. For the sake of providing an incentive—and a livelihood—for the rhapsodes, it seems reasonable to suppose a yearly alternation at the "lesser" Panathenaea, rather than restrict performance to the quadrennial "greater" festival (for the distinction between the two, see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* [Berlin 1932] 23ff).

37. The story of the dowry is apparent also in Pindar frs. 264 and 265: See E. Fitch, "Pindar and Homer," *CP* 19 (1924) 57–65, esp. 60ff; but cf. Nisetich (below, n.44) 73 n.2. Goold ("Homer and the Alphabet," 287 n.36) suggests that Stasinus—to whom the *Cypria* is generally attributed—was Homer's amanuensis. On similar literary "bequests," see T. W. Allen, *Origins* 47f. For the case against the reliability of the tradition reported in Cic. *De orat.* 3.34.137 (and the similar *Anth.Pal.* 11.442.3f), see Davison (above, n.17) 18ff, who argues that the Pisistratean recension is a first-century invention of Pergamene scholars intended to deprive the Alexandrian text of its authority, and that "the version of the Homeric poems which was adopted as the standard text for the Panathenaea (perhaps between 530 and 520 B.C.) was already in writing when it first reached Athens"; cf., however, the comments of Dihle, *H-P* 105ff, and Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 128ff.

38. Cf. Wade-Gery (above, n.21) and Havelock (below, n.109: 180); Sealey (above, n.31: 349) argues that no more than titles were needed to enforce the Panathenaic Rule.

39. Fowler, *Early Greek Lyric* 33.

40. Ibid., 26.

41. Ibid., 31ff; see also Gentili, *PaP* 59; R. Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy* (New York 1990) 1–20; and Powell (above, n.31) 246ff.

42. Fowler, ibid., 36ff; cf. M. L. West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108 (1988) 151–72, esp. 151n.5.

43. Fowler, ibid., 36f. But cf. L. Rissman, *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 157 [Königstein/Ts. 1983]) 1–29, esp. 18 and n.57.

44. Cf. the emergence of Homer as a historical figure in the poetry of Pindar, where the impact is a function less of a greater preserved corpus than of character: See the discussion by F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* (=*AJP Monographs* 4 [Baltimore 1989]). In addition to Pisistratus, both Lycurgus and Solon are said to have secured Homeric texts, and a "Panathenaic Rule" is also attributed to Solon. There seems to be general agreement that the attribution to Lycurgus is a result of anti-Athenian Spartan propaganda (Sealey [above, n.31] 327; Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* [Oxford 1961; 1990] 20; *contra*, apparently, Nagy, *PH* 23), and that to Solon typical of false attributions to lawgivers (Davison, "Thucydides, Homer," 9f; Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 136–42). Solon is also associated with

Thespis (Plut. *Sol.* 29.6f), duplicating Pisistratus' reported encouragement of his dramatic innovations. But in view of the traditional date for Thespis' death (ca. 534), his career is associated more probably with Pisistratus than with Solon. The tendency to shift such attributions away from Pisistratus and his sons doubtless reflects a democratic reluctance to acknowledge the cultural legacy of their tyranny. Pfeiffer (*HCS* 8), among others, accepts the association of the Panathenaic Rule with Pisistratus. Burkert, "The Making of Homer," asserts that quotations from our *Iliad* in Stesichorus (†ca. 556) establish a *terminus ante quem* for our *Iliad*. But see Fowler, *Early Greek Lyric* 35ff. If specific textual allusion is involved, it is equally possible that our text may reflect Stesichorus in a preemptive fashion parallel to its use of elements from the Epic Cycle (see below, n.158).

45. *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2390 fr. *c*; cf. T.B.L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature, 700–530* B.C. (New York 1960) 86; Detienne/Vernant, *CunIn* 140–57; L. M. Slatkin, "The Wrath of Thetis," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 1–24, esp. 13ff; G. Most, "Alcman's 'Cosmogonic' Fragment," *CQ* N.S. 37 (1987) 1–19. A similar development toward allegorical cosmology is evident in Pherecydes of Syros (fl. 544/40): See M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971) 1–75; cf. Pfeiffer, *HCS* 10, with the reservations of H. S. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* (Oxford 1990) 56 n.12 and 99f n.54.

46. See Pfeiffer, *HCS* 9ff, and Whitman, *Allegory* 20ff. R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* 31ff, accepts the view that, as a grammarian, Theagenes did not originate allegorical criticism but simply used current Pythagorean interpretations in what is said (by a scholiast to Porphyry's *De nympharum antro*) to have been the first work on Homer. Svenbro, *PM* 118f, suggests that Theagenes systematically extended Pythagoras' interpretation of select passages of Homer. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, 9, argues that Theagenes confined his attention to the allegorical significance of the names of the gods.

47. Further discussion of Xenophanes' relationship to the Homeric tradition in Pfeiffer, *HCS* 8f, and Svenbro, *PM* 77–107. It seems unnecessary to infer from B10 D.–K. that Xenophanes knew our *Iliad*; he may simply refer to a tradition of recitation, not of documentary stability.

48. See the résumé of discussion, with bibliography, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] Plates I (Cambridge 1977) 294 n.378. B. Powell, "Why Was the Greek Alphabet Invented?" *ClAn* 8 (1989) 338ff, asserts, despite his admission that the language is "not particularly Homeric," that the scribe understood the description of Nestor's jumbo cup at 11.632–37 as a parody (see further Powell [above, n.31] 163–66, 208f). In view of the lack of any further connection between the two texts, it is more likely that the one element they share—a reference to Nestor's sympotic stamina—points to a traditional joke, perhaps proverbial, at Nestor's expense, which is reflected in but not confined to our *Iliad*. The cup cannot in any case reasonably be used to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the poem as we have it. (One would of course be given serious pause if the Ischia cup boasted four handles, each decorated with twin ringdoves, as at 11.633ff—especially because a well-known Mycenaean example [see Leaf and Bayfield I 519] has only two of each.)

49. In a fragment of a dinos by Sophilos, the caption *The [Funeral] Games of Patroklos* appears above a vigorously cheering crowd seated on what appear to be bleachers; Achilleus' name is clear at the right, but at the left, where one might

expect Diomedes' name to be associated with the winning horse, there is only the beginning of another signature, perhaps *So[philos m' egrapsen]*: See Beazley, *DAB* 18. For the kantharos by Nearchos, see ibid. 40: Here the goddess standing beside Achilleus is not Thetis but perhaps a sister Nereid named Ch[loro]; the horses are given names not found at 19.400–403, though "Chaitos" would suit the long-maned Xanthos, and "Euthoias" would correspond to swift Podarges. A Corinthian pyxis signed by Chares (see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* [Oxford 1930] 135 n.8 and 322 no. 1296; D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* II [Berkeley 1988] 569f no. 57) depicts a cavalcade of Greeks and Trojans on horses miscellaneously named—among them Xanthos, Balios, and Podargos—though there is no indication that these are meant to be Achilleus' horses, and Amyx rejects the argument that the scene is "an echo of Homer" (indeed, of the list of "*Iliad*, illustrations of" Amyx provides in his index, none is altogether consistent with our poem).

50. For perhaps the most striking of these "illustrations," see n.1 to Book 13. Cf., in general, K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*[2] (Copenhagen 1967); K. Schefold, "Poésie homérique et art archaïque," *RevArch* N.S. 1 (1972) 2–22; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York 1974) 228f; Snodgrass (above, n.31) 70ff, and "Toward the Interpretation of the Geometric Figure-Scenes," *AM* 95 (1980) 51–58, esp. 52f; H. Kannicht, "Poetry and Art," *ClAn* 1 (1982) 70–86; C. Brillante, "Episodi iliadici nell' arte figurata," *RhM* N.F. 126 (1983) 97–125; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz 1989) 43–47, and "Old and New Heroes," *ClAn* 9 (1990) 114–48; and Burkert (above, n.6), esp. 46f, who makes the sweeping claim that by "about 580/70 . . . the whole of the *Iliad* appears to have been widely known"). Also Svenbro, *PM* 82, Davison (above, n.17) 13f, and (to be used with caution) Powell (above, n.31) 209–17. For Friis Johansen's identification of Amsterdam Inv. 1276 (=Amyx [above, n.49] 558 no. 10) as an illustration of *Il.* 7.263ff, see below, n.147.

51. So Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 121 in reply to Svenbro, *PM* 44f; cf. Dihle, *H-P* 95f; Sealey, "From Phemios to Ion," 348; Gentili, *PaP* 237f and n.17; Burkert (above, n.6) 45; and Nagy, *PH* 22 n.22, among others, for the suggestion that these recitations concerned the Theban rather than the Trojan cycle. The description of Argos' possessions at 2.559–68 is unlikely to have been the bone of contention in any case, for although it reflects seventh-century expansion under Pheidon, it appears to represent a later modification of the *Catalogue*: See Finkelberg, "Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*," 39.

52. See above, n.31, and further discussion below.

53. A. Lord, "Homer and Huso I," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 112; cf. his later statement in Stolz and Shannon, eds., *Oral Literature and the Formula* (Ann Arbor 1976) 175f.

54. Most recently: D. M. Shive, *Naming Achilles* (New York 1987); M. Lynn-George, *Epos* 55–81; N. J. Richardson, "The Individuality of Homer's Language," in Bremer et al., eds., *HBOP* 165–84. Bellamy (above, n.31) argues that the Homeric hexameter depends by its very nature on the alphabet and that the oral theory is, in effect, a "myth" (307). Among a growing body of investigations of particular formulae that question oralist assumptions, see, e.g., M. Finkelberg,

"A Note on Some Metrical Irregularities in Homer," *CP* 83 (1988) 206–11; R. Friedrich, "Is *Θεῶν ἔριδι* (*Il.* 1.8 and 20.66) a Formula?" *Hermes* 116 (1988) 46f; and E. D. Floyd, "Homer and the Life-Producing Earth," *CW* 82 (1989) 337–50. For contrary argument for formulaic modification within the tradition essentially as described by Parry, see W. M. Sale, "The Trojans, Statistics, and Milman Parry," *GRBS* 30 (1989) 341–410.

55. Cf. the general observations of D. Tannen, "The Myth of Orality and Literacy," in *Linguistics and Literacy*, ed. W. Frawley (New York 1982) 37–57; R. Finnegan, *OP* passim, esp. 69–72, and "What is Oral Literature Anyway?" in *Oral Literature and the Formula*, ed. Stolz and Shannon, 127–66, esp. 160ff; J. Goody, *The Interface between the written and the oral*, esp. 78–109; R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989), esp. 15–34; and W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1989), esp. 45–64. For the related issue of an oversimplified view of the transition from *mythos* to *logos* in archaic Greece, see G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolution in Wisdom* (Berkeley 1987) 1–108, esp. 70ff). Discussion continues, from various points of view, in M. Detienne, ed., *Les Savoirs de l'écriture en grèce ancienne* (=*Cahiers de philologie* 14 [Lille 1988]).

56. W. J. Ong, S.J., *Orality and Literacy* (London 1982) 37–57. An earlier comparison of oral and literary features may be found in W. Schadewaldt, *Aufbau* 26–38 (reprinted in *Homer: Tradition und Neuerung*, ed. J. Latacz [Darmstadt 1979] 529–39). Although it reflects a primitivist point of view by no means shared by all advocates of an oral Homer, Fr. Ong's outline is useful for discussion because it brings together claims made in a variety of quite different theoretical contexts; and it remains popular and in many quarters influential, despite a McLuhanesque exaggeration of the dichotomy between the spoken and printed word (a view that has been soberly questioned by Finnegan [*OP* 254–62; cf. Goody, above, n.55:261f] and denounced in another connection and tenor as historical "fetishism" by F. Jameson, *Marxism and Form* [Princeton 1971] 321f). Cf. the reservations of Lord, "Characteristics of Orality," *Oral Tradition* 2 (1987) 54–72, and of C. Higbie, *Measure and Music* (Oxford 1990) 79f, who registers discomfort with a set of traits that cannot be treated statistically.

57. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 37f. Lord (above, n.56: 55f) qualifies this description by adducing slight evidence of verbal subordination in South Slavic epic.

58. Again, as we noted above (Chapter I, n.21), the examples of ring-composition that Lord adduces from modern oral epic are rudimentary by comparison with those of the *Iliad*. Skafte Jensen's discussion (*HQ* 36–40) of the apparently quite general structure of the Mwindo epic does not appear to alter this picture.

59. Peabody, *WW* 168–236; cf. Book 18, n.1.

60. See the discussions cited in Chapter I, n.21, and Finnegan, *OP* 103ff, 127–33, on the dubious view that repetition, balance, and parallelism are defining characteristics of oral literature. Cf. the observations of Miller (above, n.29: ix–x, 9) on technical similarities between Pindar and the *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* and Fenik, *HN*, esp. 169: "The [ring-compositional] devices in question are natural literary tools, serving the stylization that belongs to all literature." For an instance of the conscious use of parataxis in contemporary exposition, cf. T. W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, tr. C. Lenhardt (London 1984), who rejects a "deductive-hierarchi-

cal" style (498) in favor of a "concentric" arrangement "such that the paratactical parts have the same weight and are arrayed around a center of gravity which they express through their constellation" (496). For an example of poetic organization in which a symmetrical structure accounts for an otherwise difficult sequence, consider Hart Crane's "To Brooklyn Bridge," where a series of parallel images and motifs, framed by dawn and nightfall, is forcefully divided by the metaphors of its central stanza ("Down Wall, from girder into street noon leaks,/ A rip-tooth of the sky's acetylene. . . . "). For ring-composition in a single sentence, cf., from the next-to-last paragraph of Thoreau's *Walden*, "Who knows what beautiful and winged life, whose egg has been buried for ages under many concentric layers of woodenness in the dead dry life of society, deposited at first in the alburnum of the green and living tree, which has been gradually converted into the semblance of its well-seasoned tomb,—heard perchance gnawing out now for years by the astonished family of man, as they sat round the festive board,—may unexpectedly come forth from admist society's most trivial and handselled furniture, to enjoy its perfect summer life at last!"

61. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 38f. Cf. Lord (above, n.56: 56f), who notes that the actual examples Ong cites are more applicible to "general communication" than to traditions of "oral traditional literature" but accepts the principle with the reservation that formulae are not meaningless but can function to express a permanent attribute or characteristic—a position we consider later.

62. Shive (above n.54: 99), in surveying the choice of epithets for Achilleus in a variety of metrical conditions not examined by Parry, maintains that in "distinguishing the appropriateness of a variety of phrases . . . Homer shows semantic sensitivity rather than deterministic convenience" in a manner associated with deliberate literary composition. Shive points out that at *Od.* 6.99 the usual formula for ending a meal is replaced by *autar epei sitou tarphthen dmoai te kai aute* ("When the attendants and she had enjoyed the meal"): "Sacrificing a familiar formula for this trivial circumstantial rendering is precisely what distinguishes unformulaic from formulaic poetry. In the same way, useful heroic formulae for Achilleus are disregarded and a variety of expressions take their places" (108). Sale (above, n.54) would regard such variants as consistent with Parry's concept of formula-systems. Foley, *TOE* 121–57, esp. 155ff, adduces the concept of a "spectrum of phraseology" to account for difference and change in oral practice; in *ImArt* (139–50) he distinguishes "generic" and "distinctive" epithets within the Homeric formula-system—categories inapplicable to other oral poetry (141f), that result from the special character of the Homeric tradition. But this opens limited space for hermeneutic negotiation: We "can no more afford to ignore their referential depths than we can pass off *podas okus Achilleus* as either a metrical convenience or an opportunity for a delicate literary maneuvre" (150). On the difficulty of accomodating within orthodox oral theory the "generative mechanisms" on which Hainsworth and others have based their work, see A. T. Edwards, "*ΚΛΕΟΣ ΑΦΘΙΤΟΝ* and Oral Theory," *CQ* N.S. 38 (1988) 28f, and *Achilles in the Odyssey* 2ff and n.3.

63. M. Pope, "A Nonce Word in the *Iliad*," *CQ* N.S. 35 (1985) 1–8, esp. 4; Richardson (above, n.54) esp. 166ff; cf. the tables in M. M. Kumpf, *Four Indices of the Homeric Hapax Legomena* (Hildesheim 1984). The rate of frequency is one

per seven+ to eighteen+ lines (omitting Book 2, with its wealth of unusual words in the *Catalogues*); the overall average is one per ten+ lines (the figures suggested by Goold ["The Nature of Homeric Composition," 31f] are a more conservative 1:15). Pope's figures of 20 percent for Ovidian *hapax legomena* and 15 percent for Vergilian ones doubtless reflect the decorous reluctance of Augustan writers to compound new words or admit many from the trades. Ennius would undoubtedly come close to—and perhaps exceed—Homer and Shakespeare in this respect. Sale (above, n.54) finds that the "formularity" of epithets for Homeric characters is ca. 70 percent and concludes that an oral poet was in fact expected to have the ability to compose non-formulaically. Similar statistics for formula-groups are provided by M. Finkelberg, "Formulaic and Nonformulaic Elements in Homer," *CP* 84 (1989) 179–87.

64. Fowler (above, n.4) 51f.

65. See Book 13, n.15, and Chart 3.9-A_2a_2; cf. also Book 4.461, 503, and 526b, where similar formulae for dying occur in each of the three central segments of section A_2, and 5.42 and 540, where the same death-formula ends corresponding sections of interlocking narrative.

66. Against formular quantity as a proof of orality, see Kirk, *HOT* 190. Goody (above, n.55: 99), noting that Homeric epic displays a greater formularity than do other incontestably oral traditions, goes so far as to suggest that the "'*tyrannie de la formule*' may resemble the tyranny of rhyme in later poetry, or of alliteration in early English verse. Might it be suggested that all these three, in their elaborated forms, were written developments of features found in oral works but not in the extent and consistency with which they are later used?"

67. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 39f. Lord (above, n.56: 57–62) would refer copious language to "ritual repetition"; but see above, Chapter I, n.102.

68. See Book 18, n.1.

69. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 41f. Cf. Lord (above, n.56: 62ff).

70. See W. M. Sale, "Homeric Olympus and Its Formulae," esp. 19 n.31: "The concept of Olympus-Ouranos is at the very least well on the way to evolving into the Parmenidean Realm of Being and Plato's World of Forms." The removal of the gods to a non-terrestrial home seems to have affected, among other things, certain expressions concerning their diet, noted by Kirk, ed., *Commentary* II 9–13, 96f *ad* 339–42; cf. 340 *ad* 548–52.

71. Cf. von Fritz, "*NOOΣ* and *NOEIN* in the Homeric Poems," *CP* 38 (1943) 79–93, esp. 92, citing for the gesture of nodding 1.514, 527; 8.175, 245; and for the effortless power of Zeus' irresistable *noos*, 8.143, 16.103 and 688ff (=17.176ff). 15.242, quoted above, differs from the last three passages in that the *noos* is here the active agent of Zeus' will, as in Xenophanes B25 D.-K.: *all' apaneuthe ponoio noou phreni panta kradainei.* In discussing their translation of this passage ("the god 'shakes all things by the active will proceeding from his insight'"), G. S. Kirk et al., *The Presocratic Philosophers*[2] (Cambridge 1983) 170f and n.3, compare for *noou phreni Il.* 9.600 (*noei phresi*) and 22.235 (*noeo phresi*) and, as a parallel to *kradainei*, 1.530 (where Zeus shakes Olympos with his nod), commenting that "Xenophanes' god is more Homeric (in a negative direction) than it seems." (For a somewhat different view, influenced by Snell, see S. M. Darcus, "The Phren of the Noos," *SymbOslo* 53 [1978] 25–39; cf., how-

ever, the criticisms of Snell's view of early Greek psychology noted below, n.88.) It may be that in this respect our poet's Zeus is more Xenophonean (in a positive direction) than is generally supposed: See also Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* 7 and n.5, and, in general, J. R. Warden, *JHI* 32 (1971) 3–14. The difficulty of easy categorization lies in the persistence of mythic representation in the narrative, as in 15.262, where, doubling the action of Zeus' *noos* at 242, Apollo is sent to "breathe" strength into Hektor. For a sculptural parallel of ca. 525 to this hybrid technique, see V. Brinkmann, "Die aufgemalten Namenbeischriften in Nord- und Ostfries des Siphnier-schatzhauses," *BCH* 109 (1985) 77–130, esp. 128ff, who adduces Aristotle's comments on Pherecydes' "mixture" of mythic and scientific causality (*Met.* 1091b4–10=D.-K. 7A7).

72. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 42f, a highly condensed summary of Havelock (above, n.3) 81 and 174f.

73. On this point and the restriction of Cheiron's role in the *Iliad*, see Griffin (above, n.6) 41. Curative spells survive in the generally more fabulous *Odyssey* in the healing of Autolykos' sons at 19.457f; cf. H. Tzavella-Evjen, "Homeric Medicine," in Hägg, ed., *GREC* 185–88; Peradotto, *MMV* 137, who contrasts *Il.* 4.210–19, 5.899–904, 11.828–48; and the more general discussion of Lloyd (above, n.55) 11–21. The case of didactic poetry—agricultural or philosophical, seventh-century or sixth—first reaches us in literary form and raises an issue of generic relationship distinct from that of orality in the *Iliad*.

74. The description so impressed Empedocles that he imitated 5.902f at B33 D.-K. (a connection accepted, among others, by Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 5.902ff, who emphasizes that the behavior of human blood provides the point of the Homeric comparison); Plutarch cites the Empedoclean version to even more abstract effect to describe the coalescing effect of friendships (*Mor.* 95A).

75. For a recent discussion, see C. H. Kahn, "Philosophy and the Written Word," in *Language and Thought in Early Greek Philosophy*, ed. K. Robb (La-Salle 1983) 110–24, esp. 112f. R. Ross Holloway, "Architect and Engineer in Archaic Greece," *HSCP* 73 (1969) 281–90, esp. 286, on the grounds that "one does not expect technical treatises in the early sixth century," argues that the *volumina* attributed to early architects by Vitruvius (7 Praef. 12) were simply *syngraphai*, or sets of specifications. The medium, in any case, would not have been oral verse; on *syngraphai*, see West (above, n.45) 5. Goody (above, n.55: 293ff) casts doubt on the notion that knowledge was preserved and transcribed through oral poetry: "Indeed the very notion of instruction does not seem altogether appropriate even in the case of agriculture. . . . Above all it is difficult to see Homer or Hesiod being memorized exactly (in such a way as to secure the accurate transmission of information) without the use of written aids." He quotes with approval the finding of I. M. L. Hunter, "Lengthy verbatim recall: the role of text," in A. Ellis, ed., *Progress in the Psychology of Language* I (London 1985) 20, that "the human accomplishment of lengthy verbatim recall arises as an adaptation to written text and does not arise in cultural settings where text is unknown."

76. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 43ff.

77. Cf., among others, Nicolai, "Rezeptionssteuerung in der Ilias," *Philologus* 127 (1983) 3–12, esp. 9, who emphasizes the critical attitude that accompanies

the celebration of heroic deeds: "Die in der Ilias gross herausgestellten Leiden, die jeder Krieg mit sich bringt, sollen nämlich nicht nur Mitleid mit den mehr oder weniger unschuldigen Opfern wecken, sondern sie sollen darüber hinaus anregen zur Reflexion über die Ursachen, den Sinn und die eventuelle Vermeidbarkeit all dieser Leiden . . . dieser Sophrosyne-Gedanke ist ein Leitsatz auch aller späteren griechischen Philosophie geblieben."

78. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 45f. Higbie (above, n.56: 79) finds that in contrast to the freer participation in the narrative by the performer of the Mwindo epic, this criterion is poorly attested in the *Iliad* (in the poet's expressions of helplessness at 2.484–92 and 12.176 and in his direct address to Patroklos and Menelaos; but see Book 4 n.7 for controversy on the nature of apostrophe in the poem). For the disarming *rori*, or "short improvised additions," that interrupt the Mwindo epic—e.g., "I am sitting, humming like a bee that passes on the *tondo*-plant"—see D. P. Biebuyck, *Hero and Chief: Epic Literature from the Banyanga Zaire Republic* (Berkeley 1978) 25.

79. Havelock (above, n.3) 145f. Cf. F. Solmsen's reaction (review of Havelock, *Preface to Plato*, *AJP* 87 [1966] 99–105):

> Essentially the thesis must rest on the internal evidence of the epic; for if at the end of the fifth century and in the fourth there were people for whom Homer was an expert in all *τέχναι* (*Rep.*, X, 598 D 8) it stands to reason that they tried to find a novel ideal of universal knowledge realized in him, an ideal somehow related to the sophists' conception of knowledge and education. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 66f . . . may give Havelock a certain measure of support . . . [but] the passage cannot bear as much weight as Havelock puts on it. Moreover, if the epic has its roots in the Mycenaean period, it cannot be easy to say with precision what social organisation found its *mores* embodied in Homer's poetry. Was it the Mycenaean society or that of the dark ages, the archaic or the classical? . . .To assume a constancy of the *mores* is no real solution; to regard oral poetry itself as the agent of continuity, and by that token as the *organon* of cohesion without which society would have disintegrated . . . is ingenious but raises a host of questions. One wonders what happened to the society—or the poetry—when kings went out of existence. . . . Other difficulties for his theory arise from the "selective" character of the epic, i.e., from the fact known ever since Erwin Rohde . . . that many archaic beliefs and primitive superstitions, many local and regional customs, are ignored by the epic. Does the epic present reality, i.e., life as it actually was, or rather reality ennobled and idealized in the direction of the heroic. . .? (103)

Cf. F. D. Harvey, "The Relationship between Script and Culture," *CR* N.S. 28 (1978) 130f, and Harris (above, n.55) 40ff, 62ff.

80. Diogenes Laertius (2.46) reports opaquely that Homer's earliest critic was a contemporary of the poet. For a review of interpretation of Hes. *Theog.* 26ff, see Svenbro, *PM* 46–73; cf. W. Stroh, "Hesiods lügende Musen," in Görgemanns et al., eds., *Studien zum antiken Epos*, 84–112, esp. 90ff; E. Belfiore, "Lies Unlike the Truth, *Theogony* 27," *TAPA* 115 (1985) 47–58, esp. 47ff; J. Strauss Clay, "What the Muses Sang," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 323–33, esp. 327; and Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* 12f. In contrast to the conventional picture of the continuity

and importance of the Homeric tradition during the early archaic period, W. Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polycrates, and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo," in Bowersock et al., eds., *Arktouros* 53–62, esp. 56, argues that after a period of eclipse "it was an act of restoration when rhapsodes were admitted to the great festivals to recite the 'real', uncorrupted Homer, the first making of a classic. At Athens, Hipparchus obtained the 'genuine' text of Homer and organized Homer recitals at the Panathenaea; the 'first' of Kynaithos was to start the same Homeric revival in the very homeland of Stesichorus" (cf. "The Making of Homer," above, n.6; see further below, Section 5). For the curious defection of the ex-rhapsode Xenophanes, see Svenbro and Pfeiffer (both above, n.47).

81. See Griffin (above, n.6) and the discussions cited in n.50.

82. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 46ff; cf. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer" 87ff.

83. Morris, ibid., 89ff. The usage in this case is borrowed from Redfield, *NCI* 36f.

84. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 49. Cf. Griffin (above, n.6) 46 on the vindictive attitude toward enemies in the Cycle, which would appear to have answered to a more "popular" tradition; and Sale (above, n.54) for the poet's restriction of hostile epithets for Troy to speeches of her enemies.

85. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 49ff. Note that here the description is also applied to pre-Socratics and is thus not a defining characteristic of orality but may appear in transitional, "secondary" phases.

86. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 57.

87. Cf. Svenbro, *PM* 91ff. For the Athenian evidence, see T. J. Figueira, "The Ten Arkhontes of 579/9 at Athens," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 447–73, esp. 454f. For the de-emphasis on local genealogy in "panhellenic" epic, see Nagy, *PH* 72 n.99.

88. B. Snell, *DoM*, Chapter I. In response, see Halliwell (Book 4, n.4) and B.M.W. Knox, "The Human Figure in Homer"; cf. Martin, *LH* 98f.

89. Above, Chapter I, n.19.

90. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* 57. Cf. Goethe's description, in a letter of 23 November 1829, of the aim of his own "multiperspective" technique in *Wilhelm Meister*, "durch einander gegenübergestellte und sich gleichsam ineinander abspiegelnde Gebilde den geheimeren Sinn ... zu offenbaren" (quoted in A. Gelly, *Narrative Crossings* [Baltimore 1987] 116). (For antecedents of Goethe's technique in Smollett, Tieck, and Laclos, see T. Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* [Princeton 1990] 163 and n.38.)

91. Cf. J. H. Lesher, "Perceiving and Knowing in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*," *Phronesis* 26 (1981) 2–24, who in assuming an oral Homer is obliged to dismiss the idea that "logic" presupposes literacy, and suggests that the epistemology of "Homer" is not remote from that, say, of Heraclitus (B20 D.-K.), who "observed that although sense perception (especially vision) may be useful for knowing (Fr. 55, 101), perception may be deceptive (Fr. 56) and does not ensure understanding (Fr. 40), for people may see and not recognize (Fr. 17, 107) and hear but not understand (Fr. 19, 34). In these remarks, Heraclitus stated a view of perception and knowledge that was not entirely without precedent." See, however, the more broadly based discussion of J. Margolis, "The Emergence of Philosophy," in Robb, ed., *Language and Thought* 228–43, esp. 232.

92. See Parry, *MHV* 272–75.

93. Cf. Lord, *SoT* 149. Fowler opts for "pseudo-formulae" to describe lyric phrases that recur in the same metrical position without belonging to an "extended and economic system" (*The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* 45 and 116 n.103): "These parallels show us the gentleman amateur learning his art. We can readily imagine him listening to others at symposia and picking up a few handy phrases to fill out his lines and assist him in his improvisations. The assimilation will have been partly unconscious, rather like a bard learning the technique of oral poetry."

94. Svenbro, *PM* 35ff.

95. For recent discussion of this debated passage, see Thalmann, *Conventions* 126f, P. Murray, "Poetic Inspiration in Early Greece," *JHS* 101 (1981) 97; Burkert in Hägg, ed., *GREC*, 83*b*; and Pucci, *OP* 230f, esp. 231: "All these features, of course, imperil the necessity and the coherence of the mythological representation of the Muses' role and interference . . . [and] would in fact support the idea that for the *Odyssey*, the Muses—like the Sirens—are personifications of literary practices, of the epic tradition, rather than divine objective inspirers. But again we reach an undecidable point." Cf. de Jong, *NF* 45–53, 123, who distinguishes between those shorter references to the Muse that aim at "intensification" and those (1.1–7 and 2.484–87) that suggest a double motivation entailing the concept of poetry as both a gift of the gods and a product of the poet's own initiative; she nevertheless finds conscious literary effect in both categories.

96. Cf. 12.176, "not even if I were a god," where the poet's role as vehicle of the Muse breaks down entirely. Elsewhere invocation ranges from the perfunctory query of the unnamed Muse in the formulaic "who first . . . (who last)?" at 5.703, 8.273, 11.299, 16.692, to the pointed irony of the invocation to Agamemnon's short-lived *aristeia* at 11.218ff.

97. *Epos* 50–81. For the philosophical issue involved, see E. Bakker, *Linguistics and Formulas in Homer* (Amsterdam 1988) 197 n.11.

98. It is worth noting the problem of distinguishing between de Saussure's references to the object of a signifier as the "signified" (as a concept or logical reality) and as an "idea." G. Mounin, *Semiotic Praxis* (New York 1985) 8, rejects the efforts of followers of de Saussure (Ogden and Richards, Ullmann) to elucidate by positing a direct connection between signifier and signified, which together constitute a sign that has an indirect connection to the object (as thing or referent): "The concept of the signified is a more operational one in that it requires the Saussurian researcher to determine those traits specific to the signified that do not coincide with the logical concept."

99. On Parry's assertions that "if we had tens of thousands more Homeric verses we should find that the unique words and phrases of our present text were really parts of established formulae," and his followers' attempts "to redefine formula to mean not a fixed set of words but a fixed metrical or syntactical pattern into which words new or old can be fitted as the poet wishes," Pope ("A Nonce Word in the *Iliad*," 8 n.15) comments: "The first solution is bizarre, tantamount to saying that though the theory is not supported by the existing evidence it would be supported by new evidence if only it were to come to hand. The other is self-cancelling—it makes the alleged process of oral composition indistinguishable

from any other: For the way that we all, whether literate or illiterate, talk and write is precisely by fitting words to pre-existing patterns of syntax and rhythm." Cf. Kiparsky in Stolz and Shannon, eds., *Oral Literature and the Formula* 94.

100. *Epos* 81–152.

101. Bakker, *Linguistics and Formulas* 151–204, esp. 155ff.

102. Ibid., 157, 187ff. See also Scully, *HSC* 72–80, and Foley, *ImArt* 139–50, for discussion of the earlier views of Vivante and A. Amory Parry. In a continuation of the studies noted above, n.97, Bakker, with F. Fabbricotti, "Peripheral and Nuclear Semantics in Homeric Diction: The Case of Dative Expressions for 'Spear,'" *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 44 (1991) 63–84, adopts a modified terminology to much the same effect, with emphasis on the variable function of a given traditional element.

103. Nagy, "Formula and Meter," in Stolz and Shannon, *OLF* 244; cf. A. J. Haft, "The 'City-Sacker Odysseus,'" 47 n.35, who claims that proleptic usage "is good Parryite doctrine"; but even in the *Odyssey*, which explores the hero's clever adaptability and his capacity to survive by stratagem, Odysseus is deeply distressed by the loss of his companions. The oversimplification may of course originate with our poet—if so, perhaps as a reflection on the *Odyssey* tradition.

104. In discussing Nestor's epithets, W. W. Whallon, *Formula, Character, and Context* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1969) 20ff, seems to prefer a version of this alternative. A. T. Edwards, on the other hand (*Achilles*, above, n.62), insists against Hainsworth, *Homer* (=*G&R New Surveys* [Oxford 1969]) 29f, that "a convincing analysis of Homeric repetitions must treat them as all of a kind, and not distinguish between them on an ad hoc basis." In contrast, Bakker and Fabbricotti (above, n.102, esp. 78, cf. 82f), maintain that the meaningfulness of a repeated element is a function of context—"The neutral and hence 'innocuous' meaning of certain elements in certain contexts is *exploited* by the poet for the sake of easy and smooth versification. But nothing prevents the element from being used with its proper meaning which expresses what the poet *wants to say*. In the case of epithets, this yields cases where an epithet is used not merely for the sake of versification but as an element that is highly appropriate and effective in its context"—a principle I support below in different terms.

105. The point is implicitly assumed by the conventional rendering of the generic epithet *dios* as "godlike," applied most often to Achilleus and Odysseus; the problem is not, of course, confined to the *Iliad*: Cf. in particular the phrase *dios hyphorbos* ("godlike swineherd") used of Eumaios at *Od.* 14.48, 401, 413, etc., where the question of irony versus nomenclature is also at issue (for parodistic elements in the *Odyssey*, see D. B. Monro, *Homer's Odyssey, Books XIII–XXIV* [Oxford 1901] 331, with A. Shewan's reply—perhaps inevitable at the time, given the question asked—in "Does the *Odyssey* Imitate the *Iliad?*" *CQ* 7 [1913] 234–42, esp. 240ff). Cf. also the difficulty posed at 6.62 by the formula *aisima pareipon* (above, n.5 to Book 6), where one has the choice of claiming formulaic illogic, or of searching for another meaning for either of its constituents, or of admitting intentional irony. See also the discussion, from a different point of view, of the statement "That man is a fox," in J. W. Verhasar, "On Speech and Thought," in *Language and Thought*, eds. W. C. McCormack and S. A. Wurm

(The Hague 1977) 99–128, esp. 102. Kirk, *Commentary* II *ad* 5.168f, accepts without demurral an element of "subtle irony" in the application of "godlike," "blameless and powerful" to Pandaros. I gather from conversation with John Foley that the extent to which orthodox Homeric oralists are ready to accept verbal irony (as distinct from irony of situation) is limited (cf. Foley, *TOE* 275 and n.64).

106. See Book 2, n.8. On the Atticizing *heosphoros* at 23.226, see Leaf II ad loc.

107. Leaf ad loc. lists parallel formations from the *Odyssey* and Euripides; Kirk, *Commentary* I ad loc. (267) compares *dysaristotokeia* at 18.54. Cf., on the behavior of Paris's more usual epithets, above, Chapter I, n.103. On the general question of characterization by variable epithets, see de Jong, *NF* 145f.

108. On the general problem of organization and sequence in archaic lyric, see Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* 55ff, and T. K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind* (Leiden 1985).

109. Havelock's phrase ("The Alphabetization of Homer," reprinted in *LRGC* 166–84, esp. 180). Foley also accepts our *Iliad* as an "oral-derived" text that represents a process of gradual fixation, but is content to analyze it in purely oral terms: See *TOE* 20–51 and *ImArt* 22–37.

110. See J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Berkeley 1921) 72–105, and Lorimer, *HaM*, esp. 452–93. Cf. Wade-Gery, *PI*; Sale, "Achilles and Heroic Values"; Goold, "The Nature of Homeric Composition," esp. 9–19; and M. Mueller, *The Iliad* (London 1984) 159–76. This movement has not, of course, deterred the Analyst tradition in continental scholarship (witness van Thiel, *IuI*); and the moderate discussion of Kirk, *SH* 216–27, points to problems that will be of interest here, among them the "grossly illogical" *Diapeira*, difficulties with the *Catalogue* in Book 2, the "abrupt and improbable" treatment of the duel in 7, the issue of the Greek wall, the division of the *Theomachy* between Books 20 and 21, and the treatment of the Funeral Games in 23.

111. For early book production, its cost and function, see Jeffery, *LSAG* 19f and 56f; West (above, n.45) 5. A. Heubeck, *Schrift* (=*ArchHom* III.x [Göttingen 1979]) 154ff, 159ff, notes that regular traffic in papyrus between Egypt and Greece does not begin until the mid-seventh century; but he suggests that evidence for its earlier importation in some quantity by Phoenicians establishes at least the possibility of a supply from this quarter provided to Homer by his wealthy patrons (an uncertain scenario, as we suggest below).

112. Cf. above, n.31; Dietrich in Hägg, ed., *GREC* 85f; Snodgrass, *AG* 38–40; and for the effect on Athenian pottery of the discovery and reuse there of Mycenaean implements during the eighth and seventh centuries, E. T. H. Brann, *The Athenian Agora* VIII (Princeton 1962) 18f; cf. G.M.A. Richter, "A New Early Attic Vase," *JHS* 32 (1912) 370–83, esp. 376–80, who assumed an Ionian source for Proto-Attic motifs. West (above, n.42: 151) maintains, with J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (New York 1977) 341–57, that the influence of Ionian epic "of the Homeric type" roused eighth-century interest in the ancestral past. But see S. Hiller, "Possible Historical Reasons," in Hägg, ed., *GREC* 9–14; and I. Morris, "Tomb cult and the 'Greek renaissance,'" *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 750–61,

esp. 754ff; and in view of its essentially critical attitude toward the heroic age, our *Iliad* might equally be said to represent a complex reaction to this impulse.

113. Among those arguing that the *Iliad* represents a statement in which the exaltation of kings serves the interests of the aristocracy: Morris (above, n.3) esp. 120–29; (more cautiously) H. van Wees, "Kings in Combat: Battles and Heroes in the *Iliad*," and Thalmann, "Thersites," esp. 26–28; for a reading of the poem as a demonstration of the threat to civic institutions posed by the abuses of individual power, W. Nicolai, "Rezeptionssteuerung" (above, n.77) esp. 9–12, and "Wirkungsabsichten des Iliasdichters," in *Gnomosyne, Festschrift Marg*, ed. G. Kurz et al. (Munich 1981) 81–101, esp. 94ff; cf. W. Donlan, "The Tradition of Anti-Aristocratic Thought in Early Greek Poetry," *Historia* 22 (1973) 145–54, esp. 150ff; for the poem as a mix of both viewpoints, attributable to the influence of different poets, F. Gschnitzler, "Politische Leidenschaft im homerischen Epos," in *Studien*, ed. H. Görgemanns et al., 1–21; for neither: S. G. Farron, "*The Odyssey* as an Anti-Aristocratic Statement," *Studies in Antiquity* 1 (1980) 59–101, esp. 99. On the debated historical relevance of kingship, cf. the review of discussion in Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer," 98f, with Collins, *StChar* 69f n.1, and Taplin, "Agamemnon's Role in the *Iliad*"; and for the antiquity of the theme of the abuse of kingship, O. M. Davidson, "Indo-European Dimensions of Herakles." Beyond the tendency of political interpretation to lapse into a form of self-identification (as J. Kristeva has reminded us in "Psychoanalysis and the Polis," reprinted most recently in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. T. Moi [New York 1986] 302–20), a major source of difficulty here is quite simply the character of the *Iliad* itself: Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 31 (aptly cited by Nicolai, "Wirkungsabsichten," 84), "All characters and actions of the *Iliad* can be regarded from more than one point of view; not even Henry James is more sensible of the complexity of moral situations than the author of this poem."

114. For the evidence, see R. P. Martin, "Hesiod, Odysseus, and the Instruction of Princes," *TAPA* 114 (1984) 29–48. In reviewing the correspondence between kingly privilege and fighting strength that motivates characters and episodes in the poem, van Wees (above, n.113: 18ff) simply confirms the norm that the poem, in our reading, is concerned to supersede. A. G. Geddes, "Who's Who in Homeric Society," *CQ* N.S. 34 (1984) 17–36, esp. 28ff, notes that even within conventional usage kingliness is a characteristic one can possess in degrees.

115. For the latter, cf. Paris' bribe of Antimachos to oppose the return of Helen in the council recalled at 11.123ff. The etymological significance of the name (="Hostile-Battle") creates its own emphasis; see Stanford, on the similar compound "Antinoos," *ad Od.* 1.383; cf. Heubeck et al., eds., *Commentary* I *ad* 383ff.

116. On Hipparchus' role, see Davison ("Peisistratus and Homer," 10ff), Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 130ff, and A. Aloni, "Testo e rappresentazione nell' Atene dei Pisistratidi," *Dioniso* 54 (1983) 127–34; cf. the skeptical view of A. Schnapp-Gourbeillon, "Homère, Hipparque et la bonne parole," *Annales ESC* (1988) 805–21, who stresses the absence of any mention of a sixth-century organization of the Homeric poems in the fifth; but it is perhaps naive to expect positive information of this sort from a period in which the achievements of Pisistratus and his

sons are subjected to a general process of historiographic disinformation (witness efforts to correct the record, oral and otherwise, of the tyrannicide itself in Herodotus 5.55–61; Thucydides 6.54–59; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 18; and the interpretation offered in the Platonic *Hipparchus* 228Bff.; cf. above, n.44, and the detailed discussion of Thomas, above, n.55, 238–82). Hipparchus' enthusiasm for uplift took other forms: For his improving maxims composed for the milestones leading to Athens, see *Hipparchus* 228D—229B, and *IG* I² 837, discussed by A. L. Ford in T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy, eds., *Theognis of Megara* (Baltimore 1985) 82–95, esp. 88–93; Shapiro, *A&C* 125–31; and Harris (above, n.55) 52f. Although Pisistratus' Panathenaic reform is dated to 566, neither the Panathenaic Rule nor the Homeric text need be placed so early—indeed the former is also attributed to Hipparchus by [Ps.-] Plato. There is no evidence of a model for comprehensive recitation at the earlier date, and the advantages of regulation may have become apparent only after a time, perhaps during the calmer days of Pisistratus' third period of rule, beginning in 546/5. But because a text was presumably necessary for proper implementation of the rule, both the Panathenaic Rule and the text should be dated ca. 530–20 on the evidence of the vases (above, n.50) and the indications of a concern with textual criticism on the part of Theagenes of Rhegium, probably during the 520s (Svenbro, *PM* 108ff). Cf. above, n.46, and Sealey, "From Phemios to Ion," 342ff. See also the discussion in Dihle, *H-P*, esp. 106ff, 144ff, whose general conclusions are similar to the picture presented in what follows here.

117. For detailed discussion of the building projects of Pisistratus and his sons, see J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy* (Groningen 1970) 11–27, 99ff; cf. B. S. Ridgeway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 201 and n.20, who reasonably argues for a broader scope of Pisistratean activity on the Acropolis; J. G. Pedley, "Reflections of Architecture in Sixth-Century Vase Painting," in *Papers* (above, n.6) 63–80, esp. 66; and Shapiro, "Painting, Politics, and Genealogy," in Moon, ed., *AGAI* 87–96, esp. 94; cf. *A&C* 5–8. For the family patronage in general, cf. Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 159ff, and J. M. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480* B.C. (Ithaca 1985) 234–75.

118. Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (New York 1950) 143f.

119. Dinsmoor, *Architecture* 118. This, among similar projects and commissions, may indicate a conscious rivalry between the two tyrants, as Boersma suggests (*Athenian Building Policy* 22ff). See also n.124 below.

120. For Polycrates' literary patronage, see A. J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets* (Vancouver 1984) 164f, 174ff, and "Festivals and Flattery," *Athenaeum* N.S. 58 (1980) 371–95; cf. Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 160ff. On the unlikelihood that libraries in the Hellenistic sense were the result, see Pfeiffer, *HCS* 5.

121. Murray, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," 174; Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polycrates," 60, sees an answer to Pisistratus' meddlings at Delos in Polycrates' establishment of his own Delian-Pythian festival on Delos (which he linked to Samos, with spectacular literalness, by an iron chain [Thuc. 3.104.2]) ca. 522, now that Pisistratus was safely dead—and just before his own entrapment and crucifixion. Shapiro ("Painting, Politics, and Genealogy," 94; *A&C* 48ff) suggests that the motive was to strengthen Athens' claim as mother city of the Ionian

Greeks, through Neleus, Pisistratus' ancestor and founder of the Ionian Dodecapolis, whose cult Pisistratus may have installed in Athens. For the Delphic reaction to Pisistratus' activities, see Ridgeway (above, n.117) 205–10, and L. V. Watrous, "The Sculptural Program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi," *AJA* 86 (1982) 159–72, esp. 166ff, who sees in the sculptural decoration of the treasury, dated ca. 525, an anti-Pisistratean program in which, for example, the depiction of Herakles' foiled attempt to steal Apollo's tripod is intended as a rebuke of Pisistratus' encroachments on the authority of Delphi. The rumor that the Pisistratids were responsible for the burning of the temple at Delphi (recorded by Philochoros, *FGH* I 395 no. 70) would appear to have a foundation, if not in fact, at least in an atmosphere of tension and suspicion. And the use of the *Aithiopis* —rather than the "Pisistratean" *Iliad*—as the basis for the representation on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury of the battle between Achilleus and Memnon over the body of Antilochos (so Brinkman [above, n.71], accepted by A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* I [New Haven 1990] 129) may have played a role in this mix of religious, political, and literary competition and mistrust.

122. Cf. Watrous (above n.121); J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratus and Eleusis," *JHS* 95 (1975) 1–12, esp. 5f; Shapiro, *A&C* 50ff, 67ff, 133ff.

123. See Shapiro (cited in n.121); Ridgeway (above, n.117) 206f. On the panhellenic character of Hesiodic and Homeric epic (as opposed to the apparent preoccupation of the Cyclic poets with the celebration of local heroes), see G. Nagy, "Hesiod," in T. J. Luce, ed., *Ancient Writers* (New York 1982) I 43–72 (=Nagy, *GMP* 36–82), and *PH* 70–81, 191. It should be kept in mind, however, that "panhellenic" in the sense of repeated performance at "international (or 'inter-polis') festivals," with a resulting decline in local reference, is based on conjecture.

124. See Kirk, *Commentary* I 207ff, S. West in Heubeck et al., eds., *Commentary* I 38 n.15; Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 169ff, whose connection between 5.837ff (where a heavyweight Athena joins Diomedes in his chariot) and the account of Pisistratus' return from exile in a chariot accompanied by the statuesque Phye costumed as Athena (Herodotus 1.60) seems fanciful (but see also W. R. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals, and Processions," *JHS* 107 [1987] 40–50, esp. 43 with further comment by J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratus and the Unconvinced," *JHS* 109 (1989) 158f); perhaps less so Athenian influence on Athena's role in general as helpmeet to Achilleus and to Diomedes in 5 (as again in 10). For a more persistent search for propaganda in the poem, involving Pisistratus' claim to genealogical connection with the Neleids of Pylos, see R. Böhme, *Peisistratos und sein homerischer Dichter* (Bern 1983) 84–105; cf. H. Mühlestein, *HN* 161–73, and "Der letzte Bearbeiter Homers ein Lykomede," *ZPE* 82 (1990) 4–12. For discussion of a presentation scene on a Boeotian relief pithos (ca. 675–50) and its possible relation to the offering to Athena, cf. Friis-Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* 272ff, and Kannicht, "Poetry and Art," 77 (dubious), with Brillante, "Episodi iliadici," 102, and Powell, *Homer and the Origin* 210 (a possibility; further below); see also Lorimer, *HaM* 442f, 529, who would add to the list of Pisistratean interpolations the introduction of the mythical Athenian king Erichthonius (Hephaistos' offspring and founder of the Panathenaea) to the genealogy of Aineias at 20.219 and 230, and Finkelberg ("Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic

Catalogue," 38ff), who argues that Athens was not the sole beneficiary of flattering additions to the *Catalogue*. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* 32ff and *CR* N.S. 2 (1952) 15, argues that the inclusion of the peplos-ceremony in 6 betrays a Trojan misunderstanding of the Athenian ritual as an emergency appeal, not a recurrent offering. This does not follow: One would not expect to find enemies of the Greeks cultivating Athena with the proper spirit and ceremony. More interesting is Davison's suggestion (*From Archilochus* 33) that at Athens the quadrennial offering of a new peplos was an innovation modeled on a similar ceremony at the Heraeum at Olympia. If the Athenian rite was regularized by Pisistratus, it would accord with his in other respects preemptive religious policies, with a motive perhaps related both to Olympia and to Polycrates' lavish attention to the Samian Heraeum. N. Robertson, "The Origin of the Panathenaea," *RhM* N.F. 128 (1985) 231–95, esp. 288ff, supports a sixth-century date for the peplos ceremony but rejects a connection with Olympia on the grounds that the offering at Olympia involved no ship-wagon for its transport to the temple (as in Athens, where its function as a symbolic sail would have required a larger garment) and may have been intended for actual use in clothing the cult statue (whereas the Athenian peplos was not; both arguments rule out local adaptation at Athens). He derives the ceremony rather from the custom of awarding robes as prizes in the *Hephaisteia* on Lemnos, which lent other elements to the Pisistratid Panathenaea (cf. 279, 281). If this is the case, then one might wish to consider as a further element of Athenian accommodation (in addition to the introduction of Erichthonius to Aineias' genealogy, noted above) the prominence of Hephaistos in our poem: His intervention in the divine quarrel at the end of Book 1, balancing that of Athena in the human dispute at the beginning of it (cf., again, the appearance of the Lemnian traders in Book 7), and his subsequent appearance as god of the forge (in 18) and of fire (in 21), are both relevant to elements of his cult that find a place in the Panathenaea (Robertson 269ff; further discussion of the general association of Athena and Hephaistos in Detienne/Vernant, *CunIn* 280f). An Athenian would in any event have found a special amusement in Hephaistos' domestic pairing with Charis in 18 in light of his futile pursuit of Athena, which ended in premature ejaculation and the birth, from the ground, of Erichthonius (the locus of insemination being later enshrined within the accommodating plan of the Erechtheum; for the birth itself, see the stamnos by the Painter of Munich 2413 [Beazley, *Attic Red Figure Vases*[2] (Oxford 1963) 495 no.1; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) 196f, figs. 350.1, 2; cf. Robertson, "Panathenaea," 256 n.50]). M. W. Edwards, "Neoanalysis and Beyond," *ClAnt* 9 (1990) 311–25, esp. 322, unconvincingly suggests that the peplos ceremony "may have its genesis" in the Cyclical story of the theft of the Trojan Palladion. But both the ceremony and the cult statue depend on the early and common notion that every city had its own tutelary deity; see the discussion in Scully, *HSC* 28–40 and Burkert (below, n.141: 88f).

125. As Skafte Jensen argues (*HQ* 163).

126. Cf. Aristotle, *Ath.Pol.* 14–16; Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy* 12–17 and Pedley, "Reflections of Architecture," esp. 66 (both above, n.117). Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RevArch* N.S. 1 (1972) 57–72, and "Herakles, Pisistratus and Eleusis," argues that the mythological emphasis in a

series of black-figure vases produced at Athens during this period served to promote Pisistratus' ancestry and cult interests. Cf. Shapiro, "Painting, Politics and Genealogy," in Moon, ed., *AGAI* (cf. *A&C* 159–63), who suggests that these motifs were generally "in the air"; but the finest of the lot, by Exekias, finest of painters, cannot have been on the popular market. (Note that a rather different, anti-Pisistratean Exekias emerges in Boardman, "Exekias," *AJA* 82 [1978] 11–25, with difficulties noted by Shapiro, *A&C* 156.); cf. the discussion by W. G. Moon, "The Priam Painter," in Moon, ed., *AGAI* 97–118, with further bibliography at 115f n.12. That all was not well is suggested by popular disrespect for Pisistratus' Pythion, which caused Hipparchus to build a protective partition that was subjected to an equally expressive reaction: See J. P. Lynch, "Hipparchus' Wall in the Academy at Athens," in Rigsby, ed., *Studies Dow* 173–79.

127. For Athenian influences in the *Odyssey*, see Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 167ff; for the *Odyssey* as an anti-Corinthian pamphlet, see R. Dion, *Aspects politiques de la géographie antique* (Paris 1977), esp. 83–117; Böhme (above, n.124) 102ff argues, to the contrary, for a more pervasive propagandizing in the *Iliad*. As in the debate on political ideology, the ultimate decision will depend on interpretation of the text.

128. So Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 159ff.

129. Above, n.7; cf. the general discussion of Van Sickle, "The Book-Roll and Some Conventions."

130. Goold (above, n.2: 288f) argues that the numbering "goes back to Homer himself."

131. Above, n.49.

132. Cf. the discussion in Drerup, *HP* I 423f and n.3, 437 and n.4, and S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri* 20; see below (n.149) for the suggestion that at least the Diomedes–Glaukos episode of Book 6 may in fact have been detached from an earlier version of the *Aristeia of Diomedes* .

133. The evidence for these titles is presented in the apparatus at the beginning of each book in T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (*Homeri Ilias* I–III, Oxford 1931). Aelian *VH* 13.14 lists the following as examples of individual *epe* (songs) of the *Iliad* : (13) *The Battle by the Ships*, (10) *The Doloneia*, (8) *The Aristeia of Agamemnon*, (2) *Catalogue of Ships*, (16) *Patrokleia*, (24) *The Ransom*, (23) *The Games for Patroklos*, and (4) *The Breaking of the Oaths* (*Horkion aphanisis*, rather than the more frequent *Horkion syngchysis*, perhaps by a slip of the memory). Another tradition, represented among others by Stephanus in *Anthologia Palatina* 9.385, provides twenty-four hexameter titles; these depend both on the numbering system and on the earlier titles, which they reflect in phraseology and emphasis.

134. Cf. the numerical citation of books of the Cycle in Allen, *Homeri Opera* V 99 (Proclus) and 119 (Athen. 682D).

135. Cf. Davison, *From Archilochus* 18ff (cited above, n.37).

136. For the term and an illustration of the technique at work in Wordsworth's *Prelude*, see C. Siskin, *The Historicity of Romantic Discourse* (New York 1988) 117–24. For an application to Homer, see B. Heiden, "Shifting Contexts in the Iliad," *Eranos* 89 (1991) 1–12.

137. See the discussion of Book 18, above, Chapter IV.

138. Cf. Chapter I, n.48; Svenbro, *PM* 30 and n.85. The *Catalogue* would have been useful, of course, if not indispensable to the synoptic opening elements of an *Urilias*.

139. Above, Chapter I, n.58.

140. For analysis of the Trojan Catalogue, see Kullman, *QdI* 169–88, and Kirk, ed., *Commentary* I 248–63. The initial steps in this process, arguably prior to our poem, would have entailed the elaboration of the Dream of Book 2 to introduce the *Catalogue of Ships*, reworked to emphasize the antipathy between Achilleus and Agamemnon, followed by something like 3.1–4 (for previous discussion, see Book 1, n.61). At subsequent stages our poet added the *Test*, the pattern of thematic augment in the *Catalogue of Ships*, and arranged the Trojan Catalogue on the model of the Greek, with archaising choice of sites, borrowings from elsewhere in the *Iliad*, and invention of some names to achieve an impression of detail and numbers (Kirk; Kullmann argues that these elements were adjusted from the *Cypria*); for the sake of thematic balance with the *Diapeira*, the theme of illusion was introduced, along with references to 21, and 3.1–14 was detached from Book 2 to serve a similar thematic function in its new context.

141. See Burkert, "Homer's Anthropomorphism: Narrative and Ritual," in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *New Perspectives* 81–91.

142. Suggestion at least that earlier stages of the poem may have been concerned with general balance. For a forceful assertion of the antiquity of the *Diomedea*, see Wilamowitz, *IuH* 142; for speculation on its influence in 16, see Strasburger, *Kleinen Kämpfer* 50f and 63ff.

143. On the literary character of 20.75–502, see Dihle, *H-P* 65–83, following E. Heitsch, *Aphrodite-hymnos, Aeneas und Homer* (=*Hypomnemata* 15 [Göttingen 1965]); cf. Burkert, "Oriental Myth and Literature," 53f. On the question of its original function, see Book 20 n.1.

144. B. Fenik, *"Iliad" X* ; cf., however, the criticisms of Dihle, *H-P* 35ff. Eustathius and the Townley scholium *ad* 10 *init.* report the tradition that the *Doloneia* was a sixth-century addition.

145. Mueller's attempt (above, n.110: 175) to derive Pandaros' role in 4 from a "simpler version" in 5 is based on a misunderstanding of the ring-compositional structure of Pandaros' speech at 5.180–216 (for which see Lohmann, *KR* 40–43) and the notion that 206ff presents his wounding of Menelaos as if it had taken place in open battle.

146. Evidence of revision associated with our poet is apparent not only in the non-closural ending of the *Epipolesis* but also in Agamemnon's charge (368) that Diomedes is more interested in spying expeditions than frontline fighting: a Diomedes more consistent with the *Doloneia* than the ensuing *Aristeia*. We have already suggested (Chapter I, n.64) a connection between the use of *gethosynos ker* for Agamemnon at 4.272, 326 and for the king on our poet's *Shield of Achilleus* at 18.557.

147. Friis-Johansen (*The Iliad in Early Greek Art* 65; cf. Kannicht, "Poetry and Art," 77) argues that an Early Corinthian aryballos with painted identifications of Hektor fighting Aias (Amsterdam Inv. 1276 [=Amyx 558 no. 10; cf. 99, 636]) depicts the encounter in 7.263ff (and would thus testify to a pre-Pisistratean

date for the episode); but Amyx points out that the piece is a member of a group in which such scenes have generally no specific illustrative intent; cf. another stone-throwing encounter between the two, Amyx 570 no. 60, 636 no. 6. For references to Analyst discussion of 7, see H. Rahmersdorfer, *Singuläre Iterata der Ilias (A–K)* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 137 [Königstein/Ts. 1981]) 258 n.888.

148. A further element linking 12 with the personality of our poet is evident in the format of the Trojan Catalogue 88–104, which is framed as in Book 2 by the polarity of Hektor and Sarpedon and by the motif of "the most and the best" (*hoi pleistoi kai aristoi*, 89/103, *hoi gar . . . aristoi*), reminiscent of the earlier *Catalogue of Ships* (2.768f); see also n.158 below. Cf. the use of anaphora at 12.95f (of Asios) and 2.671ff (of Nireus).

149. The following bears some resemblances to the conclusions of van Thiel, *IuI* 615–72, whose discriminations between early and late reflect a more traditional Analyst view of inconsistencies and repetitions. See also the conclusions of Ramersdorfer (above, n.147), esp. 257ff, and of P. Roth, *Singuläre Iterata der Ilias (Φ–Ω)* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 194 [Frankfurt 1989]), esp. 126f. In order to avoid the implication of a cut-and-paste model of development, I have not attempted to emulate van Thiel's postulation of a *Frühilias*, a *Monomachie* (introducing Pandaros' breaking of the truce), a post-Hesiodic *Mauergedicht* (including the bulk of 12–15), and a *Spätilias* (involving expansions and additions to its predecessors), followed by the work of a sixth-century Redactor. The role of Pandaros and the function of the wall (van Thiel's two intermediate elements) would seem superfluous outside the structural context of our poem (van Thiel assigns 4.1–165 to his *Monomachie*, and the bulk of Pandaros' alliance with Aineas against Diomedes to his *Frühilias*; but the entire episode in 5—not just 204–208, which van Thiel gives to the Redactor—is pointless without the Pandaros developed in Book 4). I would also question his conclusion that the final product is an independent redaction characterized by disunity and broken flow resulting from a "kompositionelle Kleinteiligkeit" ("Konkurrierende Varianten," 96). The personality of van Thiel's Redactor is in fact inconsistent: In the *Shield* and the *Catalogue*, he is largely responsible for those elements that we have identified as creating an elaborately unifying formal and thematic structure in each case (Redactor *a*?); elsewhere, however, he appears to serve no very clear purpose beyond introducing brief narrative transitions and what van Thiel regards as otiose details (Redactor *b*?). A comparison of his analysis (33–83, 679f) of the sources of Books 12 and 13, for example, with the structural outlines presented here will indicate the difficulties of explaining our *Iliad* on van Thiel's terms. I have, however, indicated the lines in Book 5 (D_2) that seem to offer a particularly instructive example of our poet's compositional thinking; for the link between the coupling of Hektor and Sarpedon here and in 12, see Book 12, n.9; the problematic relationship between the two is, as we have noted, assumed by the Trojan Catalogue; it may be that something on the order of the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes, now in 6, stood in its place at an earlier phase in the development of the tradition. Other specific additions to older material that reveal the personality of our poet would include the quarrel between Aias and Idomeneus in 23 (448–98), perhaps displacing, as we have intimated, an episode at the turn-post.

150. E.g., Myres, "Last Book," esp. 283f; Whitman, *HHT* 256; cf. van Thiel, *IuI* 616.

151. The confrontation between Achilleus and Xanthos—given its *Gilgamesh*-like note of excess—may belong to the earlier, pre-Homeric stages of the tradition (cf. Segal, *Mutilation* 39). But with our poet's (in my view) addition of the encounters with Lykaon and Asteropaios, it becomes not only the climax of a carefully structured formal and thematic sequence, but one of the most extraordinary examples of sustained intensity in the poem. Achilleus' encounter with the *eidolon* of Patroklos may likewise be early—in this case the parallel with the futile embrace of Gilgamesh and the ghost of Enkidu is striking (cf. Burkert, "Die Leistung eines Kreophylos," *MusHelv* 29 [1972] 74–85, esp. 75 and n.5, and above, n.141: 83, and Lord, *SoT* 197; see, in general, G. K. Gresseth, "The Gilgamesh Epic and Homer," *CJ* 70 [1975] 1–18; and Halperin, *One Hundred Years* 75–87, with further bibliography); but our poet distinguishes himself by his reticence on the horrors of the Underworld, more elaborately represented in *Gilgamesh* and the *Odyssey* tradition.

152. See above, n.116.

153. Above, nn.45, 46, and Brinkmann (above, n.71: 128ff) for a similar combination of myth and abstraction in the figures on the Siphnian Treasury.

154. Svenbro, *PM* 108–38, compares the philological concerns of Theagenes with those of Hipparchus and argues that Theagenes is specifically concerned to answer the criticism of his contemporary Xenophanes, exiled from Colophon in Asia Minor and now operating from Zancle near Rhegium. Cf. the discussions by Lamberton and Feeny cited in n.46 above.

155. See above, nn.124, 143.

156. Cf. Book 4, n.7. For a survey of the use of the first person as a characteristic sign of individual authorship in archaic literature, see W. Kranz, "Sphragis," *RhM* N.F. 104 (1961) 3–46, esp. 3–20.

157. Above, Book 18, n.3.

158. See the discussions by Griffin, Solmsen, Pinney, and Edwards cited above, n.6. Much in the Homeric tradition may have been influenced by the traditions of the Cycle at an early and oral stage of the development of characters and their relationships. Paris' wounding of Diomedes in the foot at 11.369–77, for example, reflects his fatal blow to Achilleus' heel in the *Aithiopis*, as Kullmann argues ("Zur Methode der Neoanalyse in der Homerforschung," *WS* N.F. 15 [1981] 5–42, and "Oral Poetry Theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric Research," esp. 313ff); given that the parallel between Diomedes and Achilleus is essential to much of the poem, a detail of this sort is more appropriate to a stage of development prior to the introduction of the *Doloneia*, where the influence of Odysseus supplants for Diomedes the model of Achilleus. Because of their structural role, I am inclined to think that other elements represent borrowings at the final, textual stage of our *Iliad*, with the preemptive intent noted above. Among these, in addition to the lament for Patroklos, would be the prominence of Sarpedon, borrowed from the *Aithiopis*, as a foil to Hektor in the Trojan Catalogues of 2 and 12, in the action of 5 and 12 (where the Greek wall is at issue), and in Zeus' prophecy of his death in 15 and the dependent scenes in 16. For a useful bibliographical survey of

Neo-Analyst scholarship, see M. E. Clark, "Neoanalysis: A Bibliographical Preview," *CW* 79 (1986) 379–94; cf. M. W. Edwards, "Neoanalysis and Beyond," *ClAn* 9 (1990) 311–25, esp. 312 n.3 and 314ff on the general question of early poetic rivalry. For a different model of the relationship between Homer and the Cycle, see Nagy, *PH* 72–79.

159. Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 154–56. The association of Cinaethus with the *Iliad* was suggested as early as A. Fick, *Die homerische Odyssee* (Göttingen 1883) 278ff. Cf. van Thiel, "Konkurrierende Varianten," 97f n.21, and *IuI* 28, who considers Cinaethus the Redactor of our *Iliad*. Dihle, *H-P* 96, 114ff, suggests that Cinaethus made the edition he performed in Magna Graecia on the model of the Athenian text. Böhme (*Peisistratos* 89fff), on the other hand, identifies Onomacritus as the poet. For Cynaethus' career and importance, see Wade-Gery, *PI* 21ff, and "Kynaithos," in *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1956) 17–36; Burkert (above, nn.6, 80); M. L. West, "Cynaithus' Hymn to Apollo," *CQ* N.S. 25 (1975) 161–70; R. Dyer, "The Blind Bard of Chios," *CP* 70 (1975) 119ff; N. Robertson, "The Myth of the First Sacred War," *CQ* N.S. 28 (1978) 48f; Janko *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, 113ff, 233f; and A. Aloni, *L'aedo e i tiranni* (Rome 1989) 11–15, 107–31. For the murkier career of Onomacritus, see n.161 below.

160. Cf. S. West, *JHS* 102 (1982) 245: "perhaps indeed we have come to find agnosticism more reassuring than commitment to a reasonable probability" (e.g., J. Svenbro in Detienne, ed., *Les Savoirs de l'écriture*, 461: " . . . notre texte homérique, dont les conditions de production précises nous échappent totalement"). The rather unpromising possibilities otherwise are collected by Allen, *Origins* 38–50.

161. The twelfth-century Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes reports a tradition that Onomacritus was one of four poets commissioned by Pisistratus to arrange the Homeric poems (Allen, *Origins* 322ff, attributes the story to "Orpheo-Pythagorean circles"; further in Janko in Kirk, ed., *Commentary* IV, Introduction n.52); a scholium to *Od.* 11.602ff claims that these three lines were added by Onomacritus (Allen 238). In Böhme's view (above, n.124: 91f), Onomacritus edited our text during his thirty-year exile and brought it to Athens in 496/5 during the archonship of another Hipparchus. Böhme resolves the chronological difficulty raised by the Panathenaic Rule with the theory that Hippias brought with him to the East an earlier text that had been used for purposes of recitation, and it was *this* that served as the basis for Onomacritus' text. Böhme finds in this sequence an explanation for the positive attitude toward kingship he sees in both poems, and evidence for the identification of the Odyssean Theoklymenos as a self-portrait of the exiled Onomacritus (103).

162. *Bulletin épigraphique* 1962 no. 397 (=*REG* 75 [1962] 225); Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polycrates," 54f.

163. Dihle *H-P* 96; West, "Cynaethus' Hymn," 166; Burkert, "The Making of Homer," 56; Janko, *Homer, Hesiod* 261 n.88. Nagy, *PH* 23, 74f n.111, without argument interprets the notice to mean that Cinaethus was simply the first "recorded winner in a seasonally recurring festival at Syracuse" and suggests that his " 'Homeric' repertory was not the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*."

164. See the discussions cited above (n.159). Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 154 takes *anatithemi* in the *c* scholium to mean "put up as a votive offering," citing *Cer-*

tamen 1.320f (cf. Thuc. 3.104), where the Delians are said to have been so delighted with the hymn that they had it inscribed on a whitened board and hung in their Temple of Artemis. For stylistic connections between the *Iliad* and the *Hymn to Apollo*, see J. Schröder, *Ilias und Apollonhymnos* (=*Beitr.z.kl.Phil.* 59 [Meisenheim 1975]), esp.15–30; for the formularity of the language of the *Hymn* (87 percent and 93 percent of the lines in each part contain formulaic elements), compared to the *Iliad* (88 percent in Notopoulos' calculation), see Kirk, *HOT* 184 n.4, and Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 177–97, esp. 180; cf. above, n.63. For the similarity of the initial picture of Apollo in both poems, see Clay, *Politics* 20f; cf. also above, n.16.

165. West, "Cynaethus' Hymn," 166f; Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polycrates," 57.

166. Wade Gery, *PI* 21f. The evidence (discussed by A. Ford, "The Classical Definitions of *ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑ*, *CP* 83 [1988] 300–307) suggests that rhapsodes down to ca. 500 (i.e., the period of Cinaethus' activity) were creative figures who recited the poetry of others as well as their own but were afterward essentially imitative.

167. Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 154.

168. For Pythagoras as editor, see M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 8f.

169. Cf. Goold, "Homer and the Alphabet," 282 n.20; Mazon, *Introduction* 89ff, 267–82; and above, n.33. Some indication of the residual element of oral improvisation in this process may be observed in the reappearance of Mekisteus and Alastor in 13.419–23 to remove the slain Hypsenor from the battlefield with formulae similar to 8.331–34, along with the now illogical line-end "groaning heavily." Cf. Chapter I, n.119.

170. [Ps.-]Plato *Hipparchus* 228B; cf. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaea," 12ff, and Skafte Jensen, *HQ* 130ff. A similar picture of the development of the *Odyssey* seems likely, where a comparable 7:5:5:7 pattern of book-groups has been achieved by expansion, combinations, and other traits of workmanship characteristic of our *Iliad*; comparison is best postponed to another context.

171. See Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," and the references in above, n.50.

172. M. L. West, "Cynaethus' Hymn to Apollo," 166. Disruption of some sort in the tradition of the Homerids is suggested by comparison with the apparent continuity enjoyed by the Hesiodic school—or "corporation," as Allen terms it (*Origins* 48)—who owned land at Thespiae, received visitors (e.g., Pausanias: 9.29.5), and maintained their own textual and critical tradition.

173. Although Burkert ("Kynaithos, Polycrates" 60; cf. "The Making of Homer," 53ff, and Janko, *Homer, Hesiod* 109–14) connects the Delian Hymn with Polycrates' short-lived *Pythia kai Delia* of 522, he denies (against West, "Cynaithus' Hymn") a connection with Cinaethus. Aloni, *L'aedo e i tiranni* 110–21, argues that Cinaethus should be associated with both Athens and Samos, corresponding to two versions of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

174. Cf., among others, Wade-Gery, *PI* 36f, and W. M. Sale, "Achilles and Heroic Values," who also maintains that the tragic view of the Trojans was developed by Homer; cf. Sale, "The Formularity of the Place Phrases of the *Iliad*," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 21–50, and above, n.54; cf. van Thiel, *IuI* 30, 616f. Cf. Scully,

HSC 81–99, who emphasizes the importance of eighth-century urbanism to the focus in the poem on Troy, and Singor, "Nine Against Troy," for traces of earlier tradition in the treatment of warfare.

175. Cf. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer," 94–115; Sale (above, n.174 [1987]), esp. 38f. But see Griffin, "The Epic Cycle," 46, on the jingoistic character of the Cycle, which seems to provide a fair indication of the susceptibilities of earlier audiences.

176. For Nicolai ("Rezeptionssteuerung," 9) the basis for the "'kritische' Wirkungsabsicht" he identifies in the poem.

177. Above, n.112.

178. Cf. also van Thiel, *IuI* 465f.

179. Niens, *Struktur* 240–57, isolates eleven battle encounters that she regards as exceptional in structure and function, suggesting that these are a product of a late (i.e., sixth-century) phase of composition and are formally similar to elements in 5.9–83 and 6.5–65 and 11.320–61 in which the pathos of a victim's death is enhanced by biographical detail absent in the normal *aristeia* (cf. 29f; 200–223). Beyond the inconsistencies she sees introduced by these episodes, it is worth noting that the use of thematic augment in both the models and the "imitations" often parallels that of our poet's *Catalogues*, e.g., 6.20–28 (birth from a secret liaison); 11.328–35 (the failure of Merops' prophecy to prevents his sons' death); 17.50ff (with Euphorbos' gold hair-clasp cf. Nastes' golden costume at 2.872ff).

180. See Wade-Gery, *PI* 36f.

181. Cf. the discussions of Morris ("The Use and Abuse"), van Wees ("Kings in Combat"), and Geddes ("Who's Who").

182. Not to say the anxiety of influence. I am thinking in particular of the lament of the fifth-century Choerilus of Samos that the arts had reached their limits and he had no team to enter the race (Kinkel, *EGF* fr.1, 1a=*FGH* F34a=*Suppl.Hell.* 317). On the general topic, see B. Otis, *Virgil* (Oxford 1963) 5–40.

183. In this regard I differ from Svenbro's conviction (*PM* 82) that interpretation took place only outside the poetic tradition, and from the view of earlier Analysts (Leaf among them) who judged the formation of our *Iliad* a regrettable mechanism of degeneration. Havelock (*LRGC* 181f), among others, proposes a more optimistic model. For some of the issues surrounding interpretation and generic change, see E. D. Hirsch, JR., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven 1967) 102–26, and F. Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979) 98f and 162f. n.20; for the importance of structure in this process, R. Cohen, "Afterword: The Problem of Generic Change," in K. and M. S. Brownlee, eds., *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes* (Hanover 1985) 265–80, esp. 278.

184. Socrates on Hades in Valéry, *Eupalinos, or The Architect*, tr. W. M. Stewart (Oxford 1932) 5. Having already admitted one comparison of sorts with Henry James (above, n.113) and with due reservation, I yield to the temptation to import another (by Virginia Woolf, on the novelist, in *The Death of the Moth* [New York 1942] 151f): "With the chill of a shadow brushing the waves, we realise what a catastrophe for all of us it would have been if the prolonged exper-

iment . . . had ended in failure. Excuses could have been found both for him and for us. It is impossible, one might have said, for the artist not to compromise, or, if he persists in his allegiance, then, almost inevitably, he must live apart, for ever alien, slowly perishing in his isolation. The history of literature is strewn with examples of both disasters. When, therefore, almost perceptibly at a given moment, late in the story, something yields, something is overcome, something dark and dense glows in splendour, it is as if the beacon flamed bright on the hilltop; as if before our eyes the crown of long deferred completion and culmination swung slowly into place. Not columns but pages, and not pages but chapters, might be filled with comment and attempted analysis of this late and mighty flowering, this vindication, this crowded gathering together and superb welding into shape of all the separate strands. . . . Here, by a prodigious effort of concentration, the field of human activity is brought into fresh focus, revealing new horizons, new landmarks, and lights upon it of right and wrong."

Bibliography

IN THE END the greatest pleasure of working with Homer, beyond the poetry itself, is the example and achievement of that glorious cloud of witnesses who have traced (if not always smoothed) a path for the rest of us to follow as best we can. The names of some of them follow. A few sources mentioned in passing in the notes I have omitted, in the interest of economy, as peripheral; even in work central to the Homeric Question, there can be no question of completeness. The cloud is glorious but also, with good reason, endless.

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Index of Authors and Selected Topics

Given the nature of the preceding discussion, it seemed that a separate undifferentiated index locorum of passages in the *Iliad* would prove as daunting to the reader as to the compiler; I hope that the topical entries in what follows will prove a more useful substitute for ready reference.